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(Re)Framing *Raza*:

Language as a Lens for Examining Race and Skin Color Categories in the Dominican

Republic

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Hispanic Languages and Literatures

by

Eva Michelle Wheeler

Committee in charge:

Professor Viola G. Miglio, Chair

Professor Mary Bucholtz

Professor Stefan Th. Gries

Professor Roberto Strongman

June 2015

The dissertation of Eva Michelle Wheeler is approved.

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Viola G. Miglio, Committee Chair

June 2015

(Re)Framing *Raza*: Language as a Lens for Examining Race and Skin Color Categories

in the Dominican Republic

DEDICATION

Quisiera dedicar esta tesis doctoral al *pueblo dominicano—a los indios, morenos, blancos, rubios, mulatos, trigueños, negros, mestizos, coloraos y jabaos* que me dieron la bienvenida a su país sin igual; a los hombres y mujeres, jóvenes y niños que me dejaron experimentar la riqueza de su cultura y lenguaje; y a los estudiantes, profesores, técnicos, peluqueros, pintores, filósofos, maestros, colmaderos, policías, electricistas, ingenieros, motoconchos, abogados, domésticas, licenciados, obreros, delíverys, choferes, vendedores, supervisores, activistas, contables, diseñadores gráficos y comerciantes que colaboraron conmigo para que este proyecto fuera posible y para que yo saliera de esta experiencia completamente *aplatanada*. Miles de gracias no bastarían.

¡Qué viva la bandera tricolor!

Dios. Patria. Libertad.

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En Dajabón, quisiera reconocer a Georgi y a Agustín, hermanos de la Iglesia Adventista que me hospedaron y me alimentaron durante mis primeros días en Dajabón. Quisiera reconocer también a Chío Villalona, director de la Casa de la Cultura en Dajabón y una fuente incomparable de conocimiento relativo a la zona fronteriza. De la Universidad de Tecnología de Santiago (Recinto Dajabón), quisiera reconocer a la Profesora Normita y a los estudiantes que colaboraron conmigo en la encuesta del estudio. Quisiera reconocer también a la dirigente del Gran Hotel Raydan por hospedarme y alimentarme durante mi estadía.

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At UCSB, I would also like to acknowledge the professors and classmates who contributed to my academic and professional development and give special recognition to the following individuals. To Professors Howard Winant and John Park, director and co-director of the University of California Center for New Racial Studies, this project became a reality with the Center's research grant; and this dissertation became a reality during my year as a UCCNRS predoctoral fellow. Thank you for the opportunity to develop my research; thank you for your mentorship; and thank you for all of the occasions for free food! To the Inaugural UCCNRS Academic and Professional Development Collective (also known as "Monday Club")—Jane Choi, JP deGuzman, and Malaphone Phommasa—thank you for creating a space that encouraged laughter, productivity, camaraderie, and the consumption of delicious treats! To former Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs Michael Young, thank you for being my sounding board since my very first quarter of graduate school and for believing in my present and in my future. To my friend and colleague Raquel Santana-Paixão—*la más poderosa, la más 'gostosa'*—who has been on this road with me

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This journey began even before I stepped onto UCSB's campus, and I would like to acknowledge three of my undergraduate professors from Oakwood University who wrote letters of recommendation in support of my application to graduate school. To Dr. Ursula Benn, my first Spanish teacher, former supervisor, mentor, and constant source of encouragement for 15 years. Thank you for never accepting anything less than my best. I would not be who I am without you. To Dr. Sandra Price, my undergraduate advisor, who firmly planted my feet on the path to academic success, you taught me that even things that seemed *impossible* were within my reach. You are a constant inspiration. To Professor Moges Selassie, Finance professor *par excellence.* Thank you for challenging me and teaching me, for believing that I could become whatever I set my mind to, and for forgiving me (twice) for not becoming a financial analyst.

To my family, thank you for supporting me, for making my dreams your dreams, and for changing with me as those dreams have changed. To my sisters, Lakeysha and Eunice, thank you for keeping me grounded, for believing in me, for motivating me, and for listening to me. To my brothers-in-law, Shawn and Staunchis, Roll Tide! To my niece and nephews— Gabby, Cameron, Kyan, and Evan—you are my constant motivation. You can do and become whatever you set your mind to. I will always be in your corner. I hope that what I do can make a difference in your lives, and a difference in the world. To my father, Edward, who was educated in the racially-segregated school system of the Jim Crow South, I recognize that every academic and professional achievement I have attained has been

possible because I am standing on the shoulders of giants. To my mother, Dr. Eva M. Starner, thank you for teaching me that no goal was ever outside my reach, for believing in me before I was able to believe in myself, for teaching me that excellence was worth working for and worth waiting for, and for every sacrifice you made to make my dreams come true. I am who and what I am because of you.

To Derrick, Mainer, *Prima* (Adrinna), David, and Wilson, thanks for being willing to help a *sista* out! To Lewis, I hope to someday be "half the man" that you are. Thank you for supporting my dream. To my Genesis family, thank you for keeping me sane. To my Connect family, thank you for your open arms. To my Santa Barbara family—Hugo, Marina, Leslie and Boo—thank you for the love, laughter, and food (!) you have shared with me during my time in SB (#TeamHugito). Finally, to Derric Johnson, thank you for engaging my thoughts, and for coining my new *life brand*: "Bad (B.S./B.A.) Mamma (M.A.) Jamma (J.D.) … with a Ph.D.!"

Excellence is not accidental; nor is it optional. It is a privilege that, once attained, must be acknowledged modestly, possessed proudly, guarded jealously, and compromised for no one.

~Eva Michelle Wheeler

Philippians 4:13

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Studies in Minority Languages and Cultures

ABSTRACT

(Re)Framing *Raza*: Language as a Lens for Examining Race and Skin Color Categories

in the Dominican Republic

by

Eva Michelle Wheeler

The U.S. academy has a complicated relationship with the Dominican racial setting. Although scholars from diverse disciplines have examined race in the Dominican Republic for decades, the prevailing frame for analysis has been rooted in perceptions of exceptional negrophobia, xenophobia, and 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, 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. Nevertheless, as analysis increasingly crosses cultural and linguistic borders, language emerges as a vital paradigm for the study of race.

This dissertation employs linguistics as a lens through which to analyze Dominican race and skin color descriptors. These terms, some uniquely Dominican in usage, index, or ideology, correspond to local, socially-constructed norms and parameters of identity, and

have evolved in meaning over nearly six centuries. Through the analysis of archival

documents, corpus data, surveys, and interviews in the Dominican Republic, the dissertation

investigates the conceptual evolution of *raza* (≈'race') since the colonial period, engages

popular understanding of what racial terms represent physically and socially, and explores

the interaction between race and *dominicanidad* ('Dominicanness'). This project offers a

mixed methods approach for the examination of race that first constructs meaning for each

term (in lieu of translation), and then empirically tests hypotheses regarding physical and

social information via photo description questionnaires. As the dissertation explores the rich

information contained in the language of race, it argues that the contemporary Dominican

concept of race may be subdivided into several distinct paradigms that researchers cannot

take for granted; that informed analyses must account for regional differences within the

Dominican Republic; that fluidity in the categorical boundaries of descriptive terms should

not be mistaken for confusion; and that the physical boundaries of *dominicanidad* may be

surprising. With language as the lens, this project offers new methodologies for

investigating race and proposes new frames for interpreting the results that significantly

contribute to ongoing conversations on race in the Dominican Republic, Latin America, and

the Western hemisphere.

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The first challenge of blackness is the challenge of defining it.
–Lerone Bennett

Chapter 1

Introduction[1]

In 2011, Harvard University professor and scholar of African American studies Henry Louis Gates debuted a multi-episode television series titled *Black in Latin America*.[2] An excerpt from the episode "Haiti & Dominican Republic: An Island Divided" features Gates and Juan Rodríguez, an anthropologist and official from the Dominican Ministry of Culture, walking down *El Conde*—a popular pedestrian walkway in Santo Domingo's Colonial Zone. As Gates and Rodríguez walk, they speak in English about Dominican racial identity, and Gates asks Rodríguez, "How would people describe you, uh, given your beautiful mahogany color?" Rodríguez responds, "Well, here, I am as *indio*." "Indio," Gates repeats with Anglicized pronunciation. Rodríguez continues, "I'm supposed to be *indio* here." Positioning himself as a cultural and linguistic outsider, Gates asks Rodríguez, "Help me to understand. As an American, I never heard of this phrase 'indio'. Where does it come from?" Rodríguez explains that *indio* is a term used to negate African ancestry and become something else. He then continues, "If you look around, I mean, look at me. I am black." "You are black," Gates confirms. "Did you always feel this way, Juan, when you were growing up? Or did you, did you have to learn that you were black?" Rodríguez pauses, "Actually, and I am sad to say, I had to learn to be black." "How did you learn?" Gates

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[1] Portions of this chapter previously published as Wheeler, E. M. (2015). Race, Legacy, and Lineage in the Dominican Republic. *The Black Scholar* 45(2), 34-44.

[2] Source: http://www.pbs.org/wnet/black-in-latin-america/featured/haiti-the-dominican-republic-an-island-divided-watch-full-episode/165/

inquires. Rodríguez explains that he went to New York, to which Gates responds with a chuckle, "That'll do it." Rodríguez goes on to explain that this experience in New York led him to feel that his roots were in Africa and not in Spain. "So who is black in Dominican society?" asks Gates. He continues, juxtaposing the Dominican racial system to the U.S. racial system, "In America, all these people would be black. But here, who's black?" "Well," Rodríguez begins. Gates interjects, reframing his inquiry by invoking the Spanish cognate term *negro*, "*Negro*, who's *negro*?" Rodríguez responds, "I think nobody's *negro* here. We are told, 'You are black.' 'Oh no, I am not black. I am something else.' Dominicans are in complete denial of who they are."

"Dominicans are in complete denial of who they are." This indictment is set against the backdrop of the 2007 Miami Herald article about the Dominican Republic titled "Black Denial," the Howard (2001) book that states that Dominican usage of the term *indio* is a myth and a lived falsehood, and the countless scholarly works framing the Dominican racial setting as exceptionally negrophobic and framing Dominicans as backwards, self-loathing, and confused. This conversation between Henry Louis Gates and Juan Rodríguez is representative of an ongoing debate in academic and social spheres, and it encapsulates the tenets of the broader academic and social narratives regarding Dominican racial identity:

(1) Dominicans are black.

(2) Dominicans are not indigenous.

(3) Because Dominicans frequently use *indio*, and only sparingly use *negro*, Dominicans do not know who they are.

Crucially, this conversation occurs in a cross-cultural exchange between a Dominican

government official and a U.S. academic. Moreover, the conversation is also a cross-linguistic analysis. The tenets of the conversation are built upon several unstated assumptions:

(1) Dominicans have African ancestry.

(2) African ancestry is equivalent to blackness and must correspond to black identity.

(3) The term black in the U.S. is equivalent to the term *negro* in the Dominican Republic.

(4) *Indio* denotes, and may only denote, indigenous heritage.

(5) Race is an objective thing that is constant across languages and cultures.

(6) No distinction need be made between race and skin color.

Gates and Rodríguez allude to an equivalency between African ancestry and blackness as they use the terms interchangeably over the course of the conversation. Gates and Rodríguez additionally use the terms *black* and *negro* without distinction, as when Gates asks who would be described as black in the Dominican Republic and then code switches to ask who would be *negro*. Rodríguez positions *indio* as a paradox, given that the country does not have a contemporary indigenous population. Finally, both men talk about blackness as something that can be discovered in one culture (as when Rodríguez goes to New York) and then superimposed onto another culture (as when Rodríguez returns to the Dominican Republic).

Because the assumptions are unstated—in this conversation and in broader narratives, they are also, largely, unexamined and unchallenged. In the present study, I problematize U.S.-deferent, cross-cultural, cross-linguistic analyses by examining the Dominican system of racial categorization through a linguistic lens. A linguistic lens facilitates the analysis of

racial terms for culturally-specific physical and social meaning, does not assume equivalence between cognate forms in different languages, and presents an analysis that does not rely on these traditionally unstated assumptions. While the irony of one cross-cultural, cross-linguistic analysis critiquing others does not escape me, this dissertation employs *in situ* phenomenological, interview, and survey methods designed to present an analysis of the Dominican system of racial categorization that does not rely on external defaults.

A.   *Statement of the Problem and Rationale of the Study*

The U.S. academy has a complicated relationship with the Dominican racial setting. Although scholars from diverse disciplines have examined race in the Dominican Republic for decades, 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 (e.g., Candelario, 2007; Mayes, 2014; Simmons, 2009; Wheeler, 2015), 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.

Racial terms in the Dominican Republic are prevalent in a variety of settings, from product brand names, to nicknames and forms of address, to the *cédula de identidad y electoral* (the Dominican national identity document that includes a description of the

bearer's skin color). Thus, these racial terms represent a rich environment for the study of the intersection of language and race. Guzmán (1974) is the first semantic analysis of racial terms in the Dominican Republic, and scholars continue to cite the study to demonstrate the complexity of Dominican racial identity. Scholars have not, however, in the more than four decades since Guzmán's seminal study, specifically re-examined Dominican racial categories using a semantic frame. By positioning language as a primary analytic concern, the present analysis reframes the inquiry into Dominican racial identity and offers a new theoretical perspective and new methodologies for exploring this question.

As the study focuses on the meaning embedded in Dominican racial categories, it is not without awareness of the admonition stated by Gunaratnam (2003) regarding the "fundamental political and methodological danger of an unproblematized reliance upon categorical approaches to 'race'…" (p.19). For Gunaratnam, the danger lies in the potential of such analyses to reify race as an essential, intrinsic, biological, and inescapable fact. In contrast to the situation described by Gunaratnam, the present study positions racial categories as legally- and socially-derived ways of describing different types of human bodies, rather than as biological inevitabilities.

B. Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The present study employs language as a lens through which to understand the complex system of knowledge embedded in race and racialized skin color categories in the Dominican Republic. A linguistic perspective brings unique analytical benefits to the interdisciplinary conversation on the meaning of race in the Dominican Republic, and the present study builds on previous linguistic elicitation and ethnographic research.

Scholars have asserted that the relationship between language and race is clear in at least

Chapter 1: Introduction

three ways: (1) in the use of racial terms, (2) in racial discourse, and (3) in the linguistic

performance of race (Bucholtz, 2011). Racial terms—the focus of the present study—are

the labels that hold physical, social, and even legal meaning in a given society. For purposes

of this study, when no distinction is made, 'racial terms' is intended to encompass both

terms that index racial categories and those that index racialized skin color categories. An

examination of racial terms directly implicates the fields of semantics—requiring the

consideration of meaning; pragmatics—analyzing how individuals interpret these terms in

context; and sociocultural linguistics—examining how social identities emerge from, and are

expressed through, these racial terms.

The study is timely, as scholars in the fields of sociology, anthropology, and history are

exploring the complexities of race and racial categories in Latin America; linguists are

developing new methodologies for analyzing the relationship between language and race;

and Dominican racial identity remains a contentious topic in academic and social spheres.

Moreover, the current study, with its semantic orientation, is particularly timely given that a

semantic perspective on the meaning of Dominican racial categories has not been revisited

in more than four decades (Guzmán, 1974). Based on the terms examined by Guzmán, and

with an understanding of the contemporary Dominican racial setting, the present study

focuses on a diverse group of racial terms: *rubio, blanco, pelirrojo, colorao, jabao, trigueño,*

indio, mulato, moreno, negro, and *prieto*. Through the lens of these focal terms, the study

poses fundamental questions about the way that Dominicans understand race and racial

categories:

(1) Research Question 1: *What physical information is embedded in racial terms in the*
   Dominican Republic?

(2) *Research Question 2: What social information is embedded in racial terms in the Dominican Republic?*

(3) *Research Question 3: How has the meaning of racial terms changed over time in the Dominican Republic?*

(4) *Research Question 4: What does the meaning of racial terms reveal about the notion of* raza *in the Dominican Republic?*

(5) *Research Question 5: How do racial terms interact with notions of typicality in the Dominican Republic?*

C. Overview of the Dissertation

To answer the posed research questions in the most comprehensive way, the present study employs a mixed methodology. Creswell (2014) describes the value of this approach in the following way, "The core assumption of this form of inquiry is that the combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches provides a more complete understanding of a research problem than either approach alone" (p.4). Quantitative methods are generally rare in studies of race, as scholars are cautious to avoid the pitfalls of early positivistic research on race. Although this dissertation approaches this prior problematic research with a similar degree of caution, it embraces quantitative methods as a powerful analytical tool that need not revert the analysis to the harrowing early days of race science. The inclusion of both qualitative and quantitative research methods enriches the analysis of race and racial categories in this setting.

The dissertation is organized into eight chapters. Chapter 1 addresses the rationale for

this study: academic and social debates regarding Dominican racial identity, dearth of research specifically examining the meaning of racial terms in this setting, and the untapped utility of using semantic frames to unpack the meaning embedded in Dominican racial terms. In light of this problem, I formulated the research questions to better understand what specific racial terms reveal about race and racialized color classification in the Dominican Republic.

Chapter 2 presents a conceptual framework for the study and is divided into three sections: the first addresses the notion of race and its theoretical underpinnings; defines the concepts of race, ethnicity, and color for the purposes of the study; summarizes existing literature on how race is understood in the U.S. and Latin America; and positions the Dominican Republic with respect to this literature. The second section of Chapter 2 addresses the literature on critical intersections of race and language, reasserting the need for linguistic perspectives on racial and ethnic studies; and the third section presents lexical semantics as an overarching conceptual frame and discusses how existing linguistic approaches to investigating meaning, prototyping, and (non-racialized) color can be used to frame a new approach to the investigation of race and racialized color classification in the Dominican Republic.

Chapter 3 frames the diachronic dimension of the study, engaging historical data regarding the use of racial terms in the Dominican Republic from the arrival of the Spanish colonizers to the island of Hispaniola in the 15th century through the end of the 20th century. The chapter is divided into three sections: the first presents the history and historical racial setting of the Dominican Republic; the second analyzes the historical use of racial terms using corpus data; and the third analyzes the historical use of racial terms using

specific historical documents.

Chapter 4 presents the research methods for the contemporary portion of the study. The chapter consists of five parts: research sites, participants, data collection procedures, data analysis procedures, and potential limitations of the study.

Chapter 5 analyzes qualitative data from participant interviews to the extract the physical and social meaning embedded in Dominican racial terms. The chapter comprises four sections. The first section analyzes how participants racialize self using categories from the Dominican racial system. The second explores how participants characterize the Dominican racial setting. The third section discusses how participants navigate the physical and social meaning embedded in Dominican racial terms; and the fourth section discusses the relationship between racial terms and region.

Chapter 6 analyzes quantitative data from participant surveys and is divided into four sections. The first section analyzes contemporary Dominican racial categories and proposes to group categories into 10 paradigms based on underlying ideologies. The second section examines contemporary skin color categories, contrasting participant self description of skin color with the official description given by the *cédula* (national identity document). The third section analyzes the physical parameters of contemporary racial terms, using the results of photo description surveys. The fourth section examines the relationship between racial categories and social perceptions using data from photo description surveys.

Chapter 7 discusses how racial categories engage notions of typicality in the Dominican Republic. The first section discusses how interview participants describe the notion of the 'typical Dominican.' The second section analyzes quantitative data concerning physical description and Dominicanness. The third section of the chapter analyzes quantitative data

regarding physical description and typicality.

Chapter 8 summarizes the conclusions and implications of the study. The first section gives an overview and final discussion of the findings for each research question. The second section discusses the implications of the study for the fields of semantics, sociocultural linguistics, and racial studies. The third section discusses directions for further research; and the final section delivers concluding remarks.

Chapter 2

Conceptual Framework

This chapter situates the present study in relation to existing research and presents the conceptual framework within which the analysis will develop. First, the chapter addresses the theoretical underpinnings of the notion of race; defines the concepts of *race*, *ethnicity*, and *color* for purposes of the study; summarizes the literature on how race is understood in the U.S. and in Latin America; and positions the Dominican Republic with respect to this literature. Next, the chapter reasserts the need for a linguistic perspective on racial studies and addresses the literature on critical intersections of race and language. Finally, the chapter presents lexical semantics as an overarching conceptual frame, reviews the tenets that lend themselves to the present analysis, and discusses relevant studies on prototype theory and the semantics of color to understand how existing linguistic approaches to investigating meaning, prototyping and color can be used to frame a new approach to the investigation of race and racialized color classification in the Dominican Republic.

A. Race and Racial Categories: International Lenses

This section explores the literature on race and racial categories in the United States and Latin America. The section begins by defining key concepts and then moves to an exploration of the literature on the U.S., Latin American, and Dominican racial settings.

1. *Key Concepts: Defining Race, Ethnicity, and Color*

Scholars are divided on the distinction between race and color (Golash-Boza, 2010; Harris, 2009; Nakano Glenn, 2009; Sue, 2009a, 2009b; Telles, 2004) and the related

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distinction between race and ethnicity (Bonilla-Silva, 1999; Cornell & Hartmann, 1988; Loveman, 1999; Omi & Winant, 2014; Wimmer, 2008). As a linguist, and particularly as a linguist carrying out a study on the meaning of race and color categories, it is important for me to define the concepts of race, ethnicity, and color as I use them in the analysis.

Prior to the 20th century, scholars viewed race as something objective, biological, and intrinsic (Gilroy, 2000; Gunaratnam, 2003; Roth, 2012; Telles, 2014). Rooted in taxonomies elaborated during the 18th century, early studies measured race on the basis of physical characteristics such as skull size, hair texture, and eye, lip, and nose shapes (Gilroy, 2000; Hannaford, 1996; Mukhopadhyay et al., 2007; Wade, 1997). During this time, scholars considered racial categories to be visible, embodied, and hierarchically ordered (Hesse, 1997). As time progressed, academic and nonacademic actors came to treat these categories as natural, and even necessary, social divisions (e.g., Telles, 2014). These studies bore the persistent imprint of colonial racial categorization (Gunaratnam, 2003). In the early-20th century, scholars such as Boas (1912, 1940) began to problematize the biology and objectivity of race. Since that time, scholars have generally framed *race* as less of a biologically-significant concept and more of a social and political construction (Bailey, 2002; Omi & Winant, 2014). Though a proxy for some physical characteristics, race and its resulting racial categories have much more to do with the social and ideological beliefs of the societies from which they emerge (Hall, 1993).

From these contemporary studies of race, the following characteristics emerge. First, race is multi-dimensional (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991; Telles, 2014). Second, race is not stable and objective across cultural contexts (Gunaratnam, 2003; Mukhopadhyay et al., 2007). Different cultures and nations have different racial categories and different rules for

populating each category (Roth, 2012). Moreover, within a single society, differing ideas on the biological nature of race may coexist (Mukhopadhyay et al., 2007). Third, racial identities are constructed, learned, and internalized (Simmons, 2006). Finally, language influences the understanding of race, by delimiting the boundaries of ethnic memory and by shaping conceptual understanding (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991). This means that even cognate forms of the word 'race' may vary in meaning across languages. For example, the word 'race' in English and the word '*raza*' in Spanish are not perfect equivalents, because the Spanish term is much broader—denoting 'nation' or 'people' (Mayes, 2014). In this sense, race is also about cognition—how individuals process biological characteristics and divide people into racial categories using racial terms (Roth, 2012). Race may thus be understood as a socially-constructed set of hierarchically ordered categories of physical appearance (Roth, 2012).

While analyses of race generally privilege lineage and physical differences, scholars invoke ethnicity to frame cultural differences (Telles, 2014). In this way, ethnicity is also viewed as a social construct and a system of classification (Bourdieu, 1986; Brubaker, 2009; Wimmer, 2013). In the U.S., ethnicity is not as fixed a boundary as race, thus allowing different ethnic groups to inhabit the same racial category (Ignatiev, 2008; Telles, 2014). Asians and indigenous Amerindian populations have also been difficult to place within this race vs. ethnicity scheme (Cornell & Hartmann, 2007; Telles, 2014; Wimmer, 2013).

Scholars have positioned skin color as a dimension of race (Sue, 2013; Telles, 2014). In this sense, skin color may be used to track physical differences across people who identify as part of the same racial category (Telles, 2014). Skin color is a continuous trait, with infinite gradations along a continuum and no clear visual boundaries (Mukhopadhyay et al.,

2007). Moreover, the notion of racialized skin color should be understood in broad terms, in that color, as used here and as understood by study participants, may encompass more than skin tone and include phenotypic markers such as hair texture, eye color, and facial features (Roth, 2012; Sue, 2013).

For some individuals, and in some societies, there is overlap between terms used in a racial sense, terms used in a color sense, and terms used in both senses (Sue, 2013). Generally, the two are distinguished by the nature of the description. Racial terms usually contemplate ancestry and group identity, while color terms are individual-level physical descriptors (Sue, 2013).

Having defined the key concepts of race, ethnicity and color, the following sections will briefly treat U.S.-focused and Latin America-focused scholarship on race and identity, comparing and contrasting the two and exploring the relevance of each for the present study.

2. *On the U.S. View of Race and Racial Categories: Barack Obama is the first* <u>*black*</u> *president, and Tiger Woods cannot be "Caublinasian"*

In the U.S. racial setting, popular consensus has long been based upon an implicit purity of racial categories—clear distinctions among groups for physical, social, political, and legal organization—internal homogeneity, and essential and fundamental difference (e.g., Bucholtz, 2011; Omi and Winant, 2014; Smedley, 1993). In this setting, category boundaries are vigorously maintained and have widespread social repercussions (Bailey, 2002). Thus, to navigate the U.S. racial categories, the population employs various strategies. First, there are popularly accepted associations—a type of *racial shorthand*—by which descent determines racial category: e.g., African descent = *Black*, European descent = *White*, Asian

descent = *Asian*, etc. (see Bailey, 2002, p.166). Second, there are functional rules for the potential re-categorization of individuals whose parents belong to two distinct racial categories. One such rule, is the rule of hypodescent (Harris, 1964), popularly known as the "One Drop Rule" (Davis, 1991; Williamson, 1980), which has historically meant that individuals with even the smallest traceable amount of African ancestry would fall into the *black* racial category. Not all racial categories are as inclusive, however. Gross (2008) has traced the legal history of race in the United States, examining statutes and court cases relating to the determination of race, and concludes that *whiteness*, for example, has been fiercely guarded, and even fiercely litigated. Nevertheless, racial categories are not always black and white. Telles (2014) has argued that Asians, indigenous populations, and Latinos / Hispanics are more difficult to catalog racially in the U.S. system.

Furthermore, the U.S. racial system has not historically accommodated mixed racial identities. As such, individuals with more than one racial heritage have been required to choose membership in one—and *only* one—racial category. This is why, when U.S. professional golfer Tiger Woods—who is of African American, Thai, Dutch, and Native American descent—proclaimed himself to be "caublinasian" (a hybrid category combining *Caucasian, Black, Indian,* and *Asian*), he was met with substantial criticism, and his proposed hybrid category was rejected. This is also why Barack Obama is considered to be the first *black* president of the United States, although he also has one white parent.

With the presence of an increasingly mixed population, academia has tackled the question of mixed race identity in the United States (e.g., Brunsma, 2006, Bonilla-Silva & Embrick, 2006, Childs, 2006, Horton, 2006, Rockquemore et al., 2006). With this shifting landscape, on a much greater scale than the country has ever experienced, scholars have

suggested that U.S. views on race are undergoing a "Latin Americanization" – adding a third category for mixed racial identity to the existing dichotomous Black-White bi-racial order (Bonilla-Silva, 2002a, 2004, Bonilla-Silva and Dietrich, 2008). That is to say, whereas the U.S. racial setting has historically used strategies such as the rule of hypodescent to position "mixed" individuals within a single racial category, scholars and society in general are beginning to accept that "mixedness" is its own category (a practice prevalent in many Latin American settings). This thesis has been widely reviewed, critiqued, and debated for more than a decade (e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 2002b, 2009; Forman et al., 2002; Sue 2009a).

3. *On Race and Racial Categories in Latin America: Fluid Boundaries and New Racial Schemas*

Scholars from a variety of disciplines have confronted and analyzed the complex historical, social, and political treatment of ethnic and racial identity in Latin America for several decades (e.g., Dixon & Burdick, 2012; Domínguez, 1994; Harris, 1964; Mörner, 1970; Rout, 2003; Wade, 2010). Moreover, Latin America has been an interesting locus for analysis, because racial categories are not as rigidly bounded as in the United States. In the Latin American setting, boundaries between race and skin color categories have been framed as soft and fluid, in contrast to the hard racial category boundaries in the United States (Sue, 2013). Specific examinations of Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela have yielded analyses of (1) the African presence and history in the Americas, (2) issues of racism and discrimination, (3) multi-racial identity, and (4) the significance of skin color (Andrews, 2004, Branche, 2008; Daniel, 2006; Dixon & Burdick, 2012; Domínguez, 1994; Fraginals, 1977; Graham, 1990; Leal & Langebaek, 2010; Mörner,

1970; Telles, 2004; Whitten & Torres, 1998).

In the broader Latin American context, scholars emphasize distinct cross-national understandings of race; juxtapose understandings of race by the elite and non elite (as in the case of Mexico); and position color as central to racial dynamics (Sue, 2013; Telles, 2014). Telles (2014) argues that skin color is "a central axis of social stratification" in Latin America and that it is particularly important because it is visible, embodied, and accessible (pp. 3-4). Sue (2013) proposes that the centrality of skin color in Latin America is directly related to the way that these societies understand their collective and individual race. Specifically, Sue states that skin color is particularly salient because race and ancestry are assumed to be constant (2013). As a result, color has represented a greater distinction-making marker than race, additionally indexing social characteristics such as socioeconomic class and physical attractiveness (Sue, 2013).

Given the varying importance of race and skin color in this setting, scholars have debated whether race or skin color is best suited as the primary analytical lens for the Latin American context. For some scholars, the notion of race is exogenous to Latin America—a U.S.-based imposition (e.g., Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1999; Loveman, 1999; Sue, 2013), and color is the more fitting frame because it is locally derived (e.g., Burdick, 1998; Sheriff, 2001). Other researchers avoid both terms in the research setting (e.g., Golash-Boza, 2010, 2011; Roth, 2012). Finally, some scholars treat the suitability of each term as an empirical question, employing both terms in the research setting to understand local meaning (Sue, 2013). The present study adopts the latter stance and treats race and skin color—as categories and as frames—as an empirical question.

Roth (2012) discusses the nature of racial classification in Latin America and juxtaposes

it to the United States. For Roth, although much literature on racial settings in Latin America treats race as a continuum of racial mixture, people may also conceptualize race in terms of nationality or in ways influenced by dominant ideologies of race in the United States. Roth identifies as a key difference between Latin America and the U.S. the centrality of ancestry vs. the centrality of phenotype. For Roth, nowhere is this clearer than in the racial classification of full siblings. In the U.S., siblings with the same parents have the same racial classification, irrespective of phenotype. Whereas, in Latin America, racialized notions of skin color may place full siblings in different categories (Roth, 2012).

Against the backdrop of the U.S. racial setting and the broader Latin American setting, the Dominican Republic, with its similarities and differences, is a fascinating and highly revealing setting in which to examine categories of race and racialized color.

4. The Dominican Republic in Context

Historians, sociologists, and anthropologists have shown that the Dominican Republic presents a complex racial setting, where identity has fused with nationhood, descent is not always determinative, and the discourse on racial and ethnic identity has evolved with and through the process of state formation. (e.g., Candelario, 2007; Chapman, 1997; Deive, 1999; Franco, 1984; Howard, 2001; Mayes, 2014; Mota Acosta, 1977; Moya Pons, 2010; Pérez Cabral, 2008; Sagás, 2000, 2012; San Miguel, 2005; Simmons, 2009; Tolentino, 1974; Torres-Saillant, 2010; Welles, 1966). Scholars have noted that because Dominican notions of race and identity do not correspond neatly to dominant racial paradigms in academia, the Dominican racial setting is frequently characterized as backwards, and Dominicans as ignorant and confused with respect to their race (Torres-Saillant, 2010, p. 1-2; citing

Fennema and Loewenthal, 1989, p. 209; Sagás, 1993).

The three most salient criticisms of the Dominican Republic are (1) the denial of an African past (e.g., Howard, 2001), (2) the myth of *indio* identity (e.g., Howard, 2001), and (3) the pernicious anti-Haitian sentiment (Howard, 2001; San Miguel, 2005). Central to each of these issues is the language used by Dominicans to describe themselves and others: the general dispreference of Dominicans for using the term *negro* ('black') as a marker of identity, the prevalent use of *indio* (lit. 'Indian') as a skin color descriptor, and the projection of *negritud* ('blackness') onto Haiti, respectively. Without a clear understanding of the meaning, history, and present usage of this language about race, the case for each criticism is greatly overstated.

Respecting the denial of African ancestry, Howard (2001) has asserted that Dominican nationalism is centered on a rejection of blackness and African ancestry and that Dominican racial categories are used to avoid the implication of African descent (pp. 1-2, 9). Conversely, Simmons (2009) frames the Dominican relationship with the African past in much more nuanced terms, problematizing denial and what it means to deny African heritage. For Simmons, "In other words, 'denial' implies that Dominicans do not believe that they *have* African ancestry. And this is not the case" (2009, pp. 1-2). Dominicans often acknowledge African ancestry but do not inhabit African descent as a primary identity. Rather, they downplay it as "behind the ear" (Simmons, 2009, pp. 1-2). Bailey (2002) addresses this question by framing the issue as one of difference rather than denial. In contrast to the United States, the Dominican Republic has no rule of hypodescent that equates traceable African ancestry with blackness or that divides Dominicans into rigid social categories based on the presence or absence of African descent (Bailey, 2002). While

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Dominican racial categories have parameters that cultural outsiders do not always find intuitive, all roads do not blindly lead to whiteness (Mayes, 2014). Moreover, the rules bounding these categories are situated in the country's specific historical context. Although the politics of the powerful created and constrained Dominican racial identity for much of the country's history, the landscape for racial categories, racial identity, and understandings of blackness is changing (Simmons, 2009). Torres-Saillant (2006) calls for comparative considerations of the Dominican racial setting to illuminate the extent to which the notion of exceptional negrophobia in the Dominican Republic has been exaggerated. Scholars such as Mayes (2014) and Simmons (2009) specifically respond to this call. Simmons positions Dominican hair styling practice and ideology in a comparative context with her own experience as an African American (Craig, 2002; Rooks, 1996); juxtaposes the African-American system of designating skin color variation to the Dominican system, detailing what the two systems have in common; and discusses how understandings of blackness are constructed and shift vis-à-vis positioning with respect to other groups—namely, Haitians, and African Americans.

Respecting use of the term *indio* as a skin color category, Howard (2001) characterizes Dominican use of the term *indio* (lit. 'Indian') as a "myth" and a "lived falsehood" that further evidences a "denial of African heritage" (2001, pp. 43, 47, 49). Simmons (2009) examines *indio* more closely in the cultural context of the contemporary Dominican Republic. The present study directly addresses this claim by exploring the physical and social information embedded in contemporary usage of the term *indio*.

Finally, regarding anti-Haitian sentiment, San Miguel (2005) characterizes the problem of Dominican-Haitian relations as one arising from the unique geographical context of two

nations sharing the same island. San Miguel argues that this situation led to a national discourse of opposition that placed the Dominican Republic in persistent contrast with Haiti (2005). Regarding this ideology, Sagás (2000, p.6) states, "antihaitianismo ideology created the myth of Haitians and Dominicans belonging to different races." This is true in the broad sense of *raza*—nation or people—and in the narrow sense of specific physical characteristics. While the primary objective of the present study is not to parse out the nuances of Dominican-Haitian relations, the analysis discusses the ways in which specific Dominican racial categories are inflected with connotations of Dominican or Haitian identity.

The population of the Dominican Republic comprises persons of African, indigenous, and European descent, as well as various combinations of the three, resulting in a rich racial, cultural, and phenotypic landscape. Accordingly, a variety of color terms have emerged, indexing broad racial categories: blackness (e.g., *negro/a, prieto/a, moreno/a*), whiteness (e.g., *blanco/a, rubio/a, pelirrojo/a*), and the vast space in between (e.g., *colora*(*d*)*o/a, indio/a, jaba*(d)*o/a, mulato/a, trigueño/a*) (Franco, 1984; Guzmán, 1974). These terms, some uniquely Dominican in usage, index, or ideology, correspond to local, socially-constructed norms and parameters of identity, and have evolved in physical, social, and legal meaning over nearly six centuries. Thus, these words—the nuanced language of race—become a critical point of entry for an examination of Dominican racial identity.

Researchers have examined the nature of racial terms in the Dominican Republic and drawn several conclusions. Racial terms in this setting highlight diversity and mixedness (Mayes, 2014). In this system, categories are distinguished not by ancestry but rather by phenotype, such that a child of an interracial couple that looked white would be classified as

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white (Roth, 2012). This is because phenotypical differences are considered at the individual level and do not automatically imply social group membership (Oquendo, 1995). Bailey (2002) has argued that, more than by phenotype, social identity in the Dominican Republic is shaped by socioeconomic class, regional origin, and urban vs. rural background. Moreover, race and racialized color categories are not objective descriptions of skin color, but rather cultural constructions that index hair texture, aesthetic and social perceptions; gender; and situational meaning (Bailey, 2002; Candelario, 2007). The racial categories are additionally deployed in accordance with contextual factors such as money, education, and power (Bailey, 2002). In addition to the interpersonal use of these categories, individual identity is juxtaposed to national and official discourses of identity in several ways— primarily through the inclusion of racialized skin color categories on official documents such as birth certificates and national identity documents and through the narratives of race included in school textbooks. As an example, through 2011, the Dominican state official recognized six skin colors for the national identity card—*blanco, amarillo, mestizo, indio, mulato*, and *negro* (Mayes, 2014). The catalog of officially recognized terms has changed over time. *Mulato*, for example, was added in 1998 (Simmons, 2009), and *indio, mestizo,* and *amarillo* were removed by statute in 2011. During this same period, individual Dominicans describe themselves and others using these terms (and others) to varying extents. Despite the plurality of racialized skin color terms, this racial mixture is still framed under the banner of a unified Dominican *raza* (Mayes, 2014). When extrapolated from skin color out to broader notions of identity, scholars have argued that nationality, ethnicity, and race converge on Dominicanness (Bailey, 2002; Davis, 1994).

To put these myriad terms into perspective, Roth (2012) organizes individual terms into

conceptual schemas that indicate the different ways in which race is understood. For Roth, a racial schema constitutes "the bundle of racial categories and the set of rules for what they mean, how they are ordered, and how to apply them to oneself and others" (2012, p.12). Roth proposes that, with respect to race in the Dominican Republic, three such schemas exist: continuum racial schema, nationality racial schemas, and U.S. racial schemas. The schemas as conceived by Roth are represented in Table 1.

Table 1. Racial Schemas (Roth, 2012, p.17)

Roth (2012)'s Racial Schemas	
Continuum racial schema	Includes intermediate racial terms between Black and White, such as those in Table 3 (e.g., *trigueño, indio, mulato*)
Nationality racial schemas Basic nationality schema	Includes only nationalities and ethnic groups (e.g., Puerto Rican, Dominican, Italian, American)
Panethnic nationality schema	Includes nationalities and ethnic groups, as well as the panethnic terms Latino or Hispanic
U.S. racial schemas Binary U.S. schema	Includes only the categories White and Black, with any racial mixture classified as Black
Hispanicized U.S. schema	Includes the categories White, Black, and Latino/Hispanic

While many scholars of race in Latin America have posited that race exists within what Roth characterizes as the continuum racial schema (e.g., Hoetink, 1985), the addition of nationality schemas and U.S.-referent schemas helps to broaden the discussion of race in this setting (although Roth's schemas do not include, for example, Asians, a group not typically defined by blackness or whiteness).

