

The Anonymous:
An Examination of Statelessness in the Dominican Republic
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Abstract

This paper explores the current citizenship issue in the Dominican Republic in regards to people of Haitian descent there. It explores the situation at three levels: structural, through means of legislation and language of politicians; institutional, through the use of media; and interpersonal, experiences of Haitian descendants on a daily basis. Through evaluation of the three levels of focus it is illustrated that there are significant issues throughout Dominican society. These issues are overarching and lead to a negative effect on a Haitian person's entire life. Information gleaned from this research can be used in the future to inform decisions on the multiple levels. Chapter one is a brief overview of the situation, chapter two examines theory informing the research, chapter three contains the data used, and chapter four concludes the arguments of this paper.

Chapter 1: Introduction

If all the stateless people in the world were to form one nation, that country would be the 19th most populated country in the world. There are 72 million people across the globe who are not recognized as being a part of any country, not including those who left their home country solely to search for a better life economically (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2012, p. 14). This problem has been recognized by international organizations for over 60 years, and yet little progress has been made. Meanwhile, the number of people without citizenship continues to grow. This is an important topic as it is impossible to protect the rights of those who are not recognized as citizens, they become anonymous. The issue of statelessness can often be pushed to the side due to the fact that there are still many nations struggling to provide for all of their current citizens, especially those at the bottom of the societal ladder. This paper will examine current policy structures that create a negative atmosphere for stateless peoples and what needs to change in order to make them valued citizens. I will illustrate the deficiencies in these policy structures by examining the case of unidentified people of Haitian descent in the Dominican Republic. Race-based statelessness has been disseminated by the government and perpetuated through channels such as media and interpersonal relations, and has had a negative impact on this innocent group.

While it has been difficult to evaluate the number of stateless people in the Dominican Republic, the highest estimate puts the number at two million while more conservative approximations are less than one million. At the most basic level what has prevented Haitians from obtaining citizenship is an unjust immigration process that denies citizenship to people who have been living in the country for generations. This unjust process, which has prevented them from obtaining citizenship, is at its roots driven by a historical animosity. Most of the research

and recommendations that have come from this area of research have focused on the ontological harms resulting from the denial of admission. Ontological harm is “a deprivation of certain fundamental human qualities” (Parekh, 2014, p. 645). While this is an essential part of solving the problem, it is unclear whether this can successfully encourage meaningful structural change in order to act in a preventative way.

In order for sustainable and meaningful change to occur, there needs to be an adjustment in the moral language used by governments, which imposes ethical standards of conduct on the entire population and currently prioritize nationalism over cosmopolitanism. Addressing this will allow for top-down change in the Dominican Republic and other countries facing the problem of a stateless population. The process of top-down change is important and becoming somewhat of an irregularity in development work. This top down change will need to be effective at three levels. First, at the structural level through the federal government. Second, at the institutional level of mass communication (i.e. influential media sources) in terms of how the other is portrayed. And third, at the interpersonal level of how those without citizenship are treated in their daily lives. This paper will examine, through a cosmopolitan lens, the obligation to the other, how multiculturalism plays a role, and how nationalism is an obstacle.

The Dominican Republic has long refused citizenship to Haitian migrants looking to improve their livelihood and escape the detrimental conditions in their home country. However, in May 2014 the government announced a new integration process, which would naturalize thousands of stateless people born to Haitian refugees. While it is too early to understand the implications of this process, it is still worthwhile to explore the possible outcomes for these newly identified individuals. Another important facet to examine is the opportunity to alter the currently difficult immigration policy in order to encourage people to seek asylum through an

official admission process. To overcome this problem there needs to be action on each of the three levels. Policy and policy makers will need to stand behind the moral language they apply and abandon nationalist ideals. These governmental changes in turn will have to influence and radiate through media in order to influence the general population's perception of these new citizens. It is only then that stateless people can hope to be fully welcomed into a nation.

On the island of Hispaniola there are two countries, divided by a thin border, but much more so by cultural and racial tension. Both of the countries have unique histories. The Dominican Republic has continuously discriminated against Haitians throughout the past three centuries. Many are a part of several generations that have lived within the borders of the Dominican Republic and yet are still not legally recognized due to the fact that their bloodlines trace back to Haiti. They are left without citizenship, which leads to them being systematically denied the opportunity of formal education, employment, healthcare, and overall security. There is discrimination at every level of the nation. It is seen in the government's refusal of granting citizenship, which results in these ideals being perpetuated through media sources, and the effects are then felt most strongly through interactions between Dominican citizens and the ostracized Haitian migrants. All of these are mechanisms of *antihaitianismo* – “a deep-seated cultural disdain for all things Haitian” (Simmons, 2010, p. 11). These issues have historical roots, and it is important to examine them to understand how the current situation in the Dominican Republic came to be. However, even after examining these factors it is still clear that they are not justification for the current discrimination of Haitians within Dominican borders.

