



UNIVERSITETET I AGDER

Notions of Identity, Race and Social Class

A Case Study of Young Afro-Caribbean Adults within an Artistic Environment in the Dominican Republic

TONJE SÆTHER MARKUSSEN

SUPERVISOR

Hanne Haaland

University of Agder, 2017

Faculty of Social Science

Department of Global Development and Planning



Abstract

This study explores the links between race, social class and identity and the possibilities for social mobility. The empirical investigation is based on a qualitative case study, and the data is mainly collected through participant observation and in depth-interviews among a group of young people in the small village of Cabarete and in the Capital Santo Domingo in the Dominican Republic.

The current issue in the Dominican Republic is the unjust denationalization and deportations of Haitians, Dominican of Haitian-decent and Dominicans of perceived Haitian-descent by a xenophobic government. Nevertheless, this is not the first time Haitians has been displaced. The country seems to be struggling to get rid of its 'developing country' status, but in a country where the majority of people are of mixed race, it does not seem to be right by erasing the category black from official and popular discourses on race, to only count for the Other (Haitians).

My findings suggest, that although politically neglected, socially and economically marginalized; Afro-Dominican youths pride interfere with the class-structures. But instead of letting themselves be discriminated from the top and down, their race and social class is used as an expression in art. Dominican youth have the personal agency of putting themselves above, and using their livelihood and art as a way for achieving social mobility.

Acknowledgements

This research could not have been successfully completed without the contribution, participation and consent of all respondents. All those who welcomed me into their lives, allowing me to observe and participate and opening up to me by sharing their stories and over the course of together four months in the field. I am grateful that we met, the chance to get to know you and for your eagerness to help and form this thesis. The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without the help, support and contributions of everyone who have helped me in the research process.

I would like to thank my supervisor, Hanne Haaland, for your guidance, encouragement, advice and helpful comments throughout my work on this thesis. Thank you to the Department of Global Development and Planning at the faculty of Social Science at the University of Agder, for the five years leading up to this thesis. A particular thanks to all the other professors, staff and fellow students in the masters program for two inspiring and rewarding years.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents, Ingrid and Jørn, for proofreading my thesis and your unlimited support and encouragement throughout my education. My dear friend Ruben for your endless belief in me, and a special thanks to Kaitlin and other close friends for believing in me, supporting me, and always inspiring me.

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Abbreviations and acronyms

| | |
|--------|--|
| BBC | British Broadcasting Corporation |
| CIA | Central Intelligence Agency |
| DR | Dominican Republic |
| Est. | Estimated |
| GDP | Gross Domestic Product |
| NGO | Non-governmental Organisation |
| PLD | Partido de la Liberación Dominicana |
| PRD | Partido Revolucionario Dominacano |
| UASD | Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization |
| US | United States |
| USD | United States Dollar |
| WB | World Bank |

Chapter 1: Introduction & Research Questions

1.1 Background:

Without doubt, one of the most important and debated themes in the Dominican Republic in recent years is the 168-13 judgement (commonly known as '*Sentencia 23*') set by the D.R. Constitutional Court in September 2013 and the following up law 169-14 (regularization plan??). Both have caught the attention of the eyes of the world, as these rulings are both concerning the rights to nationality and identity to Dominicans of immigrant descent, especially Dominicans of Haitian decent. The ruling is saying that the right to Dominican citizenship is dependent not on a child's being born in the country, but on its mothers nationality, retroactive to 1929. The ruling essentially justifies the administrative actions being carried out by the Central Electoral Board (the body in charge of the civil registry) since 2007. Criteria's such as geographic location, skin-colour and foreign sounded surnames were used as reasons to stamp Dominicans birth certificates as "temporarily suspended". Without birth certificate, and thus no identification papers one cannot work legally, study, marry or travel. One has very limited access to health care, and children are not entitled to education beyond the 8th grade. Dominicans whom parents or grandparents came to the country decades ago, who have been born and grown up in the D.R. and in most cases do not speak French or Creole, nor have ever set their foot in Haiti, risk loosing their citizenship and at worst being deported to Haiti (Amnesty International, 2015; Norwegian Church Aid, 2015; reconoci.do, 2015). While only a small percentage of the Dominican population is black, most are of mixed race, the whole Haitian minority in the D.R. are blacks, and thus many view the sentiment as purely racist. A race analysis alone will only get as far as showing that Haitians and their descendants has been displaced as black and representing the Other. The discussions of identity in the Dominican Republic also are discussions about race and social class, as I will argue in this paper. As in most of Latin America, there is a connection between social classes, nationality and ethnicity and one can argue that they are all mutually constituting. Moreover, as Stuart Hall argues, the question of Identity becomes a matter of the play of history, power and culture. Hence, identity is a difficult term and not easily defined, which I will also illustrate throughout this thesis.

1.2 Research Intention & Methodology in brief:

The research intentionally wanted to explore and analyse the social environment to the Haitian immigrants and their descendants in the Dominican Republic, people who are directly affected by the current situation. By means stateless people and those who are denied identity papers. However, as will be discussed in the methodology in Chapter 4 this turned out different due to the sensitivity of the topic. Thus in the true nature of a qualitative research, I had to shift my focus. My thesis is therefore focusing on understanding perceptions of identity, race and social class within an artist group within the Dominican society. Because of my own personal background as a musician, this became a natural group of people to do research among, as it was a lot easier for me to gain both access and close relationships with informants, thus providing me with more in-depth information. Primary research was carried out over a period of four months, November to December 2015 and February to March 2016 in the Dominican Republic. The research design is a case study employing qualitative methods. Participant observation, qualitative interviews and document analysis have been the main methods for data collection.

1.3 Research Objective & Research Questions

The objective of the research is to explore how identity and race is perceived and expressed among a specific social class in the Dominican Society. The emphasis is on individuals within an artistic collective identity group, and how they perceive their own part and position in relation to the 'general' Dominican society.

Main Research Question:

RQ1: What are the factors that make people identify as well as distinguishing themselves from certain characteristics of identity.

In order to answer this question, I propose the sub questions:

- What are the elements that people find important for their own self-identity?
- How do people's feelings and perceptions impact their livelihood strategies?

RQ2: How is social class perceived, and how are the possibilities for social mobility?

RQ 3: To what extent can the Dominican attitudes towards Haitians be explained as an Identity discourse?

1.4 Thesis Outline

Chapter 1 offers an introduction to the thesis, outlines the research objectives and a short overview of the employed methodology.

Chapter 2 gives a contextual overview on the research area, and touch upon the history, political and socio-economic profile of the country. It ends with a short description of two places where the research was conducted: Cabarete and Santo Domingo.

Chapter 3 provides a presentation of key concepts and a literature review outlining the theoretical foundations for this research. It explores the phenomena's of Identity and Race, in particular to the Caribbean and Latin American context. It also recognise the issues of social class, including different forms of capital, power and symbolic violence as represented by Pierre Bourdieu's theories.

Chapter 4 explains the methodological approach in detail, including research strategy, design, sampling and data collection techniques. It also takes up on the ethics and the challenges and limitations for this study.

Chapter 5 presents the empirical findings and discussions of these in the light of the theoretical framework. It shows the life circumstances for a lower class young adult population, including the discrimination of afro-Dominicans and their own perceptions of themselves within the class system. The vicious circle of power relations in regard to the class structure are discussed, but it also takes up on how people with strong personalities have agency to take their livelihood in control.

Chapter 6 offers concluding remarks and linking the research results to the research questions.

Chapter 2: Contextual Overview

2.1 The Dominican Republic



Figure 1: Map of the Dominican Republic. Source: CIA (2016)



Figure 2: Flag of the Dominican Republic. Source: CIA (2016)

The Dominican Republic is the second largest state in the Caribbean after Cuba, and makes up about two-thirds of the island of Hispaniola, shared with Haiti in the west. The climate is tropical maritime; the topography provides great variation over short distances with rugged highlands and mountains scattered among fertile valleys. With a total area of 48,670 sq. km, the country is more or less the same size as Finmark County in Northern Norway. Yet the population (10,478,756 - July 2015 est.) counts for the double compared to the whole of Norway in total (CIA, 2016). The official currency is Dominican Pesos (1USD = 59 DOP, May 2017 est.).

Dominican history can in many ways be encompassed by a series of biographies, characterized by an almost continuous contest for supremacy among political-military leaders of an authoritative power (*caudillos*) (Haggerty, 1989). The country experienced rapid economic development in the 1990s, which has increased national wealth and

diversified employment opportunities. Nevertheless, a large gap remains in the distribution of wealth, poverty is widespread and the socio-economic inequalities are reflected in classes and races (SNL, 2015; BBC, 2016; Globalis, 2016).

2.2 Historical and Political context

Prior to the Europeans arrival, the indigenous inhabitants – the "friendly" Tainos (Arawaks) – called the island Quisqueya, and it was divided into five chiefdoms and territories. When Christopher Columbus "discovered" the island in 1492, he renamed the island Hispaniola and it became the first New World colony settled by Spain. It is estimated that the Taino population was about 1 million at the time of their initial contact with Europeans, but as the Spaniards searched for gold they ruthlessly maltreated the Indians, and by 1550s they died off, from exhaustion, starvation, disease and other causes. The need for new labour force to meet the high demands of sugarcane cultivation prompted the importation of African slaves (CIA, 2016; Haggerty, 1989). Both the French and the English attempted to weaken Spain's economic and political dominance in the New World on several occasions. But it was first in 1697 Spain ceded the western third of the island to France, becoming the French St. Domingue (now Haiti), while the rest of the island, Santo Domingo, stayed under the Spanish rule (Haggerty, 1989).

During the next century, a great number of West African slaves were brought to the French part of the island, as it became a highly productive agricultural colony. The slaves rebelled and in 1804 the independent republic of Haiti was established (Haggerty, 1989). Santo Domingo sought to gain its own independence in 1821, but was invaded by Haitian president Jean-Pierre Boyer the year after, and then ruled by Haitians for the next 22 years. Acrimony grew against the Haitians among the Spanish-descended elite and they, with Juan Pablo Duarte as the spearhead, led an uprising in 1844 that overthrew Boyer (Ferguson, 2003). Santo Domingo declared its independence and became the Dominican Republic, when the 'white' republic separated from the 'black' (and not from Spain, as the rest of Latin Americas independence). President Pedro Santana returned the Dominican Republic to Spanish rule in the period of 1861-63, because of fears for further invasion attempts by their neighbour, but following a

popular revolt Spain annulled its annexation. In 1865 the second Dominican Republic was proclaimed (BBC, 2016; Haggerty, 1989; Ferguson, 2003). Since independence, the Dominican Republic has been characterized by internal economic and political instability, and has had a number of clashes with Haiti concerning border disagreements; the exact boundary was first established in 1929 (Haggerty, 1989). At the end of the 19th century there was a boom in the Caribbean sugar industry, the Dominican Republic had a relatively sparse population, and since slavery was abolished in 1822, the country lacked manual labour that was required to cut the cane in the new plantations. This labour force was acquired from abroad. The first to be contracted were the *cocolos* – non-Hispanic African descendants from the English speaking eastern Caribbean islands. However the workforce for the new plantations was obtained overwhelmingly from Haiti (Wooding & Mosely-William, 2004: 24).

Internal disorder and strong German influence in Haiti led the United States to occupy the country in 1916 – to get control and “protect it” from communism. During the 8 years of occupation, the US received the sugar industry and led general Rafael Trujillo to power (Haggerty, 1989; BBC, 2016). The military administration did much to provide for the labour needs of their compatriots who owned the sugar plantations; in 1919 the US military governments introduced regulated contract labour, before this significant numbers of Haitian braceros – cane cutters - went to the estates illegally. In the two decades after 1919 there were probably about 5 000 a year (Wooding & Mosely-William, 2004: 24). Trujillo, who established a personal dictatorship from 1930 until his assassination in 1961, also supported by the US, improved the average economic situation and especially the infrastructure of the country (BBC, 2016; Haggerty, 1989). The Dominican Republic was the only country who offered to receive 100 000 Jewish refugees during the Evian conference in 1938. However, the real reason was to overlook the massacre of around 20 000 Haitians in 1937 and Trujillo’s desire to “whiten” the population (Levy, 1995).

Juan Bosch, who had spent 23 years in exile in Cuba and is the founder of the leftist Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD), returned to his homeland and got elected as president in 1962 in the first democratic elections for nearly four decades. US troops again invaded the Dominican Republic in 1965 following a pro-Bosch uprising, and

Bosch had to go back to exile in Puerto Rico (BBC, 2016; Globalis, 2016). Trujillo's protégé Dr. Joaquin Balaguer (the centre right Christian Social Reform Party – PRSC) got elected as president in 1966. He persecuted and killed dissidents from the PRD, and although the democratization process initiated, Balaguer continued his career as an authoritarian (dictator like) president for 22 years (1966-1978 and 1986-1996), shortly interrupted by the precedency of Guzman (PRD) and Blanco (PRD). In 1996 President Leonel Fernandez (the Dominican Liberation Party – PLD) got elected as president, and the PRD returned to power with Hipolito Mejia as president in 2000-2004. Leonel Fernandez got re-elected to president until 2012, when Danilo Medina Sanches (PLD) won close presidential election over Hipolito Mejia (BBC, 2016).

The Dominican Republic is a representative democracy with a multi-party system; the national powers divided among independent executive, legislative, and judicial branches. President and vice president are elected on the same ballot and runs for a 4-year term without possibility of immediate re-election. The president appoints the government, has the supreme executive authority, implement laws passed by the congress, and is commander in chief of the armed forces. The National Assembly consist of a Senate with 32 members and a Chamber of Deputies with 178 members (CIA, 2016; SNL, 2015). Danilo Medina was re-elected in May 2016; during the fieldwork I witnessed the political propaganda – for example could one see enormous banners of Medinas face on most public buildings and along roads.

2.3 Socio Economical conditions:

The Dominican Republic has long been viewed primarily as an exporter of sugar, coffee and tobacco. In the 1960s and 1970s the economic growth of the country was one of the strongest in the Caribbean due to good payment for sugar. Weaker markets and fall in sugar prices weakened the country's economy in the 1980s, and then experienced again another boom in the 1990s. In recent years the agricultural production has lost much of its significance as the service sector has become the economy's largest employer (due to the growth of tourism, construction (telecommunications??), and free-trade zones). The service sector contributed in 2002 by 55 percent of GDP and employed 64 percent of the working population, and the tourism industry is expected to continue to increase.

However, with tourism also follows crime and illegal drugs. High unemployment, a large informal sector, and underemployment remain important long-term challenges. The United States is by far the country's most important trading partner (the destination for approximately 50 percent of exports) and home to a major diaspora. About one and a half million Dominicans live abroad mostly in the US (in New York), but increasingly also in Europe, and remittances accounts for about 7 percent of GDP (CIA, 2016; BBC, 2016, Globalis, 2016).

The country weathered the global economic crisis well, and in 2010 it experienced one of the highest growth rates in the region. It is classified as a middle-income country, yet there are great inequalities in the country: while 41,1% (2013 est.) of the population is below poverty line (about 152 DOP a day), the richest 10% of the population own most of the land and enjoys nearly 40% of GDP (WB, 2016; CIA, 2016). 73 % of the population is a mix of European, African (and Indian) origins, while white counts for 16% and black 11% (CIA, 2016). The poorest peasants are people of African descent – including an estimated 800,000 of Haitian immigrant origin. The richest 10 % overwhelmingly are white descendants of Spanish settlers (there is said to be 21 elite families). Other immigrants come from Puerto Rico and other Caribbean islands, the Middle East and East Asia (BBC, 2016; SNL, 2015). Western Influence is seen in the colonial buildings of the capital Santo Domingo, as well as in art and literature. African heritage is reflected in music: as in the popular song and dance – merengue (which also got promoted by Trujillo) –, which blends the two heritages. The main religion is Roman Catholic 95% (BBC, 2016).

2.4 Historic events; understanding the relationship between the Dominican Republic and Haiti

Dominican attitudes towards Haiti and Haitians (and vice versa) have their roots in the distant past (Wooding & Mosely-Williams, 2004: 18). Relations between these two countries have historically been tense and laden with misunderstandings, with only occasional instances of cooperation (Sagas, 2000: 3). Haiti's independence in 1804 followed a slave revolution and the defeat of the French armies sent to restore the former colony. The constitution of the new country expressed its identity: it was a black

republic named after the indigenous word for the island (Wooding & Mosely-Williams, 2004: 18). Haitian armies invaded the Dominican Republic on several occasions in the nineteenth century, once even annexing its eastern neighbour for twenty-two years (Sagas, 2000: 3). Although it occurred more than a century ago, the Haitian occupation from 1822 to 1844 still burns in the Dominican national consciousness according to Yelvington (1997: 210). The twenty-two years of Haitian occupation witnessed a steady economic decline and a growing resentment of Haiti among Dominicans. Increasing numbers of Dominican landowners chose to flee the island rather than to live under Haitian rule, and in many cases Haitian administrators confiscated the holdings of the émigrés. Dominicans saw this as tribute demanded by petty conquerors, or as simple theft (Haggerty, 1989). Racial animosities affected attitudes on both sides; black Haitian troops reacted with reflexive resentment against lighter-skinned Dominicans, while Dominicans came to associate the Haitians' dark skin with the oppression and the abuses of occupation (Haggerty, 1989). Religious and cultural life also suffered under the Haitian occupation. The Haitians, who associated the Roman Catholic Church with the French colonists who had so cruelly exploited and abused them before independence, confiscated all church property in the east and deported all foreign clergy. For Dominicans, who were strongly Roman Catholic and less oriented toward folk religion than the Haitians, such actions seemed insulting and nihilistic. In addition, upper-class Haitians considered French culture superior to Spanish culture, while Haitian soldiers and others from the lower class simply disregarded Hispanic mores and customs (Haggerty, 1989).

As Dominican identity was formed during the century and pro-Hispanism was a powerful current, this was in stark contrast to Haitian identity generated by the liberation movement and independence. The difference in worldviews is still seen today in school history textbooks in the two countries. On the Dominican side, history is portrayed as a sequence starting in 1492 with the establishment of an Spanish colony, while Haiti first by the settlement by European adventures and colonist after 1640, and then - and predominantly - by slaves from Africa during the latter part of the 18th century (Wooding & Mosely-Williams, 2004: 18).

2.4.1 Antihaitianismo

An anti-Haitian credo has emerged, which is a dominant ideology known as *antihaitianismo*. It can be defined as a set of socially reproduced anti-Haitian prejudices, myths, and stereotypes prevalent in the cultural makeup of the Dominican Republic (Sagás, 2000:4). These are based on presumed racial, social, economic, and national-cultural differences between two peoples; differences stressed by generations of Dominican ideologues. As a result, Haiti and things “Haitian” are scorned and rejected by Dominican society (Sagas, 2000: 4). As an ideology, antihaitianismo treats Haitians as the scapegoats of the society, and Dominicans view Haitians not only as a blacker people (a stereotype that would be hard to refute) but also as culturally inferior aliens who are barbaric and undesirable (Hoetink, 1985: 65; Sagás, 2000: 4). But antihaitianismo is also an ideology method of political control. It is directed not only toward Haiti and Haitians, but also toward Afro-Caribbean members of Dominican society who tend to be poor, forming the subordinate class (Sagás, 2000:4). The small but well-connected right wing group, known as the Nationalists, aggressively express antihaitianismo: their view is that an international conspiracy exists to unify the island and to allow more migration that will change the country’s national identity, which in their opinion is essentially mulatto and Hispanic, and is incompatible with Haiti’s roots in Africa” (Wooding & Mosely-Williams, 2004: 15). Antihaitianismo denies dark-skinned citizens, and the poor generally, their own sociocultural space and intimidates them from making demands or otherwise participating in politics. (Thus antihaitianismo is a deliberate creation: it is an authoritarian, dominant ideology, with the objective of defending a narrow status quo) (Sagas, 2000: 4).

Yet the persistence of antihaitianismo, and its success as a dominant ideology, cannot be simply explained by a “conspiracy theory.” Antihaitianismo ideology has grown deep roots in the Dominican national psyche for reasons having as much to do with cultural and personal affinity with elite ideas as with power relationships according to Sagás (2000: 4). Sagás (2000) argues that Dominican intellectual and political elites invented anti-Haitian xenophobia, but that is also has been somehow willingly accepted from below, where it has roots in national-cultural prejudices. Even in societies where the majority of people are black, race normally interacts with poverty as grounds for discrimination (Wooding & Mosely-William, 2004: 8). As Elizabeth Thomas-Hope (in

Wooding & Mosely-Williams, 2004:8) claims: “Black racial characteristics and poverty produce xenophobic images of the Haitians by populations who are themselves black and attempting to rise from poverty”. In Dominican society, where the presence of dark-skinned bureaucrats and military officers next to light-coloured peasants attest to the lack of hierarchy based on colour, but where incidents of discrimination on the basis of physical appearance are common as well, it is hardly surprising that racial tension tend to be projected upon the Haitians (Hoetink, 1985:65).

Anti-Haitianism pervades the dominant discourse on Dominican identity, from popular religion, music, and literature to economic affairs, public policies, and party politics. One of the main problems faced by the presidential candidate of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, José Francisco Peña Gómez, has been his Haitian origin and black appearance. Although racism was not the only reason for Peña Gómez defeat in 1996, it played a key role in the electoral campaign (Duany, 2010: 97).

2.5 The current issues of citizenship: Causes of Immigration & migration

Many Dominicans believe that the neighbouring country is on the verge of collapse and famine, and that a sea of helpless and starving people will shortly flood across the border. This fear, though widely expressed, has no basis in reality. Poor unemployed Haitians are not helpless. On the contrary, they find ways of coping and bettering themselves; and one of the many rational strategies they adopt is to migrate in search of work (Wooding & Mosely-Williams, 2004: 28). As long as large economic and social disparities exist between territories, intra-Caribbean migration will continue.

Documented and legal migrant workers live and work in most Caribbean territories, but an increasing number of undocumented migrants are seeking to join them, regardless of the risks involved (Ferguson, 2003). While migration mostly has economic causes, flight from Haiti for political reasons has been significant, especially during the Duvalier dictatorships from 1957-86 and the Cedras regime from 1991-94. Also Natural disasters have contributed to out-migration. Poverty and weak institutions make Haiti the most vulnerable country in the Caribbean to the impact of hurricanes and tropical storms (Wooding & Mosely-Williams, 2004: 28-29) for example the earthquake in 2010 and the hurricane ‘Mattew’ in 2016. In the aftermaths of the Earthquake in 2010 the DR was

centred massive critique internationally, as it was reluctant of aiding – in “fear of more Haitians crossing the boarder, contributing to a bigger problem of overpopulation and too many Haitians”.