The current study builds on this previous empirical research on the Dominican racial system, adding new research questions, additional quantitative methods, multiple research sites, and an emphasis on the role of language in the formation and understanding of racial categories.

B. *Language as an Analytic Concern in Research on Race*

Language shapes perceptions of reality (Lakoff, 2004). Not surprisingly, then, language also shapes and interacts with race and perceptions of racial realities. Although much non-linguistic research on race overlooks language as a primary analytic concern, a longstanding tradition within linguistics has demonstrated the central role of language in how individuals and cultures understand race (Bucholtz, 2011). Since the beginning of the 20th century, at the same time that researchers reimagined race as a social rather than biological reality, scholars such as Sapir (1921) and Jespersen (1922) considered the intersections of language and race. Since that time, scholars have also investigated race and language in the context of colonialism, imperialism, and global process (e.g., Alleyne, 1989; Ashcroft, 2001; wa Thiong'o, 1986); discourse and ethnic style (e.g., Clark, 2003; Cutler, 1999; Gumperz, 1978; Whorf, 1950); and nation-states and minorities (Fishman, 1972; Hewitt, 1992; Hill, 1995; Urla, 1995). Baugh (1988) specifically presents linguistics as a tool for the engagement of academia with social issues such as race, racial identity and racism. Contemporary sociocultural linguists have taken up the charge and examined the intersection of language and race with respect to a variety of populations (e.g., Alba, 2004; Alim & Reyes, 2011; Bailey, 2000, 2001, 2007; Bucholtz, 1995, 2011; Toribio, 2000, 2003; Zentella, 1997).

Bucholtz (2011) has synthesized the existing body of knowledge on language and race and concludes that this relationship is clear in at least three ways: First, in the use of racial terms; second, in racial discourse; and third, in linguistic performance of race (Bucholtz, 2011, p. 5). The present study examines the first intersection of language and race—racial terms. A key difference between the present study and most existing linguistic work on language and race is that this study specifically focuses on racial terms to explore the

various dimensions of meaning inherent in a particular system of racial categorization. Rather than analyze racial identity or racial discourse in an overt sense, the present analysis positions racial terms within a body of social knowledge in the specific cultural context of the Dominican Republic and then extracts meaning from the terms.

For an explicit consideration of racial terms in Latin America, this study looks to the work of Stephens (1999) and Guzmán (1974). Stephens (1999)'s *Dictionary of Latin American Racial and Ethnic Terminology*, one of the most extensive catalogues of racial terms in the Americas, contains over 1,000 terms used to describe race and ethnicity in Spanish-, Portuguese-, and French-speaking America from the colonial period to the present day. Six informants with expertise in Dominican Spanish and the Dominican racial setting collaborated with Stephens in the preparation of definitions for Dominican racial terms. The dictionary contains all 11 terms examined in the present study: *rubio, blanco, pelirrojo, colora*(*d*)*o, jaba*(*d*)*o, trigueño, indio, mulato, moreno, negro,* and *prieto*. As authority for each definition of Dominican racial terms, the dictionary cites sources such as Franco (1970, an earlier edition of Franco (1984)), Guzmán (1974), Sagás (1993), and Fennema and Loewenthal (1987, an earlier version of Fennema & Loewenthal (1989)), among others. Thus, Stephens (1999) builds on the same body of knowledge regarding Dominican racial terms as the present study. The analysis in the present study deepens the understanding of these terms by providing historical context, visual representations, connotations and social information. The analysis thus investigates the meaning of Dominican racial terms along several additional dimensions.

Guzmán (1974) is the most widely cited semantic study on race and language in the Dominican Republic. The study emerges from the senior thesis of an undergraduate student

at a private university in the Dominican Republic and is the first of its kind. In this study,

Guzmán reports the results of 48 interviews with residents in Santiago regarding the lexical

meaning of 22 different *matices raciales* ('racial shades'). This inquiry is based on six

physical variables: skin color, hair color, eye color, hair quality, facial features, and other

features of the body (1974). For each *matiz racial* category, skin color is frequently the

most salient variable; nevertheless, distinctions between similar categories are often made

on the basis of other variables such as hair color or quality and facial features. Although

comprehensive in a groundbreaking way, some of the study's descriptions are quite circular

(e.g., the skin color of someone described as *indio claro* is *indio claro*; the skin color of

someone described as *indio lavado* is *indio lavado*). Because Guzmán (1974) was published

in the city of Santiago—also the research site—its original audience had the benefit of

shared cultural and linguistic knowledge. Adopting the concept of *matiz racial*, the present

study builds on and extends this research in several key ways. This dissertation supplements

racial category descriptions with physical representations that preserve meaning in cross-

cultural and cross-linguistic analysis; expands the analysis to additional research sites;

introduces new methods; and adds social considerations to the analysis of meaning.

C. *Theoretical Framing of the Current Study*

An investigation of meaning explicitly invokes the field of semantics. The present

section presents lexical semantics as an overarching conceptual frame, reviews the tenets

that lend themselves to the present analysis, and discusses relevant studies on prototype

theory and the semantics of (non-racial) color to understand how existing linguistic

approaches to investigating meaning, prototyping and abstract color categories can be used

to frame a new approach to the investigation of race and racialized color classification in the Dominican Republic.

1. Lexical Semantics

At the center of this investigation of racial terms is the primary question of what the terms mean: What types of physical and social information are embedded in each category? How are categories bounded? Semantics is the branch of linguistics that is concerned with meaning (e.g., Goddard, 2011; Löbner, 2002). As juxtaposed to pragmatics, which investigates the interpretation of meaning in context, semantics is concerned with meaning that is encoded in the structure of the language (Goddard, 2011). Although the present study tackles some pragmatic questions and has pragmatic implications, the primary focus of the analysis is semantic.

Within the field of semantics, lexical semantics is the discipline that studies the meaning conveyed by words and phrases (Biggam, 2012; Cruse, 1986; Murphy, 2010). Within this discipline, the lexicon of a language is viewed as a complex structure in the minds of its users (Löbner, 2002). Scholars concerned with semantics investigate meaning as the relationship between a word and a state of affairs in the world (Goddard, 2011). In the case of the present study, meaning is situated as the relationship between a racial term and the racial category that it references. This meaning may be framed as denotative or conceptual (Murphy, 2010). One might also frame the meaning inherent in racial terms by extension to aspects of the physical world, such as Munsell color chips or a standard set of photographs. As speakers point out which items or photographs belong to each category, a de facto theory of meaning is uncovered (Goddard, 2011).

The present study primarily investigates two specific types of meaning as it relates to

racial terms. The first, physical meaning, positions the terms in relation to the physical world—bodies and physical appearance. The second type of meaning, social meaning—also inherent in the structure of a word—communicates information from the social sphere—formality, relationship, affect (Löbner, 2002; Murphy, 2010). In addition to the descriptive physical and social meaning that participants judge to be inherent in each racial term, the study additionally investigates the notion of connotation—conventional associations that accompany each term (Goddard, 2011; Löbner, 2002; Murphy, 2010).

2. Prototype Theory

Within the field of semantics, prototype theory investigates the typicality of the members of a given category, generally. The concept of prototypes emerges from the work of Rosch (1973) and holds that best examples for many categories can be established empirically (Löbner, 2002). Rosch's experiments held that categories tend to organize around typical members, with characteristics that participants most frequently associate with the category. These salient, typical category members are understood to be prototypes (Goddard, 2011; Löbner, 2002; Murphy, 2010). Related to the notion of prototypes is the concept of prototype effects. Among these effects is frequency. For example, when participants are asked to list the members of a category, the members that most participants list are the prototypical members (Murphy, 2010). Likewise, for purposes of the present study, images that participants most frequently identify using a given racial term and characteristics that participants list when describing the racial category contribute to an understanding of where prototypes lie for this set of terms.

Because of the fluid nature of race and skin color categories in this setting, the present study contemplates fuzzy category boundaries (Labov, 1973) and the potential for

categorical overlap. The study also investigates the range of physical features that may appear within a category, even absent typicality, and thereby investigates the notion of family resemblance (Löbner, 2002).

   3. Semantics of Color

Lexical semantics and the related concept of prototype theory offer essential analytic tools for unpacking the complexities of racial terms in the Dominican Republic. Moreover, the dissertation approaches this analysis with an understanding of the ways in which scholars have used semantics to investigate color terms and categories to this point. First, studies have considered what exactly color is—hue, saturation, tone, brightness, and other aspects (Biggam, 2012). Scholars have also investigated the nature of color and have concluded that, principally, colors exist along a spectrum with no natural boundaries (Löbner, 2002). Rather, one color shades into the next, and languages divide spaces along the continuum into categories and terms (Löbner, 2002). Biggam (2012) addresses the distinction between color categories and color terms. Categories are the categories that exist in the mind, and terms are the words and expressions used to reference these categories.

Berlin and Kay (1969) is a reference point for most contemporary research on color phenomena. MacLaury (1999) characterizes the enduring question of Berlin and Kay (1969) as one of whether, and, if so, to what extent, categorization is relative between cultures (p. 22). Research on the semantics of color has examined color phenomena in a variety of languages and settings, including Ancient Greek and Classical Latin (Lyons, 1999); French (Biggam, 2012; Schäfer, 1999; Shinar, 1999); Egyptian Arabic (Stewart, 1999); Negev Bedouin Arabic (Powels, 1999); Berber (Prasse, 1999); Judeo-Spanish (Varol, 1999); and English (Berlin & Kay, 1969). In her work on Judeo-Spanish, Varol (1999) explores several

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terms relating to the focus terms of the present study: *preto, blanko, kolorado, moreno,* and *ruyvo*. Varol discusses the meaning and uses of these terms. *Preto* can connote something that is somber and sad; *blanko* is never associated with negative characteristics; *moreno* and *ruyvo* are words used when talking about hair color; and *ruvyo* can carry the stigma of wickedness. This exploration is very closely related to the subject matter of this dissertation.

In addition to varied linguistic and cultural contexts, scholars have explored a variety of color phenomena. Some scholars have explored the spectrum represented by specific colors such as red and blue (Morgan & Corbett, 1989) or black (Stewart, 1999). Scholars have also conducted research on the nature of color description. Biggam (2012) discusses the inherent vagueness of color terms, giving the example that the shades of red inherent in blood, the sky, and bricks are all described using the same word—red. Lyons (1999), speaking in the context of Ancient Greek argues that color terms are not always about visible color but may also have an aspect of meaning that is not visible. Lyons further suggests that scholars who investigate color phenomena must take into account cultural and historical dimensions of meaning (1999). Such cultural knowledge comes into play when examining, for example, euphemisms for blackness in Egyptian Arabic. In Egyptian culture, black is a color with connotations of misfortune and evil and may thus be a dangerous word depending on context (Stewart, 1999). The same is true for the color blue in this linguistic and cultural context. Meanwhile, the color red is associated with anger, power, and sex; and yellow represents illness or bitterness (Stewart, 1999). In Negev Bedouin Arabic, blackening of the face and whitening of the face are legal terms that pertain to honor (Borg, 1999). This type of culturally specific information is not transmitted when a term is merely translated from one language to another.

Studies on the semantics of color have also specifically referenced color terms that describe aspects of the human body, such as hair color and skin color. In Greek, the term *purrhos* describes hair that is 'chestnut,' 'orange,' 'tawny' or 'reddish' (Lyons, 1999:64). As mentioned previously, in Judeo-Spanish, the terms *moreno* and *ruvyo* can be used to describe hair color (Varol, 1999). Stewart (1999) discusses terms used to describe skin color in the context of Egyptian Arabic. In this system, color categories are divided into light and dark, and color terms are inflected by considerations of gender:

> *In the most general terms, Egyptians see skin color as being divided into two main categories, light and dark. The terms abyad/bīd, literally 'white', and abyadāni (p.117) are used for fair-skinned males, and asmar/sumr 'brown, tan' or asmarāni (p. 429) 'brownish' for dark males. The -āni terms have no female equivalent. The term for fair females is bēda and the term for dark females is samra, and the latter term is also used figuratively for Egypt itself, 'the Dark One,' presumably because of the nation's association with the agricultural soil. The term iswid/sōda/sūd 'black' refers to dark-skinned males, especially those with negroid features, but the term asmar/samra/sumr is also used to refer to this same category. ¶ Two adjectives which refer to in-between shades of skin color are xamri 'tawny brown (of complexion)' (p.265), which derives from xamr 'wine, alcoholic beverage' and amhi (invariable) 'light brown, wheat colored (especially of human face and features) (p. 717), which derives from amh (<qamh) 'wheat'. The related form amhāwi/amhawiyya also occurs.* (Stewart 1999:112-113)

Biggam (2012) highlights the importance of examining and illustrating how color terms operate in a specific cultural context, especially when this information may not be obvious to a person that is not part of the culture (p. 10). This includes outlining regional, chronological and contextual restrictions. On the utility of translating color terms from one language to another, Biggam states, "To sum up, it is evident that finding a closely equivalent word in a foreign language may prove problematic, as there is unlikely to be a simple one-to-one translation without complications," (2012, p. 10). This stipulation contemplates Sapir's thesis on linguistic relativity: "No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which

different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached" (1929, p. 209). The present study avoids an extreme version of the linguistic relativity thesis but also carefully analyzes local construction of meaning, invoking Dominican racial categories and racial terms without relying on cognate terms from other languages or societies.

D. Chapter Summary

This chapter has situated the Dominican racial setting within broader research on race and racial categories in the U.S. and in Latin America; examined literature that positions language as an analytic concern in research on race and the ways in which the present study extends this research; and positioned lexical semantics, prototype theory, and the semantics of color as a theoretical framework for the present study.

This review of existing scholarship has shown that race and racial categories represent complex bodies of social knowledge that may vary from country to country and from culture to culture. Although the Dominican system of racial categorization has largely been criticized on the basis of its use of racial terms, very few studies specifically undertake the analysis of racial terms in this setting. Moreover, most existing scholarship on the intersection of language and race, generally, does not focus on racial terms. This study thus fills the gap by investigating Dominican racial terms using a semantic frame. A semantic frame allows for an in-depth investigation of physical and social meaning, an examination of category prototypes and fuzzy boundaries, and highlights the way that racial terms operate in this specific cultural context.

Chapter 3

From Colony to Republic:

The Persistent Legacy of Racial Categories in the Dominican Republic[3]

To frame the diachronic dimension of the study, the present chapter engages historical data regarding the use of racial terms in the Dominican Republic. The analysis covers the period from the arrival of Spanish colonizers to the island of Hispaniola in the 15th century through the end of the 20th century. Through this examination of a period spanning approximately 500 years, the chapter lays the historical and ideological foundation of the present-day system of racial classification in the Dominican Republic. To accomplish this task, the chapter first examines the history and historical racial setting of the Dominican Republic, with a particular focus on the social and legal import of the racial terms. The chapter then analyzes the historical use of racial terms using corpus data, with a focus on frequency, connotation and markedness. Finally, the chapter analyzes the historical use of racial terms using specific historical documents, focusing on the meaning and usage of the study's focal racial terms.

A. The Dominican Republic: History and Historical Racial Setting

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. With respect to social identity, Franco (1984) describes five racial categories

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[3] Portions of this chapter previously published as Wheeler, E. M. (2015). Race, Legacy, and Lineage in the Dominican Republic. *The Black Scholar* 45(2), 34-44.

that existed during the colonial period: *liberto, mestizo, tercerón, cuarterón,* and *grifo*

(p.28). These categories are defined in terms of the three groups in contact: Spanish

colonizers, Africans brought to the island as slaves, and indigenous *Taínos*. According to

Franco, *Liberto* refers to individuals who were considered *negro* or *mulato*; *mestizo* refers to

the offspring of a *Taíno* and a Spaniard; *tercerón*, describes the offspring of a Mulatto and a

Spaniard; *cuarterón* references the offspring of a *tercerón* and a Spaniard; and *grifo* refers to

the offspring of *indio* and *negro*. Within this rubric, each term contains information

regarding heritage and origin.

　　With respect to colonial racial classification, Lizardo (1979) describes nine categories, in

some respects consistent with the description of Franco: *mulato* or *pardo, tercerón,*

cuarterón, mestizo, blanco, alcatraz, zambo, grifo, saltapatrás (pp. 19-20; see also Figure

1)*.* A comparison of the two rubrics reveals additional information. 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 Carolino*'), a series of laws for the moral,

political and economic governing of blacks on Hispaniola. When *mestizo* is defined in the

latter way, though still contemplating mixture, the indigenous contribution falls out and is

replaced with a degree of blackness.

　　Mestizo, as defined by the *Código Negro Carolino*, has additional importance because,

while it acknowledges blackness, it also functions as a bridge to legal whiteness. During the

colonial period, race not only corresponded to social status or ideology, but many racial

el rescate de nuestra cultura

cultura africana en santo domingo

Por el Prof. Fradique Lizardo

Insertamos este cuadro de los grados de miscegenación del pueblo dominicano por un propósito doble, primero para que en el curso de estos artículos se tenga la seguridad absoluta, de lo que estamos describiendo y más importante aún, para que muchos que desconocen lo que es la mezcla de razas, sepan el papel que tiene el negro en el mestizaje del dominicano, pues aunque parezca raro, por una gran cantidad de figuras de dicción se omite o se rodea la participación del negro en nuestros tipos raciales.

Esto tiene una razón de ser, muy larga de explicar, y que aclararemos en el lugar que le corresponde, pero llamamos la atención a que no hemos incluido la denominación "morgno", porque ha llegado a ser tan generalizada que su uso no hace ninguna aportación a lo que se quiere describir, sino es ya un término vago con el cual se refiere a un negro puro, como a una persona trigueña. A excepción de fines de la colonia, donde el término se aplicaba a los "batallones de morenos libres" y podría tener un significado específico, su uso se ha relajado demasiado.

Tampoco encontrarán la voz "Manchado" por ser voz generalizante que no determina grado específico.

Aunque existen las denominaciones "mulato blanco" "mulato morisco" y "mulato prieto" en la práctica no la hemos encontrado en uso en el pueblo dominicano y por esto no la incluimos en nuestro cuadro.

Hubiera sido conveniente la descripción física de cada una de las denominaciones usadas, pero le hubiera quitado agilidad a un artículo de periódico, que por fuerza tiene que ser muy breve, y estas descripciones irán como es de rigor, cuando recojamos estos artículos en un volumen.

TABLA DE MISCEGENACION DOMINICANA

Diversos grados de miscegenación encontrados en Santo Domingo, desde principios de la colonia y las denominaciones que han recibido.

I TERMINOLOGIA CLASICA (Principios de la colonia)

Negro + Blanco = Mulato o pardo
Mulato + Blanco = Tercerón
Tercerón + Blanco = Cuarterón
Cuarterón + Blanco = Mestizo
Mestizo + Blanco = Blanco
Negro + India = Alcatraz
Indio + Negra = Zambo

Alcatraz o Zambo + { Mulato Tercerón Cuarterón } = Grifo

{ Tercerón Cuarterón Mulato Mestizo Zambo Alcatraz } + Negro = Saltapatrás

II FINES DE LA COLONIA (Uso popular)

{ Mulato Tercerón Cuarterón Mestizo } + Blanco = Blanco de la tierra

III TERMINOLOGIA CONTEMPORANEA

Mulato + Negro = Indio oscuro
Mulato + Blanco = Indio canela
Indio Canela + Negro = Grifo
Grifo + Blanco = Jabao
Indio Canela + Blanco = Indio claro o lavado
Indio Claro o lavado + Blanco = Blanco sin orejas

Figure 1: Dominican Miscegenation Table (Source: REPÚBLICA DOMINICANA. Centro Cultural León Jimenes. Fondo Fradique Lizardo de Folklore Dominicano. FL00669).

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categories also directly corresponded to legal status. The categories *negro, mulato, tercerón,* and *cuarterón* had legal meaning and ramifications under the *Código Negro Carolino*, such that the code provided a harsher punishment for a crime committed by a *negro* or *mulato* than by a *tercerón* or *cuarterón*. 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."[4] The reinstitution of whiteness was especially important in this context because the legal status of whiteness corresponded to leniency, rights, and self-determination. 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.[5]

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 (see e.g., Katzew, 2005). The categories additionally communicate clear ideologies regarding racial hierarchy. The term *saltapatrás* is an

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

[5] *Ibid.*

example. When any other category reincorporated *negro*, 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 is 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'), defined as the combination of one of the other

mixed categories (*mulato, tercerón, cuarterón, mestizo*) plus white (Lizardo, 1979; Mayes,

2014). The scope of traceable lineage was thus reimagined, 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, this 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 19th 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. Furthermore, at the time that

Dominican statehood emerged, Western powers with established racial projects and

ideologies dominated the economic order, and concern over the race of Dominicans became

prominent. In the United States, where black Americans were still enslaved, politicians and

journalists strategically classified Dominican racial identity in order to advance political and

ideological agendas regarding Dominican statehood and the American racial order:

Dominicans were portrayed as blacks to prevent official recognition of statehood, and as (mostly) non-blacks to advocate official recognition of statehood (Torres-Saillant, 2010). The American racial project with respect to the Dominican Republic served to whiten the national image of the country. As a nascent state, the Dominican Republic took on the assigned characterization of whiteness from the powerful Western states and was required to view itself in relationship to those states as well as to the similarly emerging Haitian state.

In the early 20th century, the United States occupied the Dominican Republic by military force, bringing the Dominican Republic into direct contact with U.S. ideologies. Dominican elites embraced the whitened/Hispanicized identity projected onto the nation from the outside, and the cultural campaign was especially taken up by the Trujillo dictatorship from 1930-1961 (Torres-Saillant 2010). 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 Haitianness (Cassá, 1982; Torres-Saillant, 2010). During the Trujillo regime, the *cédula de Identidad y electoral* ("*cédula*"), a national identity document, was introduced. The *cédula* contains a description of the bearer's skin color, and its imposition has been credited with the proliferation of the use of *indio/a* as a skin color descriptor. During this period, the Trujillo regime also cemented prior efforts to conflate racial and national identities.

As the Dominican populace subscribed to this ideology to varying degrees, the construction of nation and identity were not homogenous. Moreover, the question of collective Dominican identity was further complicated by the presence of immigrant groups of African descent in the Republic—Haitians, Freedmen from the United States, and laborers from the British West Indies—who were viewed as more fitting bearers of

blackness (Mota Acosta, 1977; Moya Pons, 2010). Whereas, on the international level, *blackness* and *whiteness* were alternately projected onto the Dominican Republic by the United States to accomplish political and ideological agendas, on the domestic level, the Dominican state exercised its authority to recast *blackness* as a characteristic of these groups of cultural outsiders.

By the late 20th century, a broad lexicon existed for the description of race and physical appearance. As some colonial descriptors persisted, new terms, meanings, and usages emerged (Guzmán, 1974). 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.

In the conceptual evolution of *raza* in the Dominican Republic, the notion of race evolves from strictly lineage based—gendered, ideological, and grounded in colonial law—to limited scope lineage, to an effective departure from the determinative lineage model. Meanwhile, through legal frameworks and acts of the State, alternative racial legacies drift in and out of focus: *blanco, indio, negro*. The following section analyzes racial categories found in historical corpus data, with a focus on frequency, connotation, and markedness.

B. *Analysis of Racial Categories in Historical Discourse: Corpus Analysis*

The data for the corpus analysis portion of this study are drawn from three online Spanish language corpora: the *Corpus de referencia del español actual* ('Reference corpus

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of current Spanish,' CREA), the *Corpus diacrónico del español* ('Diachronic corpus of Spanish,' CORDE), and the *Archivo General de Indias* ('General Archive of the Indies,' AGI). When narrowed to data from the Dominican Republic, CORDE and CREA contain 1,272,551 words from 1,901 documents spanning five centuries (1509 - 2004). The *Archivo General de Indias*, although it does not disclose a word count, contains more than 43,000 document files from the Spanish colonial empire from the 15th through the 19th centuries. The three corpora contain written discourse and comprise documents from genres including literature, correspondence, the press, court records, official decrees, edicts, reports, legal codes, travel and property records, and online blogs. Because of the nature of the documents, racial terms appear primarily as descriptions and not as forms of address.

While recognizing that many racial descriptors exist in the Dominican Republic (e.g., Franco, 1984; Guzmán, 1974), the historical portion of the study focuses on a core group of eight descriptors: *blanco/a, indio/a, moreno/a, mulato/a, negro/a, prieto/a, rubio/a, trigueño/a* (Table 2 below). As in other systems of racial classification, these terms are not freestanding, but rather exist as part of an enduring colonial racial hierarchy that positions whiteness as aspirational and blackness as regression (Wheeler, 2015).

Table 2. Racial Terms Analyzed in the Study

Racial Terms in the Dominican Republic			
blanco/a	'white'	*negro/a*	'black'
indio/a	lit. 'Indian'[6]	*prieto/a*	'dark'
moreno/a	'brown'	*rubio/a*	'blonde'
mulato/a	'Mulatto'	*trigueño/a*	'wheat-colored'

A search for the eight terms initially yields 1,450 tokens (or instances of use). Each

token is then coded for variables including AUTHOR, YEAR, GENRE, RELEVANCE, and

DUPLICATION. After filtering out 694 tokens that do not pertain to the description of race

and 29 duplicate tokens, the number of relevant tokens for analysis is 727. Table 3 shows

the distribution of tokens by search term and by database.

Table 3. Number of Tokens by Term in CREA, CORDE and AGI

	ALL TOKENS				RELEVANT TOKENS			
	CREA	CORDE	AGI	TOTAL	CREA	CORDE	AGI	TOTAL
trigueño	4	1	0	5	4	1	0	5
rubio	15	1	29	45	15	1	2	18
prieto	4	6	47	57	4	1	1	6
negro	224	144	127	495	117	92	120	329
mulato	23	14	28	65	23	14	26	63
moreno	17	6	174	197	7	6	9	22
indio	19	47	171	237	16	43	142	201
blanco	181	73	95	349	33	45	5	83
				1450				727

Each token presents a variety of forms, corresponding to grammatical gender and

number, diminutive and augmentative morphemes, and additional noun and adjective forms.

Table 4 shows the forms of each racial term returned by the search.

[6] Since the early 20th century, forms of *indio* have also been used in the Dominican
Republic as skin color descriptors. This new usage does not necessarily correspond to
indigenousness.

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Table 4. Word Forms by Racial Term

	BLANC-	INDI-	MOREN-	MULAT-	NEGR-	PRIET-	RUBI-	TRIGUE-
N /Adj	blanca(s) blanco(s)	india(s) indio(s)	morena moreno(s)	mulata(s) mulato(s)	negra(s) negro(s)	prieta prieto(s)	rubia(s) rubio(s)	trigueña trigueño
Dimin.		indiecita indiecitos			negrillas negrillos negrito(s)			
Aug.					negrón			
Addt'l	blancura			mulataje	negritud negroide		rubi-cundo	

The analysis begins by examining frequency, form and context in historical and current data to understand the usage norms for each term. The analysis then explores the connotations of each term and the mechanisms by which authors alter these connotations.

1. Historical and Current Usage

This section explores the distribution of frequency for racial terms in the data set. Figure 2 shows the frequency of each term over time. The four most frequent terms—*negro, indio, blanco, mulato*—correspond to traditional conceptions of race in the colonial Americas: blackness, whiteness, indigenousness, and mixture of the three. Of the four terms, *negro* and *blanco* describe both race and color. *Indio*, although significantly more contentious in this regard, also describes race and, in the contemporary Dominican Republic, color. *Mulato*, in these data, only describes race. Moreover, the four terms correspond to legally recognized racial categories under documents such as the *Código Negro Carolino*. The four least frequent terms—*moreno, rubio, prieto, trigueño*—do not correspond to broad racial categories, but rather, to *racialized* physical descriptions: brown, blonde, dark, wheat-colored.
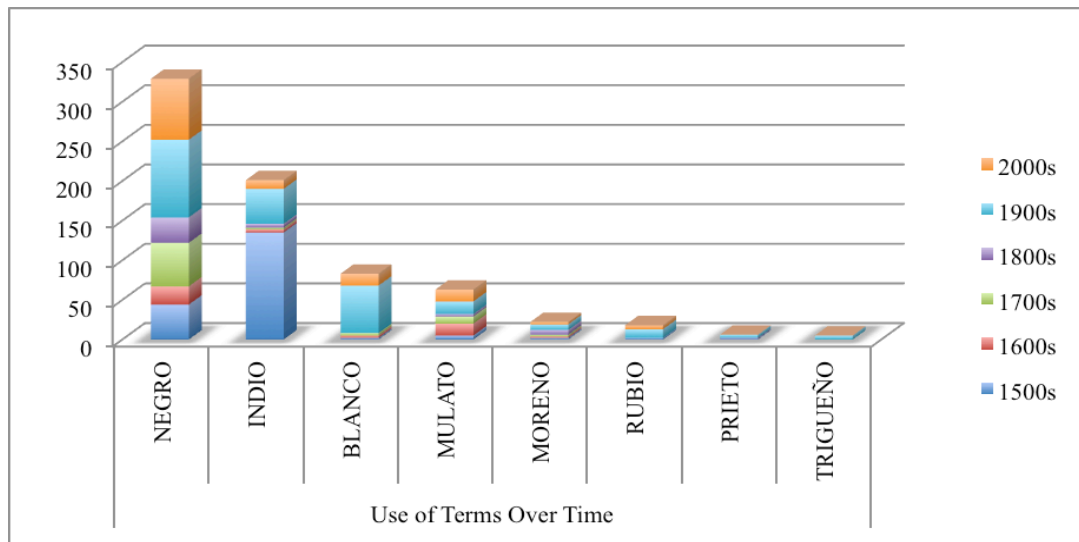
Figure 2. Token Frequency by Term Over Time (CORDE, CREA, AGI)

Forms of *negro* are most frequent in the data and represent nearly half of the total number of tokens (45.25 percent, see Table 5). When the data are divided by century, forms of *negro* remain the most frequent tokens in every time period except the 16th century— where forms of *indio* are most frequent. Overall, *indio* represents 27.65 percent of tokens. The remaining six terms represent just over a quarter of the tokens: *blanco* (11.42 percent), *mulato* (8.67 percent), *moreno* (3.03 percent), *rubio* (2.48 percent), *prieto* (0.83 percent), and *trigueño* (0.69 percent).

Table 5. Token Frequency by Century (Descending total)

	1500s	1600s	1700s	1800s	1900s	2000s	Total
negro	44	**23**	**55**	**32**	**98**	**77**	329
indio	**135**	4	2	5	44	11	201
blanco	2	3	3	0	60	15	83
mulato	5	15	9	3	16	15	63
moreno	2	2	2	6	7	3	22
rubio	2	0	0	0	11	5	18
prieto	1	0	0	1	4	0	6
trigueño	0	0	0	0	5	0	5
							727

Having discussed the form and frequency of racial terms in the Dominican Republic

over time, the analysis now turns to an examination of context and connotation for the four

most frequent terms (in ascending order): *mulato, blanco, indio,* and *negro*.

Mulato

During the colonial period, *mulato* was a legally recognized racial category, defined as

offspring of legitimately married white fathers and black mothers.[7] Since that time, the term

has expanded to refer more generally to the racial mixture between black and white. To

further understand the meaning and connotations of *mulato* it is helpful to examine the

linguistic context(s) in which its forms occur. Sixty-three tokens of *mulato* occur in the data.

The frequency data appear in Table 6. Of the 63 tokens, 45 (71.43 percent) occur as

independent descriptors. Seven (11.11 percent) tokens of *mulato* occur with *libre* ('free');

five (7.94 percent) occur with *esclavo/a* ('slave'); and five (7.94 percent) with *criado/a*

('servant'). The noun form *mulataje* appears once in the data.

Table 6. Frequency: Forms of *Mulato*

Form	#
mulato/a(s)	45
mulato/a(s) libre(s)	7
mulato/a(s) esclavo/a(s)	5
criado *mulato*	5
mulataje	1
	63

The context of the tokens confirms that *mulato* is understood as a mix between white and

black (e.g., row 1 in Table 7 below). The tokens also speak to the position of the *mulato*

within the racial hierarchy and the value placed on specific physical traits. For example, one

author speaks about beautiful *mulatos* with straight hair and features typically associated

with whiteness (row 2). Another describes *mulatas* as seductresses (row 3).

Table 7. *Mulato* in Context

1.	*Mulato* as mixture	*En la costa la que más abunda es la <u>mulata</u>, mezcla de la raza blanca con la negra procede...*	CORDE 1922
2.	*Mulato* as beautiful	*Existen también bellos tipos de <u>mulatos</u> con el pelo lacio y las facciones de pura raza blanca y un tipo negro de formas proporcionadas.*	CORDE 1922
3.	*Mulata* as seductress	*Un país con negras brujas y <u>mulatas</u> seductoras e injusticias sin cuento.*	CREA 2002

These examples and their connotations are relatively recent. Prior to the 20th century, authors that used forms of *mulato* also had to navigate its implications regarding slavery. In this respect, *mulato* is an ambiguous term, not clearly referencing an enslaved or free person. Thus, where relevant, authors accomplish this distinction using modifiers and contextual clues. As discussed above, and as in Table 8, forms of *mulato* occur with *libre* to emphasize freedom (row 1), and with *esclavo* to emphasize enslaved status (row 2). Authors also allude to enslaved status, without using the word *esclavo*, by describing, for example, a situation in which a *mulata* is given lashes (row 3).

Table 8. *Mulato* and Enslaved Status

Libre	1.	*Alvaro de Castellanos, natural de Santo Domingo (Isla Española), criollo, y Damián, <u>mulato libre</u>, a Santo Domingo.*	AGI 1618
Esclavo	2.	*Nicolás Chirino Vandeval, oidor de la Audiencia de Santo Domingo, con su criado Juan Teodoro Juanes de Brisa, hijo de Andrés Juanes de Bri y de Sebastiana Jerónima Quesada, y su <u>esclavo mulato</u>, Juan de Dios, a Cuba.*	AGI 1710
Context	3.	*enero pasado, en la que daba cuenta de algunos incidentes registrados en esa ciudad tras su llegada y de lo que obró en ellos, como fue <u>mandar azotar a una mulata</u> o poner en el cepo a un escribano*	AGI 1637

Mulato, thus, describes the racial mixture of *blanco* and *negro*. Correspondingly, within the racial hierarchy of the Dominican Republic, *mulato* falls below *blanco* and above *negro*.

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[7] *Código Negro Carolino*, Capítulo Tercero, Ley 1.

Chapter 3: From Colony to Republic

This hierarchy is consistent with the racial ideology of the colonial period. With respect to slavery, *mulato* has historically been an ambiguous term. Given this ambiguity, authors navigate connotations of enslaved status using the descriptors *libre* and *esclavo* and other contextual clues.

Blanco

The use of *blanco* derives from the presence of Spanish colonizers on the island of Hispaniola. During the colonial period, *blanco* was also a legally recognized racial category. To further understand the connotations of *blanco*, it is helpful to examine its forms in linguistic context. Eighty-three tokens of *blanco* appear in the data, and these frequency data are summarized in Table 9. Of the 83 tokens of *blanco*, 63 (75.9 percent) occur as independent descriptors. Nineteen tokens (22.89 percent) occur with broad group descriptors for race, people, and descent ('*raza, gente, descendencia*'). The noun form *blancura* appears once in the data.

Table 9. Frequency: Forms of *Blanco*

Form	#
blanco/a(s)	63
raza **blanca**	14
gente **blanca**	4
descendencia **blanca**	1
blancura	1
	83

The context of the tokens confirms that *blanco* is at the top of the racial hierarchy (row 1 in Table 10 below). Authors associate *blancos* with blue eyes and contrast *blanco* with the "imperfection" of other racial mixture (row 2). In some cases, *blanco* has an inflection of outsider status (row 3). There are also some tokens that reference *blancos pobres* ('poor whites') and places where *blancos* are not looked upon favorably (row 4). Unlike *mulato*,

blanco is unambiguous with respect to status. There are no occurrences of *blanco libre*, for example, as *libre* would be superfluous in this context, given that all *blancos* were by definition free.

Table 10. *Blanco* in Context

1.	*Blanco* in hierarchy	*Expresa que el negro ocupa "puestos secundarios en relación con los blancos".*	CREA 2004
2.	*Blanco* physical	*No hace mucho, en el mes de Febrero, se casó un blanco de ojos azules de ese lugar, y en la celebración, no se vió un solo negro.*	CORDE 1921
		Abundan muchos individuos de color indio, con rasgos fisonómicos que miran al tipo blanco pero con signos visibles de imperfección producidos por el cruzamiento.	CORDE 1922
3.	*Blanco* as outsider	*...las fiestas de una cruz solo obligaban a guardarlas a la "gente blanca y europea".*	CORDE 1918
		Las de hierro, decía el muchacho, están pensadas por los americanos, por la gente blanca ...	CREA 1980
4.	*Blanco* negative	*Ahora bien, como la ciudad de Santo Domingo necesitaba leña, carbón y agua, y como para entonces la mano de obra negra esclava había desplazado a los blancos pobres de las plazas de trabajo que exigían duros esfuerzos físicos ...*	CREA 1997
		... hay lugares que no ven con buenos ojos a los blancos y les dicen a estos, los pánfilos.	CORDE 1921

As with *mulato*, there is a contrast between recent tokens and earlier tokens. Of the 83 tokens of *blanco*, only eight (9.64 percent) occur prior to the 20th century. Of the eight pre-20th century tokens, only two describe an individual. The examples in Table 11 shed some light on the paucity of *blanco* tokens during this time period and reveal *blanco* as the unmarked racial form. Example 1 is an excerpt from a passenger log that describes five passengers: Baltasar Calderón, his wife María, two servants, and "a *black* slave." For each of the first four passengers, the author describes profession, but not race, reserving racial description for the *esclavo*. In row 2, the same phenomenon occurs, on a passenger log

listing six people, the author includes race for *mulato* and *negro* passengers. The others are described according to profession or personal relationship. In row 3, servants are listed as *criado*, with family lineage, and the *esclavo* is described as *negro*. This is "invisible whiteness"—the privilege of being the unmarked racial default. In this historical context, describing a person as *blanco* is not the societal norm—not because it is impolite, but rather, because it is unnecessary.

Table 11. *Blanco* as Unmarked Racial Form

1.	*Baltasar Calderón, capitán de artillería de Santo Domingo, con su mujer María Sánchez Calderón, 2 criados y un <u>esclavo negro</u>, a Santo Domingo.*	AGI 1650
2.	*Francisco Pepín González, tesorero, oficial real de las cajas de Santo Domingo y Puerto Rico, a Puerto Rico, con las siguientes personas: Francisco Antonio Pepín de Coca, hijo suyo y de María Coca y Landeche, natural de Santo Domingo; Juan de Labastida, <u>mulato</u>, natural de Santo Domingo, hijo de Juan y de Rosa Santa María; Juan Bernardo Marcano, esclavo, natural de la Isla Margarita; Miguel, <u>esclavo negro</u>.*	AGI 1766
3.	*Diego Francisco de Ollauri, criado, natural de Haro, hijo de Antonio de Ollauri y de María Jacinta de Avalos; Manuel Gracian, criado, natural de Toledo, hijo de Francisco Gracian y de Antonia Morales y Figueroa; Lucas de la Portilla, criado, natural de Santa María de Teo, hijo de Pedro de la Portilla y de Catalina de Soto; José, <u>esclavo negro</u>.*	AGI 1684

Blanco, in these tokens, represents the top of the racial hierarchy in the Dominican Republic and reveals the persistent imprint of the colonial period. In contemporary usage, *blanco* is associated with desirable physical characteristics. However, *blanco* is also associated with outsider status and may be described in negative terms. With respect to slavery, *blanco* is unambiguous and requires no modifiers because it carries a presumption of freedom. Furthermore, as the data indicate that whiteness was historically the unmarked racial default, the use of *blanco* was actually superfluous in many contexts.

