

Hitting the Books and Pounding the Pavement:  
Haitian Educational and Labor Migrants  
in the Dominican Republic

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## ABSTRACT

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What do the practices and subjectivities of migrants disclose about the political economy and society of their host country? What meanings do they attach to working or studying abroad? What can be done to manage life while mitigating the effects of the state, the market, and xenophobia? This dissertation examines two relatively new distinct populations—Haitian university students and workers—in order to examine how class mediates migration experiences. More specifically, I considered how migrants, or what I call mobilites, live and understand their specific engagements with the state, market, and society across differences in race, class, gender, and citizenship. Their actual experiences of incorporation belie neoliberal understandings that would posit a neat alignment of their lives along a vector indexing the market value of their skills.

In this monograph, I show how early 21<sup>st</sup> century Dominican Republic developed its particular economy and the political, legal, social, and spatial dynamics of Santo Domingo as a neoliberal capital city. Using that as context, I describe what the experiences of these students and workers reveal about the state and the economy of the Dominican Republic. Educational mobilites manage their educational studies in the context of the pressures of modern capitalism and of xenophobia within their host country. Labor mobilites, for their part, create subjectivities based upon specific meanings of work and interaction with the state, the market, and others in the street to inform their overall economic participation. The labor process and the commodity chains of the various trades in which Haitians participate reveal engagements with and

contributions to various types of global flows. I found that through the practice of these trades, the Dominican state plays a role both the creation of Haitian entrepreneurs as well as the occasional stifling of their businesses. Analyzing their work also shows how the market might appear to mitigate anti-Haitianism. Along with their labor practices, Haitians create subjectivities related to their role as workers and as urban residents to facilitate their life in the neoliberal city.

Inspired by the work of David Harvey, who states (2001) that the process of capital accumulation thrives upon and generates difference, and drawing on concepts from anthropology, mobility studies, political economy, and urban studies, I argue that examining the practices and subjectivities of these two groups reveal globalizations of a middling kind, one that is neither akin to that of a transnational elite nor of an ethnic underclass.

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Now, I make this road (and any errors) by walking alone.

*Es el drama del migrante. Ser, nacer, pertenecer y amar una tierra que te asecha y Despoja de tu futuro, porque no brinda las oportunidades necesarias para una vida digna, empujándote a la aventura. Entonces llegas a una tierra desconocida que te rechaza y te margina. La forma de caminar, de ver la vida, de hablar y comportarte evidencia tu condición de extranjero.*

It is the plight of the migrant: to be, to be born, to belong to, and to love a land that deceives and robs you and of your future because it does not provide the necessary opportunities for a decent life, which leads you toward an uncertain endeavor. So, you get to an unknown land that rejects and marginalizes you. The way you walk, the way you understand life, the way you speak and behave, all these evidence your foreign status.

Mu-Kien Adriana Sang, La herencia china: una meditación

## CHAPTER ONE: CANE CUTTERS NO MORE

Men [sic] make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under given circumstances directly encountered and inherited from the past.

Karl Marx, *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*

### Introduction

It was a Saturday afternoon in Santo Domingo, the capital city of the Dominican Republic in 2009. The sky, like most days in January, was as blue as cheap *larimar*<sup>1</sup>, and the sun quietly began warming up the afternoon, now that the *brisas de Navidad* had ebbed<sup>2</sup>. I finished paying the cabbie and walked inside the Universidad Iberoamericana (UNIBE) to catch up with my friend Martine's mother who had come from Haiti to watch her daughter's white coat ceremony. Arriving at the moment the medical students were filing in, all chairs were occupied, so we resigned ourselves to standing along the wall. Looking beyond Martine's mother, who was wearing designer clothing with tastefully placed gold and diamonds around her neck and fingers, I searched for familiar faces. I recognized several of my friend's colleagues: Cherline (another Haitian student receiving her *bata*, or white coat), the two Indian American men, and a Haitian man who played soccer with us occasionally. There was one Haitian woman I did not know who was waiting for her white coat, her family standing a few feet behind her.

While my family is filled with doctors, I had never been to a white coat ceremony, so I had no idea how standard the one at UNIBE was. The call-and-response of the Hippocratic Oath was first in Spanish (for the Dominicans and Puerto Rican students in the Spanish language medical program) and then in English (for the foreign students in the English language medical program).

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<sup>1</sup> Larimar is a pale-blue to aquamarine colored gemstone, found only in the Dominican Republic. Popular gemology suggests that the lighter the color of larimar, the lower the quality.

<sup>2</sup> Translated as "Christmas breezes", this refers to the cool yet sometimes strong winds that affect the Caribbean from December to January, a meteorological phenomenon that inspired the Puerto Rican Benito de Jesús to write a song of the same name.

A speaker called out names, after which the expecting medical student filed toward a table filled with university administrators to shake hands, receive their bata, and sign a sheet where they penned their official agreement to the Oath. After the dozens of people received their white coats, the audience applauded, and the photo taking began. As I was a guest, there were very few photographs in which my presence was requested, so I had time to watch what everyone else was doing. It was at that point I observed something that would bring my research project more into focus.

As my eyes scanned the room to see what people were doing, I caught a glimpse of the smiling and sometimes teary-eyed attendees. Standing along the wall, though, the sunlight drew my gaze outside to where the university was renovating and building a section of its campus. Through the thin window, I saw two dark-skinned men working with sand and concrete bricks. After leaving the air-conditioned room, I passed near the construction area and heard the men speaking Kreyòl. At that point, the juxtaposition of the two groups passed what has been called the intraocular test, i.e. it hit me right between the eyes. At the same university in Santo Domingo, there were two groups of Haitians. One group had just seen their family members earn their first major credentials in the process of becoming a biomedical doctor, a form of *cultural capital* (Bourdieu 1986), and was now off to a \$75 US per plate dinner reception and open bar at a 5-star hotel. Hidden in plain sight behind a partially covered window and closed doors, the second group had been working to create the physical environment for such academic pursuits, earning perhaps \$8-10 for the day's work. While others were photographing the moment for posterity, I was taking in the image of two groups of urban Haitians that I would later understand to be educational and labor migrants.

What seized me at the white coat ceremony eventually led me to understand how revealing it

could be of other issues. This intersection of various kinds of migrants (including myself) at a university in the Dominican capital not only suggested different international flows of people, but also begged the question of what sort of political economic conditions would make that moment both possible and meaningful.

From the cellular phone in our pocket to the people who plant, pick, and pack the food we eat, lives in an industrialized economy are being transformed by various global flows of commodities, money, ideas, and people. Although most people experience these flows within a fairly limited geographic area, I believe that greater understanding comes from pushing us outside our normal bounds of experience. By that, I do not mean to imply that fixity is normal and movement is novel and perhaps even pathological. Conversely, I do not want to normalize fluidity of movement and thus consign those imagined to be immobile to bedlam. Rather, in the manner that Harrison (2008) correctly stated that “understanding black experiences is important because they speak to the universal human condition just as much as any other people’s experience”, I argue that an examination of migrants’ lives helps shed light on important processes and fields of power that equally impact other people across the globe. Furthermore, following the recognition by scholars that globalization, perhaps better written as *globalizations*, have been both plentiful and plural for much longer than many in the contemporary moment realize (Glick Schiller 2005; Hannerz; Trouillot 2003), I am interested in middling globalizations, or those global movements and experiences that fall somewhere in between the extremes of the global socioeconomic scale.

### **Statement of the Problem**

The past decade has heard a crescendo of praise regarding the perceived, expected, or demanded symphonic global flows of people, including as students and workers. While there is general

recognition that displacement due to warfare and disaster is unwelcomed, many scholars, policy makers, and common folk associate unfettered physical mobility with socioeconomic improvement. As governments attempt to align national political economic policy along the lines of market imperatives, groups are beginning to be ushered differentially across borders. Whereas professionals and students are often depicted as encouraged and unfettered in their international movements, low-skilled laborers are viewed as a force to be properly managed to ensure economic growth. This dissertation seeks to understand how Haitians in the Dominican Republic participate in and contribute to globalized flows.

One prominent economist stated that, “despite its peripheral status in debates over globalization, the movement of people from low income to high income countries is fundamental in global economic development” (Freeman 2006:1). Regarding labor migrants, an International Labour Office (ILO) report stated that:

demand for cheap, low-skilled labour in industrialized countries as well as a considerable number of developing nations in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East remains evident in agriculture, food-processing, construction, semi-skilled or unskilled manufacturing jobs (textiles, etc.), and low-wage services like domestic work, home health care and the sex sector (Taran and Geronimi 2003: 3-4).

The authors add that this demand is most easily and often met through migrant labor.

Implicating the need for internationalization of education, in a New York Times opinion piece about how the United States needs educated entrepreneurs to reinvigorate the economy, often-cited journalist Thomas Friedman asked, “where do start-ups come from? They come from smart, creative, inspired risk-takers. How do we get more of those? There are only two ways: grow more by improving our schools or import more by recruiting talented immigrants”

(Friedman 2010). According to this logic, the world is flat, the information is available, and all that is required is for states to get out of the way to allow people access to the knowledge so that

the world can develop. Taken as an ensemble, the comments by the economist, the ILO, and the journalist underscore the notion that border crossings are natural, good, and can potentially contribute to everyone's prosperity and well-being, as long as the state behaves properly.

My research challenges that assertion. By examining the lives of these Haitian migrants, I seek to avoid a facile understanding of policy as it relates to population movements. I also question efforts to portray these people either as a single ethnic unit or as a socially acceptable upper class with a stigmatized lower class. While their experiences in Santo Domingo by definition are linked to work and to education, they each engage in certain practices<sup>3</sup> to incorporate themselves into an urban setting. Additionally, they develop specific subjectivities, or ways of behaving and being. These aspects of their lives belie the truth in policy discussions that fail to consider the complexity of border crossing experiences.

In addition to challenging common understandings of border crossers, I seek to make a contribution to the lexicon of border crossers by referring to Haitian educational and labor *mobiles*. Beyond the fact that there is no accepted single word for a mobile subject, the choice to use this term is three fold. First, it situates my work within anthropological studies of mobility, which is more inclusive of and more attuned to different types of movement than the term migration. Second, I use the suffix *-ite*, which creates a simultaneous and ironic sense of connection with or belonging to a place, as well as scientific sense in the creation of an organism, animal, or vegetable (OED Online 2013). Third, given the fact that mobility studies at present tend to be undertaken more by European or Canadian scholars, I use the neologism *mobile* to imply a mirage of the French word *mobilité*, or mobility<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> I refer to practices with reference to the body of ideas rooted in Marxian ideas whereby “human beings make their lives together, in a completely structured, historically and materially changing world” (Lave 2011: 161).

<sup>4</sup> Ulf Hannerz and to a lesser degree, Appadurai renewed focus on a global mobile subject with the term *cosmopolite*, but their usage still bespeaks an upper class orientation.

With these challenges in mind, this ethnography asks: *what do the practices and subjectivities of Haitian educational and labor mobilites to Santo Domingo disclose about the political economy of the Dominican Republic?* My answer to this question is based upon over two years of anthropological fieldwork with Haitian migrants in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. Using a mixed-methods approach that combines ethnographic and statistical data, I contend that the practices and subjectivities of incorporation of Haitian educational and labor mobilites evince globalizations from below and between that undermines xenophobic nationalism and belie neoliberal understandings that would posit a neat alignment of their lives along a vector indexing the market value of their skills. This is a *middling* globalization in that mobilites' experiences do not fit neatly into either the facilitated globetrotter image or the captive ethnic workforce model, but rather show something that blends elements of both. Political economic and social dynamics foster urban labor mobilites' pounding of the pavement as they search for monetary capital through engaging in entrepreneurship and creating various necessary subjectivities, including quietly articulating a particular work ethic. The educational mobilites' hit the books in search for human and cultural capital, a process that leads them through difficult social, political, and economic terrain, sometimes with help from Dominican friends, only to return to work in Haiti after completing their studies, rather than staying in the Dominican Republic to become Friedman's "inspired risk-takers". To wit, the contemporary political economy of the Dominican Republic fosters practices and subjectivities that earlier state-centric economic systems might not have allowed. These facilitate migrants' incorporation into the Dominican Republic while they also reveal dynamics of the extant political economic forms.

In what follows, I describe my path towards completion of this project, including my experience of researcher as mobilite, the conceptual framework for my project, and the project's



methodology.

### **Anthropologist as Mobilite**

The dissertation is a static representation of years of study and work; however, the shaping of a project and analytical framework is a process. Taking seriously Lave's (2011) claim that occupying a theoretical position is processual in nature, I will describe how my project site shifted from Port-au-Prince to Santo Domingo, and in the process, explain my role as mobilite.

In 2005, I traveled to Port-au-Prince, Haiti carrying two summer research proposals, one of which was to become the foundation of my dissertation research. The primary proposal examined the relationship between the political economy and ideologies of certain Haitian Creole literacy projects in the Haitian capital and any resultant claims about development. The second proposal, completed only as a sketch of an alternate idea in case the first proved untenable, was an examination of computer and internet literacies. Given that the head of a major non-governmental organization had identified an expansion of internet access a major institutional goal for Haiti, I designed research to examine how people were using the technologies. I had contacts established in the field, a plan for data generation, and the time and money to complete the project, but another factor would foil my plans. As they say in Haiti, *jou malè, wanga pa sèvi* (On an unlucky day, not even your lucky charm will work).

Upon returning from Haiti in 2005, consideration of several factors led me to abandon Haiti as the site for my doctoral research. Since 2003, due to what they saw as a political betrayal, members of a Gonaïves-based gang that supported then-President Aristide forwent their allegiance and took up arms against him. Haitian political elites jockeyed for power. Some police officers began abusing their power for political ends. Several other forces across the country (including former Haitian military members who had been training just across the border

in the Dominican Republic) put pressure on Aristide to leave. Finally, a number of Haitian deportees from the United States had begun engaging in an activity that coined a neologism in Haiti: *kidnapin* (kidnapping). In short, one Haiti-expert lamented that it was the most violent and insecure time since Duvalier's 1963 attacks (Bryant Freeman, personal communication, August 2005). After hearing one too many gun battles from my home, I fled Port-au-Prince. After that summer's research in the countryside, I returned to New York, crestfallen and somewhat traumatized. Not knowing if I would be safe to conduct research in 2006, let alone if agencies would provide funding for work in Haiti, I opted to change my future doctoral research site to the Dominican Republic<sup>5</sup>.

During the next two years, I retooled and developed a new research direction for the Dominican Republic. I chose to examine Haitians in the Dominican Republic, partially to take advantage of my linguistic abilities, and partially as a way for me to keep in touch with my imaginings of Haiti by interacting with Haitians. After all, I had been traveling to and reading about Haiti for over six years, so changing sites was as much emotional as it was academic. As I mentioned above, much of the literature on migration to the Dominican Republic indicated that Haitians, almost exclusively men, were working in extremely negative conditions in Dominican cane fields. This image was to be undone upon my arrival in Santo Domingo in May 2006<sup>6</sup>. Before I went to the countryside, I spent week in the capital to make connections. At that time, I met and spoke with a Dominican sociologist, Angel Pichardo, who talked to me at length about my project, after which he presented me with a newspaper editorial that effectively stigmatized and vilified a predominantly Haitian neighborhood in the capital. He also mentioned how there were Haitian businessmen, students, and professionals in the city. Later, he introduced me to

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<sup>5</sup> I thank Paul Farmer for discussing with me the benefits and disadvantages of the options I faced.

<sup>6</sup> My thanks to the Center for Latin American Studies at Columbia University for the research award that supported this summer fieldwork.

another Dominican, a stalwart leftist, who showed me around the neighborhood in question. Due to the conversations with the sociologist, the leftist, and the Haitians in what I would later come to know as “La Benito”, I changed my focus to examining the lives of Haitian migrants in Santo Domingo, labor migrants and otherwise.

I spent five weeks doing participant observation in La Benito, and this combined with the interviews I conducted enabled me to realize important facts about the relationship between the vendors and the formal economy, the state, other community members, and customers. First, I determined that anti-Haitianism, while present, did not explain all interactions between Dominicans and Haitians. Second, not all Haitians were functioning as cheap labor for Dominican companies. As my motel room was not equipped with a kitchen, I was forced to purchase food from neighborhood vendors. I began many days by waking up to purchase ginger tea or coffee with creamer from one of the Haitian ambulant vendors, chasing it down with *pan de agua* (a common type of plain bread). When I was particularly ambitious, I would wake up at 6 a.m. to purchase *soup joumou* (butternut squash soup) from one of the two or three vendors on the street. Lunch was usually spent in the Zona Colonial, where I could find a variety of fast foods as well as internet service. Evening meals usually included leftovers from lunch, but I would also venture back into the neighborhood to purchase the delicious but heart-unhealthy *fritay* (a collection of fried foods, usually including plantain and chicken or pork) from one of the two or three local Haitian street vendors. However, there are only so many times that an anthropologist from the United States with a less than herculean constitution can eat street food within a run-down urban neighborhood in the Caribbean before falling ill, and so it happened. Twice. Bound more or less to my hotel, I took advantage of the opportunity to talk with some of

the other guests. This alerted me to the presence of *ti kòmesan* or *madansara*<sup>7</sup> in the area, and the role that the motels and tenement buildings in the area play in commerce between Haiti and the Dominican Republic. The diversity of economic activity provided by these fieldwork experiences scrambled my understanding of what I initially uncritically called the lower classes. Furthermore, I had absolutely no information on what I called upper class Haitians. Days before leaving, I secured institutional support through Bridget Wooding at the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO) and encouragement from Rex Moser, the then-US Cultural Attaché in the Dominican Republic. This concluded my pre-dissertation fieldwork.

Upon returning to New York, I continued studying for my comprehensive exams and my dissertation proposal defense. I also used this time to conduct research on national and international markets that affect the Dominican Republic. This included internet and library research of economic statistics, Dominican government policies, and news stories pertaining to Haitians in the Dominican Republic, all which I could use to contextualize what I saw when I returned to conduct dissertation fieldwork in early 2008.

I recount this story to explain how the research project came to be, but also to explode a common notion about anthropologists regarding their study of the *other*. It is true that my research examined the movement of Haitians across borders to the Dominican Republic (some as students, some as workers), but none of this was possible without *my own movement*. This was not a fixed anthropologist observing transnational migrants. Completing the experience of fieldwork, this privileged rite of passage, means that I have returned with the materials on which to build my credentials as a professional social scientist. The conditions that facilitated and were affected by my movement (somewhere in between labor, educational, and professional mobility)

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<sup>7</sup> Many women identified themselves with one or both of these terms, the first translating as “little merchant”. The second term, *madansara*, has no single word equivalent in English. *Madansara* is a particular loud, black and yellow bird in Haiti, often found together in large colonies.

were not entirely different from those of the people I lived with for those years. In other words, I was as much a mobile other in the Dominican Republic as they were, though our experiences differed due to race, class, gender, and citizenship.

### **Conceptual Framework**

Overall, I am interested in how migrants' lives are entwined with society, including how they are entangled with the warp of the capitalist market and the woof of the state. Specifically to contextualize my findings, I situate my data within an area studies context and then place it in conversation with literatures of migration and mobility, political economy (both classical and anthropological), the state, subjectivities, and urban studies. As such, this research answers customary questions regarding how migrants are received and incorporate themselves in their host communities, but also addresses concerns of *mobility*, a concept the use of which opens up more possible analysis linked to border-crossing lives. Second, it addresses similar issues raised by authors dealing with migration and education regarding the role of the market, governmentality, cultural politics, and subject-making. Third, my study engages with literature on how an examination of a national economy, labor processes, and commodity chains reflect spatial and cultural dynamics of capitalism, as well as the relevance of these to people's subjectivities. Fourth, I implement the concepts of *spatial practice*, the state, and neoliberalism to engage approaches to urban studies that reinforce the importance of cities within a globalizing world and that show the interrelationship between people, power, and the urban spaces of life.

My research is primarily anthropological in nature, but due to my own interdisciplinary background and due to the nature of the subject matter, I have drawn upon different disciplinary approaches and methods to inform the research and final analysis.

*Haitian Diasporas on Hispaniola*

Heeding the words of Magloire and Yelvington (2008) about how certain places can be linked and limited by certain theoretical approaches, as Haiti has been by exceptionalism (Trouillot 1990), my work stands apart from many of the ways that Haitians have been portrayed in social science literature, yet also reflects many of the ways in which Haitians have experienced migration.

Several important works focus on Haitians and social aspects of labor within the Dominican rural and smaller town economies. Murphy (1991) examined the organization of production among three different corporations in the Dominican Republic and found that despite differences in access to capital, introduction of new technologies, and limits of state regulations, the labor process was fairly uniform, with Haitians occupying more lower-paid, labor-intensive positions. Lozano (1993) described how little differentiation by citizenship (i.e. Haitian or Dominican) existed in coffee harvesting, yet the increased specialization of labor related to rice led to a more pronounced ethnic division of labor. Martínez (1995) researched rural-to-rural migrants who worked in sugar production. His work reveals diversity among poorer migrant groups by showing how those who maintain stronger ties with their home community in Haiti make are better able to adapt within the Dominican Republic. In a more recent work that reflects changes in the Dominican economy around the tourist twin towns of Andres and Boca Chica, Gregory (2006) shows that Haitians occupy both positions within a division of labor as a part of elite constructions of difference between Haitians and Dominicans (i.e. hair-braiding and painting) and beyond it, as in restaurant touts, bar and gift shop employees, and other locations where multilingualism was required to facilitate tourist transactions. Brennan's (2004) treatment of female sex workers in a northern coastal town indicates that while the male foreign tourist gaze lumps all women into the group of exotic and racialized others, actual social relations and

language work to create a division between Haitian and Dominican women. Thus, in rural areas and in peri-urban areas, racial divisions often correspond with social and economic distinctions between Haitians and Dominicans. Also, several of these authors point to an increasing movement toward cities as locations for work beyond agriculture.

The restructuring of the Dominican economy in the final two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, described in part by Gregory (2006) and here in Chapter 2, corresponded with a related shift in the scholarly approach to Haitians in the Dominican Republic toward examining the connection between urban migration and larger political and economic processes. By the new millennium, scholars were declaring that not only was Haitian immigration essential for Dominican agricultural production, but also “it can also be said of the urban economy in the construction sector and the informal economy” (Lozano 2008:179; cf. Silié 1998). Elsewhere, Lozano (1997) applied a mezzo-level approach to examining dynamics in the country’s economy and effectively showed diversity among the urban poor in Santo Domingo. He described how in the 1980s, then President Balaguer enacted state-sponsored economic activities, created wealth for some, fostered diverse low-wage and informal employment for the increasing numbers of migrants to the city, and strategically made political mobilization of marginal groups more difficult, all through reconstruction of city’s physical landscape. Silié, Segura, and Dore Cabral (2002) describe these new waves of Haitian immigrants through reference to their inclusion in a structural underclass of low-paid (migrant and autochthonous) workers while maintaining elite preference for a particular racialized order that denigrates Haitians and Haitian Dominicans. Thus, such work points to the connection between Haitian migrants and marginal sectors of the urban Dominican economy.

One final body of literature on Haitians in the Dominican Republic comes from those whose

work describes social relations and rights violations of migrants and their descendents since the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Baez Evertsz (2001) provided basic demographic information among migrants and described phrases used by Dominicans to antagonize Haitians. Around 2007, an effort was organized by several researchers to address the experience of Haitians in the cities of the newly restructured Dominican labor market as a way to advocate for better treatment of migrant workers. This included describing the working conditions and rights of Haitian men within the construction industry (Adames Núñez, Amézquita Puntiel, and Travieso 2008) and those of Haitian women as domestic servants (Wooding and Sangro 2008), which eventually led to a study of labor rights violations in the construction industry (Petrozziello 2012). Often times, these papers advocate lines of action like those of non-governmental organizations like the Movimiento de Mujeres Domínico-Haitianos (MUDHA) and Catholic organizations like the Servicio Jesuita a Refugiados/as y Migrants (SJRM), where the struggle against the “onion of oppression” (Martínez 2011) includes advocacy for Haitians’ and Haitian Dominicans’ economic, cultural, and social (including gender-based) rights alongside political rights. In sum, these highlight the fact Haitian migrants are not unlike “others in the Dominican Republic and elsewhere in Latin America who sense that gains in political freedom during the last two decades have gone hand in hand with increased physical and economic insecurity” (Martínez 2011:56-57), and yet at the same time, politics and the state remain central to many of these migrants’ lives.

While this dissertation deals with Haitian migrants in the Dominican Republic, it implicitly addresses literature that deals with insular issues, i.e. the island as a whole. Scholarly contributions analyzing Hispaniola often map national identities onto cultural differences, as if there were not commonalities among people across the island. What these pieces share is the



same colorful but inaccurate image made famous by Wucker's (1999) work, namely, two cocks fighting, or two distinct, incompatible, and combative entities. My work denies such polarizing narratives both by showing how Haitians and Dominicans may collaborate economically and academically and by depicting the variegated Haitian populations in Santo Domingo.

Within the larger Caribbean context, the treatment of contemporary Haitian migrants has split along two paths. On one hand, like much of the above literature about Haitians in the Dominican Republic, writings in the rest of the Caribbean have focused on what can be called Haitians' *pathological presence*, where in addition to their association with stigmatized elements of society (crime, prostitution, drugs, etc.), their mere existence outside of Haiti is considered a problem. Since the 1950s, the Bahamian government has been attempting to address the double "Haitian Problem" of illegal migration and of the fate of their children and grandchildren who might be denied rights to citizenship (Marshall 1979)<sup>8</sup>. In Jamaica, after the second coup d'état against then-President Aristide, the Jamaican government initially accepted Haitians as refugees, but then, under pressure because of perceived the unnecessary public expenditure on non-citizens, the undermining of the local labor force, and the links to crime (Clarke 2010). Such social and political antagonisms of Haitians also occur in French Guiana and Guadeloupe (Zacaïr 2010). On the other hand, some scholars have underscored the complexity and perhaps even incomplete nature of Haitians as a diaspora. Jackson's (2011) edited volume brings attention to differences of geographic scale and transnational connections between groups of Haitians outside of Haiti, to the various structural forces that created various groups of Haitians that may or may not form a community, and to recognition that migration may not be an economic step-up.

In the United States, scholars have primarily examined Haitians as diasporic figures within

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<sup>8</sup> Of interest to the reader is that, as Marshall points out, this term is used in the Bahamas as well as in the Dominican Republic.

the receiving society or as transnational actors. In his work on Haitians in Miami, Stepick has discussed social dynamics (including stigma) associated with being Haitian in the United States. As an ethnic whole, he posits that these are not the poorest of the Haitian poor, contrary to imaginations by the press (1984), and shows how Haitians adopt various ways of behavior and identification to better incorporate themselves, including among African-Americans (1998). Later scholars, using the concepts linked to *transnationalism*, describe how migrants' lives spanned more than one location. Glick-Schiller and Fouron describe Haitians' *long-distance nationalism*, where "family obligation, memory, pride, and despair are intertwined" (2001:93). Thus, Haitian migrants must deal with incorporation abroad while not forgetting about connections with home.

Overall, my work seeks to make a contribution to understanding Haitian migration to the Dominican Republic within a circum-Caribbean context as an example of what Puri (2003) calls *marginal migrations*. She writes that such movements, like the particular case at hand, are not only south-south, and west-west<sup>9</sup>, but also "exceed and escape determination by the economics of migration" (2003:3). Having laid out the area studies context for my work, I now turn to the concepts associated with mobility, migration, political economy, and urban studies that frame the dissertation as a whole.

### *Mobility vs. Migration*

I begin this conceptual framework by discussing relevant migration topics, followed by examining the utility of the concept of *mobility* versus *migration*.

The emergence of mobility studies in anthropology coincides with the convergence of two intellectual trends. On one hand, archeologists and biological anthropologists discussed

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<sup>9</sup> I hold that the present case is west-west in its orientation, despite the fact that Haitians actually move east to the Dominican Republic.

migration as *human dispersal* in evolutionary perspective (cf. Crawford and Campbell 2012) or as a foraging strategy, whereas they reserve the term mobility for movement without reference necessarily to destination or purpose (Kelly 1983). On the other, sociologists and cultural anthropologists turned their attention to the apparent global movement of people, incorporating the concept of *transnationalism*. This latter approach served to “highlight processes and connections across state borders” (Glick-Schiller 2006:440) and consequently dealt a blow to methodological nationalism, which links culture to a nation-state and thus frames migrants as threats to unity. Credit is due to scholars who have included circulatory movements of people across borders (Martínez 1995), yet the terms *migration* and *transnationalism* still often invoke the idea of a line between two points (Rouse 1992; cf. Brodwin 2000; Stepick 1998; Zacaïr 2010), and often fail to consider movement within the new area and obscure power relations (Glick Schiller 2005; Glick Schiller and Salazar 2013). There were other critiques of transnationalism that both marked and coincided with a shift to mobility instead of migration, mentioned here briefly and discussed in depth below. Nyberg Sørensen and Fog Olwig (2002) critiqued scholarship that failed to see specific cross-border population movements within a historical context, that used the term to apply to a less than coherent group of phenomena, and that focused on international movements and as such, committed errors of methodological nationalism. Instead, they advocate “shifting the analytic focus from place to mobility, and from ‘place of origin’ and ‘place of destination’ to the movements involved in sustaining a livelihood” (2002:2). By examining *mobile livelihoods*, the authors seek to portray the experience of migrants “as practiced, and conceived, by specific social actors in particular ethnographic and historical contexts, and the local, regional and more distant spheres of activity that these livelihoods imply” (2002:4). The above trends point to an intellectual shift from migration to

transnationalism to mobility, one that I draw upon in this work. Yet, much benefit can be gained through the existing literature on migration.

Two major trends in scholarly treatments of migration include ascribing meaning to the movements of the people and depicting migrant experiences. First, from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onward, writers described how populations moved from rural to urban areas due to redundancies of labor (Ravenstein 1885) or displacement due to *primitive accumulation* (Marx 1976). The historical case put forth by Marx was taken up in discussions of urban migration and peasant studies. Cliffe (1978) showed how, though peasants were integrated into the capitalist system through migration, their links to both industrialized and peasant economies created significant differences among migrants' material conditions and consciousness. Understanding migrants' experience required describing their place within overall relations of production. Meillassoux's (1981) work on sub-Saharan Africa included Marx's idea of migration due to permanent rural displacement, but also *rotating migration*, where due to unreliable nature of work in the cities, workers must find support outside of dominant capitalist industry, and thus, the sending community facilitates maintenance of an "industrial reserve army of labor" (1981:132). Thus, migrants lives, whatever their links, have been linked to capitalist accumulation in the cities' dominant industries. While part of mobility studies includes examining the meanings associated with movement, as I explain later, such analysis is beyond the scope of the present work.

A second trend in migration literature, not unlike how Cliffe (1978) identifies difference within the presumed homogeneous group called *peasants*, reveals the diversity of experiences along the vectors of race, gender, class, and citizenship. Carole Charles (1993), when considering incorporation of Haitians into DR, she sees race "as the organizing principle of unequal and hierarchical social relations in the Dominican Republic" (1993:146). Discursive

constructions of Haitians and Haitian Dominicans working in cane fields portrayed them as distinct and “racially inferior” from Dominicans due to national origin, cultural attributes, and work and working conditions linked to those of animals. Scholars in transnational studies have described how gender continues to play an important role in migrant incorporation. Pessar and Mahler (2003) assert that gender marks migrants’ social position in interconnected hierarchies, their agency, and relationships with the state. To this last point, they specify that “the state favors men” (2003:819). Turning to class, eminent anthropologist Nina Glick-Schiller has repeatedly pointed out power and class divisions among migrant groups, either in relation to the formation of ethnic groups (Glick 1975) or in analysis of transnational actors within existing power relations (Glick-Schiller 2005). Elsewhere, Ong (2006) contrasts those elite, cosmopolitan people whose movement across national borders is facilitated and desired by states, with those migrants whose skills have lower market value and are thus whose movement is more controlled and restricted by the state. Given the above discussions, this monograph builds upon much of the existing scholarship related to the variegated meanings and experiences of migration related to race, gender, class, and citizenship.

The growing field of interdisciplinary mobility-based research focuses on the multiple and distinct movements of people, things, and ideas, the meanings of these, and associated *experiences* of them (Urry 2007), no matter what the geographic scope. Mobility research, with its emphasis on agency, capital, regimes, and stratification, enriches current understandings of globalization, capitalism, and movement across the globe. Rather than seeing mobility as normal and a net positive, Salazar and Smart (2011) counter the notion, arguing, “mobility does not imply that people become more similar or equal. The movement of people may, and often does, create or reinforce difference and inequality, as well as blending or erasing differences” (iii-iv).

Thus, the various potential ways of border crossing echo work by Glick-Schiller et al. (2006) who consider approaches to international movement that do not place primacy on the nation-state as locus of identity. This allows for research “beyond the hegemony of a single model of migrant incorporation” (2006:613). Therefore, the concept of mobility allows me to situate the experiences of Haitian educational and labor migrants as a part of a broader processual movement of people across national borders while paying attention to their mobile experiences within the city.

Equipped with migration literature and with mobility as a concept that allows an understanding of the movements of people, I turn to the literature on border crossing and education, followed by the most substantial portion of the framework: how to understand these movements in the context of political economy.

### *Migration and Education*

Literature on the topic of people migrating to seek education focuses mainly on south-north migration, and mostly on K-12 children and youth. One strand of the educational migration literature deals with factors affecting students’ performance, language of instruction, dynamics between ethnic groups, and acceptance of cultural difference figure prominently. Remittances have also been observed to play a major role in student success in the home country (Bredl 2010; see also Bartlett and Ghaffar-Kucher 2013). Another strand of the literature has dealt with the so-called brain drain (Rao 2010, pg. 137). This almost econometric approach to complex phenomena ignores some social aspects, though authors have begun to compensate for this gap. Suárez-Orozco (2001) discussed the issues affecting subject-making and identity in a capitalist job market where certain skills are prized. Ong (2006) describes how students from Southeast Asia migrate to US universities to acquire marketable skills with which to return home, a trend

she finds creates a “collision course with the situated values of political liberalism” (p. 140) as they draw upon the university as a repository of market skills rather than a site for formation of a well-rounded person. Waters’ (2006) work on why students from Hong Kong study in Canada showed that middle-class families preferred to have children study in foreign universities both to add cultural capital through internationalization, and also simply to continue studies beyond secondary schooling, as the risk of failing to enter one of the few selective and prestigious schools of Hong Kong is high. Elsewhere, Pyvis and Chapman (2007) discussed both local Malay and international students at an offshore Australian university and their ideas about using education to access an international job market and to develop a more global, less “provincial” identity. This nuanced approach applies to workers as much as to students in professional training. Finally, Brooks and Waters (2011) show how the general category of international students fails to explain the complexity of the cases found throughout Asia and Europe. Their book advocates, “an in-depth understanding of...the experiences of students from different parts of the world who choose to move abroad to pursue a higher education” (Brooks and Waters 2011:2). At the same time, they caution against seeing the population as a single unit based upon the unifying factor of studying abroad at a university. In other words, some students (or by extension, laborers) move abroad, and then choose to attend a university, whereas others move abroad specifically to enroll. With these approaches, attention can be given to motivations of students, creation of various new subjectivities, and the impact of the contemporary political economy on students’ lives, though not as if occurring in a social vacuum.

#### *Political Economy: Globalization*

In the past three decades, social scientists have had to address the term *globalization*, wrestle with some meaning derived from it, or intentionally dismiss it. It is beyond the scope of this

project, if it were even possible, to discuss all the main themes. Two key points should be stated. First, if globalization is understood as the increased connection of disparate locations on the planet due to flows of people, things, and ideas, then it is not new, though it differs in quantity and quality. Such broad connections have existed since the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and economic globalization linked to new technologies and international finance has been around for over a century (Trouillot 2003). Second, given the different ways in which people could experience *globalization*, whatever the definition, and seeing that global projects may not be completely successful on all fronts (Tsing 2000), it is important to see the ethnographic details of these global ebbs and flows. Beyond this general orientation, three important dynamics emerge from the globalization literature: the articulation of the local with the distant, the role of the city in global interactions, and the class of global actors.

In the globalization literature, scholars have elaborated on this local-to-distant articulation. Stoler, in his many works on West African traders in New York City, point to the ways in which “global restructuring, social hybridity, and local politics affect the legal consciousness and everyday life of law in the lives of the traders” (1997:81). Gregory (2006) implores us to consider globalization’s specificity and lack of uniformity as well as to see how it unfolds in people’s lives on a local level. In his study of an international commercial port and a tourist industry the twin-town complex of Andres-Boca Chica in the Dominican Republic, he describes “the contextually distinct and uneven manner in which transnational flows of capital, culture, and people were realized in a specific sociocultural and political context” (2006:5). As such, my work figures into literature on the intersections of people and commodities flowing across the globe at the local level.



A second trend in globalization studies concerns the role of cities in this latest moment of globalization, specifically related to the role of cities in the contemporary era and the shaping of urban landscapes. Saskia Sassen (2001) argues that with the decline of the nation-state as arbiter of commerce in power and the rise in importance of international corporations, a reordering of scale renders *global cities* as primary in transnational flows of people, capital, commodities, and ideas. Furthermore, with the “new articulations with global circuits and disarticulations inside the city” (Sassen 2002:30), the physical landscape becomes politicized and ordered in such a way that privileges businesses and people that generate higher incomes and profit. Geographer Neil Smith (2002) critiques and builds upon Sassen’s work. Though he recognizes the importance of cities like London, New York, and Tokyo, he argues that the novel elements of contemporary globalization (and what he calls *neoliberal urbanism*) are the shifting of production sites to urban areas of Latin America, Asia, and Africa and the gentrification of Sassen’s global cities. In the Caribbean, he notes “the increasing connections between gentrification and global capital generally filter through the tourist industry” (2002:440). Following this discussion of reordering of urban space, sociologists Portes and Stepick (1993) described how political, social, and economic factors affecting different migrants populations led to the transformation of Miami and the growth of a Cuban ethnic enclave. Specifically, they describe how the conservative ideologies of the Cuban exiles joined their material successes in shaping the physical and imagined landscape of the city.

Thirdly, scholars have pointed out that there are various classes of mobile actors on the world stage, linked to the top-down and bottom-up approaches to social phenomena and a three-tiered class structure. Those who have written on the elites have examined the practices of these groups as they relate to ideas like democracy and citizenship. Sklair (2002) described what he

calls the *transnational capitalist class* as being comprised of four distinct elite factions: corporate, state, technical, and consumerist. Although he recognizes that these groups may be acting within the confines of legal structures, he finds them to be a threat to overall global well-being because they further create a wealth disparity and wreak ecological havoc. They are afforded certain rights without accompanying responsibilities. Aihwa Ong continues this line of thought. In her work on *flexible citizenship*, she describes the “practices favoring flexibility, mobility, and repositioning in relation to markets, governments, and cultural regimes” (Ong 1999:6) of an elite managerial class who, for example, acquire multiple passports to facilitate international border crossings.

Other authors have focused on the lower classes and global connections “from below”. Smith and Guarnizo (1998) use the term *transnationalism from below* to describe the people participating in social relations and identifications that span more than one country. Carla Freeman (2001) makes the case that Caribbean women who engage in both high-tech work and higglering undermine the dichotomy of a masculine global and a feminine local because their work is global, though at a different scale. Further, it points to the relevance of gender in studies of globalization and indicates that these globalized practices reflect the multiplicity of globalization. Going beyond a single capitalist model of globalization, Matthews, Ribeiro, and Alba Vega (2012) define *globalization from below* as “the transnational flow of people and goods involving relatively small amounts of capital and informal, often semi-legal or illegal transactions” (2012:1). They argue that this cannot be understood accurately by statistics, as much of the activity occurs “under the radar of the state...and of multinational institutions” (2012:5), and therefore it necessitates an ethnographic approach. Further, they suggest that such connections from below do not “exist in a vacuum but in complementary and contradictory

relations with the powerful agencies and agents of globalization from above” (2012:6). They cogently note that “those who practice globalization from below don’t seek to destroy capitalism, but to benefit from it” (2012:8), echoing ideas from Harrison (1988) about the various forms of production and exchange subsumed by capitalism in Jamaica.

Finally, some scholars have rightly called for analysis that includes a globalization of the middle, where types of international migrants are extended to include populations beyond a global elite and a lower class reserve labor army. Conradson and Latham (2005) seek to understand transnational urban life by examining the practices associated with moving across borders, but more germane to the present work, they shed light on various transnational groups, such as those who study at universities abroad or take sabbaticals beyond their host country. These people, who participate in “‘middling’ forms of transnational mobility” (2005:229), are from the middle class in their country of origin, yet spend time internationally. In the research agenda for global mobility set out by Favell et al. (2007), they address how much work has been conducted on lower-class migrants from a particular ethnic group as a part “globalization from below” to the exclusion of “international professional, highly skilled, or technical migrants” (2007:16). At the same time, they caution that an approach that includes elites and lower-classes as polar opposites ignores “other forms of migration and work in a mobile global context that would be better seen as ‘middling’ in class terms” (2007:17). Heiman et al. (2012) put together a timely and important collection entitled the *Global Middle Classes*. In their introduction, they observe the same problem of the polar model of global population movement described above. Citing Wacquant, they partially justify their project because “people exist in classed ways that can be theorized” (2012:13). According to the authors, the middle classes often are conceptualized as being in relation to those above and below, and they have specific practices,

subjectivities, and spaces as a part of their subject-making. They also claim that new middle classes were created due to neoliberalism beginning in the 1970s and 1980s, and that these may conflict with existing older middle classes. Returning to the present work, for reasons that will become clear later, I claim that the two distinct groups represent a *middling globalization* because these people moving across the globe fall between the poles of elite-ethnic dichotomy by including students as members of a global middle class and differentiating between members of the lower classes.

### *Political Economy: Neoliberalism*

Political economic theory, the expansion of corporate capitalism on a more global scale, and certain political, economic, and social corollaries was earlier referred to as “globalization” (Amin 1996; Harvey 2000, 2001a; Meiksins Wood 1997) but more recently garnered the name *neoliberalism*. However, as Peck and Theodore correctly observe, “the proper specification and even definition of the still-perplexing phenomenon of neoliberalism remain nontrivial social-scientific challenges, if not matters of controversy” (2012:177). In fact, more than one person has suggested that we may be in a post-neoliberal era (Gledhill 2004; Riles 2013), or at least we should be (Stiglitz 2008). It is to this debate that I now turn.

Many scholars see neoliberalism as set of policy initiatives that, when implemented have a particular social effect. Michel Foucault, one of the earliest writers on neoliberalism, sees it emerging from post-World War II Germany with scholars like von Hayek. According to him, this form of liberalism stands distinct from that of Adam Smith and *laissez-faire* policy in three ways. First, Foucault contends that the state still has a role in the economy, yet it now should engage in “permanent vigilance, activity, and intervention” (2008:132) so that competition could thrive. Second, he argues that the state must engage in regulating policy and actions, which keep

the market functioning, and organizing policies and actions, which create conditions in (strictly speaking) non-economic domains that allow the market to function. Finally, he says that social policy of neoliberalism allows for inequality and prefers privatization. In the end for Foucault, neoliberalism is a reorganization of the state and market to create “a society subject to the dynamic of competition” (2008:147). David Harvey understands neoliberalism in a similar way, calling it “a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade” (2005:2). However, he focuses his analysis on the work of US President Reagan and Prime Minister Thatcher responding to conditions in the aftermath of the 1968 global unrest. As such, he implies that there is a *pure* neoliberalism, and that many countries have embraced “some version of neoliberal theory and adjusted at least some of their policies and practices accordingly” (Harvey 2005:3). Wacquant, to some degree building off Foucault’s work, claims that neoliberalism involves essentially a political project of state-making, an assertion of rightwing ideology, and the growth of a prison system. Regarding the educational system, some scholars have suggested that this has a singular effect on schools. For example, Slaughter and Rhoades point out that many universities across the globe are taking on more of an “economic role of serving corporations’ global competitiveness” (2000:73) rather than fostering the holistic perspective of a traditional liberal arts education.

Others have critiqued this idea of a single policy framework with resultant practices as ignoring the process and specificities of neoliberalism. Peck and Tickell (2003) begin with the notion that markets, as a particular economic construct, need to be created. As such they see a process of *roll-back* of earlier political economic structures and *roll-out* of those conditions,

linked to the Washington Consensus<sup>10</sup>, that favor “markets, individualism, and the private sphere” (Peck and Tickell 2003:167). As such, they define neoliberalism as a process involving the “mobilisation of state power in the contradictory extension and reproduction of market(-like) rule” (2003:167). As such, rather than thinking of neoliberalism as a single project, they suggest looking at the various forms of *neoliberalization*. In his critique of neoliberalism as a single project, Hilgers advocates for including “the trajectories of a variety of states” (2012:80). While he admits that theoretically informed policy and its implementation are important, ignoring the historicity of the state renders such a totalizing model as weak in the face of comparative cases from Africa, where no such welfare state ever existed and, as such, could not be reoriented. Other authors have suggested how governmental ideologies revealed through political discourse show a plurality of ideas and approaches, and that rather than being local instantiations of a global universal, they are products of local conditions (Goldstein 2012).

Finally, those who reject the single-global versus multiple-locals continuum have sought to find a middle ground. Peck and Theodore suggest we consider the “disorderly and multipolar trajectory” of neoliberalism and allow for a consideration of hegemony. They recognize that such a process (following Peck and Tickell 2003) is incomplete, contradictory, and unevenly developed. While they agree with Ong (2006) that “neoliberalism as a travelling technology of rule” (Peck and Theodore 2012:184), they hold that where and how it manifests across the globe matters. Moreover, comparative analysis across cases may shed light on the possibility of a pattern of neoliberalization that may never be uniform.

Although I am sympathetic to Peck and Tickell’s suggestion of a need to examine patterns of neoliberalization, such a discussion is beyond the scope of this work. I do not offer a local

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<sup>10</sup> The *Washington Consensus* is a term that refers to a 1990 set of policy recommendations for Latin American draw by John Williamson.

example of a universal neoliberalism, but rather the specific case of the political economic and social dynamics of processes occurring in Santo Domingo as they relate to Haitian migrants. While cautiously placing these processes within the context of a yet to be fully determined processes of neoliberalization, Chapter 2 describes the related historical, political economic, and spatial changes of Santo Domingo, Chapter 3 presents how they apply to Haitian migrants at Dominican universities, Chapter 6 relates to their relationship to labor market subjectivities, and Chapter 7 relates to their impact on urban space and its policing. But to understand dynamics of globalization and neoliberalism as it relates to Haitian migrants, it is necessary to consider capitalism, the state, and subject formation.

#### *Political Economy: Capitalism*

While moneyed exchanges have existed for millennia, earlier modes of livelihood reflected more subsistence-based strategies, and only in the past few hundred years has a form of exchange developed based upon the use of *capital*. Karl Marx and Pierre Bourdieu discuss capital at length; the ideas of the latter build upon the former.

When detailing economic exchanges of capitalism, as opposed to agricultural modes of livelihood linked to subsistence-based activities, Karl Marx has provided one of the most accurate representations of the generation of capital. Marx described capital as value in motion through exchange. With his formula  $(M \rightarrow C \rightarrow M')$ <sup>11</sup>, Marx claims that “Capital is money: capital is commodities. In truth, however, value is here the active factor in a *process...*” (1976:255, emphasis mine). By this, Marx revealed that objects take on a form of capital if and only if they are used in a process of value multiplication (i.e. exchange for profit). In Chapter 5, I draw upon this definition to examine the wide range of income-generating behaviors undertaken by Haitian

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<sup>11</sup> From the point of view of a capitalist, an initial investment of money (M) is exchanged for a commodity (C), which is subsequently sold for more money (M').

labor mobilites as they articulate with the state, capital flows, and society in their search for monetary capital.

Other authors have expanded the concept of capital and demonstrated various ways capital is used. Inspired by Marx, Bourdieu attempted to update and expand upon the inquiry into the various forms of capital. He recognizes the validity of Marx's concept, calling this *economic capital* (1986:47). Further, after he critiques Becker's (1964) *human capital*, Bourdieu proposes other types of capital, including cultural, social, and symbolic capital. In addition to capital in the Marxian sense, I draw upon *cultural capital*, which has embodied (e.g., knowledge and dispositions), objectified (e.g., material objects), and institutionalized (e.g., university certifications) forms. He adds that this form of capital can be converted into economic capital, given the right conditions. In one of the earliest collections of works where anthropologists engaged with economists, Mintz (1964) described the manner in which Haitian market women used capital. Contributing to what would later develop into a field of study, he situates their economic activity within a peasantry due to their labor, land relations, ties to distant political and economic systems, and particular "methods and beliefs" about market work (1964:257). In detailing the use of capital by Haitian market women, he delineates between those who work with small amounts of capital, larger amounts of capital, and describes how exchange may facilitate capital accumulation. Therefore, my work recognizes both material and cultural aspects of capital.

By *capitalism*, I refer to an economic system founded upon a never-ending drive to generate profit (and by extension, capital) based upon creation and investment of surplus value from commodity exchanges. Numerous scholars have dealt with the dynamics of capitalism (e.g., Heilbroner 1985; Marx 1976; Meiksins Wood 2003; Polanyi 2001). While their contributions



highlight important characteristics of economic forms, the line between *historical* claims and *theoretical* claims is sometimes not as clear as it should be. Indeed, capitalism in France is not the same as in the United States, China, or Haiti. As part of the goal of this monograph is to describe the nature of contemporary capitalism in the Dominican Republic, I privilege historically and ethnographically observable concepts that inform understandings of the political economy. At the same time, I also contribute to an understanding of how the state and society can facilitate capitalism, an idea that flies in the face of conservative political economic thought. That being said, in the present work, I respond to David Harvey's challenge to examine "processes of capital accumulation ... [and how it] ... not only thrives upon but actively produces social difference and heterogeneity" (2001a:122). While it is true that there are many commonalities that link forms of capitalism across time and space, perceptual acuity requires examinations of the scale and dynamics of each political economy in context.

*Political Economy: the Labor Process and Commodity Chains*

Social science examinations of connections between people and a larger political economic context have focused on, among other topics, the labor process and commodity chains. In discussing labor and industrialism of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, few people figure more prominently than Karl Marx. His labor theory of value starts with the idea of a distinction between labor and labor-power, the former referring to the actual exertion or work by a person, and the latter to the value ascribed the potential or future labor of a particular person (Marx 1976:137). Elsewhere, Marx (1963) argues that industrial relations extract value from labor (understood as productive work) to generate profit (and by extension, capital). He adds that there is a difference in value depending on "the average amount of skill of the workmen, the state of science, and the degree of its practical application, the social organization of production, the extent and capabilities of

the *means of production*, and by physical conditions” (1976:130, emphasis mine). What this suggests is that one’s relationship to the means of production marks a difference in value<sup>12</sup>.