2.5.1 Human rights-issues

Between 1929 and 2010, successive versions of the Dominican Constitution granted Dominican nationality to all children born on national territory (*ius soli*). The only expectations were the children of diplomats and of people “in transit”. Long-standing and authoritative legal interpretations limited the definition of people considered to be “in transit” to those present in the country for fewer than 10 days. Irrespective of the migration status of their parents, therefore, for many decades the Dominican Republic formally recognised Dominican-born children of Haitian parents as citizens and issued them with Dominican birth certificates, identity cards and passports – at least in the vast majority of cases (Amnesty International, 2015: 5-6).

In September 2013 the Dominican Republic’s highest court rules (Judgment 168-13) that the right to Dominican citizenship dependent not on a child’s being born in the country, but on its mother nationality, meaning that the children of undocumented migrants are not eligible for Dominican nationality. The court made this stricture retroactive to 1929, imperilling the basic nationality and rights of thousands of lifelong Dominicans who where born to an immigrant parent. Human rights groups warn that it could leave tens of thousands of people of Haitian descent stateless (Norwegian Church Aid, 2015; BBC, 2016).

While the Dominican authorities have never acknowledged that Judgement 168-13 resulted in mass statelessness, the President and other officials have indicated a level of awareness of the ruling’s harsh impact on the lives of those affected (Amnesty International, 2015: 6). Thus in May 2014, the Dominican parliament approves a bill to grant citizenship to Dominican-born children of immigrants (BBC, 2016). As this judgement mostly affects Haitian descendants and black Dominicans, it is discriminatory; and as it denies people their citizenship and identity – basic human

rights are being denied to those affected, they have no rights to schooling, marrying, traveling what so ever etc.

2.5.2 Deportations/Expulsions

Meanwhile, Dominican politicians and the media have long depicted them as a problem, as a drain on a poor country's limited resources (Ferguson, 2003: 4). The most known respond to unwanted (Haitians) migration to the Dominican Republic is during the Trujillo area. When Trujillo came to power in 1930, he began a paranoiac and prejudicial anti-Haitian campaign that preoccupied him until his assassination in 1961. Trujillo's machinations were more than rhetorical. In the depths of the Great Depression, with sugar prices low, unemployment high, and declining government revenues, he ordered his police force to murder Haitian sugarcane workers (Yelvington, 1997). Under El Corte, between October 2 and 4, 1937, an estimated twenty to thirty thousand Haitians were stabbed and beaten to death (so that it would look like an upspring between them). To determine whether someone where Haitian or Dominican, a *perejil* (parsley) would be dangled in front of the accused face, asked to pronounce what it was. As Haitians were known to have difficulties rolling the *r* correctly in the word, this was the criterion that they were identified and killed. This test illustrates a literal performance of identity. It was a performance of nationality that resulted in life or death for the performer (Suriel, n.d.: 30; Yelvington, 1997: 210-211).

Although nothing like this atrocity has occurred since, Haitian workers have often been intimidated and forcibly deported when sugar prices have fallen (Yelvinton, 1997: 211). The three main Dominican political parties have been reluctant to address the questions of immigration and the nationality of the children of Haitian residents. They have been anxious of the electoral consequences of appearing to favour Haitians; as this could be portrayed by their opponents as betraying Dominican national interests (Wooding & Mosely-Williams, 2004: 15). Expulsion is the most common Dominican response to unwanted Haitian migrants. This takes two forms: large-scale and widely reported mass expulsions; and the less known but day-to-day expulsions of individuals and groups. Mass expulsions (the last took place in 1991, 1996, 1997 and 1999) are normally military-led and centrally planned (Ferguson, 2003: 17). Also during the time the

fieldwork was conducted, there had been reports of deportations of individuals – or people choosing to flee of fear of being deported to refugee camps across the border.

2.6 The study areas:

2.6.1 Santo Domingo

Santo Domingo is the capital and largest city of the Dominican Republic, and largest city by population (2.945 million - 2015) in the Caribbean (CIA, 2016; Bourne, 2011). It is situated on the south coast of the island in the Distrito Nacional. Distrito Nacional refers to the city proper (it has no rural or undeveloped areas) – excluding the surrounding Santo Domingo Province. The city was founded by Christopher Columbus younger brother, Bartholomew Columbus on the east bank of the Ozama River and then moved by Nicolas de Ovando to the west bank of the river a few years later. The first cathedral, hospital, customs house and university in the Americas are found in Santo Domingo. The university (UASD) is still running, and is the only public (out of 18?) in the city. The country's first underground public transport opened in 2013 and has now two lines.

The city is subdivided in incorporated areas (neighbourhoods). The Zona Colonial is on the UNESCO world heritage list. Although the whole sector is on the UNESCO list, most hotels and restaurants are placed close to the pedestrian street El Conde, which goes from Parque Independencia down to the luxury hotel Nicolas de Ovando by the river bank. A few blocks away, and it seems more like a “slum” – but maintenance is done on the facades of the old houses. Some more exclusive and expensive bars and nightclubs can be found in the Colonial Zone, as so several parks where youth gather for socializing in the weekends. A short public car ride to the west, and you are in Gascue. The neighbourhood of Gascue is one of the oldest and was originally an upper class neighbourhood (nearly all apartments are built with a small room and bathroom for the servant), and is now populated particularly by individuals from the upper middle class. Along the Maximo Gomez Avenue, one can see the strong US influence in fast-food chains and big advertising signs. Along the Malecon, there are several big hotels and Casinos.

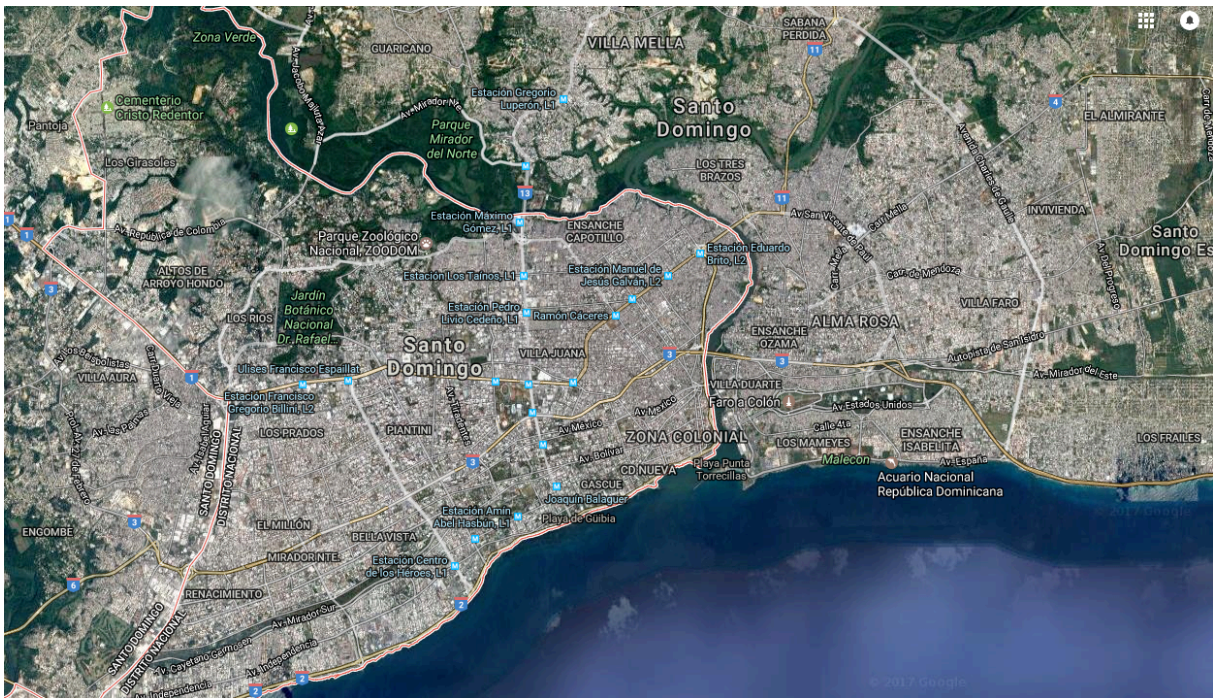


Figure 3: Satellite Photo Santo Domingo. Source Author (Plotted in Google Maps, 2017).

2.6.2 Cabarete

Cabarete is a town with about 4 000 inhabitants (countrybox, 2016) in the Province of Puerto Plata, located on the North Coast of the Dominican Republic, approximately 30 kilometres from the city of Puerto Plata. Famous for its beaches, this one-time fishing and farming hamlet is now booming with condos and new development. Nicknamed “Sex, drugs & beach”, Cabarete used to be the destination for Dominican youths to party. Although, in recent years Bavaro on the east coast have taken over for the number 1 party destination, as well as much of the tourism. However, as the sea offer opportunities for surf, windsurfing and kite surfing, Cabarete attracts many tourists for its adventure-sports and foreigners chose to by land and settle down.

The town is centred round the main road that goes along the coast, and here one find the majority of hotels, shops and restaurants. With a *motoconcho* (motorcycle taxi) one can drive through Cabarete in more or less 15 minutes. The biggest nightclubs are faced towards the beach; while on the opposite side of the street one find the entrances to the different neighbourhoods. Some of these are gated communities for foreigners and rich

Dominicans. The neighbourhoods where one can find the local Dominicans and Haitian communities look like dodgy areas and tourists normally get warned to enter these areas.

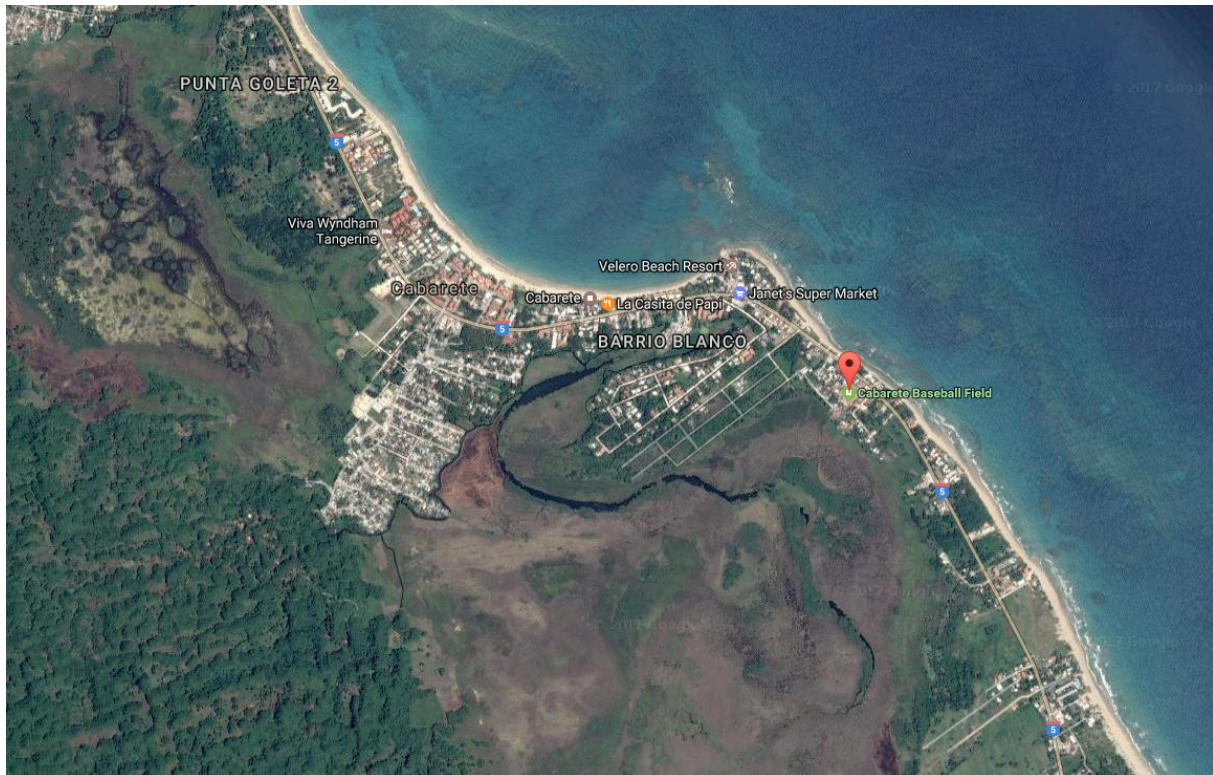


Figure 4: Satellite Photo Cabarete. Source: Author (Plotted in Google Maps, 2017)

Chapter 3: Key Concepts & Theoretical- and Conceptual Framework

This chapter is meant to build the conceptual and interpretative theoretical framework used to analyse the empirical findings that will be presented in Chapter 5 in addition to present some of the key concepts used.

3.1 Key Concepts

Race:

It was the Europeans, with the conquest and colonization of Africa and the Americas in the 15th and 16th century, who prompted the creation of racial categories reflecting the idea that humankind is naturally divided into divergent physical and biological types (Baronov and Yelvington, 2003: 209). “Racial” differentiations in terms of traits (observable phenotypically features such as skin colour, shape of the nose, type of hair, and so on) was linked with supposed mental and behavioural capacities and characteristics. However, the world’s population displays a panorama of genetic traits and infinite combinations that disprove the supposedly view of even the ‘three races’; Caucasoid, Negroid and Mongoloid, and is thus biologically nonsense (BBC Radio 4, 2016; Yelvington, 1997). Race is not a fixed essence, a concrete and objective entity and has no universally agreed upon criteria, but a socially constructed phenomenon. It is given meaning by people within individual societies and a subject to change and contestation through power relations and social movements. Hence, racial identity is historically flexible and culturally variable, embedded in a particular social context (Duany, 2010: 95; Yelvington, 1997). For example: many North Americans are incredulous when very dark-skinned Latin Americans distinguish themselves from blacks. The U.S. tradition has been that a person with African or European descendants is either African American or white. Throughout Latin America, in contrast, a number of ‘racial terms’ are deducted from an individual’s colour, ideas about ancestry, and a social status in a system typified by ambiguity and negotiation in assigning individuals to ‘racial’ categories but where, nevertheless, higher status is accorded to those who approach the European ideal (Yelvington, 1997: 212-214; Baranov and Yelvington, 2003: 211).

Identity; *noun* - person's individuality; *Synonyms* – character, existence, identification, integrity, name, personality, status, etc. (Identity, 2016) Identity is a word that has gained so many, albeit interrelating meanings that it is difficult to provide a fully satisfactory definition (Eriksen, 1997). According to MacClancy, James & Allen (2007): “Identity is a catch-all term of our times. It is an empty vessel which can be filled with almost any content... astute anthropologist can use identity as a general framing device for a surprising variety of ethnographic data... the range of possible topics seems to be limited only by the imaginative power of the compiler”.

Identification: is the process by which people make and attribute self definitions (some more fixed and continuous and others more fleeting and highly situational) to themselves and others. By studying identification, process one gains insights into people's cultural and socio-political orientations and commitments. It also helps to avoid assuming, as many studies do, that “collective” action is congruent with “collective” identity (Long, 2001: 242).

Culture: is a kind of social property that applies to every human being, without exclusions of any kind. We are essentially cultural beings, that we adhere to it consciously or unconsciously, under no circumstances can we let go for the material, spiritual, mental and artistic. Culture is what identifies us in terms of individual and collective, in and out of others (Leaming, 2012).

Nationality: reflects an ideology suggesting that there is a homogeneous and unifying cultural identity confined to geographically defined territories that is somehow able to overcome ethnic-racial differences within the population” (Baronov and Yelvington, 2003: 210).

Ethnicity:

According to Baronov and Yelvington (2003: 209) is ethnicity best conceived as a set of ideas concerning a group's real or imagined cultural links with an ancestral past. It suggests identification with a certain group based on cultural and historical traditions, including language and religion, and provides basic insights into the nature and origins of a group of people as well as explanations for their modern beliefs, behaviours, and

accomplishments. Discussion of ethnicity often centres on a groups ultimate origin and how they have supposedly remained unchanged throughout the ages (Baronov and Yelvington, 2003: 210).

Social Class: is a complex concept for which there are a variety of competing interpretations. The idea of class reflects social power, and is a critical determinant of access to social resources, social mobility, social status and acceptance, and social identity. It is often based in economic relations, but it is not only based on individual's position in the production process. Also various criteria such as ethnicity, race gender, credentials, education, language, membership in certain families, wealth, status, and so on, are given further meaning within the context of social class and intersect with class in different ways (Yelvington, 1997; Baronov & Yelvington, 2003).

Social mobility:

The term mobility means movement, and social mobility refers an individuals change from one social group to another. One speaks of both horizontal and vertical mobility, but in this study it refers to the vertical, which means the possibility to move on the social ladder – from one social class to another (Sterri, 2014).

Elite:

A select group that is superior in terms of ability or qualities to the rest of a group or society” or, a group or class of people seen as having the most power and influence in a society, especially on account of their wealth or privilege (Oxford Dictionaries, 2016).

Agency:

“Agency refers to the knowledability, capability and social embeddedness associated with acts of doing (and reflecting) that impact upon or shape one’s own and others actions and interpretations. Agency is usually recognised *ex post facto* through its acknowledged or presumed effects. Persons or networks of persons have agency. In addition, they may attribute agency to various objects and ideas, which, in turn, can shape actors perceptions of what is possible. Agency is composed, therefore, of a complex mix of social, cultural and material elements. *Strategic agency* signifies the enrolment of many actors in the “project” of some other person or persons” (Long, 2001:

240-241). 'Good decisions' in life, in the sense of being sustainable and positive in its present and long-term effects on the well-being of the individual, family and/or community, emerge from the nature of personal agency: a personal agency refers to the capability or the potential to make 'good' decisions, considering the ambitions, attitudes and skills of a person (Borho, 2012: 38-39).

Livelihood:

Livelihoods are made up of practices by which individuals and groups strive to make a living, meet their consumption necessities, cope with adversities and uncertainties, engage with new opportunities, protect existing or pursue new lifestyles and cultural identifications, and fulfil their social obligations (Long, 2001: 241).

Discourse: refers to sets of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, narratives and statements that advance a particular version of "the truth" about specific objects, persons and events. Discourse produce "texts" – written and spoken, or even non verbal such as the meanings embodied in architectural styles (e.g., buildings such as the town halls that "speak" of civic pride, and factories that "represent" a bygone industrial age) or dress fashions (e.g., styles associated with class, status, gender, age or ethnicity). (Long, 2001: 242).

Knowledge: is a cognitive and social construction that results from and is constantly shaped by the experiences, encounters and discontinuities that emerge at the points of intersection between different actors lifeworlds. Various types of knowledge, including ideas about oneself, other people, and the context and social institutions, are important in understanding social interfaces. Knowledge is present in all social situations and is often entangled with power relations and the distribution of resources (Long, 1999: 3) The way people perceive and understand the world is, in large part, predicated upon self-knowledge (Fitzgerald, 1993: 40),

Power:

Like knowledge, power is not simply possessed, accumulated and unproblematically exercised. Power implies much more than how hierarchies and hegemonic control demarcate social positions and opportunities, and restrict access to resources. It is the outcome of complex struggles and negotiations over authority, status, reputation and

resources, and necessitates the enrolment of networks of actors and constituencies. Such struggles are founded upon the extent to which specific actors perceive themselves capable of manoeuvring within particular situations and developing effective strategies for doing so (Long, 1999: 3). While Foucault sees power as truth or knowledge something 'ubiquitous' and beyond agency or structure, Bourdieu sees power as culturally and symbolically created; constantly re-legitimised through interplay of agency and structure which creates 'embodied dispositions' or habitus which give rise to 'fields' or 'social stratified spaces', norms and conventions. Since we 'incorporate' these ways of behaving into our bodies and actions, the dispositions are perceived as part of the natural order of things (University of Sussex, n.d.; University of Sussex; 2011: 51).

Power configurations: are depicted in terms of the idea of interlocking actors projects made up of heterogeneous sets of social relations imbued with values, meanings and notions of authority and control, domination and subordination, and sustained by specific patterns of resource distribution and competition (i.e., power construction). Power cannot simply be possessed or accumulated. Nor can it be precisely measured in terms of quantity or quality. It emerges out of social processes and is better considered a "product" rather than a "given". Having power does not entail that others are without it: there is no zero-sum game. However, power may become reified in social life; that is, people often think of it as a unitary coercive force wielded by "the ruling class", "agents of the state" or "the establishment" (Long, 2001: 242-243).

Social actors: are all those social entities that can be said to have agency in that they possess the knowledgeability and capability to assess problematic situations and organise 'appropriate' responses (Long, 2001: 241). The words agent is also used depending on the source used in the text, and means more or less the same. It will thus also refer to my informants/participants at times.

Globalisation: the act of globalizing, or extending to other or all parts of the world, and worldwide integration and development: '*Globalization has resulted in the loss of some individual cultural identities*'. (Globalisation – Dictionary, 2016).

Diaspora:

A simple definition of diaspora is: “a group of people who live outside the area in which they had lived for a long time or in which their ancestors lived” (Merriam-Webster’s Learner’s Dictionary, n.d.).

Habitus:

The way we act and behave, upon ourselves and towards others are based on our learned and embodied attitudes, and the concept of habitus is the system of embodied dispositions and tendencies that organise the ways, which individuals perceive the social world around them and react to it (Wilken, 2008). It is in the relationship between the two capacities which define the habitus, the capacity to produce classifiable practices and works, and the capacity to differentiate and appreciate these practices and products (taste), that the represented social world, i.e., the space of life-styles, is consumed (Bourdieu, 84; 170). The early socialisation is important for the making of the dispositions individuals will act upon and in relation to. In the early childhood people learn an understanding of what is good and bad, right or wrong, possible or impossible, but without being aware of it being a learning process (Wilken, 2008).

Habitus is individual, collective and societal. Individual, because it personalizes the social; we understand the social constraints as personal choices, and incorporates in our habitus what we can reasonably expect. Collective, because people within similar positions within a field or in the social room, will usually also appear with, or over time develop, certain forms of systematically similarities with respect to the habitus. This creates similarities both in their perceptions of the surrounding world and in their ways to classify the surroundings, and their habitus. And societal since the dispositions are being confirmed and reproduced through the secondary socialisation in the modern society institutions. And it makes one accept the differences in the society and take them for granted (Habitus, 2008: 102 – own translation, Wilken, 2008: 37-38). Bourdieu has described habitus as lasting dispositions, and it is often understood as lifelong. However since *Distinction*, he has developed the contours of the concept as slow, but changeable (Wilken, 2008: 38).