Indio

Although the use of *indio* as a skin color term is one of the more contentious practices in the contemporary Dominican Republic, it is helpful to examine the linguistic context(s) in which forms of *indio* occur to understand its meaning over time. Two hundred and one tokens of *indio* appear in the data. The frequency data appear in Table 12. Of the 201 tokens, 76 (37.81 percent) occur as independent descriptors, and 116 (57.71 percent) refer to *indios* as property, either through use of *esclavo* or through contextual information. Authors also refer to the Indian race (*raza india*), Indian caste (*casta india*), Indian territory (*territorio indio*), and Indian words (*vocablos indios*). Three additional tokens (1.49 percent) treat *indio* as a descriptor of skin color.

Table 12. Frequency: Forms of *Indio*

Form	#
indio/a(s)	76
indio/a(s) as *esclavo* / property	116
raza *india*	3
de color *indio*	3
casta *india*	1
territorio *indio*	1
vocablos *indios*	1
	201

The context of the tokens confirms that *indio* historically refers to a variety of indigenous populations in the Americas—those on Quisqueya, in Santo Domingo, in Peru, in Honduras. Likewise, forms of *indio* appear in a variety of social contexts. The *indio* is described as beautiful and well configured, while also non existent in the contemporary Dominican Republic (row 1 in Table 13). *Indios* are also presented as conquered, weak, and for service (examples in row 2). Despite these negative characterizations, however, *indio* is positioned above *negro* in the racial hierarchy (row 3). Moreover, when *indio* is used as a

skin color descriptor, the characterizations are almost uniformly positive (row 4).

Table 13. *Indio* in Context

1.	*Indio*: Positive	*El tipo indio, hermoso, bien configurado, no existe, ni siquiera en las mujeres.*	CORDE 1922
2.	*Indio*: Negative	*El hijo del conquistador y el hijo del indio aprenderían juntos el castellano, y hasta no infiltrarse en la sociedad conquistada la lengua de Cervantes, no tendría sólidos cimientos la conquista.*	CORDE 1943
		Elemento de perturbación en el lenguaje popular de Santo Domingo fué la introducción, en los tiempos coloniales, de los negros de Africa traídos con propósito de aliviar la suerte de los indios, demasiado débiles para las penosas faenas de las minas y de las soberbias edificaciones de la Española.	CORDE 1943
		Real Cédula a los oficiales de la Casa de la Contratación para que den licencia para pasar a La Española una india para su servicio a don Alonso de Fuenmayor, arzobispo de Santo Domingo.	AGI 1548
3.	*Indio* vis-à-vis *negro*	*... a ella toda esa pendejada nunca le gustó, que para eso era ella indiecita clara, no negra ni bembona.*	CREA 1980
4.	*Indio* as color	*Abundan ejemplares muy hermosos de color indio, especialmente en las mujeres, que recuerdan las descripciones etnográficas de los aborígenes: ...*	CORDE 1922
		A veces, eso sí, reaccionaba y se decía que no, que por qué concho, que dónde estaba su caché, su colorcito indio, su pelito bueno, sus dientes y sus piernas bien torneadas, que si ya eso no valía dinero, se rebelaba, oiga.	CREA 1980

The greatest percentage of tokens of *indio* (67.16 percent) occurs in the 1500s. This concentration of tokens speaks to the historical context of the 16th century. Six tokens of *indio* (2.99 percent) occur with forms of *esclavo* (row 1 of Table 14). As the Spanish colonizers brought in enslaved Africans to replace indigenous labor, freedom suits arose, brought by and on behalf of persons described as *indio*. Twenty tokens (9.95 percent) represent freedom suits brought by *indios* (row 2), and 84 tokens (41.79 percent) arise in

suits regarding *indios* (row 3).

Table 14. *Indio*, Slavery, and Freedom

1.	*Pedro, esclavo indio fugado, apela al Consejo la sentencia dictada por los jueces de la Audiencia de la Contratación en el pleito que tiene contra su amo, Andrés del Barco, vecino de Santo Domingo, sobre su libertad.*	AGI 1538
2.	*Juan, indio, con Hernán Carrillo sobre su libertad.*	AGI 1558
	Francisco, indio, con Gómez de Alba sobre su libertad.	AGI 1560
3.	*Melchor Verdugo con Beatriz de Isásaga sobre indios.*	AGI 1561
	Diego Vázquez con el fiscal sobre indios.	AGI 1562

The term *indio* historically referred to indigenous populations of the Americas. Particularly in the 16th century, the term *indio*—like *mulato*—was ambiguous with respect to enslaved status. As such, authors navigated the issue by employing the modifier *esclavo* or other contextual clues. In contemporary discourse, *indios* are referred to as a historical racial group—conquered, weak, for service. However, *indio* is placed above *negro* in the racial hierarchy, and, particularly when used as a color term, denotes positive characteristics.

Negro

Negro has a long history tying it to blackness and to Africa. Under colonial laws such as the *Código Negro Carolino*, the legal status of *negro* corresponded to severe punishments, diminished rights, and lack of autonomy. The corpus data reveal additional information regarding the meaning and connotation of *negro* over time. Of the 329 tokens of *negro*, 193 (58.66 percent) appear as independent descriptors. The remaining tokens demonstrate patterns of co-occurrence (as in Table 15). Forty-seven cases (14.29 percent) refer to *negros* as *esclavos*. The context in 32 additional cases (9.73 percent) alludes to the enslaved status / propertyhood of *negros*. Considered together, these 79 tokens directly connect forms of

negro with slavery in 24.01 percent of tokens. Five tokens (1.52 percent) of *negro* occur

with *criado* ('servant') and not *esclavo.* The data additionally reveal that forms of *negro*

occur with broad group descriptors: race, culture, community, people, population ('*raza,*

cultura, comunidad, gente, población'). The broad concept of *negritud* ('blackness') is

referenced, as are color, and a genre of poetry ('*de color negro', 'poesía negroide*'). The

augmentative form *negrón* appears as a last name.

Table 15. Frequency: Forms of *Negro*

Form	#
negro/a(s)	193
negro/a(s) as *esclavo* / property	79
raza **negra**	18
negritud	9
de color **negro**	8
negrillo/a(s) / **negrito(s)**	7
criado **negro**	5
cultura **negra**	5
comunidad **negra**	1
gente **negra**	1
negrón	1
población **negra**	1
poesía **negroide**	1
	329

The context data for the term *negro* reveal broad encyclopedic knowledge regarding the

term's meaning. Of the 329 tokens of *negro*, 36 (10.94 percent) specifically reference

outsiders – from Africa, the United States, Haiti, Turks and Caicos, and Puerto Rico. Forms

of *negro* appear in a variety of contexts. For example, *el negro*, although described as

among the best athletes, is also described as unappealing and savage, undesirable, and

ethnically degenerate (row 1 of Table 16). Moreover, authors describe discrimination and

the position of the *negro* within the racial hierarchy (row 1). *Negras* are sometimes

described as beautiful and princesses (row 2). Nevertheless, while physical characteristics of

the body paint *la negra* as a lover, an object of physical desire (row 3), *negras* are also

represented as *brujas* ('witches'), physically undesirable, and a source of fear (row 4).

Table 16. *Negro* in Context

1.	*Negro*: Negative	*... el tipo es <u>negro</u>, ordinario y salvaje, no revelando otra cosa en su rostro, que la estupidez dada delata en ellos el origen extranjero.*	CORDE 1921
		También hay muchos <u>negros</u>, rústicos y muy ordinarios, por sus apellidos se deduce la procedencia haitiana y tanto en los negros como en los blancos se nota poca lucidez, siendo generalmente brutos.	CORDE 1921
		Sin embargo las constantes inmigraciones de haitianos que forman familia en el país están aumentando la proporción de <u>negros</u>. Esta tendencia de degeneración étnica es alarmante pues la fecundidad haitiana es proverbial y su población es más numerosa que la nuestra.	CORDE 1922
		Desde luego que cabía ese peligro, insistió Yolanda, pero Evelinda debía tener en cuenta que en un país tan avanzado como aquél existían los medios necesarios para que nadie, absolutamente nadie, salvo los degenerados de nacimiento (muchos <u>negros</u> y puertorriqueños, por ejemplo) penetrara en el falso paraíso de la drogadicción.	CREA 1980
		Caro Magino, una antropóloga dominicana ha dicho que en el país se discrimina al <u>negro</u>. Expresa que el <u>negro</u> ocupa "puestos secundarios en relación con los blancos".	CREA 2004
2.	*Negra*: Positive	*Una princesa, <u>negra</u> bien trajeada, con una cayena en la cabeza, era objeto del homenaje de la mayoría; ...*	CORDE 1922
		La figura femenina impera en todas sus obras, y siempre se trata de celebrar la belleza de la mujer <u>negra</u>.	CREA 2003
3.	*Negra*: Body / Physical Desire	*Van con ansias tras las <u>negras</u>, venciendo riscos, para gozar sus cuerpos húmedos y <u>negros</u> como la noche, y los nativos los aprovechan para cazarlos como a palomas extraviadas.*	CREA 1997
		La mujer de Timoneda, una <u>negra</u> de nalgas grandes y mirada soez, dizque le robaba la mayor parte del dinero que recibía.	CREA 2002

4.	*Negra*: Negative	*Un país con <u>negras</u> brujas y mulatas seductoras e injusticias sin cuento.*[8]	CREA 2002
		Según se murmuraba entre las tropas estacionadas en el campamento, el Coronel le tenía miedo a las mujeres <u>negras</u>.	CREA 1997

These examples and their connotations are relatively recent. Roughly half of the tokens

of *negro* (46.81 percent), however, occur prior to the 20th century. With these earlier tokens,

authors that use forms of *negro* also have to navigate its implications regarding enslaved

status. In this respect, *negro*, like *mulato* and to a lesser degree *indio*, is an ambiguous term,

not clearly referencing an enslaved or free person. Thus, authors accomplish this distinction,

where relevant, using modifiers and contextual clues. As above, and as in Table 17, forms of

negro occur with *libre* to emphasize freedom (4.56 percent of tokens), and with *esclavo* to

emphasize enslaved status (14.29 percent of tokens). Authors also allude to enslaved status

(9.73 percent of tokens) by describing, for example, a situation in which a *negro* is *fugado*

('runaway', row 1 in Table 17), or *negros* are exported (row 2). Likewise, authors allude to

free *negros* without using the word *libres,* but rather, by using contextual information such

as travel without a sponsor (row 3) or possession of freedom documents (row 4).

Table 17. *Negro*, Slavery, and Freedom

1.	*Carta núm 176 del Gobernador y Capitán General de la parte española de la isla de Santo Domingo, D. Carlos de Urrutia, al Secretario de Estado y del Despacho Universal de la Guerra, en la que informa sobre la pretención formulada Cristóbal, caudillo del Norte, sobre entrega de un <u>negro</u> fugado del Guarico.*	AGI 1817

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[8] It should be noted that the notion of the *bruja / brujo* does not always have negative connotations. In fact, although in conflict with the dominant Catholic beliefs of the setting, many Dominicans have sought, and continue to seek, the counsel of *brujos*.

2.	*D. José Fuertes, a D. Francisco de Saavedra; da noticias relativas a la posibilidad de guerra entre la América y la Francia, a los manejos del General negro Toussaint l'Overture en Santo Domingo, intrigas de los ingleses y perjuicios que puede ocasionar la prohibición por el Parlamento de la exportación de <u>negros</u>.*	AGI 1798
3.	*Santiago Zorrilla, <u>negro</u>, natural de Santo Domingo, con su mujer Juana Pujol, <u>negra</u>, a Santo Domingo.*	AGI 1767
4.	*Antón de Zafra, <u>negro</u>, a Santo Domingo. Presentó escritura de ahorría ...*	AGI 1538

The term *negro*, associated with Africa, Haiti, slavery, is at the bottom of the racial hierarchy in the Dominican Republic. This position is an enduring colonial legacy. Historically, as with *mulato* and *indio*, *negro* is an ambiguous term with respect to slavery. Still, authors emphasize the enslaved or free status of the referent by employing the modifiers *esclavo* and *libre / horro* or by including contextual information that makes this status clear. In contemporary discourse, forms of *negro* can be associated with some positive characteristics such as athletic ability and beauty, but they are also frequently associated with negative characteristics and undesirability.

Having discussed the diachronic frequency, form, and context of racial terms in the Dominican Republic, the analysis turns to a consideration of the role of euphemism in the use of racial terms.

2. Exploring the Role of Euphemism

The concept of euphemism is particularly relevant to a discussion of racial terms, as racial description is a realm that invokes consideration of stigma and "political correctness." With the notion of euphemism, a milder form of a word or expression is substituted for a form that might be offensive or harsh. The related notion of dysphemism—substituting an offensive expression for a neutral or euphemistic one—will also be explored (Culpeper

2011; Allan & Burridge, 2006). This section discusses the role of euphemism in the

Dominican Republic as it relates to forms of *negro*.

Although some forms of *negro* present as somewhat neutral descriptors (e.g., *los negros,*

la raza negra, la negritud), over the past several centuries, *negro* has also acquired a marked

pejorative aspect, relating to slavery and possession, outsider status, and negative

characteristics (Tables 16 and 17 above). Despite negative associations, forms of *negro* are

still the most frequent in the data. The continued frequency speaks to the descriptive strength

and utility of the word *negro* and informs the strategies used to mitigate the accompanying

stigma of blackness. Such strategies appear in at least three ways: diminutive forms,

dilution, and broad euphemistic terms (summarized in Table 18 below).

Table 18. Mitigating Strategies for the Use of *Negro*

Diminutives	1.	*hernandillo de ocho años; muchachas negrillas; Julianjca de qujnze años; beatrizilla de ocho años; ysabelica de ocho años*	CORDE 1547
	2.	*El del bigote, Mella, y el negrito, Sánchez, lo acompañaban...*	CREA 1980
	3.	*Estoy negrito de pasármela en el mar, donde me llevo mi guitarra y disfruto con mis amigos.*	CREA 2003
Dilution	4.	*A la segunda pregunta dixo que agora al presente en visita del testamento de lucrecia de Escobal morena libre le á pedido joseph de chauarri notario quarenta y quatro Reales de plata ...*	CORDE 1674
	5.	*Esta morena de pelo muy crespo habla con autoridad sobre cualquier tema.*	CREA 1997
	6.	*La mayoría de las personas señaladas como galipotes o dundunes tienen piel oscura o son "gente prieta."*	CORDE 1883

	7. *Caché, caché, comprender que en ese paisazo los primeros que se joden son los <u>prietos</u>, la gente fea, bembona y bruta...*	CREA 1980
	8. *Parece que esta "Dama", echó algunos hijos al mundo siendo estos, por lo que he podido observar, el cruzamiento de <u>mulatos</u> con la susodicha Dama blanca.*	CORDE 1921
Broad Euphemistic Terms	9. *Corresponde a este Distrito la región O. y N. O. de la común de Santiago y en ella hay una notable variedad de **<u>gente de color</u>** (negros, mulatos y mestizos).*	CORDE 1922
	10. *"Nosotros los antillanos, no debemos mirar hacia el Continente, porque no tenemos nada de indios. Somos **<u>afroamericanos</u>".***	CREA 2003

First, the use of diminutives has been explored as a pragmalinguistic facet of politeness (e.g., Leech, 2014; Mendoza, 2005). Seven tokens of diminutive forms of *negro* appear in the data, manifesting as *negrillas, negrillos, negrito*, and *negritos*. The first example from Table 18 is an excerpt from a property inventory. The author employs the diminutive form *negrillas* to describe some enslaved girls. Here, the diminutive morpheme corresponds to the age of the girls described in the document. In addition to the diminutive form *negrillas*, the author adds diminutive morphemes to form the names *Hernandillo* and *Beatrizilla*. The second example is an excerpt from a novel in which the author is describing physical characteristics of the characters. The first character, Mella, is identified by his mustache, and the second, Sánchez, is identified by his color. The third example is from a magazine and represents a speaker characterizing the temporary condition of being tanned after spending time in the sun. Here, diminutives are used to describe children, the physical appearance of a character, and the temporary condition of being dark after a tan.

The second mitigating strategy is the use of racial descriptors that 'dilute' blackness. It

has been argued that, in the Dominican Republic, forms of *moreno, mulato,* and *prieto* are euphemisms for *negro* (Guzmán, 1974). This argument would appear to hold true for *moreno* and *mulato*, which can be used in the same contexts as *negro* (e.g., examples 4, 5, and 8 in Table 18). While *prieto* can also serve this substitution function (e.g., example 6), the data indicate that *prieto* may actually serve as a dysphemism—intensifying the negative connotations in some cases (e.g., example 7).

The third mitigating strategy is the use of broad euphemistic terms to describe race. In example 9, a report on the psychology of the Dominican people uses the term *gente de color* ('people of color') to describe *negros, mulatos*, and *mestizos*. This particular term evokes the racial euphemisms of the United States. The author of example 10, an art magazine in Santo Domingo, uses the term *afroamericanos* ('African Americans') to describe the race of the Dominican people. Because *afroamericanos* references a broad understanding of the Americas, Afro-descended people in North and South America and the Caribbean could be covered by the term, and *afroamericanos* does not carry the same stigma as *negro*.

Negro is the descriptor that has historically represented the bottom of the racial hierarchy in the Dominican Republic, and thus several strategies exist to mitigate the stigma of its forms—diminutives, diluted forms, and broad euphemistic terms. These terms can also invoke dysphemism in some contexts, as in the case of *prieto*.

Having explored the role of euphemism and dysphemism as it relates to representations of blackness, the analysis now turns to the linguistic strategies involved when race is exchanged for other descriptors.

3. Trading Race for Alternative Descriptors

Another trend that emerges from the data is the tendency to enact politeness by

describing people using characteristics other than race. This trend manifests with respect to

the description mechanism of color. The data in Table 19 summarize the frequency of these

tokens with respect to the linguistic formulation "*de color X.*" This narrow formulation is

isolated here because, when the descriptors appear independently, the referent (e.g., race,

color, status) is ambiguous (as discussed above). A specific color description appears in the

data for the terms *indio* (20 percent)*, moreno* (13.33 percent)*, negro/a* (53.33 percent)*,

prieta (6.67 percent), and *trigueño* (6.67 percent). Absent are the terms *blanco* and *mulato*.

For *mulato*, this result is not surprising, as *mulato* is not used as a color descriptor in these

data. The absence of *blanco* will be discussed below.

Table 19. Distribution of "*de color* ..." Formulation

Form	Date(s)	*horra / libre*	n
de color prieta	1527	*horras*	1
de color negro/a	1532	*sobre libertad*	8
	1535	*horro*	
	1536	*horro/a + libre*	
	1539	*carta de ahorría*	
		libre y horra	
		libre	
	1540	*horra + libre*	
de color moreno	1810	---	2
	1812	---	
de color indio	1922	---	3
de color trigueño	1922	---	1
			15

The earliest tokens of the "*de color X*" formulation occur in the 16th century and involve

the descriptors *negro/a* and *prieta*. Without exception, these tokens describe individuals who

are free(d) or have the foreseeable potential to be free (e.g., through a freedom suit). The

connection between the description and free status is important in the 16th century context

due to the ambiguity inherent in the term *negro* as discussed in section 1. Here, when

authors describe an individual as *de color negro/a* or *de color prieta*, they are also

commenting on the status of the individual. The *de color* formulation is never used to describe someone who is enslaved and without the immediate potential for freedom. Thus, while the formulation does not hide the race of the described individual, it affords a certain courtesy that is not extended to the indefinitely enslaved. The tokens for *de color moreno* in the 19th century perform the same function. Critically, though, these tokens do not include explicit descriptors of freedom. This early function of the *de color* formulation—to remove ambiguity regarding enslaved status—returns the discussion to the question of why a *de color blanco* formulation does not appear in the data. As discussed in section a, *blanco* is an unambiguous term during the colonial period. An individual who is *blanco* is by default also free. Thus, shifting the description from race to color in the case of *blanco* would not be a courtesy, but rather would needlessly mark the individual's unmarked privilege.

C. Analysis of Racial Categories in Historical Discourse: Historical Documents

With the historical corpus analysis as a backdrop, this section analyzes the nature and historical use of racial terms found in specific historical documents. The first section discusses skin color as a legally significant characteristic and as a non-exclusive descriptor in the 16th century. The second section discusses racial categories as legal categories in the 18th century; and the final section explores the relationship between race and skin color categories in the 20th century.

1. Skin Color as Legal Category and Non-Exclusive Descriptor in 16th-Century Petition for Freedom (1548)

Although, as discussed in earlier sections, much of the focus during the colonial period was on racial categories, there was a simultaneous discourse on skin color that implied color as a legally significant characteristic, and color as a non-exclusive space of identity. The

word *color*, when used in conjunction with a descriptor of blackness (e.g., *negro, moreno,*

prieto) specifically implied freedom, or the potential for the same. As discussed previously,

during the colonial period, individuals described as *negro* could be either free or enslaved,

but the descriptor '*de color negro*' was only used for persons who were free or petitioning

for freedom. An example of color as legal status appears in Figure 3.
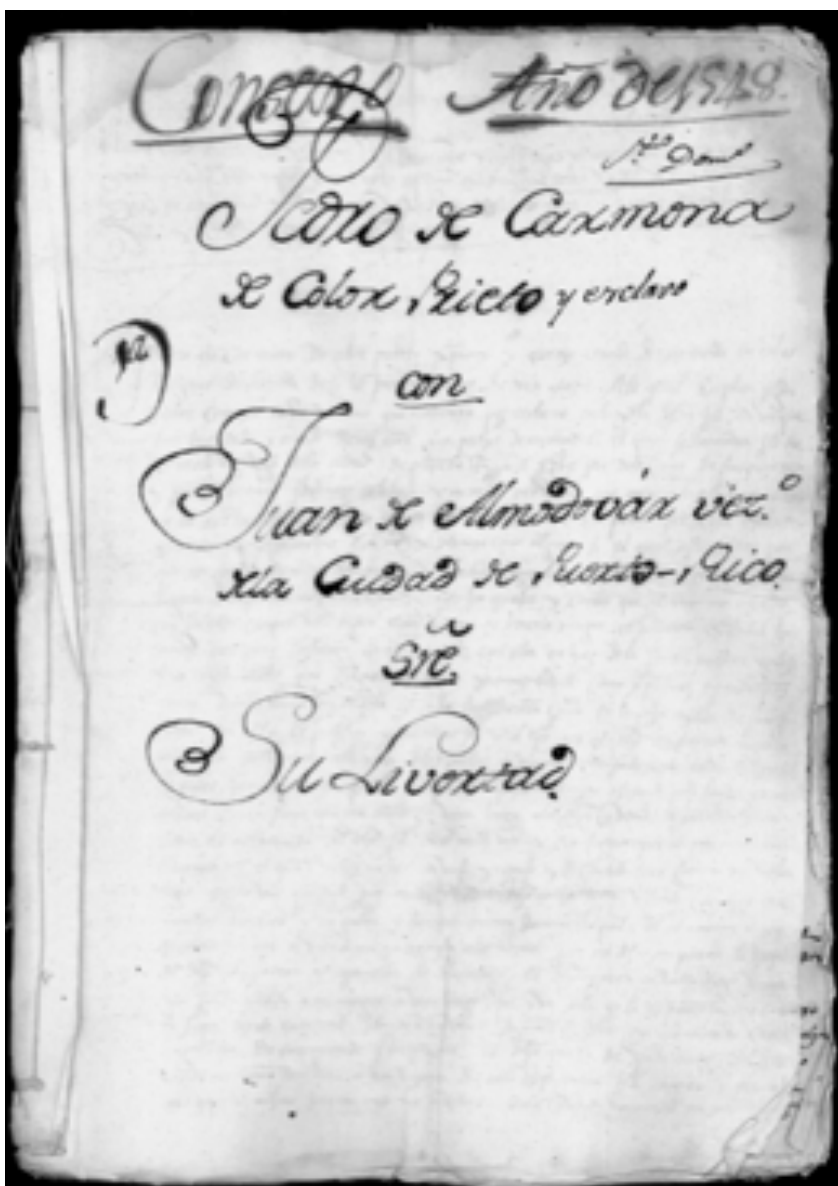
**Figure 3: Cover Page of a Petition Submitted by Pedro de Carmona for His Freedom (1548).
(Source: ESPAÑA. MINISTERIO DE CULTURA. Archivo General de Indias, ES.41091.AGI/24.52.8
//JUSTICIA, 978, N.2).**

Chapter 3: From Colony to Republic

In 1548, Pedro de Carmona, a slave in the new Spanish colonies, petitioned the Chamber of Justice in Seville for his freedom. The case is captioned "*Pedro de Carmona, de Color Prieto y esclavo*" ('Pedro de Carmona, of dark color and [a] slave'). Here, Pedro de Carmona's skin color is mentioned on the cover page of the case and is not merely descriptive of his physical appearance, but also indicative of his status as a person petitioning for freedom.

Skin color appears here beside the word *esclavo* ('slave'), indicating the petitioner's legal status—presently enslaved, but with the potential for freedom. This same document demonstrates the colonial conception of color as a non-exclusive space of identity. That is, color descriptors were not mutually exclusive—such that different individuals might describe a single person using different color descriptors. Moreover, such was the non-exclusive nature of this space that a single individual might describe a single other using multiple color descriptions.

The version of the document that is available to me comprises 24 pages, subdivided into 11 separate statements and additional notes. Thirteen of the document's 24 pages—including each separate statement and two pages of notes—contain references to Pedro de Carmona's skin color. Of fourteen descriptions, four use *prieto*; six use *moreno*; and four use *negro*. In each case, the skin color description appears as part of the formulation 'Pedro de Carmona de color X'. Each term—*moreno, negro, prieto*—has its own meaning and nuance, but all three terms are used here to describe the same individual—Pedro de Carmona. These data tend to indicate that the categories *moreno, negro* and *prieto* were not mutually exclusive during the colonial period, but rather allowed for categorical overlap. This overlap suggests that the difference between these categories may not have been a

purely physical one.

The document additionally highlights the flexibility afforded to a speaker to describe a single individual using different racial terms in the same setting. This is demonstrated in Figures 4 and 5. Figure 4 is an excerpt from the first page of Pedro de Carmona's petition. This page of the document appears to be written in the first person. Lines 1 and 2 begin: 'Pedro de Carmona of dark color, XX and servant from [a] child in these kingdoms of Castilla, I kiss the feet and hands of XX…' The verb form *beso* is the first person singular 'I kiss'. Likewise, in line 3, the phrase 'to know how I had an owner that had me as [a] slave on the island…' indicates that the author is speaking in the first person.
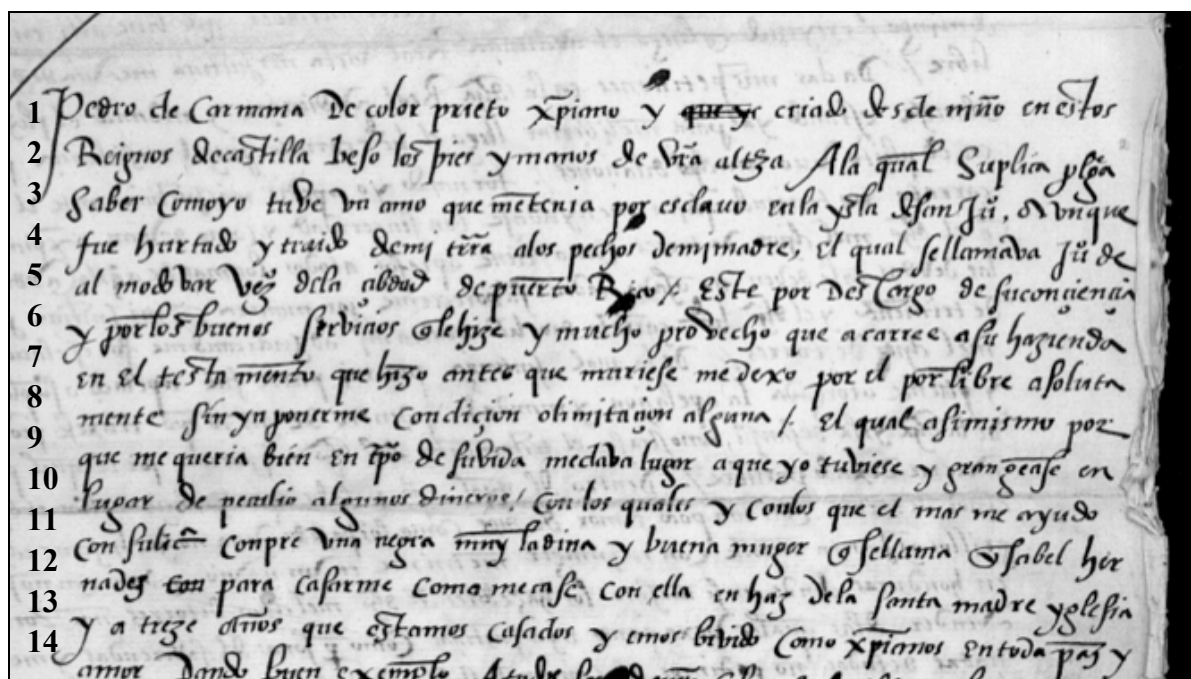
Figure 4: Pedro de Carmona describes himself as '*de color prieto*' (Source: ESPAÑA. MINISTERIO DE CULTURA. Archivo General de Indias, ES.41091.AGI/24.52.8 //JUSTICIA, 978, N.2).

In this portion of the document, Pedro de Carmona lays the foundation of his claim. Pedro describes an owner that had him as a slave (line 3); how he was stolen from his homeland and the bosom of his mother (line 4); how, after Pedro rendered good service, his owner granted him freedom by means of his will (lines 6-7); and how he purchased and

married a woman named Isabel to whom he had been married for thirteen years (lines 11-13). The signature of Pedro de Carmona appears at the bottom of the page, although not shown here.

On a later page of the document, Pedro de Carmona again speaks in the first person. Line 1 begins, 'Pedro de Carmona of brown color I say that I, having come from the Indies …' This line contains the first person singular verb form *digo* ('I say') and the first person singular pronoun *yo* ('I'). In line 3, the first person singular possessive pronoun *mi* appears in the phrase 'my freedom'; in line 5, the first person pronoun *yo* and the first person singular verb form *estoy* appear. This page also bears the signature of Pedro de Carmona.
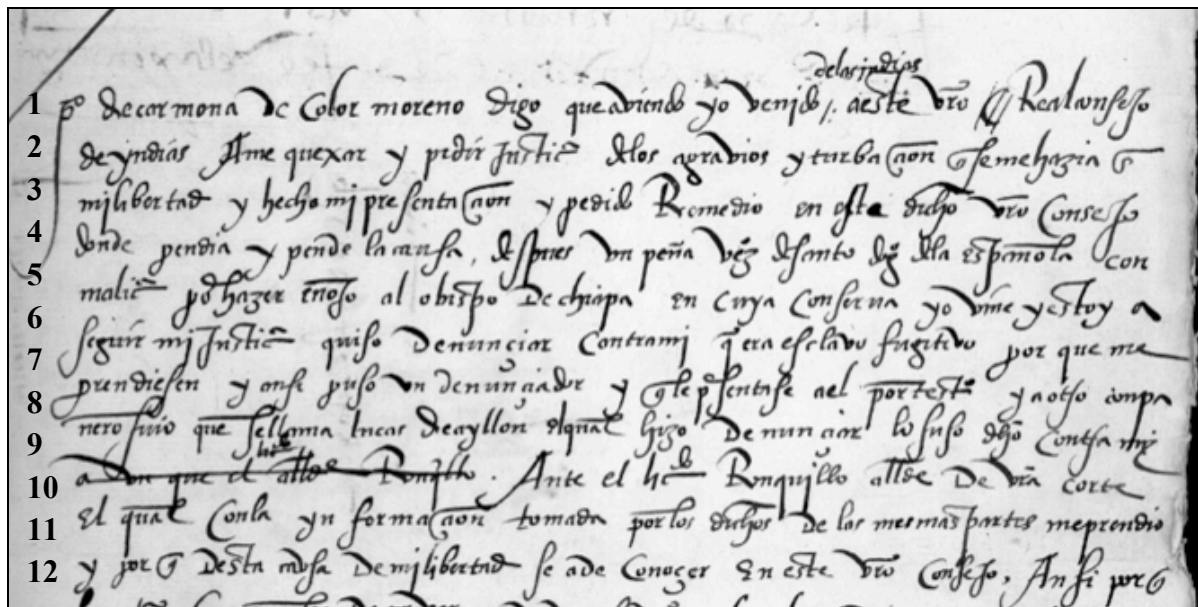
Figure 5. Pedro de Carmona describes himself as '*de color moreno*' (Source: ESPAÑA. MINISTERIO DE CULTURA. Archivo General de Indias, ES.41091.AGI/24.52.8 //JUSTICIA, 978, N.2).

Because both of these pages are signed by Pedro de Carmona and written in the first person, one may safely conclude that Pedro de Carmona is the author of both statements. Moreover, the two statements appear in the same document and have the same audience. Nevertheless, in the opening line of the two statements, Pedro de Carmona describes himself

in two distinct ways: first, as *de color prieto* (as on the caption page); and, subsequently, as *de color moreno*. Because of the legal nature of this document—a petition submitted to the court—it is reasonable to expect that the information included in the document will be accurate. That the court accepts both descriptions for a single individual further supports the argument that the categories *moreno* and *prieto* are not mutually exclusive during the colonial period.

The same phenomenon occurs when others describe Pedro de Carmona. Figures 6 and 7 appear in the same document and appear to be written in the same handwriting. Whereas Figure 6 describes Pedro de Carmona as *color negro* (line 5), Figure 7 describes him as *color prieto* (line 4). Here again, a single speaker describes a single subject using two different skin color terms: *negro* and *prieto*. As with *prieto* and *moreno*, the usage of *negro* and *prieto* to describe the same individual, and the acceptance of this use by the court, supports the argument that the categories *negro* and *prieto* are not mutually exclusive.
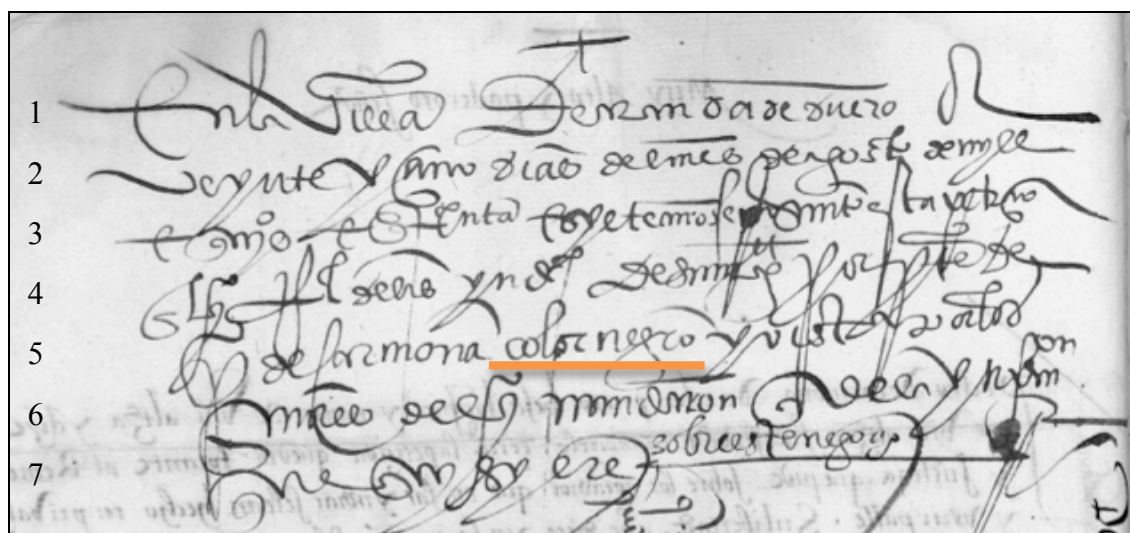
Figure 6. Pedro de Carmona described as '*color negro*' (Source: ESPAÑA. MINISTERIO DE CULTURA. Archivo General de Indias, ES.41091.AGI/24.52.8 //JUSTICIA, 978, N.2).
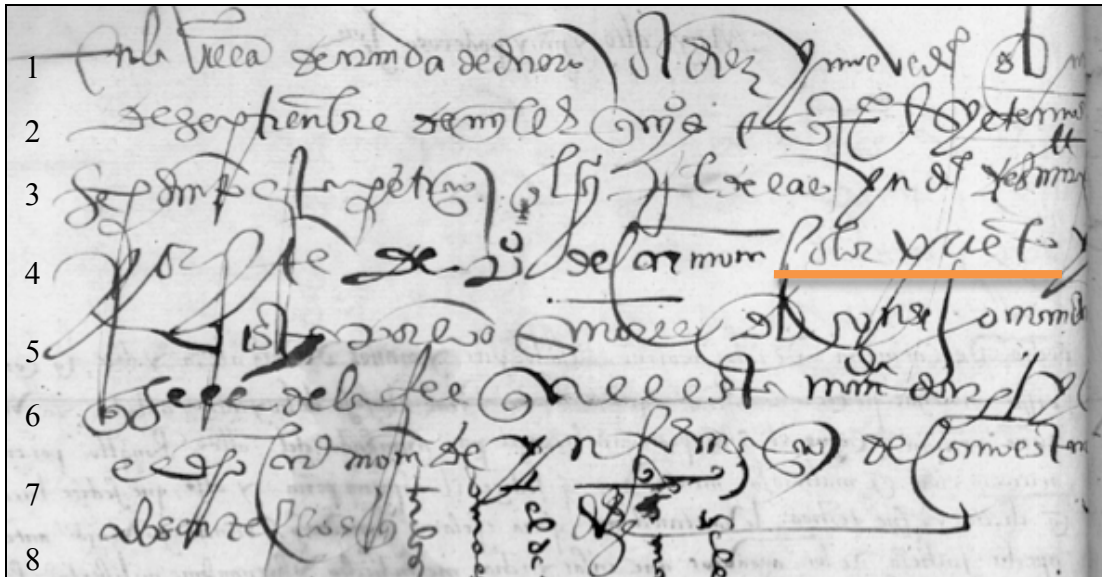
Figure 7. Pedro de Carmona described as '*color prieto*' (Source: ESPAÑA. MINISTERIO DE CULTURA. Archivo General de Indias, ES.41091.AGI/24.52.8 //JUSTICIA, 978, N.2).

The notion of skin color as a non-exclusive space persists beyond the colonial period and continues to manifest itself in contemporary discourse on identity in the Dominican Republic. The next section turns to an exploration of racial categories as legal categories in the 18th century.

2. Racial Categories as Legal Categories in the 18th-Century *Código Negro Carolino*

The *Código de Legislación para el Gobierno Moral, Político y Económico de los Negros de la Isla Española* (*Código Negro Carolino*) is a legislative code published by the Spanish empire toward the end of the colonial period in 1784 and was intended for the moral, political and economic governance of *negros* on the island of Hispaniola (present-day Dominican Republic and Haiti). Law 1 of the Third Chapter of the First Part of the *Código Negro Carolino* sets out several racial categories, each of which will have specific ramifications in the remainder of the code. The code frames the importance of these categories in the following way:

And being necessary to this effect to make before all things the opportune division of their races or generations for the classes and censuses in which they must distribute themselves and for the fair regulation of civil rights, concept and rank that they must have in the public order and the ministries and trades to which according to their diverse classes they must dedicate themselves, we will divide their population.[9]

These racial categories thus have ramifications for civil rights and occupational possibilities, among other social and political implications. The code defines six racial categories, summarized in Table 20: *negro, mulato / pardo, tercerón, cuarterón, mestizo,* and *blanco*.