In later, anthropological treatments, authors have focused on the labor process as one linked to alienation and negativity. June Nash (1979) described in detail the conditions in which Bolivian tin miners conduct their labor. She describes how workers’ spiritual beliefs express both the dependency on the mine and the disgust and awareness of their condition as workers. Michael Taussig (1980) evoked similar themes in his work on Colombian peasants in his analysis of narratives about labor. He describes how a worker’s choice to increase productivity, leading to more take-home pay, is linked to the idea of a Faustian bargain, and any attempt to invest the money in something beyond frivolous consumption is doomed to fail. To me, these authors show that the workers’ understandings of their labor can affect the labor they carry out.

Other scholars have pointed to the way in which an examination of a person’s labor reveals connections to larger social phenomena. Eric Wolf describes different types of Latin American peasants to help understand their relationship to cities and other elements of “modern communities” (1955:452). After contending that peasants are agricultural subsistence farmers who own their land, he defined seven of these types based upon a narrow structural definition, on political, social, and economic information, and most important for the present work, the interconnection between peasants and larger markets. In another work, building upon peasant studies of Sidney Mintz and others, Trouillot (1984) sought to explain how peasant livelihoods articulated with capitalism by examining the historical conditions of labor, the social relations of labor, and the dynamics of production and accumulation. These approaches suggest that examinations of the labor and value-creation processes reveal both how specific tasks connect

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<sup>12</sup> While to some degree this implies acceptance of Marx’s (1970) mental vs. physical division of labor, as I will address in the section on subjectivities, I see this as an observed fact, in recognition of a hegemonic preference for certain productions over others (in this case, educational), and not a statement of personal capacity.

the worker to larger political economic structures and distinct categories of labor based upon one's relationship to the means of production.

*Commodity chains* also present themselves as an appropriate object of inquiry linking a person to a larger political economy, given how the nature of much of the contemporary global political economy often removes producers from consumers by several turns. Aguiar (2012) uses ethnography to demonstrate how commodity chains mark globalization from below by analyzing the flow of pirated audio and video along with blank compact discs from Mexico to China. Analyzing the production of these CDs reveals how local agents connect with international commodity flows, where those selling illegal materials on a limited scale are dependent upon large-scale commodity exchange. Tranberg Hansen (2000) uses a similar approach to trace the life of second-hand clothing to Zambia, showing meanings associated with the clothing and the economic impact of the importation of such commodities on various vendors, tailors, and distributors.

The flow of commodities also can reveal important information about spatial connections and relationships of people to place. Bestor's work on the production and distribution of sushi counters globalization scholarship that depicts a deterritorialized landscape of commodity flows. Instead, like Sassen (2001), he argues that cities play an important role in globalization, being "central nodes in the coordination of complex multiple flows of commodities, culture, capital, and people" (Bestor 2001:78). These flows represent reconfigured ties that connect formerly disparate locations and people. Expanding upon similar lines, Bair and Werner (2011) indicate that much of the detailed scholarship focuses strictly on connections between places rather than on the dissociative aspect. They call for a *disarticulations perspective* of commodity chains "as expressions of an ongoing and continuous interaction between the production of goods, places,

and subjects and their interactive incorporation and expulsion from primary circuits of capital accumulation” (2011:989). In other words, global flows of commodities not only connect people and places not formerly in contact, but they disconnect others. In Chapter 2, I describe part of the historical process by which capital flows shift to from the countryside to the city, and in Chapter 5, I depict the labor process and commodity chains in which Haitian workers participate.

### *Political Economy: the State*

Another major concept to consider in the lives of migrants is the state, and most of twentieth century social science based its understandings of it upon the idea of state as an institution. He described the state as “a human community that (successfully) claims the *monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force* within a given territory (1959:78, emphasis in original). Though he relates this use of force to relations of domination between men, his portrayal of the state is one of an association or institution. Sociologist Charles Tilly continued in this line when he offered his critique (1985) that state-making, as a form of organized crime, is linked to war-making, extraction, and protection. Around the same time that Tilly made his argument, a new trend in the anthropology of the state was emerging.

Philip Abrams, a historical sociologist, put forth an idea that eventually led to a fundamental shift in political anthropology. He argued that the state is “not an object” but an “ideological project”, an exercise in legitimation” (Abrams 1988:76). He pushes analysis not of an object called the state, but rather what he calls the *state-system*, which he defines as “the internal and external relations of political and governmental institutions” (1988:75), linked a concept (*the state idea*) to political practice of dominance of one group over another. His contribution, in other words, is that the state is a concept that can be methodologically examined through specific power-based social relations. Sharma and Gupta (2006) expand upon this in the introduction to

their volume on the *Anthropology of the State*, by describing the state as a particular constellation of “ideological and material aspects of state construction” that differentially affects “operation and diffusion of power throughout society” (Sharma and Gupta 2006:8).

Abrams’ contribution also ushered in a more context-specific and actor-oriented approach to the state. An important volume in this move was *Documenting Individual Identity* (Caplan and Torpey 2001). This interdisciplinary work made an important contribution in how state agents use documents, like passports and identity cards, and even the body itself to police, mark, and control subjects. Brenda Chalfin uses this new approach to studying the state in her larger project to understand how state power is restructured, rather than undermined, by international flows of capital, commodities, technology, and people. She examined how customs checkpoints function as transnational capital and multi-lateral organizations affect the flow of people and commodities across national borders through practices of sovereignty of policies and technologies (2006) and how the practice of customs officials mark subjects according to race, class, autochthony, and other variables (2008). Benjamin Penglase sought to “examine more mundane forms of policing and show how policing shapes everyday experiences” (2013:31). His work in Brazilian *favelas* (urban slums) extends Michel Foucault’s notion that police officers are disciplinary agents of the state, claiming that although police may be working to create subjects through discipline (see Ong below), they render normal life chaotic for residents as a justification for continued presence in the face of supposed insecurity. In Chapters 2, 3, and 7, I show how the state, as an assemblage of ideas, policies, agents, and public agencies, impacts the space, time, and lives of Haitian mobilites.

### *Subject-Making and Subjectivities*

As the contemporary era and different parts of the globe have been marked by globalization and

neoliberalism that have reconfigured capitalism and the state, it is a truism that people's lives are changing. Beyond the practices related to the material conditions of life, the social construction of a person, an understanding of experiences, and his or her affective states also play a role in lives of migrants. To frame the meanings associated with the lives of these mobiles within the political economy of Santo Domingo, I draw upon the concepts of subject-making and subjectivities.

Michel Foucault's work on governmentality (2009), or the "art of government", underpins much of the work on the topic of subject-making, as he discusses the apparatuses and knowledges required to discipline a population. Aihwa Ong builds upon this in her exploration of neoliberalism and citizenship by rightfully exploding the so-called common sense assumption that states grant citizenship evenly. Her work explains ramifications of harmonizing state policy and practice with contemporary capitalism (or neoliberalism, in her parlance). This effectively includes some people as desirable while excluding others (even though they may be, to paraphrase Wooding and Moseley-Williams [2004], needed economically but not wanted socially). Specifically, this leads to an examination of processes whereby people both construct themselves by *technologies of subjectivity* (i.e., agentive subject-making) and are constructed by *technologies of subjection* (Ong 2006:6). These latter, in part, regulate people as citizens legally through policies and policing entities and constitute a particular regime of governmentality in the Foucauldian sense. However, the former technologies are the quotidian processes that "induce self-animation and self-government so that citizens can optimize choices, efficiency, and competitiveness in turbulent market conditions" and thus "are made into subjects of a particular nation-state" (Ong 2006:6; Ong 1996:737). I take this to mean that a constellation of policies and actors will strive to shape people's behavior for the presumed common good, and people

may attempt to act in accordance with similar goals. In other words, a utilitarian measure is applied whereby a regime can (endeavor to) govern more efficiently as long as people (endeavor to) follow policies and practices aligned with the goals of the state, which in the case at hand, are the linked to the imperatives of modern capitalism.

One weakness with Ong's work is the uniformity and totalizing nature implicit in her depiction of neoliberalism. As the literature on globalization indicates, however powerful her political economic disciplinary model is, she fails to fully consider non-utilitarian dynamics. In other words, people may engage in subject-making in ways that do not immediately conform to dominant forms of political economy. In light of this, I focus not strictly on subject-making strategies like *flexible citizenship* (Ong 1999), or the practices a person uses to efficiently respond to market conditions while crossing borders, but also on other practices that reflect the idea of *cultural citizenship*. These reflect the way that "subordinated or marginalized groups define and experience their humiliation and their striving for well-being, respect, and dignity" (Rosaldo 1997:7). These technologies of subjectivity go beyond those linked strictly to capitalism to include subject-making practices that reflect cultural specificities (like language or social relations) and non-capitalist subjectivities, like Mauss's gift and reciprocity (2000), even as it occurs within a larger political economy of capitalism, like *guanxi* in China (Mei-hui Yang 2002). In Chapters 3-7, I show how different mobilites engage in subject-making as they manage their work or study and make sense of their experiences.

While the return to subject-making, agent-oriented approaches to the global order, and affective states is a relatively new phenomenon to anthropology as a whole, Caribbean scholarship has a significant history of such inquiry. Peter Wilson's (1969) oft-cited work represents a keystone of much of this scholarship. In attempting to explain social organization of

Caribbean societies, he describes how usually, women participate in the external value system of respectability (linked to the colonial era through class-based activities) and men in the internal system of reputation (linked to masculinity through peer groups and public activities). Despite some weaknesses in this conceptual polarity, not least of which is the arbitrary division between internal and external, it still advances concepts relevant to Haitians in the Dominican Republic.

Some scholars have attempted to critique and refashion Wilson's ideas based upon their own work<sup>13</sup>. Jean Besson (1993) recognized the importance of respectability and reputation, yet argued that the original formation failed to consider nuances as they applied to gender in the Jamaican case. For example, land tenure statutes allowed women to inherit land, thus allowing them to use reputation, which Wilson attributed more to men. Freeman (2007) uses the polarity to explain practices of entrepreneurs in Barbados. Though she clearly wants to show localized consequences of neoliberalism, she also seeks to depict how the convergence of neoliberal flexibility with reputational flexibility marks a pathway to upward socioeconomic mobility. At the same time, she concludes that Wilson's *crab antics* linked to respectability leads women to be pulled down as a class-gender barrier prevents changes in their life.

Others writing on Caribbean populations or their diasporas have described tropes that are at least implicitly tied to Wilson's concepts. Bourgois (2003) described Puerto Rican drug dealers and other criminals as entrepreneurs. In a similar manner that Wilson's reputation is developed in response to colonial structures, Bourgois states that his subjects are the "defiant *jibaro* who refused to succumb to elite society's denigration under Spanish and U.S. colonialism" (326: 2003), but that material conditions and cultural marginalization prevent upward social mobility. In Decena's (2011) presentation of lives of gay Dominican men in New York, he contrasts the seriousness and respect of hegemonic heterocentric maleness with the stigmatized *locura*

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<sup>13</sup> It should be noted that Wilson himself (1969) advocated testing his theory against other fieldwork.



(insanity) and *relajo* (joking) of gay masculinities. In the Haitian diaspora, several scholars have dealt with the role of conversion and development of a Protestant subjectivity (Brodwin 2000) or *karaktè* (character; Louis Jr. 2011) as useful in strategies for social mobility. In this dissertation, I do not draw upon Wilson's conceptual polarity. However, I believe that the way subsequent authors have engaged these ideas holds currency, and to that end, in Chapters 3 and 6, I discuss similar tropes among Haitian students and workers.

These behavioral tropes can be linked conceptually to *subjectivities*. Early works dealt with related topics without specifically focusing or even using the term. Raymond Williams popularized the term in his work, *Marxism and Literature*. In discussing subjectivity and the example of language change, he identifies *structures of feeling* to be “meanings and values as they are actively lived and felt” (1977:132). Hannerz, in discussion of the so-called “world culture” of cosmopolitans, argued that these figures stand apart from lower-class mobile figures, like Nigerian smugglers, as the former are linked to *structures of meaning* that includes “an intellectual and aesthetic stance of openness toward diverse cultural experiences”, a “competence” in managing other cultures, and being “footloose” (1990:238-240). These authors use other words, yet subsequent work on the concept of subjectivities draws upon them.

Sherry Ortner draws upon Williams and the work of others as she advocates for robust study of subjectivities, which she defines as “complex structures of thought, feeling, reflection, and the like, that make social beings always more than the occupants of particular positions and holders of particular identities” (2005:37). She is particularly interested in how power impacts “experiences of time, space, and work” (2005:46). Subsequently, several people have indeed published on the importance of subjectivities within the context of neoliberalism linked to flexibility and self-management (Ong 2006), economic flexibility linked to self-reliance,

freedom, and pleasure (Prentice 2012), and reputation (Freeman 2007). Beyond works that draw upon the conceptual framework of neoliberalism, Gina Ulysse (2007) related how the subjectivities of Jamaican informal commercial importers are self-making performances of gendered, racialized, and classed beings.

As meanings and values are actually lived, they may lead to the constitution of rules of living, and as such, subjectivities also subsume the concept of *ethics*, both work-oriented and social. Max Weber's (2001) classic work on ethics and political economy argues that the spread of capitalism from the sixteenth century onward was due to the *Protestant ethic*, a religious disposition and acceptance of a duty or calling that entailed "the earning of more and more money, combined with the strict avoidance of all spontaneous enjoyment of life" (Weber 2009:18). However, Weber allows for the possibility of the existence of this ethic without reference to religion. He states, "the spirit of religious asceticism...has escaped from the cage. But victorious capitalism, since it rests on mechanical foundations, needs its support no longer" (Weber 2001: 124). In this manner, Weber implies that there is a way to act effectively in a capitalist form of exchange (through work or study, I argue) that may reference cultural aspects apart from religion. Lakoff and Collier (2004) expand ethics beyond Weber's limited economic notion to include other social aspects. They see ethics operationally as an answer to the question "how should one live" (Lakoff and Collier 2004:420). They support research on ethics that shows "how the nature and practice of human life and the *telos* of living are being constituted" (2004:431). In Chapters 3, 5, and 6, I describe economic and social ethics as a part of migrants' subjectivities.

In this monograph, I combine an Ortnerian definition of subjectivities with the competencies and ethics. Whether they inform cultural practices used to navigate space or the political

economy or are expressed through understandings and rules of behavior, subjectivities are important for understanding the lives of people who are actively involved in a capitalist political economy. In what follows, I describe how urban and peri-urban areas have been conceptualized as important loci for the development of novel practices and subjectivities of border crossers.

### *Cities as Sites for (Neoliberal) Spatial Practice*

Since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, scholarship in the social sciences has examined the role of cities. However, rather than following an older model of urban studies that has depicted cities as the background against which meaningful things happen (e.g., Park and Burgess 1925), I incorporate Lefebvre's concept of *spatial practice*, or behavior in space as related to how the constellation of political, cultural, and social forces “*produces [action] slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it*” (1991:38, emphasis mine). This implies that the space of the city shapes and is shaped by agents, including through construction and development projects. Further, Lefebvre argues that there are competing notions of space between the government, planners, etc. and those “users” of the space produced (Lefebvre 1991:38-39). Following Lefebvre, I argue that as cities are partially constructed by global flows and social and political forces on the ground, control over the use of space leads to interaction and conflict.

Within contemporary global political economy, cities are particularly useful sites for examining different types of global flows within “the broader domains of financial, political, and cultural power” (Glick-Schiller 2006:615; cf. Sassen 2001). Dávila (2004) related the racial implications of how neoliberal forces transformed East Harlem within the “neoliberal city” of New York. This overall process “is fueled by special policies and forces favoring some groups, forces, and entities over others” (2004:9). Leitner et al. (2007) discuss how neoliberalism leads to particular spatial and political control. They see a *neoliberal city* as places where municipal

agencies are “replaced by professionalized quasi-public agencies” to promote development to effectively “privatizing urban services” (2007:5), leading to an urban space where “residents are expected to behave responsibly, entrepreneurially, and prudently” (2007:5). Such work highlights how state and private stakeholders seek to court and direct global flows through the building and control of urban space, creating a *neoliberal city* with accompanying ways of life. Building upon this work, this monograph makes a contribution by providing an example of how these tendencies influence the lives of two groups of international mobilites, but also by depicting the case of a city in the global south, rather than global cities.

### **Dissertation Research Design**

Once I returned to the field, my doctoral research design included an initial stage of positioning myself for long-term research, followed by interwoven stages of research on labor and educational mobilites.

#### *The Research Population: Labor mobilites*

Labor mobilites consist of those who work on the fringes of the formal economy or in the informal economy. This is, by far, the most diverse group in terms of economic activities and the largest in terms of population size. Estimates place the number of Haitians in the Dominican Republic at 800,000 (Baez Everstz and Lozano 2008), but to date, no estimate has been given for those in Santo Domingo. Regarding employment, though Murphy (1990) has described the way Dominican *tricicleros* (produce vendors on tricycles) and *lechugeros* (vendors of lettuce) form part of the informal economy, little information has been compiled on this as it pertains to Haitians (Baez Evertsz 2001 is one exception). In their research on Haitian migration in general,

Silié et al. (2002) state that this group includes day laborers, petty merchants, artisanal workers, domestic servants, and tourism workers<sup>14</sup>. They describe this entire group as:

1. male (72%),
2. between 20-40 years old (73.4%),
3. arriving on their own, or with the help of family members (72%),
4. living in the country less than 11 years (72%), and
5. having little formal schooling.

Data generated from my structured interviews reflects similar trends (see Appendix).

Furthermore, on radio talk shows, in newspapers, and in conversations with people throughout the city, discussions of “the Haitian problem” have primarily drawn upon caricatured images based upon the above information. Since 2007, references of women and children begging on the street became increasingly prevalent in media.

*The Research Population: Educational mobilites*

The second largest group of Haitians in Santo Domingo includes those who attend universities in the city. According to the Secretariat of Education, after Dominicans, Haitians form the largest nationality with the largest number of students at Dominican universities (Secretaría de Estado de Educación 2006)<sup>15</sup>. Most Haitians who study in the Dominican Republic attend private universities (Sonia Adames Nuñez, personal communication, 2007) that are frequently unwilling to share information about Haitians at their school, thus making obtaining accurate information about student populations difficult. Edwin Paraison, the former Minister of Haitians Living Abroad, offered the figure of 15,000 students (personal communication, December 2007), and news reports from 2008-2010 give a range of 5,000 to 27,000 students. D’Oleo (2008) found that from 1989-2005, there were 2,325 US students in the Dominican Republic, and 1,915 Haitian students. He also indicated that the majority of the students were at UTESA (1,831),

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<sup>14</sup> I do not address tourism in my work, as Haitians in Santo Domingo do not significantly participate in this sector.

<sup>15</sup> Hume found Haitians to be the largest group of foreign students at Cuban universities (personal communication, Nov. 11, 2011).

PUCMM (660), APEC/UNAPEC (358), UCSD (215), UASD (167), O&M (119), and UNAD (40). The UASD reported having 164 students in 2006 and 114 new enrollments from 2000-2006. The number of students has grown significantly in the past few years, with a reported increase from 4,000 in 2004 to almost 5,000 in 2005, to 11,000 in 2006, to nearly 17,000 in 2008 (Alter Presse 2004; D'Oleo 2008; Dominican Today 2006; Nuñez 2008)<sup>16</sup>. Students attend private institutions, like the Universidad de Acción Pro Educación y Cultura (UNAPEC), la Universidad Dominicana Organización y Método (O&M), the Instituto Tecnológico de Santo Domingo (INTEC), the Universidad Católica, the Pontificia Universidad Católica Madre y Maestra (PUCCM), the Universidad Tecnológica de Santiago (UTESA), the elite Universidad Iberoamericana (UNIBE), among others, or the state-run Autonomous University (UASD).

#### *Other Haitians in the Capital*

No significant research has been conducted among either Haitian professionals or members of the business elite in the Dominican Republic, and due to limited research focus, only a few comments can be added here. A few interviewees referred to Haitians who are working professionally in the Dominican Republic, including graphic designers, artists, academic or artistic instructors, office workers, or small business owners. From my observations, this group has a degree of overlap with the category of university students, as a few people work professionally intermittently during or after completing tertiary schooling. The existence of a Haitian business elite has seemed unthinkable to many in the Dominican Republic, but significant parts of Dominican industry are maintained by from Haitian-owned enterprises, and efforts have recently begun to foster connections between Haitian elite and the Haitian lower classes in the Dominican Republic (Edwin Paraison, personal communication, 2008).

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<sup>16</sup> Of interest is a 2013 article that cites unnamed sources that claims 12,000 Haitian students. It is not clear if the number has indeed dropped, perhaps due to the earthquake, or if statistics are not accurate.

Additionally, a few records in the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN) indicate that some Haitians have engaged in large capital-intensive business since the 1950s (see Chapter 2). From interviews with people in Santo Domingo, a few individuals were identified as having set up businesses in the Dominican Republic (e.g., Capital Coach Lines, one of three companies managing large bus transport across the island, is owned by a Haitian). In addition, several former Haitian government and ex-military members also reportedly have enterprises in the Dominican Republic.

### *Settling in, Making Contacts, and Initial Interviews*

My formal dissertation fieldwork lasted from 2008-2010, with a brief stint during summer 2011. Initially, I stayed in an apartment in the *Zona Colonial* (Colonial Zone), just minutes from La Benito. This allowed me easy access to a main research site, while also providing me a secure and comfortable living environment.

Re-entry to the field required me to set up and/or re-establish contacts. Over the first few months, my personal and professional contacts across the island facilitated introductions and connections around Santo Domingo. In the early months, I focused on establishing an expansive social and professional network by meeting representatives of various organizations working with Haitian and Haitian-descent populations in the city. I networked through key informants. Specifically, I would either ask people to introduce me to others (i.e., a form of snowball sampling), or I would participate in activities with key informants to meet others. Even when completing seemingly unrelated tasks (like grocery shopping or paying bills), I used convenience sampling to conduct semi-structured interviews with Haitians I encountered, making sure to always bring an interview guide and notebook with me. This extended my social networks and pushed me into different areas of the city. I used this time to interview Haitians and Dominicans

about how they understood the presence of Haitians in Santo Domingo to develop an understanding of the *imaginaries* associated with these mobilities.

To engage people in a different type of venue, I first joined and then organized a weekly soccer game where I invited many of the Haitians I knew to play. I invited Haitian workers, students, and professionals to participate, and I asked them to invite any of their friends who might want to join. This informal yet structured activity provided introductions to more Haitian professionals and students (as people brought their friends to watch or play) and created a space for interaction between Haitians and non-Haitians (as Dominicans and other Latin Americans joined). Additionally, the contrast between the labor mobilities' reluctance to go from home to the university field and the students and professionals' repeatedly successful mobilization of players led me to consider the importance of spatial politics in migrants' lives.

#### *Archival Work and Institutional Interviews*

To construct a historical, social, and political framework of contemporary Santo Domingo, I conducted archival work and institutional interviews. At the AGN in Santo Domingo, I examined documents on residency permits in the Dominican Republic from the early to mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, a few curious historical documents, and two personal recollections of life in San Carlos and Villa Francisca. While some of this material was not included in the present monograph, it served to give me more of a feel for lives in Santo Domingo. At Centro Bonó, I accessed a newspaper archive that has a section dedicated to Haitian migrants and developed a database of articles in local papers, which I supplemented with articles from papers I occasionally picked up. These kept me up to date with current events in the country and provided information that contributed to the social context for immigrants in general and Haitians specifically.



To understand the relevant laws, legal precedents, and personal rights in the Dominican Republic, I reviewed relevant documents at the libraries of Centro Bonó and the Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo (UASD). I also conducted interviews with representatives of the Jesuit Service for Refugees and Migrants (SJRM) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM), both being organizations that have provided legal services to Haitian immigrants. In addition, I interviewed a member of the US Embassy who was in charge of working with the *Policía Nacional* (National Police) to establish official procedures for police conduct. Together, these provided an “official” governmental explanation of legal structures that should (ideally) guide how agents of the state and businesses act toward Haitians.

#### *Research on Labor Mobilites*

My approach to understand the lives of labor mobilites included ethnographically mapping La Benito, conducting participant observation, and carrying out structured and semi-structured interviews.

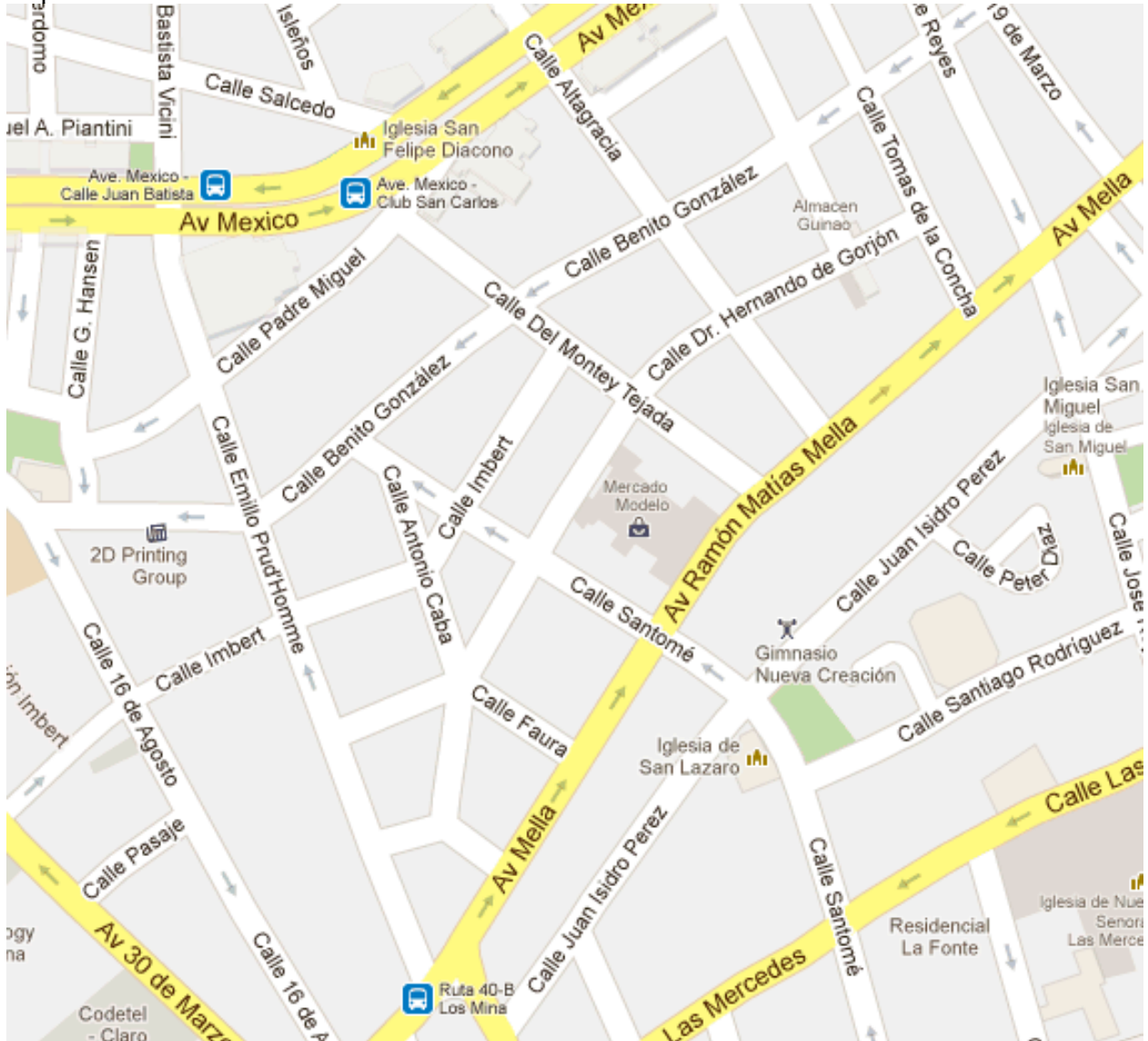
While I conducted ethnographic research in various locations around the city as I followed or sought out Haitians working in various trades, I focused significantly on the area referred to unofficially as Little Haiti, *Pequeño Haití*, or *La Benito*<sup>17</sup> due to its concentration of Haitian tenants, its proximity to a center of global tourism, the higher number of police and immigration control actions in the area, and the fact that the area is often a target of xenophobic sentiment. It is located immediately north of the Zona Colonial, the historical walled city of Santo Domingo, and center for most of the tourists that pass through the capital. This area consists roughly of a four by four block area, bound by Avenida Mella, Avenida México, Calle Altagracia, and Calle

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<sup>17</sup> In Chapter 3, it will be discussed how this area has been called different names over time, as well as the politics of the name itself.

Emilio Prudhomme. The main street running through the area is Calle Benito González, which contributed to one of the area's names<sup>18</sup>.

Map 1.1: La Benito and the environs



(Source: Google Maps 2013)

To map La Benito, I started with a document I copied from the Archivo General de la Nación. As there were often activities to map that occurred inside buildings as well as on the street, I had to divide my mapping into two sections. For use of building space, I drew upon the map's

<sup>18</sup> In Chapter 2, I include a further examination of this neighborhood and the city in general.

numbers per block as a guide, assigning a letter to each tenement building, motel, store, warehouse, or other business in the area, and subsequently, asked questions about the ownership and management of businesses. When information was not available, I drew upon observations to determine dynamics of the building's dynamics. For activities in the street, I used observational data, asking follow-up questions as needed to mark them by nationalities of residents, workers, and where possible, owners<sup>19</sup>.

Throughout my twenty-four months in Santo Domingo, I passed through the neighborhood on average three to four times a week to gather information on current events. On these visits, I used participant observation to note interactions between people (Haitians and Dominicans, Haitians and other Haitians, etc.), to collect updates on people's lives, to note any state interventions (including arrests or sweeps), all while either sitting and talking with people, buying something from vendors, or walking around the neighborhood (and sometimes beyond) with them.

Occasionally, family or friends from the United States would accompany me to La Benito, which yielded unexpected benefits. Reasons for visiting ranged from wanting to buy a specific Haitian product to wanting to see and understand how I spent my time in the Dominican Republic. This merging of my personal and professional worlds led to a remarkably high level of confidence and trust in me.

Life as a labor mobilite can be further understood, in part, by looking similarities and differences within the population. To this end, I conducted 160 structured interviews throughout the various residential buildings in the area of La Benito. These included questions on demography, health, economics, labor history, religious affiliation, and state relations. As time and resources allowed, I trained two assistants to help me conduct some of the interviews. I used

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<sup>19</sup> See appendices for this map.

my existing contacts to facilitate introductions throughout these buildings, as I witnessed how people opened up more when someone they knew vouched for me, even if the person had already met me. These structured interviews yielded information on overall demographics, occupation, health, migration history, recreation, and state interactions. La Benito provided an ideal location, as it is home to long-time Haitian residents as well as newly arrived migrants; therefore, my collected data provides insight into the lives of labor mobilites.

To deepen my understanding of the residents of La Benito, I also relied upon traditional ethnographic techniques of interviews and participant observation. From April through June 2009 and in mid-2010, I conducted thirty semi-structured interviews with residents who earned money in distinct ways (e.g. construction, domestic worker, juice vendor, etc) to reveal how these figures are connected to the global political economy. These interviews focused on migration experiences, living situation, economic activities, and encounters with the state, but I also asked specific questions about how to do their particular job and their involvement in commodity chains. Additionally, I gained an understanding of the ways in which Haitians interact with the Dominican state, both legally and extra-legally. I supplemented my interviewing strategy with participant observation of people engaged in the same livelihoods.

During summer 2011, I conducted five focused, semi-structured follow-up interviews regarding work, money, and ethics. These Haitians were selected because others around the neighborhood recognized them as being long-time residents who were capable of providing key information to fill in the gaps after my initial data analysis.

#### *Research on Educational Mobilites*

To provide a comparative perspective on how class mediates the experience of neoliberalism, I also conducted interviews with university students in Santo Domingo. The overall research

methodology was similar in structure to that of the labor mobilites, but modified because of geographical and social differences. Unlike the labor mobilites, who are concentrated in specific neighborhoods (like La Benito, Las Americas, and *Vennsenk*), university students were not concentrated in one area, though an increasing number have been moving to Las Americas<sup>20</sup>. In addition, given my interest in interacting with people in various fields of study at diverse institutions, I focused on the extracurricular activities where social networks included students from different universities.

Participant observation formed the initial research strategy with this group. To maximize my contact with Haitian students, I moved to a residential building where a Haitian student at a local university lived with her Haitian husband, as this couple primarily socialized with Haitian university students and professionals. Integrating myself into multiple social networks, I moved around the city with them, going to bars and restaurants, concerts and gallery openings, films and lectures. I also organized a weekly soccer match at the UASD.<sup>21</sup> These interactions gave insight into language usage and interactions with people from several different countries. During this same period, I formally requested statistics from four universities (Universidad Iberoamericana, Pontificia Católica Madre y Maestra, Universidad Tecnológica de Santiago, and the UASD) on how many Haitians attended institutions, the fields of study they pursued, their graduation rates, and financial information, i.e. tuition and scholarships. After fruitless searches at the first three (despite using personal connections), I resigned myself to examine the official statistics from the UASD in conjunction with those from a previous publication on Haitian university students.

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<sup>20</sup> Santo Domingo certainly has so-called wealthy neighborhoods. However, in almost every wealthy area (including one gated community), there is at least one home or cluster of buildings where poorer people live.

<sup>21</sup> This initially was for all Haitians I knew, but evolved into one primarily for students and professionals due to economic constraints, i.e. not having the money to take public transport to the field, and politico-spatial constraints, which I will discuss in Chapter 7.

Once initial contacts were made, I used snowball sampling to find participants by drawing upon preexisting relations with Haitians university students and professionals in Santo Domingo, including a Haitian student umbrella organization (FUSCHARD). Two meetings with this student group allowed me to generate more contacts, to gain their understanding in creating relevant questions, to pretest the instrument among them, and to train one of them to carry out interviews as my research assistant. This generated a total of thirty-seven structured interviews and three semi-structured interviews with students at various institutions of higher learning in Santo Domingo. Beyond basic demographic information, I asked questions directly related to their experiences at the university and in Santo Domingo, the answers to which provide a more personal understanding of being an educational mobilite.

#### *Data Analysis Techniques*

With different types of interviews, various manners of participant observation, collecting periodicals, and archival research, I generated data in the form of field notes, audio recordings, interview transcripts, and photographs. Regarding the data from the labor mobilites, sections of field notes, interview transcripts, and news articles were cut and pasted into separate word processing documents according to themes related to employment and the market (chapter 5 and 6), state dynamics (chapters 2, 3, and 7), and interactions between Haitians and Dominicans (chapters 4-7). Archival material related to Haitians (in the form of migration documents from the Archivo General de la Nación) were coded by gender, nationality, occupation, and race/skin color and entered into a spreadsheet, from which I created descriptive statistics (sums, etc). Data regarding the structured interviews from Benito were entered into a spreadsheet and imported into SPSS. To analyze data generated through labor histories in Chapter 6, I coded specific trades based upon Marxian divisions of *work* and *capital* on a scale from one to five, which I

discuss further in chapter 6, and compared mean values across the population over time. As these values were not continuous, I used Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test to compare the types of work in which a Haitian engaged throughout their lives in Haiti and the Dominican Republic<sup>22</sup>, which disclose patterns across labor histories. Interview, participant observation, and archival data regarding university students were analyzed along similar lines as those of the labor mobilites. They were coded by themes (demographics, residency data, reasons for border crossing, health, state relations, religion, work dynamics or educational dynamics) within a word processing file. Data from structured interviews with students were coded similarly to those of interviews from La Benito, replacing labor history questions with educational questions, the results of which are presented in Chapter 3.

### *Field Relations*

This research as well as the entire dissertation project was greatly facilitated by my linguistic abilities and phenotypical traits. I maintain near-native fluency of Haitian Creole, which allowed me to speak with any Haitian. Additionally, with my knowledge of the language (including rural colloquialisms, urban popular culture references, and proverbs), I quickly put most people at ease.<sup>23</sup> Those who continued to be suspicious after hearing me talk either avoided further interaction with me or grew to accept me over time. I also had advanced knowledge of Spanish and was familiar with Caribbean forms of it due to prior research in Cuba, so I quickly developed an excellent command of a Dominican vocabulary and accent. Finally, although rarely used, my knowledge of French allowed me to read certain archival and governmental materials and facilitated understanding of some subtle details of interviews (even if the conversation was in Haitian Creole or Spanish), as some Haitians would occasionally use a French term even when a

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<sup>22</sup> This will be described in more detail in Chapter 6.

<sup>23</sup> One Haitian diplomat, who claimed to have had many interactions with CIA agents, informed me two years later that upon meeting me, his “CIA-dar” sounded off due to my expert language ability.

distinct and completely acceptable word existed in Haitian Creole. My phenotypical traits played both a positive and negative in role my research. As the child of a White mother from rural Kansas and a Brown father from rural India, my hazel eyes, dark hair, and sun-darkened skin led people to wonder if I was perhaps an Arab-Dominican or Arab-Haitian, or perhaps a diasporic version of one of these. My language skills along with my appearance led many people to assume that either my family or I was indeed from Hispaniola. Dispelling the illusion led to amazement and laughs with some, while for others, this was off-putting and alienating. Comments made by the latter implied that I was ashamed of my background, so in those cases, I explained my family background and referred to reasons for Haitians or Dominicans to be proud in order to reduce anxiety to the extent possible. To the extent possible, I drew upon my language skills and physical appearance to improve field relations.

### *Limitations*

This methodological approach allows for seeing a broad range of ways that Haitians are involved in the economy of Santo Domingo, and by extension, the Dominican Republic, not unlike the work that Barker et al. (2009) carried out on the subject of Indonesian modernity. It also allows for presentation of the wide number of minimally civil intersections between Haitians and Dominicans. Yet, while all researchers strive to ensure that their methods are tightly linked to their theories and data, this project is marked by the inherent tension between versus depth of analysis. Although research assistants proved invaluable, (completing about a half of the surveys, in total) the data they generated was not as robust as mine was, despite repeated training moments. Finally, the institutional setting made the possibility of observation within a university classroom unlikely. To compensate for this, I asked students questions about any relevant experiences on campus.



To sum up, more than two hundred interviews and twenty-four months of research in different areas of Santo Domingo built the foundation for data.

### **Research Significance**

This research undermines the common notion of border crossers as footloose globetrotters and specific ideas regarding Haitian mobilites. I offer a careful examination of the lives of those who have previously been identified as labor migrants and international students. Through reference to writings on classical and contemporary political economy, mobility research, the state, subjectivities, and urban studies, I offer a contribution to Latin American area studies, to academic debates about contemporary capitalism, and to policy discussions on immigration to the Dominican Republic.

From an area studies perspective, this dissertation counters dominant trends of both Haitian diasporic studies and Hispaniolan studies. To begin, it provides a case of south-south Haitian migration, a focus underrepresented in the literature (cf. Bartlett and Ghaffar-Kucher 2013), which highlights the shortcomings of political or economic claims on the value of mobility that are based upon the overabundant literature on south-north movements. Second, by providing the first in-depth exploration of the lives of urban Haitian labor mobilites, it simultaneously undermines the common image of Haitian as cane cutter and renders a more complex picture of the range of this group's incorporation into labor markets. Third, the research is dedicated to a portrayal of the experiences of educational mobilites, another group absent from Haitianist scholarship (cf. Cela Hamm 2013). In so doing, my dissertation rejects essentialist notions inherent in Dominican xenophobic discourses. Fourth, this monograph furthers the work of the Transnational Hispaniola Collective, a social-justice oriented group of scholars, artists, and practitioners that seeks, "to transform dominant paradigms in Dominican and Haitian knowledge

production, political culture, and pedagogy” (Mayes et al. 2013) by providing representations of Haitian-Dominican interactions that show cooperation between people from both countries.

Returning to the themes of mobility and globalization, this work is significant in several ways. Generally, it addresses the inadequacy in technocratic ideas about the normal, beneficial, and unproblematic nature of cross-border movement. Additionally, this work represents a contribution to the examination of global flows of people, whether *above*, *below*, or somewhere in between. It offers an ethnographic account that surpasses the elite-ethnic binary by including another group of global mobilites (not unlike medical tourists, NGO workers, etc) and by showing how differences within the so-called lower global class contains economically diverse groups. Third, it questions whether physical mobility is necessarily linked to socioeconomic mobility. Fourth, the description of how labor mobilites understand and conduct their work challenges the idea that poorer migrants who cross borders are doing so strictly as future members of a cheap labor reserve. Switching to how this work addresses concerns in educational mobility, it heeds the call of Brooks and Waters (2011) by going beyond technocratic understandings of students’ lives to introduce their experiences of mobility within the context of the state, the market, and receiving society.

While I have enjoyed my years of intellectual training, the reason I engaged in doctoral study was to gain the cultural capital (and perhaps the economic capital) needed to do something that would make a difference. Briefly put, I have always wanted to channel my activism into socially relevant intellectual work. Not surprisingly then, I believe that policy makers, particularly those in the Dominican Republic, would benefit the findings discussed here. While certain contemporary policy changes can be viewed as positive (changes toward easing the entry of Haitians into universities, etc.), overall the current state regulatory apparatus as described in

Chapters 2 and 3 has been damaging for all Haitian mobilites. Recent beneficial gestures by the state treat students more like regular customers rather than potential assets. Many Dominicans still harbor fear and disdain toward Haitians, simply because of the fact that they come from Haiti. I hope that my research has shown that, in addition to the generations of Haitians and Dominicans who have lived, studied, or worked together peacefully, there continue to be positive connections between people from these two parts of the island. To put Dominicans at ease and to potentially improve the quality of life for Haitians, these harmonious moments could be brought to the fore in political discourse and educational curricula.

### **Summary of the Work**

In summary, my work reflects what was so eloquently articulated by Marx when he wrote that, “men [sic] make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves...” (1978b: 9). I examine the practices and subjectivities related to the experiences of Haitian students and workers, or educational and labor mobilites, as a case of middling globalization within the specific (neoliberal) political economic, social, and spatial context of Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.

In Chapter 2, I paint a picture of Santo Domingo as a neoliberal city. I argue that the political economic, legal, social, and geographic aspects contribute to the construction of Santo Domingo as the particular neoliberal capital city into which Haitian mobilites figure. After a historical description of the transition from an economy harnessed to sugar to one more in line with demands of global capital, I use legal documents and newspapers to describe how the law endeavors to construct mobilites. Next, I describe historical and contemporary social dynamics between Haitians and Dominicans, ranging from amity to enmity. Through maps, ethnographic description, and newspaper articles, I describe the geographic context and the Dominican

policing forces of the city as it relates to Lefebvre's concept of space. I close with showing how a Dominican vendors' meeting voices ideas implicit in the actions of state forces. These effectively outline both the ideology of a Dominican state project and the contours of an actually existing process of neoliberalization in Santo Domingo.

In Chapter 3, I examine the practices and subjectivities of Haitian students as educational mobilites. I depict how they manage the process of acquiring cultural capital of a tertiary degree abroad and in the face of the pressures of neoliberalism and anti-Haitian xenophobia. These occur in a particular institutional context, which I describe using newspapers, archival material, and the only extant study on Haitian university students at the time of writing this monograph. Using data from forty interviews, supplemented with participant observation, I contend that their subject-making practices and subjectivities convey the economic, political, and social framework within which they must incorporate as a part of their studies.

Chapter 4 focuses on Haitian labor mobilites, specifically, meanings of work. This chapter draws upon fieldnotes made during participant observation, semi-structured interviews with various Haitian workers, and side comments made by participants during structured interviews. I detail the different words that Haitians might use to talk about remunerated economic activity (i.e. work) and various social dynamics associated with such activity. I contend that meanings of work contribute significantly to how Haitian labor mobilites organize their lives

In the next chapter, I ethnographically show how Haitian labor mobilites are participating in the Dominican economy. Based upon participant observation and interview data and informed by theories about political economy, I divide these into four groups: producers of tangible commodities, service workers, microentrepreneurs with smaller capital access, and those with larger capital access. Through examining the labor process and commodity chains in which they

participate that show connections to both large-scale international capital and smaller-scale insular capital, I argue that they are part of a middling globalization that runs contrary to presumed notions of neoliberal economies, the state, Dominican-Haitian relations, and border-crossers.

The following two chapters relate to subjectivities of Haitian labor mobilites, the former dealing with him or her as a person who works, the latter with the mobilite as a figure in neoliberal urban space. These “ways of being” facilitate their ability to work and live in the city, but also complement the economic practices in Chapter 5 to show how they are producing their own form of capitalist spirit in Santo Domingo, despite the confines from Chapter 2. In Chapter 6, I argue that the subjectivities linked to a labor progression, to being a serious person, to market-based subject-making measures, and to *inzile* reveal dynamics of a kreyòlized work ethic that facilitates Haitian labor mobilites’ search for capital. I use participant observation and interview data to create four case studies to highlight these as they are lived, followed by a discussion of each aspect separately. I analyze structured interview data related to labor histories to expose a labor progression. Next, I present the thief-serious person subjectivity complex, identified during participant observation and semi-structured interviews, which raises the issue of a worker’s reputation. I close the chapter with a treatment of social and market-based subjectivities.

Chapter 7 extends the discussion of subjectivities to those of a Haitian labor mobilite in the city, picking up again themes from Lefebvre. I begin with an ethnographic portrayal of policing the city, including a description of the Santo Domingo Carnival celebration in 2010. This reveals the personal and somewhat arbitrary manner in which the city is policed. This is followed by a discussion of where to be in the city and when to be there, or spatial and temporal

subjectivities. This includes a discussion of the sonic space occupied, or rather not occupied, but Haitian mobilites. These insights were generated primarily by participant observation throughout the city and conducting interviews in people's homes. I argue that without those subjectivities, the workers would not be able to successfully engage in economic behavior.

Chapter 8 presents the significance of the findings in light of existing intellectual debates, offers concluding remarks on mobilites under neoliberal regimes, and presents several possible avenues for research, policy, and practice.

## CHAPTER TWO: A DOMINICAN NEOLIBERAL CITY

But in this segregated city, everyone comes together on the roads.

Rana Dasgupta, *Capital Gains*

### Introduction

This chapter portrays the rise and manifestation of neoliberalism in the Dominican Republic, and specifically in Santo Domingo. Rather than assuming it to be consistently uniform, I believe we should pay attention to neoliberalism's "particular forms that emerge in particular context" (Leitner et al. 2007:5). I argue that the political economic, legal, social, and geographic aspects contribute to the construction of Santo Domingo as the particular neoliberal capital city into which Haitian mobilites incorporate. I start by showing how since the late 1970s, the Dominican state has increasingly adhered to a particular political economic model that shifted away from sugar and toward a role that better facilitate the country's incorporation in a global economy. Next, I turn to laws and policies as technologies of subjection that both construct Haitian border crossers and limit what they can do. Then, I describe how social relations between Haitians and Dominicans can be seen as falling within a spectrum ranging from xenophobic anti-Haitianism to mutual respect. Turning to the city's geography, I describe some relevant neighborhoods in the city, three newly (re)constructed urban zones and the various state policing agents. I describe a meeting of vendors who sell within a prime destination for international tourists that was recently designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site to show how the state is working with the market in an effort to control urban space and organize capital flows. As an ensemble, these various dynamics and the related spatial practices fit together to construct Santo Domingo as the neoliberal capital city experienced by Haitians.

## **The Rise of Sugar as Economic Backbone**

The important role of sugar in the Dominican economy came late, compared to other countries in Latin America. The economy of Cuba, a major sugar producer in the nineteenth century, suffered a setback due to the Ten Years' War, which contributed to the growth of the Dominican industry (Howard 2001). This occurred through the purchasing of large plantations, thanks to the flight of foreign capital from Cuba to the Dominican Republic, and the growth of large sugar entities in the beginning of the twentieth century (Betances 1995). The labor of Black British and French migrants from other Caribbean islands, had already played a role in reducing the number of Dominicans participating in the growing sugar industry, a switch fostered by the US occupation and commandeering of sugar production. But due to the Haitian- and Dominican-sponsored *bracero* program, in addition to voluntary insular migration to sugar-producing areas<sup>1</sup>, Haitians began to replace both Dominicans and Black Antillean workers in this industry (Martínez 1995). This extremely cheap labor, combined with favorable market conditions, boosted profits.

### *Portrait of a Labor Force: Material from the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN)*

One of the goals of this dissertation is to show the increased diversity within the Haitian population in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic since the reorientation of the Dominican economy. Focusing on this new diversity still does not imply that immigration eastward on the island was homogenous. A brief discussion of earlier immigration suffices to show as much, while also portraying the Dominican economy at a specific moment in time.

In the past few years, the AGN has increased its holdings and services. One set of documents germane to this dissertation is a collection of newly digitized requests for new or renewed

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<sup>1</sup> These plantations were organized first under direction of foreign capital, subsequently by Generalissimo Trujillo, and finally, after 1961, under the Dominican state (Lozano 1997).



residency in the Dominican Republic generated by the Secretaria de Estado de lo Interior, Policía, y Comunicaciones, spanning in years from 1940 to 1965<sup>2</sup>. These could serve as a basis for several dissertations, but for present purposes, a brief description of some of the records should suffice to show the historical primacy of sugar for the Dominican economy in that era.

Within documents dated November 1952 to January 1953, there were 692 readable files. Each of these documents included entries for: name, age, race, skin color, sex [sic], occupation, nationality, country of origin, height, weight, eye color, distinguishing marks, address, *cédula* number and date. Among the 692 files, there were 284 Haitians. The table below shows the breakdown.

Table 2.1: Documents for New/Renewed Residency, Nov. 1952-Jan 1953

<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage of Haitians</b>	<b>Percentage of Total</b>
Day worker/farming, physical laborer	218	76.767%	31.503%
Domestic servants	61	21.479%	8.815%
Students	2	.007%	.003%
Other Professions	2	.007%	.003%
Entrepreneur	1	.003%	.001%

(Archivo General de la Nación 2010)

The first category, comprised completely of men, all listed their addresses as being one of several sugar cane industries. The second category, consisting solely of women, listed their address as the Ozama Sugar Company, Ltd. This means that 98% of the people in this sample were linked to sugar production. The two students seem to be unmarried relatives, and are listed as having skin color *blanco* with Lebanese nationality, though from Haiti. The two professional people are a single female stenographer (listed as *indio*) and a married male salesman (listed as

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<sup>2</sup> These are compiled on 13 compact discs with varying years and number of holdings.

blanco). The final person listed as an entrepreneur (listed as *caucásica*<sup>3</sup>), though from Haiti and with Haitian nationality, has a German surname.