Ever since the French colonized Haiti and the Spanish colonized the Dominican Republic, there has been a strain between the two countries. After decolonization there were different periods of Haitian rule in the Dominican Republic in 1801, 1805, and 1822, leading to a

growing Haitian population in the Dominican Republic. Tensions continued throughout the past two centuries, including the Parsley Massacre in 1937 under Trujillo rule, whereby the Dominican government killed an estimated 35 000 Haitians in six days for being an inferior race and to stop migration. The Haitian population continued to grow, with many entering illegally or with temporary work permits. However, the vast majority entered to work in occupations with deplorable conditions, largely in the agriculture sector. They took on the jobs not even the poorest Dominicans wanted to do. Then the Haitian population grew exponentially after the earthquake in 2010 as their home government was not able to provide proper social, health, or relief aid. When the Haitians first crossed the border to flee the disaster, they were welcomed with aid and resources, but the Dominican government eventually admitted that they had exhausted their resources to help. However, even after this the newcomers did not leave. The problem was made worse with the subsequent cholera epidemic. The Dominican government, media outlets, and general population attached the disease to the Haitian people, despite the fact that it has been proven that the disease was introduced to the area by foreign aid workers. The Dominican government cited their ability to choose who is a citizen as their motivation for not providing citizenship. They have even gone as far as changing their constitution to be able to more easily reject the appeals of Haitian migrants.

By going against the calls of global organizations to incorporate a system that would allow for proper integration, the Dominican Republic exacerbated the issue of statelessness in their country. In 2004 after a case was brought against the Dominican Republic for denying people, especially children, rights in their country, they defiantly went against the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights ruling which demanded they change their processes. The Dominican Republic created The General Law on Migration (No. 285-04), which

essentially cancels out the country's jus soli principles, which meant anyone born within the Dominican borders is automatically a citizen, by denying birth certificates if a child's parents cannot prove that they are legal residents of the Dominican Republic (Kosinski, 2009). While the Dominican Republic and many other countries state that any admittance is an ex gratia policy as they have no legal or moral obligation, with the continuing rise of globalization this statement is surely losing validity. Since the Dominican is a member of the United Nations there should be greater accountability to protect all of the people within their borders.

While there is little literature and it is difficult to quantify the tangible effects of anti-Haitianism some research has shown the negative effects on the Haitian population, mainly through the use of health variables. David Simmons (2010) conducted a study in six different bateyes – communities consisting largely of Haitian agricultural workers. He found there were many obstacles to proper health care including segregation, access to transportation, health concerns related to the occupation and environment, and negative treatment from health professionals (Simmons, 2010). He sees all of these as mechanisms of anti-Haitianism rooted in structural violence (Simmons, 2010). Furthermore, women in the bateyes have a much higher rate of HIV infection than that estimated for women in the general population of the Dominican Republic and a rate comparable to that of female sex workers in the country (Brewer, 1998). This data clearly illustrate the ontological harms directly felt by people of Haitian descent in the Dominican Republic. They are all inflicted at the primary level, but are systematically ingrained in the society.

A considerable amount of research has been done on developing nation-developed nation migration, but not a comparative amount on developing nation-developing nation, as is the case of Haitian workers in the Dominican Republic. One study indicates that higher levels of

international migration are associated with lower scores on the human development index, but that the effect of this association is not significant to warrant concern (Sanderson, 2010). This means that the possible overall decrease in standard of living due to migration is not enough to justify denying newcomers. However, this study cites bias in the fact that many people enter a country illegally or without documents, which is a known problem especially in the country of focus. This issue needs to be taken into consideration in order to create a framework that will positively affect the Dominican Republic as a whole.

This examination requires a theoretical framework which considers the idea of humanity as a cohesive unit. Cosmopolitan theory promotes the idea of all humans being a part of one community based on mutual respect and common morality. I will analyze the policy surrounding stateless people in the Dominican Republic and the past outcomes in reference to this theory. This will include analysis of health and other well-being measurements of stateless people who suffer from a lack of inclusive legislation. This analysis will explore the current policy structure, examine the social effects of current implementation processes, and analyze the effectiveness of changing methods and their outcomes. The results will aim to provide recommendations on how to shape future initiatives in a way that benefit both the state and its citizens.

