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Eva Michelle Wheeler

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Race, Legacy, and Lineage in the Dominican Republic

Shifting Paradigms

EVA MICHELLE WHEELER

The US academy has a complicated relationship with the Dominican racial setting. Although for decades scholars from diverse disciplines have examined race in the Dominican Republic, the prevailing frame for analysis has been rooted in perceptions of exceptional negrophobia, exceptional xenophobia, exceptional confusion, and essential denial of “true” racial identity. Even as new studies position race in the Dominican Republic in a more complex social and historical context,¹ narratives of Dominican exceptionalism and essentialism persist in academic and popular discourse. The narratives criticize Dominican reticence to identify as *negro* and audacity to claim to be *indio*. Some have argued that the country is *mulato*, certainly not *blanco*, and only marginally *mestizo*. Despite the centrality of racial terms to this conversation, few studies have analyzed these terms as a critical intersection of language and race in the Dominican Republic.

Positioning language as a primary analytic concern,² the present study analyzes racial terms for what they reveal about how race is understood in the Dominican Republic. After presenting an overview of the conceptual evolution of racial terms and ideologies in the Dominican Republic, the article empirically examines present-day notions of *raza* (roughly translated as “race”) and *dominicanidad*

(“Dominicanness”) and explores the intersection of race, region, and typicality. Based on the shifting paradigms of race in the Dominican Republic, the present study argues for a corresponding shift in methodologies and analytical frameworks when analyzing the Dominican racial setting.

Conceptual Evolution of *Raza* in the Dominican Republic: An Overview

An examination of *raza* in the Dominican Republic begins with the racial categories brought by Spanish colonizers to the island of Hispaniola. During the colonial period, race emerged as a social identity and as a legal status, and people were classified by race and racial mixture. Franco (1984) and Lizardo (1979) describe 10 racial categories that existed during the colonial period: *negro*, *mulato*, *tercerón*, *cuarterón*, *mestizo*, *blanco*, *alcatraz*, *zambo*, *grifo*, and *saltapetrás*.³ These categories are defined in terms of the three groups in contact: Spanish colonizers, Africans brought to the island as slaves, and indigenous *Taínos*. Within this rubric, each term contains information regarding heritage and origin. For example, a *mulato* was the offspring of an African and a Spaniard; a *tercerón* was then the offspring of a *mulato* and a Spaniard; a *cuarterón* was the offspring of a *tercerón* and a Spaniard; and so on. Although consistent in other categories, the authors define *mestizo* in distinct ways: *indio* + *blanco* (Franco), and *cuarterón* + *blanco* (Lizardo). The first definition is the prevailing understanding of *mestizo* across Latin America—as a mixture of whiteness and indigeneity. The second definition derives from the *Código de Legislación para el Gobierno*

Moral, Político y Económico de los Negros de la Isla Española (“*Código Negro*”), a series of laws for the moral, political, and economic governing of blacks on Hispaniola. When *mestizo* is defined in the latter way, the indigenous contribution falls out and is replaced with a degree of blackness.

Mestizo, as defined by the *Código Negro*, also functions as a bridge to legal whiteness. During the colonial period, racial categories had legal meaning and ramifications, such that the *Código Negro* provided harsher punishment for a crime committed by a *negro* or *mulato* than by a *tercerón* or *cuarterón*.⁴ Within the same legal framework, whiteness could be reclaimed after five generations of mixture, as long as there had always been ties with persons of “white blood.”⁵ That whiteness, as a legal status, could be reclaimed at all stands in stark contrast to the racial system of the United States, for example, where the slightest traceable African ancestry precludes the privilege of whiteness. Here, lineage and legacy interact in an interesting way. The law affords to someone with a mixed lineage the right to reclaim the legacy of whiteness. This privilege was not, however, so easily realized, as the code sets out specific requirements that each generation be the offspring of a “legitimate” marriage.⁶

The racial categories of the colonial period additionally index gender and ideology. The terms *zambo* and *alcatraz*, for example, introduce a gendered dimension to the construction of racial categories. For these terms, the racial descriptor changes according to the gender of the racialized parent; for example, *negro* + *india* = *alcatraz*; *indio* + *negra* = *zambo*. The detailed taxonomy invokes the