As suggested previously, the above data is not meant to be absolutely representative of all migrants during the Dominican sugar industry's boom days, nor can it be claimed to be absolutely representative of migrants during the three-month time span indicated<sup>4</sup>. At this point, further research must occur to determine exactly how representative such a collection of documents is, both within the larger collection of such documents at the AGN and with reference to overall migration from Haiti to the Dominican Republic. That being said, two clear points emerge from the above data. First, the Dominican sugar industry constituted the primary, but not sole, manner in which Haitians were incorporated into the Dominican economy in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, and second, Haitians from various classes have been migrating to their eastern neighboring country for generations, albeit in smaller numbers.

### **The Fall of the Sugar Industry**

Until the mid 1970s, the sugar Dominican industry thrived under the control of the Dominican government and sugar baron families like the Vicinis. While the country could not compete with production on the massive land areas of top-producers Brazil and India, the Dominican Republic saw a 40% increase in revenue from 1961 to 1976. This was due partially to increased production and rising prices of sugar on the global market. Unfortunately for the sugar barons and for the Dominican state that regulated production to its benefit, these days of prosperity were numbered, and a new era was about to begin on the island. As has been described by others (see

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<sup>3</sup> The others listed as having *blanco* for their skin color have *caucásica* as their race. As no race was indicated for the entrepreneur, it appears the government worker entered the race term on the skin color line.

<sup>4</sup> Cursory examination of the files indicates that there was a significant presence of Haitian females moving to bateys, indicating that the idea of almost exclusively male migration to the Dominican Republic points to what Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1995) calls a *silencing of the past*. It appears to be the case that rather than a contemporary feminization of migration, there has been a feminization of the Haitian migrant labor market, as Wooding and Sangro (2008) contend. In any case, further historical research is needed.

Lozano 2001), profits from Dominican sugar production began significant decline in the late 1970s due to subsidies in other major sugar-producing countries, which put downward economic pressure on national production, and consequently, political pressure on the state to usher in changes.

Table 2.2: Dominican Sugar Production per annum, 1961-2005

<b>Year</b>	<b>Price (in \$1000)</b>	<b>Amount (in tons)</b>	<b>Global Export Rank</b>
1961	162,238	7,811,195	16
1966	137,878	6,638,333	18
1971	207,154	9,973,725	14
1976	227,061	10,932,150	15
1981	199,994	9,629,000	15
1986	159,826	7,695,018	16
1991	143,946	6,930,457	18
1996	126,196 <sup>5</sup>	6,075,900	22
2001	100,334 <sup>6</sup>	4,830,732	26
2005	102,812 <sup>5</sup>	4,950,000	28

(Source: FAO 2009)

Both international and national trends changed the structure of the Dominican economy during the period of 1976-1996. Table 2.2 shows numbers for Dominican sugar revenue, production, and rank according to amount exported on the world market. During this time, all three indices began to slowly drop. This contraction can be understood as a result of two separate international factors. First, the global crisis of capital in the late 1970s and 1980s caused many industries across the world to falter. Second, the petroleum crisis of the 1970s led to investment in ethanol (derived from sugarcane) as a biofuel, meaning the Brazilian government shifted support to that sector of its economy, seeing it increase four-fold from the mid 1970s to the mid 1990s (Bolling and Suarez 2001)<sup>7</sup>. However, this shift only explains part of the changes occurring that would affect Haitians coming to this Caribbean country.

<sup>5</sup> This represented the third highest grossing agricultural commodity produced at the time.

<sup>6</sup> For these years, this represented the fifth highest grossing agricultural commodity produced at the time.

<sup>7</sup> India and Brazil continue to lead global sugar production with 2005 production of both estimated to be 420 million metric tons, compared to less than five million in the Dominican Republic.

## **From King Sugar to “Sweethearts”**

From the 1970s to the 1990s, a series of international factors shifted the Dominican economy away from sugar production. Starting in the 1970s, with the state losing money on sugar production for global consumption, some lands were shifted to production of other agricultural goods like pineapples, rice, coffee, and tobacco (Lozano 1997; Lozano 2001). In the 1980s, the Dominican Republic, like many other countries in the hemisphere, faced pressure from multilateral loan institutions that pushed for

a reduction in trade barriers, for floating interest and exchange rates, for cuts in public employment, price controls, and industrial subsidies, and for creation of export processing zones exempt from taxation, labor laws, and environmental protection (Lozano 2008).

The government under President Blanco and later President Balaguer capitulated to these pressures from the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. Also during this time, cane cutting became more mechanized, reducing the need for manual laborers. Additionally, overall production decreased dropping thirty percent from 1981 to 1991, and another thirty percent from 1991 to 2001 (FAO 2009). All signs pointed to the fact that the importance of sugar and of the model of Dominican economy that had so long depended on it was declining.

At the same time, new sources of income bolstered the economy. From 1996 to 1997, cigar cheroot exports jumped seven hundred percent, dwarfing the amounts of all other agricultural products. In the mid 1970s, Gulf & Western constructed the Casa de Campo, an extravagant resort with internationally ranked golf courses and its own airport. The Fanjul family, which had been (and continues to be) a major exporter of Dominican sugar to the US, purchased this in the mid 1980s. Over the next two decades, all-inclusive resorts popped up along beaches and increased numbers of cruise-ships arrived at Dominican ports. By the year 2000, tourism had become the country’s largest earner of foreign money (Icon Group International, Inc. 2000).

Along with these changes also came a large increase in sex tourism in the country, where Dominicans could market themselves as “sweethearts” to foreigners on vacation (see Brennan 2004; Gregory 2006). As if to enshrine the change from an economy based upon sugar to one diversified along the lines of global capitalism, President Leonel Fernández, in his investiture speech in 1996, spoke of the challenges of implementing changes of globalization to stimulate “progress and modernization” through “tourism, free trade zones, international finance transactions, and putting in place the GATT agreements” (Fernández 1996).

The period from 1976 to 1996 also marked changes in other parts of the Dominican national economy. As the Dominican sugar industry was incapable of keeping up in the global market, a series of government policy decisions were taken which led to the growth of the tourism industry in the Dominican Republic. These included the founding by Joaquin Balaguer<sup>8</sup> in 1967 of the Ministry of Tourism, the Tourist Incentive Law of 1970, and significant financial support by the Dominican Revolutionary Party from 1978-1986 (Fuller 1999). Thus, these forces (both international and national) acted locally in the Dominican Republic to begin a shift of the labor market away from its agricultural foundations.

The year 1997 indicates the beginning of the most recent privatization period of Dominican economy in general, and the sugar industry specifically. As suggested above regarding the prior period, the CEA, being the organization within the state that managed the sugar industry, was shown to be less productive and was increasingly in debt. Table 2.2 shows this significant decrease in revenue, production, and global export rank, and confirms the decreasing importance of agriculture as a generator of national revenue. Drought in 1996 and 1997 combined with Hurricane Georges in 1998 to devastate Dominican sugar production. Like many countries of

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<sup>8</sup> Balaguer, as President and member of the Christian Social Reform Party, or PRSC, continued the strongman politics of Trujillo.

the Caribbean, pressures mounted for the Dominican Republic to orient its economy toward the world market, which meant that public resources for sugar should be directed elsewhere. After taking office for the first time in 1996, President Leonel Fernandez continued the structural adjustment trend of liquidating public holdings, resulting in a ten percent reduction in public external debt<sup>9</sup>. This included overseeing the passage in 1997 of a privatization law that allowed for selling off holdings of the CEA, the state sugar company (IMF 1998)<sup>10</sup>. While these moves away from sugar production occurred, it was also suggested that the Dominican Republic was a location supposedly better suited for continued development through tourism and more recently, through export-oriented labor related to business process outsourcing (i.e., call centers) and free trade zones (Icon Group International 2000). This latter industry involved assembly of garments for export to the United States.

### **The 2000s**

Economically, several changes marked the past decade. Leonel Fernández, taking back the presidency from Hipólito Mejía in the 2004 elections, continued governing in his style from his earlier term, marked by a transition away from the heavy-handed authoritarianism of the past (while still maintaining a cult of personality) to rule according to more market-oriented policies. State and private interests came together to negotiate the opening of free-trade zones (see Gregory 2006). They subsequently flourished, though the industry posted lower numbers in 2007 (Schwerdtfeger 2008). Due to the damage of Hurricanes Georges (1998) and Jeanne (2004) and with an increased demand for apartment buildings in Santo Domingo, the

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<sup>9</sup> The Fernandez government similarly took advantage of the damage done to agricultural areas from Hurricanes Noel and Olga to push through legislation that would increase foreign food imports, a move that further disadvantages Dominican growers.

<sup>10</sup> This restructuring of the Dominican economy to a position which was hostile toward sugar production continued to be felt in 2004 when President Leonel Fernandez, under pressure from the United States, chose to repeal the tax on soft drinks made with high-fructose corn syrup rather than have his country excluded from the Central American Free Trade Area (CAFTA) deal (Robinson 2005).

construction industry has grown significantly, including nearly a 23% growth in 2006 (Jimenez 2007)<sup>11</sup>. Cigars continue to bring in almost as much money as all other agricultural products combined (FAO 2009). Commerce and communications, along with the service, transport, and hotel industries also posted significant growth in the past few years (Schwerdtfeger 2008). This boom in communication included the opening of Orange (France Telecom) in 2007 and Viva (US-based Trilogy International Partners) in 2008 to compete with Tricom (opened in 1988) and Codetel (originally of the Anglo Canadian Telephone Company; opened in 1930). Currently, tourism and international remittances currently bring in the largest amount of money to the country (World Factbook 2009).

As the Fanjul family's investment in a resort stands as a marker from old to new capitalism in the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there are similar markers for the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. One of these is the implementation in 2007 of the Dominican Republic-Central America Free Trade Agreement (DR-CAFTA). One of the main practical goals of this accord was to reduce tariffs on fabric and finished garments circulated between the US and the Caribbean (and by the agreement's provisions, Mexico), and though the industry has seen profits, workers rights were continually violated (Washington Office on Latin America 2009). The second includes the diversification of the Vicini family's businesses. Originally establishing sugar mills in Azua and Ocoa in 1876, and quickly becoming one of the most wealthy and powerful families in the Dominican Republic from sugar, the family now deals in food and drink retail, energy, finances and insurance, communications, tourism, and real estate (Grupo Vicini 2009). With all these changes, it is no surprise that the various livelihoods of Haitians in the Dominican Republic have also been altered.

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<sup>11</sup> Information on who is financing the construction for the many malls and high-rise apartment buildings is anecdotal at best. It has been suggested informally that Venezuelans and Colombians may have provided backing for some of these.

## **Legal Context for Haitians in the Dominican Republic**

For Haitians to be in Santo Domingo, they have to leave Haiti and cross an international boundary. Officially, laws regulate the exit from Haiti, the crossing into the Dominican Republic, and the stay within the host country. While statutes pertaining to educational and labor mobilities are the same with regard to prerequisites for legal border crossing, different sections of code pertain to the reasons given for the crossings. Furthermore, recent policy initiatives have differentially affected these two groups.

As Haitian mobilities cross an international border, national laws from both countries seek to regulate their presence within and beyond international boundaries. The primary pieces of legislation dealing with this are the Law 875 (Ley 875 sobre visados), Migration Law 285-04, a Presidential Decree 631-11 (Reglamento de aplicación de la ley general de migración, or Decreto 631-11), and the new Constitution ratified in 2010.

To leave Haiti, the country's legal codes officially require that Haitians have an official passport and a valid visa<sup>12</sup>. Any foreigner entering the Dominican Republic is required to have a valid passport (DGM 2004, Artículo 78); though specific visa requirements vary by country, Haitians are required to have some sort of visa<sup>13</sup>. No foreigners are allowed to enter the Dominican Republic without written legal permission. All foreigners are required to carry identity documents at all times (Decreto 631-11), and foreigners are only allowed to carry out remunerated work to the extent allowed for by their visa status<sup>14</sup>. Punishment for violation of laws by any foreigner may lead to the revoking of legal right of permanence (Decreto 631-11).

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<sup>12</sup> This provision is covered by several laws, including Article 31 of the Decret-Loi of 1 February 1945 and the Law of 19 September 1953 (on Immigration and Emigration).

<sup>13</sup> *De facto* exceptions to this may include: travel across an open border on market days, travel during emergencies (e.g., on a limited basis after the 2010 earthquake), undocumented crossing due to bribery, or crossing at a location with no immigration officials present.

<sup>14</sup> Within the context of the present discussion, as most Haitians enter with either a Tourist or Student visa, they are not allowed to work, per description in the statutes.



Each visa category has certain rights, responsibilities, and restrictions. Those Haitians entering the Dominican Republic on a tourist visa (either 60-day or a 1-year<sup>15</sup> in duration) are limited to only engaging in “recreation, leisure, rest, or relaxation, as long as they have sufficient resources to do so” (Ley 285-04, Article 36). As such, they are not supposed to engage in any remunerated labor. Currently, those Haitians who seek a student visa are subject to four provisions. First, Article 3, Paragraph VIII of Law 875 from 1978 provides that a student visa is for multiple-entries during one year. Article 36 of Law 285-04 defines those who come to formally study at an officially recognized institution as “non-residents.” The recent rules on how to apply migration Law 285-04 explains the requirements for obtaining such a visa, which include having a passport, a letter of acceptance from the educational institution, approved medical insurance, and proof of economic solvency<sup>16</sup>. Article 100 of the same law stipulates that non-residents, such as students, cannot engage in remunerated work. Finally, applicants for student visas are subject to the Manual de Normas y Practicas Consulares, which regulates under what conditions students can be present in the Dominican Republic. However, as some students have entered the Dominican Republic and studied while having a 60-day or 1-year tourist visa, these do not necessarily apply to them.

More recently, student groups have placed more pressure on President Leonel Fernández to facilitate life for Haitian students in the Dominican Republic through media exposure and face-to-face conversations. In 2006, after meeting with a coalition of Haitian student groups, he agreed to:

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<sup>15</sup> Acquiring these visas in Haiti requires solely appearing at the Dominican consulate in Pétienville, filling out a small form, presenting a valid passport, and paying the associated fee. The 60-day Tourist visa is commonly discussed in Dominican legal codes.

<sup>16</sup> In addition to these requirements, some students reported that they were required to provide a certificate of good health.

- Eliminate the \$25 border crossing fee for Haitian students
- Change visas to 1 year from 3 months, as they had been before
- Agree to offer student visas for free
- Recognize students having a Student Identification as such, rather than as tourists as they had been before (Jiménez 2006)

The government was slow to act on the promises made, and Haitian student groups placed additional pressure on the State through repeated appeals in the Dominican press (Ponce 2006), which led to completion of most of the commitment, but only after 18 months had passed (Presidencia de la República 2006)<sup>17</sup>.

The earthquake on January 12, 2010 led to other gestures by the Dominican state toward Haitian students. First, shortly after the earthquake, the rector of the State University declared that Haitians would be exempt from paying tuition for the spring 2010 term at the UASD, and that the university would give 1 million pesos (approximately \$28,000 US) to assist with victims of the disaster (Vidadominicana 2010). Second, since the earthquake, several universities have voluntarily offered tuition for Haitians at the same levels as Dominicans. Finally, the Dominican government sent a high-level commission to Haiti to study the situation of higher education for Haitians, followed by the construction of a branch of the State University of Haiti in Limonade, which was inaugurated and handed over to the Haitian government on January 12, 2012.

### **Social Context: Historical Anti-Haitianism**

Scholars treating Haitians in the Dominican Republic have usually relegated anti-Haitianism to the realm of ideas. If they proffer any description, they use terms like “ideology” (Torres-Saillant 2006) or “prejudice” (Martínez 1996; Derby and Turits 2006). These authors describe how an ideological construction creates difference between two populations as closed units, thus essentializing Dominicans and Haitians and pathologizing the latter. Though I agree in part with

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<sup>17</sup> See the Afterward about the latest legal issues affecting students.

their assessment, they appear to ignore behavior, i.e. the *practice/praxis*. One variance on this theme is the work by Sagás, who describes anti-Haitianism as an ideology, but also as

an ideological method of political control...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. Anti-Haitianism denies dark-skinned citizens, and the poor generally, their own sociocultural space and intimidates them from making demands on otherwise participating in politics (2000:4).

Therefore, I define anti-Haitianism as a constellation of ideas and practices negatively affecting people (as a person or a group) from Haiti, their descendents, and those perceived as belonging to one of these groups, whether or not they actually belong, and specifically because of their ascribed membership (Jayaram 2010a:34). The specifics of these ideas and practices change over time and space.

Though the origins of anti-Haitianism in the Dominican Republic lie mainly (but not entirely) in the nineteenth century, documented manifestations of anti-Haitianism begin in the twentieth century. The most referenced event is the 1937 killing near the border of Haiti and the Dominican Republic, where the ideology became officially state-sanctioned, and thousands of people perceived as Haitians were killed under orders from President Trujillo (see Derby and Turits 2005; Sagás 2000; Turits 2002). Another notable event occurred in 1962, when President Balaguer napalmed Haitians and Haitian-Dominicans in the rural hamlet of Palma Sola for demanding land rights. The other major demonstration of anti-Haitianism relates to *batey*-s, or sugar cane cutting and processing areas usually found in areas around Barahona and San Pedro de Macorís. Though Haitians have been working at these sites since the early twentieth century, only in the past 25 years have human rights groups taken an interest in the forced recruitment<sup>18</sup>, often deplorable working conditions, and deportations of batey workers, a population largely (but

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<sup>18</sup> Of particular interest is the 1960s *bracero* program between the Haitian and Dominican governments, whereby Haitian workers were sent to the DR, and a portion of wages kept by the Haitian government for workers' reintegration after the harvest.

not strictly) consisting of Haitians (see Americas Watch 1992). The Consejo Estatal de Azúcar (CEA) controlled most of these areas until the sell-off of these lands to private owners in the 1990s.

These examples of an earlier anti-Haitianism have three factors in common. First, each of these implies involvement of the Dominican state. Secondly, the geography of these events locates Haitians on the border, in rural areas, or in *batey*-s, meaning that there is a spatial element of fixedness associated with these earlier forms of anti-Haitianism. Thirdly, those people targeted by these actions were often linked to agricultural production. With the elaboration of official, state anti-Haitianism during the Trujillo and Balaguer regimes, clearly, violent and non-violent acts of anti-Haitianism occurred frequently among non-state actors and beyond the countryside or borderlands. Nevertheless, under neoliberalism the state has become a less visible and active participant in anti-Haitian fervor and, as I will show in Chapter 3 and 7, urban spaces have now become important sites to study the content and significance of anti-Haitianism in mobilites' daily lives as well as for understanding how anti-Haitianism is now practiced. To date, however, no significant historical scholarship has dealt with this topic (though Torres-Saillant 2006 provides a small piece). After changes in the Dominican economy, though, this version of anti-Haitianism, linked so openly to the state, could not be sustained.

### **Social Context: The New Anti-Haitianism**

Positing a new anti-Haitianism does not mean erasing an older one. Turits (2002) argued that anti-Haitianism “has only grown and, above all, *diffused* during the last 60 years, as Haitian migrants to Dominican sugar zones and other areas—mostly far from the frontier regions — actually increased in number after the massacre” (592, emphasis mine). This being said, older models still continue, with much of the ideological element remaining the same. No longer

overtly state-sanctioned, this ideology is diffused through ultranationalist literature (including the work of Balaguer) and school textbooks (Wigginton 2005), and seeps into daily talk by some Dominicans. For example, during a conversation about my research with a cleaning woman named Mercy<sup>19</sup>, she commented that

it's easy to find the Haitians here. They have dark black skin, they speak Spanish poorly, they smell really bad, and they have their own style of music and dance that is different from us Dominicans. Just look around construction sites because they take Dominicans jobs there, but whatever you do, be careful (personal communication 2007).

She further recounted how once, on a *guagua*, she sat next to a Haitian who spoke with her. She explained that he used magic to control her mind so that he could steal money from her purse (which was on her lap) without her realizing it. Mercy's commentary and bus story highlight the negative opinion and stereotypes that transmogrify Haitians into deviant and dangerous people who are clearly distinct from Dominicans and who are linked to magic and to wealth taken from Dominicans given to Haitians (c.f. Derby 1994). The ideological component continues not only in popular discourse, but also in school textbooks and especially the news media (Sagás 2000).

What's *new* in the new anti-Haitianism relates to the nature of state practices, the authorship of new practices, and the populations affected. Whereas previous Dominican governments actively participated in bringing Haitians into the country, including the renewal of residency permits for those cutting sugarcane, in the past two decades, the Dominican state has become more active in formalizing the illegality, marginalization, and removal of Haitian mobilites. First, starting in 1991 with Decreto 233-91 by President Balaguer and occurring again in 1996-97 and 1999, mass expulsions by people perceived to be Haitian were carried out with regard to whether people were legal or illegal, Haitian or Dominican. Second, the 2004 Dominican immigration law authorized the creation of the so-called Pink Book, where non-residents receive

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<sup>19</sup> All names in this article are pseudonyms unless the person is acting in a public capacity, as in a politician.

a pink certificate registering birth and residents receive a white certificate. The pink certificate is better understood as a document stating that a child was born, though not an officially recognized birth certificate. Without a white certificate, children of immigrants would not be able to acquire government documentation or attend secondary schools. This raised the ire of national and international rights groups. Consequently, based upon a complaint from 1999 to the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, the Inter-American Court found in favor of Dilcia Yean and Violeta Bosico in 2005, declaring that that actions by the Dominican government amounted to violation of the right to nationality and ordered compensation to the affected parties and their legal support team (IACHR 2005). In the same year, the Dominican government deported thousands of Haitians (and Black Dominicans), a group of Dominicans lynched several Haitians in Hatillo Palma, and another group of Dominicans burned down Haitians' houses and killed one man. In 2007, on the first day of a conference in Santo Domingo where members of US, Haitian, and Dominican governments came together to discuss migration issues, the Dominican Electoral Board released its findings that activist and recent Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award winner, Sonia Pierre, should have her citizenship nullified (Katz 2007). The same year, the Junta Central Electoral published the *Resolution 12-07*, which stated that all people whose birth certificates contain "irregularities", which practically meant those people with supposedly Haitian-sounding names, would be refused copies of birth certificates or other identity documents until an investigation proved that they were indeed entitled to the papers<sup>20</sup>. Combined with the new Constitution of 2010 formally denying citizenship to children of those "in-transit" or illegal residents (despite the inclusion of a *jus solis* clause), this suggests the

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<sup>20</sup> This has led, in part, to the founding of the organization *reconoci.do*, a group dedicated to equality for all Haitian Dominicans.

possibility that a new generation of ethnic Haitians will be denied full citizenship in the Dominican Republic.

Apart from government legislation, the police forces' activities often reflect neoliberal preferences. In La Benito, it is common knowledge among Dominicans and Haitians that the police from several precincts may drive through after dark, stop anyone (but almost always Haitians) on the streets, ask for legal documents, and if they are unable to be provided give detainees the choice between spending a night in jail or paying anywhere from 50-500 pesos. On the other hand, the significant number of tourists, NGO and government workers, and other professionals foreigners are protected by a new Dominican police branch, *Policia Turística* (POLITUR), established to protect and serve the tourists (and *de facto* the aforementioned groups) and the areas they frequent. Though it is not uncommon for these people to live in the country on expired visas (and simply pay a fee when they leave), there have been no reports of these people being caught up in illegal immigrant sweeps<sup>21</sup>. The state targets poor, low-skilled, darker-skinned foreigners while protecting the wealthy, lighter-skinned professional ones.

Another facet of the new anti-Haitianism includes the fact that aside from raids, more non-state actors are perpetuating the violence. While earlier actions by non-state actors occurred in concert with the state apparatus (e.g. the 1937 massacre), many current practices occur without active state involvement. Several fruit and sweets vendors have reported how some Dominicans blatantly steal merchandise and then become aggressive and shout anti-Haitian slurs when confronted. In 2008, a Dominican threatened Robert, a Haitian juice vendor, with a machete if he did not return change for a bill that the Dominican had not given to the vendor, cursing him all the time as "*maldito haitiano*". Robert paid the 50 pesos rather than suffer a fatal machete

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<sup>21</sup> Reportedly in 2008, a West African professional was picked up and deported twice to Haiti, though he had no ties to the country, other than being associated with it by the fact that he had dark skin. Bettinger-Lopez and Phillips (n.d.) reported on a Black student from the US who was almost deported to Haiti in 2000.

blow (personal communication, June 18, 2009). In the most gruesome incident in recent memory, in spring 2009, a Haitian construction worker allegedly killed his boss after he was refused payment. Later, a group of family members and friends of the victim encircled the worker and beheaded him. Authorities arrested one person in connection with the crime (Diario Libre 2009), but rather than implement anti-hate legislation, the Dominican state identified the act as solely an isolated incident, and failed to take further action. These and similar episodes are recounted by many Haitians in Santo Domingo, marking it as systemic but not institutional.

This *neoliberal anti-Haitianism* reveals the changing same of the pathology associated with being Haitian. The two other parts of the new anti-Haitianism bring back the issue of neoliberalism. With the state focused on facilitating the generation and accumulation of capital, it makes sense as a *technology of subjection* to have differential applications of state power toward foreign groups, to offer preferential options for those immediately beneficial in a market setting (educational mobilities) and to render precarious the lives of those with lower-valued skills in order to more easily exploit and extract surplus value from them (labor mobilities). Additionally, it makes sense for the state to maintain efficient (read, minimal but effective) control over private citizens while ensuring it does not formally dictate how people should act in daily life, even if it is systematically racist.

### **Social Context: Hispaniolan Songs in the Key of Ital<sup>22</sup>**

Given the din of anti-Haitianism coming from scholars, politicians, and laity, one could easily have the impression of two gamecocks fighting, and indeed, such discrimination is an unfortunate social fact. Yet forms of cooperation and peaceful co-existence among Dominicans and Haitians persist, and this dissertation sets out to document that fact. Indeed, not only can work or schooling unite Haitians and Dominicans (as will be seen throughout the monograph),

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<sup>22</sup> Ital refers to food within Rastafarianism that is, generally speaking, natural, chemical-free, and healthy.



but also production and consumption of popular culture can. Since 2007, there has been a *Festival de la isla* (Festival of the Island), originally called the *Haitian Music Festival*, that included Haitian musical acts with two Dominican acts. After the earthquake, there was the *Caravan de la Cultura*, which was a series of musical performances at venues along the highway between Santo Domingo and Port-au-Prince. These show that other ideologies not only are possible for Haitian-Dominican relations, but that they already exist.

A concert in 2008 demonstrated another ideological trend that impacting Haitian-Dominican relations. On July 4<sup>th</sup>, there was a “reggae festival” at Plaza Billini (diagonal from Parque Duarte) in the Zona Colonial. A group from Haiti shared the bill with two groups from the Dominican Republic. After DJ Mahogany played some recorded music, *Fundación Negra Rastafari* (FNR) took the stage. FNR, a hip-hop and reggae group with songs in Kreyòl and Spanish, has several recordings and has given numerous concerts in the Dominican Republic and beyond. Of the three vocalists of the group, two were Black Dominicans and one was a Black Haitian, Ras Kimmy. The next group, *Son Abril*, was a group of mostly light-skinned Dominicans who played some original music with some reggae cover songs. Finally, the group from Haiti, *Yzrael*, took the stage around 1:30am. While the performers and the audience (a racial rainbow made up of Dominicans, Haitians, Spaniards, and people from France and the US) seemed willing to put aside race and national division to unite under the red, gold, and green flag of Rastafarianism, a conversation with one of the band members provided another prescient example of an ideology countering anti-Haitianism.

During one of the breaks between bands, I approached one of the members, a short Black man with a full head of dreadlocks, whom I later learned was named Ras Kimmy<sup>23</sup>. He was standing to the side of the stage, just behind a main speaker. Walking up to him, but not knowing in what

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<sup>23</sup> I use his actual name, as he is somewhat of a public figure.

language to address him, I thanked him in Spanish for the music, told him “mucho respecto para Uds.,” (much respect to you all) and finished with “*Yimassagan*” (he be praised), being all of the Amharic<sup>24</sup> I know. He responded properly in English (though with an accent), so I switched languages. After a short exchange, I asked him where they’re from. He said in English, “well, you know, in Rastafari, we’re all from the island, you know. It not like he from this part, I-n-I from that part. We all from the island. No division. We all born someplace, though. Like me, I-n-I born in Haiti....” As he paused, I interjected, “*Oh, enbyen se ou menm ki chante mizik yo an kreyòl, non?*” (Oh, so you’re the one who sings in Kreyòl. Right?), to which he responded in Kreyòl with, “Yeah, that’s me. Hey, I really appreciate that you speak Kreyòl.”

The concert as a whole and my introduction to Ras Kimmy demonstrate that while certain dominant ideologies are present in certain actions among some actors, these do not encompass the entirety of Haitian-Dominican relations. Reggae is one form of music that can bring people together through its appeal to Rastafarianism<sup>25</sup>. In doing so, it counters xenophobic ideologies present in popular conceptions of Haitian-Dominican social interactions by rejecting the race-nation in favor of one nation under Jah.

### **Geographic Context: Overview**

Beyond political economic, legal, and social dynamics of this city, neoliberalism endeavors to order the urban space geographically. Agents of the state operate in certain domains in an attempt to regulate the population. The conflux of local, national and international capital flows, marshaled by local agents of the state and civil society, led to the spatial practices that

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<sup>24</sup> Amharic is considered sacred

<sup>25</sup> This point merits further exploration, but is beyond the scope of this monograph, so two additional points must suffice for now. First, it is quite possible that much of the audience were joined together because they share the same musical taste, i.e. unity through an ideology of consumption. Second, the appeal to Rastafarianism may be an extension of the way other racial ideologies contribute or contradict those dominant among Dominicans (cf. Simmons 2008; Torres Saillant 1998).

constructed several of Santo Domingo's neighborhoods and subsequently policed them. After a discussion of those, I recount the events of a meeting in the Zona Colonial where neoliberalism became evident in the spoken and implied comments of members of city governance.

### *Haitians in the Capital*

Many Dominican jingoists and xenophobes have suggested an overwhelming Haitian presence in the city through a "peaceful invasion". It is possible that Haitians live in almost every neighborhood in Santo Domingo. There are wealthy Haitians living in Gazcue, Naco, and other wealthy sectors of the capital. Additionally, many Haitian men are given temporary housing on the construction sites while they work on the project, including many luxury apartment buildings in the city center. Of course, Haitians laborers reside in most of the poorer barrios, but certain ones have played and continue to play an important role, either by providing a site to foment anti-Haitianist diatribe (as above) or by acting as a receptor site for border-crossing flows of people and commodities.

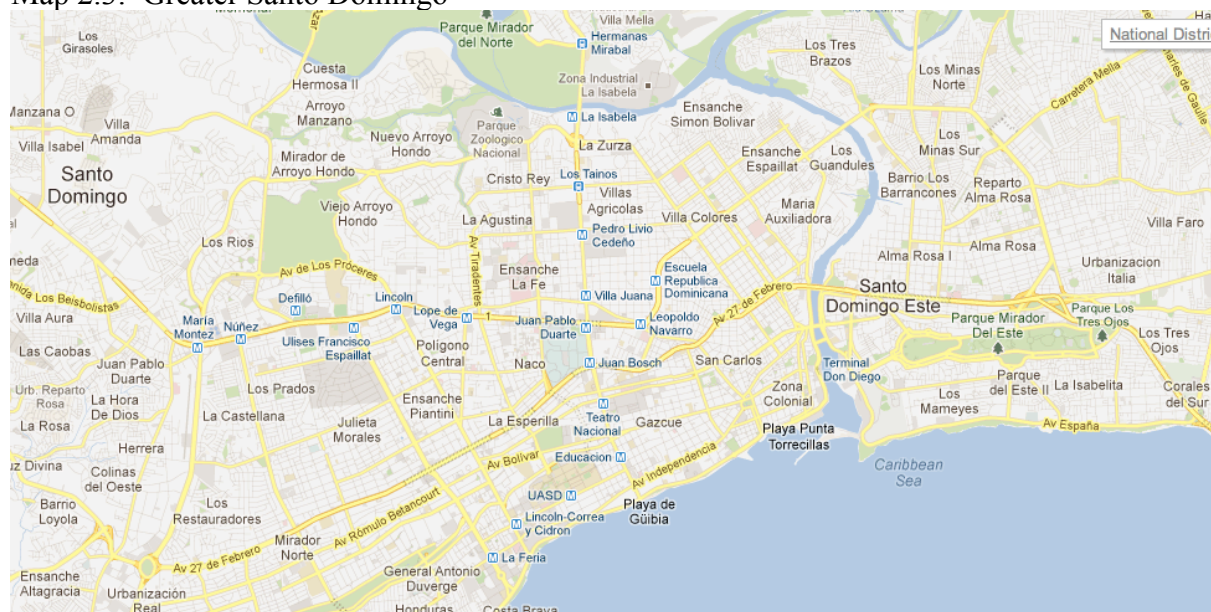
There are four areas where a) there is a higher concentration of Haitians and b) a higher number of Haitian migrants make initial social connections in the capital. One of these is the area around the Mercado Nuevo, and is located in the area just south of the Rio Isabela, east of Avenida Máximo Gomez. This includes the neighborhoods of Capotillo and Villas Agrícolas. While some Haitians reside in the area, others solely travel there to purchase the necessary fruit, rice, beans, plantains, and other foodstuffs required for their business. A second area is in the eastern part of the city, sometimes called *aquel lado*<sup>26</sup> by people living in the central part of the capital. It is known as *Vennsenk*, or "25" after the Avenida 25 de Febrero, and it refers mainly to a residential area to the west and north of the *Faro a Colòn*, including Villa Duarte. A third area is further to the east, beyond the Avenida Charles De Gaulle, and lies to the north of the Las

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<sup>26</sup> *Aquel lado* means "that side (over there)", referring to the other side of the Ozama River.

Americas Highway. Due to its proximity to it, the area is frequently referred to as *Las Americas*, and it includes *Los Frailes*. The final area where Haitians live and/or work, La Benito, is one of the main areas of focus for this dissertation, and it is in the *sectores* of San Carlos and Villa Francisca. The map below shows several of these areas.

Map 2.3: Greater Santo Domingo



(Source: Google Maps 2013)

### *A Walking Tour of La Benito*

To begin to demarcate the area of La Benito, I locate it within the larger city and subsequently provide a *flâneur's* walking tour to undermine simplistic and xenophobic understandings of the area. It falls within the southeast part of the Distrito Nacional. It lies about 10 blocks east of the Palacio Nacional, the symbol of national executive power in the Dominican Republic. La Benito is approximately 5 blocks west of La Sirena, a large grocery and department store, and the *Barrio Chino* (Santo Domingo's "Chinatown", the major construction of which occurred between 2006 and 2008). All this is only 1 block away from Parque Enriqueillo, a major hub for busses across the Dominican Republic and between there and Port-au-Prince. It is adjacent to the north of the Zona

Colonial, the historical walled city of Santo Domingo, established within the first decade after the arrival of Christopher Columbus to the Western Hemisphere, and designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1990 (which I discuss below).

As mentioned in Chapter 1, La Benito consists roughly of a four by four block area, bound on the south by Avenida Mella, on the north by Avenida México, on the east by Calle Enriquillo, and on the west by Calle Emilio Prudhomme, and it includes the southern part of San Carlos and the western edge of Villa Francisca. The main street running through the area is Calle Benito Gonzalez, which contributed to one of the area's names.

Walking northeast from Parque Independencia past the fire station, one could walk the periphery of the area in about twenty minutes. Going east on Avenida Mella, a Haitian man and his co-vendors peddle pineapple, bananas, or other seasonal fruit while shifting from one corner to another, depending on the time of day and available shade. One continues on, passing banks, the front entrance to the Mercado Modelo, and several retail stores and local eateries. A Haitian woman sells cookies, coffee, and other snacks while sitting in the shade of an awning in front of a business long-since closed. She shares the space with the table of a Dominican fruit vendor and the glass showcase of a watch repairman. Heading north on Calle Altagracia and Calle Enriquillo, one passes through a primarily residential area, though there is a *colmado* on the north end of the latter. Turning west onto Avenida México, the ground level includes Dominican businesses such as a pharmacy, an Orange store, an internet café, restaurants, a few clothing stores, a hardware store, or other small businesses. On the upper floors of these buildings are residences, storage space, or offices. Walking down Calle Antonio Caba or Calle Emilio Prudhomme toward Parque Independencia, the streets are mainly Dominican residences or the walls of warehouses that open onto side streets.

The western portion of La Benito is primarily centered on the activities at the intersection of Calle Antonio Caba and Calle Imbert. Multiple trucks come from around the Dominican Republic and from Haiti, and teams of Dominicans and Haitians load and unload their products between the trucks and warehouses on the surrounding streets. These may hold onions, rice, potatoes, garlic, or other agricultural products from the Dominican countryside. In the front of a distributor's store (which doubles as a colmado during the day), a sign reads: "*El baño no está en servicio*. The toilet is not in service. *Twalèt la pa an sèvis*," first in Spanish, then English, then Kreyòl. This reflects a common linguistic stance of Dominicans who demonstrate knowledge of Spanish (as a point of pride), English (as a point of mobility), and Kreyòl (as a point of necessity for business, but always l(e)ast). Finally, during the day, there are some Dominican men who run a sandwich and juice cart, and others who sell seasonal fruits and vegetables from the back of their pickup trucks. One Dominican woman makes plates of food for sale on the ground floor in front of her residence. Additionally, there are four hotels/apartment buildings around the intersection of Antonio Caba, Dr. Faura, and Hernando Gorjón.

The eastern section of La Benito is much more diverse. There are over 10 hotels/apartment buildings; many individual residences; small businesses selling shirts, jeans, toys, auto parts, sewing machines, coffins, and appliances; a pharmacy; a few colmados; and a lottery location. Of course, the three most remarkable parts of the area are the Mercado Modelo, the open market behind it<sup>27</sup>, and the flea market one street to the north.

Beyond La Benito, the Distrito Nacional as a city, and thus as a built environment imbued with power relations, has also been constructed to affect the geographical scope of what Haitians

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<sup>27</sup> Revisiting the site in 2011, the stalls extending into the street had been out of traffic and underneath a newly constructed concrete structure linked with the Mercado Modelo.

can do. As the Dominican economy contains neoliberal trends, areas of Santo Domingo are receiving increased funds to facilitate business and the tourist industry.

*The Importance of Names: “La Benito” as Haitian Urban Space?*

Recently, a notable historian and former senator of the Dominican Republic, Euclides Gutierrez Felix, published an editorial entitled “América africanizada” (2006). He describes how since the 1970s, he had described how “the process of Africanization, or more precisely, Haitianization, of the Dominican Republic had begun in the capital city”, lamenting how after 1965, the border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic that was established since 1777 in Aranjuez, was not as strong as it once was. He continued by stating that by the 1970s, many “*venduteros y mercaderes haitianos y haitianas*” had become “*tributarios del Ayuntamiento*” of the PRD<sup>28</sup>. He added that the area around what used to be called “Mercado Modelo” and subsequently other areas in cities across the country where higher numbers of Haitians are found, have borne the name *Pequeño Haití*. Haitians in these areas, he states, are “economically, socially, and culturally” lower than African people on the Atlantic coast. Along with this grave situation, he lamented other changes, like teaching Kreyòl and radio emissions in that language on state-owned radio waves, which he considered a terrible affront given how his was “a nation formed by Spanish speakers”. These, however, were not his only concerns. He noted how Argentina, “the powerful nation on the continent” that is populated by the White race, is being Africanized “as a consequence of pressure by international finance institutions”, which he explains “in good Castilian, or more precisely, good Dominican [Spanish], means that it has notably become impoverished”. All of this, combined with the fact that the Dominican people have “Africa...stuck to [their] ribs like a Siamese twin”, forebodes doom and gloom in the near future, he claims.

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<sup>28</sup> “Haitian petty merchants” had become “tributaries to the city government” of the PRD.

This editorial<sup>29</sup> highlights some of the most important aspects of the imaginary of so-called Haitian urban space in Santo Domingo. First, historical references locate his argument within the politically loaded ideology that holds the two parts of the island to be absolutely culturally distinct. He embraces a fallacious idea that has historically underpinned racially motivated violence on the island: a strong, clear, defensible border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic that keeps the imagined White (or perhaps Creole) racial roots of the Dominican society separate from the imagined African (understood to imply Black) roots of Haiti. Second, Gutierrez Felix implies that the state should be the regulatory apparatus for the social order, as seen in his critique of the Dominican government allowing Kreyòl to be used on the state radio waves. Third, he evinces the methodological of his thought process by perceiving a real threat on a social, cultural, and economic level from Haitians being in his country. Fourth, he signals that this supposed threat increasingly marked the urban areas of the country as locus of the new so-called Haitian Problem since the end of the 1970s (and obviously more so in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century), as indicated by his significant reference to the Mercado Modelo in Santo Domingo. Finally, he refers to the Haitians *not* as cane cutters but as “*buhoneros*”, “*venduteros*”, and “*mercaderes*” (informal vendors), and refers to both men and women.

One final remark on place names pertains to the way that some residents identified peripheral areas. I had spoken with some Haitians and Dominicans living the same in the area of “La Benito”. Dominicans denied that they lived in *that* neighborhood, instead opting for the name *detras de los bomberos*, or “behind the fire station” and stating emphatically that “no I don’t live in La Benito. It’s further up *there*”, pointing toward the flower market and shipping area (see area description below). This was not the only explanation, however, as some of the Dominicans

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<sup>29</sup> Much thanks goes to Angel Pichardo, professor at the Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo, for sharing this piece with me.



interviewed suggested that the entire area was called La Benito. People clearly felt strongly enough about the importance of names to parse out differences.

Like Gutierrez Felix's racist and incendiary editorial demonstrated, how one names a place tells something about the speaker as well as about the people in a location, and the place associated with Haitians has taken on several names and locations in recent history<sup>30</sup>. Upon my arrival in the capital in 2006, I heard several Haitians referring to the area in San Carlos and Villa Francisca as "Duarte", most likely because Avenida Duarte was the major north-south thoroughfare next to transportation and commerce in the area. However, this name referred just as much as to Avenida Duarte (from Avenida México up to Avenida Paris) and the surrounding side streets as it did to the area in San Carlos/Villa Francisca. Later that summer, when engaging in conversations with Dominicans, listening to the radio, or overhearing Dominicans talking in public transportation, they used the name *Pequeño Haití*, or "Little Haiti", to refer to the area. Usually, this term was used disparagingly, as in the above editorial. Finally, around 2007, when the Barrio Chino was created (and the Haitian vendors removed from the area), the name "La Benito" came into use. In all likelihood, this shift marked speakers' recognition of the spatial practices that changed the image of Parque Enriqueillo and the environs from one visually associated with informal vendors (and by extension, Haitians) to one invoking something more Dominican.

### **Geographic Context: The (Re)Construction of Capital Zones**

In his important work, *The Production of Space*, Henri Lefebvre relates space to economics. He advocates for research on:

the active—the operations or instrumental—role of space, as knowledge and action, in the existing mode of production....how space serves, and how hegemony makes use of it,

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<sup>30</sup> I would like to thank my geographer colleague Violaine Jolivet for contributing to my understanding of this.

in the establishment, on the basis of an underlying logic and with the help of knowledge and *technical expertise*, of a ‘system’. (Lefebvre 1991:11, emphasis mine)

In other words, space is the place that the state and market agents seek to control based upon their ideas (i.e., knowledge and technical expertise). Later, he posits how these are physically manifest.

As for representations of the relations of production, which subsume power relations, these too occur in space: space contains them in the form of buildings, monuments and works of art. Such frontal (and hence brutal) expressions of these relations do not completely crowd out their more clandestine or underground aspects; all fewer must have its accomplices — and its police. (Lefebvre 1991:33)

In the next sections, I discuss spatial expressions related to the Dominican economy by examining several zones that play an important role in public-private joint investment ventures: the Zona Colonial, the Barrio Chino, and the rest of Avenida Duarte (including Parque Enriquillo)<sup>31</sup>, followed by the role of policing agents in enforcing these expressions. Finally, I document the “knowledge” that informs these practices is articulated at a meeting of vendors to show how the state is working with the market to order space. Together, these indicate how public and private agents are attempting to reconfigure and order space according to neoliberal interests, which affects Haitian laborers, as I discuss in Chapter 7.

### *Zona Colonial*

In 1990, the historical walled city of Santo Domingo, which is now known as the Zona Colonial, was designated a World Heritage Site (UNESCO 2012), which makes it the second on Hispaniola (the other being the Citadel in Haiti), and one of fifteen in the Caribbean (Dallen and Boyd 2006). The point of designating a site as such is “to encourage conservation of resources

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<sup>31</sup> Toward the end of the first decade of the 2000s, an increasing number of luxury malls and international franchises have opened in an area of Santo Domingo that includes Piantini, Naco, and other neighborhoods, sometimes referred to as “Centro Ciudad”. These often constructed using Haitian labor, and while they suggest strong capital flows from South America and Spain to the Dominican Republic, they fall outside the current research due to time constraints.

within the designated sites and surrounding buffer zones on a local level and also to foster a sense of collective global responsibility via international cooperation, exchange, and support” (Leask 2006:7), but specific motivations for the State to do this “usually relate to the specific governmental aspirations within a States Party, be they prestige within Europe or financial in developing countries” (Leask 2006:12). After the application for World Heritage Site (WHS) status is approved, the State is responsible for management and implementation of UNESCO guidelines.

As of 2011, three principle conservation goals formed the whole of WHS activity in Santo Domingo. First, there was a strategic plan for the renovation and revitalization of the Zona Colonial. Specifically, this involved the preservation of property that may have been under threat primarily by housing within the area, increased tourism, storms, and earthquakes (UNESCO 2012). The second WHS goal relates to the SANSOUCI development project. Between 2005-2009, significant investment and construction led to the opening of new port facilities for tourist cruise ships to dock on the southern and eastern sides of the Zona Colonial. From there, international tourists could walk into the area on foot. Finally, the 2011 report refers to “other issues”, which, in addition to “zoning regulations”, include

advances in the recovery of the Santa Barbara neighbourhood, several activities described (no graphic information attached), evaluation of the state of conservation of the Santa Barbara church for its restoration, lighting of the Colonial City monuments and streets, works for the conservation of the San Carlos church, heritage diffusion programmes, conservation and capacity building for staff in charge. In addition, new interventions for housing in the Colonial City and the buffer zone has [sic] been undertaken (no photos or technical information attached). No map including the location of the mentioned projects was submitted. (UNESCO 2012)

Besides reference to the entire Zona Colonial (Colonial City), two specific areas are mentioned. First, Santa Barbara is the northwestern-most sub-neighborhood of the Zona Colonial, named for the 16<sup>th</sup> century combination church-fortress. The second is San Carlos, which is actually

beyond the WHS, is proximal to the Barrio Chino (to be discussed shortly), the Zona Colonial, and the area where the Palacio Nacional and other government buildings are located. The area also contains La Benito, a fact that will be discussed later in this chapter.

Within the Zona Colonial, there has been significant investment, and it stands in significant contrast to the neighborhoods on all sides of it. There are 127 offices, 60 shops, 53 colmado-s, 44 clothing stores, 43 beauty salons, 43 gift shops, 38 restaurants, 35 jewelry and watch stores, 30 warehouse storage facilities, 25 hotels, 21 museums and monuments, 20 art galleries, and 11 foundations and NGOs (ONE 2012). Of the adjacent areas, only Villa Francisca has as many NGOs or foundations, and the Barrio Chino houses several of them. The same area has only 34 offices, 117 colmado-s, and 96 cafeterias and comedor-s. The area houses a 5-star hotel, the Centro Cultural de España, and many bars and clubs. The area is frequented by many tourists, both Dominican and international. Through the middle of the Zona Colonial, there is the Calle El Conde, a thoroughfare that used to house the US Embassy, but now has been converted into a strictly pedestrian space<sup>32</sup>. These store lots sell so-called “typical” Dominican art and jewelry, clothing, beauty services, and various types of fast food, pizza, or ice cream, but there are few other types of offices on the ground floor. Other than the formal businesses, there are a few temporary vendors who sell kitschy art for tourists or hot snacks in the evening, like *chimi*-s or hot dogs. Since 2008, I had noted several Haitians sold from *paletèl* and juice carts in the area. There is an office for both POLITUR (the police unit developed for tourist areas) and the Policía Nacional (the regular police). In short, the Zona Colonial is more oriented toward formal business, NGOs, and tourism than the surrounding areas, leaving Haitian laborers not directly associated with those institutions and activities in a disadvantaged situation.

### *Barrio Chino, La Duarte, and Parque Enriquillo*

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<sup>32</sup> Ironically, members of various police forces often patrol this area on motorcycles, bicycles, or Segway.

In a reflection on growing up in the barrio of Villa Francisca, an author details the life of one of the significant figures of the neighborhood, Hector Diaz. He states that Diaz “spent much of his time at a restaurant on Ave. Jose Trujillo Valdez, next to the Max Theater, which was run by Rafael, ‘*el chino*’” (Belèn 1953:54). As the author states that you can find many kinds of people in Villa Francisca, it is not surprising that he refers to what may be described as a Chinese restaurateur. Chinese people began to arrive in the Dominican Republic in the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, not as indentured servants as they were in the rest of Latin America, but as entrepreneurs. Increasing numbers came, so much so that a social club called the Casino de China was established after the 1937 Japanese-Chinese war to discuss events abroad and their issues in the Dominican Republic (Peguero 2008). From the 1940s, Avenida Duarte in Villa Francisca, north of the Zona Colonial, was a bastion for the Chinese, which included a market for Chinese produce on Sunday mornings, family clans in the area, and even a Masonic lodge. Eventually, the *colonia china* grew (Rosa Ng, personal communication, August 25, 2010).

While it is a truism in contemporary anthropology that history involves everyone, even those “without history” (Wolf 1997), sometimes history is made by the big men, or in the following material, big women<sup>33</sup>. At the time I interviewed her, Rosa Ng managed a Pan-Asian restaurant, was involved in a travel agency, and worked for an NGO promoting Sino-Dominican interests. Since 2011, she has been the representative of the Office of Business Development for the Dominican Republic in China. Her grandfather and father both came from Canton province in China, but her mother was Dominican. She grew up in Santiago, but eventually moved to Santo Domingo. After seeing Chinatown in San Francisco, she decided to organize something similar in Santo Domingo. In 2004, when the Ayuntamiento proposed the resigning of Avenida Duarte in Villa Francisca, they had no plan other than street repair. Rosa Ng interjected her idea to

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<sup>33</sup> The following material, unless otherwise noted, is from interviews with Rosa Ng.

develop the neighborhood. She took charge, as head of her NGO, *Fundacion Flor para Todos*, to work on behalf of the Chinese community in what would become the Barrio Chino.