The cosmopolitan challenges in this case are the number of issues that confront nationalism including globalisation, regionalisation, transnationalism, migration, and diaspora (Sutherland, 2012). In this paper nationalism is considered the antithesis and main impediment to eradicating statelessness. Multiculturalism will be the theory behind the solution. In this context it means unity of a solely political nature (Habermas, 1995). The reason I only look at the political sphere is because ethnicity becomes an especially important part of one's identity when migration occurs. While it is desired for the Haitian population to be naturalized into the

Dominican population, it is still important for them to identify as Haitian ethnically and culturally. This is why the use of multiculturalism refers to a region with a unified political front that allows for cultural diversity.

Chapter Two: Theory

Most scholars who have dealt with the topic of statelessness focus on the right of admission in regard to solving the issue of statelessness. I will argue that it is in fact more important to focus on other means of integration as well as entrance in order to properly initiate people into a community. For this paper I argue that this integration process needs to be addressed at multiple levels through top-down filtration, not just at the federal level through immigration policy. Statelessness is undesirable to the individual but the existence of stateless people is also undesirable to the state and the international community as a whole as it may lead to tensions and problems (Weis, 1979). Having a nationality is a gateway to other rights; Hannah Arendt viewed the stateless as lacking the very “right to have rights” (Arendt, 2009, par. 17). Without citizenship or nationality ties to some state, a person lacks many fundamental rights including perhaps most fundamentally the right to a place in the world where one’s opinions are significant and one’s actions effective (Arendt, 2009, par. 17). This is the basis of the research question, which asks what can be done to make every person a meaningful and contributing citizen. They must be able to have grounds on which to voice their needs, and a venue in which they feel those needs are heard.

Cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitanism is the philosophy that all humans are a part of one community based on mutual respect and common morality (Appiah, 1997). Examining the issue of statelessness through a cosmopolitan lens will allow for the issue to be addressed at the three levels of focus. The basic ideology of cosmopolitanism can apply when making policies, addressing

representational issues, and in creating a culture of respect at the grassroots level. It is justified to address the issue of statelessness from a moral perspective rather than a legal one because it can help illustrate how policies can be reformed to better reflect our ideas of what is just, which can often be implicit (Gibney, 2009, p. 50). This ideology is important when studying statelessness because it promotes the idea of mutual respect where currently stateless people are facing hatred and being marginalized. Cosmopolitanism does have its contesters. After World War II a counter-theory even emerged called rootless cosmopolitanism which viewed those who practiced cosmopolitanism as intellectuals who were pro-Western and unpatriotic (Azadovskii & Egorov, 2002). However, in a world of growing global inequality between countries, a person should be able to justly pursue a life in the country they wish.

This paper asserts that there are two aspects of cosmopolitanism in the debate of statelessness. First there is the individual's side. Their side can be summed up in cosmopolitan liberalism which emphasizes the idea of choice. It may seem as though this would put a heavy burden on the legal systems to keep up. However, it would simply allow people to move freely and people would still have to meet certain requirements for residency and rights such as the right to citizenship. There is then also the moral obligation of the state. This has two components, the obligations of state officials as well as that of laws and constitutions. This paper will focus more on the nature of the state, and the amendments that need to be made to make the Dominican Republic a more morally just society, open to its many Haitian members.

One of Thomas Pogge's (2010) theories that is rooted in cosmopolitanism is moral language, which is used to enforce ethical standards of conduct. However, this language and the implications behind it are subjective to the goals of its user. In this case, Dominican government officials often employ language that is used to continue the disdain and oppression of Haitians.

This language is often riddled with references to nationalistic ideals, which are discussed in detail below. A distinct and clear example of the use of language to oppress Haitian groups was the impromptu amendment made to the constitution which changed the citizenship rules from jus soli (right of soil) to jus sanguinis (right of blood). The result is that only those of Dominican descent can claim citizenship rather than those born on Dominican soil (Kosinski, 2009). This small technical change has created dire consequences. It also overtly differentiates between those born within Dominican borders and “the other” – Haitians. Other researchers in the area of statelessness argue for another classification – jus domicile, a citizen “by virtue of the reality of residence” (Gibney, 2009, p.51). While this third classification may be the most morally just and relevant in this case study, this paper will focus on the use of jus sanguinis and jus soli, as they are within the realm of options for the constitution of the Dominican Republic. As this paper argues, the flow of discrimination starts at the top where elected officials use moral language, and is disseminated to inform the values of institutions and the general population.