Table 20. Colonial Racial Categories (Código Negro Carolino, 1784)

Racial Categories Defined in *Código Negro Carolino*	
1	*negro*	*negros esclavos y libres*
2	*mulato / pardo*	*blanco + negra* ('legitimately married')
3	*tercerón*	*mulato / pardo + persona blanca* ('marriage')
4	*cuarterón*	*tercerón + persona blanca*
5	*mestizo*	*cuarterón + persona blanca*
6	*blanco*	*mestizo + blanco* ('legitimate generation')

The category *negro* comprises both enslaved and free blacks. The category *mulato / pardo* is defined as the offspring of a 'legitimately married' white father and black mother— *blanco + negra*. The directionality of the race-gender dynamic for this category is clear. While the code contemplates the union of a white man and a black woman, it does not acknowledge the possibility of a union between a black man and white woman. Figure 8 is an 18th-century portrait of a man described as the 'seditious *mulato* of Santo Domingo'. This image of an 18th-century *mulato* is a rare glimpse into the physical understanding of the term during the late colonial period.

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[9] '*Y siendo necesario a este efecto hacer ante todas las cosas la división oportuna de sus razas o generaciones para las clases y censos en que deban distribuirse y para la justa regulación de los derechos civiles, concepto y graduación que deban tener en el orden público y los ministerios y oficios a que según sus diversas clases deban destinarse, dividiremos la población*,' *Código Negro Carolino* (1784), *Primera Parte, Tercer Capítulo, Ley 1.*

Figure 8: Retrato grabado de Vicente Ogé 'sedicioso mulato de Santo Domingo' (1790)
Source: ESPAÑA. MINISTERIO DE CULTURA. Archivo General de Indias, ES.41091.AGI/27.9/MP-ESTAMPAS,30(3)

The code defines *tercerón* as the offspring of a marriage between a *mulato* or *pardo* and a

white person; *cuarterón* as the offspring of a *tercerón* and a white person; and *mestizo* as the

offspring of a *cuarterón* and a white person. As discussed in Section A of this chapter,

mestizo, under the *Código Negro Carolino*, functions as a bridge to legally-recognized

whiteness. The code defines the offspring of a *mestizo* and a white person as *blanco*, stating:

> *And they shall be renowned as blancos, if one of them has not interrupted the*
> *predefined order (in which case the generation will go backwards, according to the*
> *quality of the person that reverses it), being fair that the society to whose population*
> *and benefit they have contributed with their services reward them, raising them*
> *sometime to the hierarchy of the main social class; in which it will have in addition*
> *the greatest interest making appreciable for so appealing an incentive the miserable*

condition of their slaves.[10]

This section of the code very explicitly sets out the racial hierarchy and racial ideology of the colonial period. Whiteness is aspirational—a social privilege to which the populace should aspire, one that may be restored under strict conditions if it is lost. All other categories are subordinated to *blanco* in the hierarchy, such that their inclusion in a given mixture sends a person 'backwards' in the hierarchy.

a. Racial Categories and Legal Expectations for Social Conduct

The racial categories defined by the *Código Negro Carolino* directly correspond to legal expectations for social conduct, irrespective of enslaved or free status. For example, the code states, 'Therefore, every *negro* slave or free, first order *pardo* or *tercerón,* and so on, will be as submissive and respectful to every white person, as if each one of them were [his or her] master or lord of the servant.'[11] This law imposes a racial hierarchy for which status as slave or freeman is inconsequential. A person that is not *blanco* must treat all *blancos* as if they were his or her master. Rules of this type solidify the position of *blanco* as at the top of the colonial racial hierarchy.

Furthermore, because of the primary role of the racial hierarchy in the legal sphere, even

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[10] '*…Y deberán ser reputados por blancos, si alguna de ellas no hubiese interrumpido el orden prefinido (en cuyo caso, retrocederá la generación, según la calidad de la persona que la invirtiere), siendo justo que la sociedad a cuya población y beneficio han contribuido con sus servicios los recompense y premie, elevándolos alguna vez a la jerarquía de su principal esfera; en lo cual tendrá además el mayor interés haciendo apreciable por tan recomendable estímulo la miserable condición de sus esclavos,*' *Código Negro Carolino* (1784), *Primera Parte, Tercer Capítulo*, *Ley 1*.

[11] '*Por tanto, todo negro esclavo o libre, pardo primerizo o tercerón, y en adelante, será tan sumiso y respetuoso a toda persona blanca, como si cada una de ellas fuera su mismo amo o señor del siervo,*' *Código Negro Carolino* (1784), *Primera Parte, Tercer Capítulo*, *Ley 5*.

social conduct that would not otherwise be criminal becomes a punishable offense. In this process, additional layers of the racial hierarchy are revealed. Within the hierarchy, *negro* and *mulato / pardo* are grouped together, and *tercerón, cuarterón,* and *mestizo* are grouped together. Otherwise stated, *negro* and its nearest category are at the bottom of the hierarchy, and categories that incorporate each successive generation of *blanco* approach the top of the hierarchy. This order is demonstrated in the penalties that the code outlines for offenses against a person legally recognized as *blanco*. For example, for the offense of disrespecting a white person, a *negro* or *pardo* would be put in stocks in the public square and given 25 lashes. Meanwhile, a *tercerón, cuarterón*, or *mestizo* would spend four days in jail and pay a 25 peso fine (*Código Negro Carolino, Primera Parte, Tercer Capítulo, Ley 7*). For this offense, the punishment for the *negro* and *pardo* involves physical harm and public shame, and the punishment for the other categories involves a short period of incarceration and a fine. Likewise, for the more egregious offense of striking a white person, a *negro* or *pardo* would be given 100 lashes in the public square and spend two years in prison with shackles on his feet. By contrast, a *tercerón, cuarterón* or *mulato* would spend six hours in the stocks in the public square and pay a 100 peso fine. For this offense, the difference in penalties for the two groups is quite marked. The *mulato* and *pardo* suffer physical harm and spend two years in prison, while the other categories spend six hours in the stocks and pay a fine (*Código Negro Carolino, Primera Parte, Tercer Capítulo, Ley 8*).

Table 21. Offense and Penalty under the *Código Negro Carolino* by Race of Offender

Offense	Race of Offender	Penalty
Disrespect	*negro, pardo*	put in stocks in public square 25 lashes
	tercerón, cuarterón, mestizo	4 days in jail 25 peso fine

Raising Hand, Stick or Stone Against a *Blanco*	*negro, pardo*	put in stocks in public square 100 lashes 2 years in prison Shackled feet
	tercerón, cuarterón, etc.	6 hours of public shame in public square 100 peso fine
Contradicting a *Blanco*	*negro, pardo*	1 day of public shame
	others	public jail for another term

Finally, for the offense of contradicting a white person in a less than submissive tone or raising one's voice—even knowing that he or she is right, for the offense of forgetting one's position of subordination, a *negro* or *pardo* would receive one day of public shame, and members of the other categories would go to public jail for a term (*Código Negro Carolino, Primera Parte, Tercer Capítulo, Ley 11*).

b. Racial Categories and Labor Restrictions

In addition to expectations for social conduct, the code sets out labor restrictions by racial category. For example, the code provides:

> *We prohibit, under the severest penalties, that any* negro *or* pardo tercerón *practice any art or mechanical profession, that should remain reserved for white people,* cuarterones *and* mestizos*, because of preference to their color, and because of the public convenience that results in distinguishing this middle class, that is moving closer to the upper [class] of the Island, which nevertheless will not plant itself until the privileged people learn the skilled professions.*[12]

For labor restrictions, the *tercerón* is grouped with the *negro* and *pardo* in the group that is prohibited from practicing certain professions. In this case, *cuarterón, mestizo* and *blanco*

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[12] 'Prohibimos pues, bajo de las más severas penas, que ningún negro o pardo tercerón pueda ejercer arte, ni profesión alguna mecánica, que deben quedar reservadas para las personas blancas, cuarterones y mestizos, por preferencia a su color, y por la conveniencia pública que resulta en distinguir esta clase media, que se va acercando a la superior de la Isla, lo que sin embargo no podrá ponerse en planta hasta que las personas privilegiadas vayan instruyéndose en los oficios menestrales,' *Código Negro Carolino* (1784), *Primera Parte, Séptimo Capítulo*, *Ley 1*.

are grouped together in the privileged group.

c. Racial Categories and Wardrobe Restrictions

In addition to expectations for social conduct and labor restrictions, the *Código Negro Carolino* outlines wardrobe restrictions determined by racial category (Table 22). *Negros* and *pardos*, irrespective of enslaved or free status, may not wear pearls, emeralds or precious stones. Additionally, persons in these categories may not wear precious metals such as gold and silver. *Negras* and *pardas* may not wear lace shawls; and *negros* may not carry a sword or walking stick or wear hats with gold or silver braids.

Table 22. Wardrobe Restrictions under the *Código Negro Carolino* by Race

Category	Prohibition
negro, pardo	pearls, emeralds, precious stones gold and silver
negra, parda	lace shawl in place of cloth
negro	sword, cane / walking stick hat with gold or silver braids

These are just some examples of the ways that racial terms took on legal meaning during the colonial period. Legal codes, such as the *Código Negro Carolino,* codified clear racial hierarchies and imposed social, professional, and sartorial restrictions on individuals based on racial category. These restrictions based on race superseded even enslaved or free status.

3. Reconciling Race and Skin Color Categories in the 20th Century

As racial categories continued to develop over time, scholars teased apart distinctions between racial categories and nuanced subcategories (e.g., *matiz racial*), relating not specifically to traceable lineage as in the colonial period but rather to physical appearance— features such as skin color, hair color and texture, and features of the face and body. The categories proposed by Guzmán (1974) are an example (Table 23).

Table 23. *Matiz Racial* Classifications (Guzmán, 1974)

Matiz Racial Classification: Santiago	
GRUPO A (*Raza blanca*)	1 – *Rubio* 2 – *Blanco* 3 – *Pelirrojo* 4 – *Blanco jipato* 5 – *Blanco jojoto*
GRUPO B (*Frontera entre raza blanca y mulato*)	6 – *Indio lavado* 7 – *Indio claro* 8 – *Trigueño claro* 9 – *Trigueño*
GRUPO C (*Mulatos*)	10 – *Pinto* 11 – *Pinto jovero* 12 – *Jabao* 13 – *Indio canelo*
GRUPO D (*Frontera entre mulato y raza negra*)	14 – *Trigueño oscuro* 15 – *Indio quemao*
GRUPO E (*Raza negra*)	16 – *Moreno* 17 – *Mulato* 18 – *Prieto* 19 – *Negro* 20 – *Cenizo* 21 - *Cocolo*

Guzmán (1974) proposes three racial categories—*blanco, mulato, negro*—and positions 21

matices ('shades / nuances') across the three broader racial categories. Of these *matices*, 1,

2, 3, 9, 12, 16, 17, 18, and 19 are further explored in later chapters of this dissertation.

Furthermore, several trends emerge from an initial exploration of these data. First, the three

racial categories that Guzmán describes persist from the colonial period. These three

categories also overlap with *matices* 2, 17 and 19. Interestingly, *mulato* as a *matiz racial*

category does not fall within the *mulato* racial category, but rather falls within the category

attributed to *raza negra*. The placement of *mulato* in the *negro* racial category tracks the

colonial grouping of *negro* and *mulato* for purposes of social, occupational and sartorial

restrictions. Moreover, *matices* 16, 18, and 19—*moreno, prieto, negro*—all fall within the

broad racial category of *negro* and track the 16th-century usage of these terms as seen in

section C, subsection 1 of this chapter. While many of the terms appearing as *matices*

raciales persist from the colonial period (e.g., *rubio, blanco, indio, moreno, mulato, prieto,*

negro), others developed in the former Spanish colonies (e.g., *trigueño, jabao, cocolo*). In

some cases, while the form of a term has remained the same since the colonial period, the

function or index of the term has changed. This is the case, for example, with the term *indio*.

During the colonial period, *indio* was used to describe the indigenous populations of the

Americas, and colonizers regarded *indio* as a race. Near the beginning of the 20th century,

however, residents of the Dominican Republic began using the term *indio* to describe skin

color. During the Trujillo dictatorship from 1930-1961, *indio* was incorporated as an official

skin color classification on the *cédula*. The notion that *indio* could be used as a descriptor of

color was hotly contested in academic and social circles, both internationally and

domestically. In the 1970s, Dominican academics spoke out vocally in the press regarding

the perceived absurdity of using *indio* as a skin color descriptor. The newspaper excerpt in

Figure 9 is an example. The headline reads, 'Only *Blancos* and *Negros*: [He] Says Color

Indio Does Not Exist in [Dominican Republic].'

Figure 9: Newspaper Article in which the Use of *Indio* as a Skin Color Descriptor is Contested (1976). Source: (1976, August 20) Solo Blancos y Negros: Dice Color Indio No Existe En RD. *LA NOTICIA*.

Another article echoes this point, '[He] Sees [as] Absurd Pretension to Create the Color

"*Indio*." This article, also from the 1970s, discusses the assertion of Dominican sociologist

Rubén Silié that it is absurd to construct a new color category and call it "indio".

Figure 10: A Second Newspaper Article Discussing the Absurdity of Creating the Skin Color "*Indio*". Source: (1976, August 24) Ve Absurda Pretensión Crear el Color "Indio". *Listín Diario*.

Indio has not been the only contested category in the Dominican Republic, however, as

another professor, sociologist Dagoberto Tejeda, contests whether the color *blanco* exists in

the Dominican Republic either. The headline of the article reads, 'Sociologist Affirms in

Country the Color *Blanco* Does Not Exist' (Figure 11).

EL NACIONAL DE ¡AHORA! 28 de Junio de 1977 PAGINA 8   Prejuicios y Antipatias - República Dominicana FL 00512.

Sociólogo Afirma en País No Existe el Color Blanco

PEDRO BRAND, D. N. (Juan Modesto Rodríguez).— Un sociólogo y catedrático universitario consideró hoy aquí que en el país no existe el color blanco y que todos los dominicanos somos negros.

Al descartar que en el país hayan personas blancas, el profesor Dagoberto Tejeda, manifestó que lo que existe aquí es una mezcla racial tan profunda y compleja que "detrás y delante de las orejas hay nubarrones".

Dijo que en el país lo que existe es una discriminación racial encubierta que ha originado la invención de colores que no existen en ninguna parte del mundo.

En ese sentido expresó que como el negro es un color considerado por la mayoría como un color humillante, se acostumbra a llamar al dominicano por "indio claro, indio oscuro, indio canelo etc. "porque a los nativos no les gusta que les llamen negros, aseveró el profesional.

Las declaraciones del sociólogo Tejeda fueron dadas a este corresponsal durante la presentación del grupo Convite, que dirige, en un acto organizado por el departamento de Sicología Clínica del hospital siquiátrico Padre Billini ubicado en el kilómetro 28 de la autopista Duarte.

Dijo que la negativa del dominicano a aceptar esa realidad, se debe a que encubre una ideología racista elaborada por la clase dominante, y esto significa un proceso de identificación con los valores de la raza blanca a tal grado que el negro quiere comportarse y vestir como los blancos y por eso las mujeres usan pelucas y los hombres se "planchan" el pelo en su afán de parecerse a los blancos, porque se avergüenzan de su condición, manifestó el catedrático que dirige el grupo músico vocal Convite.

Consideró que el proceso de despersonalización es tan fuerte en el país, que se ha establecido una escala de valores estéticos en la cual una mujer "linda", es una mujer blanca, con ojos azules, cabello largo y lacio etc.

Por último manifestó que el dominicano no se haya identificado culturalmente porque hay una negación continua de nuestras raíces culturales y de nuestro presente. Atribuyó el fenómeno al hecho de que el dominicano no conoce el proceso de dominación a que ha estado sometido desde la época del descubrimiento.

Figure 11. Newspaper Article in Which Sociologist Contests Use of the Category *Blanco*
Source: (1977, June 28) Sociólogo Afirma en País No Existe el Color Blanco

Against this backdrop—of colonization and conquest, legacy and lineage, legal categories, social import, and contested terminology—the contemporary system of racial categorization in the Dominican Republic has developed.

D. Chapter Summary

This chapter has engaged historical data regarding the use of racial terms in the Dominican Republic to frame the diachronic dimension of the study. To accomplish this objective, this chapter has undertaken three tasks:

First, the chapter has discussed the history and the historical racial setting of the Dominican Republic, with a particular focus on the social and legal import of racial terms. From this analysis, a four-part colonial racial hierarchy has emerged: (1) race as traceable lineage, (2) race as legal status, (3) whiteness as aspiration, and (4) blackness as regression.

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Chapter 3: From Colony to Republic

This first section additionally discussed the ways in which domestic and international political actors shaped the understanding of race and racial categories as Santo Domingo transitioned from a colony to a republic. As time progressed, the notion of race evolved from strictly lineage based, to referencing a limited scope of lineage, to an effective departure from the determinative lineage model.

Second, the chapter has analyzed the historical use of racial terms in the Dominican Republic using corpus data and focusing on frequency, connotation, and euphemism. This analysis has revealed a persistent racial hierarchy, where forms of *negro, mulato,* and *indio* can take on connotations of slavery and servitude, while forms of *blanco* are unambiguously at the top of the hierarchy. While forms of *negro* are the most frequent over time in the corpus data, because of negative connotations, euphemisms are frequently used to mitigate the stigma of these forms.

Third, this chapter has discussed the historical use of racial terms using a 16th-century court document, an 18th-century legal code, and 20th-century research and media. This analysis reveals that, during the colonial period, skin color was also legally significant and that skin color categories such as *moreno, negro*, and *prieto* were not mutually exclusive. The analysis additionally reveals the legal ramifications of race. In the 18th century, race corresponded to civil rights, criminal penalties, occupational possibilities, and wardrobe restrictions. Finally, the analysis has discussed the relationship and overlap of race and skin color categories in the 20th century, outlining the relationship between *raza* and *matiz racial* and showing how some categories have been contested over time.

Chapter 4

Methodology

Through the lens of semantics, the contemporary portion of this study aims to define the parameters—physical and social—of racial terms in the Dominican Republic. Although many such words exist (see e.g., Guzmán, 1974), the present study focuses on a core group of 11 descriptors: *blanco/a*, *colorao/a*, *indio/a*, *jabao/a*, *moreno/a*, *mulato/a*, *negro/a*, *pelirrojo/a*, *prieto/a*, *rubio/a*, and *trigueño/a*. The terms should not be understood primarily through their English cognates forms, but rather through the careful construction of meaning undertaken in the present study.

This study employs a mixed methods research design. Through the combination of quantitative and qualitative methodologies, the analysis provides a more comprehensive understanding of the question than either individual approach (Creswell, 2014). The mixed methods research design contemplates the use of qualitative and quantitative approaches in multiple phases of research, including data collection and data analysis (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). For this study, I employ phenomenological research—ethnography, observation, and interviews—and survey research—biographical and photo description questionnaires. These diverse methods of data collection have yielded multiple forms of data: observational data, document data, audiovisual data, interview data, attitude data, and questionnaire data. Likewise, the multiple forms of data necessitate multiple forms of analysis—statistical analysis of the survey data using frequencies and association rules, and coding, thematic develop, and thematic analysis of the qualitative data. Because I have chosen to conduct both types of research (qualitative and quantitative) concurrently, and

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integrate both types of data to interpret the results, I am employing *convergent parallel mixed methods* analysis (see Creswell, 2014, p.15).

This chapter consists of five parts. The first part describes the research sites of the study. This includes the cities where the research was conducted, as well as the specific institutions and settings in each city from which participants were drawn. The second part describes the demographic information of the participants who supplied survey and interview data and outlines the process by which participants were selected for the sample. The third part addresses the quantitative and qualitative methods and instruments by which data were collected, including ethnography, surveys and interviews. The fourth part describes the qualitative and quantitative approaches used to analyze the data for the study. Finally, the fifth part addresses the potential limitations of the study.

A. Research Sites

The Dominican Republic occupies the eastern two-thirds of the Caribbean island of Hispaniola; and the western third of the island belongs to the Republic of Haiti. Juxtaposition of the two nations and national identities is a frequently recurring theme in academic literature as well as social understanding. The official language of the country is Spanish. At the time of data collection, the population of the Dominican Republic was approximately 10.2 million, and the population presently approximates 10.35 million.[13] The population is roughly evenly divided between men and women and is distributed by age as illustrated by the population pyramid in Figure 12.

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[13] Source: The CIA World Factbook: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/dr.html (accessed November 12, 2013 and October 28, 2014).
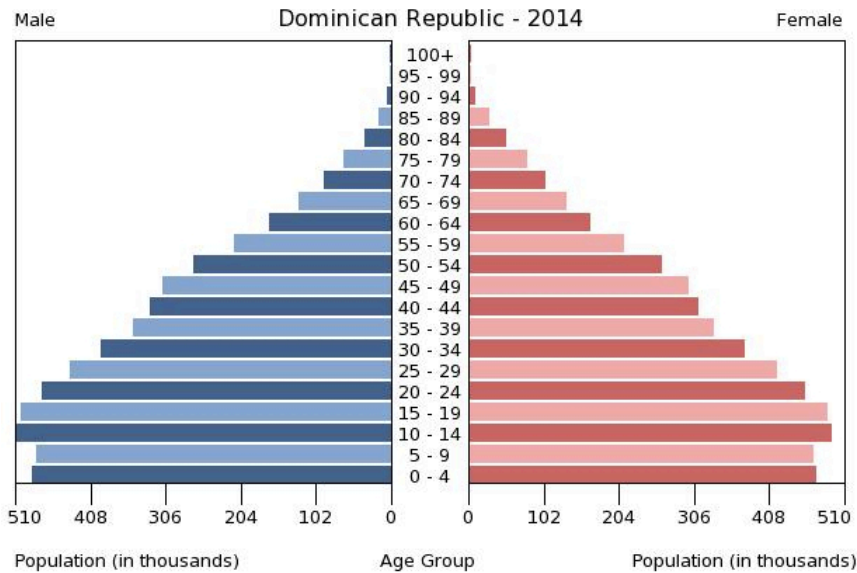
Figure 12: Population Pyramid (Source: CIA World Factbook 2014)

I selected three regionally distinct sites for the fieldwork for the study—Santiago de los Caballeros, Santo Domingo, and Dajabón (indicated on the map in Figure 13). The following sections describe each city and the settings from which participants were drawn.

Figure 13: Map of Dominican Republic (Source: CIA World Factbook 2013)

Chapter 4: Experimental Methodology

1. Santiago de los Caballeros

The first research site for the study is the city of Santiago de los Caballeros ("Santiago"). With nearly one million residents (963,422 in 2010), Santiago is the second largest city in the Dominican Republic.[14] Located in the Cibao Valley in the north central region of the country, Santiago is popularly referred to as *el corazón* ('the heart') of the Dominican Republic. Santiago is also at the center of research on Dominican linguistics and identity (e.g., Alba, 2004; Candelario, 2007; Guzmán, 1974; Howard, 2001). Moreover, the seminal semantic study on Dominican racial terms, cited to the present day in research on the Dominican racial setting, was conducted in Santiago over 40 years ago (Guzmán, 1974).

I conducted ten weeks of fieldwork in Santiago from October to December 2013. In Santiago, I integrated myself into *la vida santiaguera* ('Santiago life')—public transportation, grocery shopping, membership at a local gym, hair and nail salons, churches, universities, and sworn allegiance to the local baseball team, *las Águilas Cibaeñas*. As I observed and participated, people talked freely about race, color and identity—both national and individual.

In Santiago, I also recruited the models for the photo description questionnaire from a large public university. I described to each model the purpose of the study and asked them to sign a consent form in Spanish indicating the level of consent they would give for the use of their photo (e.g., viewed by the research team only, viewed by the research team and study participants, viewed by the research team and study participants and featured in presentations and publications). Approximately 50 individuals consented to be models and

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[14] Source: Ayuntamiento Municipio de Santiago: http://ayuntamientosantiagord.com/sobre-el-municipio-2/datos-demograficos/ (accessed November 12, 2013)

have their picture taken. Of this number, 48 were featured on the photo description

questionnaires for the study. Of the 48 featured models, three individuals consented to have

their photos included in the study but not used in presentations or publications. As such,

wherever these three images appear, the model is anonymized (MALE_1, MALE_8,

FEMALE_17).

Two local universities provided the first participants for the study. The first university

was large and private and had the reputation for catering to a population with high

socioeconomic means. The second university, also private but smaller, contained students

from diverse socioeconomic groups. At each university, I submitted a written request to

conduct the study on the campus and included a description of my project aims and

methods. Administrators at each university reviewed and approved the methods.

Within Santiago, I looked beyond the academic sphere for additional participants. In

conjunction with a local sociologist, I selected sectors of the city that represented different

socioeconomic groups: (1) Typical *Barrios*—Pueblo Nuevo, La Joya, La Otra Banda; (2)

Middle class neighborhoods—Kokette, Villa Olga; and (3) Upper middle class sectors—Las

Dianas, La Esmeralda, Gurabo. The participants from Pueblo Nuevo were surveyed in the

Barrio Seguro community center; in *La Joya* and *La Otra Banda*, in the home of community

leaders and a *colmado* (corner store). Participants from Kokette and Villa Olga were

surveyed in the *Club de Vecinos* in Kokette; and participants from Las Dianas, La

Esmeralda, and Gurabo were surveyed at a local church.

I also selected the municipality of *Los Almácigos*, located approximately 20 kilometers

outside of Santiago. In *Los Almácigos*, participants completed surveys at the home of a local

community leader and in the neighborhood *banca* (sports betting facility). Additional

participants were drawn from the neighborhood where I resided—*Reparto Montero*, at the local *colmado*; from local bookstores, and a cultural center.

2. Santo Domingo

The second research site for the study is the capital city of Santo Domingo, the most populous city in the Dominican Republic. With nearly two million residents, Santo Domingo comprises one fifth of the country's total population.[15] Santo Domingo additionally houses the national government, 18 universities, business headquarters, colonial monuments, museums, and the national opera. Santo Domingo has affluent sectors, middle class and working class neighborhoods, and infamous *barrios*, and it boasts a host of diverse residents. Due to the sheer number of its inhabitants, Santo Domingo offers the opportunity to interview and observe people of many different ages, races and social strata. Previous studies on race ethnicity in the Dominican Republic have used Santo Domingo as a research site as well (Howard, 2001).

I conducted twelve weeks of fieldwork in Santo Domingo from January to April 2014. In Santo Domingo, I integrated myself into life in *la capital* ('the capital')—supermarkets, restaurants, hair and nail salons, public transportation (*carros públicos* and the Metro), churches, universities, and professional organizations. As in Santiago, as I observed and participated in daily life in Santo Domingo, people spoke freely about race, color, and identity.

In Santo Domingo, I collaborated with members of the *Academia Dominicana de la Lengua* ('Dominican Academy of the [Spanish] Language'), the *Academia de Ciencias de la*

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[15] Source: "*Santo Domingo en Cifras*," Oficina Nacional de Estadística, 2009 (http://www.one.gob.do/themes/one/dmdocuments/perfiles/Perfil_santo_domingo.pdf)

República Dominicana ('Academy of Sciences of the Dominican Republic'), and el *Centro Bonó* ('Bonó Center') to select diverse participants for the study. Three universities provided participants in Santo Domingo. The first university was large and public and located in the city's *Zona Universitaria* ('University Zone'). The second was large and private and located in the same sector. The third university was small and private and located in *Gazcue*. At each university, I submitted a written request to conduct the study on the campus and included a description of my project aims and methods. Administrators at each university reviewed and approved the methods.

Beyond the academic sphere, I selected sectors of the city that represented different socioeconomic groups: (1) *Barrios*—Guachupita, Ensanche Espaillat; (2) *Clase media/ media-alta*—Bella Vista, La Julia; and (3) sectors and municipalities outside the city limits—Los Tres Ojos, La Caleta, Sabana Perdida Sur. The participants from Guachupita were surveyed at a local high school; in Ensanche Espaillat, surveys took place in a local resident's home and in an internet cafe. Participants from Bella Vista and La Julia were interviewed at their residences. Participants in Los Tres Ojos completed surveys at local *colmados* ('corner stores'). Participants in La Caleta were surveyed and interviewed at restaurants and a local park. Participants in Sabana Perdida Sur were surveyed and interviewed at the home of community leaders, and at a polling station for local elections. I also chose to survey a group of intercultural mediators at the *Centro Bonó*.

3. Dajabón

The third research site for the study is the city of Dajabón, located in the northwest region of the Dominican Republic near the border the country shares with Haiti. With just

over 23,000 residents, Dajabón is a much smaller city than Santiago and Santo Domingo.[16] Its location as a border city renders it a fascinating site for examining racial, ethnic, linguistic, and national identities in contact. Among the sites of cultures in contact is the Bi-national Market, held each Monday and Friday in Dajabón. On market days, Dominicans and Haitians are allowed to cross the border between the two countries without restriction, and buyers and sellers haggle in the marketplace in Spanish, French, and Kreyol.

In a recent anthropological study examining Dominican-Haitian racial and ethnic perceptions and sentiments, the researcher cites the coopting of the color term *negro* ('black') for the ethnic term *negro* (referring specifically to Haitians) in border cities in the Dominican Republic (Murray, 2010, pp.13-14). As a result, the study claims, "no Dominican in that part of the country, even those with black skin, will be called *negro* or *moreno*," a phenomenon prompting semantic and pragmatic questions (Murray, 2010, p.14).

I conducted approximately two weeks of fieldwork in Dajabón. I partnered with the director of the local *Casa de la Cultura* (cultural center), a *culturólogo* ('culturologist') and expert on the border region, to recruit participants for the study. Survey participants were drawn from a local university, and interview participants were drawn from the university and local non-profit organizations.

B. Participants

At each of the three research sites—Santiago, Santo Domingo, Dajabón—participants were recruited to participate in three tasks: (1) a photo description task gauging physical description, social characteristics, and Dominican typicality ("Survey 1"); (2) a photo

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[16] Source: *Dajabón en Cifras*, Oficina Nacional de Estadística, 2008

description task gauging physical description and Dominicanness ("Survey 2"); and (3) a
direct interview. Participant demographics and method of selection are described below.

1. Overall

The sample for the study comprises Dominican adults that represent a range of ages,
socioeconomic groups, sexes, and phenotypes. For purposes of the study, "Dominican
adults" are defined as individuals born and raised in the Dominican Republic that are at least
18 years old. Across tasks, 351 participants took part in the study. Of this number, 268
participants completed Survey 1; 64 participants completed Survey 2; and 23 participants
consented to the direct interview (four of the interview participants also completed Survey 1
or 2).
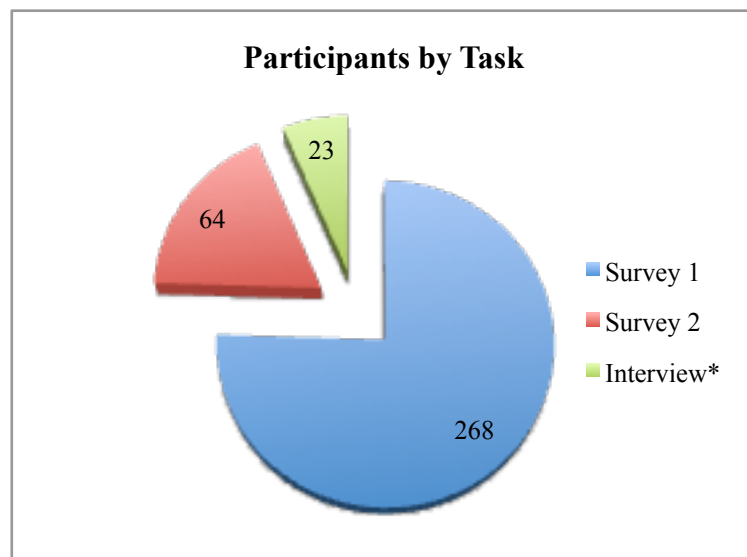
Figure 14: Participants by Task (Overall, n=351)

With the age of legal majority as a baseline, I recruited adult participants that represent a
variety of ages, to compare and contrast diachronic usage of racial terms. Age information
was collected via a biographical data questionnaire. The range of participant ages for all
sites is 18 to 73 years old. The breakdown of participants by age group appears in Figure 15

below.

Participants by Age
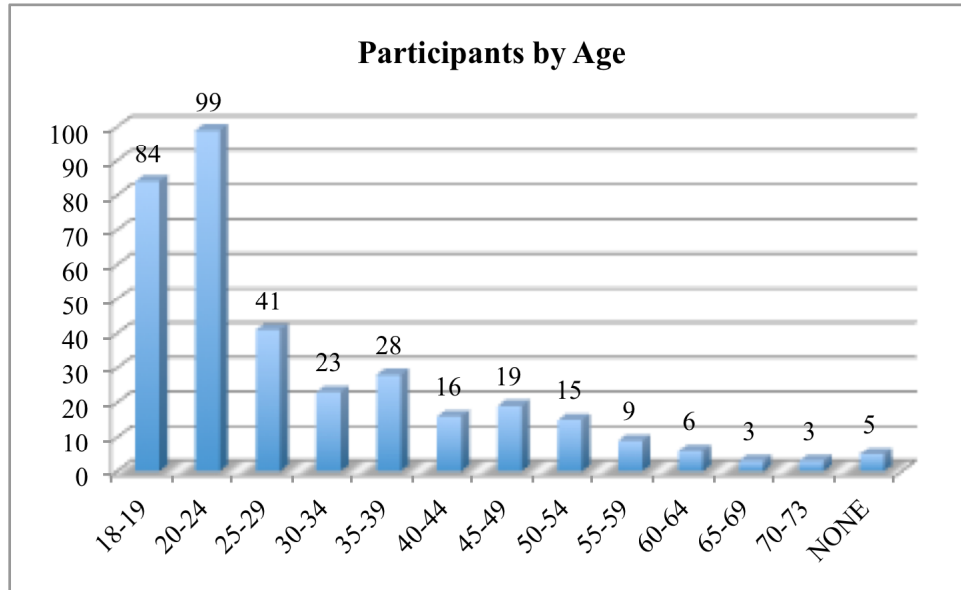
Figure 15: Participants by Age Group (Overall, n=351)

To ensure the most representative sample across socioeconomic levels, I recruited participants that represent a range of socioeconomic groups. To gauge socioeconomic group, I triangulated three factors: Neighborhood, Level of Education, and Profession. Among student participants, I initially gauged socioeconomic group via the public or private status and cost of attending their respective universities. With respect to the socioeconomic composition of neighborhoods, I consulted with local researchers (sociologists, anthropologists). During the study, participants reported information regarding neighborhood, education level, and profession on a biographical data questionnaire. Neighborhood and profession data will be discussed below in the sections for each research site. Level of education data appear in Figure 16 below.

Participants by Education Level
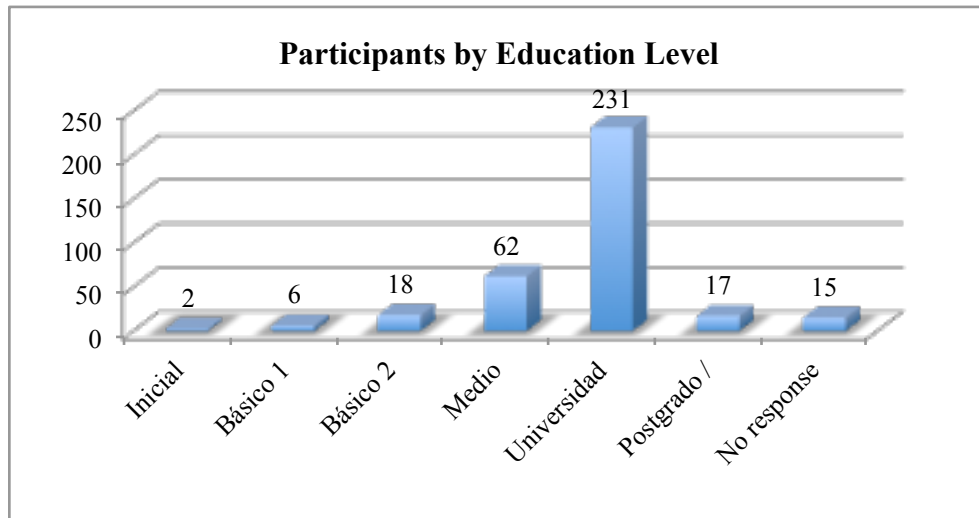
Figure 16: Participants by Education Level (Overall, n=351)

The Dominican education system comprises four main levels: (1) *Nivel inicial*, (2) *Nivel básico*, (3) *Nivel medio*, and (4) *Nivel superior*.[17] *Nivel inicial* is for children up to 6 years old and becomes compulsory at age 5. *Nivel básico* spans eight years and is divided into two cycles. The first cycle (denoted in the study as '*Básico 1*') is from 1st to 4th grades, and the second cycle (denoted in the study as '*Básico 2*') if from 5th to 8th grades. Attendance during *nivel básico* is obligatory. *Nivel medio* spans 4 years and is comparable to grades 9 through 12 in the United States. *Nivel medio* is not mandatory. *Nivel superior* is divided into two subcategories for purposes of the study: *Universidad* ('university') and *Postgrado / Profesional* ('graduate / professional'). Seventy percent of participants in the sample had completed (or were in the process of completing) university or postgraduate degrees.

To account for and analyze possible differing use of race and skin color terms by the sexes, I recruited participants that represent both sexes. The sample includes slightly more women (55 percent) than men (44 percent). This is due to sampling convenience factors.