3.2 Social framework

The research use an actor-oriented approach with a social constructionist perspective, based on Norman Long's version of it. An actor-oriented approach begins with the simple idea that different social forms develop under the same or similar structural circumstances. Such differences reflect variations in the ways in which actors attempt to come to grips, cognitively, emotionally and organisationally, with the situations they face (Long, 2001: 20). All actors operate mostly implicitly rather than explicitly, with beliefs of the knowledgeability and capability they have *vis-à-vis* the world they live in (Long, 2001: 50). The social constructionist tradition is the view that social phenomena are made up of a multiplicity of constructed and emergent realities, and is concerned with understanding the processes by which specific actors and networks of actors engage with and co-produce their own personal and collective social worlds. However, it does not imply that people have a clear view of how or on what basis their perceptions of reality are formed, of why they do things in the first place, or of how their doing of things affects outcomes. It is not constructed in any 'ultimate way', it's a 'work-in-progress' in which people improvise and experiment 'old' and 'new' elements and experiences, and react to the circumstances they encounter (Long, 2001). It is within this constructionism, that there is a social boundary that on the one side are models for perception, thoughts and action that make up what Pierre Bourdieu call habitus. And on the other side social structures of what Bourdieu calls field and normally social classes (Wilken, 2008: 19 – own translation).

Although the theoretical framework first was set after the fieldwork was conducted, it still functions as a guideline for the data collected, and thus presented and used in this research. The structuralism of the research, means that social action are governed by underlying structures which are expressed in a coded form within the Dominican Republic's societies social rules. But as Pierre Bourdieu sees, is that one might be able to analyse the rules that are apparently underlying the social life, one cannot thereof derive that the rules steer peoples actions. A great deal of the things people *do*, they do without thinking about it. A long line of actions is based on a knowledge internalised in the body as some sort of habit. And according to Bourdieu, it is because the subjects literally do not know what they are doing, which makes it more of a meaning than they know (Wilken, 2008: 20- own translation). This is why the study uses both participant

observations in addition to interviews, because informants cannot always be capable of giving satisfying descriptions of their social actions. I, the ethnographer, do not have the necessary assumptions to translate the information given, partly because I do not have the locals practical feeling for the social life the informants live, and partly because I have other practical feelings which contributes to give my own social actions meaning (Wilken, 2008). It also has to be considered, that in field I will always have a specific position in relation to the informants and the Dominican society. It is not only I as the ethnographer, but informants are always positioned too, as I will discuss later, in relation to class and capital.

3.2.1 Identity

“Identity today becomes a freely chosen game, a theatrical presentation of the self”
- Douglas Kellner (in Bauman, 1996: 18).

Identity is not as transparent or unproblematic as we might think (Hall, 1990: 222). On the one hand, there is the individual rooted in biology; on the other hand, the various groups and social categories we belong to influencing our self and role (Eriksen, 1997; Fitzgerald, 1993). Since the world of social action is never made up of a series of detached individuals and atomised decision-makers. Persons and their environments (which include other people and institutional frames) are reciprocally constituted (Long, 2001:4). A fitting image-metaphor for the complexities of selfhood according to Fitzgerald (1993) is the tortoise in West African Folklore. The tortoise-sometimes public and exposed, sometimes withdrawn and hidden-is an illuminating image of the “person in relations” (social identity) versus the “discrete and private person” (personal identity). The tortoise metaphor reinforces this duality of imagery between public self and private self so variously represented in cultures around the world (Fitzgerald, 1993: 39-40). Humans are constructing selves to fit contexts and constructing contexts to fit selves. The social confirmation of identity may be a necessary part of personhood, but no particular social identity is essential (Fitzgerald, 1993; Eriksen, 1997). But who we are depends on where we are, says Thomas Hylland Eriksen (1997). Each culture has its own concept of “the person”, determined by the individual’s perceived place in the society. Human thought is a product of history and is culturally specific (Fitzgerald,

1993: 40). While the Western has focus on the individuality, Marilyn Strathern (in Long, 2001: 19) argues that: “attributes such as knowledge, power, and prestige are attached differently to the concept of ‘person’. In Africa the notion of personhood is predominantly tied to the idea of ‘office’, i.e. people ‘occupy certain statuses, ‘play’ certain roles, undergo rites of initiation and installation on assuming these, and are viewed as influencing others by virtue of their positional relationship to them”. In contrast, in Latin America societies status and other personal attributes are defined in relation to a given matrix of positions; where power and influence exist in different segments, for example among peasants and urban population, or within the bureaucracy, church and army (Long, 2001: 19). And such differences underline the importance of examining how notions of personhood and thus of agency (knowledgeability/capability) are differently constituted culturally and affect the management of interpersonal relations and the kinds of control that actors can pursue vis-à-vis each other according to Long (2001: 19). This fits with what Appiah states: “The problem of who I really am is raised by the facts of what I appear to be: and though it is essential to the mythology of authenticity that this fact should be obscured by its prophets, what I appear to be is fundamentally how I appear to others and only derivatively how I appear to myself” (in Firth, 1996: 125).

All who acts jointly draw internal and external social boundaries around themselves; they are created in such a way that not everyone can attend. For someone to be inside, someone must also be outside (Eriksen, 1997). This aspect with identity is fundamental. Identity requires difference in order to be, and converts difference into otherness in order to secure its own self certainty according to William Connolly (in Aronoff, 2001: 169). As Hall puts it: “identities are constructed through, not outside, difference. This entails the radically disturbing recognition that it is only through the relation to the Other, the relation to what it is not, to precisely what it lacks, to what has been called its constitutive outside that the ‘positive’ meaning of any term – and thus its ‘identity’ – can be constructed” (Hall, 1996: 4). Throughout their careers, identities can function as points of identification and attachment only *because* of their capacity to exclude, to leave out, to render ‘outside’ (Hall, 1996: 5). Laclau (in Hall, 1996: 5) argues powerfully and persuasively that ‘the constitution of a social identity is an act of power’ since: “If... an objectivity manages to partially affirm itself it is only by repressing that which threatens

it. Derrida has shown how an identity's constitution is always based on excluding something and establishing a violent hierarchy between the two resultant poles – man/woman etc. What is peculiar to the second term is thus reduced to the function of an accident as opposed to the essentiality of the first. It is the same with the black-white relationship, in which white, of course, is equivalent to 'human being'. 'woman' and 'black' are thus 'marks' (i.e. marked terms) in contrast to the unmarked terms of 'man' and 'white'. (Laclau, 1990: 33, in Hall, 1996: 5). The valuation of these differences in which "we" determine our superiority to "them" transforms the cognitive distinction into a socially recognized normative one. Such meditation in the attribution of social valuation is an important second stage in the construction of collective identity. It is particularly salient in the formation of national identity (Aronoff, 2001: 169). A National Identity can, in other words, only exist to another. This explains why the Trujillo regime defined Haiti as the antithesis of the Dominican Republic. If Dominicans were Hispanic, Haitians were African; if Dominicans spoke Spanish, Haitians spoke Créole; and if Dominicans were Catholic, Haitians were voodoo practitioners. This binary opposition represented Haitians as the other – as inferior, foreign, and savage. The category "black" disappeared altogether from the official and popular discourses on race in the DR, except in reference to foreigners (Duany, 2010: 96). Foucault reminds that every regime of representation is a regime of power formed, by the fatal couplet, 'power/knowledge'. But this kind of knowledge is internal, not external (Hall, 1990: 225-226). It is one thing to position a subject or set of peoples as the Other of a dominant discourse. It is quite another thing to subject them to that 'knowledge', not only as a matter of imposed will and domination, by the power of inner compulsion and subjective conformation to the norm (Hall, 1990: 226).

Cultural Identity

Cultural identity are those aspects of our identities which arise from our "belonging" to distinctive ethnic, racial, linguistic, religious, and, above all, national cultures (Hall, 1995: 596).

There are at least two different ways of thinking about 'cultural identity', according to Hall (1990: 223): The first position defines 'cultural identity' in terms of one shared

culture, a sort of collective “one true self”. Which reflects common historical experiences and shared cultural codes that provide us, as ‘one people’, with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning. Such a conception of cultural identity played a critical role in all the post-colonial struggles, which have so profoundly reshaped our world (Hall, 1990: 223). However, the processes of forced and ‘free’ migration which have become a global phenomenon of the so-called ‘post-colonial’ world, has led to societies become more pluralistic, all such taken-for-granted definition of reality and relatively ‘settled’ character of many populations and cultures (including shared collective identity) becomes easier to question (Hall, 1996; Aronoff, 2001). As the cultural critic, Kobena Mercer, observes: “Identity only become an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by experience of doubt and uncertainty (in Hall, 1995: 597).

This change is due to ‘globalisation’, which is synonymous with ‘modernity’ according to Stuart Hall. Important dimensions of this change involve transnational migrations, the rapid production and dissemination of scientific knowledge and technology, cultural styles and modes of communication, the restructuring of work, industry, markets and economic life, the fragmentation and reorganising of power domains leading to the emergence of new social and political identities, and social networking which blur boundaries of even national cultures: making them more open to negotiation (Long, 2001: 214; Aronoff, 2001). Paradoxically, it would appear that in order to save a culture, one must first lose it (Aronoff, 2001: 170). As Baumann (1996) states: “one thinks of identity whenever one is not sure of where one belongs; that is, one is not sure how to place oneself among evident variety of behavioural styles and patterns, and how to make sure that people around would accept this placement as right and proper, so that both sides would know how to go on in each other’s presence. Identity is a name given to the escape sought from that uncertainty” (Bauman, 1996: 19).

Thomas Hylland Eriksen writes: “ethnic identities are neither ascribed nor achieved: they are both. They are wedged between situational selection and imperatives imposed from without” (in Aronoff, 2001: 169). They relate to the invention of tradition as much as to tradition itself, which they oblige us to read not as an endless reiteration but as ‘the changing game’ (Gilroy, 1994 in Hall, 1996: 4): not the so-called return to roots but a

coming-to-terms-with our 'routes' (Hall, 1996: 4). As Fanon wrote in 1963 (in Hall, 1990: 237): "We must not therefore be content with delving into the past of a people in order to find coherent elements which will counteract colonialisms attempts to falsify and harm... A national culture is not folklore, nor an abstract populism that believes it can discover a people's true nature. A national culture is the whole body of efforts made by a people in the sphere of thought to describe, justify and praise the action through which that people has created itself and keeps itself in existence". Instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished fact, Hall (1996: 4) claims that "...actually identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not 'who we are' or 'where we come from', so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves" (Hall, 1996: 4). This is the second position of thinking about cultural identity, it recognises that as well as the many points of similarity, there are also critical points of deep and significant difference which constitute what 'we really are'; or rather – since history has intervened – what we have become (Hall, 1990: 225). Cultural identities come from somewhere and have histories. But, like everything that is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subjected to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power (Hall, 1990: 225). Hall uses the word 'play' because the double meaning of the metaphor is important. It suggests, on the one hand, the instability, the permanent unsettlement, the lack of any final resolution. On the other hand, it reminds that the place where this 'doubleness' is most powerfully to be heard is 'playing' within the varieties of Caribbean music. This cultural play' could not therefore be represented, cinematically, as a simple, binary opposition - 'past/present', 'them/us'. Its complexity exceeds this binary structure of representation. At different places, times, in relation to different questions, the boundaries are re-sited. They become, not only what they have, at times, certainly been - mutually excluding categories, but also what they sometimes are - differential points along a sliding scale (Hall, 1990: 228). Also Pierre Bourdieu uses 'play' as a metaphor as an understanding of the social life and all the battles, capital, interests and differences involved (Wilken, 2008) as will be discussed later. It is only from this second position we can properly understand the Afro-Caribbean identity. As follows from the Caribbean's unique history, few regions of the world today can match its cultural diversity, its extraordinary blending of peoples,

languages, and faiths. Waves of migration (from slave trade and plantation system, forced labour migration and later waves) have brought people from more or less all parts of the world (Baranov and Yelvington, 2003: 220). None of the people who occupy the islands – black, brown, white, African, European, American, Spanish, French, East Indian, Chinese, Portuguese, Jew, Dutch - originally 'belonged' there" (Hall, 1990: 234). The tendency is that the minority defines themselves in the relation to the majority, while other features among the majority members are relevant. As Hylland Eriksen claims: Deaf people defines themselves as such and has a identity belongingness (identity community) but hearing people do not identify themselves as hearing. It is common that the strongest groups portray themselves and perceives them as "regular" or universal (Eriksen, 1997). Yet in the Caribbean, although the Afro-Caribbean people clearly represent majority, the presence of the West had the power to make the blacks see and experience themselves as 'Other' according to Stuart Hall. This because the European presence interrupts the innocence in the whole discourse of 'difference' in the Caribbean by introducing the question of power, where Africa was a case of the unspoken, Europe was a case of that which is endlessly speaking – and endlessly speaking *us* (Hall, 1990). 'Europe' belongs irrevocably to the play of power, to the lines of force and consent, to the role of the *dominant*, in Caribbean culture. Because *Presence Europeenne* is about exclusion, imposition and expropriation, we are often tempted to locate that power as livelihood wholly external to us – an extrinsic force, whose influence can be thrown off like the serpent sheds its skin. Is how this power has become a constitutive element in our own identities (Hall, 1990: 233).

Hylland Eriksen (1997) reminds that in the multi-ethnic society it is necessary to find a balance between what that is common and that that is different. It is a necessary to be conscious about each and one of us belongs to many groups, and that it exists many ways to combine identities. The national community can thus not only be built on common values and cultural heritage, but has to be built also on differences. A central question however is to what degree of difference can the society stand before it stops being a society, as Hylland Eriksen claims: "Identity is elastic and negotiable, but not infinitely flexible" (in Aronoff, 2001: 169).

3.2.2 Field, Capital & Social battles

While Habitus describes the background and frames for the informants/agents practise, the concept of field describes those social arenas in which practice unfolds within (Wilken, 2008: 38-39). According to Bourdieu, agents participate in a number of social struggles for influence and capital, which unfolds within specific and relatively autonomous arenas, which is neither based on the same principles nor has the same outcome. Field can be widely defined as political field, the artistic field, the religious field, the economical field etc. The criteria to define a field is that one can show that something is a play by which the agents find it worth to fight about or for. It is defined in relation to the specific forms of capital, which it is about to possess and accumulate, thus because of the concept of capital the societies plays cannot be understood as random games (Wilken, 2008: 39 –own translation). Games or 'play' is Bourdieu's metaphor for the social life which takes place in the fields, and the fields are characterised both with battle and with slowness; the participants in the fields will try to exclude new arrivals, and they will try and hinder the involvement from outsiders (Wilken, 2008: 48). The 'play' within the artistic field illustrates this well according to Wilken (2008), and as my findings will show. It is an eternal question, who can define what is art and what is not? Participants within the arts often define the field as self-effacing (art for the sake of art, not for the profit nor the "good" taste nor the political correctness), which makes it hard to identify what exactly the fight is about. According to Bourdieu, this is part of the field's exclusion mechanism, because it sets a specific agenda for the discussion of art. The assertion that something is art is excluding – those who say something else would appear to be someone who does not have an idea of art (Wilken, 2008: 48-49).

In addition to economical capital is social capital and cultural capital. Cultural capital is both embodied and material; the non-material capital includes legitimate knowledge, education and competence. Therefore does not cultural capital appear immediately as a form of capital disturbed through the social battles in fields, but as an sense for the aesthetical only some individuals possess according to Bourdieu (Wilken, 2008: 56 – own translation). Social capital refers to family relations, networks and connections. It is the profit one gets through the social networks one is part of, and those connections one have. The meaning of social capital is related to the amount of the other forms of capital

an agent incidentally possesses. Possibilities of profiting on social capital increase with the amount of economic and cultural capital (Wilken, 2008: 56 – own translation).

Field do not refer to actual divisions of a society, but the relations between the agents who fights for specific forms of capital. Every human being participate in battles of capital in many different fields at the same time: as family members, friends, citizens, leaders, employees etc. are all engaged in battles for different capital (Wilken, 2008: 40 – own translation). Individual agents and classes can have several different social positions at the same time; a child can for example have much capital within the football club and very little capital in the classroom; an academic can have high capital in the research world, but very little as a politician; a woman can have much capital as a mother, but very little capital in the labour market. Most people have a bunch of forms of capital they can invest in social battles, but will mainly be characterized by one dominating capital form. Therefor can people within dominating position within one field likely be in a subordinate position within another field, unless they can exchange their capital to another (Wilken, 2008: 41 – own translation).

It is in a long way possible to exchange the different forms of capital, so that they can be moved between different fields. Possibilities to exchange ones capital depends on the capitals relevancy as a barter in relation to a specific field, and the agents ability to make its capital liquidate. Social capital can be traded to economic capital; economic capital can be traded to cultural capital, cultural capital to economic capital, economic capital to social capital and so on. But only under certain circumstances according to Bourdieu. Agents are always bound to their habitus, which significance the possibilities for exchange they can see. Further the agents must see the battles as meaningful and worth fighting for (Wilken, 2008: 42 – own translation).

The dynamics in the concepts lies first and foremost in the interaction between habitus, capital and the social reality, which comes to play in the field and which is not predictable. Bourdieus understanding of the social life as a 'play', played by strategic agents (Wilken, 2008: 46). The play is of course a metaphor, underlining the battles, capital, interests and differences in a social life. However, this play is not a discussion of the free choice to participate in a game. Usually agents participate in these plays they

have not themselves chosen. And often one does not know what the play/game is about (Wilken, 2008: 50). Humans do not only participate in social battles for relevant forms of capital in relatively autonomous fields due to the dispositions, which exist in their habitus. They are also part of the existing social relations and members of a society, which in one way or another always are layered (Wilken, 2008: 51 – own translation). Belonging and social afflictions are for Bourdieu related to the model of social space, which structures the relationships between agents, social classes, fields and forms of capital (Wilken, 2008: 51 –own translation).

Social Class

“Social systems are hierocratic organised and rank in relation to their capital-possessions. This means that the informants understanding of the social system is determined by their position in a social hierarchy, and that their subjective expectation will be reconciled after their objective possibilities” (Wilken, 2008: 21 – own translation). According to Pierre Bourdieu, do not only class differences work hierocratic and in relation to economical resources. Almost as important is the contrast between economic and cultural capital. Social class is not defined by a property (not even the most determinant one, such as the volume and composition of capital) nor by a collection of properties (of sex, age, social origin, ethnic origin –proportion of blacks and whites, for example, or natives and immigrants- income, educational level etc.), nor even by a chain of properties strung out from a fundamental property (position in the relations of production) in a relation of cause and effect, conditioner and conditioned; but by the structure of relations between all the pertinent properties which gives its specific value to each of them and to the effects they exert on practises (Bourdieu, 84; 106).

The upper/dominating classes separates in fractions depending what kind of capital their rich on. That means that both professors, artists, industrialists and business owners belongs to the (theoretical) dominating class, but they constitute different and opposed poles within this class, which can hardly be assumed to have the same kind of interests (Wilken, 2008: 56-57). The fraction of the class with the most cultural capital - professors, artists and the like – Shops at flea market, know the name of many

composers, goes to avant-garde festivals and votes on the left. The fraction with most economic capital like to have neat home, attending auctions, water skier and votes on the right. In the working class like the bacon, plain red wine, Brigitte Bardot and accordion music (Flemmen, 2012, 21.01). Or in the Dominican case; like rice and beans and *bachatta*. The Petty Bourgeoisie can also be subdivided, for example there is an opposition between the self-employed on the one hand, and primary teachers on the other. The fact that groups are opposed means that they have different opportunities for generating capital, just as they have different status. It is the contradiction between the cultural and economic capital that drives the power struggles of modern society (Wilken, 2008: 57).

Kwame Anthony Appiah (BBC Radio 4, 2016) claims according to the connection between race, social class and identity – of showing respect up towards the higher classes, but more importantly the lack of respect downwards. This is the same as when Bourdieu emphasizes the tastings and likings as what unites people from the same environment and separates/distinguishes them from another (Wilken, 2008: 57). Bourdieu interpret the differences in likings between the bourgeoisie and the working-class as a divide between freedom of taste and necessities. The Upper classes taste is characterised by their relative social freedom, as they are not burden with the material yoke. Thus their style is expressed by form before function. The working class on the other hand, has a more constraint material relation, and conversely but the cultures function before its form. The bourgeoisie with its taste of freedom can easily choose small portions of light food on big platters, and by such symbolise their distance from letting the meal fill up a function. The working class on the other hand prefer well-stocked plates with food that saturate. Working class likes pictures that are pleasurable looking at, for example landscapes and prefer easy music to dance too. While the upper classes would decorate their houses with something abstract with artistic qualities, and would not mind to listen to atonal music (Flemmen, 2012, 21.01 – own translation).

Bourdieu believed that these differences were not only a question of purchasing power. The functional, hearty food may cost the same as the distinguished and lightweight option. But a lengthy process in which ones social conditions of existence find their expression in ones way of thinking and being creates the tastes. The unskilled worker

necessity taste are shaped by the experience of a life of necessity, he would still not have gone to the avant-garde festival although he suddenly won the lottery (Flemmen, 2012, 21.01 – own translation).

The principles of logical division that are used to produce the classes are of course very equally constituted socially in pre-existing social classifications. At one extreme, there is the simple existence of the name of a trade or 'social category', the product of classification by a governmental agency, or of the social bargaining which leads to the industrial 'collective agreements'; and at the other extreme, there are groups possessing a real social identity, recognized spokesmen and institutionalized channels for expressing and defining their interests etc. (Bourdieu, 1986: 84). Different factors in the system of determinations (decision/conviction/assurance/Willpowers) establish a class condition (which can function as real principles of division between objectively separate or actually mobilized groups) vary greatly in their functional weights and therefore in their structuring force, these principles of division are themselves set in a hierarchy; groups mobilized on the basis of secondary criterion (such as sex or age) are likely to be bound together less permanently and less deeply than those mobilized on the basis of the fundamental determinants of their condition says Bourdieu (1986: 107).

According to Wilken (2008: 57 – own translation), Bourdieu did not succeed in finding a similar division in the underclass. The less capital it actually is available, the less differentiation between the forms of capital will be possible. It is important to remember that Pierre Bourdieu were studying empirical mainly on the Algerian and French society, thus his theories are based on analyses of social groups in a specific society on a specific point of history. The French working-class is not similar to the British working-class nor American nor the Dominican. In the same way class -representations and forms of distinction will be necessarily recognizable from one society to another. Nevertheless, Pierre Bourdieu is recognised as one of our times main sociologist exactly because his work are versatile, and his main concepts are so general they can be transferred to many different fields (Wilken, 2008: 54; Flemmen, 2012, 21.01). To properly understand Social class in the Dominican Republic, it is thus necessary to also understand more of the historic context, not at least in connection to race.