Multiculturalism

Supporters of multiculturalism promote it as a “fairer system that allows people to truly express who they are within a society, a system that provides more tolerance and that adapts better to social issues” (Mashau, 2012, p. 64). Support for modern multiculturalism originates from the ‘human rights revolution’ following World War II in order to prevent another genocide to the likes of the Holocaust (Verotec & Wessendorf, 2010). With the decolonization of Asia and Africa and the coming of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, the idea of accepting other cultures became more of a mainstream ideology. Therefore, multiculturalism was initiated and is still used to contest racism and to protect minorities’ rights.

C. James Trotman (2002) argues that multiculturalism is valuable because it “uses several disciplines to highlight neglected aspects of our social history, particularly the histories of

women and minorities and promotes respect for the dignity of the lives and voices of the forgotten” (p. 4). This is particularly important in the issue of statelessness because multiculturalism can help highlight significant connections between two different cultures that are trying to amalgamate. He believes that “by closing gaps, by raising consciousness about the past, multiculturalism tries to restore a sense of wholeness” (Trotman, 2002, p. 4) which can help a society move forward. This is particularly useful when people are trying to integrate into a new society and can allow them to feel as though they are meaningful members. This clarification of multiculturalism is important because it recognizes the role of the past in the present. It also does not call for any assimilation of one culture into another. Bhikhu Parekh (2000) counters others in the field by saying that multiculturalism should not be seen as a demand for special rights, rather the focus should be on connections between different cultures in a community. This means that any cooperation between the different groups must be a give and take from both sides.

However, despite the seemingly pleasant appeal of multiculturalism there are critics of the theory. Some see multiculturalism as unsustainable and undesirable (Nagle, 2009). It is argued that nations lose their distinct culture with the enforcement of multiculturalism (BBC News, 2005). There is even evidence to support these claims. A survey of 40 American communities found that more racially diverse communities have less trust in society as a whole (Putnam, 2007). While multiculturalism may seem to be a utopian ideal, it will still take time for people to adjust.

German sociologist and philosopher Jürgen Habermas (1995) expressed his concerns about politicians that create social anxieties within their constituents in order to rally against certain ethnic and weaker communities. This particular form of creating sentiment can be seen

as nationalistic in nature. This focus that Habermas takes is based on a discourse ethics approach. His approach is “suggestive of novel ways of negotiating and transforming our conceptions of political membership toward a more just and cosmopolitan conception” (Banerjee, 2010, p. 4). While this is a good starting point for examining statelessness as a problem of admission, this paper will advocate for a full integration process, which would rely on more than a discourse analysis of the influential institutions in the Dominican Republic. However, Habermas’ ideology in regards to multiculturalism is useful for this analysis. He said that a nation should accept multiculturalism and focus on having only a political culture that is united (Habermas, 1995). This allows for a variety of different groups, whether divided by race, ethnicity, or culture, to live together while still being able to seek fair representation where they live. This will be the standpoint taken in this paper.

Nationalism

While nationalism has the ability to inspire self-sacrificing love for one’s homeland it also has affinities to racism and can be used to inspire hatred of ‘the other’ (Anderson, 1991). Thus, something that can be a beautiful force of unity can also cause extreme exclusion. Cosmopolitan approaches can be seen as hostile towards the already established culture of a nation. On the other hand, nationalism hinders the progress of moving towards inclusivity. Nationalism has been said to be racism’s last card (Pieterse, 1992). Different forms of nationalism can emerge, some more harmful than others. One form is civic nationalism, which is based on state building practices that bind together a community with laws, government agencies, and national holidays (Brubaker, 1999). This type of nationalism is non-exclusionary and does not discriminate within borders (Brubaker, 1999). A more prevalent and harmful type of nationalism is ethnic nationalism. Ethnic nationalism is based on pre-existing ethnic characteristics, language, religion, and customs rather than shared rights (Brubaker, 1999). It

will be evident throughout the examined data that the Dominican Republic practices a strict form of ethnic nationalism, putting precedence on those of Dominican descent. Furthermore, societies generally have criteria of eligibility. A historical example of this is the Parsley Massacre of 1937, under Trujillo rule, whereby Haitians who could not pronounce the 'r' in parsley were executed. In modern day Dominican Republic, criteria of eligibility are implemented through the denial of citizenship. These practices create a strict definition of who is a part of the nation and who is not.