Casta paintings that emerged from other Spanish colonies in present-day Mexico and Peru.⁷ The categories additionally communicate clear ideologies regarding racial hierarchy. The term *saltapatrás* is an example. When any other category reincorporated blackness, their offspring became a *saltapatrás*—literally translated, a jump backwards. This is the colonial legacy of race: (1) race as traceable lineage, (2) race as legal status, (3) whiteness as aspiration, and (4) blackness as regression. The framing of race in this way is not unique to the Dominican Republic, but rather a persistent shared legacy of post-colonial societies.

By the end of the colonial period, popular usage created a new category of identity, *blanco de la tierra* (“white of the land”),⁸ defined as the combination of one of the other mixed categories (*mulato*, *tercerón*, *cuarterón*, *mestizo*) plus white. The scope of traceable lineage was thus reimaged and limited to the most recent generation. If one parent was white, a child could claim membership in the new category: *blanco de la tierra*. Ideologically, the term communicates that the land—the nation, its Hispanic heritage—confers an honorary whiteness upon its populace, such that the land in effect confers a racial birthright.

During the nineteenth century, Santo Domingo transitioned from its status as a Spanish colony to an independent republic. In 1844, upon ending 22 years of Haitian rule, and stirred by other Latin American independence movements, the Dominican Republic declared its independence. The Haitian occupation and the triumph of independence have persisted in official discourses on Dominican national and racial identity.

Under a dictatorship that ran from 1930 to 1961, Rafael Trujillo and his associates used the power of the State to promote a whitened, Hispanicized image of Dominican identity that discounted and disparaged blackness and Haitianess.⁹ During this period, the Trujillo regime also cemented prior efforts to conflate racial and national identities.

By the late twentieth century, a broad lexicon existed for the description of race and physical appearance. As some colonial descriptors persisted, new terms, meanings, and usages emerged.¹⁰ These new categories reflected evolving notions of Dominican identity and marked a shift from the lineage-determined racial descriptors of the colonial period (e.g., *negro* + *blanco* = *mulato*; *mulato* + *blanco* = *tercerón*, etc.) toward an appearance-based system of description. That is, physical appearance began to determine the way in which a person's race would be described, sometimes irrespective of descent. Over time, the new system, wherein descent was not determinative, became the focus of external examination and critique.

Contemporary Notions of *Raza*

After centuries of meaning making in the Dominican Republic, the word *raza* can be interpreted in a number of ways. The present study engages contemporary notions of race by examining self-descriptions of *raza* given by participants at three research sites in the Dominican Republic: Santiago de los Caballeros, Santo Domingo, and Dajabón.

A diverse sample of 332 adult participants was recruited from the three research sites (Santiago, 144; Santo Domingo, 155; Dajabón, 33). The sample represents a

broad range of ages (18–73 years old), both sexes (Men, 43.07 percent; Women, 55.42 percent), and four skin color categories from the *cédula* (*blanco/a*, 10.54 percent; *indio*, 53.01 percent; *mestizo*, *moreno*, or *mulato*, 16.87; *negro*, 1.51 percent). Participants present a range of educational backgrounds, and 71.39 percent of the sample has completed or is completing university studies.

All participants completed a biographical information questionnaire that prompted them to describe their *raza*. To avoid limiting participant responses, no options were given, and participants thus described *raza* according to their particular understanding of the notion. Of the 332 participants, 20.78 percent gave no response for *raza*. The categories that emerge from the remaining responses are instructive on the contemporary understanding of *raza* in the Dominican Republic.