3.2.3 The Mulatto Republic

The Dominican Republic once was celebrated as a mulatto racial paradise. As stated by Mayes (2014: 13) the Dominican state currently recognizes six colours for its national identity card: *blanco, Amarillo, mestizo, indio, mulato, and negro*. It would seem true that “Officially, the Dominican Republic is portrayed by its government as a tropical paradise, a racially harmonious society where whites and blacks have intermingled to give way to the mulatto” (Casado in Sagas, 2000: 2). The particular racial situation of the Dominican Republic resembles a mirage; there is apparent racial harmony; Dominicans accept that they are a racially mixed people, but they adhere to idealizations of *dominicanidad* (white Hispanic) and defined by its distance from blackness and its rejection of anything associated with Haiti (a nation where blacks make up 95 percent of the population) and Haitians (Mayes, 2014: 3; Sagás, 2000: 2). Yelvington (1997: 212) states how in the Dominican Republic, if one is considered black, one is a Haitian; if one is Dominican, one is not considered black. ‘Dominican` and ‘black` are mutually exclusive categories; therefore, it is impossible for one to be both. Haitians are those black people who come to the country to work in poorly paid, low-status jobs. They have few or no political or economic rights.

Historically racial categories and social standing in Latin America

Although the particular rejection of blackness might be unique to the Dominican Republic, the idealization of whiteness is found in almost all of Latin America. In the history of ideas pertaining to ethnicity in Latin America, “races” were presumed to be pure until after the arrival of the *conquistadores* in the New World. The Spanish conquest of the Caribbean occurred at the time of the *Reconquista* (the “reconquering” of Spain from the Moors – Arabs from North Africa) and the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. The resulting racial ideology was referred to as *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood), which was transferred to the New World. In Latin America, *limpieza de sangre* translated into elaborate systems and nomenclatures emphasizing supposed degrees away from whiteness, established by Spaniards and *criollos*, whites born in Latin America. *Mulatos* and *pardos* were the general terms for non-whites. Mestizos, blacks and Indians constituted the other general groupings (Yelvington, 1997: 215-216;

Baranov and Yelvington, 2003). Within this system of racial privilege, race mixtures that occurred between pure races (and later mixed races) could be charted and - through précises mathematical computations (with different names for these different “races”) - persons could be assigned differential rights and privileges (Baranov and Yelvington, 2003: 215).

“Gente de primera” Elites in the Hispanic Caribbean

Every country in Latin America is divided into elites and masses. The relative distribution of these basic classes varies in different countries (Yelvington, 1997: 215). Determining who one is and where one fits in Latin American or Caribbean society depends on a number of factors. Physical appearance counts, but it can be overridden. Perhaps more profoundly, ones class situation and status in society are determining factors. The reverse is also true; one’s class and status are determined, at least in part, by one’s “race” (Yelvington, 1997: 215). There are two terms that are ostensibly about economic class and social status but at the same time allude to a persons colour. *Gente de primera* (first-class people) implies whiteness, whereas *gente de segunda* (second-class people) refers to the people of lower-status social or ethnic groups (Yelvington, 1997: 214).

The Afro-Caribbean population clearly represents the largest ethnical racial group in the Caribbean. At the same time, though Afro-Caribbean people have achieved political power and prominence (the Dominican Republic has had several black and mulatto presidents), they remain notably lacking among the regions social and economic elites (Baranov & Yelvington, 2003: 221; Sagas, 2000). Like much of the Caribbean, whites continue to exert disproportional social, political, and economic influence. In the Dominican Republic this relatively small but highly influential elite is known loosely as ‘the oligarchy’. This is largely made up of fabulously wealthy families, who in some cases have upper class surnames going back to the 19th century (Wooding & Mosely-Williams, 2004: 66), and their power is in large measure due to the enormous concentration of wealth and resources in the territories still under their control (Baranov & Yelvington, 2003: 221). According to Wikipedia (2016*), some of these names can be related to both whiteness and class because of the nobles who immigrated to the Americas - they

achieved a privileged position, and most of them avoided mixing with natives or Africans. Further, many Criollo families (Spaniards) migrated to the Spanish colonies in the 19th and 20th century (Wikipedia, 2016). Some of these family names are for example: Barceló, Brugal and Vicini. (Barceló and Brugal, are also the names of two of the biggest Rum companies. Vicini, which can be read at the wall of one of the oldest housings in the Colonial Zone, is family name known for owing a great deal of land – whereas the area of Juan Dolio. Vicini where also subjected too much of attention in the 2007 film *The Price of Sugar*. Wooding & Mosely-Williams (2004: 66) argues their fortunes were made from the dismantling of the Trujillo economic empire that gave them a base on which to profit from the years of extraordinary growth in the 1990s (Wooding & Mosely-Williams, 2004: 66). They are the owners of the business consortia that control the main industries, services, import-export houses, banks and insurance companies, and media empires. The top hierarchy of the Catholic Church and the armed forces are in the circle, as are certain politicians, mostly family members of the elite. The oligarchy exercises its power by means of money that buys political connections, control of much of the media, domination of business pressure groups, and the most influential lawyers' practices (Wooding & Mosely-Williams, 2004: 66). During the U.S. occupation, Bruce Calder (in Mayes, 2014: 10) notes: "Dominican elites resented their treatment as second-class citizens by U.S. military officials, who tended to view most Dominicans, even those who were white according to Dominican standards, as tinged with African ancestry".

The larger point is, as David Baronov and Kevin Yelvington (2003: 211) reminds: that ethnicity, race, class, and nationality (as manifested in the ideology of nationalism) mutually constitute. Ethnic-racial identities influence social class by acting as a resource (or a liability) in securing social capital and prestige. Social class affects nationalism insofar as the privileged classes define and principally benefit from the dominant ideology of nationalism. Nationalism affects ethnicity and race in that those who are defined as white, mulatto, and so on – and the value accorded to each – in one nationalist context may not be so defined in another (Baronov & Yelvington, 2003: 212).

3.2.4 Power & Symbolic violence

Bourdieu's sociology did generally carry out power relations. However, the model of the social space is, in fact, not a model that assumes that the dominant classes ruthlessly control and suppresses the dominated classes, and consciously prevents them in climbing up the social ladder. The balance of power rest on and continues, as the population often not actively accepts them. The power often remains undetected and occurs naturally. This is what Bourdieu calls symbolic violence. Bourdieu defines symbolic violence as the power to get a certain understanding of reality to emerge as objective and true, without it being clear to those involved that we are talking about an arbitrary understanding of reality (Wilken, 2008; Flemmen, 2012). As Kwame Anthony Appiah thinks and interesting connection between the class systems and the racial systems, is that they tend to associate dishonour and lack of entitlement of respect to the bottom of the hierarchy. And they grant undue, excessive respect to people of the top of the hierarchy. The 18th century (U.K, which is felicitous for the DR as well) – dukes and their family's got treated by massive deference by everybody, however stupid or wicked they were, and what they would have called the lower orders, the ordinary working people (working class) where treated without respect much of the time. Similarly, in the United States under Jim Crow (the laws in several of the states between 1876-1965, which regarded racial segregation), black people where denied respect. Even people with resources and higher class standings (BBC Radio 4, 2016). The same type of respect and lack of disrespect continues, however in a different way. The class structures gets naturalized and invisible through appearing as innocent differences in likings. Yet, these likings as mentioned in the previous section, are due not only to the freedoms and necessities, but created through a protracted process of social learned ways of thinking and acting – habitus. The symbolic violence comes to play in what Bourdieu calls “pedagogical act”, which includes all those relations and institutions involved submitting the societies dominating culture; the family which safeguards raising child's/child rearing, school and its knowledge dissemination, universities maintains the production of knowledge, medias cultivate the news, courts continue/control justice, the State/government which safeguards the society (Wilken, 2008: 69 – own translation).

In modern, complex societies is symbolic power related to the government and by Bourdieu referred to as the 'powerfield' (Wilken, 2008: 77 – own translation).

Like Max Weber's concept about the state, Bourdieu defines it as the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical and symbolic violence within a delimited territory. The state monopoly on legitimate physical violence is relatively obvious: it is only the state that has an army and a police force, it is only the state that legitimate can lock people in. Because of the State being so dominating and ubiquitous, and occur so natural, the symbolic violence becomes unappreciated. However, the state's monopoly on legitimate symbolic violence means that the State alone has the legitimate right to decide the classification principles that has public and universal validity (Wilken, 2008: 77 – own translation).

According to Bourdieu, the symbolic violence comes best to play in the educational system. Because capital can both be inherited and set over control, the agent's sociocultural history is of meaning (Wilken, 2008: 57 – own translation). Bourdieu believed that teacher's unconscious discriminated children from different class backgrounds by premiering their cultural capital. Children of the Bourgeoisie had their legitimate, dominating culture from home, and thus both spoke and behaved thereafter. In school, as in the rest of the society, these cultural competences valued and premiered with good grades, because of this cultures status. The bourgeoisie appeared like behaved, intelligent and refined (sophisticated). Likewise, the children that spoke and behaved as peasants and workers where perceived as vulgar, coarse and unsuitable for school. This further contributed to entrenching class conditions: the children from the bourgeoisie who were smothered in cultural capital from home was honoured with good character and sent to the communities command posts, through suitable elite educations. Working-class children without this cultural capital was labelled as feckless/incompetent and doomed to a life as unskilled labour (Flemmen, 2012, 21.01 – own translation).

Chapter 4: Methodology

In this chapter I will discuss the methodical approach used in the research to gather data. The data collection took place over a period of 4 months, November and December 2015; and February and March 2016. I conducted fieldwork in two different sites, Cabarete - a major tourist destination, and Santo Domingo - the capital. I chose two different sites on the basis of that I thought this would provide a better platform for a more comprehensive understanding of the issue of identity with its sub issues like race, nationality and social class.

4.1 Research Strategy – Qualitative methodology

There are two main approaches for doing a research; qualitative and quantitative. This study has a qualitative approach, since the research aims to explore experience and perceptions of identity, race and social class. This is an issue that would be difficult to measure quantitatively, not only because a quantitative approach consists of statistical generalizations and emphasise distribution and numbers. But also since the theme identity is, as it showed, a very individual and personal issue. The study is not exploring a phenomenon 'out there' with variables relatively independent of the social context. It rather seeks to go 'into depth' by emphasize meaning and deals with processes that are interpreted by participants in the light of the context they are part of (Bryman, 2012; Thagaard, 2011). Common for both qualitative and quantitative approach, is that the researchers need to reflect upon their impact on the process and the results of the research. And by using the qualitative, the impact of the researchers presence is significantly important (Thagaard, 2011). A feature of qualitative data is their richness and if based in a holistic approach the potential for revealing complexity. Thus to gain a broader understanding of the issue, it is necessary with close relation to informants through interviews and observation or by analysis of texts and visual expressions, and as Bryman (2012:30) states: the job as a researcher is "to gain access to people's 'common-sense thinking' and hence to interpret their actions and their social world from their point of view".

The study is based on an ethnographic fieldwork. The issue have been explored over time through different approaches to the theme: such as through several informal conversations, doing participant observation and having interviews. In addition analysing documents and media outputs. These methods are common to use so that the researcher can keep more of an open mind about the contours of what he or she needs to know. Thus this study has an inductive approach to theorizing and conceptualization, meaning that concepts and theories are generated out of the data (Bryman, 2012).

4.2 Selection of study area

Before choosing the study area, it was important for me that I already had some knowledge and experience with the country and culture. I wanted to keep a distance to own experiences by having an external-position, but at the same time avoid possible cultural-shocks by not being a complete outsider to the culture being studied.

My first meeting with the Dominican Republic was in 2013, when I was an intern in Fundacion Falcondo, an NGO supported by the industrial company Glencore, with which my university had an agreement for interns. During my stay, which lasted for 4 months, I got quite a good insight in the Dominican culture. At the time it struck me how easy it was to get around, both physically as in travelling around the island, and to make contact with people generally. This was also the time when I first got interested in the topic of identity. At the time, the Constitutional law “against” Haitians was unknown to me, but I got the impression that there was a great deal of discrimination on the Island.

Both Cabarete and Santo Domingo were chosen because I was familiar with these places. Cabarete became the choice because I could refresh Spanish skills at a language institute and as a tourist area I knew I would meet Haitians working on the beach, who could become possible informants for my research. Although Fundacion Falcondo does not exist anymore, the choice of Santo Domingo as a study area was based on that this was where they had their main office. Thus I hoped to use my contacts from that time as an access to the field. However, this turned out to be a series of false starts and long roads ending up in blind alleys; as I experienced some difficulties after several attempts to get in touch with organizations who possibly could have functioned as gatekeepers.

Comfortingly, Bryman (2012: 15) stresses that it is very common when doing social research and that enforced changes to research plan often occurs.

4.3 Research design - Case Study

“The most common use of the term “case” associates the case study with a location, such as a single community, an organization or a single person -characterized as using the life history or biographical approach” (Bryman, 2012: 67).

By choosing two different locations, Cabarete (a tourist town) and Santo Domingo (the capital city), I thought this would be the basis of two different case studies.

Notwithstanding, the places did not become the focus of interest in its own right, but rather provided the backdrop to the findings as Bryman (2012: 68) states. The people I came in contact with in Cabarete, which eventually became informants, were originally from Santo Domingo, and the people I got in touch with in Santo Domingo were in the same social circle. But as the social circles expanded in Santo Domingo, I got in touch with a greater variation of social classes, and thus I choose to call it multiple case study design.

4.4 Access to field

One of the key, but yet most difficult steps in ethnography is gaining access to a social setting that is relevant to the research problem (Bryman, 2012: 433). This became one of the most challenging processes and did indeed require a great deal of self-reflection in regard to the research issue of identity, as it forced me to think of who I was/am and not at least who I appear to be in the circumstances I found myself in.

When entering the field, I assumed a covert role and informed about my role (Bryman, 2012: 433). As mentioned, I did not have a gate-opener and had to figure other ways to sample informants. This forced me to do some changes in the research plan and look for other opportunities; my original idea of choosing a *batey* (‘Haitian ghetto’) as a case became too dangerous to carry on by myself without a gatekeeper. Further, because of earlier experience I did already know that to be taken for being a Haitian for a Dominican is a great insult. Thus I felt rather uncomfortable asking people whether they

where of Haitian descendant. Thagaard (2011: 78, own translation) also claims that: “a challenge in studies of marginalized groups is that the researcher must be aware that she or he may be perceived as a representative of the forces in society that contribute to the marginalization of the under culture the study describes”. Accordingly I felt I could not simply ask possible informants whether they were of Haitian descent, which I would have based more or less on skin colour. As a consequence I asked myself: “Why was I looking for Haitians, when I also were searching for Dominican identity?” As a result, I realised I could rather change the focus on my research towards the environment where I got accepted as a researcher, and that trustworthy respondents already were established. This environment consists of young adults aged 19 to 35. Social class is a tricky issue in the Dominican Republic, as I will come back to in the literature and findings chapter, but they were mostly ranging from a lower middle class to upper middle class.

As this was an open/public setting, I used the “Hanging around” strategy – meaning I was loitering in the area until I gradually became incorporated (Bryman, 2012: 438). I was spending a great amount of time basically strolling the street, in parks, bars and other concert venues in addition to the housing collectives I was living in both Cabarete and Santo Domingo. Appearance as gender and age always has something to say for informants, and being a foreign female most likely made it easier for me to get access than if I were male. I probably also had to put up with more things because of this. As I was not only a “new member” to the group, but being a master student and researcher – I got challenged many times in both words and actions by participants as a way of checking that I did not feel I was ‘better’ or ‘smarter’ than them. Participants insulted me several times, to see if I were able to comment back; I in fact felt rather stupid if I would refuse to dance although I would prefer to stand on the side; and it would have been a great disappointment or even insult if I did not taste the precious rum.

4.4.1 Sampling & accessing respondents

“Much of the time ethnographers are forced to gather information from whatever sources are available to them. Very often they face opposition or at least indifference to

their research and are relieved to glean information or views from whoever is prepared to divulge such details” (Bryman, 2012: 424). Especially in the first part of the fieldwork, conducted in Cabarete, this was applicable for me as I was still at the time searching for Haitians and Dominicans of Haitian descent. Whenever I met new possible participants I explained who I was and my intentions, and then asked whether they had an opinion on the topic. In fact, most of the time when meeting new acquaintances in general this came up before I introduced my intentions, as people in general were curious why a foreigner like me was staying in the Dominican Republic.

Although it might sound like a convenience sample, the study still conducted a purposive sampling approach, using opportunistic – and snowball–sampling techniques.

“Opportunistic sampling is capitalizing on opportunities to collect data from certain individuals, contact with whom is largely unforeseen but who may provide data relevant to the research question” (Bryman, 2012: 419). With a purposive sampling approach, the idea is that the research questions should give an indication of what units need to be sampled. The units – people - were selected because of their direct relevance to the research topic (Bryman, 2012: 416-418). To not get too many participants, I aimed to get as much variation between the participants as possible too – by recruiting as many people as possible from different socio-economic backgrounds, different levels of education, gender and of both African and European descent.

“Snowball sampling is the technique in which the researcher samples initially a small group of people relevant to the research questions, and these sampled participants propose other participants who have had the experience or characteristics relevant to the research” (Bryman, 2012: 424). When people agreed to participate – instead of asking to get introduced or given further names – I spent as much time with the informants as they would allow, participating in their daily round and meet other people in the same social circle. It made my presence “normal” and others would approach me when I was alone, and also when accompanied by other participants. One unfortunate aspect of this technique worth reflecting on, was that especially in the beginning (and particularly if I was spending time with a participant of the opposite sex), people started associate me with the person, rather than as an individual researcher, and thus some possible informants rather “avoided” me.

I also used social media as a platform of getting in touch with informants, as I befriended many of the participants. This was beneficial both in the way that having many mutual connections it gave me the trustworthiness needed for new participants, but also as I could ensure informed consent from others in the aftermaths.

4.4.2 Key Informants

“The ethnographer relies a lot on informants, but certain informants may become particularly important to the research. They often develop an appreciation of the research and direct the ethnographer to situations, events, or people likely to be helpful to the progress of the investigation” (Bryman, 2012: 339). These types of informants that Bryman mentions are called key informants, as they do not only provide a great deal of information but also can be helpful in discussing observations and impressions. I had several key informants who developed a sense of the kinds of events and happenings I wanted to see or encounters that it would be beneficial for me to be present at (Bryman, 2012: 440). However, Thagaard (2011: 69 own translation) claims: “those contacts the researcher develops during fieldwork, is crucial for the insights she finds. Being affiliated to specific individuals or groups weakens the ability to connect with other people or groups”. And Bryman (2012: 440) warns that by creating these key informants, the ethnographer may develop an undue reliance on the key informants, and, rather than seeing social reality through the eyes of members of the social setting, the researcher is seeing social reality through the eyes of the key informant.

The Key informants (as they will be presented in the findings chapter) were Yolanda, Luis and Renato. Not only did I share house with two of them, but also all three let me participate in their everyday-life activities in addition to introducing me to further contacts. I for example realised that although the informants meant it in the best way, as they were eager to help, this sometimes hindered me perhaps seeing the whole social setting as Bryman warned, especially since I was living with Yolanda and Luis. Thus I also had to distance my self at times, to not get too distracted.

4.5 Methods of Data Collection

The core methodology used was the ethnographic fieldwork. It is difficult to distinguish participant observation and ethnography. Hence in this study, ethnography refers to both the method of research and data collection, which includes participant observation and interviews, and the written product of the research (Bryman, 2012: 432).

4.5.1 Participant Observation

Participant observation is explained as when the “researcher immerses herself in a group for an extended period of time, observing behaviour, listening to what is said in conversations both between others and with the fieldworker, and asking questions” (Bryman, 2012: 432). In some ways, one might say that the fieldwork started at the moment I arrived to the Dominican Republic, as I gained a sense of the cultural context. However, Thagaard (2011: 66) reminds that observation involves selection. It is the topic issue that governs which areas that are relevant to focus on during the observation. But simultaneously, the information received during the field contributes to develop the issue.

The first 2 months in Cabarete I was still focused on the issue of Haitian immigrants and descendants. Meaning that at the time I thought I was only doing non-participating observation: I did observations at the beach, in the street and in two neighbourhoods where one can find Haitian communities (La Boca and ?). Although I selectively chose to not focus on the neighbourhood I was living in, a Dominican neighbourhood located at a baseball field, I still got impressions that later would inform my data. This of course raises the issue regarding informed consent, which will be discussed later in this chapter. Because I am a white foreigner, I also paid attention to the way I dressed. Thagaard (2011: 68) mentions that by dressing differently, the researcher can mark that she is an outsider. I thought that by dressing more “formal” could perhaps distinct me, and thus not being taken for just a normal tourist.

In Santo Domingo I had a more conscious participating observer role. In open settings, the researcher is a regular in the vicinity and is involved fully in the principal activities

(Bryman, 2012: 442). This meant that I was spending a certain amount of time at different locations to different times of the day. Frequent visits were made at the park(s), in the streets, at the *colmado* (street corner shop/bar) and in the participant's homes. I also went to concerts and parties where I was socializing with people, observing people's actions and interactions, engage and encouraged to discussions of themes relevant to the topic. This made me aware of how people thought of themselves and act upon identity and race. As I am also a musician, I believe that in many situations words can be replaced with music and arts. And especially dancing seems to be important for many people as some kind of "vocabulary" for body movements.

The key informants included me in their everyday lives activities: I followed them at work: in a restaurant, in a bar, and while selling their arts or playing concerts. I followed one while getting papers (which also were more beneficial for them, as the process went quicker while with a white person). And the informants took me to neighbourhood visits. As I was living in a collective with Dominicans, where people came and went frequently on visits. There were always situations worth observe every time I entered the living room. The boundaries between my life inside and outside the researcher "box" dissolved, as I could not go "in-and out" of the role as a researcher. Consequently the risk of over-identification and hence of 'going native` became an applicable issue. However, this also can offer the opportunity to get close to people and thereby glean a more complete and intense understanding of their culture and values, as Bryman (2012: 445-446) states. Another issue is the question of how close relationships would be appropriate, which will be discussed further later in this chapter. I however tried my best to be 'neutral in my opinions so that there was a certain distance.

4.5.2 Interviews

Ethnography usually involves a substantial amount of interviewing (Bryman, 2012: 469). The qualitative interviewing varies a great deal in the approach taken by the interviewer, and the two major types are Semi-Structured and unstructured interviews (Bryman, 2012: 471). Interestingly enough, although it seems that one of the main things people like to talk about is themselves, one of the hardest tasks was to find informants to participate in interviews. However this might be for reasons I will come

back to in the field reflections part. Thus also informal conversations – which counts for a big part of the ethnography was used actively.