Anthony Smith said that "nationalism provides perhaps the most compelling identification myth in the modern world" (Smith, 1992, p. viii). This causes two problems within the issue of statelessness. First, nationalistic ideals invoke feelings of discrimination amongst the Dominican people. And second, it means that those hoping to become a part of a nation must go through not only legal acceptance but a rigorous process of social acceptance amongst institutions and the general population. This is an obstacle that will have to be removed in order to remedy the problem of statelessness in the Dominican Republic.

Chapter 3: Data

Structural

This first section will examine data related to the structural level. The most evident way that Haitians are prevented from fully integrating into the Dominican Republic is by discrimination through legislation. This is perpetuated because of a hateful state ideology. What originated as racism, transformed into anti-Haitian nationalism, and eventually became Trujillo's state ideology (Sagas, n.d., par. 27). Antihaitianismo has one objective

“the protection of powerful elite interests through the subjugation of the lower (and darker) sectors of the Dominican population. Antihaitianismo serves elite interests well and has even been accepted by the great majority of the Dominican people as part of their political culture, thereby institutionalizing and giving it the moral legitimacy that it lacks” (Sagas, n.d., par. 27).

This illustrates the infusion of Haitian hatred from the top of the Dominican social order into all parts of the country. However, it is not simply an abstract culture of hate, the government implements specific legislation to thwart any official Haitian integration. Many international organizations have recognized that “since 2004 the Dominican government has steadily institutionalized efforts that undercut the Constitutional guarantee of birthright citizenship and simultaneously reformed its civil registry to the detriment of persons of Haitian descent” (Robert F. Kennedy Centre, 2010, par. 3). This is best illustrated in the case of Yean and Bosico, when two young girls petitioned to gain citizenship as they were born on Dominican soil and had lived there their entire lives (Kosinski, 2009). After they were denied, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights put several mandates on the Dominican Republic to change their prejudiced policies. The Dominican Republic rejected this and even amended their constitution to state that only people who can prove that their relatives of Dominican descent can gain citizenship. These actions clearly illustrate the Dominican Republic's sole objective – to keep Haitians out.

Combined with the influential ideology of the elite, these institutional barriers that re-enforce anti-Haitian sentiment are extremely prohibitive. One study examined explores the neglect in labour markets largely occupied by Haitians. When a Haitian person is recruited to work in the Dominican Republic they are given a carnet, an identification paper which permits their presence in the country. However, these papers are often withheld by the Dominican operators for unknown reasons. Of the workers surveyed a mere 21% were actually in possession of their carnet (Verité, 2012). These workers are only working half of the year, and thus are at risk of deportation for the other half if they travel outside of the batey (Verité, 2012). When the carnets are not given to the workers, the migrants are left immobile. Furthermore, the Dominican constitution states that people in transit will not be able to receive official documents that could legitimize their citizenship in the country. Thus by only issuing temporary work permits the Haitians, who for many have called the Dominican Republic home for decades, are unable to obtain the necessary immigration papers and rights.

While many Dominicans may not be knowledgeable of these racist policies, they are familiar with politicians in the country and their beliefs. There have been many politicians, including presidents, who have made anti-Haitianism a central part of their agenda. Joaquín Balaguer, one of the Dominicans most well-known anti-Haitian politicians, proposed the concept of the 'pacific invasion' throughout his political career. But perhaps the most well-known anti-Haitian politician was Trujillo, who was ironically of Haitian descent himself. Trujillo was an zealous nationalist, who promoted anti-haitianism as part of the state ideology (Sagas, 2010). He preached goals of reconstructing the Dominican Republic to fit his idea of nationalism. Trujillo emphasized the Dominican Republic's Spanish ancestry while de-emphasizing any African heritage. He coupled the intellectual discourse with new legislation that imposed

penalties against anyone engaging in cultural activities that had African roots; these ideas were endorsed by the intellectuals in different fields at the time (Guilamo, 2013). When the same politicians are the ones promising Dominican people a bright future and development, the Dominican people put all of their trust in them. This allows for the anti-Haitian sentiments to be perpetuated so easily. These methods illustrate how nationalism is used at the structural level to impede Haitian integration.