The 263 responses for *raza* yield 23 unique categories: *afro/dominicana*, *blanco/a*, *caribeña*, *dominicano/a*, *dominicano y haitiano*, *dominicano ascendencia haitiana*, *haitiana*, *híbrida*, *hispana*, *hombre*, *humana*, *humilde*, *indio/a*, *latino/a*, *mestizo/a*, *meturao*, *mixta*, *moreno*, *mujer*, *mulato/a*, *negro/a*, *neutral*, *triguena*. When viewed as a whole, these 23 categories may be understood in terms of 10 subcategories or paradigms: (1) Sex—*hombre*, *mujer* (6.84 percent); (2) Traditional Western Racial Paradigm—*blanco*, *negro*, *mulato/mixta* (20.15 percent); (3) Nationality—*dominicano*, *dominicano y haitiano*, *dominicano ascendencia haitiana*, *haitiana* (34.98 percent); (4) Ethnically Linked Nationality—*afro/dominicano* (0.38 percent); (5) Ethno-linguistic Descriptors—*hispana*, *latino-americano*, *latino/a* (4.94 percent); (6) Mixture in Latin America—*mestizo*, *híbrida* (11.79

percent); (7) Regional Identity—*caribeña* (0.38 percent); (8) Skin Color—*moreno, negro claro* (3.42 percent); (9) Other—*neutral, humana, humilde, meturao, trigueña* (2.28 percent); and (10) Multi-referent—*indio* (14.83 percent).¹¹

Contemporary notions of *raza* in the Dominican Republic primarily engage three paradigms: Nationality, Traditional Western Racial Paradigm, and Multi-referent. The highest percentage of responses—more than a third—falls within the Nationality paradigm. This is consistent with academic literature that has described the fusion of Dominican racial and national identities. The next highest percentage of responses corresponds to the Traditional Western Racial Paradigm—whiteness, blackness, and the mixture of the two. The third highest percentage corresponds to the descriptor *indio*, which can refer to multiple dimensions of identity—race, nationality, ethnicity, and skin color.¹² That *raza* can be conceptualized and divided in these many different ways reveals the complexity of Dominican racial identity. Researchers must be cognizant of which paradigm they invoke, as well as the accompanying conceptual implications.

To this point, the discussion has analyzed notions of *raza* in the Dominican Republic by examining the overall results from the three research sites. When examined separately, however, the responses for each site point toward regional understandings of *raza* that map onto regionally specific demographic histories.

Regional Reality of *Raza*

The three research sites for this study represent three distinct regions in the Dominican

Republic. Santiago, located in the Cibao Valley in the northern region of the country, has the reputation for a fairer-skinned population, with more markedly European features.¹³ Santo Domingo is the westernmost city of the eastern region of the country. Adjacent to Santo Domingo are the cities of Villa Mella and San Pedro de Macorís, which have the reputation for a darker-skinned, more markedly Afro-descended population.¹⁴ Finally, Dajabón is located in the northwestern region of the country, on the *Río Masacre* at the Dominican-Haitian border. Because the three research sites are popularly associated with diverse physical profiles, it is instructive to examine how regional demographics intersect with racial classification.

Santiago

Among participants in Santiago ($n=106$), the most frequent categories of *raza* are *dominicano/a, indio/a, mestizo/a, and blanco/a*. As in the overall results, participants most frequently describe themselves as *dominicano/a* (33.02 percent), and Nationality is the dominant racial paradigm. Participants in Santiago also frequently describe themselves as *indio/a* (16.98 percent) and *mestizo/a* (16.04 percent). This result is consistent with the overall results. To this point, participants in Santiago describe themselves in a way that is consistent with the overall results: *dominicano/a, indio/a, mestizo/a*—all terms that index a mixed space of Dominican identity. The results begin to diverge with the fourth most frequently used descriptor. In the overall results, this descriptor is *mulato/a*; in Santiago, the fourth most frequent descriptor is *blanco/a* (11.32 percent).¹⁵

Santo Domingo

In Santo Domingo ($n=127$), the majority of responses for *raza* fall into four categories: *dominicano/a*, *indio/a*, *mulato/a*, and *negro/a*. As in Santiago, participants in Santo Domingo most frequently describe their race as *dominicano/a* (28.35 percent), and Nationality is the corresponding racial paradigm. The second most frequent response for participants in Santo Domingo, *indio/a* (14.96 percent), is also consistent with the results from Santiago and overall. This descriptor, again, is tied to a mixed or middle-space identity. In contrast to the broader results, the third most frequent descriptor in Santo Domingo is *mulato/a* (14.96 percent), and not *mestizo/a*. Likewise, the fourth most frequent descriptor is *negro/a* (7.87 percent), and not *blanco/a* as in Santiago or *mulato/a* as overall.