Semi-structured Interviews

Before entering the field, I had prepared an interview guide – with key words and questions based on the research topic by using previous empirical studies as a template. The questions were somewhat general in their frame, so that the sequence of questions could vary, which also gave me the space to ask follow-up questions (Bryman, 2012: 212). The interviews with the Haitian workers on the beach in Cabarete were intentionally conducted as semi-structured interviews. Bryman (2012: 471) claims that: “The emphasis must be on how the interviewee frames and understands issues and events- that is, what the interviewee views as important in explaining and understanding events, patterns, and forms of behaviour”. However, the information I got from these interviews, were not seen as sufficient for the kind of information I was looking for*. This again of course was an outcome of the combination of cultural differences, language barriers and that the relationship between me and the informants were not particularly a close one. I wanted to use a tape-recorded during the interviews, and I always ensured the informants that this was only for my own use. However, in some instances informants were reluctant to being recorded, and I was rather met with suspicion.

Informal conversations and unstructured interview

Informal conversations became a valuable method of obtaining information. In everyday conversations I did not always intend to talk about the topic, nevertheless, many conversations turned into descriptions or discussions relevant for my studies. Others then myself often initiated these conversations. I would then explain my interest in the topic and engage in the conversation by asking further questions or ask for clarifications to get a broader understanding.

These types of conversations made me mentally pinpoint keywords and questions, as a basis for unstructured interviews. Unstructured interviewing tends to be very similar in character to a conversation (Burgess 1984, in Bryman, 2012: 471). The difference was that while in conversations I only “joined in”, in the interviews I could steer and “keep

control” of the content. As Bryman (2012: 471) writes: “There may be just a single question that the interviewer asks, and the interviewee is then allowed to respond freely, with the interviewer simply responding to points that seem worthy of being followed up”. This turned out to be one of the best ways of having “interviews” because of exactly the informal settings. Because of exactly individuality and personalized theme that identity is, it turned out much easier to ask questions and let informants talk about themselves in informal settings. Often also with several informants involved at the same time. Moreover, these informal conversations/unstructured interviews turned out to be extremely valuable due to the flexibility they serve. As I will come back to, often planned interviews did not happen – because informants often chose not to turn up, thus these types of interviews could be more spontaneous.

In-depth & open-ended Interviews

The in-depth interviews were those I had especially close to the end of the fieldwork. It was a mix of unstructured and semi-structured interviews, where I had both issues and questions made up in an interview guide. This interview guide, as can be found in the end of this study under Appendixes, was developed over time also with the help from key informants. Through in-depth interviewing, detailed information about people’s thoughts and behaviours can be explored further. This allowed me to ask further about observations and impressions I had gotten, and then get the informants personal opinions upon them. I had in total six in-depth interviews, which lasted for 1-2 hours and took place in my house, in the participant home, on a park bench and in the library. The participants for these interviews were chosen because of their own interest in the topic and willingness to participate.

4.5.3 Documents as source of data

As Bryman (2012: 543) suggest, the term ‘documents’ cover a very wide range of different kinds of source. This include official documents deriving from organisations; such as those documents retrieved from the visit to Centro Bono and diverse mass-media outputs such as; newspaper articles, television, and social media. “The emphasis is placed on documents that have not been produced at the request of me – the social

researcher – but instead, the objects that are simply ‘out there’ waiting to be assembled and analysed” as Bryman (2012: 542) puts it.

My ‘documents’ consist of both the above-mentioned documents received; various textbooks; YouTube and other worldwide web Internet sites; in addition to that I got invites from informants to different ‘groups’ on Facebook such as ‘*Me amo mis rizas*’ and ‘*Por Negro*’ as my informants were active in particular the latter. These are public forums where members publish both visual objects such as so called ‘memes’ and other links to articles. As the members in the online group were not given the informed consent (except those who already where informants) I have not used what they have said. However, many of the articles posted has been useful in addition to new ideas for what to investigate further in conversations and interviews with informants.

4.5.4 Field notes

Because of the frailties of human memory, an important part of ethnography is to take notes of the observations. Field notes should be fairly detailed summaries of events and behaviour and the researchers initial reflections on them (Bryman, 2012: 447).

Obviously, it can be very useful to take notes down straight away – that is, as soon something interesting happens. However, wandering around with a notebook and pencil in hand and scribbling notes down on a continuous basis runs the risk of making people self-conscious (Bryman, 2012: 448). Jotted notes, which Bryman (2012: 450) describes as “very brief notes written down to jog ones memory about events that should be written up later”, where often done in the bathroom – so that I could write down little phrases, quotes and impressions I got out of peoples sight. This especially since I also were living with informants, to find times to write down important events were a challenge. Full field notes I tried to do at the end of the day, every night before going to bed. The problem was that sometimes I felt that there was nothing really notable to write down and thus the sense of ennui aroused (Bryman, 2012: 452). Many of my field notes were often characterised by just impressions that I had. Especially since I not until late really knew what I was looking for, I instead wrote down thoughts and impressions I was left with, without the particular situation. This could be based on conversations, or observations made during the day...

4.6 Analysing qualitative data & validity and credibility

One of the main challenges with qualitative data collection is that it very rapidly generates a great deal of unstructured information because of its reliance on prose in the form of field/observation notes, interview transcripts and documents (Bryman, 2012: 555). This is why the research has used grounded theory, as it stresses the importance of allowing theoretical ideas emerge out of one's data. Grounded theory may not be a theory as much as it is an approach to the generation of theory out of data. It defined by Strauss and Corbin (in Bryman, 2012: 387) as: "theory that was derived from data, systematically gathered and analysed through the research process. In this method, data collection, analysis, and eventual theory stand in close relationship to one another".

Validity or credibility is "concerned with the integrity of the conclusions that are generated from a piece of research" (Bryman, 2012: 47). And according to Mason (in Bryman, 2012: 389-390) whether 'you are observing, identifying, or "measuring" what you say you are'. There are several forms of validation in qualitative research; External validity is concerned with the generalisations and transferability beyond the specific respondents and research context (Bryman, 2012: 48). Which means the degree to which a study can be replicated. But it is impossible to 'freeze' a social setting and the circumstances of an initial study to make it replicable in the sense in which the term is usually employed (Bryman, 2012: 390). Internal validity relates to the issue of causality, and concerned whether a conclusion that incorporates a causal relationship between two or more variables holds water or if something else is producing an apparent causal relationship (Bryman, 2012: 47). LeCompte and Goetz in Bryman (2012: 390) argue that internal validity tends to be strength of particularly ethnographic research, because the prolonged participation in the social life of a group allows the researcher to ensure a high level of congruence between the concepts and theoretical ideas, and the researchers observations. And ecological validity is concerned with the question of whether social scientific findings are applicable to people's everyday, natural social settings (Bryman, 2012: 47-48).

4.7 Ethical considerations

There are several ethical considerations one must consider both during the fieldwork and after leaving the field. It is important to act knowledgeable, respectful and sensitive towards participants and at the same time be a focused researcher with a clear “goal” in mind.

When using observation as a method, ensuring the informed consent becomes of special interest to discuss. Participation in a social research should be based on volunteerism and participants should have the opportunity to withdraw at any stage in the research process (Thagaard, 2011). Thus it is the researchers responsibility to “... explain as fully as possible, and in terms meaningful to participants, what the research is about, who is undertaking and financing it, why it is being undertaken, and how it is to be promoted” (BSA Statement, n.d., cited in Bryman, 2012: 139). But implementing the principle of informed consent is easier said than done. While conducting fieldwork, the researcher comes in contact with a wide spectrum of people. Some come and go within the eye of the observation without even recognizing at the time, as their actions and interaction happens in their natural setting. This means ensuring that absolutely everyone has the opportunity of informed consent is not only extremely difficult, but also very impracticable, as it would disrupt in everyday contexts. Also, as a moralizing Norwegian, the question whether gathering data from intoxicated informants occurs here. As the culture I am from, many would claim that things they say while intoxicated do not necessarily concur with the “normal” sober opinions. The BSA Statement continues: “Ideally, where informed consent has not been obtained prior to the research it should be obtained post-hoc” (Bryman, 2012: 139).

Prioritized is therefore the protection of participants. The research should in no way be at any potential harm to informants - whether it is physical, emotional, social or financial - thus the study does not provide names or specific address of quoted respondents. All the information given is confidential, which means that I also had to advocate special care that field notes and tape recordings always were stored securely. At one point during the fieldwork, the confidentiality was threatened when the recorder got in the hands of someone who it did not belong. This situation made me pay extra attention to

whether it is appropriate to record certain kinds of sensitive information (Bryman, 2012: 143).

The third area of ethical concern according to Bryman (2012: 142) relates to the issue of invasion of privacy. Although people agree to be part of observation and/or interviewed, participants might feel that information of private realms have been said in confidence, which respondents do not wish to make public (Bryman, 2012; Thagaard, 2011).

Finally, as it might be a lack of transparency, in the sense of what the researcher actually was doing when the data were analysed and how the study's conclusions were arrived at (Bryman, 2012: 406). The researcher has not only responsibility towards the actors, but also towards the quality of own work and study by securing the highest amount of reliability, validity and creditability.

4.8 Fieldwork reflections

The study has required a great deal of self-reflection. To be a devoted researcher but at the same time accepting not being an expert – I am just a student, but I have done research before and thus should not act like a clown either. It is easy to feel a bit lost and frustrated at times after blind alleys. But then just go back and start over, and hopefully it will lead somewhere this time.

4.8.1 Sensitive theme & relationships

One of the biggest challenges both during the field research and this whole study process is that I am writing about the sensitive theme of Identity. Although I prior to the field had in mind Thagaards claim: “close relations developed during fieldwork is based on fundamental asymmetry because the researcher is writing about the informants afterwards” (Thagaard, 2011: 85 own translation). Thus intentionally hoped to keep a distance between informants and myself, by for example base the methods mostly on interviews. But the further in the fieldwork I got, the more I realized that this was in fact a very sensitive and personal topic. Although it might seem obvious, it did take me by surprise how personal and individual identity is. Thus this whole study becomes a

personal one for me, which has at times been complicated. This is interesting as a common assumption is that all people like to talk about themselves, but as one of my informants said: “*You are not really here to make friends, are you? So, why should I bother give you my story, if you’re not interested in giving something back?*”. This fits well with Josselson’s argument that: “Ideally there should be a reciprocity between what informants of information, and what they get for being in the study” (sited in Thagaard, 2011: 29, own translation). When that is said, generally participants found it interesting to participate as they are themselves interested in the topic and thus talking with me – as an interested listener - can help them gain more insight into their own situation (Thagaard, 2011: 29).

4.8.2 Culture differences & language barriers

To conduct research in not only a country (and culture) different from one ones, but also in a foreign and different language has its obvious challenges. Several misunderstandings have occurred, which perhaps could have been avoided if there was an interpreter in the picture. However, this study did not use an interpreter purposively, due to the previous point. The theme is sensitive and individual, and an interpreter would have created a distance between the researcher and the informants. Also, although I have only spoken Spanish for less than two years – I have used Spanish actively for that period of time, and therefore saw it as sufficient enough. The language barriers appeared more openly when the informants realized that my Spanish skills were in fact much better than “*un pocito*” – just a little – and therefore spoke in their normal way. The Dominican Spanish is much quicker, than for example Bolivian Spanish, and in the urban setting also full with *slang*. Borho (2012: 54) mentions that Dominicans for example express their disagreement with certain things by making jokes, and I realised that very often the reason that I did not understand certain things was not because of the language barriers – but rather that the way of speaking among friend often was metaphorically.

Another issue that frequently occurred was that appointments made often did not turn out as planned. In the culture of the Dominicans (and other Latin American countries) is that when for example planning to meet “*ahorita*” – right now – this in fact means

everything from within 5 minutes up to 5 hours. And the custom to let you know if you will no make it to an appointment is often non-existence.

Although fully aware of this issue beforehand, this defiantly has been one of the most frustrating ones bearing in mind this is an cultural behaviour contrary to my own; interviews where not made and several hours were spent waiting for informants, just to realise that they indeed would not turn up without any further explanation. I do not think I am exaggerating if I say that probably 50 percent of my time where lost due to this.

Chapter 5: Empirical findings & Discussion

Truth and identity are socially constructed. To understand how people can place themselves by identifying or distinguish from certain aspects in life, it is important to know the specific cultural background, which is shared by the people. This is covered in Chapter 2, with a presentation of the historical, political and socio-economical aspects of the country, which creates the common platform of the world the people who live in and vis-à-vis – for helping determine how one define oneself. Identity, race and social class are concepts that by themselves not easily defined, and perhaps even more complex together, yet intertwined and mutually constituting. Chapter 3 has presented literature that provides an image of the theoretical and conceptual framework of this study.

In the following chapter I will present how the issues of identity, race and social class are negotiated in an everyday life perspective and in relation to general discussions in the society like the antihaitianismo discourse. Luis, Renato and Yolanda are key respondents; Luis was one of the flatmates in the housing collective in Cabarete, while Yolanda was in Santo Domingo, where also Jose lived thus he also became a natural interview object. They have all been interviewed several times and discussing the theme with me in addition to letting me join in their everyday-life activities. While most of the informal conversations have been in Spanish, Luis and Yolanda both also speak English that has made the interview settings with them easier. Other respondents, who also have been quoted (among them Alejandra and Emmanuel), are mostly part of the same network/environment to the key informants that I will call a younger artist group, all from an afro-descended population but in variation degrees. I will also present some findings from another group, which consist of Haitians whereby the data mainly is collected from informal conversations and semi-structured interview. There are also some documents included in the analysis, used to supplement both the stories from informants and my own observations. This includes some stories fro Haito-Dominicans, as referred to in the methodology chapter as documents as source of data. This was a source the key informants directly pointed me to which consists of interviews from a 2011 research, found both on YouTube and in a booklet given to me by an informant. Embracing the complexity of the issues in this study, it is important to emphasise that

my findings and analysis are based on my re-interpretations (influenced by the theoretical framework) of the informant's reality.

5.1 What factors are affecting the feeling of Identity

From my cultural background, the interesting thing about identity is that everybody has one and everybody thinks it is unique for him or her. Individuals do not want to be put in one category, and likes to think they are unique and exclusive from everybody else. Even so, it is possible to categorize almost all human beings into already existing categories, and most likely not just one, but several. Yet, as Norman Long reminds: *All actors operate mostly implicitly rather than explicitly, with beliefs of the knowledgeability and capability they have vis-à-vis the world they live.* Which signifies that a social phenomena like Identity is made up of a multiplicity of constructed and emergent realities. To comprehend, one has to view this in the contest of understanding the processes by which specific actors and networks of actors engage with and co-produce their own personal and collective social worlds. This became apparent during the first part of the fieldwork, when conducting semi-structured interviews with some Haitian braiding-ladies at the beach in Cabarete.

I came to the Dominican Republic with my mum when I was a little girl. I work with braiding hair, my mother thought me how. It is good work; I like to work with tourist and talk with them. I speak Spanish, Creole and a little English. I have Haitian passport, and have more than 18 years living in Cabarete

– Natasha, 42 years old (Haitian in the DR) – Cabarete

During the interview with Natasha, which took place at the beach – her workplace, she called for 3 of her friends whom also were working there, all of them in the same blue 'uniform' – showing that they where 'licensed' workers. To be a licensed worker one is required to have a passport, which in this case meant Haitian, and pay a certain amount of the salary for the uniform. The tree of them sat down with Natasha and me, and the rest was conducted as a group interview. Since one of them said she would love to talk, but without the taperecorder, the rest was done without so (thus some information might lack, due to the "fragile" memory of the Human mind). They all had similar stories

to Natasha's; they had grown up in Haiti, but came to the Dominican Republic as very young. They all lived in a 'pueblecito' – a neighbourhood outside of Cabarete towards Sosua (a Haitian community). When asked about identity – they said: *"I have, but my kids don't have identity"*. Because they were born here, they could not declare their children, neither in the DR nor Haiti. They claimed, it had been good for them to live here but:

"I'm sad because it is not so good for my kids. I wish for them to go to school, to have opportunities. But they were born here, and don't have identity. It is many problems like that in our barrio. Many children do not have identity".

It is interesting that the Haitian woman expresses that their children do not have identity. Although I at first had my biased expectations as told earlier, of the concept of identity and that the response thus would be different, I thought at the time that this interview was of no relevance for further investigation; that they summed identity down to just a piece of paper. However, Identity is a social constructed concept. Thus it can only be properly understood in the specific cultural context it is constructed within as Norman Long claimed. The identity discourse on a general basis in the Dominican Republic is in regard to the nationality issues that claimed in the context, specifically for Haito-Dominicans. The same type of sayings was repeated in the documents and brochures received from Centro Bono (the Think Tank working on issues like the Haito-Dominicans situation) in Santo Domingo. Like in the interviews of people born in the Dominican Republic, done by Amnesty: *"I would like to have identity documents to be someone. Without papers, I am no one"* – Elvi Mora (Amnesty International, 2015: 42). And Estarlina Pequero says: *"If I had documents, I would have finished school and I would be studying psychology at university"* (Amnesty International, 2015: 46). And in fact, during several informal conversations about identity on various occasions with Dominican informants – they presented to show me their national identity card: *Cédula de Identidad y Electoral*, which contains the holder's name and surnames, city of birth, nationality, sex, date of birth, civil status, occupation, polling station, residential address and a photograph. Formerly, until 2014, it also included the holder's race. These were represented as a gesture of *"Yes, this is my identity, here you can see"*.

More expressions of identity

Yet another reason for presenting the Haitian braiding ladies on the beach in Cabarete regarding identity, has to be seen also in the context the interview was given. It was a semi-structured interview, and the relationship between the researcher and the informant. I was a stranger to them, thus it became difficult for me to get an understanding of their inner-‘personal’ identity as Fitzgerald is writing about and which I tried to search for. Yet, this is also conflicting with the argument of Kwame Anthony Appiah: *‘The problem of who I really am is raised by the facts of what I appear to be: and though it is essential to the mythology of authenticity that this fact should be obscured by its prophets, what I appear to be is fundamentally how I appear to others and only derivatively how I appear to myself’*. In fact, this rather builds up the complexity of the concept Identity. However as claimed in the methodology chapter, it was not until later when I changed my focus I realised that I already had established valuable and trustworthy informants.

In Cabarete, I already lived in a housing collective of young Dominicans, aged between 19 and 35. A lesson learned from my last stay in Santo Domingo, is that friends come and go. At times it was actually hard for me to tell, who were residents and who were visitors. However, upon my arrival one of the members of the housing collective informally presented it as *“a house of artists – here we live just a group of creative people. Doing different creative activities”*.

One of the members, who turned out to be one of my key informants, is Luis, a 33-year-old artisan originally from the countryside of Santiago, now based in Cabarete. As many people from the high/midlands that the countryside, Luis skin is bright brown-skinned. He presents himself in the interview:

I am an artist. I make these macramé bracelets and jewellery. Here you can see my work, my identity. This is what I do, and what I want to do. Like to do.

My family is farmers, and I come from a big family. I have 8 siblings, but they have not impact me much. Other than I had to manage myself, I always knew that I am an artist.

Renato is 29-year-old and, and tells me, originally from Bona0. He is a dark-brown *Moreno*. When I first met him in Cabarete, he was visiting Luis and his other friends in the housing collective, but claimed he was living in the middle of the country in the mountain areas. During the second part of the fieldwork, he was based in Santo Domingo:

When I was 14 years old, I realised that school was nothing for me. I remember I told my family that I was quitting, and moving to the capital and go to the national fine arts school... My uncle hit me in my face and said it was a stupid idea. I left, and have never seen that uncle again. – He claimed in one of the interviews.

I have a son in Santo Domingo, so I want to be here often to play with my kid. I like to be free and go to the mountains whenever the mountains calls for me, to paint. I like to paint aliens and abstracts. Because that is how I feel we are. It represents me in this society... Music is also a great passion. I make songs and am a researcher for Afro-Dominican music; me and two other started our band five years ago just the three of us. Now we are 10 in the band, and hope we will expand. I play percussions and sing the songs that are important in accompanying our Afro-Dominican identity

It was through Luis and Renato I later met Yolanda and got to live in her housing collective in Santo Domingo, where also Jose the drama student lived.

I am a rapper. I studied Journalism and media, and I write movies... Some people say I do too much, but really, what do I do? Rap: I write lyrics, movie? I write, Journalism, I write. So basically I am just a writer. Ever since I was a girl I sometimes feel the fantasy is better than the reality... I wanted to play basketball, but that was only allowed for the boys. So I started to write instead. I think that is what leaded me to be a conscious rapper, because I write lyrics of what I see, and what I think is wrong in this society... People live by hiding their dreams for fear that they will not be fulfilled, but how will the Universe know to help fulfil them? I take risks, and although there are obstacles on the way, I see them as stones as I can learn to build with them and become more prosperous and happy. Each stage

teaches me something, and you learn and you grow. And you take the best decisions. I'm happy because I'm getting closer to the dreams I have for myself.

– Yolanda, 24 years old, Santo Domingo

Jose is 26 years old from Santo Domingo, and pointed out some of the most important aspects of his identity; of who he is, was his acting:

I am studying Dramatic Acting at the National School of Fine arts (Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes). I am lucky that I get to study what I love. I think we are all playing parts in society. One plays a part by being someone's daughter, being a father, a prisoner, a priest and so on. All those different parts are plays. And all those parts have restrictions; how one should and can act. In drama you don't play by the same rules.

Jose continues by reflecting on the culture of theatre and drama in his country. He talks about his *Laboratorio* (which is a kind of modern theatre group) and compares it to classical theatre like Shakespeare:

That old and fancy stuff does not apply to anyone in this country... I have been working with some films, but there are not many opportunities here. It is mostly Telenovellas (Soap Operas) but they are not real actors, they are just divas. When I research for my Laboratorio, I go to the Campo (field) to study the real people. Those divas have never put their foot in the barrio, so how could they play real people? It is not true acting. While I often go to my own Barrio and spend the whole day. I'm fan of this anthropology acting - Jose, 26 years old, Santo Domingo

Like Norman Long claimed, the beliefs of the knowledgeability and capability a person have are vis-à-vis the world they live in, is connected to Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus. As the habitus creates both an individual self-perception and a mutual group perspective of the surrounding worlds, they're ways to classify and how they position themselves. *The informants understanding of social systems will be determined by their position in the social hierarchy, and their subjective expectations are reconciled by their objective possibilities* As Wilken wrote. The Haitians in Cabarete represent only one grouping in the social hierocracy, most likely higher up on the system than those living

in the *bateyes* as they at least have identification papers and passports. However, their children, born in the Dominican Republic by foreign - Haitian – parents (some also likely, by mixed parents) quite low on the socio-economical ladder, have very few opportunities for education and jobs, lacking identification papers. In this regard, the existential question of identity becomes irrelevant. In general most informal conversations with other informants from the artistic collectives environment, it is exactly current education, work or the artistic part of them that has been mentioned as a presentation of their identity.