Through her political connections gained through time spent with Juan Bosch, the Dominican President in 1962 and a major figure in 20<sup>th</sup> century Dominican politics, she marshaled community interest, the capital, and the political will to realize the second Chinatown in the Caribbean, after Cuba. To begin, she brought Taiwanese and Cantonese associations in 2004. They carried out a census and community survey, from which they designed plans. After raising money and more meetings with two government ministers and the Mayor of Santo Domingo, there was an agreement signed by members of the Chinese community in the Dominican Republic and with the Minister of Public Works. In the early 2000s, there were only two grocery stores and a few community associations. Due in large part to Rosa's work, the area has been redesigned and reconstructed at a cost of almost \$8 million USD (Dominicana On Line 2008), which combined money from Dominican sources and from the governments of China and Taiwan (from "Historia de la migracion China en Republica Dominicana" by Chez Checo and Sang, cited in DR1 2012).

The area was not a void before the construction of the Barrio Chino. In the 1990s and early 2000s, the sidewalks were populated with Dominican and Haitian vendors, selling clothing, books, music, and other goods. According to Anita and Marie, two Haitian women who began selling hair products and services in the 1990s and now sell in stalls around Parque Enriqueillo, they never paid a fee per diem to the Ayuntamiento to sell from their stalls before the construction of the Barrio Chino. However, after the project had begun, a concerted effort by the National Police and the Ayuntamiento confirmed the fears of some vendors that they would be

displaced (Méndez 2005)<sup>34</sup>. By 2006, when I happened upon the area during a pre-dissertation research trip, only one of the arches was partially constructed. Between Avenidas México and Mella along Duarte, several Haitian women had small wooden stalls set up in front of vacant storefronts where they were able to sell wares like hair products or children's clothing. By the time I returned for a brief visit in late 2007, all street vendors had been displaced.

In April 2008, the area was officially inaugurated by friend of Ng and then President, Leonel Fernandez, blessed by Ramón Benito Ángeles Fernández, Secretary General of the Dominican Episcopal Conference and Parish priest of San Antonio de Padua Church, and attended by representatives of the Government of China (Dominicana On Line 2008). Now there are five grocery stores and several other stores selling items like clothing, jewelry, furniture, games, and beauty supplies. There are classes for Mandarin and Cantonese for children and adults, an Instituto para la Cultura China, and the area has become a regular stop for both Dominican and international tourists. In addition to the two gateways at the north and south ends of the Barrio Chino, additional renovation and construction occurred around the area.

“The Chinatown project includes several important plazas such as the Chinese Zodiac and Confucius Square which are surrounded by six traffic islands with plants and shrubbery characteristic of China. In Confucius Square, there stands a monument in honor of the Chinese philosopher. The monument includes a sculpture built atop a stone base ornamented with dragons and peacocks; information in Spanish and Chinese [sic] is etched onto the base of the sculpture” (Dominicana On Line 2008).

In addition to these works, much of the sidewalks in the area were ripped up and laid with more ornamental tiles, and some street signs include Mandarin text.

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<sup>34</sup> While I could find no documentation to support this, Anita and Marie both claimed that Dominican vendors were provided the option to either rent the newly constructed stalls along Parque Enriquillo or to receive a small payment to move their microenterprise elsewhere, while Haitians were not given such an option.

Image 2.4: Photograph of a stop sign in the Barrio Chino



(photo by author, 2009)

News coverage and in government documents at the time referred to the “disorder, expanding slums, and enshrinement of delinquent behavior” in the area prior to the renovations (ADN 2008:2), and the importance of the “effort to clean up the neighborhood” as abandoned lots were “used by poor people, then later attracted drug addicts, prostitutes, and criminals” (Dominicana On Line 2008).

In July 2008, Parque Enriquillo was reopened and inaugurated by then President Leonel Fernandez, together with members of the Secretaría de Obras Publicas, the Policía Nacional, and the Ayuntamiento. The Ayuntamiento further stated that only “authorized *buhoneros* would be allowed to sell in the area”, and police officials assured that there would be a significant police presence to ensure security (Scharboy 2008). A specific space, the *Plaza del Buhonero* (Vendor’s Plaza) was constructed to allow people to “carry out their work in a more dignified and less congested environment” (ADN 2008). In addition to reconstructing streets and sidewalks, there were also many lamps, benches, and even a play area for children incorporated



in the renovation. In one issue of the newsletter from the ADN, many pictures were juxtaposed as “before-and-after” images of Avenida Duarte, Parque Enriquillo, and the Barrio Chino, with articles describing the “strict rules” and “permanent surveillance” of the area by the various Dominican police forces (ADN 2008:8). These spatial practices effectively pushed out many Haitians who were selling their wares in the area

### *The Malecón and Avenida Independencia*

To the south and west of the Zona Colonial, are the neighborhoods of Ciudad Nueva and Gazcue. This area is accessed by Avenida Independencia (which forms the northern border of Ciudad Nueva and cuts through Gazcue) and Avenida George Washington (which runs east to west along the coast). While these two streets extend for miles to the west, much of the area between the Zona Colonial and Avenida Máximo Gomez has been the focus of renovation and construction projects. In Gazcue (and into nearby Zona Universitaria), several luxury hotels overlook the Caribbean Sea, while other smaller hotels line Avenida Independencia, which provide a place for tourists, international visitors, and conference attendees to stay in a location very close to the Zona Colonial. Perhaps not surprisingly, this is also an area where several brothels and clubs frequented by sex workers are located. Along the seafront, the *Malecón*, only a few restaurants were open, and many spaces were not built for commercial endeavors. During my fieldwork, the Malecón was shut down and became a pedestrian walkway on Sunday afternoons, and occasionally the area from Independencia to the Malecón was cordoned off at Avenue Máximo Gomez for concerts. During these times, Haitian vendors would bring their *paletèl*, fruit juice carts, and other mobile vending carts to the area to sell to the predominantly Dominican passers-by.

In 2005, President Fernandez began planning a series of large-scale construction project, including the Metro (subway). The Dominican Government signed a contract to construct an artificial island in the Caribbean Sea just beyond the Malecón at Avenida Máximo Gomez. The estimated cost of \$300 million USD was to be born by a Canadian firm. This was to develop an area of the Malecón for small boats and yachts (Dominican Today 2005). However, perhaps due to public outcry, the project was never realized.

In November 2008, a government representative announced that the Ayuntamiento would begin reconstructing of another section of the Malecón. This included the rehabilitation of the Guïbia Beach (approximately where the artificial island was to be), the construction of a new Plaza Juan Barón (due south of Ciudad Nueva), and the Eugenio María de Hostos Park (between the Beach and the Plaza). The projected cost of these projects was approximately \$8 million USD (Diario Libre 2008). Cost was shared by the Ayuntamiento and the Grupo Inversiones Turísticas Sans Souci (ITSS), and was coordinated by the Clúster Turístico del Distrito Nacional (ADN 2008:15). The first of these were inaugurated in 2009 as a part of a larger Malecón development plan, and upon its opening, a spokesperson for ITSS commented on “her satisfaction for having converted a dark plaza, [which was a] center of drug trafficking, infested by fags and prostitutes<sup>35</sup>, into a nice, clean, and family-friendly location” (Luna 2010).

#### *Commonalities among (Re)constructed spaces*

The three areas I described above constitute spaces where there is a major intersection of national and global capital flows, state forces, Dominican civil society, and Haitian mobilites. In the first few years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, many of these areas were torn down to be rebuilt by different combinations of national and international capital. State forces, both administration and

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<sup>35</sup> In Spanish, she expressed, “su satisfacción por haber convertido una plaza oscura, foco de tráfico de drogas, abarrotada por ‘palomos’ y prostitución, en un lugar agradable, fresco y familiar.”

police, were organized to develop and carry out projects that would further a tourist-oriented development of the southeastern portion of the Distrito Nacional. Dominicans (portrayed as potential consumers) are invited to repopulate areas previously described as pathological. Yet while no citizenship was mentioned, reconstruction implied the removal of those Dominicans and Haitians who frequented the areas before renovation (even if not participating in illegal or immoral acts). Ideologically, these projects are described as a transition from ruin to beauty, from places that threatened anyone's safety to locations that were safe for children (drawing upon the image of children as the most vulnerable). In brief, these spaces were represented as shifting from barbarism to civilization. Not only could this be seen as justification for significant investment in these projects rather than in much needed welfare services, but it also reproduces sentiments of *order and progress* projected by the dictator Rafael Trujillo and his successor, Joaquín Balaguer (see Turits 2003). The discourse surrounding reconstruction shows that this Dominican modernist sentiment extends to the present-day. It should not be surprising that Leonel Fernández, who took power after Balaguer, used the phrase "*Súbate al progreso*"<sup>36</sup> in advertisements for El Metro. However, the state structures and nature of project financing now are not the same as they were previously, but like the physical environments in question, old items are being rebuilt with a new face. The above material shows how the construction of some physical structures in the city reflects a particular interest in courting particular kinds of business and tourist-based capital instead of smaller scale forms created by Haitians that I will discuss in Chapter 5. However, once these structures were built, space needed to be continually ordered so that people would come and spend money.

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<sup>36</sup> Approximately translated as "Get on board progress".

## **Geographic Context: Policing the Urban Spaces**

To describe some of Lefebvre's accomplices of spatial practices of Santo Domingo, I begin by detailing some of the state entities and their domain of action. These include the city government seen in the Ayuntamiento and various state policing entities. This is followed by a discussion of a meeting of Dominican vendors in the Zona Colonial to demonstrate the ideas associated with such policing.

Whereas the previous sections dealt with how the construction of space demonstrated power relations that courted capital, this section deals with how spaces, once constructed, have been ordered by various social actors. For the Zona Colonial, I will describe a meeting of the Asociación de Buhoneros de la Zona Colonial y Aledañas (ABZCA)<sup>37</sup> where issues of space and the World Heritage Status of the area were raised. This shows on one hand, the call for the state actors to have *buhoneros* harmonize their work with the laws and the interests of the larger businesses, and on the other, a rallying cry to prevent against the implicit threat of undocumented informal vendors (which *de facto* refers to Haitian vendors).

### *State Agents of Spatial Practices*

The Ayuntamiento del Distrito Nacional (ADN) is responsible for the regulation of city services and urban development. This includes trash pickup, collection of taxes from street vendors, and public works (like street and sidewalk maintenance as well as major projects listed below). Its mission is to develop “a city of open doors, an economic and cultural capital of the Caribbean, integrated into the knowledge society, and facilitator of equality, quality of life, and human development”, with a vision as “the government of the city, to satisfy the demands of the urban citizens and to facilitate the interventions of relevant actors of the Distrito Nacional” (ADN 2012). I observed one of these smaller interventions the ADN facilitated in La Benito.

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<sup>37</sup> *Buhonero* is a Dominican Spanish term for ambulant vendor.

In July 2009, upon entering La Benito, I saw a man with a pickaxe tearing into the north side of Calle Benito. The Aybar Pharmacy received authorization from the ADN to “repair and clean the gutter of Calle Benito Gonzales at the corner of Delmonte y Tejada” and “to dig up and repair” the area (ADN 2009). This request and subsequent approval was in response to a completely ineffectual drainage system along that street which left two every-growing pools of stagnate water every time it rained (and for days afterward). This led to increased mosquitoes and a strange type of black bug that partially jumped, partially flew onto those who passed over the water. In essence, people saw this as a health hazard. People in the area commented that this ditch has been worked on repeatedly in the past by the ADN, but the problem always persists. The city even came in to clean out the drain, but the street still floods. At this point, the private citizens took it upon them to do it. However, this practically meant that the road was torn up, leaving a 12x24 inch mound followed by a 12x24 inch ditch in the street. This ditch, which remained for almost one year before it was fixed, cut off traffic going north on Del Monte y Tejada, and restricted police surveillance (as no vehicles could cross it without suffering damage). This anecdote shows how the state is willing to work together to let private investment address community problems, yet simultaneously, that the ADN does not find La Benito to be as high of a priority to maintain as it did the Barrio Chino.

Despite the small size of the country, the Dominican Republic has a relatively large number of state policing agencies. Three branches of the national armed forces (an army, navy, and air force) operate to protect and defend the country from external threats. For domestic policing, the task falls to one of several branches: the Policía Nacional, the Policía Municipal, the Policía Turística, and the Autoridad Metropolitana de Transporte. The Policía Nacional (PN), with approximately 33,000 members, falls under the purview of the Ministerio del Interior y Policía.

Its role is to “maintain the necessary conditions for the free exercise of citizens’ rights” throughout the entire country (Policía Nacional 2011). Members of this force may be located anywhere throughout the territory. The Policía Municipal is that which “supports the ayuntamientos, and depends upon them directly and indirectly for everything relate to its functioning” (El Congreso Nacional 1911). Such forces exist in Santiago and other larger cities. The Policía Turística (POLITUR), in coordination with the Secretary of State for Tourism, the Armed Forces, and the Policía Nacional, is responsible for “providing and ensuring public safety in the Dominican tourism sector through actions of prevention, protection and guidance to domestic tourists and/or foreigners visiting the tourist areas of the country” (POLITUR 2009). There are perhaps 1,000 members across the country. Local branches of this police force exist in every area where tourists visit, but within the Distrito Nacional, besides the principle office across from the Palacio Nacional, there are two branches in the Zona Colonial, one in the middle of Calle El Conde. The Autoridad Metropolitana de Transporte (AMET), created in 1997, is effectively the traffic police, dealing only with motor vehicle and moving violations (AMET 2009). Numbering approximately 3,500, they occasionally set up traffic stops to check licenses or ensure people are not driving while talking on cellular phones<sup>38</sup>. Operating independently but housed under the umbrella of the Policía Nacional, these form the state branches that protect and control the population in various aspects of life. These police forces act to enforce the laws pertaining to proper conduct by people within the national boundaries, but regulations pertaining to non-residents of the country fall under the domain of the immigration authorities.

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<sup>38</sup> As I have never seen nor heard of any Haitian laborer having an interaction with members of AMET, I do not discuss the Policía Ambiental, which deals with environmental patrol. Information above that is not specifically cited comes from an interview with Abelardo Arévalos at the US Embassy, who is the Senior Police Advisor to the Policía Nacional in the Dominican Republic.

Also operating under the Ministerio del Interior y Policía is the Dirección General de Migración. This institution is designed to “ensure adherence to the laws and norms regarding the entry and departure of citizens and foreigners to the Dominican Republic, as well as normalize residency status of those immigrants, according to their specific circumstances, meet the necessary requirement” (OPTIC 2012). While they clearly have a presence on the border with Haiti and at other points of entry, they have also established a presence within the city by periodically making sweeps (known as *redadas*) using forces that include members on foot, in pick-up trucks and in large holding busses with barred windows<sup>39</sup>.

The police forces in conjunction with immigration authorities perform the surveying and enforcement of existing Dominican regulations. Their physical presence in the neighborhoods, on the corners, and in the streets creates the image of the patrolling state. Indeed, once Haitians leave the border area (be it terrestrial, marine, or aerial) and completely enter Dominican national space, the police and immigration control are the main state actors with whom Haitians will interact on any given day<sup>40</sup>. These interactions lead to the construction of spatial and temporal subjectivities within the city, which will be taken up in Chapter 7.

#### *A Story of a Policed Space: ABZCA Meeting*

One afternoon stroll through the Zona Colonial in March 2009, I found myself in Plaza Colón. Passing the Primada Catedral de la America on my right and the Hard Rock Café on my left<sup>41</sup>, I turned up Calle Isabel La Católica. There, I ran into Fifa, a female fruit vendor. She seemed preoccupied. Asking why, she told me that sometimes the police have started harassing her for

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<sup>39</sup> According to CITIATION OF INTERVIEW WITH LAWYER AT SJRM, these sweeps violate Dominican laws, and the Dominican government often denies that they occur.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Bartlett, Jayaram, and Bonhomme 2011 for literacy-based interactions with state forces.

<sup>41</sup> This cathedral, the Catedral de Nuestra Señora Santa María de la Encarnación, was deemed in 1546 to be the “Primada,” or most important of all cathedrals in the Americas. In August 2006, the grand opening of the Hard Rock Café included a performance by Blondie, followed by a fireworks extravaganza.

selling in her spot, though she had been there for well over a year. When asked for an explanation, she told me “*Se meri ki marye ak ASOCONDE ki fê sa*” (It’s due to the teaming up of City Hall with ASOCONDE). She told me that together, the Ayuntamiento and ASOCONDE are trying to get rid of the vendors within ABZCA<sup>42</sup>.

The government wants to make the Colonial Zone a place for tourists, supposedly a really clean place. They want to get rid of people who walk around and sell CDs, jewelry, and things like that. They won’t say anything to him [pointing to a crippled beggar], but they will push out people who are working for something legitimate [*serye*].

When I asked why she felt that way, she suggested I attend the meeting of her union, ABZCA. She fished out the information from a folded up sheet in her pocket, and I duly noted the details in my notebook.

The following Wednesday, March 11, 2009, I walked down the Conde to the Instituto Dominicano de Periodismo, where the meeting was to be held. I showed up at 5:55pm, but none of the vendors had arrived yet. A woman with an apparent case of vitiligo and multiple blonde highlights in her straightened black hair answered the door and suggested I check back in about thirty minutes. Returning, I found that she was coordinating a few people who were moving chairs into the main room, so I lent a hand. Around 7pm, the room was completely filled, and a man with a black and yellow “NY” cap walked to the front, as if he was about to call the meeting into order. He stood in front of a large screen-printed sign hung on the wall behind him that indicated the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the group. There were about forty-five men and two women in the audience. Just then, a woman in a red suit, with big silver earrings and a pearl necklace, enters the room with a “*buenas noches*”, and sat in the front but separate from the other people. Her personal security, two members of the Policía Nacional in black uniforms, fanned out across

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<sup>42</sup> ASOCONDE is the acronym for Asociación de Comerciantes del Conde, and *aledañas* refers to the area of La Sirena and Avenida Mella. ABZCA was formed in 1989 and officially established by Decreto 357-90 on September 17, 1990.



the balcony. She began talking with the man in the cap. I made my way over to Fifa, and we spoke briefly before the meeting started.

She identified the man in the cap as Nelson Apollo Modesto, kind of the head of ABZCA, and the woman as *Licenciada* Siomara Espaillat<sup>43</sup>. I noticed a man with skin equally as jet-black as Fifa's partially turned and listening to us, and she introduced him as her brother, Rogelio.

“*Manman nou ayisyen, men papa nou te panyòl. Li fèt isit.*”<sup>44</sup> They both were born in Elias Piña. Whereas Fifa has her ID badge and sells fruit on a main thoroughfare, Rogelio doesn't have the badge. Therefore, when he sells his candies and cookies from a tray, he has to keep on a side street, partially obscured from view. After a pause in the introductions, I turned the conversation to the meeting at hand. Fifa ran down what was happening.

They want to show Spanish history and maintain a pristine colonial façade. They don't want anything ugly. But there's something else going on [*yon lòt politik*]. The owners of the big businesses sell things at a higher price. We, the street vendors, sell things more cheaply, and for that, they're putting pressure on us to stop selling or leave.

Around 7:25pm, the head of POLITUR<sup>45</sup> for the Zona Colonial arrived, followed by a police dog. At this point, present were Colonel Mendez of the National Police, Lieutenant Colonel Sosa of the Tourist Police, and Colonel Teresa Martinez from the Municipal Police, Ms. Espaillat from the Ayuntamiento, all representing the area of the Zona Colonial.

Victor Encarnacion instructed people to turn off their cellular phones, and then began the meeting with a prayer. “Oh Lord, may you give your blessing to us all, even if we are late in accepting you as the savior. Amen.” Immediately after, Nelson lifted his head and

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<sup>43</sup> The title *Licenciada* means that she has earned the equivalent of a Bachelor's degree at a university. However, she had also been referred to as *Doctora*, implying a doctoral degree of some sort.

<sup>44</sup> This translates as “our mother is Haitian, but our father was Dominican [literally, Spanish]. He was born here.”

<sup>45</sup> POLITUR is the name of the Policía Turística, the special force set up to protect and serve the tourist population of the Dominican Republic.

simultaneously raised his right hand in a fist, saying “*uno, dos, tres: la union hace la fuerza*”<sup>46</sup>.

After thanking the invited guests for arriving, he turned the meeting over to Ms. Espailat.

She explained how since 1992, there had been training for ABZCA members on trash and on treatment of tourists. Currently, they were experiencing a global crisis. She called Santo Domingo, and specifically the Zona Colonial, the “Capital of Culture in the Americas”. Because of this, she added, there is a large desire to rehabilitate the colonial city. At the moment, though, there is much disorder, a lack of cleanliness, and people often walk in fear here at night.

Breaking from such sweeping statements, she coolly added, “We don’t want to remove you. We could get the police and army to do that, if we wanted. The city needs you working together with it.” She implored people to tell people not to throw trash on the ground. “*It’s your space. You have to defend it.*” If vendors sell things on the Conde, they should ensure that they are original and of good quality “so people don’t think that Dominicans are *thieves*.” She then returned to the topic of the space allotted to official members of ABZCA, saying

Look, let’s defend our country. We shouldn’t accept informal vendors. You need to empower yourselves and defend your space, for you and for the City. We all have the same rights. I have the same rights as you. And we all have the same obligations. You need to restrict yourselves to the space you’ve been assigned and show me that you’re committed to defending it.

Then, Colonel Martinez addressed the group. She stated that security and theft were still an issue for the area. She met with tourists from the boats [that dock along the edge of the Zona Colonial] that walk the Conde without money due to fear. “They would have to return to the boat to get money if they wanted to buy anything,” she said, “and this should change, as

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<sup>46</sup> “One, two, three: unity gives strength.” Interestingly enough, this is the Spanish version of national motto for Haiti, *La union fait la force*.

UNESCO has designated the area part of the *Patrimonio de la Humanidad*<sup>47</sup>. She closed by stating that this site is part of Dominican heritage.

Colonel Sosa mentions how some tourists were sold what they thought were Cohiba cigars by a group of young boys and girls. It turns out these were made with plantain leaves. This points to the problem of what he calls “*yo-ismo*,” where people look out only for their own interests rather than trying to work together for the good of everyone.

Colonel Mendez then stands, stating emphatically, “We are not your enemies”. He invites the members to come speak with him if they feel there is any prejudice they are experiencing. At the same time, he tells the members that they have to follow the rules. “They are not my rules. I don’t make them. God sends his orders from above, and these are the rules we have to follow.” Putting this in practical terms, he said that members need to avoid placing their tricycle cart in the way of the sidewalk.

Concluding the lion’s share of the meeting, Nelson states that “the Zona Colonial demands that we commit ourselves to its betterment, together with the Policía Nacional, POLITUR, the Policía Municipal, and the Ayuntamiento. Siomara Espailat reinforces his comments by saying “it is important for us to work together. All good things require a sacrifice.”

After waiting about an hour for the invited guests to arrive, and after listening to each of the guests lecture for a total of one hour, only three questions were allowed because, as Nelson put it, “our guests have other places to be”. One man asked about permission to work on Sundays, given the economic crisis. Another complained about what can be done, as his merchandise is damaged from sitting out in the direct sun all day, and there is no shade in the space he was given. Finally, one person questioned jurisdiction because the *Dirección de Espacio Público* had

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<sup>47</sup> UNESCO is the United Nations Education, Social, and Cultural Organization. In 1990, it designated the Zona Colonial as a World Heritage Site.

passed through and ordered him to do things contrary to what had been agreed upon by ABZCA. Shortly after a non-answer was provided, the meeting adjourned.

This example portrays how state actors engage in actions to regulate and transform public space into a beacon for tourist monies, though as Dávila (2004) described, such actions can be linked to race or ethnicity. Fifa understood that the members of the police and Ayuntamiento were speaking on behalf of the state, but in the interests of larger capital interests (Dominican enterprises or tourist money). This presents a similar case to that of Gregory (2006), in that neoliberalism (with its connection to large capital flows, global or national) is experienced and negotiated by people in a specific place. Beyond showing class preference, what was noticeably absent from this discussion was any mention of the word “*haitiano*”, though it seemed obvious to Fifa that there were ethnic and class implications to the message. The state agents were advocating for vendors to have pride in a World Heritage Site by equating a Spanish colonial past with a neoliberal Dominican present. Indeed, a few weeks after the ABZCA meeting, in conversations with various vendors who lived in La Benito, they told me that many of the Haitian vendors faced something like an eviction notice. That is, the Ayuntamiento and the Policía Municipal confiscated their products, their grills, their carts, or their tricycles used to sell juice. By ensuring vendors registered with ABZCA (which was only available to people with a cédula, i.e. Dominicans), the meeting, in essence, foreshadowed the eviction of Haitian vendors from the Zona Colonial. Thus, the meeting betrayed an ambivalence toward certain Dominican vendors and a silent disdain toward Haitian vendors in the area.

The meeting also highlighted important concepts related to nationalism, ethics, and religion advocated by the various state actors. Ms. Espaillat, along with her veiled threat of physical coercion, suggested that the vendors needed to appreciate the value of the property they

controlled, and her call to “defend it” echoes the common Dominican nationalist cry to “defend the Fatherland” to maintain freedom. Such statements implicate some of the fundamental ideas associated with capitalism (e.g., private property, freedom), though the irony lies in the fact that these people do not own the land on which they work. Ethically, Ms. Espaillat was advocating that the Dominican vendors uphold an ethic *in contrast to thieves*<sup>48</sup>, so that cruise-ship foreigners would feel comfortable walking down the Conde and spending their money. Colonel Sosa and Nelson both call upon Enlightenment ideals by calls to the common good over the individual. Finally, Colonel Mendez invokes the name of God, as if this was preordained and blessed. In a curious way, the meeting represents a call for a neoliberal Dominican work ethic.

### **Summary**

This chapter has described the historical, political economic, legal, and social context for the spatial practices related to the (re)construction of Santo Domingo as a neoliberal city. As the Dominican economy could no longer support itself through agricultural production, the engine of economic growth was moved in part to the cities, providing novel flows of capital throughout the city. Legal statutes and government action have privileged Haitian students over their laboring counterparts. Construction and renovation of the Zona Colonial (as a World Heritage Site), areas near the seafront, and the area that is now called the Barrio Chino have been organized to court larger capital flows (either from foreign or Dominican tourists), and police and other state agents stand ready to ensure stability and security for these exchanges. This portrait of a neoliberal city is the background against which the actions of the Haitian mobilites are set, and the remainder of this dissertation is focused on them.

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<sup>48</sup> Interestingly, this parallels a subjectivity of Haitians that I discuss in Chapter 7.

## CHAPTER THREE: MAKING HAITIAN EDUCATIONAL MOBILITES IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Juan, this time literally, turned his back on Cornell. He cut short his studies and politely said farewell to the Wingates. They were surprised, bewildered, asking “why? Did it have anything to do with them, with how they treated him?”

Carlos Fuentes, *La frontera de cristal*

### Introduction

The epigraph comes from Fuentes’s work on Mexican-US relations as seen through the people who deal with borders that may not be seen but are, at different times, certainly felt. In this chapter, Fuentes describes how Juan Zamora, who travelled to study medicine at Cornell University through the generosity of a family friend, coped with the painful benevolence and ignorant privilege of his host family and secret boyfriend. This chapter examines some of the glass borders, those elusive yet real boundaries, that Haitian university students in the Dominican Republic must face.

In a press conference in 2011, Haitians met at the Universidad Tecnológica de Santiago (UTESA) in Santo Domingo to denounce alleged abuses carried out by the Dominican military, police, and immigration forces. Among those present, the president of the Association of Haitian Students at UTESA, Stybhen Elvens, proclaimed

*No hay otro lugar mejor que vivir en casa. No hay otro lugar mejor que estar en Haití. Vivimos aquí porque estoy estudiando, pero nuestro destino no es quedarnos ni hacer negocios aquí. Santo Domingo es sólo un puente para que nos preparemos y volvamos para Haití<sup>1</sup>.* (Silvestre 2011)

Additionally, they called upon the Haitian Diplomatic mission to play a more assertive role regarding incidents of anti-Haitianism, including arbitrary and almost violent detentions and threats of destroying student identity cards unless accompanied by a valid passport. When one of

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<sup>1</sup> “There is no better place to be than at home. There is no better place than Haiti. We are here because we are studying, but our destiny is neither to stay here nor to start businesses. Santo Domingo is just a bridge for us to improve ourselves and return to Haiti.”

the articles covering the event was published, one person wrote in the comment section that they hoped that Haitian students “don’t stay in the country once they finish their degree” (Silvestre 2011). The article, the commentary, and the epigraph provide a sliver of insight into the experiences of Haitian students in the Dominican Republic.

While the phenomenon of young Haitians traveling to study at universities in the Dominican Republic is not new, the first decade of the 21st century saw an increase in these educational mobilites. After depicting an institutional context for these Haitian students and the recent state interventions pertaining to students, I will describe the understandings and experiences of Haitian students at Dominican universities in Santo Domingo, focusing on: students’ motivation for internationalized higher education; social relations; and financial issues they face as educational mobilites, particularly since the 2010 earthquake. The goal of this chapter is to show how Haitian university students in the Dominican Republic manage their educational studies in the context of the pressures of neoliberalism and of a potentially antagonistic national discourse within their host country. Detailing this part of their experiences, however, shows that despite their access to additional economic and cultural capital, they are not the educational version of free-flowing border crossers. I argue that given their reasons for studying in the Dominican Republic and their experiences abroad, these educational mobilites are engaging in a reluctant globalization of the “middling” kind, neither of the transnational elite nor of the global working poor.

Material from this chapter is based upon forty interviews: thirty-seven structured and three semi-structured. Of the thirty-seven participants, all were single undergraduates with no children. Those that reported having boyfriends and girlfriends identified them all as being Haitian. There were twenty-three men and fourteen women. All but five students hailed from

outside Port-au-Prince, and the overwhelming majority lived in either Herrerra or Las Americas, two neighborhoods to the east and west of the Distrito Nacional. The majority of the students were studying at Universidad Tecnológica de Santiago (UTESA, 21), the technology-focused university, with the remainder from Universidad Iberoamericana (UNIBE, 5), Pontificia Universidad Católica Madre y Maestra (PUCMM, 4), Universidad Adventista (UNAD, 2), Centro de Tecnología Universal (CENTU, 2), Instituto Superior de Agricultura (ISA, 1), Universidad Católica de Santo Domingo (UCSD, 1), and Universidad Dominicana O&M (1). Though UNIBE students are overrepresented in this sample (13% sampled versus less than 1% of the overall total of Haitian students in the Dominican Republic, according to D'Oleo 2008), the two schools with the most Haitians enrolled (65% of all students) correspond with the top two schools represented in the sample (67%, D'Oleo 2008). Thirty-three had parents who paid for their schooling, three had other family relations (including godparents) who supported their studies, and one worked to pay for school; these statistics mirror approximate ratios seen in other studies.<sup>2</sup> All held Haitian passports. Twenty-four had student visas, nine had tourist visas, and four had permanent Dominican residency at the time of the interview. D'Oleo (2008) states that the top four courses of study are (in order of frequency) medicine, administration, computer science, and hotel management/tourism, a trend that is reflected by participants in this research.

In the following sections, I discuss structural factors related to studying abroad that are reflected in interviews I conducted with Haitian university students, the results of which follow.

### **Structural Factors Related to Educational Mobility**

Rather than seeing these educational mobilites as people who are free to stare at a map and cavalierly choose their country of study, it is important to recognize factors that contribute to this particular form of mobility. Scholars familiar with higher education in Haiti have estimated that

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<sup>2</sup> This comparison draws upon D'Oleo 2008.



approximately 60,000 students graduate from secondary school each year, but there are approximately 15,000 spaces available at public institutions (Jean-Marie Theodat and Guy Alexandre, personal communication, July 2011), meaning that seventy-five percent of those students could not enter a program in Haiti, even if they had the ways and means to do so. Second, the prestige associated with institutions of tertiary education in Hispaniola mirrors the situation of primary and secondary schooling, in that the most prestigious schools are private, followed by some decent public schools, with a growing number of private institutions of that may not be accredited<sup>3</sup>. In Haiti, it is cost prohibitive to almost the entire population to attend the elite schools, Université Quisqueya, Université Notre Dame, or Université Caraïbe. This leaves the choice of pursuing admission to either the Université d'Etat d'Haïti (State University of Haiti, UEH) or to some lesser quality private university. Foregoing the latter, if a person wanted to study at the UEH, as Article 208 of the 1987 Haitian Constitution stipulates that higher education should be free<sup>4</sup>, he or she must pass a rigorous exam to gain entrance, but it is also commonly understood in Haiti that personal connections may have some role in facilitating entrance when test scores do not suffice. In the Dominican Republic, most universities do not require an entrance exam (though some individual programs may), but some require a level exam for placement in the correct course. In addition, evidence suggests that attending some universities in the Dominican Republic is cheaper than in Haiti<sup>5</sup>. These factors form part of a framework that makes mobility reasonable, as the next sections show, albeit neither for the wealthy Haitians who can stay in Haiti or study in the global north nor for the poorer Haitians who cannot afford to send a child abroad.

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<sup>3</sup> In Haiti, primary schools that fall into this category are known as *lekòl bòlèt*, or “lottery schools”, the name evoking the idea that one is as likely to win the lottery as he or she is to advance, unless the teacher is paid.

<sup>4</sup> However, there are still some small fees that are required.

<sup>5</sup> The Dominican Republic’s Banco Central conducted a study of foreign students and listed the average tuition cost per student was about \$330 US per month, with a range of \$25 to \$1,165.

## Students' Lives and Livelihoods

Having discussed the context in which the students find themselves (Chapter 2), I turn to their lives and livelihoods. Data from this section are based upon responses from thirty-seven structured interviews and three semi-structured interviews among Haitian university students. In addition to demographic questions, I asked questions about students' motivation for pursuing internationalized higher education, social relations, financial concerns, and how they managed their studies, the results of which are below. Such answers contribute to an understanding of how political economic, social, and institutional factors impact their educational mobility.

### *Motivations and Future Plans*

This research project seeks to understand motivations Haitian students have for studying in the Dominican Republic. To approach an answer, they were asked open-ended questions on their motivations for pursuing university studies, their reasons for study in the Dominican Republic rather than Haiti, and their post-graduation plans.

Table 3.1: Motivations for university studies

To work in what I like/develop myself for a job	8
To be able to do well when faced with [market] competition	3
To provide more options	3
To improve my life	3
To have a knowledge base	2
To understand self/others	2
To help those who brought me up	1
To make contacts needed in the future	1

Based upon the answers given, by far the most common response was that students wanted to become a professional in their chosen field. One student articulated as much, answering that “universities are good because you’ll have a course of study, so then you’ll be able to develop yourself professionally” (Muriel, interview, 18 July 2011). The group containing the next most-

frequently cited answers included those linked to market conditions, flexibility, and upward mobility. The remaining answers pertain to self-edification and reciprocal social relations.

Table 3.2: Motivations not to study in Haiti

Insecurity (kidnapping, politics, etc)	16
Difficult to get in	8
Course of study unavailable/low quality	7
Cost prohibitive	3
Secondary school incomplete	1
Improved work chances beyond Haiti	1
Gaining foreign experience	1
Better life beyond Haiti	1

Table 2 indicates that the major motivation for not studying in Haiti is the threat of insecurity.

This answer is not surprising, given that most of these students interviewed entered the Dominican Republic around 2005, subsequent to the more generalized violence and increased kidnappings in Haiti after the coup d'état against Jean-Bertrand Aristide in 2004. The next tier of answers (indicated by 8 and 7 respondents) indicate that it is difficult to gain entry into the field of their choice, and that the course of study may have been either unavailable or offer low-quality instruction. For example, Esther, a student at PUCMM, felt strongly about the need for psychological services in Haiti. Her feelings intensified after the earthquake, as she “wanted to help people, but they don’t offer that type of training in Haiti” (student, interview, 16 July 2011).

Of interest is that very few respondents indicated that attending school was cost-prohibitive.

Table 3.3: Motivations to study in the Dominican Republic

No other options	8
Security	6
Cheaper	5
Easier to gain entry than in Haiti	4
Already in country	3
Quality of program/recognized abroad	3
Desire to improve bi-national relations	1
Better chance for work after	1
Expectation of work while studying	1

Table 3 shows that the main reasons people chose to study in the Dominican Republic is that they had no other option to study in another country. In their full responses to the question, students explained this by stating that they did not have the money or resources to study in places like Canada, the US, or Europe. Implicit in their responses, interestingly, is the idea that studying abroad was almost an imperative in order to improve their social standing, not unlike the students interviewed by Waters (2006). For the other responses, as corollaries to earlier answers given about why one would not choose to study in Haiti, respondents indicated that increased security, lower cost, easier access, and better program quality ranked as the most important factors in motivation to study in their neighboring country.

Table 3.4: Future Plans

Work in/Return to Haiti	21
Advanced Degree outside Hispaniola	5
Work (place unspecified)	4
Rebuild Haiti	2
Unsure	2

Table 4 reflects students' plans after graduation. By far, the overwhelming response included return to Haiti. Sonide expressed the two major reasons why people wanted to do so, namely, either to “work to later do something positive for my country,” or because of feeling the negativity from some Dominicans regarding stereotypes of Haitians, she just wanted “to go back home” (student, interview, 13 July 2011). While many indicated a desire to return to work, others indicated that they preferred to live in Haiti rather than continue living in the Dominican Republic. The next most frequent response included a desire to continue studies, but outside of Haiti and the Dominican Republic. The third most frequent response indicates a desire to find work wherever possible in the world.

This data indicates that there are clear trends regarding motivation for university studies and for post-graduation plans. Students recognize both market-aspects of education and more

humanist benefits. Factors related to security, economics, entry, and quality of schooling figure largely in students' thinking. While these ideas may be partially understood as correlating to a larger political economic context, we cannot neglect the role that their experiences in the host country play in forming ideas.

### *Student Experiences*

The social experiences of Haitian university students in the Dominican Republic can be situated among the constellation of terms amity, ambivalence, and enmity.

Some Haitian educational mobilites have positive experiences regarding the Dominican Republic. Olivier stated that at the beginning, he had problems communicating in Spanish, but now it is his "second home" (student, interview, 14 June 2011). Raphaelle indicated that the university setting provided a space for informational discussions about existing tensions, which she believed were based upon historical events and cultural differences rather than racism. Turning to issues of race, two female students indicated that they had no problems with their Dominican counterparts because their phenotypical traits are positively valued in the Dominican Republic. However, Lily indicated that because her "skin is light, and hair is straight, Dominicans never believe that I'm Haitian because they think Haitians are dirty and ugly" (student, interview, 14 June 2011). Lucy echoed this, while adding that she knows "things are different for Haitians [working] in the street" (student, interview, 18 June 2011). Thus, positive experiences as student mobilites appear to correspond to racial and class-based stratification. While these accounts do not deny negative experiences, these students' comments indicate that they do not ever suffer direct anti-Haitianism.

Other students indicated a more mixed experience. Jean Luc stated that he has never experienced any significant conflicts between himself and Dominicans at his school (UNAD),

but he has heard about others who had. He added that, “some Dominicans don’t want to talk with Haitians, except if they can help them with class work or getting a better grade” (student, interview, 14 August 2011). Marie expressed similar ambivalence about her relations with Dominicans, indicating that though she’s never had problems with a professor or colleagues, in the larger social setting, “some [Dominicans] are friendly, and others are racist” (student, interview, 22 June 2011).

In the context of a new anti-Haitianism, and given the above comments, it is obvious that some Dominicans are ambivalent at best toward Haitians. One university professor had taken it upon himself to begin preliminary research upon this population, beginning with the idea of wanting to understand Haitian student motivations for studying in the Dominican Republic. However, his reason for the research was to “make sure they leave after they graduate, so they don’t take Dominican jobs” (professor, personal communication, 17 April 2009). The professor’s interest in Haitians emerged from a desire to ensure that their stay is limited and not detrimental to Dominican job seekers.

The possible negativity referred to above found actual targets among some educational mobilites, though, showing a side of the new anti-Haitianism. The general population, colleagues, and teachers contributed to these experiences of enmity. Esther indicated that though she had lived, worked, and studied in the Dominican Republic for over five years, she “dislikes the country” because of animosity toward Haitians (student, interview, 17 July 2011). While shopping, in public transport, and elsewhere, she has overheard disparaging comments about how Haitians are thieving, bad, and prone to commit criminal acts.

Within the university context, both students and teachers have contributed to negative experiences for educational mobilites. University students from across various campuses have

reported being mistreated in the academic setting (D’Oleo 2008), including speaking poorly of Haiti, speaking poorly to them, treating them as inferiors, and being rejected because of their skin color. Many Haitians I interviewed indicated that they have been laughed at or openly mocked by their Dominican peers for grammatical errors or mispronunciations in Spanish. However, professors perpetuated some of the worst reported behaviors. Several female students interviewed told of negative experiences with male teachers, stating that they were sometimes verbally “abusive.” One professor, standing in front of his large lecture class prior to administering an exam, admonished students to not use cheat sheets, write notes on their shoes, access information on their telephones, “or in other words, don’t be like a Haitian [and cheat in class]” (Martine, student, interview, 6 May 2009). After two Haitian students approached him after class to voice their disapproval, he indicated that he did not mean them, but rather the “bad Haitians.” One final negative experience involved an Adventist student named Minerva who was enrolled at UNAD. A professor scheduled an exam for a Saturday, which would require the student to violate her religious convictions, as Adventists observe the Sabbath on Saturday. Her teacher’s intransigence led to her inability to take the exam and thus failing the class twice—he again required a test on Saturday in the next term. Minerva indicated that other students were allowed to take make-up exams on other days, so she was absolutely convinced that her citizenship contributed to the professor’s unwillingness to accommodate her.

### *Managing Challenges*

Faced with the potential obstacles associated with being identified as Haitian in the Dominican Republic, students develop a series of linguistic, political, economic, and social practices. While some students received training in Spanish in Haiti, many of them enroll in Spanish classes at various institutions (most commonly, APEC) shortly after arriving in Santo Domingo in order to

improve language skills or to reduce tension from actual or potential ridicule from colleagues and teachers, as described above. Of the students interviewed, all but two reported enrolling for Spanish language training in the Dominican Republic, even though some had studied it previously in Haiti. Data from interviews suggest that students' socioeconomic status positively correlates to the prestige of the institution in which they enroll to learn Spanish, though the data is not robust enough to confirm this.

Politically, as it pertains to governmentality, students may establish their legal presence in the country through various ways. Since the 1987 Haitian Constitution bans dual citizenship, the students may not hold a Dominican and Haitian passport. Only a few students interviewed acquired Dominican resident status while keeping their Haitian passport. This would require a long process, significant funds, and perhaps the help of a Dominican lawyer; however, a *cédula* allows easier international border crossing and facilitates access to certain Dominican services, public and private. Indeed, the majority of the students interviewed held student visas. While acquiring a student visa (E) has been significantly facilitated by actions of President Fernández, the burden of paper work leads some students continue to travel to and study in the Dominican Republic with tourist visas (2-month or 1-year). While this requires more money, such a visa can be obtained in less than one day by paying required fees at one of the Dominican Consulates. Briefly, students' strategies for managing state requirements depended on their economic means, social capital (including spare time to complete paperwork), and knowledge of how to negotiate the state bureaucracies<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> On a related note, during an interview for the larger ethnographic project, one Haitian from the lower classes asked me to help him get a school identification card. When I asked him why, he stated, "the police won't bother you if you have a university ID card" (Benoit, interview, 10 January 2008). A Black Dominican from the lower classes reported essentially the same idea. Of note is that none of the Haitians interviewed for this chapter mentioned this as a way to negotiate state power.



Economically, Haitian students face a precarious situation due to legal constraints on the ability to work and the source of their money. Rent, tuition, food, clothing, and other expenses are paid through cash exchanges. Most students are somewhat confined with regard to their legal right to work. Article 100 of Law 285-04 states “non-residents” cannot engage in remunerated work, but allows an exception for (among others) students as long as the job is “completed strictly within the activities for which they were admitted,” or working within a school. Consequently, international remittances are a vital resource for students. Out of the thirty-seven respondents, thirty-six of them receive remittances from Haiti, the US, Canada, or France. The other student, rather than receiving money, sent money back to her family, as she earned money by working as an English-teaching assistant at a private language school. Any shortage leads students to rely upon compatriots in the Dominican Republic to meet their needs, including sharing meals, sharing clothes, loaning or gifting money, or perhaps even allowing people to sleep on a floor or couch until other arrangements could be made. Thus, both cash-based and in-kind relations support students’ livelihoods.

Since the January 2010 earthquake, though, the situation intensified. While the financial demands of living in the Dominican Republic remained the same, students’ abilities to meet their needs were significantly challenged. When asked about needs after the earthquake, all of the respondents (and every other student with whom I’ve spoken) stated that their financial demands have increased. Seventy percent of respondents stated that they needed help with “life expenses” like food, clothing, or miscellaneous bills. About one-third of respondents explained that they needed help with school costs, and some students (not in the survey) had to withdraw from school due to inability to pay. About one-fourth of respondents mentioned they needed help paying for housing. Students explained that the reasons for such financial hardships included the

loss of life or livelihood of those who were sending money, or reallocation of funds from financial supporters due to a need to provide more support for those in Haiti who survived the earthquake. Additionally, as of the writing of this chapter, there are no known scholarships available for Haitian citizens studying in the Dominican Republic, unlike offers from governments such as Senegal (see Cela Hamm 2013).

Beyond the linguistic, political, and economic issues faced, Haitian students in the Dominican Republic have to deal with anti-Haitianism. For some educational mobilites, like Lily mentioned above, the phenotypical traits of light skin and straightened hair allowed them to be exempt from the negativity associated with being Haitian, even though the ideas and behaviors associated with the stereotypes were still applied to Haitians whose appearance did not afford them social acceptance. Regarding social interactions, Clinton opined, “between Haitian and Dominican students, there will always be tension” (student, interview, 28 June 2011). Haitian students chose one of two ways to interact with Dominican colleagues and the public at large. Some operated according to an ethic where one would befriend and talk with Dominicans and people from other countries, almost to the exclusion of Haitians. Rose described this as her “willingness to learn another culture,” rather than just being friends with Haitians (student, interview, 27 June 2011). To her, this meant, “proving that you were a different kind of person, that you weren’t about keeping yourself separate [only among Haitians], afraid to speak with Dominicans” (student, interview, 27 June 2011). Others, however, preferred to mainly keep the company of Haitians, fearing a confrontation when interacting with Dominicans or others, or simply out of “a fear of being judged” (Gaelle, interview, 22 June 2011). In summary, beyond presenting socially valued phenotypical traits, to avoid the xenophobic stigma associated with being Haitian, university students either actively engaged Dominicans to debunk the stereotype, or they

assumed a protective position by keeping only Haitian friends. Understanding these practices requires revisiting the theoretical framework.

### **Technologies of Subjection, Technologies of Subjectivity, and Fitting In**

Haitian educational mobilities to the Dominican Republic provide an interesting case in light of the literatures on the anthropology of the state and on educational migration. The Haitian state's decision to disallow dual citizenship (unlike the Dominican Republic) limits the nature of students' flexible citizenship<sup>7</sup>. Those students with disposable time and money to gain a *cédula* can do so, but the majority must manage by filling out paperwork for a student visa or simply purchasing a tourist visa. The class implications of these divisions are obvious. For its part, the Dominican state has shaped Haitian students' lives, as well. Legal structures practically prevent students from working, so they have either to work somewhat surreptitiously or to rely on remittances. The Dominican government has also made financial concessions toward Haitian university students, notably in 2006 and immediately after the earthquake as described in Chapter 2. However, different from the long-term commitments offered by governments such as Senegal (Cela 2013), the Dominican state university only offered financial assistance for the academic term after the disaster. Also, lacking is a complete understanding of the motivations behind the Dominican state's construction and delivery of a new branch of the *Université d'Etat d'Haïti* in Limonade rather than supporting existing students in their country. Such a gesture could be explained as wanting to provide Haiti with facilities so that it can train its own students, yet it could also be understood as both a way to keep Haitians out of the Dominican Republic and a paternalistic act to justify an attitude of Dominican superiority. In any case, such an action indicates at least recognition of university students as a significant group on the island. In short,

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<sup>7</sup> In 2011, President Michel Martelly raised the question of dual citizenship with new legislation, but it is as yet unclear whether or how it will be implemented.

the interstate system in which Haitian students find themselves has actively endeavored to shape the behavior of these educational mobilites.

The students, for their part, have implemented several technologies of subjectivity. One difference from Ong (2006) should be noted, however, when considering how Haitian students negotiate the racialized landscape in which they find themselves. Those mobilites who are phenotypically socially valued require little to no action to successfully navigate existing xenophobia. They are ascribed exceptional status in the face of anti-Haitianism. In essence, this is a passive technology of subjectivity, whereas the rest of the practices described below are more active.

Haitian students' responses in interviews reflected several trends the literature on education and migration. The results from Table 1 show that many of them link education to developing a "self." Joseph wanted to make sure that he was "well-prepared intellectually because there is a lot of competition in the world" (student, interview, 7 July 2011). Further, this actualized self is linked preparation for the job market, rather than the political liberal ideas on which many universities were founded, a fact that points to Ong's (2006) concerns about globalization transforming schools for world citizens into training centers for global employees. Tables 6.2 and 6.3 show that students felt compelled to continue their schooling beyond Haiti, paralleling Waters' (2006) idea that studying abroad is desirable. This case shows that students wanted to study in the US, France, or some other country perceived to hold more cultural capital, but students were limited by politics and economics. Table 4 shows that even though students recognize studying in the Dominican Republic as positive, they feel strongly about relocating (mostly to Haiti, but some simply to any place but the eastern part of the island). Carline stated that she "left a poor country, so for people to accept you in society, you have to be educated and

have knowledge” (student, interview, 2 July 2011). This desire for a more cosmopolitan identity reflects Pyvis and Chapman’s (2007) ideas, as educational migration for these Haitians fostered a shift in worldview to facilitate personal transformation. One final tie to the education and migration literature deals with remittances. This case falls between those considering brain drain and those where remittances bolster school performance. Fabrice commented that a motivation for doing well was “to help your family who struggled to make sure you could get an education” (student, interview, 13 June 2011). Thus, the motivation for better school performance is to be able to provide money to those who send remittances. The issues of remittance and reciprocity lead us toward the larger social literature.