For both cities, the most frequently used descriptors are consistent. *Dominicano/a* reaffirms a contemporary understanding of race as nationality, and *indio/a* indexes the multi-referent middle space. Although the third most frequent descriptors vary between sites—*mestizo/a* in Santiago, and *mulato/a* in Santo Domingo—both descriptors also reference a middle space of racial identity. The fourth most frequent descriptors at each site—*blanco/a* in Santiago, and *negro/a* in Santo Domingo—reveal a pattern that reflects popular knowledge of regional racial demographics. The results from Santiago (*mestizo/a*, *blanco/a*) track the reputation of the Cibao Valley as a region with a fairer-skinned population. Likewise, the results from Santo Domingo confirm the city's regional reputation for a darker-skinned, more markedly Afro-descended population. Thus, these

results may be understood as confirmation of popular knowledge regarding the intersection of race and region.

Dajabón

Among participants in Dajabón ($n=30$), the most frequent categories of *raza* are *dominicano/a*, *mulato/a*, *indio/a*, and *mestiza*. While the sample in Dajabón is smaller than the samples in the other research sites, the results track those of the previous sites. Consistent with the overall results, and the other regional results, participants in Dajabón most frequently describe their *raza* as *dominicano/a*, and the dominant racial paradigm is Nationality. The second most frequent descriptor in Dajabón is *mulato/a*, instead of *indio/a* as in the other sites. *Indio/a* is tied with *mestiza* for third most frequent descriptor. The categories participants most frequently use to describe themselves in Dajabón track those that appear most frequently in the overall results: *dominicano/a*, *indio/a*, *mestizo/a*, *mulato/a*. The results from Dajabón differ from those in Santiago and Santo Domingo in that non-middle space identifiers (e.g., *blanco*, *negro*) do not appear among the most frequent categories.

The examination of the regional reality of race adds at least three considerations to the analysis. First, the examination confirms that, across sites, the prevailing understanding of *raza* conforms to the Nationality paradigm that has frequently appeared in the literature on Dominican racial identity. This confirmation, however, is only a first step. Second, the popularity of the term *indio/a* as a racial descriptor, when viewed in conjunction with its frequent use as a skin color descriptor

(e.g., *cédula*), reveals the multi-referential nature of the term, exposing the complexity of its meaning and the importance of understanding its nuance. Third, the difference in the usage of descriptors indexing whiteness and *mestizo* identity in Santiago and those indexing blackness and *mulato* identity in Santo Domingo reveals differences in racial demographics that vary by region. This is to say, Dominican racial identity is not a monolith, and informed analyses must acknowledge and engage regional differences.

The following section explores a new methodology for examining the Nationality paradigm and for physically delimiting the boundaries of *dominicanidad*.

Raza Dominicana: Delimiting Dominicanidad

Understanding these regional differences, the following analysis returns to the prevailing notion of race as nationality to explore the inclusionary and exclusionary implications when nationality becomes a racial identity. In one sense, it is a unifying discourse, privileging shared national heritage over individual differences. Nonetheless, as nationality takes on the character of race, it becomes linked to physical characteristics, such that national identity becomes a functional index of racial identity.¹⁶ In this process, some physical profiles fall comfortably within the boundaries of *dominicanidad*, while others are pushed to the periphery. A cross-disciplinary academic consensus has contended that Dominicans lack racial self-awareness and are confused about their racial identity, and this contention is echoed in popular sentiment. The following discussion explores how Dominicans in fact

see and delimit *la raza dominicana*—which physical profiles fall within the perceived boundaries of *dominicanidad* and which are peripheral.