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[17] Ley General de Educación No. 66-97
(http://www.oas.org/juridico/spanish/mesicic2_repdom_sc_anexo_7_sp.pdf)

Chapter 4: Experimental Methodology

The data analysis accounts for participant sex as a variable to determine whether this factor influences race and skin color classification. Participant information by sex appears in Figure 17 below.
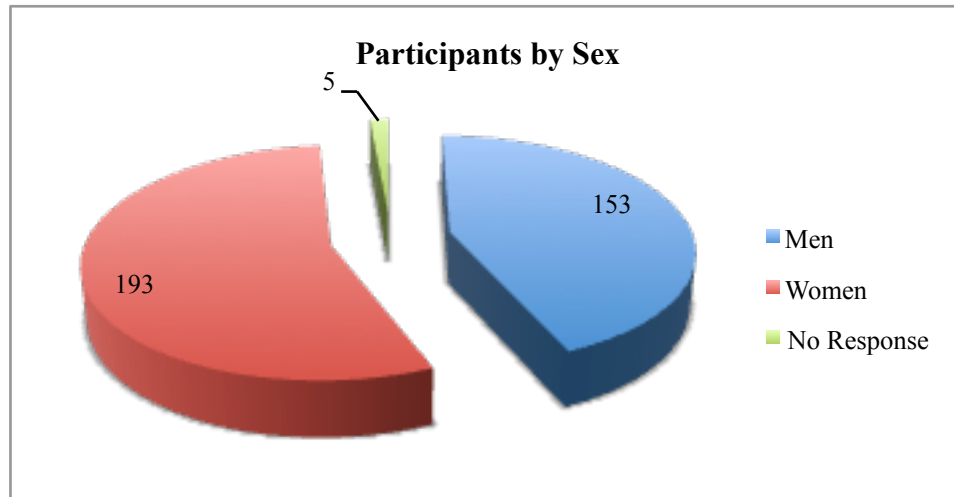
Figure 17: Participants by Sex (Overall, n=351)

To compare and contrast the use of racial terms by individuals of different phenotypes, I recruited participants with diverse phenotypes. In addition to visually observing each participant, I gauged phenotype via the description of skin color on each participant's *cédula*. On the front of the *cédula* is a category designated as *Piel* ('Skin'), and one of four letters will appear in this category: B, I, M, or N. At the *Junta Central Electoral* in Santiago, personnel informed me that the letter on the *cédula* corresponds to a skin color descriptor that appears in its full form in the system. The letter "B" represents *blanco/a*. The letter "I" represents *indio/a*. As of 2011, the category *indio/a* has been eliminated as a skin color descriptor for the *cédula*, due to a legal reform that requires *cédula* categories to correspond to ethnicity (e.g., *blanco, negro, mulato*).[18] Notwithstanding this change, however, the

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[18] http://www.listindiario.com/la-republica/2011/11/11/210557/RD-sera-de-negros-blancos-y-mulatos

majority of participants in the sample still hold *cédulas* that pre-date the change. The letter "M" is understood to represent three subcategories: *mestizo/a, mulato/a,* and *moreno/a.* The letter "N" represents *negro/a.* Participant information by phenotype is listed in Figure 18. In these data, "No Response" represents the number of participants that did not report the skin color description from their *cédula*.
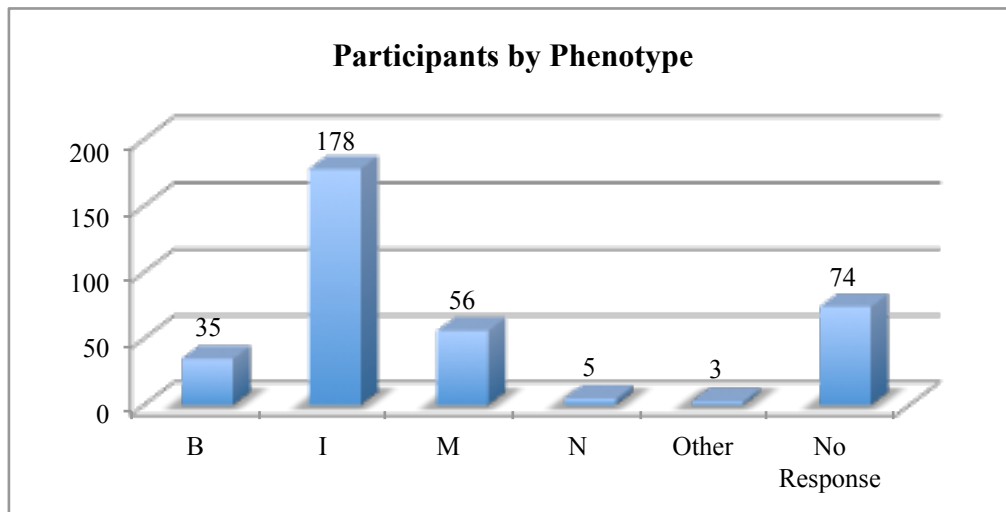
Figure 18: Participants by Phenotype (Overall, n=351)

The overall participant demographics are summarized in Table 24 below.

Table 24. Participant Demographics (Overall, n=351)

Participant Demographics	
Total Participants	n=351
Age	18-73
Sex	*Hombre*: 153 *Mujer*: 193 No response: 5
Cédula (Skin Color)	B (*Blanco*): 35 I (*Indio*): 178 M (*Mestizo, Moreno, Mulato*): 56 N (*Negro*): 5 Other: 3 No response: 74
Education Level	*Inicial*: 2 *Básico 1*: 6 *Básico 2*: 18 *Medio*: 62 *Universidad*: 231 *Postgrado / Profesional*: 17 No response: 15

Region	Santiago: 150 Santo Domingo: 161 Dajabón: 40

2. Santiago de los Caballeros

This section will discuss the participants and sample selection procedures for Santiago. In Santiago, 150 participants participated in two research tasks according to the following distribution: Survey 1 (144 participants), Interview (7 participants, with one interview participant overlapping both tasks). Participants for Survey 1 were selected using a Quota Sampling procedure. To determine these quotas, I first observed the characteristics of the population and determined that the sample should be representative in four respects: Sex, Phenotype, Age, and Socioeconomic Group. Then, I collaborated with a local sociologist to construct the sample.

The sample includes academic and community populations. For the academic sample, I selected two universities—one large and private with a high cost of attendance (High Cost University), and the second small and private with a low cost of attendance (Low Cost University)—whose students represented a range of socioeconomic groups. At each university, I first met with administrators to obtain consent to conduct the study. Once the project was approved, administrators referred me to professors whose students would serve as participants for the study. One class was sampled at High Cost University, and two classes were sampled at Low Cost University (Table 25). The total participants in the academic population was 66, comprising 44 percent of the sample.

Table 25. Academic Population Distribution (Santiago Sample)

Academic Population	
Site	No.
High Cost University	22
Low Cost University	44
Class 1	16
Class 2	28
Total	66

For the community sample, I began with the list of neighborhoods sampled by Guzmán (1974). From this list, I worked with a local sociologist to identify city sectors that represented working class, middle class, and upper-middle class populations. Once we identified the relevant sectors, the sociologist gave me the contact information for the president of the *junta de vecinos* ('neighborhood council') for each site. I then called the president of the *junta de vecinos* for each of the identified neighborhoods, explained the project and how many people I would need, and set up a time to meet with participants from that area. At one of the research sites, my contact from the *junta de vecinos* put me in contact with a community leader from a nearby municipality and public employees from the local government. Thus, the community sample comprises participants from working, middle, and upper-middle class neighborhoods in Santiago, from a neighboring rural municipality, and local public employees. The 78 community participants comprise 52 percent of the sample. The distribution by sector appears in Table 26 below.

Table 26. Community Sample Distribution (Santiago)

Community Sample		
Barrios Tradicionales		19
La Joya	9	
Pueblo Nuevo	4	
La Otra Banda	6	
Grupo Socioeconómico Medio		8
Reparto Montero	3	
Kokette	5	
Grupo Socioeconómico Medio-alto		10
Iglesia Sión	7	
Centro León	3	

Community Sample	
Rural Municipality	24
Los Almácigos	24
Public Employees	17
Gobernación	9
Escuela Genaro Pérez	8
Total	78

Interview participants were selected using a Convenience Sample of individuals willing to participate. The seven participants come from working class, middle class, and upper-middle class settings. Five of the Interview participants are from High Cost University; one is from La Otra Banda (a working-class neighborhood), and one is from Reparto Montero (a middle-class neighborhood). Interview participants (6 mutually exclusive from Survey 1 participants) comprise 4 percent of the sample population.

The following sections describe the sex, phenotype, age, and socioeconomic group information for the Santiago Sample.

Sex. The Santiago sample comprises 70 men and 79 women, and one participant that did not report his or her sex on the biographical questionnaire. This yields a distribution of 47 percent men and 53 percent women. Participant sex is included as a factor in the data analysis.

Phenotype. For the purpose of this study, representative phenotype is gauged by the skin color classification listed on each participant's *cédula*: B (*blanco, blanca*), I (*indio, india*), M (*mulato, mulata, mestizo, mestizo, moreno, morena*), and N (*negro, negra*). Participants self reported this information on a biographical information questionnaire. Participants in the Santiago sample represent the groups B, I, and M on the *cédula*. Of 125 given responses, the *cédula* classifies 22 participants as "B," 81 participants as "I," and 22 participants as "M."

Age. Participants in Santiago cover a broad range of ages and generational perspectives. Participants in the Santiago sample range in age from 18 to 71. Within this range, the distribution is as summarized in Table 27. Due to the academic community sampling, younger respondents are highly represented in the sample. This distribution, however, is also consistent with the national population distribution from Figure 12. Age is initially included as a factor in the data analysis, and preliminary explorations reveal that age is not among the most salient variables in determining racial categories.

Table 27. Age Distribution (Santiago)

AGE	
18-19	34
20-24	41
25-29	13
30-34	11
35-39	13
40-44	8
45-49	9
50-54	9
55-59	4
60-64	4
65-69	3
70-71	1
Total	150

Socioeconomic Group. In addition to the university-cost and neighborhood sampling conducted in the preliminary sampling stage, participants represent a variety of educational and professional backgrounds. The sample contains participants from each level of the Dominican education system: *Inicial, Básico 1, Básico 2, Medio, Universidad, Postgrado/Profesional.*

Table 28. Education Level Distribution: Overall and Community Only (Santiago)

Education Level: Overall	
Inicial (0-6 years old)	1
Básico 1 (1st to 4th grade)	4
Básico 2 (5th to 8th grade)	8
Medio (1st to 4th year of *bachiller*)	23
Universidad	97
Postgrado/Profesional	11
Unclassified	6
	150

Education Level: Community Sample Only	
Inicial (0-6 years old)	1
Básico 1 (1st to 4th grade)	4
Básico 2 (5th to 8th grade)	8
Medio (1st to 4th year of *bachiller*)	23
Universidad	33
Postgrado/Profesional	9
Unclassified	6
	84

The largest concentration of participants has completed (or was in the process of completing) studies at the University level. When the Academic Population is removed from the sample, the distribution appears much more comparable.

Profession was also included in the sample's socioeconomic considerations. For the Academic Population, participants are either students or professors. Representative professions from the community sample appear in Table 29 below.

Table 29. Profession Data (Santiago)

Professions - Santiago			
Administración de Empresas ('Business administration')	4	*Educación: Maestro / Técnico / Educadora* ('Education: Teacher, [Education] Specialist / Educator')	10
Ama de casa ('Homemaker')	8	*Electricista / Plomería* ('Electrician / Plumber')	3
Automóvil: Chofer / Motoconcho / Mecánico ('Automotive: Driver / [Public Transportation] Driver / Mechanic')	6	*Empleado Público* ('Public Employee')	1
Barbero / Peluquero ('Barber')	2	*Estudiante* ('Student')	2
Chef ('Chef')	2	*Ingeniería Civil* ('Civil Engineering')	1
Comerciante / Colmadero / Vendedor ('Businessman / Store Owner / Salesman')	4	*Pintor* ('Painter')	1
Contabilidad ('Accounting')	3	*Policía Nacional* ('National Police')	1
Derecho / Abogado / Asistente Legal ('Law / Lawyer / Legal Assistant')	5	*Publicidad* ('Advertising')	1
Diseño gráfico / Informática ('Graphic Design / Computer Science')	3	Other	25
Doctora / Psicología clínica ('Doctor / Clinical Psychology')	2		
		Total	84

As can be observed, the community sample comprises individuals with a variety of

professions: law, business, education, automotive, electrician, plumber, homemaker, etc. This diversity is exemplified in the two most frequent professions for participants in the sample. The most frequent category is Education professions, and the second most frequent category is Homemaker.

3. Santo Domingo

This section discusses the participants and sample selection procedures for Santo Domingo. In Santo Domingo, 161 participants participated in three research tasks according to the following distribution: Survey 1 (124 participants), Survey 2 (31 participants), Interview (9 participants, with three interview participants overlapping Surveys 1 and 2).

Participants for Surveys 1 and 2 were selected using Quota and Snowball Sampling procedures. I first observed the characteristics of the population and determined that the sample should be representative in the same four respects as in Santiago: Sex, Phenotype, Age, and Socioeconomic Group. Then, I collaborated with a local anthropologist, linguists, and social researchers to construct the sample.

As in Santiago, the Santo Domingo Sample includes academic and community populations. For the academic sample, I selected three universities—one small and private with a low cost of attendance (Low Cost University), one large and private with a high cost of attendance (High Cost University), and one large and public (Public University)—whose students represent a range of socioeconomic groups. At each university, I first met with administrators to obtain consent to conduct the study. Once the project was approved, administrators again referred me to professors whose students would serve as participants for the study. One class was sampled at Low Cost University; one class was sampled at High Cost University, and two classes were sampled at Public University (Table 30). The total

participants in the academic population were 80, comprising 49.69 percent of the Santo

Domingo sample.

Table 30. Academic Population Distribution (Santo Domingo)

Academic Population	
Site	No.
Low Cost University	27
High Cost University	23
Public University	30
Class 1	14
Class 2	16
Total	80

For the community sample, I consulted with a local anthropologist, linguists, and social

researchers to target *barrios* ('[poorer] neighborhoods') in Santo Domingo, academic and

social organizations, municipalities in Santo Domingo Este and Santo Domingo Norte, and

the neighboring community of La Caleta / Boca Chica. Once we identified the relevant

sectors, I was given contact information for a contact person at each site. At each site, I

explained the project and how many people I would need to the contact person, and the

contact person introduced me to participants from that area. Thus, the community sample

comprises participants from *barrios* in Santo Domingo, academic and social organizations,

municipalities, and a neighboring community. The 74 community participants comprise

45.96 percent of the sample. The distribution by sector appears in Table 31 below.

Table 31. Community Sample Distribution (Santo Domingo)

Community Sample		
Barrios		25
Ensanche Espaillat	18	
Guachupita	7	
Academic and Social Organizations		20
Centro Bonó	15	
Academia de Ciencias	5	
Municipality: Santo Domingo Este		8
Los Tres Brazos	8	
Municipality: Santo Domingo Norte		9
Sabana Perdida Sur	9	

Community Sample	
Neighboring City	11
La Caleta	11
Government Employees	1
INDRHI	1
Total	74

Interview participants were selected using a Convenience Sample of individuals willing to participate. The eight participants come from *barrio*, academic, municipality, neighboring community, and upper-middle class settings. One interview participant is from Guachupita (*barrio*); one is a professor from an academic setting; three participants are from municipalities (Santo Domingo Este, Sabana Perdida Sur); one participant is from La Caleta (neighboring community); one participant is a government employee; and two are from upper-middle class backgrounds. Interview participants (5 mutually exclusive from Survey participants) comprise 3 percent of the sample population.

The following sections describe the sex, phenotype, age, and socioeconomic group information for the Santo Domingo Sample.

Sex. The Santo Domingo sample comprises 92 women and 66 men, and three participants that did not report their sex on the biographical questionnaire. This yields a distribution of 41 percent men and 57 percent women. Participant sex is included as a factor in the data analysis.

Phenotype. Participants in the Santo Domingo sample represent the groups B, I, M, and N on the *cédula*. Of 128 given responses, the *cédula* classifies 9 participants as "B," 82 participants as "I," and 32 participants as "M," and 5 participants as "N."

Age. Participants in the Santo Domingo sample range in age from 18 to 73. Within this range, the distribution is as summarized in Table 32. Due to the academic community sampling, younger respondents are highly represented in the sample. This distribution,

however, is also consistent with the national population distribution from Figure 12. Age is

initially included as a factor in the data analysis, and preliminary explorations reveal that age

is not among the most salient variables in determining racial categories.

Table 32. Age Distribution (Santo Domingo)

AGE	
18-19	47
20-24	43
25-29	21
30-34	11
35-39	12
40-44	5
45-49	8
50-54	5
55-59	3
60-64	1
65-69	0
70-73	2
NR	3
Total	161

Socioeconomic Group. In addition to the university-cost and sector sampling conducted

in the preliminary sampling stage, participants represent a variety of educational and

professional backgrounds. The sample contains participants from each level of the

Dominican education system: *Inicial, Básico 1, Básico 2, Medio, Universidad,*

Postgrado/Profesional.

Table 33. Education Level: Overall and Community Sample (Santo Domingo)

Education Level: Overall	
Inicial (0-6 years old)	1
Básico 1 (1st to 4th grade)	1
Básico 2 (5th to 8th grade)	10
Medio (1st to 4th year of *bachiller*)	39
Universidad	102
Postgrado/Profesional	6
Unclassified	2
	161

Education Level: Community Sample Only	
Inicial (0-6 years old)	1
Básico 1 (1st to 4th grade)	1
Básico 2 (5th to 8th grade)	10
Medio (1st to 4th year of *bachiller*)	37
Universidad	24
Postgrado/Profesional	5
Unclassified	3
	81

The largest concentration of participants has completed (or was in the process of

completing) studies at the University level. When the Academic Population is removed from

the sample, the distribution appears much more comparable.

Profession was also included in the sample's socioeconomic considerations. For the

Academic Population, participants are either students or professors. Representative

professions from the Community Sample appear in Table 34 below.

Table 34. Profession Data (Santo Domingo)

Professions Santo Domingo			
Activista en Derechos Humanos ('Human Rights Activist')	1	*Guardaparque / Medioambiente* ('Park Guard / Environment')	1
Actriz ('Actress')	1	*Ingeniería* ('Engineering')	2
Agricultor ('Farmer')	1	*Instructor de buceo* ('Scuba Instructor')	1
Ama de Casa ('Homemaker')	2	*Mecánico automóvil* ('Automobile Mechanic')	1
Artes Manuales ('Manual Arts')	1	*Modista* ('Fashion Designer')	1
Banca ('Bank' [Sports Betting Facility])	1	*Obrero* ('Laborer')	3
Comerciante / Mercadotecnia ('Businessman / Marketing')	7	*Periodista* ('Journalist')	1
Constructor ('Builder')	1	*Pescador* ('Fisherman')	1
Derecho ('Law')	4	*Promotora* ('Promoter')	1
Educación: Profesora / Técnico ('Education: Professor / [Education] Specialist')	3	*Psicología clínica* ('Clinical Psychology')	2
Electricista ('Electrician')	1	*Tecnología: Soporte técnico / Informático / Impresor gráfico* ('Technology: Technical Support / Programmer / Graphic Printer')	3
Enfermería ('Nursing')	2	Other	30
Estudiante ('Student')	8		
		Total	80

As can be observed, the community sample comprises individuals with a variety of

professions: business, law, education, labor, agriculture, etc.

4. Dajabón

This section discusses the participants and sample selection procedures for Dajabón. In

Dajabón, 40 participants participated in two research tasks according to the following distribution: Survey 2 (33 participants), Interview (7 participants). Participants for Survey 2 were selected using Convenience Sampling procedures. I collaborated with a local folklorist and a university professor to construct the sample, which was to include academic and community populations. For the academic sample, I selected the primary local university—a small, private institution part of a national university. I first obtained consent to conduct the study. Once the project was approved, the university professor with whom I worked to construct the sample referred me to students that would serve as participants for the study. Three classes were sampled. The total participants in the academic population were 33, comprising 82.5 percent of the Dajabón sample.

Interview participants were selected using a Convenience Sample of individuals willing to participate. The seven participants represent several diverse perspectives. Three of the participants come from local non-profit organizations; one is the director of a local cultural organization; one works in agriculture; one is a university professor; and one is from a local educational center. Interview participants comprise 17.5 percent of the sample population. The following sections describe the sex, phenotype, age, and socioeconomic group information for the Dajabón Sample.

Sex. The Dajabón sample comprises 22 women and 17 men, and one participant that did not provide a sex on the biographical questionnaire. This yields a distribution of 42.5 percent men and 55 percent women. Sex is included as a factor in the data analysis.

Phenotype. Participants in the Santo Domingo sample represent the groups B, I, and M on the *cédula*. Of 24 given responses, the *cédula* classifies 4 participants as "B," 18 participants as "I," and 2 participants as "M."

Age. Participants in the Dajabón sample range in age from 18 to 64. Within this range, the distribution is as summarized in Table 35. Due to the academic community sampling, younger respondents are highly represented in the sample.

Table 35. Age Distribution (Dajabón)

AGE	
18-19	3
20-24	15
25-29	7
30-34	1
35-39	3
40-44	3
45-49	2
50-54	1
55-59	2
60-64	1
65-69	0
70-73	0
NR	2
Total	40

Socioeconomic Group. The sample contains participants from three levels of the Dominican education system: *Medio, Universidad, Postgrado / Profesional.* The largest concentration of participants has completed (or was in the process of completing) studies at the University level. Education Level will be included as a factor in the data analysis.

Table 36. Education Level Distribution: Overall (Dajabón)

Education Level: Overall	
Inicial (0-6 years old)	0
Básico 1 (1st to 4th grade)	0
Básico 2 (5th to 8th grade)	0
Medio (1st to 4th year of *bachiller*)	1
Universidad	30
Postgrado/Profesional	2
Unclassified	7
	40

C. *Data Collection*

This section discusses the data collection procedures for the study. It comprises a discussion of the researcher's position in the study, a description of the methods and

instruments, and a discussion of data reliability.

1. The Researcher's Position

Scholars of social research have emphasized the importance of considering the position between the researcher and the research (e.g., Barbour, 2007; Blaikie, 2010; Green & Dixon, 2008; Pole & Morrison, 2003). As I study the system of knowledge that comprises the Dominican racial setting, I acknowledge my position as a racialized body in the social space. Because of previous experience in the Dominican Republic and in Dominican communities in the U.S., I expected to be described as *morena*. Over the course of the project, I learned that my physical appearance positions me within several descriptive categories: *morena, negra, india, trigueña, mestiza, prieta*. How I am described in a particular situation varies according to the person that describes me and the purpose for the description.

Figure 19: Photos of Researcher in the Dominican Republic

During field research, I visited the *Junta Central Electoral*—the government body responsible for issuing the *cédula*—and was informed by an employee that I would be officially classified as *morena*. This classification is consistent with the primary form in

which people described and addressed me over the course of the study. When used to describe me, *morena* had both neutral and charged uses. In its neutral use, *morena* served as a common form of address for people that did not know my name. It was not uncommon for employees at a business to address me as *morena* to ask a question or give a directive, or for survey participants, particularly those outside of the university setting, to address me in this way. In the neutral form, both men and women used *morena* to describe me. In the charged form, men on the street would incorporate *morena* into their greetings or pick-up lines. Some examples of *morena* usage appear in Table 37 below.

Table 37. Examples of *Morena* Usage to Describe Researcher

Examples of *Morena* Usage		
Mira, morena 'Look, morena'	Man	Supermarket: Clerk setting aside a candy bar from my other groceries
Morena, ¿te vas a pintar? *Morena,* are you going to paint [your nails]?	Woman	Nail Salon: Nail technician to me
¿Y tú, morena? And you, *morena*?	Woman	Vendor offering services
Morena, no subas tanto los pies. *Morena*, don't lift your feet up [so high]	Man	Zipline operator giving me safety instructions
Morena, ven acá. *Morena*, come here.	Woman	Survey participant to catch my attention
Hola, morena. *wink* Hi, *morena*. *¿Qué me dices, morena?* What do you say, *morena*? *¡Morena, me llamo José!* *Morena,* my name is José! *Y esa morena, ¿de dónde es?* And that *morena*, where is she from?	Men	Greetings by men on the street

Although I was primarily described as *morena*, I was also frequently addressed as *negra*. This descriptor was primarily used by men that called out to me on the street. Its use was much less neutral. Men that addressed me as *negra* typically also made reference to my beauty, body, or desirability.

Table 38. Examples of *Negra* Usage to Describe Researcher

Examples of *Negra* Usage		
Guau, ¿qué fue, negra? Wow, what's up, *negra*?	Man	Greetings by men on the street
Negra, dime, ¿es celoso tu esposo? *Negra*, tell me, is your husband [a] jealous [man]?	Man	
Una negra tan bella así A beautiful *negra* like this	Man	
Negra, do you like me?	Man	
Tienes un culito lindo, negra You have a nice ass, *negra*	Man	
Negrota [*Negra* with intensifier relating to size]	Man	
Negra [Greeting]	Woman	Greeting by a friend

I was also described much less frequently as *trigueña, india, mestiza,* and *prieta.* I did not expect to be described as *trigueña*. People did not address me as *trigueña*, but, during conversations about the project, five individuals did describe my color as *trigueña*: two professors, a lawyer, a law student, and a sound engineer. Interestingly, the people that described my color as *trigueña* also described themselves as *trigueño*. I was occasionally described and addressed as *india*. This occurred much less frequently than the other descriptors, and I could not discern a pattern for its use to describe me. One interview participant described me as *mestiza,* but also *negra*. I was least frequently described as *prieta*. On one occasion, a participant used *prieta* to talk about my tan, and another used the term to talk about my beauty.

Irrespective of the chosen description, people – those in the study and others – fairly uniformly agreed that I looked Dominican. This positioned me as an insider and fostered authentic interaction, particularly in the observational setting. My accent in Spanish was noticeably distinct—sometimes tinged with Anglicized pronunciation or mannerisms, and at others with traces of peninsular Spanish vocabulary or pronunciation. With time, I developed a more Dominican way of speaking. Regarding my physical appearance and my

accent, one professor told me, "You look so Dominican that, if you changed your accent just a little bit, you could even become president" ('*Tú pareces tan dominicana que si cambiaras un poquito el acento podrías llegar a ser hasta presidente*').

I acknowledge that I bring to this study a perspective informed by my knowledge of and experience in the U.S. racial setting. So as not to project my external understanding of race onto the Dominican racial setting, I constantly reassessed and critically evaluated my position in the research setting. Moreover, prior experience with the Dominican Republic and with Dominican immigrant and Dominican York communities in New York informed the initial conceptualization of the project. During six months of fieldwork, I took advantage of opportunities to connect with people and integrate myself into the community.

When people evaluated me, they pointed to a number of intangible qualities that helped them to relate to me. Participants told me that I did not seem American ('*No pareces americana*'), but rather *Latina*; that I must have some tiny drop of Dominican blood ('*una gotica de sangre dominicana*'); that I have a Dominican empathy ('*una empatía dominicana*'); and that, as a *gringa aplatanada* (lit. 'plaintained American,' an expression used to describe an assimilated outsider), I had honorary insider status. In Santo Domingo, a university administrator told me, "*Bienvenida a tu tierra*" ('Welcome to your [home]land').

2. Methods and Instruments

To collect quantitative and qualitative data, I employed a mixed methodology approach that involved phenomenological research—ethnography, observation, and interviews—and survey research—biographical and photo description questionnaires. This section discusses each method and the associated instruments.

Chapter 4: Experimental Methodology

a. Ethnographic Methods

At each research site, I began the study by conducting ethnographic participant observation. As I moved through the community, I observed the ways in which people talked about race and skin color. Because people in the Dominican Republic speak very freely about color, everyday activities and interactions served as a rich environment for data collection. I observed these interactions at gyms, churches, universities, bookstores, supermarkets, cultural centers, private homes, walking down the street, and on public transportation. I immersed myself in the local environment to enrich my cultural and analytical perspective. During this phase, in addition to observation, I took detailed field notes on the use of racial terms, photographed relevant data from the environment (Figure 20), and had informal conversations about notions of race and color.

Figure 20: Photographs from the Research Environment

The images that appear in Figure 19 are photographs of common usages of racial terms in the research environment. The image on the left is a popular hot breakfast cereal brand—Harina El Negrito. In this product name, *El Negrito* describes the man in the product's logo. *Harina El Negrito* is such a well-known brand, in fact, that the American food corporation The Quaker Oats Company markets its brand of hot cereal in the Dominican Republic using a reference to *Harina de Negrito* (although, in the case of Quaker, *negrito* does not describe

the logo but rather the local cereal brand). The image on the right is a Help Wanted sign that appeared in the window of a restaurant in Santo Domingo—'A *moreno* is needed to work'.[19]

The ethnographic phase of the project was particularly important at the first research site (Santiago), as I was recruiting models for the photo description questionnaire, finalizing the survey instruments, and refining interview questions. The materials for the entire study were finalized during the initial participant observation period in Santiago. During this phase, I deepened my understanding of what physical profiles comprised the terms analyzed in this study: *blanco/a, colorao/a, indio/a, jabao/a, moreno/a, mulato/a, negro/a, pelirrojo/a, prieto/a, rubio/a*, and *trigueño/a*. I used this knowledge to decide which photos to include as part of the description task to successfully elicit the focal terms. I recruited 48 models for participation in the study: 23 male (Figure 21), 25 female (Figure 22). Three individuals consented to have their photos included in the study but not used in presentations or publications (MALE_1, MALE_8, FEMALE_17). As such, these images are anonymized.

Of the 23 males recruited as models, MALE_4 is Puerto Rican; MALE_19 is a Dominican living in the U.S.; MALE_21 is a Dominican living in Spain; and the remaining models were recruited from educational settings in the Dominican Republic. Of the 25 females recruited as models, FEMALE_3 is a model that I located on the internet; FEMALE_16 is a multiracial American; FEMALE_4 is a Dominican living in the U.S.; and the remaining models were recruited from educational settings in the Dominican Republic.

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[19] At the sight of such explicit usage of racial terms in branding and advertisement, many Americans are taken aback, without realizing that similar phenomena also occur in the United States. Specifically, I am referring to brands such as "Uncle Ben's Rice" and "Aunt Jemima" pancake mixes and syrups. The "Uncle" and "Aunt" in these brand names are also racial, when coupled with the images in the brand logos, in that they derive from ways of addressing older slaves during the period of U.S. slavery.
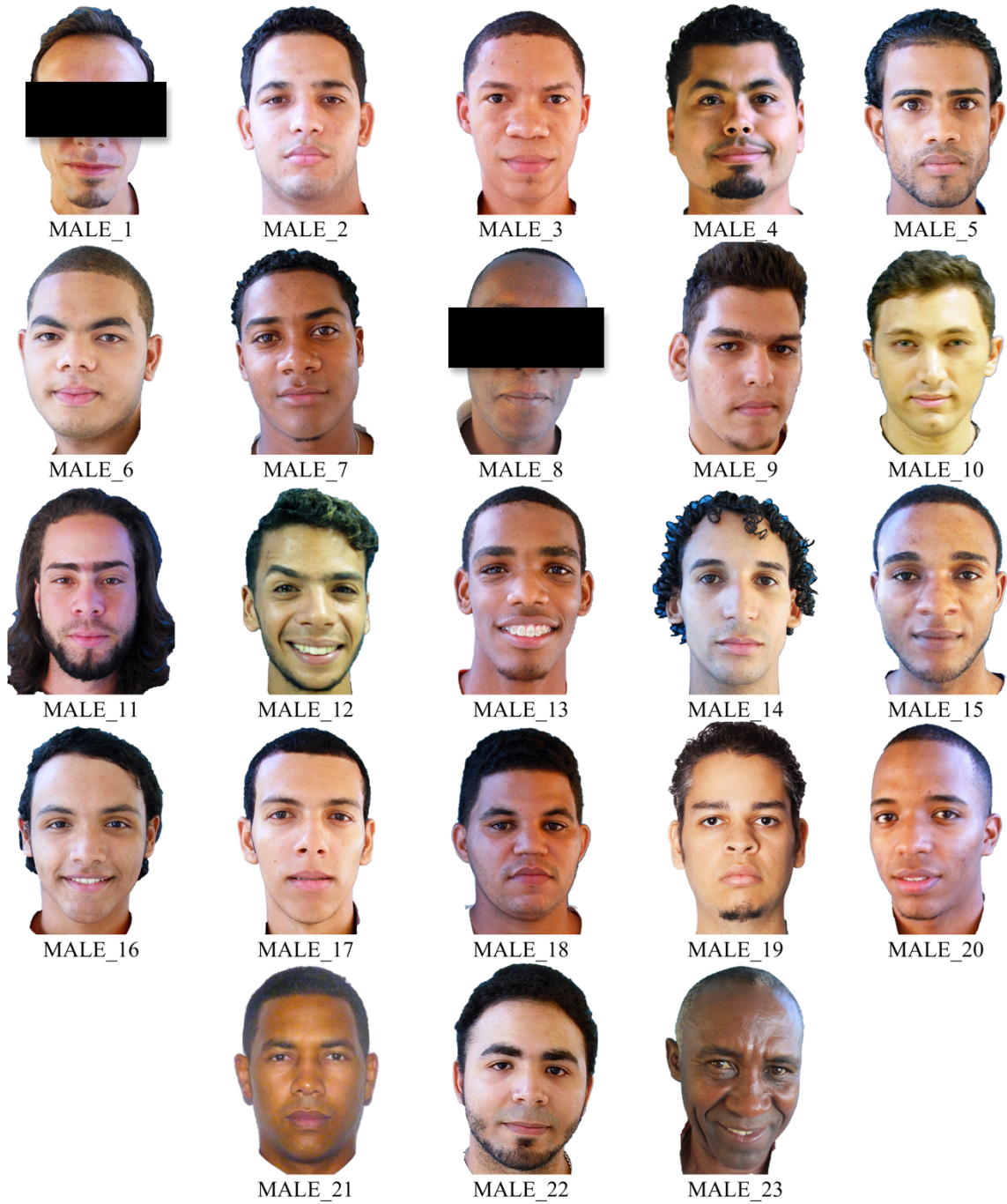
Figure 21: Male Faces Recruited as Models for the Study

Figure 22: Female Faces Recruited as Models for the Study

b. Survey Research

Following the initial participant observation at each research site, I began the survey

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research phase of the study. To carry out this phase, I developed and applied three survey instruments: (1) a brief biographical questionnaire; (2) a photo description survey describing social characteristics, *matiz racial*, and typicality ("Survey 1"); and (3) a photo description survey describing *matiz racial* and *dominicanidad* ("Survey 2"). Each instrument is described below.

i. Biographical Questionnaire

All survey participants (n=332) were asked to complete a biographical questionnaire before beginning the photo description task (Appendix 1). I designed the questionnaire to elicit demographic information about the participants that could be integrated into quantitative and qualitative analysis. As such, the questionnaire asked participants to provide the following information: Age, Sex, Race, Skin color (Self-description), Skin color (*Cédula*), Place of birth (city, country), Parents' place of birth (city, country), Place of upbringing (city, country), Current residence (city, neighborhood), Residence in other countries, Level of education, and Profession.

In consultation with a local sociologist, I included three categories intended to specifically elicit terms for the study: Race, Skin Color (Self-description), and Skin Color (*Cédula*). While these categories have the potential to overlap, the inclusion of each broadens the field of potentially available terms. Both race and skin color are sought here as research has shown that, while Dominicans generally conflate race, ethnicity, and nationality to a single descriptor—*dominicano* ('Dominican'), *haitiano* ('Haitian'), etc., skin color distinctions are more readily made (e.g., Bailey, 2002, p.166; Davis 1994, p.119). The category of skin color is divided into two separate questions to gauge the difference between official description and self-description.

For recordkeeping purposes, the bottom right corner of each biographical questionnaire was marked with a 6 to 8 digit code that indicated the research site and questionnaire number (e.g., STI058, SDQ101, DAJ003, SDQ_MR001). This code was also printed on the bottom right corner of Surveys 1 and 2 to track participant responses and link response with biographical information for the anonymous questionnaire.

ii.   Survey 1: Social Characteristics, Physical Description, Typicality

Participants in Santiago and Santo Domingo (n=268) were asked to complete a photo description task that gauged perceptions of social characteristics, physical description, and notions of Dominican typicality ("Survey 1," Appendix 2). From the 48 recruited models, I selected 16 images (8 female, 8 male) for inclusion in Survey 1 (Figure 23).
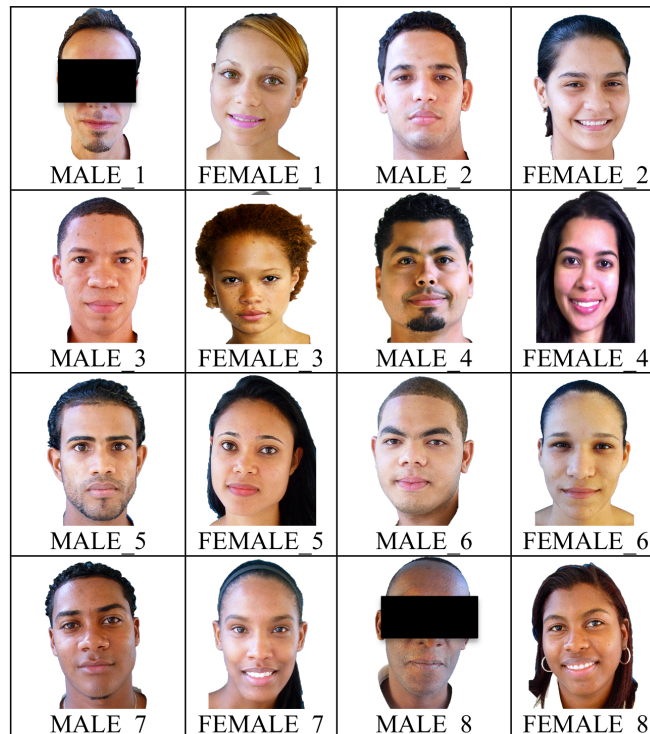
Figure 23: Images for Survey 1 Photo Description Task

These images were selected to test hypotheses regarding whether the photos would elicit the focal terms of the study. The numbers assigned to these images, 1 through 8, represent a

spectrum from light to dark. Thus MALE_1 and FEMALE_1 were hypothesized to evoke

the term *rubio*; MALE_2 and FEMALE_2 were hypothesized to evoke the term *blanco*;

MALE_3 and FEMALE_3 were hypothesized to evoke the terms *pelirrojo, colorao,* and

jabao; MALE_4 and FEMALE_4 were hypothesized to evoke the term *trigueño*; MALE_5

and FEMALE_5 were hypothesized to evoke the term *indio*; MALE_6 and FEMALE_6

were hypothesized to evoke the term *mulato*; MALE_7 and FEMALE_7 were hypothesized

to evoke the term *moreno*; and MALE_8 and FEMALE_8 were hypothesized to evoke the

term *negro*. Survey 1 comprises three tasks: (1) Social Characteristics, (2) Physical

Description, and (3) Typicality.

The Social Characteristics task asked participants to evaluate perceived social

characteristics of the 16 Survey 1 models. For each of the 16 images, participants were

asked to give their perceptions regarding 13 social factors representing Superiority,

Attractiveness, and Dynamism (Zahn & Hopper, 1985) on a semantic differential scale

(Friborg et al., 2006). Two descriptors represent each factor on the survey instrument, and

these descriptors represent the poles of the described characteristic. A summary of the

factors and descriptors appears in Table 39.

Table 39. Factors Evaluated in the Social Characteristics Task

	Factor	Poles	
Superiority	Intelligence	*Inteligente*	*Bruto*
	Education	*Educado*	*Ignorante*
	Wealth	*Rico*	*Pobre*
Attractiveness	Physical Attractiveness	*Atractivo*	*Feo*
	Goodness	*Bueno*	*Malo*
	Kindness	*Amable*	*No amable*
	Honesty	*Honesto*	*Deshonesto*
Dynamism	Talkativeness	*Hablador*	*Callado*
	Aggressiveness	*Pasivo*	*Agresivo*
	Sureness of Self	*Seguro*	*Inseguro*
	Work Ethic	*Trabajador*	*Vago*
	Sense of Humor	*Divertido*	*Aburrido*

	Factor	Poles	
Other	Strength	*Fuerte*	*Débil*

Participants evaluated the social characteristics of each image on a separate page, as shown in Figure 24.

EDUCADO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**IGNORANTE**
INTELIGENTE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**BRUTO**
ATRACTIVO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**FEO**
SEGURO DE SÍ MISMO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**INSEGURO**

Figure 24: Semantic Differential Scale for Social Characteristics Task

Each page contains the number of a corresponding image (1-16), two columns of factor descriptors, and a series of dots (Figure 24). The five dots that appear between the factor descriptors represent the range of possible evaluations for a given factor. As an example, consider the descriptors *Educado* and *Ignorante*. Beginning on the left, the first dot represents *muy educado* ('very educated'); the second represents *más educado que ignorante* ('more educated than ignorant'); the third *ni educado ni ignorante* ('neither educated nor ignorant'); the fourth *más ignorante que educado* ('more ignorant than educated'), and the fifth *muy ignorante* ('very ignorant'). The instructions for the task and the meaning for each dot appear on the first page of the survey instrument. At each site, before participants began the Social Characteristics task, I went through the instructions and example and answered any questions. I randomized the order of the descriptors for each page, and I created three versions of the questionnaire.