Interpersonal

The interpersonal level will examine how harm is inflicted upon Haitians in the Dominican Republic. These are often the most frequent and subtle acts of the three levels. David Simmons' (2010) article discusses issues of structural violence, but all of his measures of harms are implemented by people on the ground. Thus, they are influenced from top power sources. Geographic segregation, access to transportation, occupational and environmental health challenges, and negative treatment by doctors and other health professionals are all expressions of structural violence that are the major obstacles for Haitians in need of health care (Simmons, 2010) and other imperative social services in the Dominican Republic. Structural violence creates environments that undermine the well-being of Haitians and can limit their access to services (Simmons, 2010). These negative environments are facilitated by normal Dominicans, who choose to inflict harm onto the Haitians they encounter. Simmons (2010) used Johan Galtung's definition of structural violence as social structures (economic, political, religious, and cultural) that constrain individuals and groups from realizing their full potential. He explains that such violence is often normalized within the culture, and on the island of Hispaniola this act is referred to as antihaitianismo, and that this is the most obvious form of discrimination to an outside observer (Simmons, 2010). These are the harms inflicted by general

Dominicans onto Haitians every day. The fact that it is so ingrained in everyday life also makes it plausible that this could be the most harmful as it is the most frequent and direct.

There are obvious access impediments that prevent proper medical treatment for Haitians. Most residents of bateyes cannot access transportation easily to receive medical treatment due to their low wages (Simmons, 2010). Furthermore, there are police checkpoints between the bateyes and medical services, and if the workers do not have proper documentation (which was aforementioned as being a problem) the costs of the risk of being stopped are prohibitive (Simmons, 2010). The living conditions Haitian workers are subject to, most of which are in places owned and operated by sugar cane farm owners, breed disease. Of the six batey communities in the study, only one had a working latrine, meaning the residents are forced to defecate and urinate in their living space (Simmons, 2010). Children in the bateyes are almost twice as likely to contract diarrheal infections as their Dominican counterparts (Simmons, 2010). This neglect is partially institutional but also a sign of pure neglect by the Dominican people facilitating these conditions.

Perhaps the most telling sign of discrimination on the ground is found in the medical centres themselves, perpetrated by health professionals. In a clinical observation the receptionist referred to the patient as a “stupid Haitian” and that “they come here and they should at least speak the language” (Simmons, 2010, p.15). These workers use one of the strongest discrimination techniques of language, by not only the words they choose but by purposefully disregarding the patients level of comfort with the primary language. This act immediately creates an air of superiority no matter whether the non-Spanish speaker understands the words. Simmons (2010) notes that a lack of language skills is often a gendered issue, and that women who do not feel comfortable going to a hospital are forced to give birth at home,

rendering their child without a birth certificate, negating their ability to register for school or healthcare. Thus, this use of language on the ground has primary and secondary effects.

Sagas (2010) explains that antihaitianismo ideology is part of a “set of attitudes that are acquired early in life and reinforced by the socialization process” (par. 23). Just as the older generations were taught, they pass on the basic tenets of antihaitianismo ideology to their children. The younger generation’s actions are a mere reflection of a process that has been repeated over time (Sagas, 2010). Furthermore, this process is reinforced through the interaction with other socializing institutions such as schools. Dominican schools teach a selective history, often emphasizing Spanish heritage rather than African roots (Sagas, 2010). This combination of institutional and social factors leads to animosity that is deeply ingrained through various means.

While this is the most important level of violence to address, as it is the most influential on a daily basis, it could also be the hardest. Changing a person’s personal values can be more difficult than changing the morals of a government or institution, as they are held accountable by other organizations and international pressures. This is where Pogge’s cosmopolitan ideals play an important role. The mindsets of Dominicans need to be changed so that they feel a greater responsibility to all innocent people. This can only be overcome by eradicating nationalistic values as well as teaching values of multiculturalism.

Institutional

Between January 2011 and August 2012 the main Dominican newspaper printed 44 comic strips that either discussed Haiti or Haitians and the comics tend to coincide with editions that contain articles about the Haitian-Dominican issue (Guilamo, 2013). While it may be seen as a positive that the cartoons are not always printed, it may be more negative that they are printed alongside presumably political reports, taking away from the main issues at hand and reinforcing the negative connotation of Haitian migration. This strategic placement illustrates

that “that the Dominican news does not provide solutions for the country’s social problems; only the problems are acknowledged” (Guilamo, 2013, p. 75). This is very clear in one comic strip that shows an injured man saying that one can only get charity or aid if they are Haitian, alluding to the health care provided by the Dominican after the earthquake in Haiti. Dominicans find it much easier to blame the Haitians for using precious resources, putting a strain on the own access, rather than to examine the structural factors that prevent adequate health care for the country and for crisis aid.