To explore this question, researchers asked participants in Santo Domingo and Dajabón ($n=64$) to examine 48 color photographs and indicate whether the person in each photo was Dominican. From these evaluations, patterns emerge regarding the perceived physical boundaries of *dominicanidad*. The results indicate that a diverse range of physical profiles fit comfortably within the notion of *la raza dominicana*. Figure 1a contains the two images that participants most frequently identify as Dominican: MALE_20 and MALE_2. The most frequent image of *dominicanidad* is MALE_20, identified as *dominicano* by 89.06 percent of participants. With respect to *matiz racial* (“racial aspect”),¹⁷ participants describe MALE_20 as *moreno* (34.38 percent) and *indio* (34.38 percent). This result is significant for two reasons. First, it indicates the centrality of the *moreno* profile within *la raza dominicana*; second, it reveals the breadth of the physical space covered by the term *indio*. The second most frequent image is MALE_2, identified as *dominicano* by 87.5 percent of participants. Participants describe MALE_2 as *blanco* (56.25 percent) and *indio / indio claro* (23.44 percent). These results suggest that a *moreno* profile, a *blanco* profile, and an *indio* profile all fit squarely within conceptions of *dominicanidad*.

Notwithstanding the physical diversity of *la raza dominicana*, participants have very clear ideas about which profiles fall at the periphery of Dominican racial identity. Figure 1b contains the two images least frequently identified as Dominican: MALE_10 and MALE_1. The

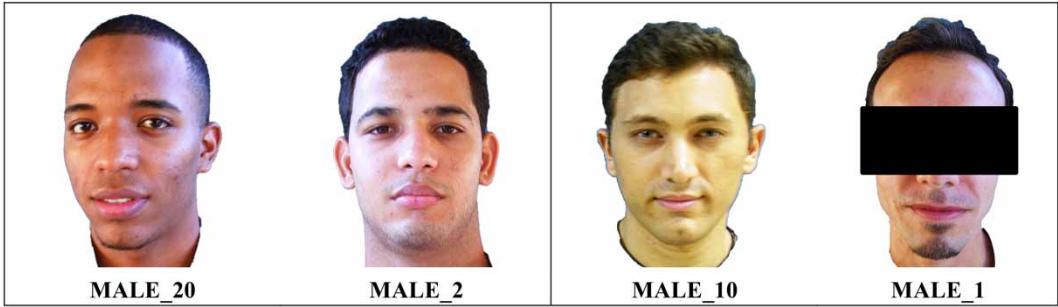


Figure 1a: Images most frequently Dominican.

Figure 1b: Images least frequently Dominican.

image that participants least frequently describe as Dominican is MALE_10, identified as *dominicano* by only 17.19 percent of participants. With respect to *matiz racial*, participants describe MALE_10 as *rubio* (45.31 percent) and *blanco* (28.13 percent). The second least frequently chosen image, MALE_1, is identified as *dominicano* by 28.13 percent of participants.¹⁸ Participants describe MALE_1 as *blanco* (39.06 percent) and *rubio* (25 percent). These evaluations reveal an interesting pattern in the profiles that fall at the periphery of *la raza dominicana*. The images least frequently judged to be Dominican share common descriptors—*blanco* and *rubio*.

Thus, there is a *blanco* profile that fits squarely within *dominicanidad* (e.g., MALE_2 in figure 1a), but there are also *blanco* profiles that fall at the periphery of *dominicanidad*. Participants describe MALE_10 and MALE_1 as *blanco* and *rubio*—a combination that participants associate with *ruso* (“Russian”), *europeo* (“European”), *internacional* but, generally, not Dominican. Regarding MALE_1, one participant answered that MALE_1 did not appear Dominican. “*Si es dominicano ...*” the participant continued, “*... es cibaeño*” (“If he is Dominican, he’s [from the Cibao Valley region]”), evoking again the relationship

between race and region.¹⁹ These results suggest that there is a *blanco* profile that participants associate with Europe, the United States, and other Latin American countries, that falls outside contemporary conceptions of *la raza dominicana*.²⁰

Engaging the ideology of “race as nationality,” this section has explored how Dominicans see and delimit *la raza dominicana*. Although there is space for diverse profiles to fit comfortably within *dominicanidad*, the results show that participants have very clear ideas of where different physical profiles fall along the spectrum of “Dominicanness.” Participants most frequently associate the image of the *moreno* with *la raza dominicana*. The profiles that fall at the periphery of *dominicanidad* are *blancos* and *rubios* believed to be *extranjeros*. Engaging the Nationality paradigm of race, as a physical index, reveals that it is possible to examine race in the Dominican Republic without invoking the strictures of the Traditional Western Racial Paradigm. This new perspective on contemporary Dominican racial identity challenges the broadly held view regarding how Dominicans see themselves, and it also suggests that new methodologies can bring fresh insight to longstanding questions.