Worth mentioning is, according to the context, most Dominicans of Haitian descent, work and live side by side with Dominicans, like any working class Dominican. This counts for at least the big cities. But Cabarete is different from the Capital in that regard. It's a small town, once a fishing-village, divided into areas; first of all visibly segregated by the highway, with foreigners and tourists living or staying on the beach. Locals live on the other side of the road. Again this is divided into different neighbourhoods, some gated communities – for foreigners and wealthy Dominicans. And then there are the less 'developed' neighbourhoods, where the power outages are frequent, it gets easily flooded in rainy seasons, and few tourists would normally enter. Another significance was that just outside Cabarete, are an area called El Camino Del Sol – with Jardín Deportivo – a now abandoned resort area occupied by illegal immigrant Haitians.

I will however, return to this in particular, in the following sections on social class in the Dominican Republic.

5.2 Perceptions of Social Class

The director of the Santo Domingo Modern Arts museum, Maria Elena Ditre Flores (2004) wrote in a chronicle about Dominican Identity: *'One can think of the Dominican Republic as three countries in one; One that where the citizens are living on the national territory, and fully or at least partly are satisfied with their needs of health, housing, education and recreation. One of the emigrants dispersed in different parts of the world, and that of the inhabitants who cannot fulfil their basic needs'*. It is the latter, which contains the immense majorities, and it is a majority that is not even aware of their

social and cultural rights according to Flores. Although she adds the emigrants in her computation, the statement raises most of all the issue of the social class structures. As the Dominican Republic is a class-based society, individual's social background/social class have a great deal to say for one's identity, and probably more than many other factors. However, socio-economic class is a tricky issue in the Dominican history, and "elite" is a problematic term in a country where, as Juan Bosch argued, a modern bourgeoisie emerged only in the late twentieth century (Mayes, 2004, p 11). Juan Bosch attracted my attention during the field on several occasions (streets, social-debate foundations and libraries named after him). Bosch was one of the key writers of American literature and remembered as an honest politician, respected throughout the Caribbean intellectuals. During one interview session with Renato, we were discussing the Dominican cultural Identity. Renato told the history of the Dominican Republic, and according to him it was Bosch who introduced the middle class:

...Although a 'blanco' he was not a 'rico'. He spoke to all social classes and said, "we are not only peasants and elites most of us are middle class"

This representation of Bosch and the classes can implement that Renato has an understanding of the Marxian class structure, more or less. After reading up on Juan Bosch, it becomes clear that he was none the less a man of influence; and according to Pierre Bourdieu's class structure this will prove as evidence for a man who might not have had a great deal of economic capital, but still part of the dominating class as he certainly had a great deal of cultural capital in the sense of education and influence. Juan Bosch was part of the intellectual elite. What is interesting with the sort of saying that: although a *blanco* (white guy), he was not a *rico* (rich guy) confirms that it is not the norm that if one is white in the Dominican Republic – it does not mean that one is part of the oligarchy.

It is, however, also a general way of speaking among my informants. I often did experience similar conversations among informants, when talking about other friends or acquaintances that were not present; it was common to state that person's colour or social class like a description. An example, occurring on several occasions could be like this:

-“I met Pablo the other day”

“Pablo who?”

-“El rico” (the rich guy).

Or “Carlos, el Moreno” (the brown male)

In an informal conversation, thus *rico* can be a description of a person, a reason for acting in a certain way; he might do or say something in the way he does, because of him being a *rico*. In other words, it fits with Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of habitus. An example was used during an informal conversation presenting Renato, Alejandra and Emmanuel (and myself). The conversation was about weapons, pros and cons were Renato and Alejandra on the one side were against it, Emmanuel were pro and claimed something like: “*Of course I will have a gun one day, especially if I own some land some day. One have to protect oneself*”. This is remarkable, as Emmanuel is one of the bandleaders in same the Afro-Caribbean band where also Renato is also a member. They were at the same time dressing likewise in some ways representing the band, and with his outer expressions like dreadlocks, Emmanuel could easily be taken for a ‘stereotypical hippie’, thus expecting him being anti-weapon. However, as Renato afterwards explained as a reason for Emmanuel’s opinions: *he is from the barrio, but he is a rico from the barrio*.

Although *barrio* directly is translated as neighbourhood, in this sense it refers to the outskirts of the Capital, or the ‘ghetto’. It seems that *rico* refers to people among the upper middle classes. For example, the Pablo mentioned above, which frequently referred to as *rico* on several occasions in informal conversations. I met with Pablo on several times, both as he came visiting the apartment I was living in occasionally and out and about in Santo Domingo. On an informal occasion, I confronted him by asking whether he was a *rico* or not, he claimed: *no I’m not rich, my family owns some properties and land. But I’m not rich*. But Pablo tells he is originally from Gascue (one of the “nicer” neighbourhoods of Santo Domingo). In other words, although he might not see it himself with his view, he is from a higher social class than for example Yolanda. Yolanda on the other hand, seems to be quite aware of her social background that she comes from a lower middle class. She is a dark brown skinned *morena* from a *barrio* named Cristo Rey in Santo Domingo. Although not visiting that *barrio*, I visited other. And just by seeing the streets and the buildings, the ghetto vibe is obvious. There is a clear socio-economical difference between these *barrios* and the “nicer”/richer parts of Santo Domingo.

Pablo, on the other hand, although not referred to as a *blanco* is a white Dominican. Something repeatedly observed; those who were referred to as *ricos*, usually would mean people of predominant European or Middle Eastern ancestry. Further, where they're from might also be a recognising factor. If from Santo Domingo for example, people of higher social classes will claim they are from neighbourhoods like Guascue or alike (which are claimed to be nicer neighbourhoods), while a great deal of my informants would claim their from the *barrio*. Moreover, a *rico* usually refers to a person who comes from a family with sufficient economical capital to be sent to a private university. As Jose, the drama student in the housing collective in Santo Domingo claimed in his interview:

Education is only for those who are extremely lucky (as in scholarships), or rich people - Jose, 26 years old Santo Domingo

Educational possibilities for social mobility

If you have an education in the DR, no matter what, you can be sure to get a job. A medical student can get work in the government. The type of education does not really matter, as long as you just have one". - Female Informant, 28 years old.

Although one can choose ones education more or less freely, social background/class plays a big role as Thomas Hylland Eriksen (1997) claimed. One can be accepted to the free university, but one would still have to pay for food and accommodation. From my understanding, there are about 27 universities in Santo Domingo, but only one – The UASD (Universidad Autonoma de Santo Domingo) is for free. The UASD is the public university system in the Dominican Republic with its flagship campus in Santo Domingo (and with regional campuses in several cities around the country). It was founded already in 1538, which makes it the oldest, and first university of the Western Hemisphere in the Americas. At Trujillo's death, this was the only university, with roughly 3,500 students (Haggerty, 1989). Private schools, most of them operated by the Roman Catholic Church, enjoyed a reputation for academic superiority to public schools. By the 1970s, they appeared to be the preferred educational option for the urban middle

class (Haggerty, 1989). Something that seems to still count today, as I visited the UASD campus in Santo Domingo on several occasions, it did strike me that the students were almost exclusively dark-skinned, which I would argue, confirms that the urban middle class prefer private universities – making the social divide clearer. In order to gain cultural capital through education in the Dominican Republic, means that there is a requirement for some economic capital. Jose for example, told that the new and rising upper middle class are the American-Dominican; those with dual citizenship usually born and raised in the U.S. and now is moving ‘back’ to the Dominican Republic. The people who fit in this social class category, usually has a lot more economical capital, in addition to cultural capital – e.g. education.

As stated in her interview, Yolanda claimed that she had studied Journalism at the UASD. I learnt at another point, however, that she currently had a break from the studies because she needed income. Alejandra on the other hand, was supported from home:

I study cinematography at the UASD. Have two younger sisters, so my parents are supportive for my education. I would however like to not having to live with my parents, they live far out of the city. But they were not very supportive of me moving together with my boyfriend. They think I am too young.

-Alejandra, 19 years old, Santo Domingo

Alejandra is a typically urban middle-class. She also speaks English fairly well. Jose who is from, and living in the capital, is studying to become an educated actor at university can easily fit into the urban middle class category although from the barrio, at least according to himself – something repeatedly pointed out. However, although repeatedly stating that he was lucky that he had the chance to study, something also Renato claimed once in an informal setting, where Both he, Jose and some others were present: “Jose is extremely lucky to get a chance to study, most people in his position don’t”, Jose never explained exactly *how* he had gotten the opportunity even though I asked. My guess must have been that he has gotten a scholarship, but since he were so reticent to reveal how – perhaps someone were paying it for him?

Although from the same environment, in general, more of the informants in Santo Domingo (which includes the acquaintances of Yolanda and Alejandra in particular) had education. Jose in addition had many friends coming by, who were so called *Tiguere's*. A *Tiguere* is a typical Dominican word, used to describe a usually streetwise male. Although an ambivalent meaning: he is opportunistic, crafty and could be a "trickster". If a female use it, it is usually referred to in a negative way for the males out in the streets that are *cat shamming* (typically making sexist and vulgar comments) about women. But, Jose and his friends also used out of respect for each other and for someone they looked up to. In Cabarete, neither of the informants had an education, and in fact several where school dropouts for various reasons. Sarah, one from the collective (originally from Santo Domingo) that worked as a waitress explained:

When I was 16 years old, I came out to my parents – who are Catholics, like most people here in this country. They did not approve that I said I like girls.... First they grounded me, I was not even allowed to go to school for two weeks. So I missed my exams. They wanted me to take back what I said, to realize it was a Sin. But you know, I did not. I wanted them to understand, so I feel really sad that they don't. I cannot change, this is who I am... So it ended up with me leaving, one of the reasons I am living here in Cabarete... I'm not receiving any funding from my family, so I could not afford to study more. I like living here, at the beach. It is sad that no one in my family understand me. I feel more accepted for who I am here... Many of my friends come from the U.S. they are more open minded. - Sarah, 22 years old, Cabarete

Renato as he claimed earlier, quit school at the age of 14, because as he said – it was not something for him and he would rather work with art, and expressed that there would be no point in finishing school. Similarly, Luis expressed a discontent or even gloominess over the educational system in in his interview:

I did not like school. The schools in this country are not good. We do not even learn about the Tainos, our history. We only learn about Columbus who came to the island, but nothing about our roots! I would never take an education, even if my parents forced me to it. - Luis, 33 years old, Cabarete

Livelihood & and what it means for Identity; Class, Capital and Status

None of the informants from the artistic collective and their circle of consociates (musicians, artisans, graffiti painters and painters) in Cabarete were originally from Cabarete. The reason that they were living there was because of the foreigners and the job opportunities with tourism, their livelihood. *Livelihood best expresses the idea of individuals and groups striving to make a living, attempting to meet their various consumption and economic necessities, coping with uncertainties, responding to new opportunities, and choosing between different value positions* (Long, 2001: 54). For Luis, the macramé has become his livelihood. Macramé is the art of doing decorative knots, a technique used for making jewellery and other ornaments, and the result is textile-similar. In fact, macramé is a common thing to learn, as a hobby. Friendship-bracelets exchanged between kids and teens are often made with this technique. Luis has proudly developed his own indigenous inspired style, and claims are reflecting his own Taino roots, important for his cultural identity. He spends approximately 8 hours to make one bracelet, which he usually sells for 2000 pesos. Twice a week he has a stand at the artisanal market, which takes place at two of the clubs/restaurants/bars at the beach every Wednesday and Sunday. Although he claims that usually the sales from the markets in peak-season (between mid December and April/May) generate enough income for the rest of the year to cover his expenses such as new material, rent and food. If often sales, this is more profitable than a minimum wage job. Off-peak months can be extremely rough however, and as I witnessed Luis often had to go home without a single sale on several occasions. This was alarming for Luis:

Tourist money is less valuable this year. They come and stay in hotels and eats at restaurants as usual but they are leaving without buying souvenirs... It is bad for the community. It is dangerous in the off season, because the people get desperate. There is much more burglaries.

According to Sandra Wallman (in Long, 2001: 54): “Livelihood is never just a matter of finding or making shelter, transacting money, getting food to put on the family table or to exchange on the market place. It is equally a matter of ownership and circulation of information, the management of skills and relationships, and the affirmation of personal significance (involving issues of self-esteem) and group identity. The task of meeting obligations, of security, identity and status, and organising time are as crucial to

livelihood as bread and shelter". This came to play visible in the sense of Luis, when asked if he would not consider getting a licence, so he could sell his macramé at the beach like the other blue uniforms selling jewellery and souvenirs. Determined Luis responded "No" because: "*they are sellers, I'm an artist*". Thus as Long (2001: 55) claims: "the identity-constructing process inherent in the pursuit of livelihoods is especially relevant since livelihood strategies entail the building of relationships with others whose life worlds and statuses may differ markedly". Especially relevant might this be for Luis concerning his potential customers, those who would buy his services – his macramé – the tourists. It was important for him to show that this is something he not only has to do for a living, but something he wants to and take pride in doing. Renato, in similar ways as Luis expressed that there is not an option to have another part time job, and that livelihood is as much about identity construction, as having a safe economy. As earlier claimed in the interview: *I rather don't have money for some time and live free... I can go to the mountains and paint whenever the mountains calls for me*

It is universally accepted that artists usually are low on economic capital, but in return, be high on cultural capital and hence belongs to the dominating class according to Pierre Bourdieu. Compared to the rest of the "labour" force depending on tourism in Cabarete; The Haitians hair braiding ladies; other seasonal workers and licenced sellers at the beach spotted by their blue uniforms selling jewellery to the tourist during daytime; prostitutes and *Sanky Panky's* in the evening; supermarket-, hotel- and restaurant labourers, this is true. At least based on how Luis perceives it. When the various artist production on demand; gigs at bars for the musicians and high number of sales for other craft products, living of artistic work can even be economically profitable.

The *Sanky Panky* is a well-known and infamous phenomenon within and outside the DR. Probably every, single white foreign woman who has been a tourist in the DR, has once been approached by one. A Sanky Panky is a male "gold-digger" or "sex worker", at the beaches usually near hotels and beach bars. In Cabarete none the less, spotted in the evening when the *bachatta* music is played loudly from the loudspeakers and the beach bars get filled with both tourists and Dominicans, ready to dance. But strictly speaking they are not prostitutes, because they do not directly negotiate money for sex. However, he would initiate a form of relationship, usually with a tourist Gringa – White American

woman (or another tourist). A Sanky Pankys ultimate goal is to marry and get a visa to the U.S., at least according to the 2007 fictional comedy movie called "Sanky Panky". A person who is a Sanky Panky is reflecting a group of people from a low socio-economical position in the Dominican society.

What is interesting with the Sanky Panky's, especially in the relation to my informants in Cabarete, is how quickly they distinguished themselves from them (who they as ranging beneath them in the social class hierocracy) by claiming to their artist identity. This was a case on several evenings, Luis, Yefri and Ricky (all living in the collective) were quick to point out to me "Look, he is clearly a Sanky Panky". That the informants showed some disliking to the Sanky Panky could in one way be argued to be due to their social standing and different habitus. However, in the Dominican Society as a whole, the artists in Cabarete were not dominating class. Perhaps is Karl Marx's petty bourgeoisie a better explanation, as it is an intermediary term (between working class and capitalist) of craftsmen, family-based traders and independent farmers who did not base their business on hired labour. Since no one in the housing collective, except for one – Sarah, who works as a waitress – are employed for wages, they are not working class people. The Sanky Pankys is on the other end, as they are basically unemployed and a group reflecting poverty. But truth speaking, there are also several similarities to the Cabarete informants and the Sanky Panky, they come from very similar socio-economical backgrounds where economical capital is close to none existing. They are both depending on the tourist industry to make a living. Although none of my male informants in Cabarete would recognize the fact, I did observe or hear from others that almost all at some point would get a girlfriend whom would live with them for a period, paying their rent and other costs for example food. Although, when confronted by it – the informants who it counted for denied it was an economical benefit to it. Moreover, Sarah as mentioned, works as a waitress in a restaurant and claimed she earned 350 pesos for an eight-hour shift. This information surprised me at first, because if that is correct, her salary is no better than the Haitians. As another informant said:

Haitians are promised good jobs in the DR, being tricked over the border to do shit jobs. Additionally they are almost kept prisoners and captured inside the bateys – for 7000 pesos a month" – female informant, 30 years old Cabarete

However, according to Jay Espy (2015, 13.10) the DR has the second lowest average wage in Latin America. Yet how people can afford rent, maintains a mystery. Yolanda's main income comes from her job as a receptionist in a hostel working six days a week, in addition having side jobs as translator and tutoring foreigners in Spanish. She claimed that she liked being occupied with work, more or less every day of the week, as expressed in an interview: *You know, I need to do work. I need many things to do. If not I would go crazy.* Although a young woman with ambitions, I could not help to think that it might be because she had no other choice in order to make ends meet. One of Yolanda's friends, who often came visit the house in Santo Domingo, once said in an informal conversation: *What this government need is a 360 degree turn around. So that people like Yolanda, young woman with her type of potential – could be able to give the best out of it....*". Since it was told during an informal conversation, it caught me by surprise – thus I was not able with follow up questions on the exact meaning of this statement. Still it could be due to Yolanda's standing in the social hierocracy. She has the potential to climb the social ladder but coming from a low class family, she is held back because of the obvious symbolic violence, carried out by the state – the government.

Nevertheless, Yolanda was at one point consulting with me because she had got a job offer as a teacher in a town southwest in the country, some hours away from Santo Domingo that would double her income from the current. She, however, turned it down because as she claimed:

I like my job at the hostel. I like meeting new people and talk to them. When there are people from other countries, I always learn some words in their language. I also believe that it does not take more than just a few minutes with a person, and maybe that is enough to influence their lives.

My interpretation is that the identity construction of livelihood is more important for Yolanda. Although she could gain more economic capital, her social capital is of greater value to her. In particular for maintaining her identity, not at least, her identity as a rapper. Social capital, which means the contacts and networks people has access to achieve attractive job-positions. In the case of my informants though, social capital seems more likely to be a matter of networks and connections for status. Yolanda for

example, often mentioned in informal settings that she knew a lot of people. Something claimed with pride in her interview:

As a rapper, everyone knows who and how No Mercy is (her rapper name). Or they don't. You don't have to be a woman to be a groupie, when I go to a party I always has lot of people coming to me; and they greet me with such respect.

It was even very notable, when participating with her in her everyday life that she easily got in touch with people from all over the world at her workplace at the hostel. And walking along with her in the streets of Zona Colonial (the old city centre), there would always be people saluting her. In addition, it seemed like she enjoyed bringing me around and visit her friends. Social capital, in some ways also seemed to be something worth fighting for. In particular when Yolanda and Renato met, it seemed that they somehow where 'playing' within the same field and often ended up in arguments with each other. Of course, the reasons for these arguments can have several reasons. But Renato once told in an informal setting that although friends with her, he also were tired of Yolanda always bragging about all the people she know.

5.3 The Dominican Republic: – the 'racial' tropical paradise / the mulatto republic

*"Ayer español nací
A la tarde fui francés
A la noche etíope fui
Hoy dicen que soy ingles
Dios mío, No se que será de mi".*

"Yesterday I was born Spanish,
In the Afternoon I was French
At night I was Ethiopian
Today they say I'm English
My God, What will become of me (I don't know what will be me)".

- A famous poem in the DR (Poesia negroide)

The poem represents a general attitude among all informants, no matter which social class they belong. All informants were asked to describe a stereotypical Dominican, which easily enough could be described as: “He is loud, friendly, happy, likes to dance, likes to party, rum”. Based on a numerous of informal conversations. But when asked, “What is Dominican Identity?”, one of the most frequent replies was with the contra question; “yes, what is that?” Or “I don’t know, you tell me?”. Claimed in the literature, as follows from the Caribbean’s unique history, few regions of the world today can match its cultural diversity. None of the people who occupy the islands – black, brown, white, African, European, Spanish, French, East Indian, Jew, Chinese – originally ‘belonged’ there as Stuart Hall put it. The Arawak presence remains today a ghostly one; visible in the islands mainly in museums and archaeological sites, part of the barely knowable or usable ‘past’ claims Hall (1990: 234-235). There are a few caves (whereas one is a discotheque), Museo del Hombre Dominicano in Santo Domingo, and a few words in the Dominican vocabulary (like *guagua* - bus), and just a few shops in La zona that sells “taíno –souvenir/art”. Neither is it incorporated in the educational program in school. The confusion of a cultural Dominican Identity, is explained by what Stuart Hall claims to be the first position of thinking about cultural identity, which *defines ‘cultural identity’ in terms of one shared culture, a sort of collective “one true self”. Which reflects common historical experiences and shared cultural codes that provide us, as ‘one people’, with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning.* Hence the confusion, how can there be one collective “true self”, when all has different ancestry? I was left with a general impression, that seemingly many Dominicans wants to be proud of their cultural and national identity. Indeed, I would argue that based on the general impression, I have never met any other nationalities more proud of their cultural identity than the Dominicans. For example, as said in an informal setting:

My daughter, who is born in the U.S., she is just so confused! She does not know what she is, and she is not proud of being Dominican.... But I am, I am proud to come from the first country in the Americas; the country with the first church, hospital and university – Male Dominican-Yorker, 40 years old, Santiago/New York.

‘Dominican Yorker’ is slang for the Dominicans living in New York. The stated pride by the Dominican Yorker fits with Aronoff’s claims, that in order to save a culture one must

first loose it. The male Dominican Yorker is a diaspora identity and is thus a 'stereotypical' Dominican. It was during a conversation with Emmanuel, Jose and Renato the answer to what is a stereotypical Dominican after it had been deliberated over some time, the answer became a 'Dominican Yorker': "*They who left the Dominican Republic, only to realise how much they miss their home. The rice and beans, the loudness of the Dominicans and the bachatta...*" Diaspora identities are those, which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference. One can only think here of what is uniquely – 'essentially' – Caribbean: precisely the mixes of colour, pigmentation, physiognomic type; the 'blends' of tastes that is Caribbean cuisine (Hall, 1990: 235-236).

The daughter of the Dominican Yorker, who has a multicultural identity represent the confusion, shared by most in the DR. As described in Chapter 3: because it is common to think of cultural identity as something assumed to be fixed and stable. Yet, the informants are aware that there is no such thing. Like Alejandra claimed:

Race is very interesting. In the reality the Dominican Republic has always been a mix and we are all a great mix of everything. That is, there is no fixed race. We are all descendants of some race that for some or another reason was here in a certain time... If not Africans, then Spanish or English and so on... -Alejandra, 19 years old Santo Domingo

An upper middleclass, Andrés explained in an informal setting that he had a Scottish surname:

My great grandfather came from Scotland. He came to the Dominican Republic, and had children with a black woman. I guess his family back in Scotland weren't too happy, but the Dominican family was, because he provided them with money. - Andrés, 29 years old, Santo Domingo

Similar conversations occurred, without being initiated by me, that the heritage in one way or another was mentioned. With a group of people at the apartment, Yolanda told:

I'm sure everyone can claim they have one grandparent that is Spanish or at least European. My last name was one of the first Spanish surnames, so I have one of the oldest, and most common, surnames that exist in the Spanish language.