Haitian educational mobilites engaged in several economic and social practices of self-making to fit-in to their host country. Economically, reliance on remittances plays an important role, and not only for the reason listed above. In a crisis, monetary flows slow or stop. Given legal constraints on labor in the Dominican Republic as well as the mode of livelihood for education mobilites, students are forced to draw upon reciprocal relations with friends or colleagues to meet their needs. Socially, students take language classes both to be able to comprehend the material, but also to avoid stigma and insults of not being able to communicate properly, like a watered down modern-day version of the 1937 shibboleth, *perejil*<sup>8</sup>. When it comes to relations between Haitians and non-Haitians, students use a few technologies of subjectivity: being open and friendly with mostly non-Haitians, or being closed off and friends with mostly Haitians. The openness cited by Rose earlier may reflect an ethos of suspicion for one’s compatriots. Simultaneously, such a constructed subjectivity also has a dual nature, where it could be positively seen as being a *moun serye* (see Chapter 6), where a Haitian student (or

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<sup>8</sup> Historian Robin Derby has contested that this even occurred based upon her research with Richard Turits (personal communication, July 20, 2012).

anyone else) adheres to an ethos of productivity where one focuses on school and/or work, church and/or family, with little diversion, including socializing with other Haitians. This subjectivity can be understood as a *kreyòlized* study ethic. On the other hand, the act of Haitians segregating themselves from Dominicans suggests an ethos akin to *inzile* (rather than exile) to avoid castigation or the gaze of anti-Haitianism.

Finally, an overwhelming number of these mobilites desire to return Haiti, as the quote from the student from the introduction suggested, which can also be read as a desire to leave the Dominican Republic. I contend that the students' responses about why they chose to study in Haiti vs. the Dominican Republic, combined with their future plans, indicates that they are engaging in a *reluctant globalization*. As the epigraph suggests and the research indicates, Haitians would rather be studying in Haiti, but if there, then some place else. Additionally, they cannot wait to leave the Dominican Republic and return "home". Furthermore, though they may be one of the *middling* populations of globalization (Conradson and Latham 2005), they appear to be in the middle of the middle, as they have the resources to pay for tertiary education, but neither have the various forms of capital required to study in countries that yield more cultural capital (e.g., the United States, France, or Canada), nor do they have the ability to study at Haitian universities<sup>9</sup>.

### **Summary**

Educational mobilites, including those from Haiti, are not new. Jacques Roumain, author of the classic *Gouverneurs de la Rosée*, studied as a child in several countries in Europe in the 1920s. In the 1940s, public health worker and ethnologist turned President, François Duvalier studied at the University of Michigan, and Jacques Stephen Alexis, author of *Compère Général Soleil*, studied neurology in Paris. As individuals and as a group, such educational mobilites are

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<sup>9</sup> Admittedly, more research is needed to verify this.

expected to have a significant impact on the future of Haiti. While the political economic implications of this group cannot be ignored, the experiences of the people should be valued at least as much.

Examining educational mobilites' reasons for studying abroad and their experiences in Santo Domingo belie the absolute determinism of neoliberalism while revealing a particular globalization from somewhere in the middle. Bettering their chances in the market was not the primary reason for studying abroad. In fact, the justifications that students gave for studying in the Dominican Republic vs. Haiti together with their post-graduation plans indicate that, while they wanted a university education, they would have preferred to *not* study abroad, but rather, stay in Haiti. Their responses also suggest that as they are neither the global elite nor the global underclass, they are not the Haitian elite, either, or else they might have been able to stay in Haiti or travel to study in a country understood to be more prestigious. Once in Santo Domingo, the students implemented various technologies of subjectivity to handle the political, social, and economic pressures they faced. Their entrance into the field of global population flows was reluctant, they had to struggle while in midstream, and they were focused on going back to land where they felt comfortable.

This chapter has not been the portrait of people in an absolute neoliberal world, but rather mobilites in an ambivalent globalization from in-between. Examining the work of Haitian labor mobilites also undermines the concept of an all-encompassing neoliberal order in Santo Domingo.

## CHAPTER FOUR: MEANINGS OF WORK

Beggars do not work, it is said; but then, what is *work*? A navy works by swinging a pick. An accountant works by adding up figures. A beggar works by standing out of doors in all weathers and getting varicose veins, bronchitis etc. It is a trade like any other; quite useless, of course — but, then, many reputable trades are quite useless.

George Orwell, *Down and Out in Paris and London*

### Introduction

Before discussing the material dynamics of work among Haitian labor mobilites, it is important to understand what words and phrases they use to discuss work and what these concepts indicate about economy and social relations. Rather than being a simple linguistic footnote, I contend that meanings of work contribute significantly to how Haitian labor mobilites organize their economic activity. In what follows, I answer Orwell's question about the meanings of work. After presenting the set of words in Haitian Creole linked to economic behaviors, I describe the subjectivities as sense-making frameworks *à la Rancière* that people have developed about work. Such ideas about their labor inform the overall arc of their work.

To begin, it is important to linguistically delineate how Haitians talked about economic activity. Walking through Benito one morning, I found Blanco sitting on the edge of a wooden crate in the shade. Talking with Blanco on Nov 9, 2007, I asked him how work was. Like everyone in the area, he said that things aren't good, saying "*pa gen taydjèl*"<sup>1</sup>. I scrunched up my nose twice quickly and repeatedly, a typical Dominican gesture marking a lack of comprehension, and he clarified, "*pa gen travay*". In contemporary Kreyòl in the Dominican Republic, the word *travay* translates as "work", so his utterance meant that there is no paid employment available to him. Other words from interviews used to refer to work and/or labor

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<sup>1</sup> *Tadjèl* is part of a new Haitian Creole lexicon in the Dominican Republic derived from the Spanish word *taller*, or workshop. By linking employment to a public place, he implies that he sees work has a spatial element. I have discussed the changes in Haitian Creole in the Dominican Republic elsewhere (Jayaram 2011).



are *karyè* (career, usually referring to so-called white collar work), *metye* (trade), *djòb* (from the English, “job”) *fè kòb* (literally, “make money”), *touche* (to receive a payment), or more informally *fwenn yon bagay* (literally, “to find something”). Thus, whatever word is used, work usually invokes a sense of calling to engage in a labor practice in the hopes of receiving money as payment.

### **Work as a Means to Feed the Worker**

Most Haitian men and women in the Dominican Republic understand work to be only that which generates the necessities of life or the money with which to purchase them, similar to Smith’s ideas and Malinowski’s theory of needs (1939). Marx, however includes a less functionalist understanding of needs by referring additionally to those that are “so-called necessary wants” (Marx 1976:112), elsewhere described as *socially necessary*<sup>2</sup>. A Haitian aphorism states that *tout metye bon, tout metye nourri mèt li*, or any trade that nourishes the tradesman is okay<sup>3</sup>. In short, the main word that most Haitians link to their presence in the Dominican Republic is *travay*, but this does not explain fully the economic and social relations of this activity.

While catching an evening sea breeze on the roof of a tenement building with some of the Haitian residents, I talked with Lucy about her life. She complained about how she needs a new phone, as her old one was stolen while walking home one night. Though I fully understood that she didn’t have the money to purchase a new phone, I asked why she didn’t go buy one. She responded that she had no money, that she had no work. I knew that she had been helping Makilèn for months to prepare and distribute food to several people in the neighborhood and to

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<sup>2</sup> “On the other hand, the number and extent of his so-called necessary wants, as also the modes of satisfying them, are themselves the product of historical development, and depend therefore to a great extent on the degree of civilisation of a country, more particularly on the conditions under which, and consequently on the habits and degree of comfort in which, the class of free labourers has been formed” (Marx 1976: [PAGE?](#)) For a discussion of socially necessary, see Marx 1992, Chapter 1, §1.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, “all trades are good, all trades nourish their master.”

several construction sites around Santo Domingo. “I thought you were working for Makilèn,” I dryly commented. She responded that “*gen travay, pa gen travay,*” or “there is work, [and] there isn’t work”<sup>4</sup>. While I inferred what she meant, a later exchange I had with Mirlande, a woman who worked at a Chinese *pica pollo*, confirmed my intuition. Mirlande had also been complaining about how difficult life had become in the past few months. Asking her about her work, she responded that “*si ou pa touche, se pa travay li ye*” or “it’s not work if you don’t get paid.” In her case, it wasn’t a question of agreeing to work on a volunteer basis, but rather that her employer would occasionally withhold or arbitrarily diminish payment for work completed. While Mirlande certainly felt compelled to show up and render her labor-power, i.e. work, she indicated that remuneration was essential to such an out-of-home, public activity.

### **Work for *Gattungswesen*: The Beasts of the Dominican Streets**

*M pa [yon] bèt. M vin la pou m travay.* (“I’m not an animal. I came here to work.”)  
(*coconut vendor, Feb. 29, 2008*)

When considering undesirable elements of social dynamics of work, references to *bèt* frequently occur among Haitians in the Dominican capital, as the above quote suggests. Consider the following examples. Jefferson is a twenty-two year old man who was sent with his sisters by his mother, a *gwo kòmèsan* based out of Miami, to live in the Dominican Republic due to the violence after the 2004 coup d’état against Aristide. When he would complain about how his bosses treated him, he stated that “they wouldn’t let me talk with anyone at all [while working]. They treated me like [I were] an animal”<sup>5</sup>. Even after I finished working, they would make me do more, like take out the trash.” (personal communication, June 1, 2009). Here, Jefferson is

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<sup>4</sup> I heard this seemingly Zen-like phrase repeatedly among Haitians. Besides economic instances, there was also the phrase *gen jistis, pa gen jistis*, or “there is justice, [and] there isn’t justice”. This paradox is discussed elsewhere.

<sup>5</sup> Though in Kreyòl, the word *bèt* may denote the same concept as the French *bête*, the context of the rest of the interviews indicated that another denotation of the word, “beast” or “animal”, was not only possible but intended.

juxtaposing the concept of *bèt* with a denial of the basic human dignity related to being able to communicate socially with another, and the fact that he was coerced into working beyond what he was paid to do. Another reference to *bèt* occurred while I was talking with Haitian men after they had finished working one evening at a construction site. It had started to get dark, so I asked them if they were going to be walking down the street to find transport home. One of them told me that they would sleep there<sup>6</sup>. When I awkwardly inquired about how they sleep on the hard ground, he laughed and saying that they have rudimentary bedding set up in the back, and that they were “not animals. They won’t sleep on the street.” The concept of *bèt* here is linked to an understood inherently human practice of sleeping in a spatially segregated appropriate sleeping area. Other references to *bèt* by Haitians I encountered include how Haitians reportedly never have legal recourse for wrongs suffered (robbery, etc) and that when they are arbitrarily detained and kept overnight in a holding cell by Dominican police forces, they are kept in conditions unsuitable for humans, i.e. one sleeps where one might urinate, not unlike farm animals.

These examples taken together indicate a degree to which many Haitians are interested in living a dignified life earned through work (a concept which will be discussed further in Chapter 06). Negative conditions at work or in their host city, either through extracting value from a laborer beyond the agreed upon length of the working day, or through lack of spatial and socially acceptable conditions, are understood as though they are being treated like animals rather than humans. This human-animal dichotomy may draw upon the historical context of slavery, but it also has a specific religious underpinning related to the absolute dominance and pervasion of Christian cosmology throughout the island. The King James Bible states in Genesis 1:26 reads

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<sup>6</sup> The Kreyòl word used was *la*, meaning both here and there, depending on the context. Given the speaker’s accompanying non-verbal gestures, I ascertained that he meant “here”.

as follows: “And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.” This clearly sets up a theological base for a hierarchical concept establishing the superiority of humans over other animals (and everything else in physical existence). Hence, for Haitians to feel that “Dominicans consider [Haitians] to be *bèt*” (Makonmè, personal communication, May 20, 2009), they are dehumanizing Haitians. Further, by exploiting Haitian’s labor, Dominicans are understood to be denying the *God-given* dignity afforded all people on Earth by coercing working conditions where toil is for the master rather than for the benefit of the worker. Or to use a word of Marx, Haitians appear to understand this human value as inherent to them as a *Gattungswesen*<sup>7</sup> (c.f. Czank 2012; Dyer-Witford 2009; Harvey 2000). Such a social dynamic renders Haitians as beasts rather than humans before their employers. Before explaining the full meaning of this, it is important to understand stated work preferences among Haitians.

In the contemporary moment, many Haitian laborers in the Dominican Republic would refer to a desire to work on their own, rather than for someone else. This can be partially explained by negative experiences of employment. Jefferson, a man in his 20s, worked briefly at a *pica pollo* restaurant, where people would speak to him poorly. He grew tired of his Dominican co-workers and bosses *rele nan tèt li*, literally “screaming in his head”, so he quit. Charles, a man who left construction to work as a security guard for an apartment building, found even that he was mistreated at his new position. His employer would demand that he complete tasks beyond the scope of his duties for no compensation, and she would constantly verbally denigrate him.

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<sup>7</sup> Marx (1978a:76) states “the animal is immediately one with its life activity. It is not distinct from that activity; it is that activity. Man [sic] makes his life activity itself an object of his will and consciousness. He has conscious life activity. It is not a determination with which he directly merges. Conscious life activity directly distinguishes man [sic] from animal life activity. Only because of that is he a species-being. Or, rather, he is a conscious being—i.e., his own life is an object for him, only because he is a species-being.”

Given these experiences, it could be easily determined that Haitians simply disagreed with the abuse of power by an employer from any country.

Therefore, repeated tales of anti-Haitianism (whether actually experienced or simply overheard through *Radyo 32*<sup>8</sup>) in conjunction with a desire not to be treated as an animal leads to a search for dignity through particular social dynamics of work, a fact that has important implications for the labor trajectories that will be discussed in the next chapter.

### **Work as Freedom: Political History-based Meanings**

While interviewing people during participant observation, I asked the obvious question of “what does work mean?”, or “*Ki sa travay vle di*”. Almost without fail, respondents stated some variation of “*travay vle di libète*,” or “*le travail, c’est la liberté*”<sup>9</sup>. In English, this literally means “work is freedom”<sup>10</sup>.

Even though I understood the denotative meaning, deeper connotation required examining the origin for such a powerful motif. Questions at the time led to no clear answer, so I turned to secondary sources, generating two main possibilities. A likely source of the phrase is the *Chant National* of Haiti, written just before the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Penned by Oswald Durand, it was in place from 1893-1903. Though it was replaced in 1904, schoolchildren in contemporary Haiti still sing the song occasionally, and consequently most Haitians know it (or at least the melody) as also the *Salut Présidentiel*. Within the first verse, the song depicts that after independence, for the slaves to become masters of their own work, they must embrace difficult

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<sup>8</sup> *Radyo 32* (Radio 32) or alternatively stated as *teledyòl* (Telemouth) is a way in which Haitians may refer to word-of-mouth spread of information, remarkably through the image of a cyborg synthesis between human and technology.

<sup>9</sup> In fact, the response was usually given in French, even though the respondents’ primary language was Kreyòl, and despite the fact that French was not spoken throughout the rest of the conversation. Due to the linguistic situation in which Haitians find themselves, this suggests an external origin for the idea, like something recited in school or in public settings.

<sup>10</sup> Upon leaving the field, I asked Haitians in the US and in Haiti the same question, and received the same answer. Indicating the absolute so-called common sense of the utterance, one respondent sarcastically puzzled over whether I had ever been to Haiti.

toil, even if it kills them. Additionally, the song invokes a racialized difference between the colonists and the formerly enslaved Haitians. Conceptual parallels between the lyrics and present-day working conditions in the Dominican Republic may be drawn, and this idea will be developed shortly. Returning to the song, the chorus of the song reads, “*L’indépendance est éphémère Sans le droit à l’égalité! Pour fouler, heureux, cette terre, Il nous faut la devise austère: “Dieu! Le travail! La liberté!”*”<sup>11</sup> The proximity of the two words in the song could suggest how the link between the two became stronger. Thus, the concept of laboring for oneself, rather than working for another person, represented in the historical imagination by an enslaving colonial figure, becomes desirable and linked to freedom. Miraly, a woman involved in petty commerce, summed up the sentiment of what many Haitians today believe by saying, “*si nou pa travay, kòman nou pral reyalize sa nou bezwen? Kòm esklav, nou pap kapab*” (personal communication, July 08, 2011)<sup>12</sup>. Thus, the concept of the freedom to labor for oneself rather than working for another person, represented in the historical imagination by an enslaving colonial figure and evocative of a labor process from a previous era, becomes desirable<sup>13</sup>.

### **Work as Freedom: Teleological Meanings**

Miraly’s comment implied the link between work and the importance of being able to meet ones *socially necessary* requirements for social reproduction. Daniel, a man who painted little wooden statues of Haitian peasants, or *ti tonton an bwa*, expressed this idea clearly one day, when discussing whether there was a difference between *biznis*, or commerce, and *travay*. Flatly stated, “for me, I don’t see a difference. They both deal with the same subject, the same

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<sup>11</sup> Independence is vapid without the right to equality; to plow this land without a tear, we need a refrain though so austere; God! Work! Liberty!

<sup>12</sup> Translation: “if we don’t work, how will we acquire what we need? Like slaves, we won’t be able to.”

<sup>13</sup> This notion is reinforced by the Haitian proverb *travay pa vle di esklav pou sa a*, or “work doesn’t mean being a slave”.

objective. It's money" (personal communication, August 14, 2011). Roger, a construction worker, explained this in a slightly different way.

"If you need something, you can get it easily... You aren't tormented. You don't have anything that troubles or bothers you. You understand? Something that might make you get into a stressful situation. With work, you live well. As long as you're working, you live well." (personal communication, July 08, 2011)

As suggested before, these socially-necessary needs are more than just meeting the limited, atomized conditions for material existence. In fact, such required expenses include both costs associated with life in the Dominican Republic as well as costs related to transnational ties.

Given the reluctance for Haitians (like most people on the globe) to discuss the exact details of their finances, determining expenses presented methodological problems. However, the ways in which Haitians spend money either borrowed or sent from abroad could act as a proxy for their expenses. The table below represents descriptive statistics generated from the 160 structured interviews among Haitian labor mobilites on how they use different monies, either that which they receive from participating in *rotating savings and credits associations* (ROSCA), or that which they receive in the form of remittances from abroad.

Table 4.1: How People Use Surplus Monies

ROSCA 1 Use: Personal/Life	33
ROSCA 1 Use: Children	22
ROSCA 1 Use: Business	15
ROSCA 1 Use: Remittances	11
ROSCA 1 Use: Incidental	6
ROSCA 2 Use: Personal/Life	8
ROSCA 2 Use: Business	7
ROSCA 2 Use: Children	3
Remittance for Personal Use	31
Remittance for Children	15
Remittance for Business Use	5
Remittance to Send Elsewhere	2

I consider certain types of *rotating savings and credits associations* (ROSCA). In Haiti and among Haitian communities around the world, there are two types<sup>14</sup>, but in the table, I sum results for both, as the differences between them relate to frequency of investment. The most often reported use of the money was to pay for personal needs. From the interviews, these included items such as: rent, food, telephone usage, transportation, and clothing. The next two reported uses of the money were linked to their business or their children. Those that use the money for business would be people who have microenterprises (either individually or jointly with a spouse). They would restock what merchandise was lacking or pay off debts for products they acquired through other credit. When people indicated that they use the money for their children, from the interviews, by this, they meant: school costs (supplies, uniforms, etc), medical costs, and any additional clothing. The fourth use of money was for remittances, where a few people would receive remittances in the Dominican Republic from someone off the island (e.g., the United States, Canada, France, etc.) and send it to someone in Haiti<sup>15</sup>. In short, the use of money among Haitians interviewed indicates that one's needs are not limited to an individual's consumption, but rather include the goal of reinvesting in one's work and contributing to reproduction by maintaining their children and intimate relationships in Haiti.

Work can maintain transnational ties, through either by generating money that people remit to Haiti or by allowing a person to visit Haiti. In the structured interviews, I asked people to provide reasons as to why they return periodically to Haiti. Of the 160 people interviewed, sixty-two responded. Of those, seven gave a second reason. The following two tables reflect their responses.

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<sup>14</sup> This phenomenon is not limited to Haitians. There is an extensive global literature on this. Geertz (1962) wrote perhaps the earliest anthropological studies of such a phenomenon.

<sup>15</sup> These *recycled remittances* suggests the need for further research into this phenomenon which might lead to reconsidering some fundamental concepts around the relationship between such monies and development.



Table 4.2: Reason for Going to Haiti #1

	Frequency	Valid Percent
December	36	58.1
Family	14	22.6
Commerce	8	12.9
Other	3	4.8
Deportation	1	1.6
Total	62	100.0

Table 4.3: Reason for Going to Haiti #2

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Family	4	57.1
Other	3	42.9
Total	7	100.0

Leaving out a discussion of the “Other” and “Deportation” categories, the remaining results disclose the importance of the relationship between work and transnational ties. The number one response, “December”, refers to the time from approximately December 15<sup>th</sup> until January 7<sup>th</sup>, when many Haitians return to Haiti by taking advantage of a *doble sueldo*<sup>16</sup> and the fact that most businesses begin to close down in honor of Christmas (December 25<sup>th</sup>), New Year’s, (January 1<sup>st</sup>) and the Three Kings’ Day (January 6<sup>th</sup>), to visit their family and friends. However, a walk around La Benito around the third week in December shows many disheartened faces. “Ah, as you know, I’m not in a good position right now. My things aren’t in order. I don’t really think I have enough to [go back to Haiti to] see my family,” Verdier uttered with a sigh. “I can’t go back with nothing” (personal communication, December 14, 2009). He referred to both the inability to travel as well as his inability to obtain “gift remittances” (Cliggett 2003:544) for either past or future support for him. In other words, his work is supposed to allow him the

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<sup>16</sup> *Doble sueldo*, or double salary, refers to a tradition in the Dominican Republic among businesses to give an extra month’s pay for December, something akin to a Christmas bonus.

freedom to cross borders and return home to maintain intimate ties by bearing gifts as proof of his financial well-being and by extension, self-worth. The second most popular answer, “family”, refers to a trip financed by work either out of a sense of longing for one’s family (not unlike the response “December”) or a sense of obligation due to a family emergency. The response “commerce” refers to those people who purchase and sell across the island. Inherently, their work consists of transnational movements of money as capital, commodities, and human bodies to maintain themselves and the social relations of their *pratik*, or client-based relations.

Work provides Haitian labor mobilites a degree of freedom, not just in the sense of engaging in a particular calling freely and without the exploitative and coercive constraints of slavery, but also in the ability to meet their socially necessary needs, which are evidenced by how people use remittances and why they return to visit Haiti.

### **Other Distinctions of Work**

When conceptualizing work as a type of income-generating activity, some Haitians may hold it distinct from other activities (like *kòmès*) due to social dynamics listed above or due to the (un)likelihood they are to engage in that activity.

One activity that is sometimes held distinct from work as *travay* is *kòmès* or *biznis* (see description below). One of the factors that renders the two distinct is a temporal factor, i.e. the expected regularity of the work. The difference between the two, with specific reference to selling sweets from a cart (*bak paletèl*) was summed up by Suzette, a *ti kòmèsan*, as follows:

*Ou gen dwa sòti jodi a, epi denmen ou pa sòti. Sa pa yon travay. [Kiran: Si se pa yon travay, sa l ye menm?] Se yon bagay ou ap degaje ou ladann men se pa yon travay. Si paletèl la fini, si ou pa jwenn kòb pou achte, li tou kraze. Ou pap ka kontinye fè sa ankò. Li pa travay 100%, men se yon bagay ou kapab degaje ou kanmenm.*

You might go out [to work] today, and tomorrow you don’t. That’s not work. [Kiran: If it’s not work, then what is it?] It’s something with which you get by, but it’s not work. If the merchandise sells out, if you don’t have enough money to buy more, it’s over. You

won't be able to continue doing that anymore. It's not 100% work, but it's something you can get by with all the same (personal communication, June 20, 2011).

For these people, it's not a question of having a fixed set of working hours, but rather the certainty that if you finish working one day, your employment will carry over through time to the next working day. Another way work is distinguished from *biznis* is due to the social dynamics listed above, that is to say, *travay* is work when someone employs you. Conversely, when you engage in *biznis* or *kòmès*, you are self-employed, and not subject to anyone else's ethics or rules of working.

One final factor that marks work as something distinct from another type of activity is the social proximity between a person and the proposed activity. One Sunday afternoon, while sitting with a group of men in the front part of a storage space, we were discussing what work meant to them. When I elicited the opinion of Jan, a man in his 40s, as to whether or not acting as a *boukonn*<sup>17</sup> counts as work, he sat up on his stool and spoke with confidence. “[People who help the *gwo kòmèsan*] are working! For me, a guy who does that sort of thing, it's work. That's how I get my 50 *goud*. Yes, it's work” (personal communication, August 14, 2011). So for people like Jan, if they are engaging in an activity, then it is considered work. A long-time resident of La Benito and vendor of beauty products, when questioned on whether certain occupations were considered work, responded “I don't know if it's work because I don't earn a living that way” (personal communication July 19, 2010). The opposite holds true, as will be seen below.

Specifically, there are two occupations that are often times described as *not* work: sex work and narcotics work. While some people consider these to be work in the sense that they earn money from it, most people consider these as different from other types of employment. One

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<sup>17</sup> I am using a Kreyòl spelling of the Spanish word *buscon* without making any claims here about the nature of Kreyòl among Haitians in Santo Domingo.

could expect that this was explained as simply because these are, to greater or lesser degrees, illegal. However, the issue of legal infractions never came up. References to these enterprises are often include phrases like “well, for the person doing it, it’s work”, or “maybe *that* person decided to do that, so it’s the way they defend themselves, but I do other things for work.” The only people who decidedly stated that one or the other weren’t work were active evangelicals, but beyond those responses, no one was willing to state that what someone else was doing was *not* work. What this suggests is the social proximity, or sympathy, one feels toward a particular activity.

### **Summary**

Interviews with Haitian laborers have disclosed a particular vocabulary and subjectivities of present-day work that display understandings based upon contemporary and historical conditions. *Travay* may express the goals of feeding the worker, the obligation of meeting socially-necessary requirements of living (including maintaining translocal familial connections), the manner in which work contradistinguishes humans from non-human animals, and the ways in which time and social relations are different in work versus business. These are informed by contemporary conditions in which workers find themselves (cf. Chapter 2). And while equating work with freedom within the context of capitalist relations echoes ideas from that hero of the post-World War II US economy, Milton Friedman, it can be also seen as evoking ideas from either the post-colonial or post-US Occupation<sup>18</sup> Haitian economy. These subjectivities inform how Haitians participate in specific economic activity, and it is to the labor processes and associated commodity chains to which I now turn.

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<sup>18</sup> The first US Occupation of Haiti lasted from 1915-1934, and included a system of fees; the inability to pay resulted in forced labor, or a *corvée*. This system, not unlike slavery, was implemented by Haitian Revolutionary leaders after independence, and formalized under President Boyer in the Code Rural.

## CHAPTER FIVE: TRADES WITHIN THE GLOBAL FLOWS

Muscles aching to work, minds aching to create—this is man [sic].  
John Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath*

### Introduction

During summer 2008, Dayila, a well-known *manbo* or Vodou priestess, came with her husband and son to spend a few days at my home in the Zona Colonial. After a night's rest, we took to the streets of Santo Domingo. Not knowing what might interest them, I rambled off the area's points of interest: Zona Colonial, Barrio Chino, La Sirena<sup>1</sup>, La Benito, and others. Yet, before I could finish the list, Dayila interrupted me, exclaiming, "La Sirena! Really? Wow!". I looked at her silently, waiting for her to explain. After about ten seconds, her comment too pregnant for such a lengthy gestation, I asked why she was so excited. She told me that "La Sirena is the only point of reference people in Haiti have in the Dominican<sup>2</sup>. They know nothing but La Sirena". She added that when she was ten years old in the 1980s, she remembers her mother going to La Sirena to return and sell items throughout Haiti.

Dayila's excitement at finally seeing the destination where her mother spent so many weeks reminded me that in addition to those Haitian vendors who sell coffee and cookies from a cart in the streets of Santo Domingo, there are also intermediaries of goods on an international scale. Each of these trades mark different circuits of capital in which Haitians located themselves through their work. Haitians' relationship to national and global flows can be understood by examining their labor process, which is a collection of practices that links the laborer to material objects and people, and the commodity chains of the objects they draw upon for work.

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<sup>1</sup> La Sirena is a chain of grocery and department stores throughout the Dominican Republic that is run by Grupo Ramos. It has been described as the Dominican Wal-Mart.

<sup>2</sup> Sheila's exact words were *Dominikani*, a term that I found used instead of *Sendomeng* by people who have less experience or ties to the Dominican Republic. As such, I used the phrase "the Dominican" in English, which reflects the same social distance.

While it is not uncommon for people across the world who rely upon money-based economic exchanges to recognize certain dynamics about their job, particularly when faced with an unsupportive employer or co-worker, a reduction of hours, or termination of employment, people do not always factor in the full extent of the labor process or the social life of the commodities that render their livelihood possible when considering how their lives figure into larger scale political economic projects. For example, different types of employment or trades may be explained through reference to the ability to draw upon cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986) from education or other experiences, perhaps linked to an amount of pecuniary capital available to finance such endeavors. Also, trades may also be valued differently, and hence, produce different amounts of profit through the sale of such labor-power, based upon the amounts of mental or physical labor required to complete the work (Marx 1992). Within the labor process itself, the property, labor, and surplus relations of a trade as it relates to the process of capital accumulation demonstrates a relationship to the larger economic system (Trouillot 1984). Finally, the story of the material objects involved in the labor process and livelihoods, as seen in a commodity chain analysis, illuminates political economic connections by extending analysis across space.

In this chapter, I depict the labor process and commodity chains in which the laborer mobilites participate, consequently revealing relations between the laborers, the state apparatus, market forces, and people in Santo Domingo that counter top-down neoliberal economics, notions of the neoliberal state, and xenophobia. Further, examining the work of the *gwo kòmèsan* demonstrates the need for the term *mobilite* in the vocabulary of border crossers. Briefly put, I argue that this depiction discloses a middling globalization for labor mobilites.

Claiming that Haitians work in the informal economy fails to provide an accurate portrait of the laboring landscape. Such notions essentialize, decontextualize, and dehumanize. A more robust model would suss out dynamics of the practice of various trades and show how economic exchange connects the worker to other elements of the world. Barker et al. have provided a methodological model for situating people in relation to national and international processes by showing how an ethnographic description of the lives of certain *key figures* highlights “a particular historical moment in the complex articulation of large-scale processes” (2009:37). Informed by such an approach, I claim that showing the practices contained within the labor process of various trades undertaken by Haitian labor mobilites elucidates parts of the contemporary Dominican political economy.

Within Santo Domingo, I identify seventeen<sup>3</sup> main types of trades among Haitian labor mobilites. These include artists/artisans, construction workers (including associated carpenters and electricians), domestic workers (childcare and/or cleaning), sex workers, security guards, restaurant workers, warehouse and shipping workers, cleaning/custodial work, retail assistants, hair vendors/braiders, ambulant vendors, agricultural product vendors, hot food vendors, *ti kòmèsan* (petty commerce vendors), beauty stylists, *boukonn*, and *gwo kòmèsan*<sup>4</sup>. Based upon divisions according to the commodity being sold and an amount of capital (either cultural or pecuniary) necessary to work, I group these trades into four categories:

1. Those producing and/or selling tangible commodities
2. Those selling their labor-power
3. Those running microenterprises with smaller amounts of start-up capital required, and
4. Those running microenterprises with larger amounts of start-up capital required<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> Three additional trades are not discussed, as I did not generate adequate data about them: shoe shine man (*chany*), the ambulant peanut (*pistach*) vendor, and ambulant vendors of homemade sweets.

<sup>4</sup> My thanks to Prof. Gerald Murray for reminding me of the existence of *boukonn* and *kòmèsan* early in my research.

<sup>5</sup> I recognize that in all three cases, labor-power is involved, but in the first, its value is fused with that of a commodity for sale, in the second, labor-power is the sole commodity exchanged, and in the third, a combination of the former two is involved. One major difference between the vendors of tangible commodities and of labor-power

Obviously, some individual worker arrangements will vary from what I describe below, but these do not affect the overall commonalities as they relate to the state apparatus, market forces, and people in Santo Domingo. Within the brief description of each of these trades, I will detail to the extent possible how each of these types of income-generating activity relates to the state, the market, and the population of Santo Domingo through an abbreviated commodity chain analysis. Examining the objects across time and space exposes not only the social and institutional relations of capital, but also shows how Haitians intersect with global value flows.

### **Producers of Tangible Commodities**

*Artists/artisans.* As the Dominican government has endeavored to profit off the 1990 designation of the Zona Colonial as a UNESCO World Heritage site, an increased number of tourists are being channeled from cruise ships and other tours through this area. Much of the Dominican vendors of art and crafts in the area, while selling pieces described as in a “Taino style” or “typical Dominican painting”, are selling works created by Haitians, usually by men. Other works produced by Haitians are stained wooden statues (usually of rustic-looking men) or wooden mortar and pestles.

There are similarities and differences between the labor process and production relations of the paintings and statues. Most painters will acquire the necessary means of production (canvas, wood for frames, nails, brushes, and acrylic paints) with their own money from retail stores (like La Sirena) in Santo Domingo, and similarly, those working with wood are usually responsible for purchasing the differently colored varnish and brushes, as well as any other materials

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and those engaged in microenterprise is whereas the former group is involved in the value-adding process  $C \rightarrow M \rightarrow C$ , the latter enters at a different moment of the process, i.e.,  $M \rightarrow C \rightarrow M'$  (cf. Marx 1992).



required<sup>6</sup>. Differences in the production relates to content. Whereas some painters may create something based upon a special request from an individual client or a retailer, they are otherwise not limited; those dealing with wood will work with previously sculpted objects, often times imported from Haiti, that only lack color and finishing. Once an individual artist or artisan completes the work, he must carry their work either to a retailer or to a customer. Some retailers have shops in the Zona Colonial or off Avenidas Mella or Independencia, and while most retailers are Dominican, there are a few Europeans, and fewer Haitians. A retailer will buy the work in pesos and subsequently sell it for a higher price in his or her shop, almost always to foreign tourists<sup>7</sup>. If, by chance, an artist finds a customer independently of a retailer, while the sale price may be lower than that of the retailer, the artist or artisan receives a higher percentage of the final price.

### *Commonalities*

The manner in which these laborers produce commodities for retail evinces minimal state relations, capital relations on a national and international scale, and significant interactions with non-Haitians. First, other than the presence of the state as the maker and guarantor of money, in exchange for which the laborer agrees to sell his or her labor-power, the state does not enter into the agreement regarding the economic exchange of employment. The state presence is implicit for the suppliers of means of production and for the distributors, in that goods are being sent across international borders, and formal businesses must pay taxes<sup>8</sup> and have permits. However, as much of these vendors are not recognized by the state, and proof of legal permit to work in the

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<sup>6</sup> However, one Colombian retailer provided the wooden materials and paid the workers by piece rate to finish them. Interestingly, this is the only type of art where I found females directly involved.

<sup>7</sup> I was made aware of one Italian who owned a retail outlet on the Conde who had Haitian women working in the back of the retail space, but this seemed to be an exception to the given description.

<sup>8</sup> At the point of purchase from a distributor or manufacturer, a retailer must pay ITBIS, the valued-added tax of 16%.

Dominican Republic is not required, the laborer experiences none of this. Second, on market connections, artists and artisans must acquire the materials to be transformed into a commodity and deliver them to those who would retail the goods. This means that at the moment of production, artisans are directly connected to international capital flows from Haiti, and artists are connected to the Dominican-based capital of retail stores. They are also one degree removed from international capital, as many of the paints, varnishes, and brushes used are produced beyond Hispaniola. At the moment of distribution, artists and artisans are linked to intermediaries who sell the finished goods at a significant mark-up. Finally, the links in the commodity chains may connect the laborers to Haitians or other non-Dominicans, but they more often are socially connected to Dominicans through economic exchange.

### **Vendors of Labor-Power for Service**

*Construction Workers.* Construction workers, all being men, form the largest part of the manual labor force of Haitians in the urban areas<sup>9</sup>. Within the industry, there are a number of positions, from site management to mixing concrete. Haitians may occupy any positions within this framework, but they more frequently carry out the majority of the low-skilled manual labor (SJRM 2008). Though both Haitians and Dominicans work on public and private projects, fewer Haitians work on public projects than on private ones. The large number of Haitians engaged in such work are is remarkable, given how they are working on projects involving transnational capital and national pride, like the new subway being built throughout the city (the Metro), the Plaza de Bellas Artes, restoration of buildings around the Plaza Colón<sup>10</sup>, and the numerous multilevel residential *torres* and luxury malls in the wealthier areas of Santo Domingo<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> Some of this material is based upon my research, but much of it comes from the report by the Jesuit Service (SJRM 2008).

<sup>10</sup> Not only was documentation of the workforce impossible to acquire, but reference to deaths during the construction of the Metro (reportedly ranging as high as 300) was completely unreported in the Dominican media. I

Work on construction sites is project-based, and employment is either acquired a) by walking around to construction sites and asking for openings, b) by networking through a friend or relative already working, or c) by drawing upon preexisting relationships with a worksite (Dominican) foreman. Rarely do Haitians earn the legal minimum wage for day labor, which could explain why so many subcontractors who work on construction projects violate the Dominican labor law that requires a minimum of 80% Dominican presence on any project<sup>12</sup>. Haitians often work more days and more hours per day without further compensation than legally permitted, and frequently are not paid or are picked up by immigration on the day before they are paid. The majority of the Haitian construction workers are not asked to show any legal paperwork before being employed (SJRM 2008).

*Domestic Workers.* Domestic servitude operates under the opposite gender bias from construction, as it is almost completely made up of women workers<sup>13</sup>. These people make their living by taking care of one or more of the following: cleaning, cooking, childcare, and other duties related to social reproduction (Wooding and Sangro 2008). They may work only for the day and then return home, or they may be given a room within the residence to sleep. Their employers may be from the Dominican Republic, from the US, or from other countries, including Haiti. The Dominican state is at the most minimally involved in this type of work, given that the work occurs within private residences, and employment is usually sought and offered through personal contacts rather than public advertisements. While the domestic

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learned of this by observation at construction sites. Information about the Metro came via personal communication with foreign workers who conducted an independent safety investigation on it for the Dominican government.

<sup>11</sup> Though no rigorous study has ever examined ownership of the *torres* and malls, it is commonly believed that these are financed with foreign money, while the newest projects (like Blue Mall and Sambil Mall) are owned by Venezuelans.

<sup>12</sup> As of 2008, the minimum wage was 414 pesos per day, approximately US\$12.

<sup>13</sup> Some of this material is based upon my research, but much of it comes from the report by Wooding and Sangro (2008). In this section, I do not deal with *rèstavèk*-s, or child servants from Haiti, though a similar practice exists in the Dominican Republic. See Smucker and Murray 2004.

servants are legally accorded certain labor rights (including overtime pay, work-related health coverage, and certain provisions for paid leave), they are not regularly respected. Wooding and Sangro (2008) contend that part of their continued vulnerability relates to this populations' "invisibility," as they labor in private spaces, and any lack of documentation. At the same time, most women working in this capacity have some sort of Haitian identity document, as in a passport or Haitian identity card (Wooding and Sangro 2008).

*Sex Workers.* This group includes Haitian women (though Dominicans far outnumber them) who offer sexual services in exchange for money<sup>14</sup>, work which is legal in the Dominican Republic as long as it does not involve a third party (Artículo 334, Código Penal de la República Dominicana, GRD 2007)<sup>15</sup>. This may take several different forms. Some women may stake out regular spaces on Avenidas Independencia or Duarte or in Parque Independencia, waiting for a client to drive by in a car to taken them to a hotel or private residence. After they finish with a client, they may return to the same spot or return home. Other women work at strip clubs, and make themselves available to leave with clients after their shift. Others still may sit at restaurants, bars, or casinos where tourists frequently pass, where arrangements are made to go to a hotel or private residence. Finally, there are some bordellos operating as bars in Santo Domingo where women are there strictly for sexual work. There may be a semi-private booth where transactions could occur, or for a fee, the women can leave the establishment with the men. While the majority of these establishments host Dominican women, some Haitian women

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<sup>14</sup> This section limits its discussion to female sex work encounters. See Brennan 2004 for a more extensive treatment of this, and Padilla 2007 for a discussion of gay male sex work encounters. To date, I have not seen any work dealing with the transgender sex worker population in the Dominican Republic, though these workers exist in Santo Domingo.

<sup>15</sup> With the 2003 Protect Act (Public Law 108-21, Statute 650, § 151), there is US regulation of this activity beyond the territorial United States if it involves sex with minors.

may be allowed to work after showing a passport and visa. Women at any of these locations may give out their cellular phone number to a client afterward to keep regular customers.

These workers, save for those who work inside bordellos, have complete say in whom they take on as clients and determine what they will do for what amount of money. Clients may be Dominican, Haitian, or other foreigners, and it seems to be that Dominicans pay the least, other foreigners pay the most, and Haitians pay somewhere in between<sup>16</sup>. In addition to differences in nationality, geographic area relates to the amount a woman may earn per exchange, with those present in tourist areas having the ability to ask for more than those in less frequented zones. Despite what seems to be a degree of choice and power for the women, many women suffer mistreatment, including insults, refusal of payment, and occasionally physical abuse. Any injustices they face go unreported, as they do not feel that the police would have the interest or resources to act on their behalf. Further, many of these workers feel compelled to continue because they are already single mothers and because the money earned in a month from jobs they might get (with the limited formal schooling or marketable skills they do have) would pale in comparison to what they make within one hour of sex work with a foreigner.

*Security Guards.* Observations from the field, media coverage, and structured interviews suggest that all security guards are men. In general, the *wachimán* (alternate spelling, *guachimán*) or *wachi* are men who are employed by businesses or residential complexes (and rarely, for those of the upper classes, private residences) to protect the establishment and at times regulate parking in the area. Several private firms provide such services in Santo Domingo, and those workers (always Dominicans) are given uniforms and sometimes a firearm, but Haitians who do this work are almost always informally contracted. They do not wear uniforms and do not carry

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<sup>16</sup> As of 2009, the normal price for services ranged from a low of 500 pesos to 1500 pesos, but some women at upscale clubs and hotels may charge much more.

firearms (but may carry a knife). Some men will work by keeping vigil at businesses only at night, while others working at residential buildings may work throughout the week, sleeping in corners of the lot, a utility shed, or under stairs. They are paid in cash directly by the owner of the business or manager of the residential property. Employers may ask to see some form of identification at the time of hire, but no formal contract is ever signed.

*Restaurant Workers.* These people are almost always women. Rather than the more formally established restaurants like the Hard Rock Café, T.G.I. Fridays, or Hooters<sup>17</sup>, Haitians more likely work in *comedores*, *pica pollos*, or Chinese restaurants, though not to the exclusion of Dominicans or Chinese immigrants. They may work in food preparation or cleaning, but never at the counter tending to customers and not at the cash register. The geography of the food grown in the Dominican Republic seems to be correlated to the capital used to start the restaurant, i.e. more local restaurants may use more nationally grown products, whereas international chains may never use Dominican products. Restaurant workers are paid in cash from the business manager, and could be paid approximately 4000 pesos per month<sup>18</sup>. Most of the clients of these smaller establishments are Dominicans (with Haitians, depending on whether the business is located in an area where Haitians live).

*Warehouse and Shipping Workers.* Two of the major destinations for shipping via ground transportation in Santo Domingo are the Mercado Nuevo (at the northern end of Avenida Duarte) and *La Benito* (in the San Carlos neighborhood). The former is linked to wholesale and distribution of agricultural products from the entire country and is represented institutionally by

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<sup>17</sup> *Comedores* are smaller local eateries where mainly rice, beans, starches, and some type of salad is sold during lunch time. *Pica pollos* are eateries selling fried food (sometime in conjunction with Chinese food or the above typical Dominican menu), including plantain, French fries, chicken, and sometimes fish and sausage. In the past ten years, a significant number of US-based chains have begun opening in Santo Domingo.

<sup>18</sup> At the time of research, this was equivalent to about \$120 USD per month. Payments are usually made around the 15<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> of each month.

the *Federación de Asociaciones de Comerciantes del Mercado Nuevo*. The latter location, La Benito, is proximal to a smaller but significant open market (Mercado Modelo) and many warehouses for agricultural products and other foodstuffs. These warehouses may store Dominican-produced products like: onions, garlic, potatoes, bags of rice, and Styrofoam food containers. Additionally, many commodities (hair extensions, clothing, etc.) that come from Haiti arrive first in La Benito. When unloading or loading a truck of these commodities, a crew of workers is needed. While some smaller enterprises allow the driver to find and pay workers ad hoc, others may already have an agreement with specific workers, either Dominican or Haitian. Payment is in cash, and those Haitians who are hired on the spot are not required to show identity documents, but rather gain employment by the word of a family member or friend known to the employer.

*Retail assistants.* Some Haitians work in various parts of the Dominican retail economy. Examples of these include people who work on the Conde at jewelry stores, pharmacies, or art vendors, and also encompass those who work in older commercial areas (e.g., around Avenida Duarte, Avenida Mella, etc). For example, at least one jewelry and watch store on Avenida Mella now has a phrase in Kreyòl printed on their window to attract clients from Haiti, and one of the clerks attends to Haitian customers who don't speak Spanish well enough to purchase<sup>19</sup>. Much of the merchandise at these type of shops came from China.

At work, these people operate in two spatial realms. First, they work outside the store, calling attention to themselves (and consequently, their employer's business) through handing out fliers or simply engaging people verbally, be it Dominicans, Haitians, or others. While the common

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<sup>19</sup> While the image below points to important relations between Haitian migrants and the formal economy, this also points to social dynamics of language and literacy. One can see here an example of *market literacies*, a supplement to what has been described elsewhere as *state literacies* (Bartlett, Jayaram, and Bonhomme 2011).

characteristic of having *buena presencia*<sup>20</sup>, is required, women who participate in this work are expected to be somewhat attractive. Secondly, these people may work inside with clients, talking with them in hopes that the person will purchase something. While they may receive a fixed salary, they may also be given commission if they are selling artistic or artisan products, or anything else that does not have a formal market price set by the vendor. Hence, the two parts of the job are connected because the more clients that enter the store, the more chances a worker has to facilitate a sale.

Photograph 5.1: Storefront sign in Kreyòl



A storefront sign on Avenida Mella in two languages states, “We speak Kreyòl: we repair all types of garments”. While the bottom is in Spanish, the top is in Kreyòl, but the word *creol* is the Spanish spelling of the word. (Photo by author 2010)

Turning to state relations, at the time of this research, these stores mostly owned and managed by Dominicans. The case of Henri shows one way in which Haitian migrants find work of this

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<sup>20</sup> Buena presencia translates as “proper appearance”, and serves as a de facto reference to lighter skin and straight (for women) or short (for men) hair .



sort, even without paperwork that would grant him the legal right to do so. Originally, he had been selling juice in the area, and the manager of the shop would stop, purchase juice, and occasionally talk with Henri. During one conversation, the two broached the topic of employment. The shop manager asked if Henri had a Dominican *cédula*, to which he responded in the negative, but in the end, he was given the chance to work because reportedly the manager appreciated his kind yet *serious* manner (a topic which I will deal with in Chapter 6). Thus, the political (and implicitly economic) limitations linked to Henri's legal status led to his invisibly present participation in the formal economy.

### *Commonalities*

The labor process and commodity chains associated with these trades indicates similar limited interactions with the state, links between laborers and national and international capital, and social interactions with Dominicans and non-Dominicans. First, like the producers of tangible commodities, the state plays a minimal role in these laborers' economic livelihood. Those Haitians working in domestic service, sex work, or warehouse and shipping services may often be "off the books", so no they will not have income tax removed from a check, nor will they have rights to social security<sup>21</sup>. Those working in construction, as restaurant workers, as security guards, or as retail assistants, though employed by actors in the formal economy, may not be listed as employees, no matter what their legal status is<sup>22</sup>, so they would also be exempt from income tax and social security benefits. Second, all these laborers<sup>23</sup> are linked to capital in the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and beyond. Whether it's the Venezuelan money constructing malls,

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<sup>21</sup> Legal statutes related to taxes in the Dominican Republic are the Tax Code (Ley no. 11-92), its amendments, and regulations, which is linked to the Dirección General de Impuestos Internos (DGII).

<sup>22</sup> In the construction industry, while subcontractors are supposed to abide by the same laws, government oversight may not be so rigorous as to prevent payments to undocumented workers, in violation of Dominican law.

<sup>23</sup> Not all security guards and domestic workers are linked to international capital flows, but some have worked at buildings where international students and professional workers reside.

Haitian clients at Dominican retail stores, bulk goods unloaded from Haiti, a Chinese restaurant owner, or a tourist spending euros or dollars, many of these people contribute to the maintenance of an international supply chain. At the point of contracting labor, however, most of these Haitians receive their paycheck from a Dominican. Third, following from the previous point, the labor process and commodity chains of these laborers establish social relations between Haitians and Dominicans, and to a lesser extent between Haitians and people from beyond Hispaniola. Though some interactions may be antagonistic (as described elsewhere), much of these are at least functional work environments, and in some cases, even amicable.

Having discussed what in Chapter 4 some Haitians referred to as *travay*, I now turn to a discussion of *biznis*, or small scale capital-based enterprises.

### **Microentrepreneurs with Smaller Capital**

*Ambulant Vendors—Phone cards.* One of the major factors involved in the communications boom in the Dominican Republic relates to the spread of cellular phone usage. People from all groups of mobilites, like counterparts in other countries, use cellular phones to communicate. Perhaps due to paperwork burdens or perhaps due to prohibitive cost, some acquire cellular phones instead of installing landlines at home, essentially making a technological evolutionary leap. Furthermore, operating a prepaid telephone is cheaper (and more flexible) than a monthly plan, meaning that thousands of people need to add money to their phone account. Customers may add to their account balance at company kiosks around the city, but many opt instead to purchase physical phone cards of varying amounts ranging from twenty to three hundred pesos.

Distribution of these cards occurs in several ways. The main companies (Claro, Viva, Orange, and Tricom) sell their cards in bulk from distribution centers, mainly to intermediaries rather than individual customers. This person is usually Dominican, as acquisition from these

centers as of 2009 requires someone to show a *cédula* or proof of legal residence in the country. However, some Haitians may purchase from these centers if they have been doing so for a significant length of time such that the center's employees recognize them. Often, Dominicans will sell cards in smaller bunches to *colmado*-s<sup>24</sup>, but some will drive around the city and sell to phone card vendors from Haiti. At least one Dominican sells large quantities of cards in front of a government building under the guise of operating a different type of government enterprise, and many Haitian card vendors purchase from him.