Race, Region, and Typicality

Whereas the preceding analysis examined the spectrum of physical profiles that fall within *la raza dominicana*, this section examines how typicality engages race and region. When asked directly, many Dominicans will respond that there is no single image of the “typical Dominican.” However, notwithstanding the challenge of the task, participants are able to identify physical profiles that conform to specific notions of *dominicanidad*.

To explore this question, researchers asked 268 participants in Santiago and Santo Domingo to examine 16 color photographs and indicate which of the 16 photos most represented *el dominicano típico* (“the typical Dominican”). Of the 268 participants, 15.3 percent gave no response. This result is consistent with initial responses regarding the difficulty of identifying a single image of Dominican typicality. From the remaining results, however, patterns emerge regarding what participants perceive as typical.

Overall

The overall results ($n=227$) frame an image of the “typical Dominican” who is *moreno/a*, *indio/a*, *negro/a*, and *mulato/a*. Figure 2 contains the three images most frequently identified as *el dominicano típico*: MALE_7 (15.42 percent), FEMALE_5 (14.98 percent), and FEMALE_8 (13.22 percent). Participants describe MALE_7 as *moreno* and *negro*; FEMALE_5 as *india* and *mulata*; and FEMALE_8 as *morena*. Expanding the analysis beyond the three most frequently identified images confirms this pattern. Overall, *el dominicano típico* is most often described as *moreno/a* (32.16 percent), followed by *indio/*

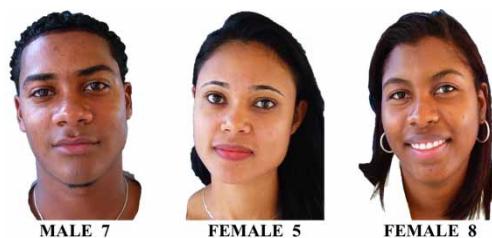


Figure 2: Images most frequently identified as *dominicano típico*

a (24.67 percent). Descriptors used with intermediate frequency are *mulato/a* (11.01 percent), *negro/a* (10.13 percent), and *blanco/a* (9.69 percent). These results confirm that the prevailing image of typicality evokes the physical profile of the *moreno*.

It is worth noting here that participants are describing *matiz racial* and not the broader notion of *raza*. When analyzed in terms of *raza*, the results are striking. Three of the four most frequent descriptors fall within groups identified in the Dominican Republic with *la raza negra*: *moreno/a*, *mulato/a*, and *negro/a*.²¹ This stands in stark contrast to prevailing narratives.²² However, even these analyses must engage regional differences.

Santiago

The results from Santiago suggest that the image of typicality in Santiago conforms to a slightly lighter profile than in the overall results. As in the overall results, the most frequently identified images in Santiago are MALE_7, FEMALE_5, and FEMALE_8 (figure 2). What differs in Santiago is the order of frequency of the images. Whereas MALE_7 is the most frequent image of *el dominicano típico* overall, FEMALE_5 (19.83 percent) is the most frequent image in Santiago. MALE_7 (14.66 percent) is the

second most frequent image, and FEMALE_8 (10.34 percent) remains the third most frequent image. Whereas, overall, the most frequent descriptor is *moreno/a*, followed by *indio/a*, the most frequent descriptor in Santiago is *indio/a* (27.59 percent), followed by *moreno/a* (25.86 percent). The descriptors used with intermediate frequency are the same as in the overall results: *mulato/a*, *negro/a*, and *blanco/a*. Again, however, the order of frequency changes. Whereas, overall, the descriptors appear (in order of frequency) as *mulato/a*, *negro/a*, and *blanco/a*, the order of frequency in Santiago is *blanco/a* (13.79 percent), *negro/a* (12.07 percent), and *mulato/a* (9.48 percent).