To complete the task, each participant was given a set of sixteen laminated 4 x 6-inch color photographs. The photos had a hole punched in the upper left corner and were joined with a binder ring. In this way, the participants evaluated a single image at a time. The upper right corner of each image was marked with a number (1-16) that corresponded to the

numbers on each page of the survey instrument. I produced 30 sets of these photographs, with 10 randomized orders.

After the Social Characteristics task, participants completed the Physical Description Task. For this task, participants looked at the same 16 images and described the *matiz racial* ('racial shade/nuance') of the person in the photo. Participants were instructed to describe the *matiz racial* of the person in each photo using one of the words appearing in a box on the page (*blanco/a, colorao/a, indio/a, jabao/a, moreno/a, mulato/a, negro/a, pelirrojo/a, prieto/a, rubio/a, trigueño/a*) or another adequate word. The order of the words appearing in the box was randomized to account for variation.

After the Physical Description task, participants completed the Typicality Task. For this task, participants were asked to indicate which of the 16 images most represents the *dominicano típico* ('typical Dominican'). The Typicality Task appears on the same page as the Physical Description task. Once participants completed all three tasks, I recorded the participant number, questionnaire version, and photo sequence on a master log to facilitate data analysis.

iii.   Survey 2: Physical Description, *Dominicanidad*

Participants in Santo Domingo and Dajabón (n=64) were asked to complete a photo description task that gauged physical description and notions of *dominicanidad* ("Survey 2," Appendix 3). All 48 recruited models were included in Survey 2 (including those in Figure 25). Participants that completed Survey 1 did not complete Survey 2.

Figure 25: Images for Survey 2 Photo Description Task

Survey 2 comprises two tasks: (1) Physical Description and (2) *Dominicanidad* ('Dominicanness'). For the Physical Description task, participants looked at 48 images and described the *matiz racial* ('racial shade/nuance') of the person in the photo. As in Survey 1, participants were instructed to describe the *matiz racial* of the person in each photo using one of the words appearing in a box on the page (*blanco/a, colorao/a, indio/a, jabao/a, moreno/a, mulato/a, negro/a, pelirrojo/a, prieto/a, rubio/a, trigueño/a*) or another adequate word. The order of the words appearing in the box was randomized to account for variation, and I created three versions of the questionnaire.

To complete this task, each participant was given a set of six laminated 8 ½ x 11-inch photo pages. Eight 2 x 3-inch color photographs appeared on each laminated page. The pages had a hole punched in the upper left corner and were joined with a binder ring. The upper right corner of each image was marked with a number (1-48) that corresponded to the numbers on the survey instrument. I produced 20 sets of these photographs, with three

randomized orders.

After the Physical Description Task, participants completed the *Dominicanidad* Task. For this task, participants looked at the same 48 images and indicated whether the person in each photo was Dominican by checking *Sí* ('yes') or *No*. Once participants completed both tasks, I recorded the participant number, questionnaire version, and photo sequence on a master log to facilitate data analysis.

c. Direct Interview

In conjunction with the survey research portion of the study, I conducted direct interviews at each research site. I conducted 22 interviews over the course of the study: 7 in Santiago, 8 in Santo Domingo, and 7 in Dajabón. I recorded each interview with a digital audio recorder and took notes during the interview. I developed preliminary interview questions before arriving to the Dominican Republic and refined the interview questions during the ethnographic observation stage of the study.

The length of each interview varied from 19 minutes to 1 hour and 53 minutes, depending on each participant's time restrictions. In each interview, I explained the purpose of the study and asked questions orally about the study's eleven focal terms: *rubio, blanco, pelirrojo, colorao, jabao, trigueño, indio, mulato, moreno, negro, prieto*. Because of the variation in interview length, as well as other contextual factors, all participants did not describe all focal terms.

For the interview portion of the study, I designed questions to elicit information about the meaning and norms for deployment for the study's focal racial terms. With respect to the physical parameters of meaning for each term, I asked about skin color, hair color, hair texture, and facial features (Guzmán, 1974). For some categories, participants also invoked

additional characteristics of the body. With respect to social parameters of meaning, I asked

about conditions of use—*who* may use the term? *how* may the term be used; the association

between race and region—whether there is a region that participants associate with *blancos*,

for example; and the shared societal knowledge about these terms that is contained in

sayings, popular music, and pick up lines. I additionally asked participants how they

described themselves based on their physical appearance and how others described them.

Some examples of interview questions appear below.

> *¿Cómo es el* blanco *dominicano?*
> 'What is the Dominican *blanco* like?'
>
> *¿Cuáles son las formas de* blanco *que usted ha escuchado para describir a personas?*
> 'What are the forms of *blanco* that you have heard for describing people?'
>
> *¿Se puede usar* blanco *como un llamado?*
> 'Can *blanco* be used [to call out to someone]?'
>
> *¿Se puede usar* blanco *como un apodo?*
> 'Can *blanco* be used as a nickname?'
>
> *¿Existen refranes sobre el* blanco*?*
> '[Are there] sayings / proverbs about the *blanco*?'
>
> *¿De qué ciudades o regiones típicamente vienen los dominicanos* blancos*?*
> 'From what cities and regions do Dominican *blancos* typically come?'
>
> *¿Cómo se diferencia el* blanco *del* rubio*?*
> 'How does [one] distinguish between the *blanco* and the *rubio*?'
>
> *¿Cómo se describe usted por su apariencia física?*
> 'How do you describe yourself given your physical appearance?'
>
> *¿Cómo lo / la describen los demás?*
> 'How do others describe you?'

As some participants answered these questions, they talked about the origin and ideology

of the terms. Other participants pointed to public figures, people walking by, pictures from

the study, to themselves and their families, or to me to illustrate what types of characteristics

they associated with each category. When I was used as a reference, participants generally

discussed my skin color and hair color. For related categories, such as *rubio* and *blanco* or *moreno* and *negro*, I also asked participants how or whether they differentiated between categories. These questions supplement the survey and observation data by providing information about meaning and norms for deployment that would not otherwise be immediately apparent.

3. Reliability of the Data

The methods for this study control for the reliability of both the quantitative and the qualitative data.

With respect to the reliability of the surveys, I designed the survey instruments to secure consistent results across participants and across research sites. For Survey 1, I created three versions of the questionnaire (A, B, and C), varying the order of the social characteristics and the order of *matiz racial terms*. I additionally used a random number generator to create ten different photo sequences (a-j). For Survey 2, I also created three versions of the questionnaire (A2, B2, C2), and, for this survey, I used a random number generator to create three photo sequences (a2, b2, c2). As a preliminary step to the quantitative analysis, I examined the results across questionnaire versions and photo sequences for each survey and found no significant variation.

With respect to the reliability of the qualitative data, I collected the data from multiple sources (e.g., participant observation, interviews) using multiple methods (Denzin, 1970; Flick, 2007). Additionally, before beginning the interview phase, I conducted informational interviews with local scholars regarding themes to address in each interview and particulars about the phrasing of questions.

D. Data Analysis

This section discusses the qualitative and quantitative approaches used to analyze the data for the study. The section first addresses the amount of data analyzed and then discusses specific data analysis methods.

1. Amount of Data

The data collection methods for the study have yielded a broad data set, comprising multiple data types. The types and amounts of data appear in Table 40.

Table 40. Amount of Data by Type

	Data Type	Amount	
1	Field Notes	5 notebooks	
2	Biographical Questionnaire	332	STI: 144, SDQ: 155, DAJ: 33
3	Survey 1	268	Social Characteristics: 55,536 data points *Matiz Racial*: 4,288 data points *Dominicano Típico*: 268 data points
4	Survey 2	64	*Matiz Racial*: 3,072 data points *Dominicanidad*: 3,072 data points
5	Interviews	22	15h:50m

The data set comprises: five notebooks of field notes (Santiago: 2, Santo Domingo: 2, Dajabón: 1); 332 biographical questionnaires; 268 surveys for Survey 1 (Social Characteristics: 55,536 data points, *Matiz Racial*: 4,288 data points, *Dominicano Típico*: 268 data points); 64 surveys for Survey 2 (*Matiz Racial*: 3,072 data points, *Dominicanidad*: 3,072 data points); 22 interviews (15 hours, 50 minutes).

2. Data Analysis

To prepare the data for quantitative analysis, I entered the information from the biographical questionnaires, Survey 1, and Survey 2 into three separate Excel spreadsheets. For the biographical questionnaires, for each participant, I entered each biographical fact

(e.g., age, sex) in a separate column. For Survey 1, I entered information for each participant, *matiz racial* descriptors, and social characteristics ratings in separate columns. For Survey 2, I entered information for each participant, *matiz racial* descriptors and evaluations of Dominicanness in separate columns. Using each Excel file as a separate data frame, I loaded the data into R statistical software to run an association rules analysis.

Because of the size of the overall data set and the categorical nature of variables such as 'participant description,' 'image description,' and 'social characteristics,' association rule techniques are ideally suited for detecting relationships or associations across variables. Specifically, I use the *a-priori* algorithm to process the data set for associations using predefined values for "confidence" and "support" (see Agrawal, Imielinski, & Swami, 1993; Agrawal & Srikant, 1994; Witten & Frank, 2000). The *a-priori* algorithm yields 'if-then' rules of the form '*If* variable X *then* variable Y.' In the case of *matiz racial* descriptions, such a rule might take the form '*If* (PARTICIPANT_DESCRIPTION=INDIO) *then* (IMAGE_DESCRIPTION=INDIO)'. The algorithm formulates these rules based on relative frequencies (support) and conditional probabilities (confidence). To more closely examine these relationships, I additionally employ 2x2 cross-tabulation tables that compare the relative frequency of two variables.

To prepare the data for qualitative analysis, I first indexed each interview by typing a detailed outline of key information, quotations, and themes from the interview with accompanying time stamps into a text file. After I created the initial index for each interview, I coded all interviews using unique thematic codes that I developed for the present analysis. Once I coded all interviews, I culled coded excerpts relating to frequency, forms, region, description, functions, and visual representations of the terms *rubio, blanco,*

pelirrojo, colorao, jabao, trigueño, indio, mulato, moreno, negro, and *prieto*. For each term, I then synthesized participant responses and developed analyses of the parameters of physical and social meaning encoded in each term. The following sections discuss data analysis methodology for specific research questions.

a. Research Question 1

What physical information is embedded in the racial terms rubio, blanco, pelirrojo, colorao, jabao, trigueño, indio, mulato, moreno, negro, *and* prieto *in the Dominican Republic?*

To analyze the quantitative data regarding physical information embedded in the focal racial terms, I conducted an association rules analysis on the *Matiz Racial* data from Survey 1 and Survey 2, respectively. For each analysis, I input data frames with the factors listed in Table 41 into the R statistical software and instructed the program to find association rules within the data using the *a priori* algorithm, a support value of 0.01, and confidence values of 0.501 (Survey 1) and 0.65 (Survey 2). For Survey 1, this analysis yields 388 rules, implicating different combinations of the five variables. For Survey 2, this analysis yields 124 rules, implicating different combinations of the five variables.

Table 41. Factors for Association Rules Analysis (RQ1)

Survey 1	RESEARCH SITE	Site where survey conducted
	PARTICIPANT SEX	Participant self description of sex
	PARTICIPANT DESCRIPTION	Participant self description of skin color
	IMAGE	Image being described (e.g. MALE_4)
	DESCRIPTION	Description of *matiz racial* of image
Survey 2	RESEARCH SITE	Site where survey conducted
	PARTICIPANT SEX	Participant self description of sex
	PARTICIPANT DESCRIPTION	Participant self description of skin color
	IMAGE	Image being described (e.g. MALE_4)
	DESCRIPTION	Description of *matiz racial* of image

To specifically analyze the interaction of skin color, hair color, and eye color with racial

categories, I conducted an association rules analysis on the *Matiz Racial* data from Survey 1

and RGB values (Red-Green-Blue levels) extracted from the images FEMALE_1-8 and

MALE_1-8.[20] RGB values derive from a color model that groups red, green, and blue light

to produce a broad spectrum of colors. These values are primarily used to represent color on

television and computer monitors, as well as in digital and conventional photography.

Because the core of Survey 1 is a photo description task, measuring the RGB value of each

image pinpoints the color that participants are perceiving when they view the images.

Moreover, these values represent the colors that participants perceive and evaluate based on

the photo, rather than some inherent characteristic of the person in each image.

Survey 1	DESCRIPTION	Description of *matiz racial* of image
	SkinRGB	Average RGB value of image skin color
	HairRGB	Average RGB value of image hair color
	EyesRGB	Average RGB value of image eye color

To analyze the way in which the RGB value of skin color interacts with racial

categories, I took three steps. First, to determine the skin color represented in each image, I

extracted the RGB value from three different points on the face: the middle of the forehead,

the nose, and the chin. From these three values, I took the mean of the R, G, and B segments

and used the composite mean value to represent the skin color for a given image. To

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[20] While facial features and hair texture are also projected to influence phenotype classifications, the present analysis does not examine this interaction statistically. At this stage, the decision is deliberate. Measuring factors such as the shape or size of the nose or mouth of the individual in the photo was not a viable alternative here, because the notion evokes images of the early days of race science (e.g., measuring cranium size, nose width, etc. to determine differences among races). Rather, I proposed to include commonly-used categories that characterize facial features: *fino, regular, ordinario*. When I asked a small focus group to describe the facial features of the 16 images in Survey 1 using the terms *fino, regular,* and *ordinario*, members did not reach a consensus that would lend itself to viable statistical analysis. I will revisit the inclusion of facial features and hair texture in future analyses.

determine the eye color represented in each image, I extracted the RGB value from three different points on the iris: the lightest part, the darkest part, and an intermediate shade. From these three values, I took the mean of the R, G, and B segments and used the composite mean value to represent the eye color for a given image. To determine the hair color represented in each image, I extracted the RGB value from three different points of the hair: the lightest part, the darkest part, and an intermediate shade. From these three values, I took the mean of the R, G, and B segments and used the composite mean value to represent the hair color for a given image.

Second, I used a *k-means* cluster analysis to divide the 16 images into clusters based on similarity in RGB values. For skin color, this analysis yields six clusters (Table 42). I arrived at six clusters by also testing the distribution of the images using three clusters, four clusters, and five clusters, respectively. The present distribution maximizes homogeneity within each cluster (as compared to the 3-, 4-, and 5-cluster arrangements). Higher RGB values correspond to images with lighter skin tones, and lower RGB values correspond to images with darker skin tones, such that we would expect cluster images to have skin colors that range from light to dark in the following order: Cluster 6 (231-195-202), Cluster 2 (217-169-162), Cluster 5 (217-155-133), Cluster 1 (203-140-90), Cluster 3 (199-130-107), and Cluster 4 (176-108-87).

Table 42. Clusters based on Skin Color RGB values (Cluster mean in parentheses)

Cluster 1 (203-140-90)	Cluster 2 (217-169-162)	Cluster 3 (199-130-107)
FEMALE_3 203-140-90	MALE_5 215-167-153 FEMALE_2 224-178-171 FEMALE_4 225-158-163 FEMALE_6 203-171-160	FEMALE_7 206-134-109 FEMALE_8 192-126-104
Cluster 4 (176-108-88)	**Cluster 5 (217-155-133)**	**Cluster 6 (231-195-202)**
MALE_7 181-108-89 MALE_8 170-108-87	MALE_1 225-164-140 MALE_3 221-148-132 MALE_4 221-151-126 MALE_6 199-151-134 FEMALE_1 214-164-144 FEMALE_5 224-153-119	MALE_2 231-195-202

For eye color, the *k-means* cluster analysis yields four clusters (Table 43). I arrived at four clusters by also testing the distribution of the images using three clusters. With four clusters, the distribution within each cluster is sufficiently homogeneous to obtain interpretable results. Higher RGB values represent lighter eye colors, while lower RGB values represent darker eye colors. With this understanding, we expect the eye colors in each cluster to move from lighter to darker in the following order: Cluster 3 (100-104-96), Cluster 1 (90-55-50), Cluster 4 (58-40-38), and Cluster 2 (27-18-23).

Table 43. Clusters based on Eye Color RGB values (Cluster means in parentheses)

Cluster 1 (90-55-50)	Cluster 2 (27-18-23)	Cluster 3 (100-104-96)	Cluster 4 (58-40-38)
MALE_2 96-46-41 MALE_5 96-62-60 MALE_6 78-55-52 FEMALE_5 88-57-48	MALE_4 22-23-27 FEMALE_2 34-18-22 FEMALE_3 16-6-2 FEMALE_4 35-23-40	MALE_1 98-105-106 FEMALE_1 102-102-86	MALE_3 61-34-35 MALE_7 55-24-23 MALE_8 55-46-48 FEMALE_6 52-42-36 FEMALE_7 66-51-50 FEMALE_8 60-43-36

For hair color, the *k-means* cluster analysis also yields four clusters (Table 44). I arrived at four clusters by also testing the distribution of the images using three clusters. With four clusters, the distribution within each cluster is sufficiently homogeneous to obtain

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interpretable results. Higher RGB values represent lighter hair colors, while lower RGB values represent darker hair colors. With this understanding, we expect the hair colors in each cluster to move from lighter to darker in the following order: Cluster 4 (117-92-71), Cluster 3 (73-41-34), Cluster 2 (26-30-40), and Cluster 1 (18-20-25).

Table 44. Clusters based on Hair Color RGB values (Cluster mean in parentheses)

Cluster 1 (18-20-25)	Cluster 2 (26-30-40)	Cluster 3 (73-41-34)	Cluster 4 (117-92-71)
MALE_2 27-22-26	MALE_5 30-31-39	MALE_3 66-48-52	MALE_1 95-75-67
MALE_4 16-26-28	MALE_8 33-34-43	FEMALE_3 88-42-15	MALE_6 102-80-66
MALE_7 18-19-23	FEMALE_4 26-25-35	FEMALE_8 65-34-35	FEMALE_1 155-120-80
FEMALE_2 11-14-24	FEMALE_6 15-28-41		
FEMALE_5 20-19-25			
FEMALE_7 16-22-25			

Third, I created a data frame with four variables: SkinRGB, EyesRGB, HairRGB, and DESCRIPTION. Because I am interested in examining how racial categories (and not individual images) interact with the RGB data, I did not include the image numbers in the data frame. I input these data into the R statistical software and instructed the program to find association rules within the data using the *a priori* algorithm and support and confidence settings of 0.01 and 0.501, respectively. This analysis yielded 250 rules, implicating different combinations of the four variables.

To analyze qualitative data regarding the physical information embedded in the focal racial terms, I culled from interview participant responses information regarding skin color, hair color and texture, facial features, and other body features associated with each racial category.

b. Research Question 2

What social information is embedded in the racial terms rubio, blanco, pelirrojo,

colorao, jabao, trigueño, indio, mulato, moreno, negro, *and* prieto *in the Dominican*

Republic?

To analyze the quantitative data regarding social information embedded in the focal

racial terms, I conducted an association rules analysis on the Social Characteristics data

from Survey 1. For this analysis, I set the confidence value to 0.8 and the support value to

0.05 and input the factors listed in Table 45.

Table 45. Factors for Association Rules Analysis (RQ2)

Survey 1	DESCRIPTION	Description of *matiz racial* of image
	EDUCATION	Rating from 1-5
	INTELLIGENCE	Rating from 1-5
	ATTRACTIVENESS	Rating from 1-5
	SURENESS OF SELF	Rating from 1-5
	AGGRESSIVENESS	Rating from 1-5
	WEALTH	Rating from 1-5
	GOODNESS	Rating from 1-5
	KINDNESS	Rating from 1-5
	HONESTY	Rating from 1-5
	TALKATIVENESS	Rating from 1-5
	WORK ETHIC	Rating from 1-5
	SENSE OF HUMOR	Rating from 1-5
	STRENGTH	Rating from 1-5

This analysis yields 139 rules, all of which illustrate relationships across social

characteristics (e.g., goodness, kindness) but do not address the relationships between social

characteristics and racial categories. When the confidence value is lowered to 0.2,

association rules for social characteristics and racial categories emerge, but the complexity

of the rules does not lend itself to a clear explanation of the relationship. In light of this fact,

I employ two alternative methodologies to explore relationships across social characteristics

and across racial categories: (1) heatmap diagram, and (2) cross-tabulation tables. A

heatmap diagram first converts levels of measurement to colors and then clusters variables

based on levels of correlation. The heatmap in Figure 26 is an example. The discussion in

Chapter 6 interprets the heat map.
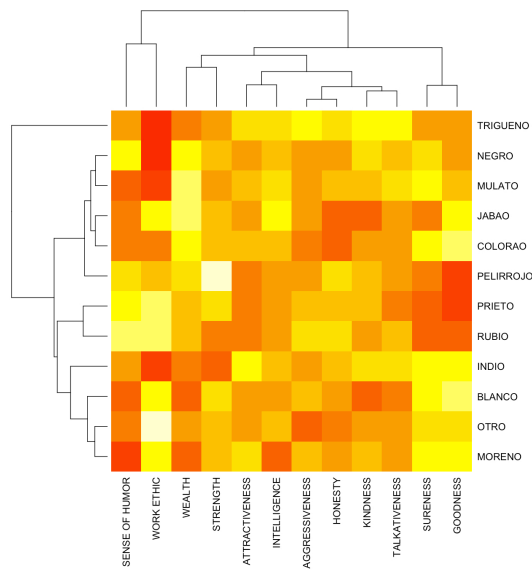
Figure 26: Example of Heatmap

A cross-tabulation table represents the frequency data for two or more variables. The cross-tabulation of variables allows the researcher to examine frequency data across variables. This examination of frequency facilitates the detection of relationships between and among variables. Figure 27 is an example of a cross-tabulation table that contains frequency data for the variables DESCRIPTION and EDUCATION. The top row represents the six levels of the variable EDUCATION—five individual ratings and a column for no response given. The first column contains the 13 levels of the variable DESCRIPTION: the 11 focal terms, a consolidated "Other" category, and a row for no response given. The bottom row gives the overall frequency percentage for each level of EDUCATION, based on a total number of data points of 4,272. The rows in the middle cross-tabulate the frequency percentage for each level of EDUCATION by DESCRIPTION. A comparison of these percentages with the overall frequency percentages allows for an analysis of overrepresentation and underrepresentation for each category. The discussion in chapter 6

further explores this cross-tabulation table.

	Muy Educado	Mas Educado	Ni Educado Ni Ignorante	Mas Ignorante	Muy Ignorante	None	
Blanco/a	285 (32.5%)	235 (26.8%)	166 (18.9%)	90 (10.3%)	69 (7.9%)	31	876
Colorao/a	52 (33.8%)	45 (29.2%)	35 (22.7%)	8 (5.2%)	10 (6.5%)	4	154
Indio/a	262 (31.0%)	280 (33.2%)	139 (16.5%)	91 (10.8%)	49 (5.8%)	21	844
Jabao/a	57 (19.1%)	75 (25.1%)	92 (30.8%)	42 (14.1%)	15 (5.0%)	18	299
Moreno/a	172 (25.8%)	226 (33.9%)	158 (23.7%)	54 (8.1%)	34 (5.1%)	23	667
Mulato/a	91 (25.1%)	103 (28.4%)	86 (23.7%)	44 (12.1%)	26 (7.2%)	13	363
Negro/a	76 (28.0%)	74 (27.3%)	61 (22.5%)	31 (11.4%)	21 (7.8%)	8	271
Pelirrojo/a	21 (21.9%)	26 (27.1%)	25 (26.0%)	12 (12.5%)	7 (7.3%)	5	96
Prieto/a	18 (16.5%)	35 (32.1%)	34 (31.2%)	14 (12.8%)	7 (6.4%)	1	109
Rubio/a	74 (27.3%)	76 (28.0%)	62 (22.9%)	38 (14.0%)	15 (5.5%)	6	271
Trigueño/a	76 (27.4%)	99 (35.7%)	53 (19.1%)	30 (10.8%)	13 (4.7%)	6	277
OTHER	26 (59.1%)	7 (15.9%)	5 (11.4%)	3 (6.8%)	2 (4.6%)	1	44
BLANK					1		1
	1210	1281	916	457	271	137	4272
	28.32%	29.99%	21.44%	10.70%	6.34%	3.21%	

Figure 27: Example of Cross-Tabulation Table

To analyze qualitative data regarding the social information embedded in the focal racial terms, I culled from interview participant responses information regarding sayings, popular music, pick up lines, and other social perceptions associated with each racial category.

c. Research Question 3

How has the meaning of the racial terms rubio, blanco, pelirrojo, colorao, jabao, trigueño, indio, mulato, moreno, negro, *and* prieto *changed over time in the Dominican Republic?*

For this analysis, I position the data from the contemporary portion of the study against the backdrop of the historical portion and analyze continuities as well as innovations that have developed since the colonial period.

d. Research Question 4

What does the meaning of the racial terms rubio, blanco, pelirrojo, colorao, jabao, trigueño, indio, mulato, moreno, negro, *and* prieto *reveal about the notion of* raza *in the*

Dominican Republic?

To analyze the quantitative data regarding how participants understand *raza*, I first use frequency data to analyze participant self description of race from the Biographical Questionnaire. Based on the distribution of these data, I identify subcategories or paradigms into which participant descriptions regarding *raza* may be organized. Then, I conduct an association rules analysis on the Biographical Questionnaire. For this analysis, I input a data frame with the factors listed in Table 46 into the R statistical software and instructed the program to find association rules within the data using the *a priori* algorithm, a support value of 0.01, and a confidence value of 0.501. This analysis yields 157 rules, implicating different combinations of the four variables. Although the variable AGE appears in many of the rules, it does not specifically interact with the factor RACE. Thus, the analysis in Chapter 6 discusses the interaction of location, race, and education level.

Table 46. Factors for Analysis (RQ4)

Biographical questionnaire	LOC	Research site
	AGE	Participant self description of age
	RACE	Participant self description of race
	EDUCATION LEVEL	Participant self description of education level

e. Research Question 5

How do the racial terms rubio, blanco, pelirrojo, colorao, jabao, trigueño, indio, mulato, moreno, negro, *and* prieto *interact with notions of typicality in the Dominican Republic?*

To analyze the quantitative data regarding how the focal racial terms interact with notions of typicality in the Dominican Republic, I conducted an association rules analysis on the *Dominicano Típico* data from Survey 1 and the Dominicanness data from Survey 2. For each analysis, I set the confidence value to 0.501 and the support value to 0.01 and input the

data frames with the factors listed in Table 47.

Table 47. Factors for Association Rules Analysis (RQ5)

Survey 1	RESEARCH SITE	Site where survey conducted
	PARTICIPANT DESCRIPTION	Participant self description of skin color
	IMAGE	Image described as typical
	DESCRIPTION	Description of *matiz racial* of image
Survey 2	RESEARCH SITE	Site where survey conducted
	PARTICIPANT DESCRIPTION	Participant self description of skin color
	DESCRIPTION	*Matiz racial* of described image
	DOMINICANNESS	Evaluation of Dominicanness (Yes/No)

To analyze qualitative data regarding how the study's focal racial terms interact with notions of typicality, I additionally culled from interview participant responses information regarding the physical characteristics of the 'typical Dominican'.

E. *Limits of the Study*

The present study contemplates some limitations. First, adding additional participants and additional research sites in the Dominican Republic could increase the representativeness of the present study. The study draws its participants from the two largest cities in the Dominican Republic—Santo Domingo and Santiago—and one border city. Because results of the present analysis indicate that the physical and social meaning of the study's focal racial terms have regional inflections, the question arises whether the addition of cities in the south, the east, other border cities, and more rural areas within the country may reveal additional inflections.

Second, adding clothing, jewelry and other contextual cues to the images included in the study may reveal additional layers of the interaction between racial terms and social meaning. For the present analysis, participants have seen faces removed from social and physical context. Because the analysis reveals that some categories are determined by additional characteristics of the body, the present analysis might set the groundwork for a

study that examines how these additional physical features factor into the physical meaning of each racial term. Additionally, the addition of clothing or other social information such as zone of residence or occupation might reveal additional layers of social meaning embedded in the study's focal racial terms.

Third, because of time constraints and participant availability, there is significant variance in the length of participant interviews. As mentioned previously, as a result, all participants do not discuss all of the study's focal terms. Because I am not using quantitative methods to analyze the interview data, however, the difference in interview length does not impede thematic development.

F. Chapter Summary

This chapter started with a description of the research sites from which data for the study were collected. Research sites, here, include the three cities—Santiago, Santo Domingo, and Dajabón—as well as the myriad locations within each city where I was able to collect data. The chapter then moved to a discussion of demographic information for the study's participants, overall, by research site, and by research task. The third section of this chapter described the methods used for data collection—the researcher's position in the research setting, ethnographic methods, survey research methods and instruments, and interview research methods. The fourth section of this chapter described quantitative and qualitative methods for analysis of the data; and the final section discussed potential limitations.

El principio que los dominicanos no saben lo que hay fuera.
No, ellos conocen lo que se dice fuera, pero aquí se dice así.
Lo propio es así.
-Interview participant, Santo Domingo[21]

Chapter 5

'Our Way Is Like This'

Understanding the Internal Logic of the Dominican Racial System

As I conducted interviews in Santo Domingo, a participant commented, regarding external critique of the Dominican racial system, 'Understand, before reviling, before describing, before judging. To understand [the system] is to understand the internal logic' ("*Comprender, antes de denostar, antes que calificar, antes que juzgar. Comprender es entender la lógica interna,*" SDQ_INT1). The objective of this chapter thus, as with the entire dissertation, is to outline and analyze a complex system of racial categorization, with the objective of promoting understanding. To this end, the chapter analyzes interview data from participants located in Santiago, Santo Domingo, and Dajabón, Dominican Republic (Participant demographic information appears in Appendix 4) and comprises four sections. The first analyzes how participants racialize self using categories from the Dominican racial system. The second section explores how participants characterize the Dominican racial setting. The third section discusses how participants navigate the physical and social meaning embedded in Dominican racial categories; and the final section discusses the racialization of region.

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[21] 'The principle that Dominicans do not know what there is outside. No, they know what is said outside, but here it is said like this. Our [way] is like this' (SDQ_INT1).

(≈'white') and *negro* (≈'black').[23]

When participants describe themselves, however, there is much more variety in the terms used. Two participants identify as *trigueño*; two participants describe themselves as *indio* and two as *indio claro*; one participant describes himself as *moreno* and four describe themselves as *negro*; two participants describe themselves as *blanco*; one participant identifies as *jabá*; four participants describe themselves using overlapping categories— *morena* and *trigueña*, *mulata* and *india*, *amarillo* and *medio jabao*, *indio* and *trigueño*; one participant describes himself as 'not very European'; and four participants do not provide a self description. The specific physical and social meaning of all of these terms is discussed in Section C, but this initial contrast between *cédula* descriptions and self descriptions highlights several important considerations. First, a description of racial demographics in a particular setting can vary according to the source of the information. On government documents, for those reported, nearly everyone is *indio*; whereas, *indio* is one of ten descriptors that participants use when they describe themselves. Second, all race and skin color categories are not mutually exclusive. Participants specifically contemplate overlap across several categories. As she navigates the self description, the *cédula* description, and the way she is described by others, a participant in Santo Domingo emphasizes that, no matter her classification, she is Dominican first ('*Ahora, soy negra, morena, india, como sea. Yo soy dominicana antes que el rasgo de la piel, o de la raza,*' SDQ_INT8).

As participants describe themselves, several individuals affirm blackness with respect to

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[23] As mentioned in Chapter 3, since the early 20th century, forms of *indio* have been used to describe skin color, in the face of much internal and external criticism. Section C of this chapter further discusses the physical and social meaning of *indio*.

physical appearance or with respect to race. I set these responses against the backdrop of the conversation with which Chapter 1 of this dissertation opens. In that conversation between a Dominican official and a U.S. academic, when asked who would be considered *negro* in the Dominican Republic, the official responds, "I think nobody's *negro* here ... Dominicans are in complete denial of who they are." Participant responses across research sites problematize this sweeping generalization. A professor in Santiago describes how her husband, whom she describes as *blanco*, married a *negra*, 'which is me' ('*Se casó con una negra, que soy yo*,' STI_INT3). Another professor in Santiago describes blackness and race in professional and personal contexts. He states, 'I, [with] much pride, am *negro*' ('*Yo, a mucho orgullo, soy negro*,' STI_INT4). He goes on to describe how, when he makes this statement in his classes, his students, who would describe him as *indiecito claro*, ask incredulously, 'Professor, you're *negro*?' ('*Profe, ¿usted es negro?*' STI_INT4). He points to his nose, lips, and hair texture as markers of this identity. The professor then turns to the racial dynamics in his home. He has two daughters, and his wife is my color (*morena*). He describes how one of his daughters describes herself as *indiecita clara* and describes her sister as *indiecita oscura*. 'Careful,' he recounts telling her, 'here we are *negros* and [with] much honor' ('*Cuidado, aquí somos negros y a mucha honra*,' STI_INT4). Another participant in Santiago, a pharmaceutical salesman who describes himself as *moreno* simply states, 'The best color in the world is *negro*' ('*El mejor color del mundo es el negro*,' STI_INT9).

Participants in Santo Domingo also affirm the *negro* category. A participant who describes himself as *negro* addresses the tension between this self description and descriptions by others, 'One can call himself *negro*. I call myself *negro*. But that does not mean that [others] call him *negro*' ('*Uno se puede auto llamar negro. Yo me llamo negro.*

Pero no quiere decir que los demás lo llamen negro,' SDQ_INT1). Another participant, a student, describes how some people see blackness as the most undesirable thing. When I ask him how he describes his color, he responds, 'I am *negro*' ('*Yo soy negro*,' SDQ_INT4). When asked whether others would also describe him as *negro*, he responds that others call him *negro* or *morenito*. In light of his statement that *negro* can be viewed negatively, I ask whether *negro* is negative for him, to which he responds, 'For me, no. I feel proud of being a Dominican *negro*' ('*Para mí, no. Me siento orgulloso de ser un negro dominicano*,' SDQ_INT4). A female student in Santo Domingo also describes herself as *negra* (SDQ_INT8). Finally, a government employee that describes his physical appearance as *trigueño* identifies his race as *negro* and explains why:

> Yes, yes, it has to do [with provenance]. Although my family supposedly comes from France. That type of thing. My grandmother was *blanca*. They tell me that she [had fine features] and [all] that. But everyone that is born here, there is a saying – that they have *negro* behind their ear.

> ('*Sí, sí, tiene que ver. Aunque mi familia supuestamente viene de Francia. Ese tipo de cosas. Mi abuela era blanca. Me dicen que era fina y eso. Pero todos los que nacemos aquí, hay un dicho – que tienen el negro detrás de la oreja*,' SDQ_INT6).

Participants in Dajabón also position themselves with respect to *negro*. A local businessman states, 'Well, my description, because of [my] hair, then I am *trigueño*. I have *negro* there, but I also have other things. *Trigueño* means like [a] hodgepodge of various races' ('*Bueno, la descripción mía, por los cabellos, entonces yo soy trigueño. Tengo el negro allí, pero también tengo otras cosas. Trigueño quiere decir como me'colanza de varias razas*,' DAJ_INT2). A local folklorist confirms that his race is *negro* (DAJ_INT6). While these participants identify as *negro*, the director of a non-profit organization states that this is not the case for everyone, 'They do not want to accept a reality, that is that we are a country of *negros*, of *negros* and *mulatos*. This is a country of *negros* and *mulatos*' ('*No*

quieren aceptar una realidad, que es que nosotros somos un país de negros, de negros y mulatos. Éste es un país de negros y mulatos,' DAJ_INT5).

B. *Things Are Changing: Participants Characterize the Dominican Racial Setting*

This second section explores how participants characterize the Dominican racial setting—the nature of the system, its juxtaposition to other racial systems, how the notion of race is understood, race- and color- based discrimination, the notion of 'refining the race', how the system treats mixture, and the character of racial categories.

1. Nature of the System

Participants describe the Dominican racial system in terms of its breadth and demographics, its innovation, the persistent legacy of dictatorship, and the way in which the Dominican system racializes other nationalities. Overall, participants classify the Dominican racial system as broad, encompassing 'a bit of everything' ('*Un poco de todo,*' SDQ_INT1), ranging from *prieto* to *blanco* (SDQ_INT7). A participant in Santiago states, 'It is that we have, from *albinos* to very *morenos*, very aquiline nose, wide [nose], every type of color' ('*Es que tenemos, desde albinos hasta muy morenos, nariz muy perfilada, ancha, todo tipo de color,*' STI_INT5). While this breadth contemplates significant contemporary physical diversity, participants address the demographics of historical racial groups, 'There was almost the [complete] disappearance of the indigenous [population]' ('*Casi hubo la desaparición de los indígenas,*' STI_INT6). A participant in Santo Domingo comments on the relationship between physical appearance and descent when it comes to categorization in the Dominican racial system. For this participant, appearance and descent can play different roles depending on whether the descent at issue is Haitian descent. She states:

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It can be both. Because [of] what I'm telling you. Like I am telling you that the case of Haitians. Usually, *negros*. But there are white Haitians, green eyes. So, that, in some way or another. A white person, but the father is Haitian. Now that matters, in the discriminatory aspect, right?

'*Pueden ser los dos. Porque lo que te digo. Como te digo que el caso de los haitianos. Usualmente, negros. Pero hay haitianos blancos, ojos verdes. Entonces, eso, de alguna manera u otra. Una gente blanca, pero el papá es haitiano. Ya eso importa, en el aspecto discriminatorio, ¿verdad?*' SDQ_INT7).

Whereas, when a person is born to two Dominican parents that have different physical descriptions, the characteristics of the parents do not have to affect the description of the child. I ask the participant, 'If a person, [is] like you, mother *blanca*, father *indio*, they are not going to call you *india*?' 'No,' the participant responds, 'Appearance itself influences more' ('(EW) *Si una persona,* [es] *como usted, madre blanca, padre indio, ¿no le van a decir india?* (SDQ7) *No, influye más la apariencia en sí*,' SDQ_INT7).

A participant in Santo Domingo characterizes the Dominican racial system as one of innovation—new terms and new uses. When asked whether this system of neologisms is problematic or whether it results in confusion, the participant responds that it is not and does not (SDQ_INT1). For all of the system's innovations, for some participants, it continues to bear the legacy of the Trujillo dictatorship. A participant in Santiago states, 'Yes, it has to do with education and school … Before, all of the characters were *blancos*. All *blancos*. [In the] Spanish book. That has [started] changing … that people understand. African descent. Mixture of three races' ('*Sí, tiene que ver con la educación y la escuela … Antes, todos los personajes eran blancos. Blancos todos. Libro de español. Eso ha ido cambiando … que la gente entiende. Herencia africana. Mezcla de tres razas*,' STI_INT6).

Finally, participants describe the categories at the perimeter of the Dominican racial system—the poles, *negro* and *blanco*—and how individuals with these physical descriptions

may find their Dominicanness in question. A participant in Santo Domingo describes how

this process works, highlighting the importance of language:

> A person that does not seem physically Dominican, that is so white that we call him American, we can only recognize him as Dominican when he speaks. And [one] that is so black that we call him Haitian, we only recognize him as Dominican when he speaks. If he does not speak, well he is Haitian and he is American. [He] is outside of the system.

> ('*Una persona que no parece físicamente dominicano. Que sea tan blanco que lo llamamos americano. Sólo podemos reconocerlo como dominicano cuando habla. Y que sea tan negro que lo llamamos haitiano. Sólo lo reconocemos como dominicano cuando habla. Si no habla, pues es haitiano y es americano. Está fuera del sistema,*' SDQ_INT1).