Before the vendor can purchase and then sell the cards, he or she must acquire the initial capital. This may involve investing profits from previous card sales. However, many people who do not have this foundation will borrow money from trusted family members or friends, paying them back in installments. Then, the vendor purchases cards at a rate that, when sold to the consumer, provides a few pesos profit to the intermediary and six to eight pesos profit to the vendor. Many vendors, some of who wear caps or vests with company colors and logos, stand around major intersections of the city. This way, as people sit in traffic, customers can beckon to the vendor by calling out "*tarjeta*". The vendor approaches the vehicle, the customer makes a request, and the transaction is completed. A similar exchange occurs among pedestrian customers.

*Ambulant Vendors—Flavored Ice.* As the temperature rises in the Caribbean, more people look for way to consume something cold. While there are an amazing number of ice cream parlours in Santo Domingo and throughout the Dominican Republic, there are also mobile vendors of refreshment. Perhaps presenting something of a market challenge to the Dominican *yunyuneros* are the vendors of flavored ice, the most widely distributed of which is named Skim Ice. With links to Colombia, this company began in the Dominican Republic around 2002. Vendors with

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<sup>24</sup> Colmado-s are small corner stores, elsewhere called *bodegas*.

colorful uniforms, hats, and temperature-safe bags walk around selling long, slender individually-packed sticks of colored, flavored ice.

For several years, the distribution of the uniforms and product depended solely upon the ability to pay for them. However, around 2009, the distributors began to require proof of legal presence in the country. As one vendor explained, “unless you’ve been working for a while or are presented [to the distributor] by someone, you have to show documents to obtain supplies” (anonymous vendor; personal communication; November 2009). In other words, though legal documents were required, some personal connections may allow circumvention of company guidelines or laws.

These vendors (all men, from observational data) work around more heavily trafficked-areas or places where traffic jams may occur. While their Dominican counterparts may shout out repeatedly “Skim Ice! Skim Ice!” in a variety of melodic ways, Haitian vendors often simply depend upon people to call out to them. Normally, the customer asks for a particular color, and upon receiving the product, gives the appropriate amount in pesos. At the time of the research, these sold for ten cents each.

*Beauty Stylists.* This occupation is gender-restricted, in that only women engage in it, and though some men will have their nails done, most clients are women. As these are informal businesses, they have no formal business location<sup>25</sup>. Stylists will work either in their home or travel to a client’s home. The stylist will have on hand all necessary materials for manicures, pedicures, exfoliation, massages, and hair care, though a client may request use of a particular product. If this is the case, the two come to an agreement as to who will purchase the product,

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<sup>25</sup> Some Haitians were observed to work in formal beauty salons, though these people repeatedly renewed the one-year visa or held Dominican residency. Both of these require access to larger amounts of disposable income, and in two of these cases, the women occasionally engaged in sex work. Exceptions included direct family of one of the above workers.

the client paying in either case. The products used are purchased in retail stores (with the exception of hair weaves or extensions). Given the informal nature of the work, advertisement is through word of mouth. Consequently, observations and interview questions indicated that clients are almost always Haitian.

*Ambulant Vendors—Bak Paletèl.* Another common sight in Santo Domingo is the vendor with a sweet cart, or *bak sirèt* or *bak paletèl*<sup>26</sup>. These people (both men and women) sell individual packages of crackers, cookies, chips, gum, hard candies, suckers, and occasionally chocolate. Most of these people also have an insulated container from which they sell coffee that was made in their home that morning.

Though some people start with very little merchandise at all in their cart, starting or maintaining a *bak sirèt* requires capital. As with phone cards, this money comes in the form of loans or reinvestment from previous ventures. The vendor, either a man or woman, must purchase a stand (made of a wooden box to hold merchandise and the bottom of a stroller for movement). Next, the person must acquire their product. Vendors usually purchase large packages (which can be opened to sell individual units) from major retailers, but may purchase from a larger *colmado* if necessary, and sell individual units at a marked up price. At the end of the working day, the person stores the cart and merchandise. The storage sight may be a parking garage or warehouse paid to the security guard, and usually costs 25 pesos per night.

Dynamics of *sirèt* sales can be as varied as the products sold. Vendors may have a regular location where they park the cart and sell, or they may walk through the city in search of highly trafficked areas and clients, known as *sikile* (to circulate). One vendor commented that “if you don’t circulate, you won’t sell anything” (anonymous, personal communication 2009). The

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<sup>26</sup> *Bak* refers to the cart that holds the merchandise. *Sirèt* refers to hard candy. *Paletèl*, however, is a new Kreyòl word that derives from the Spanish *paleta*, or lollipop, while in Haiti, the word for lollipop is *pirili*.

theme of circulation will be taken up in Chapter 7. The product is usually consumed by Dominican passers-by. Clearly, most exchanges include cash, but a regular customer may be able to purchase on credit (with no interest). Occasionally, police officers pilfer items.

### *Commonalities*

These smaller-scale vendors engage in a labor process that shows minimal state intervention, complete reliance upon private capital, and social relations among clients that depend only upon whether the person has money to spend. First, effective state regulation in such endeavors is primarily limited to those vendors from whom Haitian laborers acquire their products. While engaging in remunerated work (like all trades) may be illegal depending on one's legal status, these activities, being carried out while moving through the city or while in a private residence, are not easily subject to regulation. Additionally, as these trades are within the informal economy, no taxes are involved. Second, the commodity chains into which these laborer figures lays bare the connections to private national and international entities. While there may be Dominican counterparts of industry, the phone cards, shaved ice packages, beauty supplies (from Dominican retailers), or *paletèl* snacks are produced by private companies in the Dominican Republic or beyond. Third, the social relations established by this labor process and commodity chain allows for social relations with anyone who has the money to enter into economic exchange, though beautician clients are Haitian more often than not.

### **Microentrepreneurs with Larger Capital**

*Agricultural Vendors.* Agricultural vendors include those people (almost always men) who sell raw fruit or fruit plates, fruit juice, coconut water and the meat of the nut, and sugar cane (juice or sticks). Fruit sold raw or as plates may include bananas, mangoes, papayas, pineapples, or

mandarins, depending on the season. Honey may also be added to the fruit plate. Fruit juices usually include orange, key limes, or grapefruit, depending on the season.

Such an operation requires more capital than the other ventures. Though it is not uncommon for someone to borrow money to start the enterprise, some evidence exists which points to the developmental labor cycle described in the next chapter, whereby people who previously sold their labor power would save money and invest in agricultural vending. Once initial money is acquired, people must purchase their *tricicleta*<sup>27</sup> or their cart, followed by a purchase of agricultural products. Like the Dominican vendors described by Murphy (1990), most people buy their produce from the Mercado Nuevo<sup>28</sup> in Santo Domingo. They may pay extra for a *carro público* to transport their fruit back to the *depo*<sup>29</sup>, which may cost about twenty-five pesos per day. Those who sell *batidas*, or fruit smoothies, will have a blender, run on either a battery or through an AC connection near where they park their stand.

All vendors usually have one or two locations in the city where they sell during the day (usually between 7am and 5pm), and may have had to ask permission from or pay a neighbor or business owner for the right to sell there. Some, however, pay twenty pesos per day to an official from the Ayuntamiento for the right to sell at that location. Like sirèt vendors, they operate almost completely on cash, with credit being extended occasionally to repeat customers in need. Purchases are offered with a small plastic bag with which to carry the goods. Their customer base mainly consists of Dominican passers-by (though not strictly). At the time of this research, prices were as follows<sup>30</sup>:

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<sup>27</sup> A *tricicleta* is a full-sized tricycle with a cart on the front for holding oranges. Other materials include a juicer, cups and straws, a cooler for ice, and containers for holding juice.

<sup>28</sup> Mercado Nuevo is one of the major receptor sites in Santo Domingo for agricultural goods that are grown across the country.

<sup>29</sup> A *carro público*, or public car, is a common form of public transport, each which has its specific routes. A *depo* is where people store their *tricicleta* or cart and merchandise while they are not working.

<sup>30</sup> Amounts indicate price in 2009. Mixed fruit plates varied according to size and ingredients.

- Sugar cane: 1 bundle—5 pesos; 1 piece—3 pesos
- Juice: small—15 pesos; large—25 pesos
- Coconut: water and meat—25 pesos
- Bananas: 1 unit—5 pesos, 3—12 pesos
- Pineapple: 1 whole, unpeeled—45 pesos; ¼ whole—15 pesos
- Mango: 1 whole—10 pesos
- Papaya: 1 whole—45 pesos; ¼ whole—15 pesos
- Mandarines: 1 unit—5 pesos
- Oranges: 1 unit—5 pesos

*Hair Vendors/Braiders.* This category of workers, all women, are involved in selling hair pieces and extensions (human and synthetic) and if requested, putting them in a client's hair. Large concentrations of Haitians who participate in this activity are located around Parque Enriquillo and along Avenida Duarte and Avenida 27 de Febrero. Many rent spaces in stalls that were specifically constructed by the city government for small business vendors, but some set up tables and crates along sidewalks, moving only when city officials come to exert their authority.

While some of these hair specialists may purchase from Dominican wholesalers or even retailers, many prefer to stock materials by purchasing from *gwo kòmèsan* (see below) who come from Haiti. The specialists may go to La Benito looking for a shipment to arrive from Haiti, or they may have a specific *gwo kòmèsan* who will contact them when they arrive in Santo Domingo. Clients may include both Haitians and Dominicans. Prices for hair extensions vary per quality and style, ranging approximately from 150 to 450 pesos per package, and women may pay a minimum of 200 pesos to have hair applied.

*Hot Food—Street Vendors.* This occupation refers to those Haitians who have set up street food stands, usually either in La Benito or around Parque Independencia. This includes one of the following types of food: hot dogs, *chimi-s*, or *fritay*<sup>31</sup>. Whereas in Haiti, the traditional evening

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<sup>31</sup> Chimi-s are a common Dominican street food, usually made of low quality ground beef topped with cabbage, mayonnaise, and ketchup, served on a hamburger bun. Fritay is the term for a kind of Haitian street food.



street food snack fritay includes fried beef, pork, or chicken with fried plantain and *pikliz*<sup>32</sup>, in Santo Domingo, Haitians have resorted to replacing the meat with fried salami, hot dogs, or chicken feet and wings. On a curb, vendors set up their stand, which may include a large pot for deep frying, a flat surface for searing meat, or a grill, all heated by a tank of cooking gas. Those serving fried foods have some sort of flat surface where food can be displayed and grease can run off. Gas tanks may be purchased in many places throughout the city, but gas refills come from formal businesses. Grills and stands may be purchased from a retailer or perhaps assembled with a variety of second-hand materials. These hot food vendors purchase food products and accompanying napkins from Dominican retailers, including La Sirena<sup>33</sup>. While those vendors in La Benito sell almost exclusively to Haitians, those in Parque Independencia and elsewhere sell to whatever passers-by happen upon them, which are usually Dominicans.

*Hot Food—Mobile Vendors.* This endeavor stands in contrast to the above hot food vendors with reference to location of food preparation and means of distribution. First, production occurs at a person's home, and subsequently, it is delivered to a client at a predetermined location by moped or car, usually a construction site, but sometimes to other places where Haitians have set up their microenterprise. Food is produced once per day for the midday meal and delivered late morning. The meal includes rice with some sort of legume, and a portion of meat (usually chicken), and sells for 60-100 pesos. From research, I observed that the only people preparing food for delivery are women, and people driving the delivery vehicles are men (though occasionally, a female helping in food preparation may accompany the driver).

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<sup>32</sup> Perhaps due to the decimation of the creole pigs through an Inter-American Institute for Cooperation in Agriculture (IICA) and United States Agency for International Development (USAID) program in the early 1980s, Haitians since the 1990s have much more readily substituted fried hot dogs instead of actual pork.

<sup>33</sup> La Sirena is a Spanish-owned grocery store and retailer in the Dominican Republic, similar to Wal-Mart.

As with the other hot food vendors, materials for food preparation (including food and cooking materials) as well as delivery (including Styrofoam boxes, napkins, and plastic cutlery) are purchased from Dominican retailers. Production occurs within a person's residence, and delivery draws upon private vehicles, so state regulation of this activity is practically non-existent. Customers are almost exclusively Haitian, though some Dominicans working at a construction site may occasionally purchase a food plate.

*Boukonn.* This term has often been used to describe either those people who help with border crossing (Ministerio de Trabajo 2011; Murray 2010) or with those who seek out budding baseball talent (Marcano and Fidler 2012). Though in contemporary Santo Domingo, this refers to a person who assists the *gwo kòmèsan* (see below) who come to purchase in Dominican cities and return to sell in Haiti. Boukonn act as translators, guides, money changers (between goud, dollars, Euros, and pesos), and sometimes chauffeurs for Haitians who have a more transnational economic life. Most people engaged in this have been living in Santo Domingo for a decade or more. This group is particularly of interest for understanding diversity, ambiguity, and ambivalence among Haitian migrants, as they make their living primarily off the lack of knowledge of their fellow Haitians.

*Ti kòmèsan.* Rather than being a single endeavor, this is rather a category of activities. The commonality among all of them is that they purchase in bulk and sell (usually) as retail. The commodities peddled include: beauty supplies, underwear, socks, clothing, shoes, and pirated music and videos. These people (save for music and video vendors) will purchase in bulk either from Dominican vendors or from Haitian *gwo kòmèsan* (see below). As *agents of mediation* (Trouillot 1984) at the retail level, at the moment of purchase from the vendor, at the moment of sale to the consumer, or perhaps both, such arrangements may (but not necessarily) include

entering into a *pratik* relationship with distributors or customers (c.f. Mintz 1961), which allows for special purchasing arrangements or credit. Those *ti kòmèsan* who sell out of their homes avoid any further taxes beyond what they pay at point of purchase, while those who employ more capital to establish a visible presence in a built structure or at a street stand are saddled with taxes and Ayuntamiento fees, respectively. Those in La Benito must pay 10-20 pesos per day to sell on the street, and a member of the Ayuntamiento collects fees daily.

*Gwo kòmèsan*<sup>34</sup>: These people, mostly but not strictly women, purchase items in the Dominican Republic to sell in Haiti, and as such, are intermediaries on a higher scale than the *ti kòmèsan*. They may arrive in Santo Domingo with items purchased in Port-au-Prince, and they may circulate to regional markets, buying and selling. In the Dominican Republic, people purchase clothing, beauty supplies, certain food items, and toiletries from retail stores, and often times, these people can be found in the isles of La Sirena, Plaza Lama, or other grocery or department stores. Depending on their available resources, they may purchase larger quantities from the retailer, and thus receive a small discount in price. These people cross the border legally (sometimes with a two-month visa, but more frequently with a one-year visa) and must consequently pass through customs and immigration on both sides of the border. Materials purchased in Haiti for sale in the Dominican Republic usually include clothing. On the Dominican side, those bringing materials must pay import taxes on merchandise. Many *gwo kòmèsan* have sharp criticism for the seemingly arbitrary and inefficient manner in which officials undertake this task, as sometimes merchandise can be tied up for days or even weeks in customs.

### *Commonalities*

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<sup>34</sup> The names used and commodity routes established effectively blur the lines between what Mintz, Murray, and others have called a *madansara*, *kòmèsan*, and what Ulysse (2007) refers to as the informal commercial importers.

Due to the distinct nature of these trades, shared trends in state, market, and social relations for these labor mobilities are limited. While it is again true that one's legal status may restrict the ability to engage in remunerated work, differences in technologies of subjectivity and subjection mark these trades. Mobile vendors of hot food operate in private spaces (though using public roads), so the state has little chance to regulate this beyond general traffic stops. *Boukonn* often appear to be simply sitting in a chair or standing against a wall if they are not with a client, so only *redada-s* or targeting by a specific police agent would affect them. Other laborers either pay the Ayuntamiento for permits to sell at a particular location (which is theoretically linked to having the legal paperwork required to be in the Dominican Republic) or operate in locations where the state does not demand permits. *Gwo kòmèsan* require valid passports and visas to repeatedly cross borders and must pay fees for merchandise to Dominican Customs agents. Second, market relationships, all linked to private capital, are divided among those linked to Dominican vendors (mobile food vendor, agricultural vendor, street food vendor) and those linked to international capital and commodity flows (hair vendors/braiders<sup>35</sup>, *boukonn*, *gwo kòmèsan*), with the *ti kòmèsan* falling somewhere in between, depending on the specifics of their work. Commodities pass from the producer to one or more intermediaries (Dominican or Haitian) before reaching the Haitian vendor. However, the *gwo kòmèsan* are an interesting case whereby both merchandise and people are moving across borders simultaneously, making any merchandise that came to Haiti from abroad a double border crosser, and rendering the laborer as something beyond even the *circular migrants* of Martinez (1995), given the frequency and duration of the border-crossing trips. Third, the social relations of these trades involving larger capital reveal how some vendors interact with Dominicans at various stages (either retail agents,

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<sup>35</sup> It is commonly understood that higher quality hair, i.e. human hair, comes more frequently through Haiti, yet large amounts of human hair comes from India, as explained in the Chris Rock film, "Good Hair".

customers, customs or immigration agents), others with Haitians at other stages, and on rare occasion, with people from beyond Hispaniola. Finally, these vendors may often be seen clustering together in specific areas with other Haitians (who may or may not be selling the same items). As such, they form an informal collective that allows people the flexibility to leave and find food or to evacuate bodily waste, while others maintain attend to customers they might have otherwise missed. The reciprocal relations on which such activity is based reveals how capitalism articulates with other economic logics.

### **Discussion**

Extending the discussion to include all these trades, several important points emerge. First, the description of these trades demonstrate that other forms of globalization are evident. The capital that sustains Haitian labor mobilites is no longer rooted in the Dominican state, and certainly not in sugar or agricultural production, but rather in private holdings. While this privatization could often be seen as part of neoliberalism, the dynamics of labor process and the commodity chains shows that Haitians *as a unified group* are not forming the cheap labor reserve for private industry. There are international flows (wooden statues, bulk clothing, beauty supplies, blank CDs and DVDs, human and synthetic hair, etc.) from Haiti and other countries and national flows (agricultural goods, cookies, coffee, etc.) of commodities and people as laborers that do not adhere to a strictly top-down model of capitalist economic activity, but rather a globalization from below (Matthews et al. 2012). Furthermore, while some Haitians are involved in the exchange at the retail point of global commodity chains linked to large-scale capital endeavors, others differentiate themselves through their work by establishing their own small businesses. This participation in multiple scales of global flows indicates another rung: a middling globalization.

Second, the role of the state does not follow from any supposed fundamental neoliberal principles, i.e. to limit the role of the state to allow the accumulation of capital. Examining the trades as a group shows that the role of the state becomes larger, and potentially more inhibitive, as the value of capital involved increases. The legal statutes that prevent Haitians from participating in the formal sector of the Dominican economy direct them to the informal economy, still dominantly capitalist in nature. As Haitians gain access to more capital, in the form of tricycles, fruit carts, or boxes of commodities crossing the border, for example, their presence is increasingly in spaces where state agents may exert power. Customs officers, immigration patrols, and various police forces to implement technologies of subjection over these spaces. As such, Haitian migrants must be increasingly vigilant about state agents that threaten to seize the worker and merchandise.

Third, the aspect of capitalism that brings producers of value (in this case, Haitians) and consumers (mostly non-Haitians) together in a market context of commodity exchange provides a space where mental conceptions and social relations that stigmatize Haitians may be altered. First, though one may complain about the product, no one complains about the vendor during the exchange. *If it existed at all*, any anti-Haitianism was mitigated by economic pressures and physical desire. Second, Schwerdtfeger (2008) posted that 56% of the eligible Dominican work force was involved in the informal economy, often in the same rungs of the formal economy and in the informal economy as Haitians. Consequently, any reference to an ethnic enclave of work would be inaccurate.

Finally, one particular figure in the cast of characters of Haitian border crossers underlines the importance of the choice of the word *mobilité* instead of *migrant*: the *gwo kòmèsan*. People who engage in this trade operate on a different time scale than most of the other Haitians. Most

Haitian laborers and students attempt to return to Haiti to visit at least every December (see Chapters 3 and 4), considering return in terms of months since their last journey. The Gwo kòmèsan, however, operates on the scale of hours or days. Indeed, the *rate* of movement, something discussed in early globalization literature (Harvey 1989), should be considered as it pertains to people as much as to objects and images.

### **Summary**

This chapter contributes four pieces to the overall dissertation. First, this section depicts Haitian laborers' participation in the Dominican economy, specifically that of producers of tangible commodities, vendors of labor power, and people involved in microenterprise requiring different levels of capital investment. This suggests a globalization that runs tangentially to neoliberalism, one from below and toward the middle. Second, it undermines the ethnic enclave notion that would link Haitians to a particular economic activity, and shows how market interactions can counter anti-Haitianism. Third, the case of the gwo kòmèsan reinforces the need for new concepts regarding border crossers, specifically related to acceleration<sup>36</sup>. Finally, it shows how the Dominican state operates in a way toward Haitian laborers that contradicts principles of neoliberalism, as it restricts landless Haitians to capitalist activities and yet threatens those who run small businesses.

This examination of the practices inherent in the labor process and of the commodity chains in which laborers find themselves presents material aspects of labor, but it does not shed light upon subjectivities related to how Haitians work. Whether or not one is good or bad at their job is not at issue, for that suggests at least an evaluation by an outside party (e.g., supervisor, employer, or dependent family member), perhaps a self-critique by the worker, and most likely a comparison to some objectified image of perfected labor. Such an inquiry is beyond the scope of

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<sup>36</sup> I use this term in the mathematical sense of differential rate of velocity, which may be increasing or decreasing.

this dissertation. What remains to be seen in addressing the question of how a Haitian migrant works, is not the quality of the labor, but rather what subjectivities inform a person's work, which the next chapter covers, and those linked to the life of a labor mobilite in the city, which will be discussed in Chapter 7.



## CHAPTER SIX: PERSONAL SUBJECTIVITIES OF THE LABORER

The working-man was to fix his hopes upon a future life, while his pockets were picked in this one; he was brought up to frugality, humility, obedience—in short to all the pseudo-virtues of capitalism.

Upton Sinclair, *The Jungle*

### Introduction

One hot afternoon in mid-July 2009, I walked from the *carro público* station at Parque Independencia toward La Benito to make the rounds of the neighborhood. Along Avenida La Mella, I spotted Jilien, a petty merchant in her twenties who sold cookies, candies, lollipops, cigarettes, and (earlier in the day) coffee from her *bak paletèl* on the sidewalk. As we talked in the afternoon shade increased by the empty building behind us, a younger man approached and asked in heavily accented Spanish if I wanted him to shine my shoes. I responded in clear Kreyòl that I didn't think my Adidas *Samba-s*<sup>1</sup> needed a shoeshine. His eyes grew large and he immediately turned to Jilien in disbelief. “O, o! *Apa blan an pale kreyòl byen konsa,*” (Look how well the foreigner speaks Kreyòl!) He sat on what appeared to be a large coffee can, setting his shine box down next to him, my linguistic gesture apparently endearing me to him.

As I had not yet interviewed anyone who worked as what in Haiti is called a *chany*<sup>2</sup>, I took advantage of the moment to find out about him. When Gary first arrived from Haiti, he was working in a *batey*. He left that area because, according to him, it was too much work and it was too hard. Sometimes he suffered health problems resulting from the work, either from workplace accidents or from the exhausting toll of cutting cane, but the company offered little medical assistance. Eventually, he left the countryside and came to the capital, finding work initially at a

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<sup>1</sup> These are popular athletic footwear, designed for soccer.

<sup>2</sup> Chany, almost always men, are not limited to shining and buffing shoes, but cleaning them. I later learned that he offers his services to anyone with footwear, so asking to clean my suede soccer shoes was not as misguided as I originally thought.

construction site, but this did not last long. He very quickly became disillusioned by the way he was treated. His Dominican co-workers would sometimes urinate in buckets after they were using them and then tell Gary that he had to go clean them out. After a few months, he decided not to work construction anymore. After that, he went to work in Benito, loading and unloading trucks for national and international transport. He would make perhaps 300 pesos a day doing that. He goes back to that from time to time, but his current occupation is as a shoeshine guy. Like Jefferson at the pica pollo restaurant (Chapter 4), Gary remarked that he was tired of people “*rele nan tèt li*,” or yelling at him. As a *chany*, he will make about 200-400 pesos a day, perhaps, if he’s lucky. He lives in Haina and takes public transport to Parque Independencia every day to start working. He recounted that he doesn’t have a set spot where he works, but may walk anywhere from La Sirena (Duarte and Mella) to the Metro stop at Independencia and Churchill, a distance of approximately three miles.

The conversation with Gary highlights elements of mobilites’ subjectivities related to working. First leaving construction due to mistreatment, and then foregoing the physical demanding job of shipping for a pica pollo job, his understandings of how work should have been led him to consider quitting the restaurant, even if it meant he had to learn a different way of working. He took into account the money he would make, and made a decision to switch jobs. Similar to the way in which Lakoff and Collier assert that political economic and technological conditions encourage people to adopt certain subjectivities related to “how one should be” linked to the practice of living as *ethics* (2004:419), Gary developed an understanding of how to engage in remunerated activity given his position as a dark-skinned Haitian labor mobilite through his experience: *batey* work is hard, dangerous, and not worth it; in the city, construction work is plentiful but unpleasant; working for others in the service sector involves a

demeaning work environment; so, it's better to work for yourself. His work as a shoe shiner combined with his story of how he came to be one reflects this subjectivity.

Workers of all trades, manual laborers to Wall Street executives to anthropologists, need to grapple with the various demands of their particular work. As seen in the previous chapters, certain conditions render trades possible, and particular material objects combined with capital or labor-power may be required to conduct one's work, but subjectivities play an integral role in the formation of workers. After all, "it is not because he is a leader of industry that a man is a capitalist; on the contrary, he is a leader of industry because he is a capitalist" (Marx 1976:452). At the same time, Weber also wrote that an individual involved in a society where capitalism is prevalent becomes part of "an unalterable order of things in which he [*sic*] must live" (1958:55), a sentiment which echoes Marx's idea that "the immanent laws of capitalist production confront the individual capitalist as a coercive force external to him [*sic*]" (1976:381). Together, these point to the structure and agency of economic behavior, the technologies of subjection and subjectivity (Ong 2006) of any given political economic regime. And while Weber's classic social science work on economic ethics detailed how religion bolstered the calling to earn money but used delayed gratification, he readily suggested how such an ethic could be separated from supernatural underpinnings.

In this chapter, I describe the subjectivities (including a work ethic) that Haitian labor mobilites implement to show their understanding of *how they should be* while working. These facilitate the search for pecuniary capital, a quest for money to pay for the socially relevant expenses of life, a quest that is suggested first by case studies and then by an analysis of labor histories that reveals a labor progression. To begin, I provide the labor histories of two men and two women. Second, to establish the idea that Haitian laborers engage in a labor progression, I

use statistical tests on labor history data from structured interviews. This involved first drawing upon theories of labor with which I could transform nominal data into ordinal data and then rank those according to the value of capital associated with the trade (Table 6.1). After generating the average for each variable (Table 6.2) and noting a trend of increase in value over time, I ran a Wilcoxon signed-rank test, which reflected a significant trend toward capital accumulation. The rest of the chapter is focused on the subjectivities associated with work: the figure of a thief versus that of a serious person; mathematical literacy, accountability, and profitability; and the subjectivity of *inzile*. All of the above subjectivities, I contend, contribute to in part to a *kreyòlized* work ethic that Haitian labor mobilites may marshal to manage the political economy of Santo Domingo.

### **Labor Subjectivities in Case Studies**

#### *The Case of Henri*

To begin, I reintroduce Henri, whom I mentioned toward the end of Chapter 5. When I met him, a thin but muscular Haitian man in his late twenties with a low fade, he was relaxing with friends one Sunday afternoon on the roof of a tenement building. For most Haitians and Dominicans, Sunday in Santo Domingo is a day of rest or preparation for the coming week, perhaps spent with family and friends, and that particular day was no exception for Henri.

He was born in Pétionville, Haiti, not too far from St. Jean Bosco Church. Growing up, a Dutch nun named Rose helped his family by paying for his school. In spring 2003, he failed to pass his secondary school state examinations, so as Sister Rose left Haiti, and he didn't have money to continue, he was forced to stop traditional studies. Borrowing money from extended family and friends, he purchased a grill and supplies so that he could sell chicken along *Wout Frè* in Pétionville. This slowly allowed him to pay off debts and even start to make money. One

day, while playing the lottery, his number (69 93) was picked. With his winnings and some money saved from grilling chicken, he bought his visa and passport and travelled to the Dominican Republic.

Through friends of friends, he arranged to travel to Santo Domingo. On the bus trip over, he talked with another Haitian who said that he could arrange for Henri to work at a hotel in Bayaguana, over 30 miles outside the capital. In the rural town, he set up an arrangement with a Dominican man for room and board in exchange for cleaning the small hotel. One day, he met an Italian man who promised him paid work. Henri quit his job at the hotel and went to work in agriculture, picking tomatoes and sweet peppers. While he was finally earning money, as opposed to simply subsisting as he was at the hotel, he didn't feel that the 200 pesos was adequate compensation for a 6AM to 4PM workday. Furthermore, he felt that the boss treated all the workers poorly, to the extent that they weren't allowed to take unscheduled breaks. A time for a change had come.

Through conversations with Haitians in Bayaguana, he heard that he may have a childhood friend from Haiti living in the capital. He took his small savings to Santo Domingo, availing himself of his friend's limited support. He sought work in the construction industry, and not far from the neighborhood, along Avenida 30 de marzo, he found work under a *mayèt*, or project manager, who was a Haitian Dominican. Henri felt that this man treated him well, even though he received only 300 pesos per day, which was less than the legal minimum wage for his work. When work was completed at one site, he would search for more construction work with other project managers. Before agreeing to work, he even inquired into whether each *mayèt* paid people or simply called immigration to have the Haitian workers detained and perhaps deported. Construction, while helpful, was not providing sufficient income for him.

After a year or so, he decided to make another change. With money he saved, he purchased a tricycle so that he could sell juice. His reasoning was that he wanted “to make as much money as possible” and “*lè ou fè biznis ou, li pi bon toujou*”, meaning when you have your own business it’s even better for you (interview, June 22, 2009), in that this allowed him to set his own hours. Over months, business picked up, and he had enough money to get serious with a Haitian woman who would stop and buy juice from him on her way home from work at a beauty salon in the Colonial Zone. They eventually had a child together. He had a wife, a child, and his own small business. Though he no longer had legal right to be in the Dominican Republic after being robbed at knifepoint of his passport (with a year-long visa) and money, life seemed to be going well.

Around 2007, his luck began to change. His wife cheated on him with someone from the tenement building where they were living. After that, for a reason unbeknownst to him, she left the building one day with the child while Henri was working and has been in hiding ever since. Then, the Ayuntamiento seized his tricycle and all his merchandise. They made him pay 300 pesos as a fine (*multa*) and returned it to him after 15 days, but without the thousands of pesos of fruit he had. This happened to him eight more times, and on the last time (in month of May 2009), they refused to give the tricycle back.

While his situation seemed bleak, Henri found help when he most needed it. A pharmacy manager who had been a friendly client of his saw him sitting dejected one day in the spot where he used to sell juice. This eventually led to the man offering a job earning 5,500 pesos per month, even though Henri was held neither residency nor a valid Dominican visa. This job required him to work Monday through Saturday, eight hours a day, either helping with customers who spoke Kreyòl or French, or handing out fliers to entice customers into the pharmacy. As

Henri was *plase*, or living with a woman though not legally married, this steady income allowed him to pay the rent, save some money, and appease his life partner. He continued working and saving, seeming happy for the moment to rush in to work in uniform, following the time schedule of someone else. Perhaps due to the global financial crisis, the pharmacy manager began asking Henri to accept less in payment for his work, explaining that this was a temporary measure. While he grudgingly accepted the arrangement, this only lasted for two months, when the manager asked him to accept a major cut in pay, and then refused to pay him at all. Henri decided to take his savings, borrow money, and reestablish himself selling juice. The last time I saw him before he left, he was working in that capacity, but this time, in an area where the police and Ayuntamiento seldom pass.

#### *The Case of Jan Dimanch*

Jan would be the portrait of a sunny disposition if it were not for the machete scar along his entire face. However, the mark he carries from his time in a batey does not stop him from being pleasant and smiling at all times of the day.

Jan was born in an area outside of Jakmèl, Haiti. He grew up there and had finished his last year of primary schooling (*primè*). At that time, there was not a nearby school where he could continue, and his father was not financially solvent enough to be able to help send him elsewhere. In any case, Jan knew of family and friends of his who had gone to the Dominican Republic in search of work, in hopes of sending money back to the family, so he made a decision. He was 22 years old.

In December 1987, he made his way with a little bit of money (but no visa or passport) to an area outside of Jakmèl on the coast. There, at around 9pm, a *chaloup* (a boat made of *planch*) run by Haitians came to pick up whoever was interested. There were about 100 people on the

boat, but as I interviewed Jan in his 6'x9' room, he insisted that the boat was not too crowded, that everyone could have some sort of seat. About 5am, the boat arrived at Pedernales, just past Anse-à-Pitre, on the Dominican side of the border. His eight-hour journey cost him 80 goud. Upon arrival, Jan said that a group of Dominicans met them on the beach (as there was no port). They took them to the prison where they waited for a day. During that time, the chief of police took some of his white rice and gave it to the detainees. Later, the Dominican government came in state sugar mill vehicles and took him with the others to a government *batey* (sugar producing complex) outside of Boca Chica. Jan witnessed on several occasions that the management at the government sugar mill would use beat anyone caught trying to leave. After a couple of days, an uncle of his put him in touch with Jan's cousin, who was working in the area, and they arranged to leave the government camp together and go to a private sugar mill.

The private company, though appreciated for treating its workers better than the state mill, was hardly the perfect job. The company gave him a bunk bed to sleep in, and oil, rice, and bouillon to eat. During the day, he would receive boiled eggs and white rice as a meal. Cutting cane, he would earn 10 pesos for one load of cane, which could only be cut at the rate of ½ a load per day. After he finished a load, he got a ticket stating as much. On the 15<sup>th</sup> and the last day of each month, he would turn in tickets for pay. There was no school, no church, and no pharmacy. There was the company store where he could purchase additional foodstuffs and other things on credit. Indeed, after showing up empty-handed, most people needed to buy clothing, which the private mill allowed workers to do on Sunday.

When he left agricultural work to go to the capital after a year, he was looking for any opportunity. He began by working in construction in Los Mameyes. He was working under a Dominican, and most co-workers were Haitian. He does not know how much the Dominicans



made, but the Haitians all made the same. Sometimes a boss would treat him well, and sometimes they would take off with the money and not pay. One time, he was working for a Dominican. He went to lunch at a *comedor*. He came back at 1:05 when he was supposed to be back at 1pm. The boss said that he was unable to work the rest of the day and that he would not be paid for that. That Dominicans engineer was particularly malevolent.

“Whenever they heard him coming, even if you were just getting a drink of water, everyone would run back to their post so that he didn’t scream at you. He’s the guy who just might fire you if he felt like it. Even if you had to pee, you would have to hold it until he was out of sight” (personal communication, June 1, 2009).

Jan eventually reached the limits of his patience and tolerance, and so he opted to make a change in his life.

Turning to the same group of people who helped him when he first arrived in the country, his uncle gave him some of merchandise from his business (socks, t-shirts, underwear, etc.) to help Jan begin selling. Eventually, Jan was able to branch out and form his own business. He buys from people who come from Haiti, but he doesn’t go to Haiti to buy. He buys socks at the factory in San Isidro<sup>3</sup> and *Nef Cibao*. He buys at 200 pesos and sells at 230 (per dozen). He buys undershirts at 300 and sells at 330 (per dozen), and underwear is purchased at 230 and sold at 250 (per dozen). Children’s underwear is purchased at 75 and sold at 90 per dozen. He buys other underwear at 60, and sells at 70 per dozen. Shirts he buys at 300 and sells at 330 or 340. He’ll sell to clients, but then sells while walking around Duarte, Los Mameyes, and the flea market on Luperon on Sundays. Clients usually operate on credit, and most of them are Haitians, but a few are Dominicans.

Occasionally, just to make ends meet, he may engage in a couple of minor activities in his spare time. For example, he exchanges currency for Haitians, both people coming from Haiti to

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<sup>3</sup> This refers to the Free Trade Zone of San Isidro, on the eastern side of the capital.

purchase in the Dominican Republic and also people who work in the capital who send money to Haiti. He might buy at 430 pesos and sells at 440 pesos in exchange for 500 Haitian goud. In 2009, he started selling phone cards from his room in the tenement building.

### *The Case of Laurette*

Laurette was about sixteen when I first saw her in the tenement building. The family she had been sent to stay with ran something like a mini *colmado* in addition to making food to sell at construction sites around the capital. They had taken in two teenage boys who were distant relatives, but they also had two young children who were born in the Dominican Republic. On top of that, the husband was a *boukonn* who sometimes drove Haitian clients around the city to purchase whatever they needed for their business in Haiti. With all that responsibility, the family had taken on a supposed distant family member to help. This woman, a young teenager when she first arrived, worked several years for them, but then she left, as she wanted to start her own life and have a family. Her replacement was Laurette<sup>4</sup>.

Laurette, under guidance from her predecessor, began taking over the food preparation and clean-up. In the afternoons, as the food work was completed, she would tend the younger children and sell at the little store within the family's main room<sup>5</sup>. On weekends, she would help washing clothing. Occasionally, if the mother of the house were ill or unable to take her *bak paletèl* to the waterfront park on Sundays, Laurette would go in her stead. She received food, a place to sleep, and ability to attend school in exchange for her work, though it is not clear if they offered her any additional remuneration.

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<sup>4</sup> I could not ever establish the exact relationship between Laurette and the family in Santo Domingo. This represents some sort of labor agreement, but it is not clear if Laurette was *rèstavèk*, a girl sent to help a wealthier distant family member as occurs in the Dominican Republic, or some novel type of socioeconomic arrangement.

<sup>5</sup> Normally in tenement buildings in Santo Domingo, one rents a single room. However, those with more capital may rent additional rooms as needed. This family rented three rooms: one for the parents and children, one for food preparation and the servant, and one for the young boys and storage. In short, I consider this creation to be an urban *lakou* (c.f. Hurbon 1972; Roumain 1978)

Several months passed, and I no longer saw Laurette in the building. One day, climbing the mangled iron staircase to the next floor, I heard her arguing with Jòj, the husband who had employed her. She eventually stomped off before I could determine what was happening, but Jòj gave some explanation. It seems that Laurette had been seen in the company of a young man. Her host family aggressively discouraged her from continuing the relationship, but she would not stop seeing him, so she was forced to leave the home. At that point, she moved in with her boyfriend. This man failed to pass the *rhetò* exam twice in Haiti, so he studied plumbing and electricity. However, he couldn't find work in that trade in Santo Domingo, so he worked on construction sites. By combining a small loan from a friend with the little savings possible from his job, the boyfriend gave Laurette money to acquire a uniform and materials to sell phone cards in the streets, which is how our paths crossed again one day along Avenida Mexico.

Weeks passed, and I hadn't seen Laurette around Benito or Avenida Duarte. One night, while walking home from the (now closed) Haitian restaurant and club in the Zona Colonial, I felt a push on my shoulder accompanied by a woman shouting in Kreyòl, "Hey! I've got a problem with you". Laurette was standing beside a gas grill where she was selling individual hot dogs on a stick (with ketchup, mayonnaise, or hot sauce). She complained how I never called her to see how she was doing. After a conversation where I accepted the blame, she dropped her angry façade and offered me a hot dog. At the time I left the field, save for some altercations with the *Ayuntamiento*, she was still involved in selling hot dogs, though she had to leave Parque Independencia for reasons that will be presented in the next chapter.

### *The Case of Fabienne*

Just past where I first saw Laurette on Parque Independencia, there is a corner that houses one store selling electronics and another selling eyeglasses. This is where I came across Fabienne,

the woman whose eyes betrayed the incredible life stress that was disguised by her youthful physical presence.

During the few days when I interviewed her between sessions with clients, Fabienne was somewhere between 18 and 20, depending on the day. She was born in Port-au-Prince, but raised on the “Plain” outside Port-au-Prince where her mother bought a house. She never knew who her father was. When she was around 13, her mother died. Within a few months, Fabienne got pregnant by her boyfriend at the time. Her brothers and sisters were unwilling to support Fabienne or have her live there, and in Port-au-Prince, she knew that she would be completely on her own, and at her age, not even finishing elementary school, prospects for regular work were dim. As a result, she gave the child to the father and his family to care for and thought of a way to begin to provide for her child. With the help of a female friend who was known to frequently cross the border illegally, they went *anba fil* near Jimaní, as the Hurricane Jeanne in 2004 made border security practically non-existent. Once in the Dominican Republic, they rode in the back of a commercial food truck from Jimaní to Santo Domingo. In the capital, Fabienne’s friend instructed her to get out at “Duarte”, as she had people she could trust there. She migrated as she thought things would be easier, but as she told me with eyes full of tears during a very emotional moment, “here, it’s even worse.”

The only work that Fabienne has known since she was 14 is sex work. She arrived in the city, and the person who helped her cross the border facilitated her entry into that sector. Originally, she worked around Avenida Duarte. Here, clients were more regular, which allowed her to pay for a room and sometimes eat, but pay was very low, at times receiving as little as 100 pesos. Through her client interactions and time on the streets, she picked up basic Dominican Spanish conversation skills. Eventually, she moved down toward the spot on Parque Independencia

where I met her. Clients are less frequent, but she can earn anywhere from 500 up to 3000 per client. At one point, she met a man who she thought would take care of her and facilitate her leave from that difficult life. She became pregnant by him, but unfortunately, the man performed a drastic volte-face and denied that the child was his. Having no other family to turn to, Fabienne was forced to keep and care for the child, pushing her again toward the quick cash reward of sex work<sup>6</sup>.

### **Discussion of the Four Case Studies**

Together with understandings of work from Chapter 4, these data show highlight important points. First, they give instances of people transitioning from selling their labor-power to selling commodities, a change that exhibits greater capital access. While this was observed (and will be confirmed with data in the next section), this does not mean that everyone proceeds through every stage in this progression. This brings up the second import point. Economic and social circumstances may either cause a reset to an earlier stage, as in the case of Henri, or prevent someone from moving through to other stages, as in the case of Fabienne. The third point these cases raise is the importance of social relations. As the work of Wellman and Wortley (1990) show, different people provide different types of support<sup>7</sup>. Unless they become a rational miser (Marx 1976:254) and save wages earned from work where they have less capital, Haitians often need to borrow money from trusted friends or close family to make capital investments in

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<sup>6</sup> As anthropologists, we are taught to value diversity while recognizing commonalities within and across populations. Further, we are to value the details of people's stories, what people actually say and do, though like several scholars have pointed out, whether or not others take note is another issue (cf. Spivak in Ulysse 2007). Another work could do more justice to the humanity of sex workers, so for the moment, I simply add that Fabienne's story is not that much different from those of other sex workers I interviewed in Santo Domingo, regardless of their nationality. Of all the women that I interviewed, those that gave any real opinion on the matter stated that they genuinely wanted to quit working, but they couldn't for a number of reasons (economic pressure of needing to support a child as a single mother, inability to acquire other work due to lack of marketable skills, addiction to drugs, etc).

<sup>7</sup> Of course, this case is distinct in that they were dealing with Canadians in Toronto. They admit that their results would be different in a migrant context.

microenterprise. These same people, or those with whom one has frequent interactions, can also facilitate other types of work opportunities or other support when needed, not for money, but for the expectation that someone will provide support to the extent possible when needed. Similar to the case of ordinary people in contemporary urban China (Mei-hui Yang 2002), reciprocal relations bolster the search for profit in the capitalist political economy in these cases.

### **A Work Ethic: Cycling along Capitalist Lines**

Initial analysis of the labor histories led to the question: is there a labor progression among Haitian mobilites that constitutes part of a work ethic<sup>8</sup>?

To answer this question, I drew upon labor histories generated during structured interviews. Toward the end of my fieldwork, I implemented a set of structured interviews among 160 Haitians primarily within the neighborhood of La Benito<sup>9</sup>. This provided important demographic information (as seen in Chapter 3 and the Appendices). At the point of the interview schedule related to employment, rather than solely asking in what activity someone currently was engaged, a synchronic type question, I asked about all their work, including activities in Haiti, constituting what I consider to be a form of a person's labor history. I entered the answer each person gave about their labor history in Haiti (1<sup>st</sup> job, 2<sup>nd</sup> job, 3<sup>rd</sup> job, etc.) and the Dominican Republic (1<sup>st</sup> job, 2<sup>nd</sup> job, 3<sup>rd</sup> job, etc.) in a column as a distinct variable<sup>10</sup>. However, to run statistical tests, I needed to change the nominal into ordinal data, and for that, I required theories on labor.

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<sup>8</sup> Smucker and Murray include a description of something approaching this in their "Making of a *Boukong*" (2004:55).

<sup>9</sup> Some interviews occurred with residents of La Benito at their place of work, e.g. a construction site, on the sidewalk where they were selling, or a fixed stall.

<sup>10</sup> The maximum number of income generating activities for one person was three in Haiti and five in the Dominican Republic, but as only one person listed either a fourth or fifth activity in the Dominican Republic, this case was eliminated from analysis

### *Theories of Labor*

Theories of labor provided a helpful framework for analyzing the data. In the first volume of *Capital*, Marx (1976) described different modes of production (and by extension, livelihoods). While these may not have reflected every case in the extant ethnographic record, anthropologists have long accepted the existence of several modes of livelihood as abstract concepts (rather than definitive categories): foraging, horticultural, agricultural, industrial, etc. However, Trouillot (1984) shows in his description of the relationship between peasants and global capitalism that attention should be given to the labor process as a way of distinguishing categories of work, which the previous chapter reflects. Consequently, trades could be distinguished between those related to extraction or subsistence and those more closely representative of capitalist relations. These latter trades could be further distinguished along several lines, including according to one's relationship to the means of production (Cliffe 1977; Marx 1976). As such, trades that include the condition of the workers not owning the means of production while producing a commodity could be grouped together. On the other end of the spectrum would be those who based their livelihood upon using their money as capital within a trade. Groups of service trades could also be distinguished according to whether the work is primarily valued as mental or physical (Marx 1970).

### *Categories of Work*

Using the above theoretical insights, economic activity was transformed along the lines of a non-continuous scale of 1-5, indicating the following categories: extraction or subsistence-based labor, commodity production, physical service, mental service, and microenterprise. The following table details such divisions.

<i>Work Category (and Value)</i>	<i>Category from Chapter 5</i>	<i>Specific Activity</i>
Extraction/Subsistence (1)	N/A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Farming/Agriculture</li> <li>• Fishing</li> <li>• Husbandry</li> </ul>
Commodity Production (2)	Producers of Commodities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Making crafts/art/jewelry</li> <li>• Sewing/tailor</li> <li>• Carpenter</li> <li>• Factory worker</li> </ul>
Service: Physical labor (3)	Vendors of Labor-Power	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lottery worker</li> <li>• Driver</li> <li>• Beauty/Salon worker</li> <li>• Restaurant worker</li> <li>• Warehouse/Shipping</li> <li>• Security</li> <li>• Domestic work/Cleaning</li> <li>• Construction worker</li> <li>• Sex work</li> <li>• Mechanic/Electrician</li> </ul>
Service: Mental labor (4)	Vendors of Labor-Power	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Retail/Cashier</li> <li>• Call Center worker</li> <li>• Professor/Teacher</li> <li>• Other professional worker</li> </ul>
Capital-based enterprise (5)	Vendors of Commodities/ Microenterprise	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ROSCA/Lender</li> <li>• Misc. ambulant vendor</li> <li>• Agricultural vendor</li> <li>• Food Vendor</li> <li>• Ti/Gwo kòmèsan</li> </ul>

These represent a spectrum where at one end, the means of production and forms of capital are almost completely absent or alienated from the person, and at the other, the person places larger amounts of capital into service and holds a different relationship to the means of production. This is not to say that one job, say a factory worker, earns less than an ambulant vendor, but rather, the control of capital is greater for the latter than the former.

The first, *extraction/subsistence-based*, refers to livelihoods based upon subsistence-based relations, or at least, relations that are at the extraction stage in the production of profit within a



larger capitalist system<sup>11</sup>. Save for the two people interviewed who worked as cane-cutters on batey-s, people engaged in this type of livelihood only in Haiti. Sharecropping in agriculture is still prevalent in Haiti (Baro 2002, Jayaram 2010b), and most fishermen are operating in a way comparative to sharecropping of the sea (Baro 2002). Given the chronic insecurity associated with rural Haitians' market relations (Mazzeo 2009), money earned from these endeavors in Haiti most often goes to purchase the socially necessary commodities needed for survival rather than being used as capital. The second category, *commodity production*, refers to livelihoods where a person or company hires a worker for wages, usually piece rate, and his or her labor power is used to create objects that the company owner will sell for a profit. This type of work occurred among Haitians on both sides of the island. The third and fourth categories are *physical service* and *mental service*. These include activities where people have a task to complete and are paid a wage rate, a set amount for a day's or month's labor, and receive payment either every fifteen calendar days, a *kenzjou/quincena*, or at month's end. While all work has both a physical and mental element, these activities can be distinguished by the fact that the person engaging in the former is valued more for the corporeal acts performed, e.g. driving a car, cooking food, or performing coitus, whereas the person engaging in the latter receives wages based more upon the value of knowledge possessed, e.g. Kreyòl or English proficiency, history, computer literacy and the trust given an employee (as in the case of a cashier). The final category, *capital-based enterprise*, entails the intentional and organized use of money in a process that seeks to generate profit. Here, Haitians as entrepreneurs use their money to purchase commodities (including currencies), infusing it with their labor power, and sell products (hopefully) for a net gain.

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<sup>11</sup> Mazzeo claims that rural livelihoods are not subsistence-based, as they "neither produce all they consume, nor consume all they produce" (Mazzeo 2009:121).