Also when participating with Renato, similar occurred. One occasion, while visiting a *barrio* just outside of Santo Domingo city, we entered a *colmado*. Renato starting talking with the guy who works behind the counter, like I had observed many often do, as if he knew him. The *colmado* worker asked where we were from, and wondering why we were at the *barrio*, since not many foreigners tend to go there. Renato replied: *"She is from Norway, My father is originally from Jamaica"*. It occurred to me strange, as Renato never mentioned this in his interview. But perhaps this was just something he said as part of a sort of image.

Attitudes towards Haitians & debates about racism

"I don't know why, I just don't like Haitians" – Yefri, 30 years old, Cabarete

Yefri, who is one of the housing members in the collective in Cabarete, claimed the above in an informal situation. Whether it has something to say that him being black and from a poor working class family, is not easy to say. As stated in the context, Haitians are treated as the society's scapegoats. The independent national civic network Reconoci claims: *"We live in an apartheid state"* (Reconoci.do, 2015). Informants like Luis say:

It is like modern day slavery here. People don't trust, people don't want Haitians here. Even the people who work with Haitians – they work for less than Dominicans.

Haitian migrant workers is earning as low as 10\$ a day, or 90 cents per hour (Espy, 2015, 13.10). Discrimination against the Haitians and their descendants in the Dominican Republic starts from early childhood. A recent study concluded that Dominican children of between 4 and 13 years of age were more likely to associate evil, ugliness, and poverty with black rather than white people according to Barcia (2013, 01.11). My informants however, usually used the words: 'shy', 'polite' and even

'trustworthy', when asked to describe a stereotypical Haitian. Alejandra in the interview compared Dominicans to Haitians:

If a Dominican wants something, he will take it - while a Haitian will ask you what you need.

During the interview with Jose, he stated in a jokingly manner:

I tell you what Haitians are, they are all ladrones" (thief's).

Although he might not have literally meant this, both he and Alejandra could confirm that these are the type of sayings and attitudes, at least their parent's generation has been growing up with. And Jose did on several occasions make similar jokes/statements about Haitians, claiming: "*they are animals. They are no good for society*". Similar, Luis said:

Not my perception, but the Dominican perception of Haiti, and the people of Haiti. Not mine of course: they are bad people; they are full of hate... to us. Because they invade us - that is the perception of the Dominican Republic. They occupy here for some years. And... we made these people to go back to Haiti, and we win the war. Like we say, and its not like that - and the history on that side is another completely. The system of occupation here is another thing. Because the racism here: They are bad. They are rapist - Luis, 33 years old, Cabarete

Since my last stay in the Dominican Republic two years earlier, I noticed that there were now two new low-price hostels in Santo Domingo. One of them where Yolanda was working. Notably for both of these places had Haitians labourers, which at first stroke me as a bit odd due to the statements I had learnt earlier (Haitians do not get hired in formal industries). However, as it turns out, both these places were owned by foreigners. The same counted for a restaurant in Cabarete, where I met Nicolas who was a waiter. Owners from abroad do not care whether the employees had ID-papers or not, as long as the job performed was good. In fact, the owner of one of the hostels (a typical backpacker hostel) in Santo Domingo, to whom I was speaking with, is a Brit. He told me that when he was building the place, he hired Haitians to do the construction work, and that also one of his best and most trusted employees is a Haitian. I asked how much he paid them. He would not disclose their wages, but informed that it was indeed much

more than they would normally be payed. He further said he preferred Haitians labourers, as they were “trustworthy and hardworking”. Hiring Haitians, he had received anonymous death threats. A Haitian employee at the hostel, Watson, seemed to be a little reticent in revealing too much information, but from a brief informal conversation, he told he was afraid to go outside in the evening/night because he was Haitian. He was scared that someone might beat him up.

I was taking the *GuaGua* (the bus) from Santo Domingo to Juan Dolio with Renato and a few others to spend a day on the beach one Saturday. (It must be mentioned, that people who do take the *GuaGua* normally come from the lower social classes. Urban middle classes would not take the *GuaGua* but rather drive in a car by themselves to get around). In the back of the bus, two Haitian women were seated. At one point, the bus driver started making fun of them. For me it sounded like ‘mocking’ jokes, as he was shouting something like: *It is your stop morena! Get of the bus! Get of the bus Morena!*. The whole bus was laughing with him, while the two Haitian women left the bus in silence with their head down, looking rather ashamed. After they had left, the bus driver continued: “Oh she is fat that Morena!” and the bus still laughing. Based on the saying about Haitians, the situation occurred to me as one of a racist nature. However, there might also have been something in this situation that I missed out on because of cultural difference and language barriers. As I tried to gain an understanding of the situation afterwards (what had really happened – was it a racist joke? Or was it something else? I discussed it with Renato as he had been there too. He did not understand my reaction to the situation, nothing had occurred strange to him; this was a perfectly normal situation. In my opinion, this could be an example of what Bourdieu claims; that agents say something, and then do something completely different. Informants like Renato are clear in their view that the general public and/or people in general are racist, but he is not. But if one has spent ones childhood growing up with the attitude that it is OK to joke about Haitians, one could say that it has become part of the habitus, these attitudes have become embodied, and thus not recognized as “racist” or discriminatory.

Another situation that occurred and one of a more obvious racist character was an evening in the capital. In Santo Domingo I had heard several stories about clubs who did not let in dark-skinned people, or people with afro-styled hair. One evening in Santo

Domingo this was witnessed, when participating in a group of both foreigners (Spanish living in Santo Domingo for a couple of years) and Dominicans from an urban middle class – whereby one of them a Dominican of Haitian decent. It would have been interesting to learn more about his story, but he did not want to/or have time to participate in my research. However, it is an observation made I cannot leave out. As the person is of a higher social class, based on his travels, in both Europe and North America. The particular situation that occurred was that everyone of the group was let into the club, except the Dominican of Haitian decent. The bouncer gave the reason: *You don't look like you are going to spend any money.*

Ferguson (2003) write that many might find it strange that this type of racism occurs, not only in a place where most people are of African descendant, but also since Dominicans abroad have themselves experienced discrimination especially in the U.S. and in Puerto Rico. However as Elisabeth Thomas Hope (in Ferguson, 2003: 8) writes: “Black racial characteristics and poverty, produce xenophobic images of the Haitians by populations who are themselves black and attempting to rise from poverty”. Which also Luis claimed:

... The situation with Haiti, and the poverty with Haiti are because, we have poverty (in the DR), but the situation in Haiti is extreme. Something extreme. – Luis, 33 years old.

For my findings, it is difficult to tell exactly among which races or social classes the racist attitudes are generated the most or least. The situation on the GuaGua indicates that it is among the lower working class. One of the key factors for the clear racism was religion. In a sense religion can be used to create more fear and hatred towards Haitians, and is probably is the main reason for the current antihaitianismo. According to the context, the main religion is Catholic 95%. An example of this came prior to the field, back in 2013. I had been to a small town on the south east coast named Bayahibe. Where I had spoken with both Haitians, who worked on a Catamaran to bring tourist out for a trip, and Dominicans that worked in the hotel. The Haitians, a couple of men in their early 20s, told me that it was impossible for them to get work in the DR, and that the only work they did get (legally) was on this boat, as photographers and other jobs, that did nor really generate a good income. To have a job in a Hotel was impossible. This was

prior to my knowledge of the whole situation regarding ID and citizenship. I asked the receptionist in the hotel, a Dominican woman why it was that Haitians did not get to work there. The reply I got was: *“Because they are dangerous... they do voodoo you know”*. She pointed out that she was not Catholic, but Christian evangelic. Sadly, religion is used to alienate and divide. Similar Luis claimed in the interview:

And here with the religion and fanatics the people here, for example, the Christian shepards/pastors say that Haiti is in that situation because they believe in voodoo. And voodoo is a devil sin, an evil sin. And they are demon, because God doesn't like that. And I don't know how to say that: they are people not to trust, people who never going to learn. Not going to resolve the problem they have. You know In general, Haiti it's a country demon by God – Luis, 33 years old, Cabarete.

A small digression away from the debates of racism and the attitudes yet linked to religion. During *Semana Santa* – translated as Holy Week (which is was refer to by English speaking informants), but what is Easter. The whole city centre shuts down, because it is supposed to be closed due to the religion. The police will shut down clubs and bars having parties, because it's supposed to be quiet and non-alcohol within a certain timeframe. This is promoted and maintained by the government. When travelling to Juan Dolio, the 'nicer' beach area about 40 minutes with car from the city centre, the road was paved with posters of politicians (due to the upcoming election) and not at least alcohol commercials. In addition to a newly open off-licence mega store, who conveniently held open – while in the city centre armed police officers stand guard to keep the order. Several informants reacted to this, both from the upper middle class, and below *“they are such hypocrites! (the politicians)”* where claimed by several. One can only speculate who will benefit from this, since Juan Dolio is a place where mostly rich people go. Other informants have claimed in informal conversations: *If you have money, the president will be your friend*. And the level of corruption has also been mentioned in informal settings. For example is it claimed that: *the politicians goes to the barrios and bribe for votes. They go “vote for us, and we will improve this barrio”*. Sometimes they even give money directly to the voters. – Male informant, 25 years old, Santo Domingo.

“If you have said that the Dominican Republic is racist, xenophobe, systematically violent country against the aforementioned groups, you are either mistaken or lying” claims Sabbagh (2015, 25.06). Nevertheless, from Katerina Civolani Hischnjakow’s research *Vidas suspendidas* (suspended lives) – discussing the effects of the 2007 resolution and how it affects the Dominicans of Haitian decent, she writes that the informal collective Dominican reactions are: *Its wrong that the children of Haitians are Dominicans, they are Haitians and should reclaim their Haitian birth certificates, which is their country* (Hischnjakow, 2011: 44). In addition to the booklet, some of the interviews produced by Centro Bonó and Reconoci.do done with Dominicans of Haitian decent affected by the law, can be found on YouTube. The first interview is with Deisy Toussaint; a female who studies social communication at the UASD, French at the French alliance, Portuguese at the Brazilian cultural centre, and works at the cultural ministry. She tells the story of when she had to get her passport, because her work required her to travel abroad. At the passport office, she was told that she was not entitled one, because she was the daughter of a foreigner – specifically Haitian, and could not provide a form to prove that she was Dominican (Vidas Suspendidas (capítulo 1): Deisy Toussaint, 2012).

It is worth noticing the comment field related to the video. As the Internet allows, there are some trolling comments from ‘anonymous’ users – writing obvious racist commentaries like: “Go home, Haiti needs you”, and similar. The most interesting, though, are the ones like: *“That is so manipulation of the information, here we see how this meritorious young woman has all the facility to live, work and participate in important events representing the Dominican Republic. So instead of complaining in such an ungrateful way, better to do all the actual legal process to regularize their status in the country, just like any foreigner, it is not a matter of colour is legality. Manipulate reality to look like the Dominican as racist monsters is what the Haitian people to, which have their rightfully Haitian nationality and decline...”* (Vidas Suspendidas (capítulo 1): Deisy Toussaint, 2012).

In a less harshfull way, Sabbagh tries to explain that the regularisation plan has nothing to do with race or country of origin: *“after the ruling, Dominican Government started a regularisation plan – so that people could now present themselves with proper*

documentation at hand... and apply for citizenship, when applicable, or for what would be an equivalent of a "green card". Meanwhile, all repatriation were officially suspended in order to grant immigrants a period of tranquillity that would allow them to work their way through the process without too much to worry about... The Dominican Government generously extended the official deadline so that everyone who had not attended the process could do so" (Sabbagh, 2015, 25.06). Sabbagh herself, points out that her mother is a light-skin-tone woman, of Lebanese ascendance. She too has had to deal with some of the norms that apply to everyone with her reality: "There is no chaos in Dominican Republic, nor violence against immigrants. While some have been peacefully repatriated, many have returned voluntarily, and those who have needed help have been aided by the government in order to make their journey possible, while granting them the opportunity of not facing any sanctions due to illegal immigration, offering them an unprecedented clean slate" (Sabbagh, 2015, 25.06).

Although the ruling in theory does not have anything to do with race or country of origin, the practice is another reality. Like the commenters on YouTube and Sabbagah in her blog as she points out herself, are white Dominicans. This means that they have to go through the process of obtaining papers just like Dominicans of Haitian ascendants, but without the discrimination involved. My informants, especially all those of afro-descent, would claim to be aware that there is racism in the country. None would, however, admit to be racist themselves, even it that is not uncommon. With reference to Sabbagah and the YouTube commenters, none wants to be labelled as 'racist' and denied that there is racism in the country. On the other hand, it seems that many Haitians, including Watson who worked at the hotel and the hair-braiding ladies in Cabarete, think that the word racism is invented towards them. This explains some of the confusions on the word itself, as the word racism was actually coined to describe the attitudes associated with nationalist socialist Germany, not blacks (but the Jewish) according to Appiah (BBC Radio 4, 2016). Thus the whole "racist" debate is due to that: "People say something, and often do something completely different (like Dominicans say that they are not racist, but do act out racist attitudes). Not because they are lying or because they are stupid, but because a significant part of the source to their practical actions is based on the embodied, unconsidered/unreflect knowledge of how the world is, and how one act within it" (Wilken, 2008: 22 – own translation).

Informants like Jose, are not aware themselves that making jokes about Haitians are generating the racist attitudes. People like the YouTube commenters and Sabbagah as mentioned believes that racism do not exist – which represent a small part of a white Dominican population. Most likely, they are not aware of the discrimination, which informants from the predominately afro-descendant population have experienced, due to their social class standing, more than race. Appearing from the information received from my informants, the racist attitudes might not be generated among the ‘general public’, but the state, and thus, becoming a matter of symbolic violence from the authorities. Like Jay Espy (2015, 25.09) writes in his blog: *In the D.R., it is the Dominican government, not the Dominican people, who systematically perpetuate racism in order to serve the capitalist interest of the Dominican ruling class.*

Luis greatest discontent was due to the lack of the native history in the educational curriculum, Jay Espy (2015, 13.10) claims: “Deliberate miseducation of Dominican people by those in power has also led them to forget how Haitians abolished slavery on the island in 1801 following a Haitian Revolution that liberated them from four European colonizers. Haiti even helped liberate Dominicans from Spain in 1865 during the Dominican Restoration War after anti-Haitian leaders begged Spain to recolonize the D.R. following their 1844 independence from Haiti. This 1865 guerrilla war was led primarily by Gregorio Luperón, a Dominican of African-descent. Nor are Dominicans taught about the Haitians, such as Jacques Viau Renaud, who gave their lives for the 1965 Dominican revolutionary movement against U.S. imperialism” (Espy, 2015, 13.10).

Top-down Discrimination

Watson the Haitian working in the hostel, and with whom I had a brief informal talk with, claimed that he was afraid to go outside in the evening (dark) because he was Haitian. And attributes his fear of being beaten and knocked down. He was never the less not the only one that described the feeling of not being wanted in the street. Yolanda too, as a *morena* said she did not like to walk alone after dark, mostly because she said, she was sure to be bothered by the police. Situations like this did not only happen after

dark. One of Jose and Yolanda's friends who was frequently visiting the house, said he had been stopped on the way over in full day light, for no other reason than:

The police do not want black people on the street in this neighbourhood – Brenner, 27 years old, Santo Domingo

This was said about the neighbourhood of Gascue, as claimed one of the “nicer” parts of Santo Domingo. I later first hand experience myself, while walking in the street with Renato – a *moreno* and his friend. Policemen on patrol to check if the *motoconchos* (scooters and mopeds) had their proper registration for vehicle, decided to stop the three of us walking up the street, and made us empty our pockets and checking our belongings. The two informants were demand to show their ID cards (I got away with this, after the police realised I was a foreigner). The police officers did not give any reason for their action, but left us with the feeling of harassment and abused police power. Informants claimed, that this was something that happened from time to another, if dark-brown skin that is to say.

Processes of obtaining papers

Stories of the bureaucratic processes in which informants had to undergo in order to obtain ID papers, passports and alike, were many. Common for all: they were both time and money consuming – and the running theme, the darker skin, the longer waiting. This became apparent from informal conversations, during interviews and also in the research of Katerina Hischnjakow (2011). The first story happened early on in the fieldwork, Nicholas, a 27 year-old Haitian who was working in a restaurant in Cabarete where I first encountered him. He was an illegal immigrant, if understood right, and spoke well both Spanish and English (in addition to Creole) and was employed as a waiter in a restaurant by a foreigner (A Canadian restaurant owner). Even if he had a regular job, he was not allowed to freely cross the border to see his family. He was providing for his family back in Haiti with most of his earnings and had no means to obtain ID papers as these had the cost of 500 USD. He informed that he had on several occasions tried to obtain his ID papers in order to visit his folks back home in Haiti, but the repeating message was that some documents were missing, and would have to pay to get hold of these. This process had already been lasting for over one year, and was

ready for one last attempt; he was promised that everything was now sorted out and he could have his long awaited ID card. Due to previous failed attempts, he did not take it for granted that he would have the ID card, and asked me to accompany him to the office in Puerto Plata. The office was packed with people queuing up for documents, mostly Haitians. Nicholas approached the office guards, talked to them and pointed at me, the white girl, and hence taken out of the queue in to another office while I was waiting. This time all had been fine with the documents, and he stepped out with a broad smile. Apparently he was taken out of the queue because of me, a white foreigner, but the cost in total after all the prior attempts had been much more than the original 500 USD.

In Katerina Hischnjakow's research, there are several stories from Dominicans affected. One story is by Eluica Oscar (Hischnjakow, 2011: 49), she tells that she went to get her birth certificate for her passport, since she was travelling to Miami for a work-related journey. The response at the Office of the Civil Registry was: *We cannot give out documents or birth certificates to foreigners*. However, Elucia is born in the Dominican Republic to Dominican parents, but has one Haitian grandfather. Thus the statement she was given rather evidenced that the intention of the 2007 resolution, not was to fix the errors due to fraud as it claimed, but rather deny the delivery of identity documents to people whose common element is being of Haitian descent (Hischnjakow, 2011: 49). Several other interviewed in this research could inform that they needed to bring their parents to confirm their status, and told that they had to do interviews which both seemed improvised and being a violation to the privacy as they were of a very personal character. One of them had been granted his documents in the end, because although he had a Haitian father, he had a surname which *did not sound to weird, and spoke well Spanish* (Hischnjakow, 2011: 52-53).

Some of my informants had similar stories. Renato, for instance, when asked to tell about a process of getting papers in his did not tell one for himself, but one for his son where the mother is French:

When my son needed some documents I went, instead of my fiancé. They sent me hither and thither. Everyone was like "no I cannot help you, you have to go there". Because they saw me, because I am a Moreno. So finally I said "its not for me, its for

a French woman” and then finally they said “yes, this way” Renato 31 years old – Santo Domingo.

Jose, is a mulatto, or *criollo* as he calls himself, and told in his interview:

I am travelling to Colombia soon, because there are many more acting opportunities there, so I need to get my passport. I already have my birth certificate, but had to go to a place on the opposite side of the city to get it from an office there. If one think this is easy, think again. I showed up at the office that provides passport, but was sent to another one far away, just for the passport photo. And then again to a new office.... It takes the whole day just to get hold of one type of paper, which is needed, and then the same procedure over and over. No wonder why so many people do not have even ID cards, when you are sent to at least 4 different offices just to get hold of in theory 1 simple paper. – Jose, 26 years old, Santo Domingo

Luis told that one day he would like to travel, but he would not be bothered to go through the process of getting his passport before that day would become a reality. Yolanda claimed actually first on the very last day of my fieldwork, that she had One Haitian grandmother, but this had never been a problem for her. It did surprise me that she had not mentioned that she had a Haitian grandmother until this point, however, it also proves that this was not something of importance for *her* identity. In sum, the processes of obtaining papers are both timely and costly. Especially when there is always “something wrong” or something missing, and one has to go to another place to fix it, and back. The consequences are alarming, as it leads to the poorest not have the time nor the money to obtain the papers. It becomes a sort of “whitewashing” of the society. But Carlos, a male informant in his late 20s claimed:

You want to know our problem? Our problem is that we cannot travel. They think we want to leave the country. But I don’t want to leave, I just want to travel! If I want to travel, I need to own a property or something, so that I can provide that I have money invested here and not leaving for good. But that will take forever! Sometimes I feel like a prisoner in my own country

Advancing the debates of racism and cultural identity

The real problem is not the Haito-Dominicanos, but that people deny their own skin colour. Do you see Carlos over there? He is clearly black, isn't he? But he denies it, he says he is Indio" – Emmanuel, 26 years old, Santo Domingo

It is true, Carlos, one of the few Dominicans I met who was not *moreno* (dark brown skinned), but black. I confronted him in an informal setting, and he did claim: *I am Indio Oscuro* (Indian Dark). It confirms the framework, race is socially constructed and as Yelvington stated: *in the Dominican Republic, if one is considered black, one is a Haitian; if one is Dominican, one is not considered black. 'Dominican' and 'black' are mutually exclusive categories; therefore, it is impossible for one to be both. Haitians are those black people who come to the country to work in poorly paid, low-status jobs. They have few or no political or economic rights.*

Emmanuel most likely does not mean that there are no problems with the citizenship and ID situation. But as long as black identities, black Dominicans continue to be “non-existing”, the antihaitianismo and the problems faced by Haito-Dominicans will continue. In the end, self-hatred and self-denial, might be the core of the problem. Foucault as in Stuart Hall reminds that *Every regime of representation is a regime of power formed, by the fatal couplet, 'power/knowledge'.*

Although it was the Trujillo regime that defined Haiti as the antithesis of the Dominican Republic which represented Haitians as the other, and is one of the key reasons for why the category “black” disappeared altogether from the official and popular discourses. Trujillo himself apparently had a black, Haitian grandmother and powdered his face every morning to appear whiter. Stuart Hall claims that it is important to understand the identity as a continuous ‘play’ of history, culture and power. It is not only the Trujillo area that can be blamed, the whole history of the Dominican Republic has been in opposition to Haiti. But as Stuart Hall also claims, the matter of the black identities is counting for most of the Caribbean, because the *presence of the West had the power to make the blacks see and experience themselves as 'Other'.* But this kind of knowledge is

internal, not external. And as Stuart Hall claims, *it is one thing to position a subject or set of peoples as the Other of a dominant discourse. It is quite another thing to subject them to that 'knowledge', not only as a matter of imposed will and domination, by the power of inner compulsion and subjective conformation to the norm.* In the Dominican Republic, everywhere you turn you will find there is a beauty saloon or hairdresser on almost every corner. Even placed on the baseball field in Cabarete there were two saloons. Dominican women spend hours and hours, fixing their nails and not to mention, straightening their hair. One might say that this could be just out of vanity, however it do have a significant meaning in relation to hair. All informants are aware of the hairstyles; *Pelo bueno* (nice/good hair), and *pelo malo* (bad hair). *Pelo bueno* refers to straight hair, while *pelo malo* refers to curly afro-hair, e.g. in its natural form. And as claimed:

If you work in a bank, or any other 'formal' business, you have to have pelo bueno.