Santo Domingo

The image of typicality in Santo Domingo conforms to the overall results. An examination of the *matiz racial* descriptors used to describe the images in Santo Domingo reveals that the order of frequency in Santo Domingo is largely consistent with the overall order of frequency: *moreno/a* (38.74 percent), *indio/a* (21.62 percent), *mulato/a* (12.61 percent), *negro/a* (8.11 percent), and *blanco/a* (5.41 percent). As in the overall results, and in Santiago, the most frequently identified images are MALE_7, FEMALE_5, and FEMALE_8 (figure 2). In Santo Domingo, however, the order of frequency differs from the overall results and the Santiago results. Whereas MALE_7 is the most frequent image overall, and FEMALE_5 is the most frequent image in Santiago, FEMALE_8 (16.22 percent) and MALE_7 (16.22 percent) are identified as typical with equal frequency among participants in Santo Domingo. FEMALE_5 (9.91 percent) is the third most frequent image.

Viewing the results overall and across sites prompts the question of the relationship among race, gender, region and typicality. The most frequently identified image overall, and the most frequently identified male image at each research site, is MALE_7, identified as *moreno* and *negro*. In Santiago and in Santo Domingo, *el moreno* is consistently viewed as typically Dominican. Conversely, the same consistency is not present for female images across regions. In Santiago, the most typical female image is FEMALE_5, described as *india* and *mulata*. The most typical female image in Santo Domingo, however, is FEMALE_8, described as *morena*. In Santiago, the image of female typicality (*la india*) corresponds to the lighter profiles associated with the northern region. Conversely, in Santo Domingo, the image of female typicality (*la morena*) corresponds to the darker profiles associated with the southern and eastern regions. These results point to the need for more research on how gender inflects regional understandings of racial typicality. However, from the results it is clear that, overall, participants most frequently associate typicality with the profile of the *moreno/a*. Although this association varies regionally—for example, the most typical profile in Santiago is the *indio/a*—the fact that Dominicans conceptualize typicality in this way, with a broad affinity for the *moreno/a* profile, suggests that the cross-disciplinary consensus about denial and lack of self-awareness is, at the very least, overstated.

Conclusion

The results of this study engage the theme of this special issue in several key ways and offer

additional insight for the study of racial identity. Racial terms in the Dominican Republic reveal a lot about how race is understood. Contemporary Dominican notions of *raza* show persistent complexity and are characterized by a variety of subcategories and paradigms. Separation of the results by research site underscores the importance of regionally informed analyses of race. The question of blackness has most frequently come to the fore when engaging a traditional Western racial paradigm. However, this paradigm need not be the sole lens through which racial identity is examined. Effective analyses of racial ideologies and racial classification are possible, even when participants discuss race in non-traditional ways. As demonstrated by the results in this study, the Nationality paradigm of race, when engaged, allows for new methodologies and new perspectives on how racial identity in the Dominican Republic may be investigated and understood. These new analytical paradigms accommodate rich analyses that are inflected with considerations of language, region, and gender. Paradigms that reduce Dominican racial identity to exceptionalist and essentialist discourses have outlived their utility. This is where the paradigm shifts.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1. See e.g., Ginetta E. B. Candelario, *Black Behind the Ears: Dominican Racial Identity from Museums to Beauty Shops* (Durham, NC: Duke

University Press, 2007); April J. Mayes, *The Mulatto Republic: Class, Race, and Dominican National Identity* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2014); Kimberly Eison Simmons, *Reconstructing Racial Identity and the African Past in the Dominican Republic* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009).

2. Mary Bucholtz, *White Kids: Language, Race, and Styles of Youth Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 5.

3. Franklin J. Franco, *Los negros, los mulatos, y la Nación Dominicana*, 7th ed. (Santo Domingo: Editora Alfa & Omega, 1984), 28; Fradique Lizardo, *Cultura Africana en Santo Domingo* (Santo Domingo: Editora Taller, 1979), 19–20.

4. *Código de Legislación para el Gobierno Moral, Político y Económico de los Negros de la Isla Española* (1784).

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005).