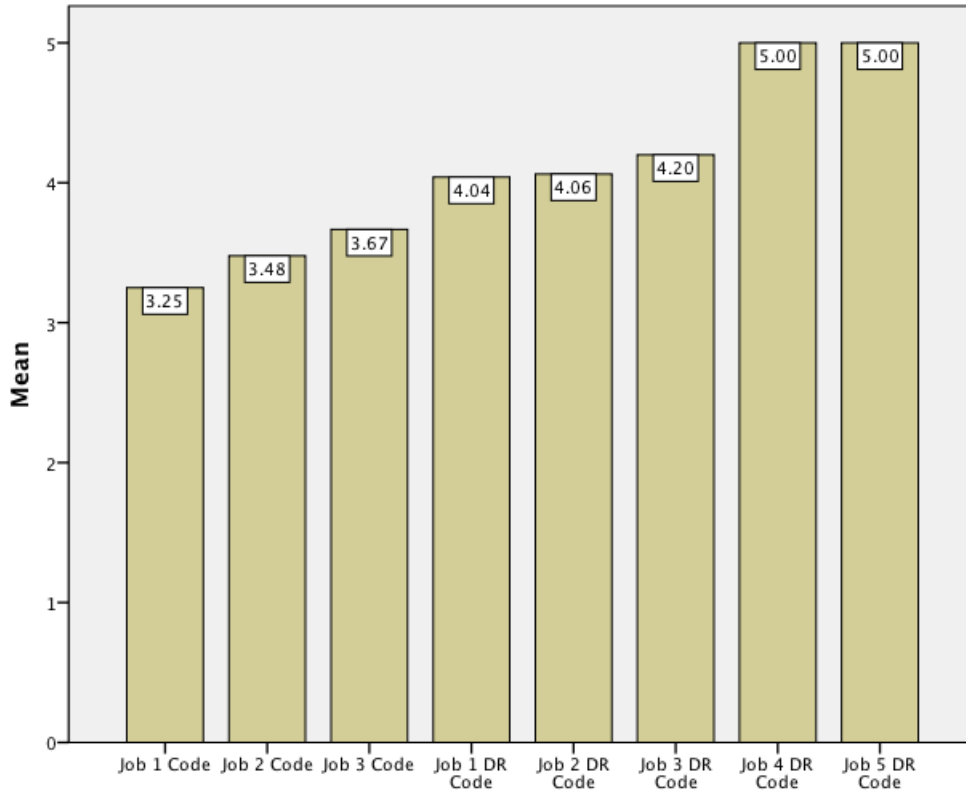
Changing the names of the trades into ordinal data for each income-generating activity in hand, work histories can be statistically analyzed.

### *Testing and Results*

Keeping in mind my interest in seeing if there was a change among members of the sample population from low to high in the amount of capital-required for each trade, I needed to determine change over time. Practically speaking, this could be seen if there was a significant change between values in the columns per case. Jan Dimanch's case demonstrates this, as he was not working in Haiti, but in the Dominican Republic, he started as a cane cutter (1), then entered Santo Domingo as a construction worker (3), and finally established himself in micro-enterprise (5).

To ascertain change over time of the entire sample, I inquired into each person's labor history. To begin, I asked people to describe their current employment. Next, I asked each person to list every job they had ever held, starting in Haiti. After the first job, I elicited subsequent jobs in Haiti. Then, people recounted their jobs in the Dominican Republic, starting with what they did when they first arrived. Out of 160 people interviewed, 132 listed themselves as ever having worked in the Dominican Republic. No one listed more than three jobs in Haiti, and only two people listed having either four or five jobs in the Dominican Republic. After entering the material into a spreadsheet, I generated the statistical average for each variable from the 160 structured interviews (see Graph 6.2).

Graph 6.2: Average Job Category per Person’s Job Slot



The mean values constantly increase, both within country and across the island, made clear in the above graph<sup>12</sup>. Pursuing this further, I included the minimum and maximum job category entries per job slot in a person’s chronology. The results of all of these are shown in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3: Average Value of Work Category Based upon Chronology and Location

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Job 1 Haiti	100	3.25	1.452	1	5
Job 2 Haiti	23	3.48	1.275	1	5
Job 3 Haiti	6	3.67	1.033	3	5
Job 1 DR	124	4.04	1.085	1	5
Job 2 DR	32	4.06	1.045	2	5
Job 3 DR	5	4.20	1.095	3	5

From the following table of descriptive statistics, certain trends are apparent. First, considering

<sup>12</sup> Note that Jobs 4-5 in the Dominican Republic, as they pertain to only one individual, were eliminated from further analysis.

the number of responses (N, from a total of 160) per country, it is clear that more people indicated having a first job in the Dominican Republic than in Haiti, which could be theoretically due to several possible reasons, but that is outside the scope of this dissertation<sup>13</sup>. The second point of interest is range of the rankings. While the maximum for all categories is 5, indicating entrepreneurship, the minimum value for both Job 3 in Haiti and Job 3 in the Dominican Republic is 3. This means that people's later employment begins with service work, indicating that after working in other trades, people would not readily return to subsistence or commodity production. Thus, comparing results across time suggests Haitian mobilites' trend toward capital accumulation, or at least increased access to capital. More powerful statistical analysis is needed to determine if the steady increase of averages of the mean score are significant.

To work with the sample data, I needed a statistical test that generated significance between compared means. The sample data, while related, cannot be assumed to follow a normal distribution, so t-tests would not be applicable. Instead, I used a Wilcoxon signed-rank test (1945) to compare ranked means of two samples<sup>14</sup>. The data are as follows.

Table 6.4: Wilcoxon signed-rank data

	Change A: Haiti Job 1- Haiti Job 2	Change B: Haiti Job 2- Haiti Job 3	Change C: Haiti Job 3- DR Job 1	Change D: Haiti Job 1- DR Job 1	Change E: DR Job 1- DR Job 2	Change F: DR Job 2- DR Job 3
Z	-2.129 <sup>b</sup>	-1.633 <sup>b</sup>	-1.682 <sup>b</sup>	-4.429 <sup>b</sup>	-2.239 <sup>b</sup>	.000 <sup>c</sup>
Sig. (2-tailed)	.033	.102	.093	.000	.025	1.000

a. Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test

b. Based on negative ranks.

c. The sum of negative ranks equals the sum of positive ranks.

<sup>13</sup> Other than methodological explanations, possibilities for this include the coincidence of coming of working age and migration, the necessity to contribute to household expenses in a migratory setting rather than one's familial home, and the scarce job market in Haiti.

<sup>14</sup> While statistical purists may hold that ordinal data cannot be run with interval-based tests, many scholars recognize that this line is perhaps arbitrary if not somewhat fuzzy, and it is often theoretically argued and methodologically practiced as such (c.f. Fife-Shaw 2006; King and Minium 2002).

This indicates that Changes A, D, and E are statistically significant at the 5% level, Changes B and C are statistically interesting (valid around the 10% level) but not wholly significant, and Change F is not significant.

Consideration was given for “downward movement”, where one starts working in a higher-valued trade and later moves to a lower-valued one. There were four people for whom this happened between their first to second jobs in Haiti. Twelve people shifted down when they moved to the Dominican Republic, and of those eight downgraded from petty commerce in Haiti to construction or security in Santo Domingo. This is consistent with the idea that someone would sell whatever assets they have to facilitate their travels. Lastly, once in the Dominican Republic, only two people downgraded their position.

#### *Analysis of Wilcoxon Test*

Beginning with Change A, the numbers indicate that people are shifting along the scale from job almost completely alienated from capital and the means of production to one more closely linked to capital access. As Change B shows, this process appears to continue, though to a lesser degree as the person takes on different work in Haiti. This suggests, in other words, that Haitians usually continue working in the type of job that they first acquire, but some perhaps switch to an activity where less laborious work, more freedom, and more profit can be made, if that becomes possible later. Similarly, among those who listed a third job, no significant change occurs as one migrates to the Dominican Republic to work, as seen in Change C. This indicates that those people who had three distinct types of work usually maintain that level of capital access in their transition to the Dominican Republic. However, once people migrate to the Dominican Republic, a major shift occurs when people who have lived and worked in the Dominican Republic for a time move to a second job, reflected in Change E. Combining this with the fact that

almost half of the people who I interviewed were involved in some sort of commerce as their *ultimate* job in the Dominican Republic, it becomes clear that there is a drive toward entrepreneurship. Furthermore, Change D indicates that comparing a Haitian's first occupation in Haiti with her or his first occupation in the Dominican Republic is absolutely linked to a shift toward further capital access.

What the case studies and the analysis of answers regarding labor histories from structured interviews show is a labor progression on the part of Haitian labor mobilites in Santo Domingo. In other words, the practice of work as described in Chapter 5 is not undertaken higgledy-piggledy. There is a trend for Haitian laborers to strive toward employment that offers them greater degrees of access to (and thus, implementation of) capital. Even if one were to stumble along the way, it appears that one such ethic as subjectivity developed by Haitian labor mobilites is that one should seek to shift from activities where one exchanges labor-power for money to pay for one's livelihood to activities where one turns increasing amounts of money and commodities into larger quantities of capital ad infinitum. It bears repeating that this does not necessarily correspond to higher wages, but rather that, in conjunction with understandings of work from Chapter 4, Haitians may find the hope of greater income enough to compensate for working in an anti-Haitianism free environment. However, this work ethic is only one of the subjectivities in these middling globalizations.

### **Interpersonal Subjectivities: Thieves and Serious People**

After returning from spending two weeks doing emergency response work in Haiti after the January 2010 earthquake, I volunteered with Medecine Sans Frontiers as a patient advocate for those Haitians who required specialized care in Santo Domingo. One morning after visiting two Haitian medical refugees, I passed Edvard, a man who sold juice and toasted sandwiches on

Avenida Mximo Gomez. Feeling thirsty, I asked him for a juice without sugar in Kreyl. He perked up at my use of his first language, and responded in kind “Small or large?”. As we kept talking, I explained what I had been doing in the nearby hospital. Like most Haitians I encountered in Santo Domingo in the first two months after the earthquake, he quickly interjected that he hadn’t lost anyone in the quake<sup>15</sup>. After a few jokes, we shook hands, and I turned to walk away, but not before he told me that anytime I was in the area that I should stop and see him. Just then, another Haitian vendor from a few feet away passed by us. Edvard smirked and said in Kreyl, “*Ng sa a, se yon vl li ye.*” I disagreed, saying that “*Non, se yon moun serye li ye.*” The game continued with the second vendor observing in silence. Edvard looked back at the man, adding a little smile again and then changing his face to a stern look, “*Non, se yon vl. Li pran pz km yon moun serye*”<sup>16</sup>.

In the end, I walked away not knowing whether this exchange represented a joke between them, as two people who sold together and probably helped each other out in times of need, or if it was actually a soft way of publicly criticizing the second vendor. For present purposes, the actual meaning is not as important as the manner in which it demonstrates subjectivities embodied in the figures of a thief and a serious person.

### *Thieves*

Someone who “takes portable property from another without the knowledge or consent of the latter” denotes a thief (OED 2013), but to Haitian laborers in the Dominican Republic, the idea of a person involved in theft connotes a distinct linguistic, behavioral, political, and spatial context.

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<sup>15</sup> While I was not focused on this, it appears that those who did lose a close friend or family member were much more reticent about that fact.

<sup>16</sup> Edvard: “That guy’s a thief.” KJ: “No, he’s a serious person.” Edvard: “No, he’s a thief. He just pretends to be a serious person.”

Geertz (1975) wrote on how proverbs demonstrate common sense. In Kreyòl, like other languages, enshrines idealized values and truisms in proverbs, including those that demonstrate how theft is stigmatized. A more extensive list could provide even more insight, but for the purposes of this work, I include the following:

<i>Vòlò se yon tach lèd ki pa janm sòti.</i>	Theft leaves an ugly stain that can't be removed.
<i>Vòlè pa bay.</i>	Theft doesn't pay.
<i>Vòlè yo pa kenbe pase pou moun onèt.</i>	Thieves never have more than an honest person's wages.
<i>Tout metye se metye; se vòlè sèl ki pa onore moun.</i>	All trades are good. Only theft is dishonorable.

From these proverbs, one can infer the disdain that many Haitians hold toward theft and thieves.

It is imagined as an evil act<sup>17</sup>, producing ill-gotten gains, which sullies a person's character.

Further, these stand in opposition to honorable work. Daniel, a phone card seller, told me how he at times wouldn't make enough to eat every day, but felt that he's "still living, and won't steal" (personal communication, May 2009). Lucy, a woman who was living in Benito and working for a Colombian by painting wood sculptures for sale in the Zona Colonial, was held up by knifepoint, and she called her assailant a *gwo vòlè* (big thief). Beyond the action of taking what does not belong to him or her, a common association with thieves is that they are involved in drugs. When Chedline, a woman who sells from a paletèl, had her house robbed, she knew that her neighbors heard or saw something happening, but they neither stopped the thieves nor told her. She said they are into "*bagay dwòg*" (drug dealings), and that if they were reported, Chedline and her neighbors fear that they might come back and kill.

Beyond language references and specific ideas of theft, some Haitians differentiate civilian theft from that theft which is facilitated by political office or rank. That members of Dominican police forces accept bribes from or even extort civilians has been recognized by Dominicans, Haitians, and other foreign nationals, and has been documented to the extent that such covert acts

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<sup>17</sup> There are proverbs that also link theft with the Devil, e.g. *vòlè vòlè vòlè, djab ri* (Thieves steal from each other, and the Devil laughs).



of state abuses of power can be (Beltré 2012). Rodney, a fruit vendor, often times has police stop by his cart to chat.

Sometimes the police actually pay for fruit, and other times, they'll promise to pay you later, but they don't. [I asked if he considered them a *vòlè* (thief).] I would call it a thief if someone took something without authorization, but if he says he'll pay you...he always comes through the area, that's not a thief, even if he doesn't pay you. I'll just stop selling to them on credit. Instead of that, I'll just offer them fruit. (personal communication, 2010)

What is remarkable here is that rather than confronting the police officers and requesting money for goods rendered, he accepts past losses, and resigns himself to giving the police fruit outright. State forces engage in other activities, also understood as theft. Paul, another phone card seller, shared an apartment with a man who had his possessions stolen by immigration authorities, something he called a *vòl politik*, or political theft. The boyfriend of Anayiz, a woman who sells from a paletèl, suffered an even bigger loss from state forces.

Immigration forces are making war. The day you get your visa is the day they come after you. They place a mark on your visa, and they annul your visa. That means, there's no reason to get one in the first place. People spend money, get a passport so you'll be respected, but there's no respect. It's theft just like in the streets<sup>18</sup> (personal communication, May 19, 2009).

That is to say, in addition to civilian on civilian theft, there is theft perpetuated by state forces. And while the latter type can occur throughout the city, the association of La Benito with thieves corresponds with increased police presence, which includes extra juridical actions.

During one of my first days of doctoral fieldwork, I reconnected with Michel, a long-time resident of Benito who works as a *boukonn*. After discussions of US politics and wars in the Middle East, he shared with me that “below [Avenida] Benito [Gonzalez] is serious, but above it is for *delincuentes*, *bagay dwòg*” (personal communication, October 30, 2007). After my engagement with the Haitian university student population, I called a woman who was studying

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<sup>18</sup> Imigrasyon, se lagè y ap fè. Se jou ou bay viza ou, yo pran l. Yo mete [yon bagay] ladan l. Yo elimine viza ou. Sa vle di m p ap bezwen fè l poutèt sa a. Moun depanse kòb ou, fè yon paspò, se poutèt pou ou ka gen respè. Pa gen respè. Se vòlè menm jan nan lari

at the State University (UASD). She was on winter break, but didn't have the money to go home, so she was at her apartment most days. I told her how I would go to Benito for research, to which she responded loudly, "aren't you afraid that someone might rob you or freak out on drugs?" (personal communication, December 19, 2009). This common fear, articulated by upper class Haitians (but also by Dominicans of all classes), shows how that neighborhood is associated with theft. Even the Haitian Baptist pastor of Benito commented how "*se yon katye ki gen anpil vòlè, anpil delikans, anpil vis, anpil lòt bagay ankò*" ("it's a neighborhood with many thieves, much crime, much vice, and many other [bad] things," personal communication, September 2010). While certainly there are those people who commit crimes (including theft) and are perhaps involved in the consumption or sale of drugs, this characterizes neither all Haitians nor all Dominicans in the area. Therefore, many people comport themselves in such a way so as they may be distinguished from the thieves, namely, by being seen a serious person.

### *Serious People*

*Moun serye*, or serious person, among Haitians refers to a socially constructed moral ideal of personhood. This is either a type of person that one aspires to become or a designation applied by one person to another. For example, when a Haitian woman gave her brother papers to submit as a purchase order for her business, and he forgot to do it, she confided in me that he was starting to be "not serious". Being *serye* may imply either an ontological social and work-based meaning or a teleological religious meaning. Such a concept does not emerge within normal quotidian conversation. People *practice* being a serious person more than they would *talk* about it, but it is occasionally discussed. Specifically, it appears at points of moral questioning, that is, where an interlocutor is presented with a situation in which the person in question might choose or be ascribed a less than honorable path of behavior. Thus, a stark contrast is made between the

socially constructed moral figure of the *moun serye*, or serious person, and the anti-thesis, the *vòlè*, or thief. The following stories depict different aspects of being serious.

Anne, a 24-year-old Haitian woman employed as a domestic worker for an elderly Dominican widow, indicated such contradistinction between the two types of people.

There's a big difference between serious person and a thief. When a serious person shows up, others will recognize him or her that way. They'll open the door wide because it's a serious person. Wherever a thief shows up, people will never open the door. If they can tie up the thief, they will. (personal communication, July 2011)

In this example, the person answering a call the door (either metaphorically, or in Anne's case, perhaps literally) must make a decision about the character of the person on the other side.

Those who are determined to be *moun serye* pass, where thieves not only do not, but they also may be pursued to the point of punishment, if possible. While such difference is helpful to understand such a disposition, the following stories of Nanòt, Deslande, Atis, and Aunita demonstrate both the context and meanings of the term.

Nanòt is a woman in her late 40s. She was born in the countryside just outside Okay, Haiti. When she was very young, her mother (who had 2 other older boys) sent her to live with an aunt in Okay. This aunt had seven children. Because of the expense of having that many children, Nanòt never went to school. She simply helped with the housework and helped her aunt sell while the other children went to school. When she was about 13 years old, the aunt took all the children to live in Port-au-Prince. The situation became difficult and stressful, so Nanòt left that house at age 15. She worked as a *rèstavèk* [she initially used the term "*sèvan*"] for about 3 or 4 years for a "*grannèg, boujwa*" [well-to-do] Haitian man. Now, she sells from a *bak paletèl* and a makeshift fruit stand in Benito.

I met her in summer 2006, during very early stages of my research in the Dominican Republic. I had a female friend, Isis, from the US who spoke some Kreyòl come visit me as I

was finishing my work, and as she wanted to see my field site, I took her to Benito, where she met Nanòt. Throughout my doctoral fieldwork, I would frequently pass by Nanòt's corner, either to buy fruit or simply to chat after working, and as time passed, she increasingly spoke as a mother figure to me (though she incessantly called me "Johnny", even after being corrected by her daughters). One afternoon, my post-30-year-old bachelorhood must have particularly bothered her because she broached the topic without provocation. "Djònni, you shouldn't let Isis get away, you hear? You're not getting any younger, and you're a serious person. You just need to talk with her. You two would have beautiful children" (personal communication November 7, 2007). Nanòt's advice implies that despite the fact that I was in what she believed to be a pathological critical state of being an adult male in his 30s without spouse or children, she recognized me as a serious person. Furthermore, as she thought fondly of both Isis and me, she felt that the correct thing for me to do was to court, marry, and reproduce with Isis. Her story points to the importance of being serious in the reproductive realm<sup>19</sup>.

Deslande's story shows the aspect of *moun serye* related to personal attestations and to ethical conduct. She is a nineteen-year-old Haitian woman who came to the Dominican Republic at age twelve. When I interviewed her, she was not forthcoming about her life in Haiti and her early life in the Dominican Republic, but she made vague references to helping clean people's houses. When she was sixteen, she had befriended an older European man living in Santo Domingo. He would take her out to eat and give her a little money in exchange for her friendship. One time, when she was particularly desperate, she agreed to have sex with him for about \$150 dollars US. The experience, while she admits it was not terrible, disgusted her, and she resolved never to do that again. She claimed that she occasionally met men who would buy her gifts and give her

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<sup>19</sup> Given the severe stigma that homosexuality carries among many Haitians, I never interviewed an openly gay man or woman in Santo Domingo. Consequently, I do not know how such a concept applies to those types of relationships.

money, but she would never have sex with them<sup>20</sup>. A few months later, I called her to check on her life. I wanted to interview her again, and since she lived on the eastern edge of Distrito Nacional, I asked if she ever came back to the Zona Colonial (where I met her). She emphatically told me “no”, and said that she was through with going out to socialize in that area. She said that she stays around her home, now. Deslande elaborated, adding that “now, I’m become more serious. I’m finishing [secondary] school, and later I’m going to the university. I work to pay all my rent and bills. And, I am an Evangelical Christian, now.” She reported that with some money she had borrowed, she set up a fruit stand in her neighborhood, and that income suffices. She had also met a middle-aged European man who attended her church, and they had started an exclusive relationship. Deslande’s case shows how she was in a social context where the morality of her behavior could have been in question, at which point, she made her own claim of being a serious person. She intimated that she was renouncing her previous wayward ways, and was now focused on self-sufficiency through work and self-improvement through education. Additionally, along with her conversion, it suggests a Protestant ethic that Weber (2001) described, which I will return to shortly. Deslande’s words exemplify the fact that being serious can be self-professed (given a certain socio-temporal context) as much as it can be ascribed and that being serious (may) have a religious component.

Atis, a thirty-five year old man with dreads, lives in a tenement building in Benito. I had seen him several times in the area, and I had passed through his building conducting structured interviews with his friends and neighbors. For some reason, though, he never would consent to a

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<sup>20</sup> Though I do not doubt that she meant what she said, it would not be beyond the realm of possibility for her to omit details as a form of image management, as she may have perceived me as a potential boyfriend. I emphasize here, hopefully unnecessarily, that I adhered to professional ethical standards while conducting all my research.

formal interview with me, so his life story is unknown<sup>21</sup>. From informal conversations and seeing him around the capital, I know that he paints in a space at his building that he shares with another Haitian artist. He sometimes walks to the Zona Colonial to sell his paintings to a vendor, but I never saw which one. He has a live-in girlfriend, and they have no children together.

One Sunday at his building, he had paintings sprawled out around the ground, and he was stapling canvas to wooden frames. Asking about his week, he responded by recounting some exchanges he's had. "You know, some Dominicans just aren't serious. Okay, some are, but some aren't. They come to you, get a painting from you. [KJ: On credit?] Yeah, on credit. Then, they say they'll give you some money every once and a while, but they never pay you" (personal communication, May 25, 2009). For him, certain Dominicans were rendered *not serious* (though not necessarily a thief) because of an unfulfilled promise of payment. This brief encounter with Atis highlights another part of being a serious person: keeping one's word.

Several of the above themes were mentioned and elaborated on when I interviewed Aunita, a 54-year-old woman from Bombardopolis, Haiti. She was raised in an evangelical family in northwestern Haiti and baptized at age twelve. In her late teens, she began engaging in what she considered earthly pleasures, and left the church. To earn money, she engaged in commerce. In the 1970s, she sold fabric, cookware, and dishes, purchasing in Port-au-Prince and selling in the capital. Then, after a cooking accident, she switched to selling more valuable materials, like *bwa chandèl* (*Amyris balsamifera*). In the 1980s, she moved to Santo Domingo. Formerly working as an *gwo kòmèsan* between the capitals, she now limits herself to occasionally helping a man sell from a *bak paletèl* during the day and selling hot food (from 65-80 pesos) during the evenings. After a severe mysterious illness that left puzzled five Dominican doctors, a local

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<sup>21</sup> His reluctance to talk at length with me was remarkable, given both how open almost every other Haitian I met was and how often we would shake hands in the street.

Haitian *bòkò* coldly conveyed that Aunita either had to prepare to die or convert to Protestantism, which she did on September 11, 2009.

When I interviewed her, Aunita gave a rich answer as to what it means to be a *moun serye*.

For her, this refers to:

someone who is just both before God and before humans. In my language, a serious person, well, according to the Bible, it's a person who is just. That means that a person won't steal or other types of things....When you are Christian, you have *la crainte de Dieu*<sup>22</sup>. That can make you *serye*, because then there are types of things that you are afraid to do. Like, 'if I steal this belt, it's not for me. God will punish me.' That can make you *serye*. You might be working in a company, or your responsible for a building. Like, if I go to the United States and I leave this building for you to manage. When I come back, if I find it has everything like it did when I left, if there is something broken, I put that on paper if I don't have a way to replace it. Or, I could send money abroad to the person's account. All that is *serye*. And if I tell you 'yes,' it's 'yes'. I can't tell you I'll be home at eight o'clock, and at ten o'clock I'm not home yet. If I do that, I'm not serious. You understand? But, if I tell you I'll be here at nine o'clock, and something happens, like a traffic jam, and I can't be there, don't tell me I'm not serious (personal communication, July 3, 2011).

First, her words reflect a two-party system of judgment, that is, people are serious according to other humans and God, going beyond the implications of Deslande's remarks pertaining to religion. Continuing this religious thread, Aunita suggests that a particular attitude of being god-fearing, in the context of someone who is a devout Christian, can make someone avoid acts contrary to what they understand to be godly conduct<sup>23</sup>. The example she gives of such malfeasance is theft, again asserting the polarity between being a *moun serye* and a *vòlè*, as described above. Third, her description of how to manage a building reveals how being serious involves both non-destructive behavior and personal responsibility. Fourth, being serious is evidenced by an ability to keep your word, as Atis illustrated above. However, she also included that context for such ideas is important, for if a situation is beyond one's control (like a traffic congestion), then one is to a degree exculpated for not keeping one's word.

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<sup>22</sup> This is a French phrase meaning "fear of God".

<sup>23</sup> In the Bible, the books of Kings, Nehemiah (specifically 7:2), and Proverbs convey these ideas, both in English and Kreyòl versions. In the latter translation, the descriptor *serye* or phrase *moun serye* is used.

What these four accounts convey is that being a serious person, as a socially constructed moral ideal of personhood, includes both contradistinction from a thief as well as character traits. Relationally, it stands in opposition to the figure of the thief. A person could claim to be as such in a situation where his or her morals could potentially be questioned, or a person may act in a certain way so that they are perceived thusly, either to avoid negative judgment by others or to escape divine punishment by the Christian God. People could potentially act seriously in romantic relationships, behave seriously by doing what they say they will do, or comport themselves seriously in accordance with a particular sense of personal responsibility in matters interpersonal and economic. Those that are understood to be serious can be trusted with the possessions of others, are seen as good stewards of relationships, and are bestowed with trust. As such, being a *moun serye* could be seen to bring important social and economic benefits to those who receive such a label, like finding and maintaining a job or establishing a family and broader social network on which to draw in case of emergency.

### **Other Subjectivities**

In addition to the work ethics inherent in the labor progression and those of a serious person, there are other technologies of subjectivity for cultural citizenship (Rosaldo 1997) that Haitian laborers implement. First, when dealing with people in Santo Domingo, be they clients, passers-by, state agents, the mobilites may face the xenophobia of anti-Haitianism. One possible response is to go into *inzile* in a similar way to that of the Haitian educational mobilites. Second, when the action of work is complete and payment received, they need to be able to properly control their finances. Subjectivities related to mathematical literacies, accountability, and profitability enable Haitian laborers to ensure they make profits.

*Inzile*



Another subjectivity of Haitian laborers relates to the internally insular way in which they relate to the people in the city. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, many Haitian labor migrants have either suffered discrimination by Dominicans due to their nationality or heard of people suffering from this. One way in which they manage this is through *inzile*<sup>24</sup>. Anayiz and her mother live together in Vennsenk, in Santo Domingo Este. Her mother never attended school. As a child, she took care of her siblings until she was old enough to work as a domestic servant for other families and receive pay. She eventually saved enough to begin a small business in clothing. As she had children, she brought them into her business, and when her health began to deteriorate, the children took over the enterprise.

Manman Anayiz rarely leaves the house, and when she does, she only goes to the so-called Haitian church, named not because of where the church began, as it is a branch of the evangelical *ci-devant* Worldwide Church of God, but because everyone who attends is Haitian (or speaks Kreyòl). Though she has few interactions with Dominicans, she says that she hears things. One day, while sitting in her apartment, she heard a Dominican yelling on the street about how he can't wait for then-President Leonel Fernández to do something so that they can throw out all the Haitians of the area. Within her building, she lives

within a Haitian community, “in a Haitian form”. We keep to ourselves so they don't bother us. We keep docile so they don't attack us. In this way, they don't give us problems. We know we're Haitians. But if they saw us acting in a way that indicated that we didn't understand that we were not in our own country, they would have killed us a long time ago (personal communication, May 24, 2009).

This “form” of life, as she calls it, leads her to avoid interactions with Dominicans, and only engage Haitians if they are at her church, and she shares this with her daughter who lives with her. Anayiz opined that “Dominicans aren't educated. They speak poorly to Haitians. They call

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<sup>24</sup> I borrow this neologism (formed by joining “internal” and “exile”) from the literature created during and after the so-called Dirty Wars in Latin America in the 1960s and 1970s.

us *diablo*. Sometimes when I walk by some, they say horrible things to me, but I just ignore them” (personal communication, May 24, 2009). The only Dominicans she speaks to in any depth (besides market-based interactions) were at her church, but now she is in the same congregation as her mother. Anayiz and her mother are limiting their personal interactions with Dominicans as much as possible in hopes of avoiding interpersonal conflict. When a moment of tension does arise for the daughter, she holds her tongue, going in to *inzile*, to avoid escalation of the conflict that the comment about her presence evokes.

### *Market Subjectivities*

In every trade that Haitians work, but particularly small enterprises, they learn and practice fundamentals of the market. As Haitian migrants enter the Santo Domingo, they participate in commodified exchanges based upon money. Unless they have all their needs covered by a friend or family member, which may happen on a temporary basis, they have to purchase food and clothing from vendors, pay for transportation, and make rental payments for shelter. As most Haitians arrive in the city as labor mobilites, they must find work for which they are remunerated. Like Oswald, the young manager of a workshop and store that sells wooden statues explained, “Any help you need in a foreign country, or even in your own country, as long as you have money, the problem can be fixed” (personal communication, May 31, 2009). They need to have not only the numeracies necessary to balance income with expense, but also the market-based understanding that it is important to do so to earn a profit. Haitian vendors understand that where there are crowds, they have more of a chance to connect with paying customers, something that will be described more fully in the section on Carnival in the next chapter. They also employ two other parts of a market-based subjectivities, one as it related to

the ability to balance spending and saving (accountability, i.e. managing profit), and that of calculating prices to ensure a surplus (profitability of transactions).

Maykèl, a Haitian man in his late twenties, described his understanding of a market principle of accountability when describing why he came to live in the Dominican Republic. “You know, in our country, there isn’t any work. In addition, there’s not enough means for people to study. School is expensive. People who go to the university are those with means, but we cannot. That means, we stop studying and search for a better life. We come to work.” His family couldn’t afford to have him finish elementary school, so he worked with his father as a farmer. Eventually, he saved money and borrowed the rest to pay to a Dominican bus driver to illegally transport him to Santo Domingo, where Maykèl’s cousin was going to meet him.

When I left Haiti for the first time, I remember that I heard that life in *Sendomeng* is better, and there was more life than in Haiti, where there’s no work. I thought I’d be able to work to *realisé quelque chose* [to realize something, as it to work enough to pay his expenses and have surplus cash.] We saw that before [in Haiti], we weren’t able to help ourselves, let alone our families. *Nou pa ka fè ekonomi, pa gen ekonomi* [We couldn’t create a savings to facilitate other aspects of our lives, as there wasn’t a supportive market] (personal communication, May 27, 2009).

This same principle of *fè ekonomi* or *ekonomize*, related to financial accountability, is drawn upon while living in the Dominican Republic.

Maykèl eventually quit the construction industry due to mistreatment, and he made financial arrangements to sell from a fruit cart. “Sometimes people don’t like the prices they find when they come here. But I have to keep prices at a level where I can make some money. People here have never cursed me or spoken disrespectfully to me. If they don’t like how I’m selling, they go someplace else”. Here, he describes how one market-based subjectivity (accountability) articulates with another: profitability.

The case of Madanm Pierre also demonstrates how one inculcates a market-based subjectivity of profitability. A woman in her fifties, she has a commanding presence. It would seem that the almost thirty years of travelling between Haiti and the Dominican Republic for commerce have left their mark on her, but also strengthened her character. While she began by taking planes from Haiti to the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Panama, and the United States (seen in the 25 passports she has filled), this eventually became cost-prohibitive for her. When commercial busses began running across Hispaniola, she rode in them. Now, she no longer pays for those, as there are smaller, less expensive busses that she rides. During the first decade of the 2000s, Dominican customs have become more stringent and specifically regulated. At the time I interviewed her, she and other informal commercial importers had been complaining about the increasing (yet seemingly arbitrary) customs fees and the extensive wait periods to reclaim merchandise. She began losing money as customs officials were taxing her wares so much so that she was not making a profit. “I would pay twenty pesos [tax] for a shirt, but it sells for only seventy pesos, and I bought it for seventy *goud*”<sup>25</sup> (personal communication, May 31, 2009). A moment later, she paused briefly, looked at the ceiling, and apparently calculated in her head the amount of a single item based upon how much the larger pack costs, as well as the number of units. “Yes, seventy *goud*.” Here, her numeracy meshes with her market-based subjectivities of profitability<sup>26</sup>.

However, it is not simply those who run microenterprises that use such subjectivities. One evening, while I was sitting on a corner where several Haitian sex workers stood, I overheard a conversation between two women in their late twenties about the possibility of adding drug sales in addition to prostitution. Jennie was telling Didi that it was not worth selling drugs on a small

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<sup>25</sup> Seventy *goud* was approximately sixty-three pesos in May 2009.

<sup>26</sup> These *market literacies* will be the subject of future research.

scale. Jennie mentioned that one might purchase cocaine for 1000 pesos and sell it for 2000, but then some other mitigating factor would leave her with only part of the 1000 peso profit. “You don’t make any serious money that way. Nothing serious at all.” The examples of Maykèl, Madanm Pierre, and Jennie show how Haitian migrants implement a market-based subjectivity regarding money and prices.

### **Discussion**

The subjectivities in this chapter speak to these topics as discussed by other authors. Weber’s classic oeuvre on work ethics, despite the criticisms, points to a relationship between the economic activity of seeking out profit (yet prudently managing surpluses) and a religious subjectivity. Both ethnographic cases and statistical analysis of Haitian mobilites’ labor histories point to a similar search, though the nature of the calling is not religious (as there was no correlation between this trend and church affiliation), but rather social. What maintains the drive toward capital is the embracing of the figure of a serious person and the distancing of oneself from thieves. This evokes the work of Bourgois (2003) who deal with the importance of respect to drug dealers in Harlem and that of Decena (2011) who contrasts respect with *relajo*, or something not serious. Additionally, there are the subjectivities related to accountability and profitability that bolster such a work ethic, ones that must be learned and performed like those of Lave’s (2011) Liberian tailors. Finally, like the educational mobilites in Chapter 4, the labor mobilites also use *inzile* as a technology of subjectivity (Ong 2006) to deal with actual or imagined antagonism linked to anti-Haitianism experienced while working.

### **Summary**

This chapter dealt with subjectivities that Haitian labor mobilites may draw upon while working, though some of these extend beyond the labor process. A major find is the labor progression that

demonstrates a pattern of economic behavior that discloses a drive toward larger profits. I illustrated this by delineating categories of work according to their level of capital and carrying out a Wilcoxon statistical analysis of labor histories. A second subjectivity is embodied in the figure of a “serious person”. This figure stood in contradistinction to the thief, and involved guidelines of conduct that have direct implications for the production and reproduction of daily life. In addition to those, people implement the market-based practices of accountability and profitability to endeavor to meet their monetary needs. Finally, they draw upon an interpersonal subjectivity of *inzile* to avoid conflict.

This framework should not be read to imply an essential nature of all Haitians, let alone the rest of humanity. It does not betoken the existence of an inherent or decontextualized desire to get as much money as possible, perhaps to the dismay of some economists. Rather, this shows how desire for social reproduction and relationships melds with work conditions (described in the previous chapter) to foster a particular subjectivity of a person-cum-worker. But this mobile subject must have at one point left Haiti to arrive eventually in Santo Domingo, and even the most socially conservative and reclusive of labor mobilites eventually must leave their home. There may be called to attend a religious celebration, invited to socialize, and as is the case for all labor migrants, beckoned to work. They must move through the city, but not as in a vacuum, for the social, state, and market forces are at work in building the capital, and Haitian migrants must successfully be able to navigate this field, and this is what the next chapter treats.

## CHAPTER SEVEN: SUBJECTIVITIES OF THE LABORER IN THE CITY

“So Corde felt, being shut in. He might have gone rambling about the city, but Minna was afraid the *securitate* would pick him up. What if he were accused of selling dollars illegally? She had heard stories about this. Friends warned her. All right, she had worries enough, and he stayed put.” Saul Bellow, *The Dean's December*

*Chita pa bay*<sup>1</sup>. Haitian proverb

### Introduction

Whereas the last chapter dealt with subjectivities related to labor processes, this chapter presents a relationship between the spatial dynamics of the city and a particular set of subjectivities related to urban mobility. As I described in Chapter 2, parts of the city have been renovated in the past two decades, and state agents (at times in concert with private stakeholders) have implemented spatial practices linked to an interest in facilitating the flow of monetary capital. To live and work in this urban context, Haitian labor mobilites shape themselves using certain practices as *technologies of subjectivity* related to political economic forces (Ong 2006), subjectivities related to *cultural citizenship* (Renaldo 1997), and ways of living related to *how they should be* (Lakoff and Collier 2004), sometimes in ways that undermine the state's neoliberal agenda by using its own ideology against itself. I argue that the spatial and temporal subjectivities and practices of Haitian labor mobilites bespeak the way they should comport themselves as workers in the city given neoliberal urban spatial practices, ramifications of anti-Haitianism (Chapter 2), and the policing described below. Specifically, Haitian laborers construct themselves as members of an urban population that should stay close to their residences, leave only to work, circulate in specific areas where they might earn money, avoid being out at night (or any time the police deem as threatening, if possible), and do all of the above silently.

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<sup>1</sup> Sitting around doesn't produce results.

## **Policing Space and Technologies of Subjection**

Santo Domingo in the 21<sup>st</sup> century has been increasingly constructed with the spatial practices of neoliberalism, not only in the way that it was constructed (as shown in Chapter 2), but also in the way that it has been policed. In areas frequented by moneyed Dominicans or upper class foreign workers, members of AMET or the Policía Nacional stand in pairs (or perhaps multiple pairs). In other areas, like the Zona Colonial and the ports surrounding it, the Malecón, the Barrio Chino, and Parque Enriqueillo, the streets are regularly patrolled by the above state agents plus those of POLITUR. Officers could be on foot or in vehicles, and each branch of the Police has their own form of transportation, appropriate for the areas they patrol. Along the Conde and throughout the Zona Colonial, as mentioned earlier, while there may be POLITUR officers on foot, some may use a motorcycle, a bicycle, or a Segway. Outside of the walled city, the Policía Nacional and Immigration authorities use motorcycles, pickup trucks, and busses. These agents engage in the spatial practice implicit in the messages by state administrators at the ABZCA meeting in Chapter 2.

The Dominican police forces may be present on the street in an official capacity, but the application of their power may not always be consistent with policy. Furthermore, state control of space, even under authoritarian regimes, rarely is absolute (Jayaram 2004), and sometimes, it can be contradictory as I show below. As Aguiar described regarding the policing of pirated music and videos in Mexico, a state agent “continually adapts to a changing environment, based on an equation between the institutional expectations of the policeman as a public servant and his [sic] own personal interest” (Aguiar 2012: 50). The following ethnographic vignettes describe spatial practices of state agents and technologies of subjection that foster mobile subjectivities.



Makinson came from Haiti to Santo Domingo in his early teens to stay with a distant relative who he identifies as his “aunt”. When he first arrived, he helped with household maintenance and assisted his aunt and uncle whenever needed. Eventually, with a cash advance from his uncle, Makinson organized a bak paletèl. He developed a significantly large and regular client base, including one of the restaurants on Parque Independencia. One Sunday early in 2009, I walked down to the Malecón to allow the breeze from the Caribbean Sea to rejuvenate me, but also to see if any Haitian vendors were along the seafront. As I walked into the street, to my right I saw several couples sitting on concrete benches, a few children playing in the street, two or three Dominican sandwich vendors, and further down, plastic barricades. Two members of the Policía Nacional stood a few feet to my left, and about thirty feet beyond them were three Haitian vendors, one of whom was Makinson, flanked by more plastic street barricades. Walking over to him, we shook hands and exchanged pleasantries. After he complained about the overall lack of customers, I turned the conversation to more tangible issues. “Do you think you’re losing customers because you aren’t in the main section of the Malecón?” “No,” he replied with a cool voice. “If there’s someone who wants to purchase something, they signal us and we walk over with the cart or they walk to us.” The fact that police were in the area concerned me, in that I did not know if they might call backup to detain the Haitian vendors, but Makinson dismissed my thoughts with the common Haitian interjection “ah,” as tilted his head up and slightly away from me. Then, he continued, “They won’t do anything. They just told us to move further down, away from the Dominican vendors.”<sup>2</sup> In other words, the officers were *personally* not concerned with the presence of Haitian vendors in the area, as long as they

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<sup>2</sup> This was not a case of the state agents protecting markets, however small they may be. The Dominican vendors were selling only sandwiches, unlike the Haitian vendors who were selling juice and items from a paletèl like cookies, candy, gum, and coffee.

remained beyond the officers' *professionally* yet arbitrarily determined buffer zone. Makinson's explanation shows how he understood and adhered to such spatial practice.

Other police forces besides the Policía Nacional have also implemented spatial practices that suggest a need for Haitians to learn how to incorporate into the city. Along Avenidas México in San Carlos and Avenida Máximo Gomez by Gazcue, there is frequent traffic congestion, so AMET officers are often placed along corners in case they need to regulate the flow of vehicles<sup>3</sup>. As mentioned in Chapter 4, Haitian vendors along Avenida México (as well as along Independencia and Lincoln) use traffic congestion to target a somewhat captive customer base, rushing out to vehicles and making a sale before traffic begins to flow. Along Máximo Gomez (and throughout major intersections in Don Bosco and Gazcue), many paletèl vendors sell on the shaded corners, in plain view of AMET officers. In fact, along Avenida Francia, Haitian and Dominican vendors sell juice, fruit, sandwiches, and paletèl wares from adjacent mobile carts not only in view of AMET, but also across the street from the headquarters of the Policía Nacional. Vendors often engage in light banter with these officers. This shows how the division of labor of the police engaging in spatial practices that reinforce state power allows Haitian vendors the possibility of amity with some officers and fear of others<sup>4</sup>. The more potentially menacing technologies of subjection for Haitian mobilites, however, occur not by police officers deployed to specific streets or intersections, but rather by those in vehicles.

Immigration officers in conjunction with Policía Nacional will occasionally carry out patrols where they detain people and confiscate their wares. The Dominican government has admitted that that it engages in immigration sweeps (Ministerio de Trabajo 2011), but only in accordance

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<sup>3</sup> A common joke among people in Santo Domingo is to question whether AMET eliminates traffic jams or causes them.

<sup>4</sup> As a side note, it bears mentioning that Dominican and Haitian vendors often coexist in the same place with no immediate conflict.

with a 1999 bilateral agreement signed by Haiti and the Dominican Republic, which states that authorities:

1. are not supposed to deport Haitians at night
2. are to avoid separating nuclear families
3. are to allow deportees to collect belongings and retain their identity documents
4. are to provide each deportee with a copy of his or her deportation order, and
5. are supposed to give the Haitian government prior notice of deportations (Human Rights Watch 2002).

However, often these have been carried out in a de facto extra-legal fashion, a fact that has been frequently noted by scholars and human rights advocates (Francisco Leonardo, lawyer with SJRM, personal communication, May 2008; SJRM 2008; Smucker and Murray 2004; Wooding and Sangro 2008)<sup>5</sup>. These sweeps, or *redadas*, usually occur in areas where a higher number of Haitian laborers live, like La Benito and near the Mercado Nuevo (in Distrito Nacional), parts of Santo Domingo Este, and Santo Domingo Oeste. In 2008 and again in early 2011, there was an increase in these sweeps, first under the pretense of cracking down on illegal migration and later of protecting the population from potential cholera threats. Immigration is not the only state agency with vehicles, though. The Ayuntamiento also patrols the streets of the Distrito Nacional in pick-up trucks. They frequently detain Haitian ambulant vendors, seizing their carts and merchandise. Haitians must pay a fine to regain possession of their carts or tricycles, but the merchandise is almost never returned<sup>6</sup>. The Policía Nacional also patrols the streets during the day and night.

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<sup>5</sup> During fieldwork, I also personally witnessed authorities detaining Haitians without checking documents.

<sup>6</sup> Haitians often claim that merchandise is distributed to those officers carrying out detentions. On one occasion, I witnessed a large group of uniformed police officers taking handfuls of the same packaged sweets sold by *paletèl* vendors from the trunk of a car. Just after an official noticed I was observing them, someone closed the trunk, the car drove away, and the officers quickly dispersed.



Photograph 7.1: Officials carrying out immigration sweeps in La Benito (photo by Isadora Del Vecchio)

Particularly in the evening and nighttime, a pick-up truck with at least two officers or a motorcycle with two officers will drive through La Benito<sup>7</sup>. Official patrol exercises are ostensibly to establish a police presence to deter crime, but there have been many first-hand accounts where police will detain Haitians, drive them out of sight of others, and extort money from them, overstepping the bounds of their official authority. As a result, many Haitian labor mobilites have learned to be fearful of officers from the Dirección General de Migración and the Ayuntamiento.

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<sup>7</sup> The city is divided into different *barrios*, or neighborhoods, and each has a *destacamento*, or police precinct responsible for that area. Despite such geographic delimiting, it is common to see police from Gazcue, the Zona Colonial, San Carlos, and Villa Francisca passing through La Benito at night.

*A Spectacular Moment of State Ambivalence: Carnival 2010*

Like many other Latin American and Caribbean countries, the Dominican Republic has a period to celebrate Carnival. However, unlike those in Haiti, Brazil, Trinidad, and elsewhere where it occurs directly before Easter, the Dominican Carnival starts in February. Celebrations occur throughout the country, but on February 27, the anniversary of the day Dominicans declared their independence from Haiti<sup>8</sup>, Santo Domingo hosts its annual carnival (cf. Gonzalez 1970 or Guerrero 2003). This mainly consisted of a parade down the Malecón. Carnival goers can see Dominican navy ships sailing off shore, the Dominican air force flying overhead, and various state vehicles accompanied by police and military members in full uniform marching along the waterfront.

In 2010, I participated in the Santo Domingo carnival celebration as a spectator. There were a host of so-called traditional Dominican Carnival figures, but there are also moments of carnivalesque play. For example, that year, one “carnival float” included a group of people who dressed up like the Dirección General de Control de Drogas (DGCD, the Dominican equivalent to the DEA in the United States) and pretended to apprehend a suspect during the middle of the carnival parade. This led some members of the Policía Nacional to join in the pursuit, which provoked laughter and confusion from onlookers. The most spectacular elements of the parade are related to state power, specifically, the military and police forces.

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<sup>8</sup> This is the only country in the Americas to declare its independence from a non-European country.



Photograph 7.2: Dominican Canine Patrol Unit (photo by author). In the background are numerous informal vendors, both Haitian and Dominican.

While such a spectacle is an impressive show of state force, careful observation belies an ironic situation: the increased numbers of Haitian vendors along the parade route. I encountered many of the Haitian vendors I knew from La Benito and the environs at different points along the Malecón. Many of the vendors had Haitian passports, but were without valid visas, and they were selling to the mostly Dominican crowds next to a major demonstration of state spectacle, which included members of the immigration authorities. While at times the state would target these same vendors, during the Carnival celebration on February 27, Haitian vendors were allowed to engage in market-based activities with impunity.



Photograph 7.3: A Haitian woman on the Malecón, wearing a “Jehova is my pastor” t-shirt, prepares a grilled hot dog for a young Dominican boy. (Photo by author)

The above material has described the various state forces that perform policing duties, the ways in which the state (supposedly motivated in law and order and the interest of particular political and market ideals) policed certain areas, though not always in a manner completely consistent with legal statutes. Within this context, Haitian laborers must learn to live and work. To do this, they implement subjectivities related to space and time.

### **Spatial and Temporal Subjectivities of the City**

With both the construction of the physical environments (in Chapter 2) and the ordering of that environment by state, market, and social forces (above and Chapter 2), Haitians engaging in

market-based behaviors (like work) must learn and practice spatial and temporal subjectivities specific to the city in which they live.

*Spatial Subjectivities: Living Arrangements*

When considering how Haitian migrants understand and operate within the city, as labor migrants, they primarily concern themselves with locations of domicile and work.

Upon arrival in Santo Domingo, Haitian labor migrants find a place to live. Of the people I interviewed, people who had family or friends (*moun*<sup>9</sup>) in the capital initially lived with them. Others both live and work in La Benito. Of those who have lived and worked in the neighborhood for more than two years, there are two painters, one manager of a workshop and store, a woman who runs a juice and paletèl cart, a woman who runs a beauty salon, a woman who has a significantly large clothing business within her tenement, and a few *boukonn*. Second, some Haitians commute to work in La Benito from other neighborhoods. These are all people with well-developed businesses, including those who established their enterprise within the structure of a physical building. This includes a ci-devant restaurateur, now clothing seller, a man who runs a clothing shop, and a *boukonn*. Third, the largest group of people in La Benito leaves there to work in other neighborhoods. These people, engaging in various trades, circulate throughout the city, a topic that will be discussed in the next section. Fourthly, there is a small group of people who live in La Benito and work both within and without of the neighborhood. These people are relatively wealthier, who conduct some work in the neighborhood but implement occupational multiplicity as they work outside the neighborhood. This includes two *boukonn* and a married couple, the husband who works as a *boukonn* and the wife who makes

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<sup>9</sup> While this word means “people” in general, in the context of social relations, this implies that the speaker has some reasonable expectation of receiving support from the other person. Thus, it is possible that a migrant might have a family member in Santo Domingo, but if no support has been given, nor is any expected in the future, they may state that they do not have *moun* in the capital city.



hot food for sale during the morning and sells from a juice cart or paletèl in the afternoons and weekends. Finally, during the years in which I conducted research in La Benito, many newly-arrived young migrants who initially staying with friends or extended family, began working, and eventually moved from the area to an area in Santo Domingo Este (either Vennsenk or Las Americas), which marked that they were paying a higher rent, meaning earning more money, and hence, upward social mobility. Most of these only return to the Benito for social visits or if economic conditions worsen for them. In other words, Benito becomes a rung in an internal step migration. These patterns suggest that one's living arrangement is related to the nature of one's work, one's time in the city, and one's relative socio-economic well-being. Once a home has been established, for those who maintain distinct living and working spaces, they are required to move throughout the city in specific ways.