The visual images of Haitians in cartoons in the Dominican reinforce for the target audience the racial differences between the two groups (Guilamo, 2013). The most obvious example of anti-Haitian sentiment in the cartoons is the depictions of Haitians in comparison to the Dominicans. The Dominicans are always drawn as white with little phenotype diversity, whereas the Haitians are shown as black with certain racial signifiers. These depictions are realistically invalid as the Dominican population is one of the most phenotypically diverse in the world (Guilamo, 2013). What is not seen in the cartoons is also meaningful; the children are seen without parents and without clothes, which signifies the Haitians as having lesser values than the Dominicans (Guilamo, 2013). Guilamo (2013) claims that through such processes, Dominicans “wish to preserve their colonial heritage” while also depicting Haitians as a “threat to the culture” (p. 64). This sentiment may ring especially true to those still brooding on the periods of Haitian rule. While at the time the rule may not have been seen as detrimental due to the benefits it entailed, now it is viewed as another time of oppression in Dominican history. This issue can be examined through a multicultural lens. If the artists choose to draw Haitians in cartoons, they can draw them to show some of the different racial characteristics, but they should

do so in a way that shows acceptance of these differences. Drawings that are over exaggerated and offensive differentiate the two groups in a negative way.

Sagas (2010) studied the situation on the island of Hispaniola extensively and recognizes that media outlets in the Dominican are one of the central sources where anti-Haitian sentiment is produced and distributed. While political cartoons can often be played off as simply playing devil's advocate, they also usually imply feelings that are too strong or controversial to be printed (Guilamo, 2013). The Dominican Republic is very conscious of how it is viewed by its international peers. Any country that wishes to progress to Western standards must be careful to fulfill certain moral obligations. While the Dominican Republic has been called out for its prejudice policies at the structural level regarding Haitians, significant actors such as political figures and mass media can still covertly, and often times overtly, express their distaste. The avenue of cartoons allows for this hatred to be displayed publicly.

Paulino (2006) uses a specific time period of media coverage to inspect the portrayal of Haitians on this secondary level. After a robbery gone wrong that left a Dominican woman dead at the hands of Haitian men, fueled by relentless nationwide media reports describing the murder of a defenseless Dominican woman by Haitians, droves of Haitians were driven out of their homes and a number were attacked and killed (Paulino, 2006). This reporting style turned the issue into one of race. Furthermore, the consequences affected many more than just the criminals.

It has been noted that "Dominican leaders often stoke the embers of anti-Haitian antagonism in the press" (Paulino, 2006, p. 267). This is a combination of politicians' use of moral language and the power of the press to authenticate antihaitianismo ideals. The most

inappropriate use of moral language comes when candidates use it for their own gain. Paulino (2006) wrote:

“President Leone Fernandez while trying to immobilize support for his 2004 presidential bid, Fernandez-himself once an immigrant in New York- openly supported general amnesty for the thousands of undocumented Dominicans residing in the commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Yet he neglected to mention the thousands of long-term Haitian residents or the Dominicans of Haitian born descent born and raised in the Dominican Republic, who are denied citizenship. He even warned Dominicans in Puerto Rico that, if illegal Haitian immigration was not stopped, there would be an ‘ethnic war something akin to what occurred in Kosovo’ (p. 276).

This overt use of moral language to compel unity amongst Dominicans, even those outside of the nation, illustrates the willingness of leaders to publicly admit their backward ideals compelled by their hatred of Haitians.

The most disturbing factor of all these examples is that these articles and public comments do not come from extremist or marginal voices within Dominican society, the authors and speakers are very much part of the mainstream, often high ranking officials (Paulino, 2006). Even more so, the connection is often times very evident between the politicians and media outlets. A weekly column written by a former Trujillo aid shares his stories of him talking about the “Haitian question” (Paulino, 2006, p. 276). The author reminisced on Trujillo saying “his hands were stained with blood, to save your generation from the Haitianization of the nation” (Paulino, 2006, p. 276). The combination of elite voices and mass media outreach has led to a damning power in the Dominican Republic, with its sole goal being to further ostracize Haitians.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

This paper began with some startling facts about the number of stateless people in the world and then illustrated the variety of harms that occur because of a lack of citizenship. This information has led to some implications for both policy at the federal level, for institutions who have an effect on the general populace, and for how people in society treat one another. The problem investigated here was that Haitians in the Dominican Republic have not only been denied citizenship, they have been routinely discriminated against in order to prevent their full integration in the nation. The question I sought to answer was what Haitians living in the Dominican Republic need to be fully accepted in the country, to improve their lives that they had sought to alter for the better by leaving their home. I insisted that the harms come from three different levels within the nation. First the structural harms inflicted by the government. Secondly the institutional harms illustrated through the discrimination found in mass media such as newspapers. And thirdly, at the interpersonal level where anti-haitianism is a part of the general populations' daily lives. This is different than the common view that the issue is with unfair immigration policies and the focus on right to admission.