Other participants confirm that *blanco* is associated with foreigners, particularly from

the U.S., and *negro* is frequently associated with Haitians (SDQ_INT5, SDQ_INT8,

DAJ_INT3, DAJ_INT7). At times, these two perceptions directly interact. A participant in

Dajabón relates an anecdote about an African-American Peace Corps volunteer who comes

to the Dominican Republic. While he is there, a forest fire breaks out, and the police round

up everyone in the area to go put out the fire. When the police see the volunteer they grab

him and tell him, 'Hey, get over there!' The volunteer states, 'I am American,' but the police

respond, 'What American! The American is *blanco*, not *negro* like you!' Then, the police

carry him to put out the fire. The participant states, '[The officer] had the perception that

every American was *blanco*' ('*Tenía la percepción que todo el americano era blanco,*'

DAJ_INT3). The participant continues to explain that nationality is frequently racialized. As

in the case where someone asks, 'Who is that girl marrying?' and the response is, 'An

American.' 'That is racial,' states the participant ('*'¿Con quién se casa esa muchacha?' 'Ay,*

con un estadounidense.' Eso es racial,' DAJ_INT3). For a participant in Santo Domingo

that describes himself as *negro* and very proudly Dominican, this racialization of nationality

means that his own Dominicanness is sometimes called into question (SDQ_INT4).

Finally, some participants address this connection between race and nationality by positioning me with respect to the Dominican racial system. First, a participant in Dajabón describes his wife as dark, the color of my (black) digital recorder, with hair like mine (coarse) and tall like me. He says that she would be profiled as Haitian. 'Not you,' he continues, 'You are Dominican.' 'Me?' I ask. 'Yes,' he responds, 'You are *mestiza*. When I saw you I thought that you were Dominican. Because that color identifies you. Mainly to Dominicans' ('(DAJ5) *Por ejemplo, la mujer mía parece haitiana. Del color así.* (EW) *¿De la grabadora?* (DAJ5) *Del cabello tuyo así. Del tamaño tuyo así. Para ella sería haitiana. Tú no. Tú eres dominicana.* (EW) *¿Yo?* (DAJ5) *Sí ... Tú eres mestiza. Yo cuando te vi pensaba que eras dominicana. Porque ese color te identifica. Mayormente a dominicanos,*' DAJ_INT5). Another participant in Dajabón explains how this intersection of race and nationality plays out specifically in a border city setting, 'You can be here illegally, and look how far it goes. Because of your color, not one guard is going to stop you. Although your profile is different. But they stop a Haitian over there' ('*Tú puedes estar ilegal aquí y mira hasta donde llega. Por tu color, ni un guardia te va a parar a ti. Aunque el perfil tuyo es diferente. Pero a un haitiano lo para por allí,*' DAJ_INT7). I later had the opportunity to confirm this practice firsthand.

2. Juxtaposition to Other Racial Settings

Participants also describe their experience with other racial systems and juxtapose their knowledge of these settings with the Dominican racial setting. Participants specifically discuss this juxtaposition with respect to Spain, Haiti, and the United States, and also discuss external systems of classification in general. A participant in Santiago frames the difference

between the Dominican system of racial classification and the Spanish system by telling a joke relating to the 1996 Dominican presidential election between Leonel Fernández and José Francisco Peña Gómez (pictured in Figure 28). The jokes develops like this, 'When they find out in Spain that Leonel won, the [Spanish] president looks at a photo of Leonel.' Confused, the president delivers the punch line, 'But you told me that the *moreno* lost.' The participant continues, 'Here, the *moreno* is Peña Gómez, not Leonel. In Spain, [*moreno*] has a lot to do with Arab[s]' ('*Cuando sabe en España que ganó Leonel, ve el president la foto de Leonel. "Pero tú me dijiste que el moreno perdió." Aquí el moreno es Peña Gómez, no Leonel. En España* [*moreno*] *tiene mucho que ver con árabe*,' STI_INT7).

Figure 28: 1996 Dominican Presidential Candidates - L. Fernández (L) and J.F. Peña Gómez (R)

Some participants juxtapose blackness and solidarity in the Haitian and U.S. racial settings with a lack of the same in the Dominican setting, and other participants juxtapose the Dominican racial setting to the U.S. racial past. A participant from Dajabón states:

> I could be a poor *negro* in Haiti, and you a rich *negra*, but we are both *negros*. At some moment, we face a common enemy. Here that does not happen. Here you find that there is a Dominican *negro* ready to kill Haitians because of racial hatred. You are not going to find a *negro* from the United States ready to kill other *negros*.

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('*Yo podría ser un negro pobre en Haití, y tú una negra rica, pero los dos somos negros. En algún momento enfrentamos un enemigo común. Aquí no pasa eso. Aquí tú encuentras que hay un negro dominicano dispuesto a matar a los haitianos por odio racial. Tú no vas a encontrar a un negro de los Estado Unidos dispuesto a matar a otros negros,*' DAJ_INT2).

Another participant juxtaposes the U.S. and Dominican racial settings as a critique of the moral position of the United States, given its own racial past. The participant states:

They say that in my country [people] discriminate a lot, but I believe that the nucleus of discrimination comes from the United States. But it comes from outside. How is it possible that a certain while ago [people] of color, as they say there—*negros*, *prietos*, those that were not *blancos*, used to have a separate bathroom? You see, here, in spite of [the fact] that we have our small differences, they are very minimal.

('*Ellos dicen que en mi país discriminan mucho, pero creo que el núcleo de la discriminación viene de los Estados Unidos. Pero viene de afuera. Que ¿cómo es posible que hace cierto tiempo los de color, como dicen allá, los negros, los prietos, los que no eran blancos, entre ellos tenían su baño aparte? Tú ves, aquí, a pesar de que tengamos nuestras pequeñas diferencias, son muy mínimas*,' SDQ_INT8).

Finally, participants across research sites address racial epistemologies—who has the position of authority when the Dominican system and external systems of classification are in conflict? One participant in Dajabón frames the dilemma in terms of the recent Constitutional Court decision that nullified the Dominican citizenship of thousands of individuals of Haitian descent whose families had immigrated to the country as early as 1929. The participant describes one of his neighbors, 'She does not consider herself *negra*, but if she goes to another country she is not considered *blanca*. So, she is like the sentence of the Constitutional Court. Listen, they are not Haitians, because they were born here. And they are not Dominicans. So, they are screwed' ('*Ella no se considera negra, pero si va a otro país no se considera blanca. Entonces, ella es como la sentencia del tribunal constitucional. Oye, no son haitianos, porque nacieron aquí. Y no son dominicanos. Entonces, están fritos,*' DAJ_INT2). Meanwhile, a participant in Santo Domingo asserts the

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sovereignty of the Dominican classification system *within* the Dominican setting. The

participant responds to critiques that Dominicans do not know who they are:

> 'When [one] understands the system, [one] can understand its logic. It does not come
> from an ignorance of what is known outside. They are not ignorant of [the fact] that
> they are designated in another way outside. I mean, everyone that accuses the
> Dominican of ignoring himself. The principle that Dominicans do not know what
> there is outside. No, they know what is said outside, but here it is said like this. Our
> [way] is like this. Local innovation. That is the big [thing].' (SDQ_INT1)

> ('*Cuando entiende el sistema, puede entender su lógica. No viene de una ignorancia
> de lo que se sabe fuera. No son ignorantes de que afuera se designan de otra forma.
> O sea todos los que acusan al dominicano de ignorarse. El principio que los
> dominicanos no saben lo que hay fuera. No, ellos conocen lo que se dice fuera, pero
> aquí se dice así. Lo propio es así. La neología local. Ésa es la grande.*'

The participant continues, addressing those who criticize this internal system of

designation, 'That the outside [system] should predominate here, and it is not true. There is

no problem. It works and it does not imply discrimination. What there is is an internal

designation' ('*Que debe predominar lo de afuera aquí, y no es verdad. No hay ningún*

problema. Funciona y no implica la discriminación. Lo que hay es una designación,

interna,' SDQ_INT1).

3. Notion of Race

Participants also specifically describe how the notion of 'race' is conceptualized in the

Dominican Republic. While some participants take the Anthropological position that there is

one race—the human race (STI_INT4, DAJ_INT3), others describe how race is socially and

culturally understood. For a participant in Santo Domingo, race has to do with provenance, a

person's nature and physical build, where a person comes from ('*La raza tiene que ver con,*

de tu procedencia, de que, cuál es tu naturaleza, tu contextura física, de dónde tú provienes.

Eso,' SDQ_INT6). For participants in Santiago and Santo Domingo, Dominicans do not

have a specific notion of race. A participant in Santiago broaches this theme in the context

of color and features:

> We do not have the notion of race as a whole. A person can have [the] characteristics
> of [a] *negro*, but the color *blanco* … no one calls him *negro*. Some colors [are] only
> with skin color, not features.
>
> ('*No tenemos la noción de raza como un todo. Una persona puede tener
> características de negro, pero el color blanco … nadie le dice negro. Algunos
> colores solo con color de la piel, no rasgos*,' STI_INT5).

A participant in Santo Domingo concurs, 'We do not have a racial specification. Nor do we

have a cultural specification. Because we are Dominicans, like *mestizos*. Of all the countries.

Here there are different types' ('*Nosotros no tenemos una especificación de raza. Ni

tenemos una especificación de cultura. Porque somos los dominicanos, como mestizos. De

todos los países. Aquí hay de diferente tipo*,' SDQ_INT3). Another participant in Santo

Domingo emphasizes that racial differences in the Dominican racial setting do not

correspond to cultural differences, as in Cuba or the United States:

> '(SDQ1) It is something that you describe people with white appearance and they are
> *negros*. They are not really *negros*. Nor do they have black culture. Nor do they
> have, they do not have an emotional bond with Africa. (EW) What are they? (SDQ1)
> They are Dominicans … the cultural *negro* disappeared from the country'
>
> ('(SDQ1) *Es algo que tú describes a personas con el físico blanco y son negros. No
> son realmente negros. Ni tienen cultura negra. Ni tienen, no tienen vínculo
> emocional con África.* (EW) *¿Qué son?* (SDQ1) *Son dominicanos … el negro
> cultural se desapareció del país*,' SDQ_INT1).

Finally, a participant in Dajabón describes how the notion of race can be, and has been

shaped, by political interests. He describes a conservative class of nationalists that want to

impose a Hispanicizing culture that ignores African culture ('*Hay grupos nacionalistas que

tienen un concepto … Sobre todo, esta clase conservadora ha querido imponer una cultura

hispanizante, sin la cultura africana*,' DAJ_INT6). The participant goes on to state that

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official versions of Dominican history were written from the perspective of these groups, but that it is being accepted that Dominicans have an African culture ('*La historia dominicana se escribió muchas veces desde una perspectiva de estos grupos. Ya se está aceptando que tenemos una cultura africana*,' DAJ_INT6).

4. Race-, Ethnicity-, and Color-based Discrimination

Despite participant characterizations of a broad notion of race that has no specification, participants also address persistent racial hierarchies and race-, ethnicity-, and color-based discrimination within the Dominican racial setting. There are some participants that, because they do not personally hold discriminatory attitudes, state that there is no race or color discrimination in the setting (DAJ_INT4, DAJ_INT7). Other participants, however, specifically address these issues. One participant, a student in Santo Domingo characterizes the Dominican Republic as having a very 'big' racism, and goes on to explain that this discrimination is inflected with considerations of color and language and can lead to feelings of isolation ('*Aquí en República Dominicana tenemos un racismo muy grande. Ya que hay sectores, por su color, por su forma de hablar, esas personas se sienten aisladas*,' SDQ_INT4). Another participant in Santo Domingo links discrimination to social perceptions, 'People discriminate a lot. If a person is *blanca*, she has money. If she is *negra*, still today that is seen. That difference, so marked like that' ('*La gente se discrimina mucho. Si es una persona blanca, tiene dinero. Si es negra, todavía hoy en día se ve eso. Esa diferencia, tan marcada así*,' SDQ_INT7). The participant goes on to describe the racial descriptions as a two-edged sword, 'In one sense they help. But there is that discriminatory part. It should not be like that' ('*En un sentido ayudan. Pero hay esa parte discriminatoria. No debería de ser así*,' SDQ_INT7).

In light of these characteristics of the racial setting, participants also describe pressure to

'refine' the race. A participant in Santo Domingo that describes himself as *negro* explains:

> 'In my case, they tell me, "You have to refine." I cannot look for a black woman. I
> have to look for a woman lighter than me. Finer, [nice] hair. Simple. Primarily in the
> man they say, "You have to refine." Because the woman's last name changes. So,
> imagine [that] I, that I get with a *negra*, big, [with her] hair. What are they going to
> say? "Damn, and look, what happened?" Here, you always have to refine the race. I
> [have no preference]. As long as they value me and respect me, there is no problem'

> ('*En mi caso, me dicen 'Tienes que refinar.' No puedo buscar una mujer negra.
> Tengo que buscar una mujer más clara que yo. Más fina, cabellito. Sencillita.
> Mayormente en el hombre le dicen, 'Tienes que refinar.' Porque a la mujer se le
> cambia el apellido. Entonces, imagínate yo, que me meto con una negra, grande,
> cabellito. ¿Qué van a decir? 'Diablo, y mira, ¿y qué fue entonces?' Aquí, siempre
> hay que refinar la raza. Estoy sin bandera. Siempre y cuando me valoren y me
> respeten, no hay problema*,' SDQ_INT4).

For a participant in Dajabón, marrying a *negra* would lead to family rejection, a fact that

he links to anti-Haitian sentiment ('*Si me caso con una negra, mi familia me rechaza. Se

enterizó mucho el antihaitianismo*,' DAJ_INT3). Another participant in Dajabón adds to the

pressure to 'refine' the race, the pressure to 'maintain' the race that is fostered among the

Dominican elite:

> 'Because the conservative people in the Dominican Republic. Listen to this. They do
> not even permit that their daughters marry *negros*. Nor their sons [marry] *negras*.
> And look, those sons of those *blanquitos* love *negras* … Because there is a Hispanic
> vision. That concept is maintained. That is why the schools, dominated by them,
> continue with that idea, that our enemy is not the *negro negro*, but rather the Haitian
> *negro*.' (DAJ_INT5).

> ('*Porque las personas conservadoras en República Dominicana. Oye esta vaina. Ni
> siquiera permiten que sus hijas se casen con negros. Ni sus hijos con negras. Y mira
> a los hijos de esos blanquitos les encantan las negras … Porque hay una visión
> hispánica. Ese concepto se mantiene. Por eso las escuelas, dominadas por ellos,
> siguen con esa idea, de que el enemigo nuestro no es el negro negro, sino el negro
> haitiano*').

In addition to discrimination that may occur based on race, participants describe specific

color-based attitudes. With respect to color, a participant in Dajabón describes how the color

hierarchy influenced a famous Dominican figure to significantly lighten his skin:

> 'That, that situation brought about that one of our baseball players, Sammy Sosa, practically bleached himself to the level of Michael Jackson. He was bleaching himself. He did it with a whitening cream. (EW) So, before Sammy Sosa was-, (DAJ5) The color of your shirt. (EW) Ah, black. (DAJ5) Because Sammy Sosa is [a] descendent of the *negros cocolos*.' (DAJ_INT5)

> ('*Eso, esa situación conllevó a que uno de los peloteros nuestros, Sammy Sosa, prácticamente se oxigenó al nivel de Michael Jackson. Fue oxigenándose. Lo hizo con una crema blanqueadora.* (EW) *Entonces, antes Sammy Sosa era-* (DAJ5) *Del color del polocher tuyo.* (EW) *Ah, negro.* (DAJ5) *Porque Sammy Sosa es descendiente de los negros cocolos*').

Another participant in Dajabón explains how color has played into employment and the international framing of a Dominican racial identity. In terms of employment, all media personalities used to be *blanco*, with very few *negros*, but things are beginning to change ('*Los mismos medios de comunicación, eran todos de color blanco. Las mujeres, todas las mujeres tienen un color claro blanco. Hay muy pocas de color negro ... Ha empezado ya una apertura,*' DAJ_INT6). The same participant discusses how, historically, the Dominican Republic's diplomatic representatives have all been *blancos*, with the exception of Rubén Silié. According to the participant, practices like this are not random, but rather can be traced back to the Trujillo dictatorship. '[T]hey sell it as if we are *blancos*,' the participant states. 'Little by little, that is changing' ('*No porque se ha hecho al azar. Viene de la época de Trujillo. Si hicimos un análisis del color de los cónsul, son de color blanco. Rubén Silié – el más negro que hemos tenido. Lo mandan a Haití, a Trinidad. Entonces, es como decir, los embajadores y cónsules, y otros representantes diplomáticos lo venden como si somos blancos. Poco a poco, esto va cambiando,*' DAJ_INT6).

Finally, participants describe discrimination in the system that is based on ethnicity. A participant in Dajabón speaks about the level of prejudice against Haitians in the region, a

prejudice that the participant describes as hypocritical:

> Here there is a very high level of prejudice. That I did not know. Now, it is a hypocritical prejudice. Why? Because the men that you see speaking against the Haitians, live and have relationships with *negras*. Later you see them in public finishing off Haitians. [He] seems like the slave owner. I mean the same point of view as the slave owner. Likewise the woman. Dominican [women], that do not want anything to do with the *negro* from the mouth outward, have Haitian lovers. It is a phenomenon that happens a lot here. But in terms of the public [sphere], people have a very high level of prejudice.
>
> ('*Aquí hay un nivel de prejuicio altísimo. Que yo no sabía. Ahora, es un prejuicio hipócrita. ¿Por qué? Porque los hombres que tú ves hablando en contra de los haitianos, viven y tiene relaciones con las negras. Después tú lo ves en público acabando con los haitianos. Se parece al esclavista. O sea el mismo punto de vista del esclavista. Igualmente la mujer. Dominicanas, que no quieren saber del negro de la boca pa' fuera, tienen amantes haitianos. Es un fenómeno que se da mucho aquí. Pero en términos de lo público, la gente tiene un nivel de prejuicio muy alto,*' DAJ_INT5).

The participant clarifies that his interchangeable use of *negro* and *haitiano* is intentional, 'The color. There is no color that has more demand than black. Black as [an] article of clothing has a one hundred percent demand. So, when prejudice against the *negro* is seen, it is not against *negro* itself; it is against the Haitian' ('*El color. No hay color que tiene más demanda que el negro. El negro como artículo de vestir tiene un cien por ciento de demanda. Entonces, cuando se ve el prejuicio al negro, no es al negro mismo; es al haitiano,*' DAJ_INT5).

5. How the System Accommodates Mixture

Participants also characterize the Dominican racial setting as a system of mixture, describing mixture as a defining characteristic of the Dominican racial system. A participant in Santiago states, 'The mixture is very strong' ('*La mezcla es muy fuerte,*' STI_INT6). When asked whether many racial terms describe mixture, a participant in Dajabón responds, 'Yes, everything means mixture' ('*Sí, todo significa la mezcla,*' DAJ_INT1). Another

participant in Santiago states, 'We have the mixture and it is going to [show up] anywhere' ('*Tenemos la mezcla y va a salir por cualquier lugar*,' STI_INT5).

Some participants frame the mixture of the Dominican racial setting in specific racial terms. A participant in Santiago states, 'We are aware that we are the only *mulato* nation in the world', alluding to a mixture between black and white ('*Somos conscientes de que somos el único pueblo mulato del mundo*,' STI_INT4). Other participants frame the mixture in terms of African, Spanish, and indigenous heritage (DAJ_INT6, SDQ_INT5, SDQ_INT2). A participant in Santo Domingo describes the unique characteristics of a system defined by mixture, 'In a country with so many mixtures, [there are] many *blancos* that allow a black past to be seen – vice versa. *Negros* appear with features of [a] *blanco – negro fino, indio fino*. It would be the opposite' ('*En un país con tantas mezclas, muchos blancos que dejan ver un antepasado negro – vice versa. Aparecen negros con rasgos de blanco – negro fino, indio fino. Sería el contrario*,' SDQ_INT1). In a system with such a diversity of racial aspects, a participant in Santo Domingo emphasizes that only two races are in play – *blanco* and *negro* – and that everything else is a shade attributable to this mixture ('*Dos razas principales – blanco, negro – los matices debido a la mezcla*,' SDQ_INT8). A participant in Santiago confirms that people frequently use these racial nuances ('*Nosotros usamos mucho los matices. Usamos el azul y le ponemos un apellido. Eso es lo que hacemos con esto*,' STI_INT5).

When a system is characterized by its mixture, the whole identity is not divisible into its individual parts. A participant in Santo Domingo describes this notion by analogy to the popular dessert *arroz con leche* ('rice pudding,' lit. 'rice with milk'):

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Here in America we cannot say that there is a particular race. Three different races came, or two races. The Africans came, brought by the Spanish, French, the Portuguese, mixed here with the Taíno. Look, here there is a dessert that is called 'rice pudding.' Very good. You have the rice and you have the milk. You cannot make 'rice pudding' if you do not have sugar, if you do not have vanilla, if you do not have lemon. Yes. You throw in a lemon peel to give it a different touch. So all of that is mixed. You cannot say, 'Oh, I only have-, you only use milk to make the rice,' no. It is a dessert; it is 'rice pudding'. It is in the condition of a dessert. So, that is what happens to us. We are a mix. We are like a dessert. A combination of various things, where fortunately some come out with different shades. Others, totally, and others come out with, I mean they seem Spanish, being Dominicans.

'*Aquí en América no podemos decir que hay una raza determinada. Vinieron tres razas diferentes, o dos razas. Vinieron los africanos, traídos por los españoles, franceses, los portugués, mezclados aquí con el taíno. Mira, aquí hay un postre que se llama arroz con leche. Muy bueno. Tienes el arroz, y tienes la leche. No puedes hacer arroz con leche si no tienes azúcar, si no tienes vainilla, si no tienes limón. Sí. Se le echa una cascarita de limón para que le dé un toque diferente. Entonces todo eso es mezclao. Tú no puedes decir, 'O, solamente tengo-, solamente utilizas leche para hacer el arroz,' no. Es un postre; es arroz con leche. Está en la condición de un postre. Entonces, eso es lo que pasa a nosotros. Somos una mezcla. Somos como un postre. Una combinación de varias cosas, donde afortunadamente unos salen con matices diferentes. Otros, totalmente, y otros salen con, o sea parecen españoles, siendo dominicanos*' (SDQ_INT8).

While participants contemplate African, Spanish and, to varying degrees, indigenous heritage to be part of the mixture, some participants discuss how Asian immigrant communities have historically not participated in the mixture, a fact which, according to participants, is beginning to change. A participant in Santo Domingo discusses mixture with respect to the Chinese population in the Dominican Republic:

The mixture that really did not occur much was from the Chinese. They did not mix with Latinos. Here in the Dominican Republic [that] has changed. Here there is [a] Chinese [woman] with [a] Dominican [man]. There is [a] Chinese [man] with [a] Dominican [woman]. You also see the mixture of Haiti with [a] Dominican.

('*La mezcla que casi no se daba mucho era el de los chinos. No tenían mezcla con los latinos. Aquí en República Dominicana ha cambiado. Aquí hay china con dominicano. Hay chino con dominicana. Tú ves también la mezcla de Haití con dominicano*,' SDQ_INT3).

A participant in Dajabón describes a Japanese colony brought by Trujillo to the border

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region in the 1940s and 1950s to 'cleanse' the border region of *negros*. According to the

participant, this group allows itself to mix sometimes, but that this mixture is rare and

inflected by gender:

> That this type of ethnicity, here in the Dominican Republic they are not very given to mixing with another. Above all in that which has to do with the women. Chinese or Japanese women are not very given to mixing with the Dominican *negro*. The Chinese man, the Japanese man, is not like this. They mix with Dominican [women]. They have Dominican [wives]. It seems that there is, like the culture weighs more on the women than on the men. Here there is a Chinese [man] that is crazy about Haitian [women]. One day you are going to see many little Chinese Haitians.

> ('*Que este tipo de etnia, aquí en la República Dominicana no son muy dadas a mezclarse con otra. Sobre todo en lo que tiene que ver con las mujeres. Las mujeres chinas o japonesas no son muy dadas a mezclarse con el negro dominicano. No es así el hombre chino, el hombre japonés. Se mezclan con las dominicanas. Tienen mujeres dominicanas. Parece que hay, como que la cultura pesa más en las mujeres que en los hombres. Aquí hay un chino que está loco con las haitianas. Un día tú vas a ver muchos chinitos haitianos,*' DAJ_INT5).

6. The Nature of Racial Categories

Against the backdrop of the Dominican racial system and its juxtaposition to external

systems, the notion of race, aspects of discrimination, and the role of mixture in the

Dominican racial setting, participants also characterize the nature of Dominican racial

categories. For participants, racial terms are a combination of hair, skin color, and physique

('*Combinación de pelo, color, y también la fisionomía,*' STI_INT6), and, while these terms

describe physical features, they do not generally correspond to fixed social categories ('*El*

sistema es descriptivo. No tiene sentido de – categoría social. Es descriptivo,' SDQ_INT1).

Within this system, racial terms may be relative. For example, in a family where the mother

and father are *blancos*, if one child is a little darker than the others, the child will be

nicknamed *negro* or *negra* (STI_INT9). Categories are also fluid, such that a single

individual may be described using several different descriptors, depending on the situation.

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A participant in Dajabón explains:

> I am a little yellow. Regularly, at the level of my documents, I come out *indio*. For others I am *blanco*, because I have light eyes. The description changes a bit, according to the person. Others say that I am *negro*, of the black race, because of my features, my nose. I am a mixture.

> ('*Soy un poco amarillo. Regularmente, a nivel de mis documentos, salgo indio. Para otros soy blanco, porque tengo los ojos claros. Cambia un poco la descripción, según la persona. Otros dicen que soy negro, de la raza negra, por mis rasgos, mi nariz. Yo soy una mezcla*,' DAJ_INT1).

The fluidity of these categories also allows mixed individuals to choose, in a sense, the term they want to use to describe themselves. A participant in Santo Domingo discusses this point:

> If you want to say that you are *indio*, you are *indio*. If you say that you are *moreno*, you are *moreno*. Notice that I did not describe myself as a person-, I described myself as a *jabá* … Everyone has. Some darker, some lighter, but everyone is *mulato*.

> ('*Si usted quiere decir que usted es indio, usted es indio. Si usted dice que es moreno, es moreno. Fíjate que yo no me describí como una persona-, yo me describí como una persona jabá … Todos tienen. Unos más oscuros, unos más claros, pero todos son mulatos*,' SDQ_INT5).

For a final participant in Santo Domingo, the navigation of racial categories is a cultural byproduct of more than 500 years of inculcation that began with the Spanish colonization in the 15th century. For this participant, it is difficult to change perceptions that have been firmly rooted in a system for that long:

> '*Y que lo tanto que eso es cultural. O sea, ya no, inculcado desde años atrás. que no, que solamente – yo soy morena; aquel es prieto, digo negro. Tú eres more-, tú eres jabao, india; tú eres mulata; tú eres mestiza. Pero no, y eso mismo lo exploraron los españoles. Pero hemos arrastrado eso, desde tiempo, y es muy difícil cuando tienes más de cinco mil años, o quinientos años así, cambiar una percepción*,' SDQ_INT8).

> ('And therefore that is cultural. That is, not now, instilled from years ago, that no, that only – "I am *morena*; that [guy] is *prieto*, I mean *negro*. You are *more-*, you are *jabao, india*; you are *mulata*; you are *mestiza*." But no, and that same [thing] the

Spaniards explored it. But we have dragged that [out]. For a while, and it is very difficult when you have more than five thousand years, or five hundred years, to change a perception').

When participants characterize the Dominican racial setting, they speak about its breadth and accommodation of mixture. With background knowledge of other racial systems, participants speak about the Dominican notion of race, racial and ethnic discrimination, and the nature of racial categories. The next section turns to a specific examination of the physical and social information embedded in Dominican racial terms.

C. *Navigating Physical and Social Meaning in Dominican Racial Categories*

The third section of this chapter discusses how participants navigate the physical and social meaning embedded in the racial terms *rubio, blanco, pelirrojo, colorao, jabao, trigueño, indio, mulato, moreno, negro,* and *prieto*. Because, as in other systems of racial classification, each term is not freestanding but exists in relationship to the other terms, this section of the analysis organizes the terms into groups pursuant to Guzmán (1974): *Raza Blanca* (*rubio, blanco, pelirrojo*), *Raza Mulata* (*colorao, jabao, trigueño, indio*), and *Raza Negra* (*mulato, moreno, negro, prieto*).

a. *Raza Blanca* (*rubio, blanco, pelirrojo*)

The terms that Guzmán (1974) assigns to *la raza blanca—rubio, blanco, pelirrojo—* have traditionally corresponded to notions of whiteness in the Dominican Republic. Of the three, *blanco* has the broadest application, given that *blanco* can describe both *raza* and *matiz racial*. The three categories describe overlapping physical characteristics, and, when asked which images could be described using each term, participants position some images within two or more categories. Moreover, while the three terms contemplate overlap in the

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realm of physical meaning, participants identify unique ways in which each term is inflected

with social meaning. This section discusses terms related to *la raza blanca* in the following

order: *rubio, blanco, pelirrojo*.

rubio/a

Participants at all three research sites confirm that forms of *rubio* are very commonly

used descriptors in the Dominican Republic. These initial evaluations of frequency reveal an

awareness of two broad subcategories that fall within the *rubio* description: those who are

born *rubio* and those who choose to become *rubio*. Regarding the ratio of natural *rubios* to

elective *rubios*, one participant comments, '*Son más los que se hacen que los que nacen*'

('There are more that make themselves [*rubio*] than those that are born [*rubio*], SDQ_INT7).

Physical Meaning: *Rubio*

When participants describe the Dominican conception of *el rubio*, they invoke four

primary variables: (1) hair color, (2) skin color, (3) eye color, and (4) hair texture. The

prototypical *rubio* conforms to the description for all four characteristics. In certain

circumstances, however, based on only one or two of these characteristics, or another

characteristic entirely, participants may also describe individuals as *rubio*. From sixteen

participants who explicitly describe the physical characteristics of the *rubio*, the following

prototype emerges: (1) light hair (blonde, yellow), (2) white / light skin, (3) light eyes (blue,

green, grey, honey, etc.), (4) straight hair ('good hair'). A person who fits this physical

description is undeniably *rubio* in the Dominican Republic.

(1) HAIR COLOR	(2) SKIN COLOR	(3) EYE COLOR	(4) HAIR TEXTURE
rubio / amarillo claro	*blanca / clara*	*claros*	*lacio / bueno*

Participants emphasize that hair color is generally a determinative factor in whether someone will be described as *rubio*. Hair color is so determinative, in fact, that the act of dyeing one's hair blonde is enough to qualify as *rubio*. A participant in Santiago states that you can have *rubias prietas*, solely on the basis of hair color. That is, people who have a skin color or features that would place them in a different category can be described as *rubio/a* if they dye their hair blonde. Participants at all three research sites echo this understanding (Table 49). A participant in Santiago, who describes herself as *trigueña* or *morena*, recounts how a neighbor in her building began calling her *rubia* when she put highlights in her hair (STI_INT5). A participant in Dajabón mentions a neighbor who did not have blonde hair, but who after dyeing her hair is now *rubia*. A participant in Santo Domingo summarizes this phenomenon in the following way, 'If they see you as *rubia*, you are *rubia*. It does not matter how you became *rubia*' (SDQ_INT7).

Table 49. Interview Participants on 'Becoming *Rubio*'

STI_INT5	*Si te pones los* highlights*, te van a decir rubia.* 'If you get highlights, they are going to call you *rubia*' *Una señora en mi edificio que me dice rubia.* 'A lady in my building that calls me *rubia*.' *¿Rubia yo? Quiero disimular las canas.* 'I['m] *rubia*? I want to hide my greys.' *Sólo por eso, porque me puse los* highlights*, me dice rubia.* 'Just because of that, because I got highlights, she calls me *rubia*.'
SDQ_INT7	*Si te ven rubia, ya eres rubia. No importa cómo volviste rubia.* 'If they see you [as] *rubia*, you are *rubia*. It does not matter how you became *rubia*.'
DAJ_INT3	*Por mi casa hay una muchacha que no tenía el pelo rubio.* 'By my house there is a girl that did not used to have blonde hair. *Ahora se ha teñido el pelo rubio y es rubia.* Now she has dyed her hair blonde and she is *rubia*.'

Although elective *rubios* will generally still be described as *rubio*, participants are not

confused about whether an individual is a natural or an elective *rubio*. In fact, many

participants mention an expression that is used specifically for elective *rubios—rubio /*

rubia de farmacia ('pharmacy blonde'). The notion of *rubio / rubia de farmacia* is similar to

the term 'bottle blonde' in English, and refers to someone who has artificially lightened his

or her hair. This notion also appears as *rubio artificial* ('artificial blonde')*, rubio del salon*

('salon blonde')*,* and *rubio falso* ('false blonde') (STI_INT9, SDQ_INT1). A gendered

dimension emerges when participants talk about *rubios de farmacia*, as participants more

frequently use the feminine form *rubia de farmacia*. When asked whether there are *rubios*

de farmacia as well, a participant in Santo Domingo responds, 'No, for men it is not

common. They call them *rubitos*' ('*No, para los hombres no es común. Los llaman rubitos,'*

SDQ_INT6).

 Although hair color may stand alone as a determinative factor for the *rubio* description,

eye color also emerges as a salient variable. According to participants, in some cases, an

individual may be described as *rubio* even if he or she does not have blonde or light hair, if

he or she has light-colored eyes. As an example of this, a participant in Santiago points to

MALE_1, 'He is *blanco*. They are going to call him *rubio* all the time … light eyes' ("Ése

es un blanco. Le van a decir rubio todo el tiempo … ojos claros," STI_INT7). That light

eyes may position someone as *rubio* is not an unqualified statement. That MALE_1 is the

example in this case is instructive. For MALE_1, three of the four prototypical features of

the *rubio* are present: skin color, hair texture, and eye color. MALE_1 is *blanco*, with

straight hair, and greenish-blue eyes.

 When speaking in terms of prototype, participants draw a distinction between *blanco* and

rubio. For many participants, the main difference is hair color. Someone who is *rubio* has

light hair and light eyes, and someone who is *blanco* may have dark hair and dark eyes (SDQ_INT7, DAJ_INT7). Describing FEMALE_16, one participant highlights the importance of hair color for the *rubio* description, '*Ella es blanca, pero no es rubia. No tiene el pelo amarillo*' ('She is *blanca*, but she is not *rubia*. She does not have yellow hair,' SDQ_INT6). While hair color is a salient feature of the *rubio-blanco* distinction, participants also indicate that there is a skin color difference between an individual who is *rubio* and one who is *blanco*. A person who is *blanco* will have a pink or reddish tone, while someone who is *rubio* will have a yellow tone ('*El blanco tiene algo rosado, rojo. El rubio tiene más amarillo,*' SDQ_INT8). Nevertheless, while this distinction exists in theory, participants state that the line between *rubio* and *blanco* is at times too thin to trace. For one participant in Dajabón, *blanco* and *rubio* are almost synonyms ('*El blanco y el rubio son casi sinónimos. Ese blanco, ese rubio. Casi es lo mismo,*' DAJ_INT1). For another participant in Santiago, on occasion, to be *blanco* is to be *rubio* ('*En ocasiones, el hecho de ser blanco es rubio,*' STI_INT4). This plays out for a participant in Santo Domingo in the way that she is described. She states that people call her *blanca* and *rubia*, and she is unsure why people call her *rubia* because she does not have light hair (SDQ_INT7). Later in the interview, she surmises that this might occur because she is *blanca* ('*Sí, no sé si lo dicen por lo blanco,*' SDQ_INT7). A Santiago participant summarizes, 'The *rubio* does not have to be completely *rubio*. [As long as] he has quite light, or white, skin, as we say. *Rubio*, even though the hair is not completely yellow' ("*El rubio no tiene que ser completamente rubio. Que tenga la tez bastante clara, o blanca, como decimos nosotros. Rubio, aunque el pelo no sea completamente amarillo,*' STI_INT3).

In some circumstances, *rubio* can depart from the physical prototype completely. A

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participant in Santiago states, '[Rubio] has nothing to do with hair color sometimes' ('[*Rubio*] *no tiene que ver con color de pelo a veces*,' STI_INT7). She explains that she has a friend from Argentina who has black hair and an *indio* skin tone, and that in the Dominican Republic people call him *rubio*. As an example, she states that while her friend is walking down the street, a vendor will say to him, 'Hey *rubio*, do you want [to buy] an orange?' ("*En la calle … un vendedor le dice, 'Ey, rubio, ¿tú quieres una naranja?'*," STI_INT7). For this participant, *rubio* may also be understood as *extranjero* ('foreigner').

Social Meaning and Functions: *Rubio*

In addition to the physical information embedded in the term *rubio*, participants articulate the ways in which *rubio* may be deployed in discourse. In addition to their descriptive function, forms of *rubio* may be used as nicknames or as direct forms of address. One participant describes a friend who is known as "*el rubio del figureo*" (SDQ_INT1). Another participant describes her brother as very white with light hair and states that people call him *rubio* (DAJ_INT7). The use of *rubio* as a form of direct address is not limited to individuals with a preexisting relationship, however. It is common for people to use *rubio* as a form of address if they do not know someone's name (STI_INT4). A participant in Santiago gives the example of someone who is standing up at a concert when he should be seated, and thus blocking her view. In such a case, the participant would say, "*Mira, rubio, siéntate, por favor*" ('Look, *rubio*, sit down, please,' STI_INT3). Forms of *rubio* may also be used in greetings, as in "*Ey, ¡rubio!*" or "*Dímelo, rubia*" (SDQ_INT1).

Some female participants address how *rubia* may be deployed in *piropos* ('pick-up lines'). One example is "*Mira, rubia, mami, ven. Tú sí 'tá buena*" ('Look, *rubia, mami*, come [here]. You look good,' STI_INT8). Another example is "*Oye, rubia, ¡qué bien te*

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ves!" ('Listen, *rubia*, you look good!' DAJ_INT7). In some cases, *rubio* is used as a term of endearment. A participant in Santiago explains, 'It should be understood [that] the expressions *rubio* and *morena* are terms of affection as well. A man calls a woman *morena*. That is not about skin color. It is the same with *rubia*' ("*Debe entenderse, las expresiones de rubio y morena son expresiones de afecto también. Un hombre le dice morena a una mujer. No es de color de piel. Lo mismo de rubia*, STI_INT4).

Participants additionally comment on the fact that other terms, such as *blanco*, are not generally used in the same way as *rubio* (i.e., as forms of address). Participants agree that it would be strange to hear, for example, '¡*Mira, blanco*!' (STI_INT3, STI_INT8, SDQ_INT7). Although *rubio* generally has positive connotations, it may be used in a pejorative way if combined with words such as *maldito* ('damn / cursed'). An example of this usage would be, "¡*Mira, maldita rubia!*" ('Look, [you] damn *rubia*!' STI_INT8). Another strategy that participants identify for addressing someone who is *rubio* in a pejorative way is not to use forms of *rubio* at all, but rather expressions that communicate lack of, or dull, color— such as *desteñido/a, tallota* (STI_INT3).

Finally, a participant in Santo Domingo addresses ironic usages of *rubio*. The participant states that it is not common, but that an ironic usage of *rubio* can be employed for someone who is very dark ('*No es tan común. Generalmente, se emplea eso para alguien muy negro,*' SDQ_INT1). In such a case, someone might say, "*Oye, rubio, ven acá*" ('Listen, *rubio*, come here').