#### *Spatial Subjectivities: Circulation*

In the previous chapter, Gary the shoeshine man described how he would travel from the edges of Santo Domingo Oeste to the edge of the Colonial Zone, eventually returning along a similar path. He is practicing a spatial subjectivity implicit in the Haitian proverb from this chapter's epigraph, whereby movement is inherent in living<sup>10</sup>. Throughout interactions and interviews with Haitian laborers, many of them would refer to a need to be in motion, expressed in the word *sikile*, or circulate<sup>11</sup>. The following examples elaborate upon this idea.

One day in March 2010, while visiting with a Haitian woman who sold medicine and undergarments in front of a Chinese Restaurant by Parque Independencia, I saw the man that often places his cart near hers, yet he was in the street and making no indication that he was

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<sup>10</sup> Another related proverb is “*Mache chache pa janm dòmi san soupe*,” or “The one who walks around searching never sleeps on an empty stomach.”

<sup>11</sup> Of note, people use the same word “*sikile*,” when discussing how a lack of money circulating in the city is an economic hardship, as in the sentence, “money isn't circulating”.

going to set up his *paletèl* on the sidewalk. “*Eh, haitiano!* (Hey, Haitian!)” I called out jokingly in Spanish. Switching to Kreyòl, I asked, “You’re not going to stop, not even going to say hello?” The woman and I shared a smiling glance at my playful jab at the man. The man responded, “I’m sorry, but I’m going to walk around for a while and eventually end up on the Malecon. *M ap sikile*” (I’m circulating). His comment immediately points to the circulation of his presence, but also implicitly, his cart and wares. The next example more clearly demonstrates this point.

Verrier, by all accounts, is a serious person. In Haiti, he reached the penultimate year of secondary school (*rhetò*) and took the state exams, but failed on both of his attempts. Not to be discouraged, he enrolled in a plumbing and electrician’s course and then travelled to the Dominican Republic to find work. Like most young men, he started in construction, as he could not find work in his field and did not speak Spanish well enough. After saving some money, he enrolled in a similar electrician’s course as the one he completed in Haiti. He had to drop out, as he and his girlfriend became pregnant, which led him to choose to focus on working to support her and the child. In an interview with him, I asked him about whether he felt he could exercise his right to move about the city as he wanted<sup>12</sup>.

I don’t feel like I’m free to do whatever I want because the police might pull up and arrest me at any point. If I’m hungry, tired, and wanting to go home after work [instead of sleeping at the construction site], and the police might come arrest me at any point for no apparent reason, letting me out the next morning. I can’t *circulate* the way I want, and that affects me a lot (personal communication, May 27, 2009).

In this quote, Verrier links circulation and his ability to move with a livelihood. Furthermore, he suggested that state forces are threatening his market-based livelihood. As much as this represents the idea that one must work for wages, this evokes a spatial subjectivity, as well. In

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<sup>12</sup> Article 13, §1 of the Universal Declarations of Human Rights, of which the Dominican Republic is a signatory, states that “Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state” (UN 2012).

other words, his ability to make a living is directly linked to his ability to move freely throughout the city. This notion extrapolates well from Harvey's (2001b) discussion of global capitalism's need for *spatial fix*, including the freedom to expand spatially.

*Spatial Subjectivities: Public versus Private*

Many Haitian migrants commonly understand a spatial division whereby being at home (so-called private domain) is held to be a distinct space from being outside the home (public domain). This division shows how politico-jural norms, in this case, those of state surveillance, contribute to migrant understandings of public and private. Briefly put, Haitian labor mobilites understand that they should not be in the street aimlessly, and if one is in the street, one should be particularly cautious. When I asked Audita, an elderly vendor who lives and works in La Benito, about any problems with Dominican state authorities, she suggested such a spatial subjectivity.

I don't know anything about the politics. I almost don't even cross the street. If I do, it's to go to La Sirena [a nearby grocery and department store]. Maybe I might go to pick something up on La Duarte. I have to be careful because all of my identification documents are Haitian (personal communication, July 11, 2011).

In an interview with Rita, a vendor who works on the edge of La Benito, I mentioned a Jesuit service organization a short distance from Benito that she could contact if she had legal problems, and I asked her if she knew where it was. She retorted,

No, no, no, no. I never walk around. I don't know where anything is. I don't walk around because I don't have [all the required legal] papers. I don't walk around. Even on Sunday, when immigration and police authorities don't take to the streets, I don't go out. I think when I have the proper paperwork, then I will go around (personal communication, May 27, 2009).

Here Rita equates being in the city beyond Benito, where she lives, with being vulnerable to police detention and perhaps deportation, in part due to her lack of paperwork that would establish her legal right to be in the Dominican Republic. Junior, a young Haitian man in his

twenties, who worked unloading trucks in Benito before finding occasional work in the construction industry, also expressed a similar sentiment when he realized that he had lost his passport.

When you have a [valid] visa and passport, you walk around at ease. If you happen to lose your passport, you walk through the streets carrying anxiety. Wherever immigration passes, they'll find you (personal communication, May 21, 2009).

These three people indicate that the city streets beyond Benito are not a place for leisure, especially if you do not have proper documentation<sup>13</sup>. Additionally, their comments also imply that the private space of Benito as home space is safe from the threats of the public streets (and public authorities). Notwithstanding the brief period from 2010-2011 when Dominican authorities entered La Benito and other areas with high-concentration of Haitian laborers under the pretext of preventing cholera, immigration authorities have not accessed residences so brazenly in several years. However, this so-called private domain is not the only safe haven Haitians have found.

Within the discourse of contemporary political economy, capitalist enterprises are considered private (as opposed to state-based) endeavors, even though they depend upon the public at large as a customer base. The case of Bobby, a man in his early thirties who has sold from a juice cart when he had the capital to do so, and a paletèl when he didn't, shows how a Haitian might use the public space of a private endeavor to avoid the state authorities. Bobby did not have good experiences with Dominican police officers during his ten years in the Dominican Republic. One time, he was detained was around 7:00PM. He had just finished working and was walking into Benito when a police patrol spotted him. They stopped and asked for his cédula, or Dominican identity document. He responded that he was Haitian, so they asked for his visa and passport. He showed them both visa and passport, but they took him to the San Carlos precinct

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<sup>13</sup> The manner by which they understand how a police can determine who is to be targeted was not readily discussed.

jail, anyway. The next morning they asked him for 500 pesos. He refused, as he contended that he was not doing anything wrong, just walking home from work. Then, an officer asked him for 300 pesos. He still refused, but they would not let him go. Finally, he gave 100 pesos before they let him go at 10:00AM. One morning, months later, Bobby had another brush with authorities, this time in the form of immigration officers as they charged up Avenida Mella, along the southern edge of Benito. They slowly crawled up the street in one large flatbed truck, a smaller pickup truck, with several officers on foot. Dominican civilian motorists, commonly known for aggressive driving, sped past the patrol and continued down the avenue. On a street corner several blocks away, Bobby sat with his paletèl next to another Haitian vendor (who had a valid passport and visa), unaware of the coming state authorities. As a few of the Dominican motorists stopped at the traffic light by the Barrio Chino, they shouted to the Haitian vendors, “if you’re legal, stay put. If you’re illegal, take off, because immigration is coming.” Bobby, not having a valid visa anymore, quickly stood up, leaving his cart with the woman, and ran around the corner into La Sirena. The immigration authorities passed, and he eventually stepped back on the street to resume selling. I asked him about whether the agents would follow him if they saw him run into the store, and he told me that they do not go into businesses to look for people. In short, while maintaining his presence in public, Bobby drew upon what he understood to be the safe space of a commercial business to avoid detention and deportation. Not only did Dominican civilians undermine the authority of immigration officials by alerting potentially illegal migrants of the impending threat, but also private industry was used also to neutralize the state’s technologies of subjection. However, sometimes such disciplining and resulting subjectivities may occur in sense realms other than the visual.

*Spatial Subjectivities: the Silently Present*

This last spatial subjectivity relates not to a visualized space, but rather a sonic space. The observation of this, while so obvious, did not occur to me until just before leaving the field, when it finally hit me right between the ears. In my fieldnotes, I captured the moment when I realized what was happening.

September 28, 2010. 8:15 in the fucking morning, and the fucking *huevo* [eggs] vendor comes driving down [Avenida] José Contreras. Why doesn't he know I didn't get back from my bon voyage party until 2:30AM? He must either be stopped or traveling at one mph because it's taken him forty minutes to go out of earshot. That deceptively friendly sadistic recording was splitting my eardrums as it spat out information about eggs: "5 pesos", "Dale huevos huevos huevos". [Get your eggs, eggs, eggs!] I'd like to tell him what to do with his own *huevos*<sup>14</sup>. I don't know which is worse, this technological ear grate or the *swape* [mop] guy who made this strange guttural noise, probably not reproducible by machines, announcing his wares [in Gazcue].

When I wrote this, I was three floors above street level in my friend's guest room. The vendor, driving a small pickup truck filled with crates of eggs, was slowly passing through the neighborhood and announcing to residents his presence, his intention to sell eggs, and the price of his goods. Like other Dominican vendors, his vehicle had a bullhorn on the roof, which was linked to a tape player that looped his advertisement at a high volume. The annoying timbre of the sound reminded me of the ambulant mop vendor who would pass by my old apartments in Gazcue and the Zona Colonial. These *buhoneros* would call out in a very distinctive, drawn-out throaty voice "suuuu-WAH-peeceey" (*swape*), and others would holler in a singsong manner "pah-LI-toooooos" (*palitos de coco* are candy-covered balls of coconut on a stick). It was at that point when I realized that I never heard Haitian vendors calling out for customers.

Reflecting back on observations of the ambulant paletè vendors, coconut water and juice vendors with their tricycles, even phone card vendors, let alone fruit and handmade sweet

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<sup>14</sup> Out of frustration, I drew upon the common double entendre of huevos, as the word means both "eggs" and "testicles".

vendors, Haitians never called out to their customers. On the contrary, the Dominicans (or whatever their client's nationality) would more frequently address or approach the Haitians. Perhaps the Haitians I observed don't use bullhorns because they are cost-prohibitive, or perhaps they wanted to avoid projecting their voice, thus preventing xenophobic Dominican citizens or police from using their utterance as a 21<sup>st</sup> century shibboleth, in the way that *perejil* was imagined to be used in the *Kout Kouto/El Corte* of 1937<sup>15</sup>. Whatever the actual explanation, the data indicate that ambulant Haitian vendors in Santo Domingo do not make their presence known sonically. Similar to how one scholar described this population as "needed but not wanted" (Wooding and Moseley-Williams 2004), they are to be seen and not heard. As Haitian laborers may learn and implement particular spatial subjectivities throughout the course of their lives, they also internalize a temporal subjectivity regarding their presence in the urban Dominican landscape.

### *Temporal Subjectivities*

One summer afternoon during 2008, while waiting to talk with a Haitian woman so I could catching up on tenement housing news that week, I engaged her (half) sister in conversation. This Haitian-Dominican named María informed me that a few days ago, she had to arrange for her Haitian boyfriend's release from jail. It seems that he was picked up while standing in one of the small parks adjacent to the Barrio Chino. With a phone call that the police granted him, he asked María to go down to the station to bail him out. The police officers told him that either they would have to pay 1200 pesos for his release, or he would be freed the next day at 10:00AM. They added that he should not be out that late (which turns out, meant past

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<sup>15</sup> The *Kout Kouto* (Kreyòl for "knife blow") or *El Corte* (Spanish for "the cutting") refers to the state-sponsored massacre, mostly by machete, of thousands of Haitians and Haitian-Dominicans as Raphael Trujillo embarked on a project of state-building (c.f. Derby and Turits 2006 or Turits 2002)

10:30PM). Further, María added that when she picked up her boyfriend, he was dressed “like a *tiguere*” (or thug), wearing a baseball cap, chains, and baggy shorts and t-shirt.

What María and her boyfriend’s episode highlights, beyond the importance of proper attire mentioned in the previous chapter, is the time element related to the presence of Haitian migrants in the Dominican city. Actions by police or immigration officers typically follow patterns, and the above example points to hours of a day when someone might be subject to detention or imprisonment. Evenings and nights, as seen in María’s case, are times of the day filled with contradiction regarding the presence of state officials and anxiety about an environment of crime. On one hand, the higher police and government officials usually conclude work around 5:00PM, so large sweeps most likely will not occur after this. As two paletèl vendors standing on the sidewalk next to the Plaza de la Cultura told me one mid-afternoon as I drank some of their coffee, “we don’t take to the streets early. That’s when they pick up people [to deport]” (personal communication, May 28, 2011). On the other hand, many Haitians understand (and often with good reason) that after dark, the chances of more insidious police actions or occurrences of theft and assault increase significantly. Both in-depth interviews and informal conversations with dozens of Haitians confirm what advocacy groups, social justice based organizations, and even many Dominican civilians recognize, that is, the Dominican police force frequently uses coercion and extortion at night to complement their meager wages.

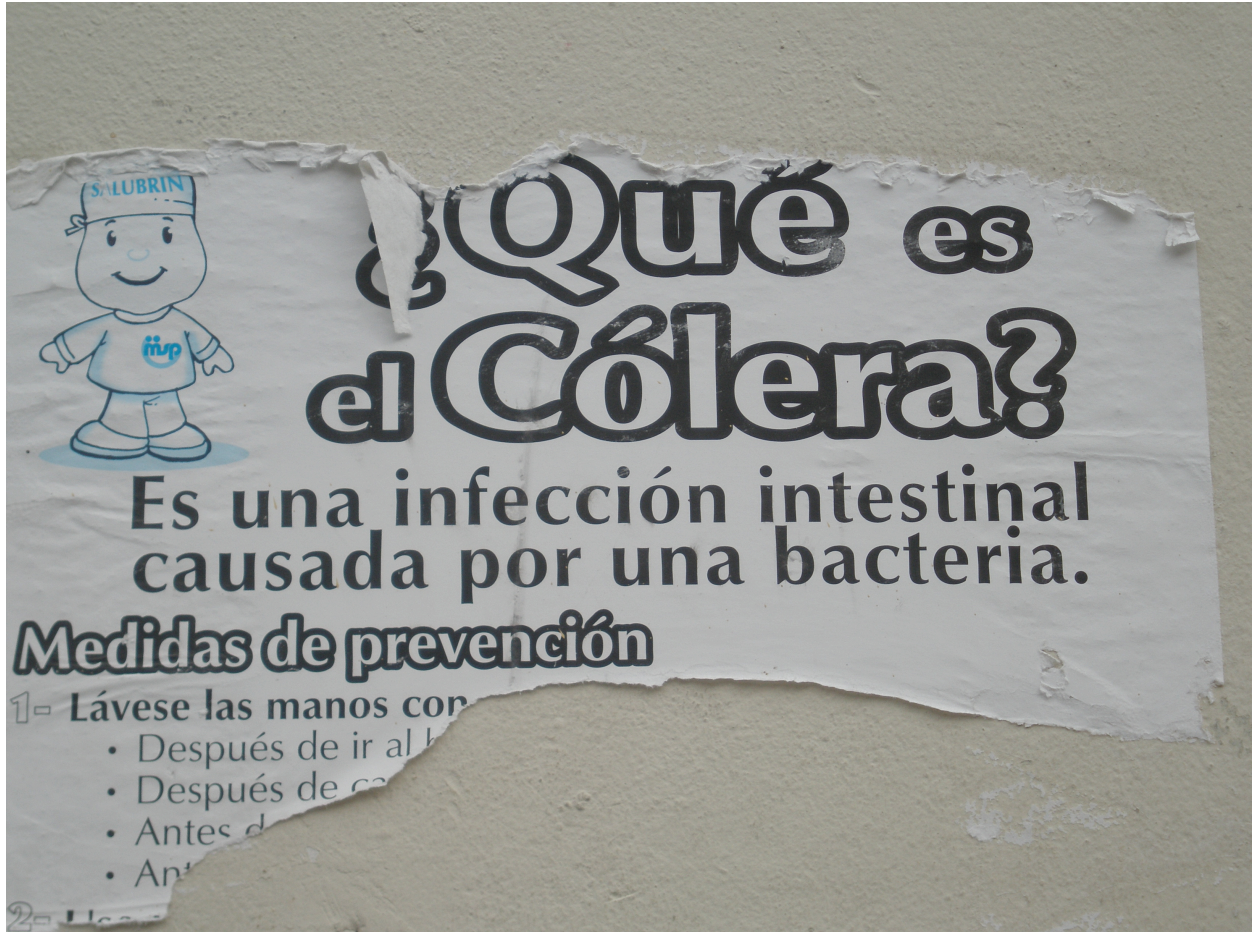
Turning toward the environment of crime, frequently, after spending an afternoon or evening with Haitians at their homes through Distrito Nacional or the rest of Santo Domingo, I was reminded about how careful I should be going home. This warning was particularly strong when I would walk home from Benito or the Barrio Chino, as Haitians would warn me that “these



neighborhoods are filled with thieves”. Consequently, many Haitians, upon arriving in Santo Domingo, learn that they must limit their movements throughout the city after dusk.

Haitians may also develop a temporal subjectivity related to days of the week, days within an annual calendar (as in the previous Carnival example), or even an *ad hoc* subjectivity in the face of perceived crisis. Most businesses in the formal sector, save for restaurants, cinemas, and other leisure-related enterprises, are closed on Sunday, a fact pointing to the Christian underpinnings of Dominican society. Further, those Haitians who either are not obligated or choose not to work on Sundays may travel to other neighborhoods to visit family and friends, attend church, or engage in other leisure activities like playing soccer. Though local precincts are continuously staffed, active patrols are greatly reduced on these days. Rita’s above comments indicate how she limits her travels, *even on Sundays*, emphasizing the fact that she understands that the police normally should not be patrolling. Sundays, therefore, represent a day where religion intersects with the market and the state to allow Haitians the possibility to *somewhat* more safely travel throughout the city.

Finally, specific periods of time based upon specific stimuli may motivate Haitian laborers to either maintain extreme vigilance if they want to avoid confrontation with state authorities or worry less about such surveillance. For example, after the 2010 earthquake in Haiti, deportations, *redadas*, and other police patrols became practically non-existent. Unfortunately, this reprieve was short-lived due to the introduction of cholera to Hispaniola by UN troops from Nepal in October 2010. In late November 2010, the Ministry of Public Health, accompanied by Dominican army soldiers, evicted residents from fifteen tenement buildings in Benito “to prevent the spread of cholera” (Taveras y Ortiz 2010). By early 2011, Dominican authorities had resumed deportations, police, and immigration patrols.



Photograph 7.4: A torn poster about cholera prevention in Benito (photo by author)

However, “El Sordo,” a long-time Dominican resident of San Carlos and manager of one of the tenement buildings explained the eviction of Haitians in La Benito differently. He contended that Dominican officials

used this as a pretense to abuse and mistreat Haitians. You see, they didn’t have any proof that anyone in those buildings had cholera any more than people in other neighborhoods (personal communication, June 16, 2011).

He added that he witnessed police throwing people’s possessions in the hallway or on the street, speaking poorly to Haitians, and being physically aggressive with them. These state actions foster a temporal subjectivity among Haitians that includes definite times when one can be more vigilant or relaxed about the threat of police detention, i.e., evenings versus weekends, while

being prepared for the possibility additional scrutiny and surveillance *whenever* the Dominican state or other stake holders deem it necessary, as in the case of cholera.

## **Discussion**

Examining the subjectivities of Haitian labor mobilites as it relates to their lives in the city illuminates several points within the literatures on urban space, the political economy of subjectivities, and cultural citizenship. While the city was constructed physically through spatial practices (Chapter 2), the joint professional-personal manner in which policing is conducted furthers the overall urban spatial practice (Lefebvre 1991) as a technology of subjection (Ong 2006). As a result, Haitian mobilites establish residency patterns and work circuits, which embody the circulation of capital itself, to work in this constructed city. Another subjectivity that emerges from these experiences is that of the safety of the private domain and the threat of the public, often times referred to as “the streets”. Beyond these, certain subjectivities as ethics (Lakoff and Collier 2004) lead Haitians to culturally construct themselves as the silent members of the Santo Domingo public, even while working in the same capacity as Dominican counterparts who use bullhorns to announce the sale of their wares. On a temporal level, Haitian laborers implement a subjectivity that depicts nights as unsafe, Sundays as generally safe, and all time as potentially loaded with the power of state agents. In conclusion, whereas the previous chapter’s subjectivities dealt with those of a person at work, this chapter discusses the way in which a labor mobilite “should be” in the urban landscape constructed by the forces of neoliberalism.

## **Summary**

The previous chapters discussed subjectivities of given the spatial practice and policing of the city. In this chapter, I have dealt with subjectivities of Haitian mobilites that affect the when and

where of their work and presence in the city. I described some instances of state spatial practices that point to the fact that technologies of subjection may not be uniformly applied across time and space. Then, I depicted the spatial and temporal subjectivities that Haitian migrants learn to use to facilitate their life and work within the urban space-time of the contemporary Dominican political economy. Together with the labor practices (Chapter 4) and kreyòlized work ethic (Chapter 5), these subjectivities facilitate Haitian labor mobilites' incorporation into the space-time and audioscape of Santo Domingo.

## CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

Any text can be understood on various levels, and this monograph is no exception.

Academically, it marks the end of my time as a graduate student and the beginning of my life as that strange breed of intellectual, the professional stranger known as an anthropologist. On the level of personal engagement with politics, this dissertation represents my examination of lives of those affected by the current immigration debates in the Dominican Republic and similar policies in the United States, Europe, and Southeast Asia. On a more personal level, this work represents a key interest of mine: the treatment of people who move away from their home communities, for it is by the standards of how we treat our unknown neighbor that we, under any regime, should be judged. It was due to my impoverished ancestors' kind treatment of the sage Ramanuja while he travelled India as mendicant engaging in Hindu exegesis that we received blessing on our lineage. The development of the railroad in India led my family to move across states in India. Of course, this monograph also continues discussions with (and lectures from) my parents about their movements from rural areas (in Kansas and India) to more urban areas (in the United States), in that their experiences of mobility unveiled the hidden-in-plain-sight dynamics of the political economy in their lives. While I appreciate their insights on the matter, I recognized that any application of knowledge must be suited for its specific circumstances, and for that anthropology gave me the tools to proceed.

To conclude this work, I revisit the main points, discuss the greater relevance, and propose ideas that scholars, policy-makers, activists might consider.

### **Revisiting the Work**

The previous chapters approach an answer to the question: *what do the practices and subjectivities of Haitian educational and labor migrants reveal about the political economy of*

*Santo Domingo?* My answer, presented in the past two-hundred and umpteen pages, can be stated briefly as: the subjectivities and practices formed and drawn upon by Haitian educational and labor mobilites evince a middling globalization that runs tangentially to a so-called neoliberal order of Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. While research stopped, life in the Dominican Republic continues on, so my account is neither definitive nor exhaustive. In any case, I now turn to a summary my findings.

To set the stage for the lives of Haitian mobilites, I contend that much of political economy of the Dominican Republic in general, and Santo Domingo specifically, has been increasingly reordered along neoliberal lines since the 1970s. Sugar, long since the backbone of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Dominican economy, was slowly replaced by tourism and service industries as the sectors developed to court international investment. And while agricultural production in the Dominican Republic still plays an important role both in meeting domestic needs and as a point of entry for other Haitian mobilites, the past two decades has seen an increase in Haitians in urban areas. Legal frameworks include statues that disproportionately affect Haitian labor mobilites, while some Dominican government gestures have facilitated life for educational mobilites, a fact that points to the neoliberal idea of treating border crossers based upon their perceived market value (cf. Ong 2006). This neoliberal shift has seen a change in the forms of anti-Haitianism, falsely understood as the only form of Haitian-Dominican interaction, and also accompanied the recognition of existing and new ways of relating between Haitians and Dominicans that reflect unity and conviviality. No longer are anti-Haitianist actions carried out by state agents. They are perpetrated by members of civil society, and though the state may prosecute individuals, official declarations and popular Dominican sentiment portray these acts as isolated rather than systemic. Not only have the country's economy, policy, and social

relations been reordered along these lines, but also space itself has been impacted by neoliberalism. Santo Domingo, like other cities where capital is concentrated, has been reconstructed, and police forces have been drawn upon to protect and serve the new order. It is within this neoliberal context that Haitian mobilites incorporate. Also, this monograph contributes a Caribbean case of so-called neoliberalism, in the same way the Hilgers (2012) provided an Africanist version.

Many educational mobilites, for their part, represent a reluctant group in this middling globalization, which is the focus of Chapter 3. Institutional access and economics often foster a need to travel abroad to engage in tertiary education. The students themselves may have preferred to stay and study in Haiti. In part, they left due to instability in Haiti. They chose to go to the Dominican Republic both for the cultural capital of studying abroad, but also because they lacked the resources to study anywhere else. Once in Santo Domingo, phenotype and interpersonal subjectivities often mitigated any existing anti-Haitianism, yet in classrooms, on campus, and beyond the university, such xenophobia still surrounded them. Other technologies of subjectivity as self-making helped them with the linguistic, political, and economic issues they faced. When they complete their studies, the overwhelming majority of students cannot wait to return to Haiti. As such, their subjectivities point to the reluctance with which they engage in this middling globalization.

The next four chapters of the monograph deal with labor mobilites. In Chapter 4, I present vocabulary and meanings associated with economic activity. They indicate that these Haitians associate work with: the ability to feed the worker, as a way of contradistinction between themselves and so-called lower animals, freedom in a political philosophical sense, and freedom to spend money according to their socially-relevant needs. Additionally, within the category of

remunerated behaviors, working as an employee is differentiated from entrepreneurship. These meanings inform Haitian workers' overall economic participation.

Chapter 5 provides an ethnography of the Haitians' work through examining both the labor process, with all of the political and social implications, and through a limited commodity chain analysis. Here I argue that examining the experiences of Haitian labor mobilites from these two perspectives reveals their particular form of a middling globalization, which includes aspects of global economic activity from below. I describe various trades within the categories of: producers of tangible commodities, vendors of service labor, microentrepreneurs of small capital, and microentrepreneurs of large capital. In-depth examination shows how Haitians are connected to global flows in different ways rather than in a unified group, pointing to globalization from below and in between. Second, in a contradiction from neoliberal ideas, the Dominican state is fostering Haitian small businesses, yet threatening them once they are more visible. Third, the context of market exchange appears to attenuate any blatant forms of anti-Haitianism. Fourth, the figure of the *gwo komèsan* stands in contrast to the other Haitian workers vis-à-vis the temporal scale of border crossing. As such, and given the theoretical limits of the term *migrant* discussed in the Chapter 1, *mobilite* seems more inclusive and appropriate.

The final two data chapters treat the subjectivities, or ways of being and behaving, that are created and drawn upon by Haitian labor mobilites in the context of economic activity and in urban space, respectively. These subjectivities help with incorporation into work and life in neoliberal Santo Domingo. Chapter 7 concerns subjectivities related to labor. Four case studies point to various subjectivities, including being a serious person, *inzile* (similar to that of the university students), accountability, and profitability. Analysis of labor histories gained through structured interviews reveals a labor progression, whereby these Haitians gradually work toward



establishing their own small business. Chapter 8 discusses the spatial and temporal subjectivities that may be drawn upon. These concern times of the day, week, and year when ebbs in policing will allow Haitians to move safely throughout the city, and spatial limitations (including a sonic element) related to the neoliberal order described in Chapter 2. I claim that, together with the chapters on meanings of work and economic practice, these subjectivities contribute to a keyòlized work ethic among some Haitians.

### **Lives in Motion in a Neoliberal City**

In addition to making a contribution to Hispaniolan Studies, this monograph brings together important topics in 21<sup>st</sup> century policy, research, and understanding: neoliberalism, the state, transnational border crossers, and globalization.

#### *Haitian Diasporas and Hispaniolan Studies*

This book contributes to Haitian and Dominican studies, but, as a nod to the work of Transnational Hispaniola (Mayes et al. 2013), I also include the term Hispaniola studies. Whereas Haitian diaspora studies have largely been focused on the United States, evidenced by the presentations at the Haitian Studies Association meetings (Jayaram 2012), this work focuses on the Haitian diaspora in the Dominican Republic, the country that is home to the second highest number of Haitians outside of Haiti. Another significant element is the research population. These groups, students and urban workers, though they may have existed in smaller numbers in earlier decades, only came to form sizeable populations in the past fifteen years. Third, though most international reports and even many scholars conceive of Haitian-Dominican Relations as being inherently antagonistic, this work shows both amity and enmity, avoiding the image of the *demonized Dominican*<sup>1</sup> to reveal a richer social context.

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<sup>1</sup> This term comes from a paper given by Samuel Martínez at the Latin American Studies Association meeting in Washington, D.C. in 2013.

### *Neoliberalism and the State*

No single definition seems capable of summarizing all aspects of neoliberalism, but it generally refers to the reorganized relationships between the (limited) state, the market, and civil society that facilitate corporate capitalism. In this sense, I have followed Peck and Tickell's (2011) approach by examining the specificity of neoliberalism as it is manifested in Santo Domingo, describing how the Dominican state began entering into multilateral agreements in the 1970s that facilitated the economic transition from sugar to tourism and service industries and, since the late 1990s, ushered in an era of unprecedented foreign investment. However, this brief mention of the state in this case is not sufficient to cover the range of its role as seen in the lives of Haitian mobilites.

This case shows how the state is still very relevant, even in the context of neoliberalism. On one hand, the state plays the important role of setting the neoliberal agenda by making laws, establishing policies, engaging in collaborations, and enforcing this order through the actions of the police. Any kind of border-crossers must reckon with this structure. On the other hand, the experiences of Haitian mobilites at hand demonstrate that, in some ways, the various parts of the state contradict each other. State agents may engage in extra-legal actions, like extortion, unlawful detainment, or theft, or they may simply let their personal whims outweigh the responsibilities of their assigned duty. Furthermore, legal restrictions that prevent migrants from entering into the formal sector push them into the informal sector. Combining this with subjectivities that show preference for entrepreneurship over wage labor, when policing forces antagonize those migrants running a business, regardless of whether it is in the informal economy or whether the person has a legal permit to be present in the country, the state is preventing the market from growing. In other words, the state is both fostering and hindering the

market, and even if the argument is made that it is the state's prerogative to make decisions as to which type of business to allow, this simply reinforces the notion that the state is necessary in any neoliberal regime.

This work also shows the importance of cities when considering neoliberalism, and not just the commonly thought of *global cities* (Sassen 2001). Cities are certainly sites for some of the traits of neoliberalism and corporate globalization, but one could also look to agricultural production sites. Yet cities present not only urban corollaries to those of the countryside, but others linked to the mode of living, and in a concentrated form. Tucked away from the tourists and upper classes' eyes are the distribution centers, where goods from across the country and the globe arrive. The national government is not far removed from the city government, and the various police and military forces have their headquarters a few blocks away. Large malls, corporate offices, and national service centers all lie in Santo Domingo. Moreover, amidst all the state and market figures, the city's inhabitants live and move.

### *Mobile Populations*

This monograph is also in part about border-crossing people in a city, not as people migrating from point A to point B, but *mobile* populations in various locations. Some move throughout the city freely, some return to Haiti frequently, and others not. At the time of research, I encountered Haitians in Santo Domingo whose primary interest was either working or studying. They are, to borrow and alter an idea from Pottier (1989), cane-cutters no more, if even they ever were. The variety of these experiences of mobility is the focus of this work.

The lives of contemporary Haitian labor mobilites differ from the large waves of Haitian labor mobilites in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Almost none of the labor mobilites have worked on a batey, and unlike those Haitians who continue to contribute to Dominican agricultural production, the

residence outside of Haiti of nearly all of them has been limited to the urban space of Santo Domingo. As suggested by Meillasoux (1981) and the ILO (Taran and Geronimi 2003), some mobile laborers are contributing to a cheap labor reserve (particularly for the construction industry), but as a whole, this group is much more diversified in its economic activities than previous eras, and certainly more than those in media representations and popular Dominican understandings. The experience of the *gwo kòmèsan*, a figure that more closely approaches that of a free-wheeling border crosser, stands somewhat distinct from that of a recently arrived construction worker. This raises the possibility of differentiating mobile populations based upon their *acceleration*. Whereas the former may create capital gains while repeatedly traversing the island and passing through the city with their wares, pausing briefly to go through customs and immigration, the latter may be spatially and temporally restricted to living on the site where he works. This latter Haitian mobilite, with adequate capital access and drawing upon a *kreyòlized* work ethic, could transform himself into a merchant, an agent of capital generation. In some way, he could become one of Friedman's "inspired risk-takers".

Similarly, experiences of Haitian educational mobilites confirm some points in intellectual discussions of international students, but offer new ideas, as well. Some students also mentioned the desire to gain a more cosmopolitan outlook on life, similar to what Pyvis and Chapman (2007) found among Malaysian students. Additionally, this research confirmed that the self-making technologies of subjectivity of global lives have political economic and cultural aspects (Ong 2006; Rosaldo 1997), and that student experiences may not always be positive (Brooks and Waters 2011), given the continued existence of anti-Haitianism.

Despite these commonalities with the literature on migration and education, the broad array of students' experiences in Brooks and Waters' work (2011) only partially parallels the experiences

of these mobilities. While some certainly articulated the market value of cultural capital linked to studying abroad rather than in Haiti, almost all students were motivated to study in the Dominican Republic because *it was difficult or impossible to study elsewhere*. And while interviews with many of the students confirmed their interest in attaining the cultural capital associated with higher education abroad (cf. Pyvis and Chapman 2007), it was not completely at the expense of concepts linked to political liberalism, unlike what Ong (2006) described. Turning to the importance of political economy, the Dominican government seemed willing to make promises to facilitate Haitians' study abroad, which further confirms Ong (2006), but concessions were often slow to follow. This suggests that Haitians are being transformed into consumers of Dominican educational commodities, that universities are sites for a form of economic exchange (Slaughter and Rhoades 2000).

### *Globalization*

Part of this text has concerned activities related to a form of economic exchange called capitalism, with all the accompanying global connections present at a particular urban nexus. I follow Gregory's (2006) lead on examining the specificity of globalization as it unfolds in people's lives. Yet this monograph shows that there is more than one way in which this can happen. It is a south-south form, which requires consideration of the lengthy historical connections of the island as well as the contemporary political economic changes.

While globalization from above requires capital and people to form flows organized by international corporate entities, there may be economic rip currents. One of these, a globalization from below (Matthews, Ribeiro, and Alba Vega 2012) can be seen in Santo Domingo. DVDs and CD's are coming from China, being burned with music originally purchased in Haiti, and being sold in the streets and alleys of Santo Domingo. Wood in Haiti is

carved into statues, shipped across the border in trucks, painted with Dominican produced stain, and sold to foreign tourists. Haitian vendors of hair extensions who purchase their wares in Haiti travel to Santo Domingo where they may sell to a retail vendor who sits in Parque Enriqueillo. While new computer and telephone technologies enable connections between Dominican and foreign investors, they also provide a source of income for the Haitian selling phone cards in the street. There is no international shipping agreement needed, neither consideration of free-trade agreements, nor extensive electronic or paper trail of information. These are not found in the pages of newspapers, on the airwaves, or on web pages (yet). There are no corporate sponsors, and when sold, the goods are removed from any inventory chart. Yet the labor process reveals how the Haitian workers are nexuses in myriad chains of global commodities that index reconfigured connections between locations that were either previously disconnected or differently connected through corporate globalization.

The experiences of Haitian labor mobilites indicate that there are differences even with those “from below”. Those selling phone cards are differently connected to global flows than those selling hair or DVDs or wooden statues. The labor process and commodity chains give shape to divisions within this population. Capital, the anthropophagous difference monster, both in its processual and material forms, generates distinctions within what might be described as a “lower class”, instead rendering them “the lower *classes*”. As such, those who engage in entrepreneurial endeavors, while not quite middle class, show a globalization that is in between.

The case of Haitian university students also indicates that globalization unfolds neither along a single path nor along one high road and one low road, but rather a middling globalization (Conradson and Latham 2005; Favell et al. 2007). These students do not fit the model of a globalization by a transnational capitalist class, and they do not fit into the model of the labor

mobilities. Further, even this group is not homogenous. Phenotype may lead to acceptance of some and disdain or apathy toward others. Access to international capital appears linked to which school someone attends. Some students may have social ties to labor mobilities, and others to members of the business elite. The fact that these students seem to be neither able to enter universities in Haiti (due to low exam scores or financial constraints) nor travel to other countries to study indicates that there even a “middling” of the middle. An understanding of global flows that fails to take into consideration this population is necessarily myopic.

Like rip currents to ocean waves, articulation occurs between forms of globalization from below and the middle with the mainstream corporate version from above. As Portes and Sassen (1987) pointed out regarding the informal economy, these new globalized workers and students have different relationships to the formal economy and by extension, the state. All these globalizations are based primarily, but not necessarily strictly, upon capitalist relations. Yet, rather than seeing this as getting around a system, I argue that we need to consider it very much an integral part of a system. These are globalizations, yet of a different scale. The economic activities in Santo Domingo vary as much as the various forms of capital within the city, but all are linked in some way to how capitalism is manifest lately at that particular place on planet Earth. Perhaps the existence of these other forms of globalization indicates that neoliberalism is necessarily incomplete and incapable of raising all boats, i.e. meeting the needs of all people, and as such, these other forms exist to fill in the gaps as best as possible. In any case, as the ebb and flow of waves at each beach are constructed with the given coastline, wind, and water currents, each form of neoliberalism has the ability to foster certain forms of globalization.

## **Mobilites under Neoliberal Regimes**

Before moving to recommendations based upon this research, it is important to elucidate a few key points. First, this ethnography of mobilites under a neoliberal regime, particularly in light of the case of educational mobilites, clearly establishes that globalization is best understood in the plural. Second, labor mobilites seem to be demonstrating a kreyòlized work ethic, which I see as a historically rooted and measured response to the conditions in which Haitians find themselves. This is not a reproduction of a work ethic developed in Haiti, nor is a complete novelty from life in the Dominican Republic. This *bricolage* allows people to live and work with a degree of dignity, even if it does not provide large amounts of financial return. A third point, following directly from the second, is that these Haitians may be relatively poor, but they are not living in a culture of poverty. Many of these subjectivities, were they practiced by a light-skinned wealthy Dominican, would be lauded and recognized as being representative of strong character. It is the perception of migrants as a threat or menace to society that precludes consideration of their humanity. Yet in the face of neoliberal polices and policing, even the poorest of the poor can produce a latent spirit of capitalism that refutes any theorizing about their “culture of poverty”. Fourth, the fact that poor mobilites can at times articulate dynamics of the exploitative conditions in which they live discounts the notion that any social change requires members of the bourgeoisie to voice the worker’s struggle. Like Rancière (2012) found with 18<sup>th</sup> century Frenchmen, these 21<sup>st</sup> century workers are capable of the mental work required to understand and create their own labor theories. Although capitalists may recognize mental work as being more valuable than physical work due to the economic and cultural capital associated with the former, to allow political economic value to act as a proxy of a person’s inherent capacity is to transmogrify humanity and debase intelligence.



Finally, though I do not want to end on a sour note, I cannot emphasize enough how difficult life can be for Haitian mobilites. Certainly students in the main have a much more comfortable material life than workers, yet recall that students are not exempt from anti-Haitianism. As an extreme example, Rooldine Lindor, a Haitian woman, was falsely lured to a location by two Dominican men under the pretense of finding a rental home, beaten, robbed of her money, and murdered in June 2011. On public transportation and in the media, Haitians are often depicted as criminals or otherwise pathological, as was the case when Dominican authorities responded to the response to cholera in Haiti by evicting poor Haitians from tenement buildings. The life of Haitian laborers is far from easy. Once out in the streets of Santo Domingo, one never absolutely knows if immigration forces will chase after them and throw them on a bus for deportation, or if a disgruntled Dominican passerby might spit or hurl racial insults at them. Materially, life is hard as well. The global economic downturn that started in 2008 reduced the already meager income for Haitian workers. Living conditions often lack adequate services, and opportunities for significant change are limited. Yet despite the hardships many Haitians face, their spirit is not vanquished. *Yo lite, yo chache lavi* (they fight on and look for a better life), always making something of themselves and making Rancièrian sense of the order of things.

### **Suggestions for Scholars, Policy Makers, and Activists**

In July 2010, I presented a paper on factors affecting the mobilization of a Haitian identity as a recognized part of the Dominican nation at the Observatorio Migrantes del Caribe (OBMICA) in Santo Domingo. While my paper was well received, one member of the audience took issue with my suggestion that certain elements of the Dominican Constitution of 2010 should be changed if they were *de facto* forms of discrimination against Haitians, due to the fact that I was not Dominican. This was not the only time the validity of my work was questioned through

labeling me a “meddling foreigner”. My response then is the same as it is now: my anthropological work meets professional standards of ethics, validity, and reliability and should not be seen as political advocacy, yet I feel that with my privileged status comes the responsibility to speak truth to power. That being said, with all the humility that I have, and with my fervent commitment to a just world for all people, I include suggestions for scholars, policy makers, and activists.

### *Future Research*

The manner in which I have depicted the lives and experiences of two groups of Haitian border crossers, admittedly partial, leaves several lines of inquiry untouched. While gendered differences are suggested, future research could examine differences in mobility between men and women. For example, are Haitian women more accepted at public health facilities because the image of the woman as mother is consistent within a patriarchal gaze? Additionally, sexual identity was not explored at all in this work, even though it became apparent that not all Haitians in Santo Domingo are strictly heterosexual. Kinship, that lynchpin of so much social anthropology, appears to play an important role in the flows of remittances between Haiti and the Dominican Republic, as well as beyond Hispaniola, and it may also figure largely in considerations of the fictive kin figures of *marenn* and *parenn*<sup>2</sup>. Limited material has covered the informal economic systems of ROSCAs in Haiti (*sol*, *sabotaj*, *eskont*, *ponya*), and even less has dealt with this topic among Haitians in the Dominican Republic<sup>3</sup>. Another major topic to be considered is the role of non-governmental organizations in the lives of border-crossers. Different types of Haitians involve themselves in churches, religion-based NGOs, student groups, and other secular groups, each that facilitate movement and livelihood in distinct ways.

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<sup>2</sup> Meaning, “godmother” and “godfather”, these are figures chosen by the parent of the same gender to be secondary parents.

<sup>3</sup> In the Dominican Republic, the name for one type of ROSCA is *san*.

One final avenue of research would be settlement arrangements, suggested by Brooks and Waters (2011), as it appears that Haitian university students may go directly to a Dominican university, attend a university after first joining family abroad, or finish secondary school in the Dominican Republic before continuing to tertiary schooling.

### *Points of Policy and Action*

As experiences of educational and labor mobilities merited separate consideration, so do the points addressing the needs of each of the groups.

While Haitian university students may or may not face additional discrimination depending upon their phenotype, as a group, two facts merit consideration. As I write, Haitian students have been complaining about visa issues. While the Dominican government made student visas more available, immigration officers at the border have been charging students 800 pesos as an exit fee for overstaying the term of their visa. Apparently, even though they have a student visa, this still requires them to limit their time in the Dominican Republic to two months or pay a fine, a practice that President Medina has stated already contradicts Rule 631-11 (art. 81 g) of the General Law of Migration. Such legal absurdities need to be addressed, and I am heartened by the mobilization undertaken by several student groups (Stop 800) around this topic. The second issue Haitian students face is the inability to integrate themselves in the Dominican formal economy after graduation. Currently, there is no process by which these students can easily obtain the legal right to work in the Dominican Republic, so these students are reduced to university customers who enrich the Dominican economy by US \$120 million per year (Alonso Rijo 2013). Both the students' legal status and their ability to shift into the labor market deserve consideration.

Advocacy on behalf of Haitian laborers could occur around the issues of legal paperwork issues, but also regarding the direct threats of mistreatment. While Pres. Fernandez was still in office, a plan was drafted to regularize the entirety of the Haitian population according to a triage system. However, once proposed, nothing materialized. Much like contemporary issues in the US, one must consider whether or not Haitians should have a path to citizenship rather than being summarily deported, or perhaps even worse, kept in a precarious legal state that affords them neither the legal foundations to further their livelihoods, nor forces them to leave the Dominican Republic. If the Dominican government and international lenders are truly serious about developing the country through a neoliberal model, why not attempt to harness the entrepreneurial activities of those Haitians with these businesses by offering permits? At the same time, Haitian laborers need protection against the exploitative aspects of their work. As a part of policy reform, the Dominican state could consider setting up a system whereby people, regardless of legal status, can report workplace crimes (including extortion by the police) without fear of reprisal or deportation.

Finally, given the long-standing tradition of sympathetic relations between Haitians and Dominicans, certain actions could be taken to strengthen amity across the island. While the 2010 Constitution prohibits discrimination based upon “gender, color, age, ability, nationality, family ties, language, religion, political opinion, philosophy, or personal condition” (Article 39), there is no law against targeting someone because of these, i.e. a statute that would identify something as a “hate crime”. Implementing such legislation, in conjunction with a way to voice complaints, would send a clear message of solidarity to Haitian workers. Second, more projects should be undertaken that bring Haitians and Dominicans together for a common goal. Several sports and music events have been organized, all without incident, and these should be encouraged. Finally,

to continue to eradicate the hate from future generations, Dominican scholars should address the educational and curricular materials that continue to minimize and stigmatize Haitians.

In closing, I want to strike a chord of unity (not unification) for the island. Like Haitians, Dominicans are no strangers to border crossing and the perils, dangers, and injustices that may accompany those that seek work abroad. Many also seek international courses of study through various channels and in various countries. In a deeper sense, Dominicans and Haitians, as Latin Americans, have a shared structural history of colonialism, US imperialism, and slavery. Interconnections and commonalities of origin and of the present are myriad. In the words of the great Uruguayan writer, Eduardo Galeano (2009), “maybe we refuse to acknowledge our common origins because racism causes amnesia, or because we find it unbelievable that in those days long past the entire world was our kingdom, an immense map without borders, and our legs were the only passport required”.

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## **Appendix: Descriptive Statistics**

### *Results from Structured Interviews*

The following information comes from the 160 structured interviews conducted from 2009-2010. The primary area of focus for these was La Benito, and specifically I targeted people living in tenement housing and so-called hotels in the area<sup>1</sup>. Each building has its separate owner, manager, and system of regulating tenants and payment. Only one owner lived in the relative proximity of the building he or she owned, and even if I could find a manager of a building, it was impossible for me to have access to a list of clients (if one even existed). Therefore, no sampling frame existed. However, combining data from a map collected at the Archivo General de la Nación with walking through the neighborhood (and asking a local person for information) allowed me to create a geographical frame (and hence, list) of all the buildings in area where Haitians lived. From this list of buildings, I had hoped to interview everyone possible in the building. However, people in these buildings usually work Monday through Saturday, and occasionally on Sundays (depending on their income-generating activity), and they were mostly out of the home from 7 AM to 6 PM. Furthermore, perhaps due to the small size and limited furnishings within a person's room, many people did not stay "at home" until they were going to sleep. Therefore, I was forced to use convenience sampling. To compensate for this, I conducted interviews repeatedly in the same house at different times during evenings and weekends.

The following charts provide descriptive statistics based upon given responses. Results and charts were generated using SPSS software.

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the hotels were more like housing that where someone could stay for one night or for months, each meriting a discussion of price between rentor and rentee.

**Figure AA: Age of Respondents**

18-19	4
20-29	99
30-39	33
40-49	15
50-59	3
60-69	1
70+	1

**Figure AB: Age Percentiles**

Mean	29.90
Median	27.00
Mode	25
Percentiles	25 24.25
	50 27.00
	75 32.00

**Gender**

	Frequency	Percent
Male	87	55.1
Female	71	44.9

**Marital Status**

	Frequency	Percent
Single	59	42.8
Plase	38	27.5
Marye	21	14.8
Divose	5	3.6
Mennaj	15	10.9

### Haiti Department of Origin

	Frequency	Percent
West	63	42.3
North	9	6.0
Southeast	20	13.4
South	23	15.4
Artibonit	12	8.1
Northeast	3	2.0
Center	12	8.1
Northwest	4	2.7
Nippes	1	.7
Grand Anse	2	1.3

### Years Living in Santo Domingo

	Frequency	Percent
0	19	14.4
1	20	15.2
2	19	14.4
3	13	9.8
4	9	6.8
5	17	12.9
6	7	5.3
7	2	1.5
8	5	3.8
9	1	.8
10	3	2.3
11-15	6	2.7
16-20	5	3.9
21-25	4	3.1
26-30	2	1.6

**Years Living Outside Capital but in Dominican Republic**

	Frequency		Percent
0	121		92.4
1	1		.08
2	3		2.3
3	2		1.6
5	2		1.6
7	1		.08
10	1		.08

Of these, fourteen people had come due to and after the earthquake in 2010.

**Church Affiliation in Haiti**

	Frequency	Percent
None	1	.8
Catholic	57	44.2
Baptist	24	18.6
Protestant	19	14.7
Levanjil	7	5.4
Adventist	8	6.2
Church of God	5	3.9
Anabaptist	1	.8
Pentecostal	3	2.3
Jehova's Witnesses	1	.8
Nazarene	2	1.6
Salvation Army	1	.8
Total	129	100.0

**Church Affiliation in the Dominican Republic**

	Frequency	Percent
None	4	5.8
Catholic	17	24.6
Benito	8	11.6
Baptist	10	14.5
Protestant	14	20.3
Levanjil	3	4.3
Adventist	5	7.2
Church of God	5	7.2
Pentecostal	1	1.4
Pare de Sufrir	1	1.4
Jehova's Witnesses	1	1.4

**Highest School Level**

	Frequency	Percent
No School	3	1.9
Some Primary	15	9.7
Certificate	7	4.5
Some Secondary	65	41.9
Rheto/Philo	52	33.5
Finish HS	6	3.9
Tertiary	7	4.5

**Haitian Passport Holder?**

	Frequency	Percent
No	20	13.5
Yes	128	86.5

Only three respondents stated that they had Dominican cédulas, indicating officially recognized residency.

**Currently Holding a Valid Visa?**

	Frequency	Percent
No	38	28.1
Yes	97	71.9

**Visa Type**

	Frequency	Percent
2 Month	39	40.6
1 Year	47	49.0
Student	11	11.5

**Have you been Detained by  
Police Officials?**

	Frequency	Valid Percent
No	67	56.3
Yes	52	43.7

**Imprisoned in the  
Dominican Republic?**

	Frequency	Valid Percent
No	84	74.3
Yes	29	25.7

**Paid a Bribe to be Released from  
Police Custody**

	Frequency	Valid Percent
No	83	73.5
Yes	30	26.5