Throughout this paper it has been demonstrated that cosmopolitanism is a good starting theoretical framework in which to think about statelessness. Drawing on the basis of mutual respect for all in a community gives a foundation on which to put theory into practice. Pogge's specific ideology of moral language allows people to understand how governments influence lower tiers of society by inciting nationalism that hinders multiculturalism rooted in cosmopolitan values.

Taking the standpoint of multiculturalism was suggested as one ideology to work through in order to create a just society that integrates the Haitian immigrants on all levels.

Multiculturalism was defined as accepting diversity and only seeking unification within the

sphere of politics. This would allow for acceptance while encouraging a government that focuses on the needs of all citizens. Evidently at the structural level multiculturalist values would be met by granting citizenship and providing all people within the Dominican borders the right to vote – hence the focus solely on political unity. Similarly, a change in depiction of Haitians in mass media would avoid discrimination of people simply for who they are. And on the ground, an institution of multicultural values would create an atmosphere of acceptance in the everyday life of Haitians.

The ideology of nationalism can be positive when inspiring the love of one's country for benefit. However, when it is used to create a culture of hate, it can be one of the most formidable forces. Nationalism in the Dominican Republic has been created largely based on a hatred of the other – Haitians. This ideology, while often contained to political matters, is evident throughout the three levels examined, which means it needs to be addressed at all three levels for meaningful change to occur. In terms of the government, moral language can be altered to avoid nationalistic values and focus on just that – *morals*. At the level of social institutions, such as mass media, critical messages need to stray from refraining to post negatively about the state because they are too occupied reporting on the 'Haitian problem'. At the interpersonal level, people need to be dissuaded from valuing a Dominican biased history and using that to reinforce their bigotry.

Through evaluation of the three levels of focus I have illustrated that there are issues throughout Dominican society. These issues are overarching and lead to a negative effect on a Haitian person's entire life. First, at the structural level current legislation allows for structural violence and prevents Haitian migrants from easily accessing the integration process, and thus prevents access to necessary institutions such as education and health care. As well, government

officials further the stigma by inciting nationalist values in their Dominican constituents. They build off of the Dominican identity as an opposition to Haitians. Secondly, mass media outlets propagate this stigma by printing racially insensitive material. Not only do reports favour the Dominican prerogative, but editorial cartoons exacerbate the differences between the two groups. These organizations, which have considerable power and influence in any nation, need to alter their focus instead of attacking an easy scapegoat. Many of the problems illustrated in the editorials and cartoons are part of a larger structural problem, and any unrest should be aimed at fixing these structural issues instead. And thirdly, the effects are felt on the ground through antihaitianismo acts, whether through outright violence or subtler discrimination. These effects were illustrated in the measures of harm such as insufficient health care and other maltreatment. This antihaitianismo transcends generations and is integrated into the socialization process. Fixing these practices would require a change in the social institutions that perpetuate false history and ideology.

The Dominican Republic has an evident issue with statelessness. Addressing these issues can be done through a three level approach that when done simultaneously can better the lives of thousands of Haitians. This paper has provided evidence on how this issue can be addressed based on previous studies, which have all focused on identifying the harms. Most research on statelessness focuses on ethics of admission. This paper continues on from these studies by focusing on the full process of integration which involves change at all levels. Information gleaned from such research can be used in the future to inform decisions on the multiple levels.

Now is a key time of change in the Dominican Republic, which is prime for innovative tactics. There is plenty of evidence to prove the deficiencies of the current system in the Dominican Republic. These deficiencies cannot be corrected by themselves, that is, one cannot

solely focus on rectifying harms of the government. The effort to fix all areas needs to be simultaneous. Evidently, further research needs to be done to evaluate the merit of this form of addressing the Haitian problem in the Dominican. There is no better time to explore these issues and possible solutions than now, when the Dominican Republic is beginning to take steps to attempt to integrate Haitians. First, there needs to be evaluation of the naturalization and regularization processes instituted in May 2014. Varying sources claim a less than stellar performance thus far in regards to the number of people that have completed the process. However, this is not a solution that can be addressed solely quantifiably. On the ground, research needs to investigate how the process has affected Haitians and whether this is sufficient and adequate integration. Based on the evidence in this paper, it will arguably be found to not be enough.

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