It is thus, the women, who are always spending hours and hours straightening their hair, who has to take the first step in accepting that curly hair, in its natural form, is not bad hair. There is a social movement for this, named *Me amo mis rizas* (I love my curls) as referred to by several informants. It's a matter of showing how beautiful big curly hair is, and the Internet is a great tool for posting pictures with Hash tags. As I realised, this is not only in the Dominican Republic, but a movement also in other Latin American countries. In addition, there is a social movement group on Facebook called *Por Negro* (for the Negro), as I referred to in the methodology chapter that is taking up on the issues of racism and discrimination. I did however also notice, that informants were naming each other *negrito/negrta* – it is common to put the ending –ito (for male) and –ita (for female) after the first name; for example Alejandrita, Emmanuelito as a loving nickname for the beloved ones, especially within the family, but also for close friends. Thus by nicknaming each other *negrito/negrta*, informants are reclaiming the category black.

5.4 The Need to Rise Above & Social Mobility

The 'need to rise above' is a sentence written frequently in the field notes. I was left with this impression on several occasions, either from a way of speaking, or from the general behaviour of informants in particular situations. It aroused in situation when

participating with Yolanda and her friends. It seems to be commonplace among friends in discussions, a sort of friendly competition of 'who's the best' by being the loudest, talk the fastest and always be the one who has the correct answer, to win the arguments. To me it sounded like battle raps. Rap battling is a type of freestyles spontaneous rapping that includes bragging and boasting content. Since Yolanda and many of her acquaintances actually were rappers, rap battles described actual events; but since the Dominican way of speaking often is full of 'slang' and metaphors, in addition to talking quickly, I could not always tell whether it was talking or rapping at times. A 'beef' as Yolanda called it, did at times occur either in the house when a large group of people met and/ or in the park in the evening. One example Yolanda translated for me, after meeting a guy she had had a friendly 'beef' with: *Drop the nonesense and do it like the real rappers, you do not like the intellect because they did not give it to you, but I understand, I'm not judging you. Each one reaches as far as his intelligence allows ...*

The Dominican language is full of slang in the informal register, and this goes for all social groups educated or not. One of these words is *vaina*, a word heard literally everyday used by an informant one way or another. Although it often can be used in a neutral way like: *dame esa vaina* (give me that thing), it is usually used in a bad connotation: *Y que es esa vaina* (what is that stuff/thing/crap/sh**). It is used as an expression to look down on someone, and among educated informants in informal conversations; the word is used in a derogatory way *El echa vainas* (he pretends to be better than someone else/bragging). In a conversation about the Dominican cultural identity in general between Alejandra and I, she claimed that a common saying is: A common saying is "*hablas trabajas para el ingles*" or "*vives para el ingles*" – Alejandra, 19 years old, Santo Domingo

This is because of the general 'need to rise above' mentality; if one learns English there will be better job opportunities, and a bigger chance to go to the U.S. and work and earn money. In other words, an idea to rise above poverty perhaps and to distance oneself even more from the poor nation of Haiti. Because in the same conversation, Alejandra thought that the reasons for the antihaitianismo in the Dominican Republic was:

Everybody wants to be something else. The DR just wants power over something, just like the U.S. has control over us. It is just convenient that Haiti is the closest, smaller and poorer – Alejanda, 19 years old, Santo Domingo

The need to rise above is not just a matter of friendly competition; it is very much connected with the metaphoric 'play' both Stuart Hall uses in connection to cultural identity and Pierre Bourdieu for the social life. *The play suggest on the one hand, the instability, the permanent unsettlement, the lack of any final resolution. On the other hand, it reminds us that the place where this 'doubleness' is most powerfully to be heard is 'playing' within the varieties of Caribbean musics* as Stuart Hall claims. In regard to the cultural identity and the antihaitianismo discourse, perhaps is a try to narrow down the complexity to the simple and binary opposition – 'past/present', 'them/us'. As Barcia (2013) wonder: *"Perhaps the passing of this new law is nothing but a way of settling old scores. Perhaps the Dominican Constitutional Court, in their ignorance and backwardness, has attempted to rewrite the nation's citizenship rules so that the dark-skinned descendants of those who came over the border in years past, understand once and for all that they are second-class, undesired neighbours, regardless of where they - and their parents and grandparents - were born"*.

Again, it comes to social class, because the need to rise above is also a matter of achieving social mobility. Like Pierre Bourdieu used the 'play' as a metaphor for the social life which takes place in the fields; a battle for capital. This can be understood in relation to how the informants see the class system. Renato and Luis are self-appointed middle class, category, great middle class, including everything in between poor peasants and lower class Haitians, and the elite in an upper class. But as showed in a earlier section, they are more likely to classify as petty bourgeoisie. One reason for their perception is of course because they do not perceive classes in the same matter as the theoretical framework for this study. However, Pierre Bourdieu's class structure, do not only work hierocratic in relations to economical resources. Still, Renato at least, comes from a working class family, while Luis family are farmers originally. Perhaps are they not aware of it themselves, or perhaps it is a matter of pride, and rising above.

The fact that both Renato and Luis were school dropouts could be an indication for this. Although claiming: *I would never take an education, even if my parents forced me to it.* Luis, most likely never had a real chance to get an education. Coming from a big family with many siblings, and low on economic capital, Luis' options for education is in fact, unlikely. Even if he could have gone to university, he would not be able to choose freely among the best, thus perhaps is it Luis subjective expectation, that if he educated, he would have to choose a mediocre education, and end up at the lowest lever of the intellectual capital hierocracy. Further, both Luis and Renato might have been targets of the symbolic violence, which Bourdieu claims is within in the educational system, and most likely, would not be aware of this themselves (of course this is just guesswork from my side, but it is exactly symbolic violence because it is invisible for agents/informants themselves). Since education is hardly achievable for a great deal of the informants, who share their reality with the majority population in the DR. They are, according to Pierre Bourdieu, doomed to a life being unskilled labourers. Instead, like many other informants, they take power in control and showing personal agency by becoming artist.

The Artistic Field

It is not my mission to consider the value of different artistic works, however, I could not help to notice that for some of the people I met through participating in Yolanda, Renato and Luis day-to-day life activities, it took very little to call oneself an artist. Of course, my own reaction to this can be explained by my own cultural background, with the *Janteloven* embodied and incorporated in my mind-set; *"You are not to think you're anyone special or that you're better than us"*. Thus, for me it seemed that some informants had a total lack of this, and/or I interpreted it as some of the agents just had very high thoughts of themselves even if their creative skills seemed dubious and in some cases best referred to as a hobby, not particularly well performed. Having said this, some were indeed good at their arts. I wonder whether perhaps some saw how Luis success in selling his macramé inspiring them to achieve the same. The same was for painting and graffiti; Cabarete provided a great space to unfold, as there was arranged days where painters could unfold their graffiti freely and legally on the brick walls along the road. Artist residents in Cabarete and from other parts of the country came to participate in this. I noticed that some were painting the same type of object, over and

over again. And one could wonder, whether to be able to paint one object really is artistic? On the other hand, it could also be agents 'trademark' as Renato claimed:

I have been painting the same cat for over 10 years now. I am tired of it now, but that is what everybody wants. I like to paint more abstract things, but I need more and better paint. So I paint simpler stuff I hope I can sell in the souvenir-shops to earn money. – Renato, 29 years old, Santo Domingo

Could it also be that in claiming to an artist identity, have other reasons than just the art itself? By belonging to an artist identity, they can present themselves as 'someone' rather than 'no one'? Indications for the latter is drawn on the grounds that many of the informants position in the general society are blurry. Counting for a number of people, the economic capital is close to nothing, and in a quantitative research, without Bourdieu's class structure, they would at least have been categorized as something lower than middle class. Because of their socio-economical background, job opportunities are not many, and by choosing to live of art rather than taking a job at a supermarket, means evading the working class, and climbing up the ladder of the social hierarchy. The field of art is a very clever way of achieving social mobility. Who has the right to say that something is or isn't art anyways? As it was claimed in chapter three, the art field is one of excluding factor; so if someone says that it is art, those who would try and say that is not, would appear to be someone who does not have an idea of art.

Music, arts and Identity

During the time I was participating in member's activity, I was frequently invited to join several musical events. As the majority of my informants either where musicians themselves, or just participants of the same environment, this was a place I could easily connect with people, with my background as a musician, we had a mutual understanding. Music, like identity, is both performance and story, describes the social in the individual and the individual in the social, the mind in the body and the body in the mind; identity, like music, is a matter of both ethics and aesthetics (Frith, 1996: 109). Identity is not a thing, but a process – an experiential process that is most vividly grasped *as music*. Music seems to be a key to identity because it offers, so intensely, a

sense of both self and others, of the subjective in the collective (Frith, 1996: 110). Thus, it seems not so surprising that some informants claimed that it was the music that represented their identity:

I used to be into black metal, I had long hair and only wore black clothes... Actually some of the guitar riffs I use in the band today is inspired from the black metal

– Emmanuel, 26 years old, Santo Domingo

Like black metal, a musical genera that also gets a physical appearance because of the fans, associated with long hair and black clothing. The Afro-Caribe music gets easily associated with dreadlocks, Rasta, Afros and colourful clothing. The academic study of popular music has been dominated by a particular notion of cultural identity. The assumptions about the sentimental bonds of attachment, solidarity, and psychological connection that might come into being, and that the sounds and dynamics must somehow 'reflect' or 'represent the people. There is, or was, assumptions of "a necessary flow" from social identity to musical expression; readily apparent in labels such as Latin jazz, gay disco, women's music and black music (Frith, 1996; Negus & Velázquez, 2002). The reflection, representation, and construction of identities through music – here socially significant appearances (class styles, skin colouring, sexual actions, learnt mannerisms) are taken as indicators of more profound ontological conditions—a connection that is usually assumed in a conclusive way, rather than explored in an open manner (Negus & Velázquez, 2002: 135). However, according to Firth (1996: 109): "The issue is not how a particular piece of music or performance reflects the people, but how it produces them, how it creates and constructs an experience". Instead of music "reflecting" pre-existing identities, it now constructs Them (Negus & Velázquez, 2002: 136).

Take the example of the Afro-Caribbean music scene. Which all the informants had a relation to either as a musician or as audience; the Afro descent was of special importance, and embraced. It received a visual expression through the way of dressing and hairstyles by the, like as mentioned embracing the dreadlocks, rastabraids and even more importantly the curly hair in its natural form. Moreover, the way the music was embodied in the audience – as the dance gives visible form to the music it also give full and visible articulation (hip movements to the rhythms) to the ethical qualities which

works through the music (Frith, 1996). Of course, no one can deny that the scene largely is occupied by darker skin social-actors and that the music is often made of Afro-Caribbean's. But one does not have to be Afro-Caribbean to enjoy it, listen to it or even make this kind of music. Hence, one can make the assumption that the music is reflecting one's race ('our roots' as the informants claimed), but this is a miss-interpretation also made by the informants. As Firth claims, the music do not reflect and represent the people with a pre-existing Afro-Caribbean identity, it is the music it self that produces them. It is not that they are of Afro-descent that is of importance, it is how one find identification through the music. One can never really express oneself 'autonomously', thus Identity is necessarily a matter of ritual it describes one's place in the dramatized pattern of relationships (Frith, 1996). The skin colour was of no importance, until the informants found a sort of belonging in the music. A remark is that the informants who were most proud of their African roots, and most eager to claim that the music represented their roots – were the 'whitest' among them. The informants were most likely not particularly interested in this part of their cultural identity until it became of importance because of, and through the music.

Bilby wrote in 1985: "The Dominican Republic possesses a number of African-derived musical forms, most notably those belonging to the *congo* ensembles. Although songs are in Spanish, the drums used to back them (known as *congos* or *palos*), the call-and-response form, and the wide variety of complex drumming styles, produce a music whose resemblance to African forms is as strong as any in the Caribbean" (Bilby, 1985: 191). This do in short explain a little about also the Afro-Caribbe music referred to. However, as Renato and Emmanuel claims, their band's music is experimental and combines several music styles like Carabiné, Bachata, Reaggae, Ska and Jazz. Although the lyric in the songs goes beyond my level of Spanish (and culture) to interpret, I also got to learn from the informants that they usually have a cultural aspect to them. Some of the songs are about fights between the Tainos and military corporal – Dominican folklores. These though metaphors of everyday experiences and struggles today. Renato, who is a singer in one of the Afro-Caribbean bands claim:

Because the rhythm and melodies are so lively, people in our concerts always dance and think it is happy songs. But really some of the songs have very serious themes. It is always fun to watch when someone who usually has been to our concerts many times starts to

listen to the lyrics and then stops dancing and just starts to listen. It alienates them and makes them doubt whatever they believe - Renato, 29 years old, Santo Domingo

We do not really know who we are prior to cultural activities; it is only through such practices that we get to know ourselves as groups and individuals. But it is not only for music this gets expressed for the informants, it also counts for other forms of art. Like the Taino inspired macramé which Luis made. Although he himself claimed that it was the art that represented him and his indigenous background, more likely it is exactly because he makes this type of art it creates his cultural identity. Music, however, seems to organise and create our identities for us (Negus & Velázquez, 2002): “Music constructs our sense of identity through the direct experiences it offers of the body, time and sociability, experiences which enable us to place ourselves in imaginative cultural narratives” (Frith, 1996: 124). “As the dance gives visible form to the music, so too does the dance give full and visible articulation to the ethical qualities which work through the music, balance in the disciplined expressions of power in relationship” claims Chernoff (in Frith, 1996: 125). This is interesting in comparison to music in general in the Dominican Republic, for a outsider – the mainstream music which is played is usually the *Bachatta*, *Merengue* or *Reaggeton* (and Salsa). Although not everyone would be listening to the music nor necessarily like it, I think its safe to say that the Dominicans knows their dance (both Bachatta and Merengue) like Norwegians are said to be born with skies on their foot. As a matter of fact, the music with its visible form reflects the cultural identity. Even under the dictatorship of Rafael Trujillo, the pro-Hispanic and anti-Haitian discourse became the official ideology of the Dominican state. The Cibao region – with its traditional peasantry, popular music, Hispanic folklore, and “white” physical appearance – became the romantic symbol of an “authentic” Dominican culture (Hoetink, 1994 – in Duany, 2010: 96). Thus, the Dominican merengue, particularly in its Cibao variant, became a powerful icon of national identity (Duany, 2010: 96). However as Frith (1996) claims popular music must be understood not to represent values but to embody them.

For the distinctive cast of this music owes as much to its social dimensions as it does to the pool of sound resources bequeathed to it from the past. And certain cultural trends – certain tendencies that emerge when one views Caribbean music making episodes as

social as well as musical events – have been noted by many different observers, writing about different parts of the Caribbean, and at different points in time (Bilby, 1985: 200). In Haiti, the beginning of carnival (shortly before Easter) signals the arrival of the *rara* bands. Winding through the roads and lanes from village to village, the musicians pick up crowds of dancers, singers, and spectators as they go. The *rara* bands produce some of Haiti's most compelling music... There is a similar carnival tradition across the border in the Dominican Republic, known as *gaga* (Bilby, 1985: 198). I did never get the chance to participate in the Gaga myself. But Emmanuel recommended it to me: '*It is THE definition of a cultural event important to the Afro-Caribbean identity*'.

Identity is thus necessarily a matter of ritual, it describes one's place in a dramatized pattern of relationships – one can never really express oneself 'autonomously'. Self-identity *is* cultural identity; claims to individual difference depend on audience appreciation, on shared performing and narrative rules (Frith, 1996: 125). What makes music special, what makes it special for identity, according to Frith (1996: 125) – is that it defines a space without boundaries (a game without frontiers). The temporality of music may be one of the characteristics which does not so much allow an affirmation or construction of identity as a retreat from the social categories with which our sense of self must be negotiated. "When you dance to music, you do not necessarily affirm a "we" feeling, that it is "our" music and that you are a poor working class immigrant of a particular "ethnic group" nor that you are a privileged middle class accountant of a liberal disposition who likes world music – you forget it" (Negus & Velázquez, 2002: 144). Music is thus the cultural form best able both to cross borders – sounds carry across fences and walls and oceans, across classes, races and nations – and to define places; in clubs, scenes, and raves, listening on headphones, radio and in the concert hall, we are only where the music takes us. Repeatedly pointed out by Stuart Hall, exactly because cultural identities are never finished, always in the process of becoming, always open to change and transformation.

Chapter 6: Concluding Remarks

The general discourse of identity and race in the Dominican Republic is, as Stuart Hall claims it to be, a matter of the 'play' of history, culture and power. This is shown throughout the paper, from the contextual history up until today by several historic events. There has been an 'eternal play for power', when different external influences have been dragging in different directions from the colonial times to the Haitian occupation to the US occupation etc. When it comes to race, my finding confirms what the framework suggests: race is a social constructed phenomenon that has different meaning in regard to the specific context. As the literature suggest, the category 'black' disappeared completely from the official and popular discourses on race in the Dominican Republic during the Trujillo regime. Although the regime ended nearly six decades ago, the legacy is still existing, and is today referring to Haitians at the most. Dominicans denies themselves as black, because racial terms are deducted from an individual's colour, ideas about ancestry, and social class as Baranov and Yelvington argued. Still, my informants are aware that there is no common, shared origin, but that the Dominican society as a whole is a great mix of everything, and some 'reclaims' the 'blackness' by nicknaming each other *negrita/negrito*. The Afro-identity is first and foremost important, when it comes to the arts and music. Music, like identity, is both performance and story as Simon Frith claims, which makes it a process of becoming, always open to change and transformation.

The Dominican Society is a class-based society, and as shown in the case for some Haitians, identity becomes a matter of paper. It is due to the class struggle. As shown in this thesis, the young Afro-Dominican adults who are represented in chapter 5 are marginalised and neglected. Even not being the dominating class, does not entail that they are without power. They still have the personal agency to have ambitions and skills to perform social mobility through their art. The field of art, as argued in thesis, is excluding because of the assertion that something is art, means that if someone says it isn't, they appear as someone who does not know art. Further, for informants with working-class background shows that they either manage to hide their original marginalised class-background, or rise above by including the background in their arts. This provides a valid voice in society, stating becoming rather than being, meaning that

'who one are' or 'where one comes from', does not count as much as what one might become as Stuart Hall wrote in chapter 3. Art is the factor for the informants to 'become'.

In 'becoming', pride is the driving force. Without this emotion, social mobility is not possible. For my informants, art has been the means for social mobility, but the most common form for social mobility is the leap from working class to academic by education. However, as my data show, this form of social mobility is extremely difficult due to costly education. Further this can be due to the 'hidden power' and symbolic violence performed by the Dominican state, although this is a bold suggestion. If there is symbolic violence in the educational system, and if this is one factor that helps suppressing the working class, this is of course difficult to reveal due to the exact symbolic violence; it has become invisible and naturalised, embodied due to the social classes habitus. What is fair to say, on the other hand, is that there is a clear social hierocracy with quite obvious power relations. All informants agree that the academic level between the free universities and private differ a great deal, thus although one can manage a small leap of social mobility through education, one will most likely never range on top with a degree from the free University.

As demonstrated by my findings, there is abuse of power and discrimination. Especially the symbolic violence by the state is obvious, in regard to the laws it sets. By denying Dominicans of Haitian descent Identification papers, it also denies them the possibility for social mobility. And it does not only count for Dominicans of Haitian descent; all darker-skinned Dominicans (especially the *morenos* – dark brown) have experienced abuse of power from the police, just because of their colour of their skin. And the processes of just obtaining crucial documents are very difficult.

This abuse of power is reflected in the schools curriculum by a deliberate miseducation, especially in regard to Haitians and participate in generating the antihaitianismo attitudes.

Dominicans struggle to get rid of the 'developing country' status by creating an illusion of climbing up the social ladder, as long as you are above someone else.. As long as someone is beneath you, one might think one has stepped up the social ladder. It might

thus seem easier to climb, when one can push someone underneath, but in reality, this is just an illusion. These are my reflections on the attitudes of the Dominicans towards Haiti and Haitians, that the Dominicans wants to rise above.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Respondents and aliases

All respondents are represented in the paper, but to different extents.

Alejandra, 19 years old, Santo Domingo

Andrés, 29 years old, Santo Domingo

Brenner, 27 years old, Santo Domingo

Carlos, 20 something, Santo Domingo

Emmanuel, 26 years old, Santo Domingo

Female informant, 30 years old, Cabarete

Female informant 28 years old, Santo Domingo

Jose, 26 years old Santo Domingo

Luis, 33 years old, Cabarete: Key Informant

Natasha, 42 years old Haitian in Cabarete

Nicholas, 27 year old Haitian un Cabarete

Male Dominican-Yorker, 40 years old, Santiago/New York

Male informant, 25 years old, Santo Domingo

Pablo, late 20s, Santo Domingo

Renato, 29 years old Santo Domingo: Key Informant

Ricky, 35 years old, Cabarete

Sarah, 22 years old, Cabarete

Yefri, 30 years old, Cabarete

Yolanda, 24 years old, Santo Domingo: Key Informant

Watson, Haitian in Santo Domingo

Appendix 2: Interview guide for Biographical Interviews

1. Please tell me your life story – whatever you feel is relevant, beginning with your childhood.
2. How do you define being: Haitian/Dominican? How would you describe an “stereotypical” Haitian/Dominican?
3. Please tell me about an experience when you felt one or the other?
4. Do you know about Sentencia 23? (Have it affected your life in any ways?)
5. Do you have your papers? Have you been through a process getting them – if so, please tell me about that.
6. Please tell me about important cultural events to you. Can you tell me about cultural experiences/events that you have here in Santo Domingo (or other places)?
7. Can you talk to me about your feelings, emotions, impressions, intentions and thoughts about identity and belonging?
8. Where do you stay normally? Where do you hang out (with friends/family)? Where do you work? Where do you sleep? Where do you live? Residence....
9. How are your (social) relations: do you have children? With your partner – married? Parents... Friends?
10. How is your current economic situation?
11. Can you tell me who have been your biggest influences in your life?
12. Do you want to tell me about your future plans and dreams? What will you do to achieve that? How will you do that? What do you see as your biggest challenges?
13. What do you think is necessarily to do to improve the situation for Haitian migrants in general? Or to change the attitude...