8. Lizardo, *Cultura Africana*, 19–20.

9. See e.g., Roberto Cassá, *Capitalismo y dictadura* (Santo Domingo: Editora de la Universidad Autónoma, 1982), 762–7; Silvio Torres-Saillant, *Introduction to Dominican Blackness*, 2nd ed. (research monograph, New York: CUNY Dominican Studies Institute, City College of New York, 2010).

10. Daysi Josefina Guzmán, “Raza y lenguaje en el Cibao,” *Eme-Eme: Estudios Dominicanos* 11 (1974): 3–45.

11. The 10 subcategories of *raza* also engage the racial schemas proposed by Roth (2012) and converge in key ways. Wendy D. Roth, *Race Migrations: Latinos and the Cultural Transformation of Race* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012).

12. *Indio/a* adds a distinct layer to the discussion of racial identity in the Dominican Republic. While it is generally accepted that the indigenous Taínos form part of the roots of the Dominican Republic, it has fairly consistently been argued that

contemporary *indio* identity is an inheritance to which Dominicans are not entitled. Moreover, as the proliferation of *indio* as a skin color descriptor is attributed to the Trujillo dictatorship, scholars have concluded that the imposition of this term has had the intended insidious effect of erasing the nation's African past.

13. See e.g., Joaquín Balaguer, *La isla al revés: Haití y el destino dominicano*, 11th ed. (Santo Domingo: Editora Corripio C. por A., 2002), 185–93; Lizardo, *Cultura Africana*, 84.

14. See e.g., Lizardo, *Cultura Africana*, 84. The demographics of this region are attributed to the historical importance of the sugarcane industry, as a result of which a concentration of laborers of African (Dominican Republic, Haiti, British West Indies) descent settled in the area.

15. *Blanco*, as used here, does not necessarily imply “Spaniard,” as it did in the colonial period. Nor does it directly correspond to whiteness in other countries. Rather, the contemporary conception of *blanco* in the Dominican Republic accommodates a broader range of physical profiles. See e.g., Eva Michelle Wheeler, “Shades of Meaning: A Contemporary Linguistic Analysis of Matiz Racial in the Dominican Republic” (presentation, 5th Biennial Conference of the Dominican Studies Association, Waterbury, CT, May 1–2, 2014).

16. The converse is not necessarily true. Racial identity does not always index national identity. See Jim Sidanius, Yesilernia Peña, and Mark Sawyer, “Inclusionary Discrimination: Pigmentocracy and Patriotism in the Dominican Republic,” *Political Psychology* 22, no. 4 (2001): 827–51. These authors find no relationship between racial

classification and level of patriotism (or sense of one's own belonging), while considering race and national identity as separate factors. The present study considers the related question of whether there is a relationship between race and perceptions of national identity (or evaluations of belonging) by others. The present analysis additionally engages the overlap between racial and national identities.

17. *Matiz* racial here should not be conflated with *raza*. In this context, *matiz* racial is in the realm of physical description—skin color, hair color, etc.—rather than group membership.

18. MALE_1 is not identified here due to limited permissions respecting publication of the model's image. Study participants were able to see the complete image.

19. MALE_10 and MALE_1 are Dominicans photographed in the Dominican Republic.

20. While *blancos* and *rubios* are least frequently identified as Dominican, nearly half of participants that describe an image as *negro* or *prieto* identify the image as Dominican. This result is important because it responds to another aspect of the cross-disciplinary consensus, namely, that Dominicans will assume that anyone fitting the *negro* profile is Haitian (i.e., outside *la raza dominicana*). See Eva Michelle Wheeler, “(Re)Framing Raza: Language as a Diachronic Lens for Examining Race and Skin Color Classification in the Dominican Republic” (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, forthcoming).

21. Guzmán, “Raza y lenguaje,” 41.

22. See e.g., David A. Howard, *Coloring The Nation: Race and Ethnicity in the Dominican Republic* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001).

Eva Michelle Wheeler is a PhD Candidate in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Her dissertation research examines race and identity in the Dominican Republic through the lens of language, and additional research interests include sociolinguistics, new racial studies, and comparative post-colonial racial systems.