<u>Visual Representations of *Rubio*</u>

Participants identify five images that could be described as *rubio/a* in the Dominican Republic: FEMALE_1, MALE_1, FEMALE_3, FEMALE_6, and MALE_10. Five

participants describe FEMALE_1 as *rubia*. For one participant, FEMALE_1 is *rubia* because she has blonde hair ('*pelo rubio*,' STI_INT5). For another participant, hair color and eye color both come into play. 'Everything is light,' the participant states ('*Todo es claro*,' STI_INT6). For two other participants, FEMALE_1 is not *rubia* but rather *media rubia* (lit. 'half blonde'; also 'blonde-ish,' SDQ_INT3). Two additional participants address the fact that FEMALE_1 appears to have dyed her hair blonde. For one of these participants, FEMALE_1 would still conform to the *rubia* profile because she has 'light eyes' ('*ojos claros*'). The participant goes on to say that FEMALE_1 is a '*rubia de farmacia*' ('pharmacy blonde'), and that although people know that FEMALE_1 is not a natural blonde they will still call her *rubia* ('*Sabemos que no es rubia, pero le decimos rubia*,' STI_INT7). For the other participant, the fact that FEMALE_1 is a 'false blonde' ('*falsa rubia*,' SDQ_INT1) removes her from the *rubia* category.

Four participants describe MALE_1 as *rubio*. For one participant, MALE_1 is a *típico rubio* ('typical blonde', SDQ_INT8). A participant in Santiago remarks that a Dominican would describe MALE_1 as *rubio* even though he does not have *pelo claro* ('light hair'). When asked why, the participant responds, 'We only look at color' ('*Sólo miramos el color*,' STI_INT5). Another participant states that, although MALE_1 is *blanco*, people are going to call him *rubio* all the time because he has light eyes ('*Ése es un blanco. Le van a decir rubio todo el tiempo … Todavía más reforzado con los ojos claros*,' STI_INT7).

One participant describes FEMALE_3 as *rubia*. The participant first qualifies the description by saying that in her opinion FEMALE_3 is *pelirroja*, but that people would dare to describe her as *rubia* because of the color [of her hair] and the freckles ('*En mi opinión es pelirroja … la gente no lo dice. Se atreve a decir rubia, por el color y las pintas*,'

STI_INT6). The participant goes on to position FEMALE_3 within a number of different categories: *blanca, rubia. morena*, and *jabá* (STI_INT6).

One participant describes FEMALE_6 as *rubia*. The participant identifies FEMALE_6 along with FEMALE_1 and MALE_1 as examples of *rubio/a* (STI_INT5).

One participant also describes MALE_10 as passing for *rubio* ('*Bueno, quizás él, puede pasar por rubio,'* SDQ_INT8).

blanco/a

Participants at all three research sites confirm that forms of *blanco* are also very commonly used descriptors in the Dominican Republic. The relative frequency of *blanco* is described as less frequent than *indio* and more frequent than *rubio* (DAJ_INT4, SDQ_INT7).

Physical Meaning: *Blanco*

When participants describe the Dominican conception of *el blanco*, they invoke varying combinations of six primary variables: (1) hair color, (2) skin color, (3) eye color, (4) hair texture, (5) features of the face, and (6) features of the body. While *blanco* does not have a single prototype as in the case of *rubio*, participants are able to articulate which characteristics are most salient for the *blanco* profile. In some cases, a single characteristic can be the deciding factor in determining whether someone will be described using *blanco* or another term. From eighteen participants who explicitly describe the physical characteristics of the Dominican *blanco,* the following prototype emerges: (1) hair of any color, (2) white / light skin, (3) light (blue, green) or brown eyes, (4) straight hair (also 'good hair,' 'smooth hair'), (5) fine facial features, and (6) no curves. This broad description allows the use of *blanco* for many different physical profiles.

(1) HAIR COLOR	(2) SKIN COLOR	(3) EYE COLOR	(4) HAIR TEXTURE	(5) FEATURES (FACE)	(6) FEATURES (BODY)
castaño claro marrón negro rojo rubio	*blanca clara lavadita*	*azul claro marrón verde*	*bueno entre bueno y malo lacio liso rizo suave*	*Rasgos finos / Facciones finas Nariz alargada / aguileña / perfilada Labios finos Cara alargada / Rostro perfilado Orejas grandes Dientes amarillos*	*Sin caderas / Sin curvas Piernas gordas / Piernas delgadas Pocas nalgas*

The most salient characteristic for someone who will be described as *blanco* is skin color. For some participants in Santiago, *blanco* does not depend on hair color or features at all. For one participant, a person may be considered *blanco* if he or she has white / light skin and straight hair ('*Blanco solo por el color de piel y su pelo lacio,*' STI_INT9). For another participant, whether someone will be described as *blanco* is determined by skin color and eye color, irrespective of facial features ('*Nada tiene que ver con los rasgos. Es el color y la tintura de los ojos*,' STI_INT4). Although the prototypical *blanco* has white skin, there is room for a variety of skin tones within the *blanco* profile. These skin tones range from what one participant describes as 'completely clean, white' ('*Piel completamente limpia, blanca,*' STI_INT8), or 'pallid' and 'without life' ('*El blanco es una persona sin vida. Su color es como pálido,*' SDQ_INT8), to someone whose color is darker because of time in the sun ('*Él aquí se le llama blanco… aunque tenga su color. Puede caer con un poquito de sol,*' SDQ_INT3).

Although participant responses create space for a broad range of hair colors within the *blanco* profile (e.g., *black, blonde, brown, light, red*), participants also express opinions regarding the relationship of hair color to the profile. A participant in Santiago states that, while someone that is *blanco* can have black or blonde hair, 'the true hair [color] of the *blanco* is blonde' ('*El verdadero pelo del blanco es rubio,* STI_INT8). For two other

participants, hair color is not important to the profile. The Santiago participant states, 'It does not matter that [the person] has hair of any color (*'No importa que tenga el pelo de cualquier color,'* STI_INT9). The Santo Domingo participant concurs, 'the [hair] color does not matter (*'No importa el color* [*de pelo*],' SDQ_INT3). Hair color becomes a more salient characteristic in spaces of category overlap. For example, a person that has the characteristics of the *blanco* profile and has blonde hair, will be called *rubio*. While no one will deny that the individual is white, other Dominicans will call the person *rubio* because blonde hair color is the most salient element of the *rubio* profile. The same is true for *pelirrojo*. If someone has red hair, and meets all of the other characteristics of whiteness, that individual is more likely to be described as *pelirrojo* than as *blanco*.

Another salient characteristic for the *blanco* profile is hair texture. When speaking in terms of prototype, participants understand the *blanco* profile to have 'straight hair' (*pelo lacio*). This presumption is reinforced as a participant in Santiago identifies images of people that could be described as *blanco*, 'He is *blanco*. Smooth hair' (*'Él es blanco. Pelo liso,'* STI_INT6). Other participants suggest, however, that straight hair is not essential to the *blanco* profile (*'Puede incluso no tener el pelo lacio,'* STI_INT6). For a participant in Dajabón, individuals in the *blanco* profile may even have curly hair (*'Casi siempre pelo rizo,'* DAJ_INT3). Although the profile accommodates curly hair, participants concur that it would be strange for a person that is *blanco* to have coarse hair (*'Es raro ver una persona blanca con el pelo malo,'* DAJ_INT7; *'Es raro ver una persona blanca con pelo crespo,'* DAJ_INT3). This phenomenon, where a person whose appearance otherwise conforms to the *blanco* profile has coarse hair, invokes the category of *jabao* (*'Si tiene el pelo malo, es jabao,'* DAJ_INT7).

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In some cases, participants describe the *blanco* profile in a way that departs from color and texture and encompasses broader physical characteristics of the body. For participants in Santiago and Santo Domingo, these physical characteristics are gender specific. A woman that is *blanca* is expected to have a certain body type. One participant explains that, in the Dominican racial system, a white woman cannot have prominent hips because that feature is associated with African heritage. A woman that would otherwise be *blanca* but that has hips will be reclassified from *blanca* to *indiecita clara* (*'La mujer blanca no puede tener caderas ... herencia africana ... indiecita clara,'* STI_INT4). The participant points to an example from popular music that echoes this point, 'Does a *blanca* with [an] ass exist? No, that belongs to [the] *negra'* (*'Aparece una blanca con culo? No, eso es de negra,'* STI_INT4). A participant in Santo Domingo comments on the physique more generally and states that it is rare for someone who is *blanco* to have shapely legs, unless they play sports (*'A menos que hagan deportes, es raro que tengan piernas,'* SDQ_INT8). She continues, echoing the participant from Santiago, 'It is rare to see a white woman with curves. If she has [curves], she has a little bit of *negra* (*'Es raro ver una mujer blanca con curvas. Si tiene, tiene pizca negra,'* SDQ_INT8).

<u>Social Meaning and Functions: *Blanco*</u>

For some participants, the term *blanco* does not reference physical appearance at all, but rather socioeconomic status. In this case, the person that is described need not have the physical characteristics of the prototypical *blanco*, and must instead have a certain level of economic resources. A participant in Santo Domingo explains, 'Here, [someone] that is *blanco blanco* is the one that [drives a nice car] and has [a] business' ("*…aquí, el que es blanco blanco es el que anda bien montado y tiene empresa,*" SDQ_INT3). A participant

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from Dajabón concurs. She states that, while financial resources are not required in order for someone to be considered *blanco* ('*Se entiende como blanca aunque sea humilde,*'), financial resources can position a person as *blanco* even though the individual has no physical characteristics of whiteness ('*Aunque de forma refranera se dice, 'Ésa es una mujer blanca,' aunque tenga mi color, tu color,*' DAJ_INT7). In this usage, *blanco* may be used to emphasize social distance, 'It seems that money also influences [things], 'Oh, no, you are *blanquito*. You are *blanca*' ('*Parece que el dinero también influye, 'Ah, no, tú eres blanquito.' 'Tú eres blanca',*' SDQ_INT8).

Although *blanco* is an integral term in the Dominican racial system, the profile may also come with a presumption of outsider status. A participant in Dajabón states, 'Here we believe that all *blancos* come from [the] United States' ('*Aquí creemos que todos los blancos vienen de Estados Unidos,*' DAJ_INT3). A participant in Santo Domingo uses her nephews as an example of the presumption of outsider status, 'Like my nephews, they do not seem Dominican because they are too white' ('*Como mis sobrinos, no parecen dominicanos porque son demasiado blancos,*' SDQ_INT5). In the Dominican racial system, a person from the U.S. or Europe is *blanco* ('*Para nosotros, un estadounidense y un europeo son blancos,*' SDQ_INT8). There is also a distinction between a white American, a white European, and *un blanco dominicano* ('*Un blanco no viene siendo igual que el blanco español, el blanco europeo. Como el cappuccino. El blanco europeo, no tiene como vida*' SDQ_INT8).

Unlike *rubio*, which is frequently used as a nickname or form of address, *blanco*'s function is primarily descriptive. Participants are divided on whether *blanco* may be used as a nickname. For a participant in Santiago, while *rubio* can be used as a nickname, *blanco*

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cannot (STI_INT8). Meanwhile, participants in Santo Domingo and Dajabón opine that it is possible for *blanco* to function as a nickname (SDQ_INT1, DAJ_INT7). The participant in Santo Domingo states, 'Yes, it can [be used as a nickname]. There are many [people] here that are called *Blanco*' ('*Sí, se puede. Hay muchos aquí que se llaman Blanco*,' SDQ_INT1).

For another participant, whether *blanco* may be used as a nickname depends on its form. Initially, the participant answers no, that *blanco* cannot be used as a nickname. As she thinks, she modifies her answer and states that the diminutive form *blanquito* could be used as a nickname ('*No, bueno, en diminutivo, se puede usar 'El blanquito … Ese blanquito*,' SDQ_INT7). The participant continues to say that when *blanquito* and *blanquita* are used they may refer to persons of a certain economic level. To say 'That is the *blanquito* of the group' is to communicate that the individual has money and a certain status ('*Sí, inclusive esos dos* [*blanquito, blanquita*] *hacen referencia a personas de cierto nivel económico. 'Ése es el blanquito del grupo.' El que tiene dinero. Tiene cierto estatus*,' SDQ_INT7). In such a case, the person would have to have socioeconomic status and also have the physical characteristics of the *blanco* profile.

Participants across research sites concur that it would be uncommon to hear *blanco* used as a form of address (e.g., STI_INT4, STI_INT7, SDQ_INT1, SDQ_INT6, SDQ_INT7). In circumstances where *blanco* might otherwise be used, speakers employ several strategies for accomplishing the task, including substitution, culture-specific usage, and omission. Overall, participants describe situations in which *blanco* is substituted with *rubio* for direct address (row 1, Table 50). A participant in Dajabón describes the specific circumstances in which *blanco* is used as a direct form of address (row 2). For him, *blanco* is used as a form of address in Haiti and by Haitian immigrants in Dajabón. Finally, in some circumstances,

speakers do not describe color at all (row 3). When a speaker gives a command or directive,

he or she will generally not use *blanco*. Instead, the speaker may give the directive and omit

the descriptor entirely or use a generic expression like *joven* ('young person') or *señor /*

señora ('sir / ma'am'). A participant in Dajabón explains, 'Conversely, they do not say,

'Hey, *blanco*, get out of there.' Just 'Get out of there' or 'Sir / Ma'am, get out of there''

(DAJ_INT7). A participant in Santiago describes circumstances in which *rubio* cannot be

substituted for *blanco* and speakers may thus omit the descriptor altogether. The participant

states, 'If a person is white and does not have blonde hair, you are not going to call [the

person] *rubio*. White, black hair – 'Look, *joven*, sit down.' I would not say, '*Blanco*, sit

down,' no,' STI_INT3).

Table 50. *Blanco* in Direct Address

1. *Rubio* for Direct Address	'*Mira, rubio,'* pero no *'Mira, blanco.' Sería extraño.* (STI_INT3) '*Mira, rubio, ven acá*' (STI_INT7) '*Mira, rubia, mami, ven. Tú sí 'tá buena*' (STI_INT8)
2. *Blanco* for Direct Address	(D1) *No es tan común.* *Se usa más en Haití, 'Blanco, ven acá. Blanc!'* (EW) *Los inmigrantes haitianos lo dicen aquí? Hasta en español?* (D1) *Sí, 'Blanc, blanc!'* *Si vas a Juana Mendes y tú eres blanca te dicen blanco* (DAJ_INT1)
3. *Blanco* - Omission	*Al contrario, no dicen,* '*Mira, tú, blanco, quítate de allí.'* *Sólo 'Quítate de allí,' o* '*Señor / Señora, quítate de allí*' (DAJ_INT7) *Si una persona es blanca y no tiene pelo rubio, no le vas a decir* *rubio. Blanco, pelo negro – 'Mira, joven, siéntate.' No diría,* '*Blanco, siéntate, no*' (STI_INT3).

In addition to other social understandings of *blanco*, participants share some common

(and less common) sayings that reveal additional aspects of social meaning in the

Dominican setting (Table 51). Participants explain that sayings such as '*Ser blanco es una profesión*' ('Being *blanco* is a profession') and '*Al blanco todo le pega*' ('Everything sticks to the *blanco*') communicate that someone who is *blanco* in Dominican society will have a good life (STI_INT3, SDQ_INT1). Participants explain that *blanco* can also refer to power, as in '*Ellos son blancos y se entienden*' ('They are *blancos* and they understand each other') and '*Esos son cosas de blancos*' ('Those things belong to *blancos*') (SDQ_INT1, DAJ_INT3). For the saying '*Son blancos y se entienden*,' a participant in Santo Domingo gives an example of when the term may be used:

> If there is a dispute between [a] manager and co-manager, the assistants say, 'They are *blancos* and they understand each other.' They are from the same group and they are going to understand each other. It is not to talk about race. People that occupy the same power.
>
> (*Si hay discusión entre jefe y subjefe, los ayudantes dicen,* "*Ellos son blancos y se entienden.*" *Son del mismo grupo y se van a entender. No es decir de raza. Personas que ocupan el mismo poder*,' SDQ_INT1)

To clarify whether this expression can indeed be used irrespective of the race of the referent(s), I ask whether the expression may still be used, 'If they are not white, but have the power?' The participant responds, 'It can be used' ('(EW) *¿Si no son blancos, pero tienen el poder?* (SDQ1) *Se puede usar*,' SDQ_INT1).

Table 51. Refranes Relating to *Blanco*

1.	*Ser blanco es una profesión.*	STI_INT3, SDQ_INT1
2.	*Si un blanco y un negro estàn sentados juntos en una mesa, o le debe el blanco al negro o es del negro la comida.*	STI_INT3
3.	*Ellos son blancos y se entienden.*	SDQ_INT1
4.	*Al blanco todo le pega.*	STI_INT3
5.	*Esos son cosas de blancos.*	DAJ_INT3
6.	*Algún día ahorcan blancos.*	DAJ_INT3
7.	*Yo no soy racista. A mí me da igual un blanco que un maldito negro.*	DAJ_INT7

Other participants share expressions that allude to *blancos* taking advantage of others. A participant in Santiago mentions a saying that she characterizes as being from her grandparents' generation, '*Si un blanco y un negro están sentados juntos en una mesa, o le debe el blanco al negro o es del negro la comida*' ('If a *blanco* and a *negro* are seated together at a table, either the *blanco* owes the *negro* or the food belongs to the *negro*,' STI_INT3). A participant in Dajabón mentions the saying, '*Algún día, se ahorcan blancos*' ('Someday, *blancos* will be hanged,' DAJ_INT3). The participant explains the circumstances in which the expression would be used:

> That when *blancos* lower [or degrade a person], all that is left to say [is], 'Someday *blancos* will be hanged; someday *blancos* will be eliminated.'

> ('*Que cuando los blancos hacen bellacada, nada más le queda decir, "Algún día ahorcan blancos; algún día se eliminan blancos,"*' DAJ_INT3).

Lastly, a participant in Dajabón shares an expression that has come to represent the irony of some professed racial attitudes, '*Yo no soy racista. A mí me da igual un blanco que un maldito negro*' ('I am not racist. To me it makes no difference [if someone is] a *blanco* or a damn *negro*,' DAJ_INT7).

Visual Representations of *Blanco*

Participants identify nineteen images that could be described as *blanco/a* in the Dominican Republic. A look at the range of images confirms that the category of *blanco* is framed broadly. The images that participants most frequently identify as *blanco/a* are also the images that participants most frequently identify as *rubio/a*: MALE_1 (7 participants) and FEMALE_1 (5 participants). That MALE_1 is most frequently described as *blanco* is unsurprising given that his physical appearance most approximates that of the *blanco* prototype. Participants highlight MALE_1's 'smooth hair' and 'light eyes' (STI_INT6,

STI_INT7). Participants point to FEMALE_1's skin color (STI_INT6, SDQ_INT3).

MALE_2 (5 participants) and FEMALE_6 (5 participants) are also frequently described as

blanco/a. Participants describe FEMALE_6 as *blanca pálida* ('pallid white,' SDQ_INT3),

overlapping with *jabao* (STI_INT6), and as *blanca achinada* because of the form of her eyes

(STI_INT7). Four participants describe MALE_10 as *blanco*, and three participants describe

FEMALE_2 as *blanca*. Two participants describe FEMALE_16 and FEMALE_22 as

blanca, and one participant each describes the remaining images as *blanco/a*: FEMALE_4,

FEMALE_12, FEMALE_9, MALE_17, FEMALE_18, MALE_14, FEMALE_5,

FEMALE_24, FEMALE_21, MALE_3, and FEMALE_3.

pelirrojo/a

The final term characterized as within *la raza blanca* is pelirrojo. Although participants

at all three research sites understand and use forms of *pelirrojo*, there is some regional

variation in the number of *pelirrojos* that participants believe to be in the country. As with

rubio, participants in Santiago and Santo Domingo draw a distinction between natural and

elective *pelirrojos*. Participants at both sites agree that natural *pelirrojos* are not common,

but that there are substantial numbers of elective *pelirrojos* (STI_INT7, SDQ_INT7,

SDQ_INT8).

Physical Meaning: *Pelirrojo*

A participant in Dajabón describes the *pelirrojo* profile as somewhere between *blanca*

and *colorao*, sharing some features such as skin color, hair color and texture with *blanco* and

hair color and facial features with *colorao* ('*Entre blanca y colorao*,' DAJ_INT3). When

participants describe the Dominican conception of the *pelirrojo / pelirroja*, they invoke four

primary variables (1) hair color, (2) skin color, (3) hair texture, and (4) features of the face. The prototypical *pelirrojo* conforms to the description for all four characteristics. In some additional cases, a single characteristic may invoke a description of *pelirrojo*. From ten participants that explicitly describe the physical characteristics of the *pelirrojo*, the following prototype emerges: (1) red / reddish hair, (2) white skin, (3) straight hair (also 'good hair'), and (4) freckles. A person that fits this physical description is undeniably *pelirrojo* in the Dominican Republic.

(1) HAIR COLOR	(2) SKIN COLOR	(3) HAIR TEXTURE	(4) FEATURES (FACE)
rojo / rojizo	*blanco*	*bueno*	*pintas*

Participants emphasize that hair color can be a determinative factor in whether someone is described as *pelirrojo*. As in the case of *rubio*, because hair color is such a central component of the *pelirrojo* profile, the act of dyeing one's hair red is sufficient to qualify as *pelirrojo*. A participant in Santiago explains that women may dye their hair with Kool-Aid or a liquid for cleaning shoes (STI_INT7). Although others would regard these women as elective *pelirrojas*, they could still meet the *pelirrojo* description. A participant in Santo Domingo describes an exchange that might occur after women dye their hair red, 'Here we call women that [dye their hair] *pelirrojas*. We say to them, 'You changed from *morena* or *blanca* to *pelirroja* now?'' ('*Aquí les decimos pelirrojas a esas mujeres que se ponen un tinte. Les decimos, 'cambiaste de morena o blanca a pelirroja ahora*?',' SDQ_INT4).

Three participants state that there is substantial overlap between the categories of *pelirrojo* and *colorao* to the extent that one participant considers *pelirrojo* and *colorao* to be like synonyms ('*Es un nombre muy, como sinónimos, más o menos. Se puede usar para la misma persona*,' DAJ_INT1). Participants also identify overlap between *pelirrojo* and *jabao*

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('*También a los pelirrojos es que decimos jabao*, STI_INT5).

Social Meaning and Functions: *Pelirrojo*

A Santiago participant states that the decision to use *pelirrojo* versus *colorao* to describe a person that could fall into both categories depends on the education level of the speaker ('*Depende del nivel educativo, social*,' STI_INT3). The assumption is that speakers with a higher level of education will use *pelirrojo*. For some participants, *pelirrojo* is also a more flattering term. A participant in Santo Domingo states that *pelirrojo* is 'something exotic,' so that when someone is described as *pelirrojo* the speaker is attributing to them good attributes (SDQ_INT6). The same participant positions *pelirrojo* as a more desirable description than *colorao*, because saying 'Wow, *la pelirroja*' is not the same as 'this *colorá*' ('*Sí, porque cuando se le llama pelirrojo es como si fuera un atributo bonito, 'Guau, la pelirroja,' no 'La colorá esta'*, SDQ_INT6). Additionally, as with *blanco*, participants do not view *pelirrojo* as a term used in direct address.

Visual Representations of *Pelirrojo*

Participants identify one image that could be described as *pelirrojo/a* in the Dominican Republic: FEMALE_3. A participant in Santiago points to FEMALE_3's freckles as part of the *pelirroja* description (STI_INT5). Another Santiago participant describes FEMALE_3 as *pelirroja* and highlights hair color and freckles (STI_INT6). A participant in Santo Domingo also describes FEMALE_3 as *pelirroja*. The participant also points to FEMALE_3's freckles and comments that FEMALE_3 does not appear to be Dominican (SDQ_INT3).

b. *Raza Mulata* (*colorao, jabao, trigueño, indio)*

The terms that Guzmán (1974) assigns to *la raza mulata—indio, jabao, trigueño—*have

traditionally corresponded to notions of mixedness in the Dominican Republic, although not always specifically to the mixture between black and white. The term *colorao,* while not explored by Guzmán, represents a profile that can be viewed as white or mixed. Of the four categories, *indio* is by far the term with the broadest application. It is precisely this broad application for which the term *indio* has garnered substantial scrutiny. Participants juxtapose the terms in the *Raza Mulata* category and describe overlap between *colorao* and *jabao*, and between *trigueño* and *indio*. Moreover, for these terms, participants talk about mixture, contrast, origin, and social meaning. This section discusses terms related to *la raza mulata* in the following order: *colorao, jabao, trigueño, indio*.

colorao

Participants across research sites confirm that *colorao* is not among the most frequent descriptors in the Dominican Republic. For participants in Santiago, *colorao* 'is not very common' ('*No es muy común,*' STI_INT6) and is less frequent than *pelirrojo* and *jabao* (STI_INT5). In Santo Domingo, a participant summarizes, '[*Coloraos*] are [an] exceptional case. They are [the] exception. The people that appear *coloradas* are very few. There are almost none,' ('*Son caso excepcional. Son excepción. Son muy pocas las personas que aparecen coloradas. Casimente no hay,*' SDQ_INT2). Participants in Dajabón further confirm this theme. One participant states, '*Colorao* is not used so much. Here *jabao* is used more than *colorao*,' ('*Colorao no se usa tanto. Más jabao que colorao se usa aquí,*' DAJ_INT2).

Physical Meaning: *Colorao*

When participants describe the Dominican conception of *el colorao*, they invoke three primary variables: (1) hair color, (2) skin color, and (3) hair texture. The interview data

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indicate that there are three images of the *colorao* that participants conceptualize as

prototypical. One is determined by skin color, and the others are determined by hair color.

Colorao is also a category with significant overlap, particularly in the case of *pelirrojo* and

jabao. From sixteen participants that explicitly describe the physical characteristics of the

colorao, three profiles emerge. The first, profile a, is determined by skin color and

characterized by (1) hair of any color, (2) red / reddish / pink skin, and (3) smooth / straight

hair. A person that meets this description may also be described as *blanco*. Profile b is

primarily determined by hair color as it interacts with hair texture: (1) red / reddish / brick-

colored hair, (2) light skin, (3) coarse / 'hard' hair. A person that meets this description may

also be described as *jabao*. Profile c is also primarily determined by hair color and its

interaction with hair texture: (1) red / reddish hair, (2) white skin, (3) smooth / straight hair.

A person that meets this description may also be described as *pelirrojo*.

	(1) HAIR COLOR	(2) SKIN COLOR	(3) HAIR TEXTURE	OVERLAP
a.	*cualquier color*	*rojo / rojizo / rosadito*	*bueno / liso / lacio*	*blanco*
b.	*rojo / rojizo / ladrillo*	*claro*	*malo / duro*	*jabao*
c.	*rojo / rojizo*	blanco	*bueno / liso / lacio*	*pelirrojo*

For participants for whom skin color is the determinative factor in the *colorao* profile, a

reddish hue is important. Some participants paint this red vividly, like the color of a tomato:

'The *colorao* is always like a tomato. He has the pinkish color of a child. In the sun he is

burning' ('*El colorao siempre está como un tomate. Tiene el color rosadito como un niño.*

En el sol se está quemando,' SDQ_INT4); '[*Coloraos*] always look red like a tomato'

('*Siempre se ven como rojos como un tomate*,' SDQ_INT8). Within this category, *colorao*

can be a constant hue or a temporary condition. A participant in Santo Domingo explains,

'Okay, there are people that have white skin. They [spend time in the] sun; their skin changes. A reddish color. 'Shit, but you are colorá, partner'' ('*Bueno, hay personas que son de tez blanca. Cogen sol; su piel va cambiando. Un color rojizo. 'Mierda, pero tú sí está' colorá, socio'*,' SDQ_INT4). For participants that view skin color as the determinative factor, hair color does not factor in (SDQ_INT4).

For some participants, *colorao* is primarily a temporary skin color manifestation. Two participants in Santo Domingo cast the *colorao* as a white person that spends a lot of time in the sun (SDQ_INT3). I was conducting the interview outside around midday. As he was describing this category, one of the participants, a man described as *blanco* and *jabao*, pointed to himself as an example: '[In a little while] you are going to see me' (SDQ_INT3). A participant in Dajabón describes *colorao* as the physical result of an emotional state. For this participant, when a white person experiences emotion and turns red, that person is *colorao*. When asked whether this state was only the result of anger or other emotion, the respondent answered, 'Yes' (DAJ_INT1).

For participants for whom hair color is the determinative factor, the reddish hue is also important. For a participant in Santo Domingo, this reddish hue manifests in the same shade as for the *pelirrojo*, such that the two terms can be synonyms ('*Sinónimo de rojo… Exactamente, el colorao se le diría lo que en tu país tal vez sería pelirrojo, o la pelirroja*,' SDQ_INT6). For a participant in Santiago, this hair color is more orange-red—the 'color of fire' ('*Pelo, color de fuego*,' STI_INT4). A participant in Dajabón describes what she understands to be the origin of a person that is described as *colorao*: 'Here there are some children. For me they are *blancos*. Both parents are *blancos*. The children come out even more *blancos*, with brown, reddish hair. A strange color. That is the mix of two *blancos*'

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('*Aquí hay unos niños. Para mí son blancos. Los dos padres son blancos. Los niños salen aún más blancos, con pelo marrón, rojizo. Un color raro. Que es la mezcla de dos blancos*,' DAJ_INT4).

Colorao is a category with a lot of overlap, particularly with respect to the categories of *pelirrojo* and *jabao*. For a participant in Dajabón, *colorao* and *pelirrojo* are more or less synonyms that can be used to describe the same person ('*Parecido al pelirrojo. Es un nombre muy, como sinónimos, más o menos. Se puede usar para la misma persona*,' DAJ_INT1). For a participant in Santo Domingo, *colorao* has darker, redder skin than the *pelirrojo*, and the *colorao*'s hair is a different texture—not as straight:

> (SDQ7) '*El colorao se me confunde un poquito con el pelirrojo. Pero entiendo que el colorado, el colorao tiene … como que la piel un poquito más oscura, como medio rojita así… El* [cabello] *del pelirrojo tiende a ser un cabello bueno.* (EW) *El* [*cabello del*] *colorado?* (SDQ7) *No así tan lacio tan bueno.* (SDQ_INT7)

For a participant in Dajabón, *colorao* and *jabao* represent the same physical category ('*Es el mismo jabao*,' DAJ_INT7). A participant in Santo Domingo states that *colorao* and *jabao* are similar, but that the *colorao* is a bit darker and does not have blonde hair ('*Es como el jabao, lo único es que tiene un poquito más quemadito, y el pelo no es rubio*,' SDQ_INT8).

<u>Social Meaning and Functions: *Colorao*</u>

In addition to their descriptive function, forms of *colorao* may be used as nicknames, direct forms of address, and pejorative descriptions. For participants in Santo Domingo, although *colorao* may be used as a nickname or form of direct address, it is not common ('*Podría ser* [*apodo*], *pero no creo que se utilice mucho. Pero podría usarse, claro*,' SDQ_INT6; '*Se usa, pero no tanto*,' SDQ_INT7). For one participant in Santiago, *colorao* can be used as a form of direct address (STI_INT3), and, for another, *colorao* can be used as

a nickname, as in, 'Colorao, come here!' ('Sí, hay gente que dice, 'Colorao, ¡ven acá!',' STI_INT8). For another participant in Santiago, *colorao* is less of a category and more of a nickname ('*Colorao más bien es un apodo*,' STI_INT5). *Colorao* may also be used in pejorative contexts by invoking the category overlap between *colorao* and *pelirrojo*, for example. A participant in Santo Domingo explains that, while *pelirrojo* is regarded as a more refined term, *colorao* can be used in pejorative contexts ('*En términos un poquito despectivos, si se quiere, llamarle así 'Colorao e'te*',' SDQ_INT6).

Visual Representations of *Colorao*

Participants identify two images that could be described as *colorao* in the Dominican Republic: MALE_11 and MALE_3. These two images invoke the skin-color determined understanding of *colorao*. MALE_11's skin has a pink hue, and MALE_3's skin has a reddish hue.

jabao/a

Participants across research sites confirm that *jabao* is not among the most frequently used terms. Participants in Santiago state that the term is not very common (STI_INT4, STI_INT8), although it is more common than *colorao* (STI_INT5, DAJ_INT2). Participants in Santo Domingo opine that the *jabao* profile might be more common in other regions of the country. One participant states, 'Yes, you see it a lot in [rural areas]' ('*Sí, se ve mucho en los campos*,' SDQ_INT7). Another participant states, 'I think it is used more in the zone of the Cibao, which is where I come from … Not so much [in the capital]. In the Cibao, I have heard it more' ('*Yo pienso que se usa más en la zona del Cibao, que es de donde yo vengo … No tanto* [*en la Capital*]. *En el Cibao, lo he escuchado más*,' SDQ_INT5). This participant's statement about the frequency of *jabao* in the Cibao appears to contrast the evaluations of

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the participants in Santiago (i.e., that *jabao* is not very common). However, the participant

from Santo Domingo describes herself as *jabá* and many of her family members as *jabao*.

This could thus influence her perception of the frequency of the *jabao* profile.

Physical Meaning: *Jabao*

When participants describe the Dominican conception of *el jabao*, they invoke four

primary variables: (1) hair color, (2) skin color, (3) hair texture, and (4) features of the face.

The interview data indicate that there are three images of the *jabao* that participants

conceptualize as prototypical. *Jabao* is also a category with significant overlap, particularly

in the case of *colorao, pelirrojo, rubio,* and *blanco*. From nineteen participants that

explicitly describe the physical characteristics of the *jabao*, three profiles emerge for the

category of *jabao*. The first, profile a, is characterized by (1) red / reddish hair, (2) light

skin, (3) coarse hair, and (4) freckles. A person that meets this description may also be

described as *colorao* or *pelirrojo*. Profile b is primarily determined by (1) yellow / blonde

hair, (2) white / yellowish skin, (3) coarse / 'hard' hair, and, optionally, (4) freckles. A

person that meets this description may also be described as *rubio*. Profile c is characterized

by (2) white skin, (3) coarse hair, and, optionally, (4) freckles. A person that meets this

description may also be described as *blanco*.

	(1) HAIR COLOR	(2) SKIN COLOR	(3) HAIR TEXTURE	(4) FEATURES
a.	*rojo / rojizo*	*claro*	*crespo*	*pecas / pintas*
b.	*amarillo / rubio*	*blanco / amarillento*	*crespo / duro*	(*pecas / pintas*)
c.		*blanco*	*crespo*	(pecas / pintas) (*rasgos ordinarios*)

Participants at all three research sites frame *jabao* as a category that is characterized by

mixture. Specifically, *jabao* evokes for participants a strange combination of *blanco* and

negro. In Santiago, participants describe this mixture in a variety of ways. One participant

describes it simply as *mezcla* ('mixture'): 'Mix of *negro* and *blanco*' ('*Mezcla de negro y*

blanco,' STI_INT3). While describing an image as *jabao*, another participant states, 'You

see that she has a lot of mixture. A very strong *blanco*, a German. But she has *negro* as well'

('*Se ve que tiene mucha mezcla. Un blanco muy fuerte, un alemán. Pero también tiene*

negro,' STI_INT7). The participant then explains the specific physical characteristics that

she is referencing. From the combination of a strong *blanco* and a strong *negro* comes a

person that has white skin, coarse hair, freckles, and thick lips ('*Blanco fuerte, negro fuerte.*

Sale blanco, pelo crespo, pecas. Sus facciones, labios gruesos, piel clara. Tiene el africano,'

STI_INT7). For a third participant in Santiago, *jabao* is a strange mixture that can result

from two *negros*, a *negro* and a *blanco*, or another combination. A *jabao* will have coarse

hair that is red or yellow and yellowish skin. The *jabao* will have 'rustic' features, with a

thick nose and thick lips:

> *Un ser que nació de una mezcla extraña de personas. Pueden ser dos negros, un*
> *negro y un blanco, otra combinación. Tiene el pelo malo pero rojo o amarillo.*
> *Piel amarillento o rubión … [Rasgos] rústicos, nariz gruesa, labios gruesos,*
> *carnosos.* (STI_INT9)

In Santo Domingo, the theme of the *jabao* as a strange mixture emerges as well. One

participant states, 'It is strange because the *jabao* is not *blanco*, nor is he *rubio*, nor *colorao*.

It is like a strange combination' ('*Es raro porque el jabao no es blanco, ni es rubio, ni*

colorao. Es como una combinación rara,' SDQ_INT8). Another participant in Santo

Domingo describes what he understands to be the typical, classic *jabao*:

> 'A *rubio* with [the] physical [appearance] of [a] *negro*. That is *jabao*. The typical,
> classic *jabao*. People with white skin, with [coarse] hair, [like] *negros*. They have
> features of *negros*, so [now] they do not qualify as *blancos*'

('*Un rubio con físico de negro. Ése es jabao. El jabao típico, clásico. Personas de piel blanca, con el pelo duro, de negros. Tienen rasgos de negros, entonces ya no califican como blancos*,' SDQ_INT1).

In Dajabón, one participant opines that *jabao* is an ethnic category invented by Dominicans that has features of the *negro* profile and features of the *blanco* profile without conforming to either ('*El jabao es un color étnico inventado por los dominicanos, que queda entre el color tuyo y el blanco. No llega a blanco, tampoco llega al negro. Tiene rasgos de negro, pero tiene rasgos de blanco*,' DAJ_INT5). For another participant in Dajabón, *jabao* has a mixture of *negro* and other colors ('*Tiene como una mezcla de negro. El jabao es como una mezcla de colores*,' DAJ_INT1). As I interviewed a third participant in Dajabón, she called over a co-worker to demonstrate her understanding of the *jabao* category. The participant is identified as "D4," and the co-worker is identified as "CW" in Table 52 below.

Table 52. Characterizing the *Jabao*

(D4) *Es un blanco, pero un blanco raro.* *No es blanco, blanco.*	\<To interviewer\>
¿Tu mamá es oscura, o tu papá?	\<To co-worker\>
(CW) *No, mi mamá*	
(D4) *La mezcla de un color oscuro claro con un blanco blanco*	\<To interviewer\>
(CW) *Mi mamá es como el color tuyo.* *Mi papá es así.*	\<To interviewer\>
(D4) *Porque si uno de tus padres fuera negro,* *tú saldrías indio.* (DAJ_INT4)	\<To co-worker\>

The participant points to her co-worker and addresses the interviewer, 'He is *blanco*, but a strange *blanco*. He is not *blanco, blanco*.' She then addresses the co-worker, 'Is your mom dark, or your dad?' The co-worker answers, 'No, my mom.' The participant turns back to the interviewer: 'The mixture of a light dark color with a *blanco blanco*.' The co-worker

points toward the interviewer and states, 'My mom is like your color. My dad is like this.'

He points to an object. The participant chimes in again, building on her co-worker's

statement that his mother is about the interviewer's color (*morena*), 'Because if one of your

parents were *negro*, you would come out *indio*.' For this participant's definition of *jabao*,

mixture is tempered by degree. One parent need not only be *blanco* but the emphatic *blanco*

blanco. The other parent must be darker than the first, but lighter than *negro.*

Skin color is the feature to which participants most frequently point as they build the

jabao profile. For some participants, the *jabao*'s skin color is light but not white ('*Claro,*

pero no es blanco,' STI_INT3) or yellowish ('*Un color medio amarillento. Pelo crespo*,'

STI_INT6). For others, skin color is viewed in conjunction with features such as freckles

('*Es como un amarillo con pintas,*' DAJ_INT1; '*El jabao tiene la piel llena de pintitas*,'

STI_INT4). A participant in Dajabón asserts that people with freckles are described as *jabao*

because of an association with a type of speckled snake known as the *culebra jabá* ('*Eso se*

ha transferido de, aquí hay diferentes culebras. Hay una que le dicen la culebra jabá,'

DAJ_INT1). The same participant confirms, however, that skin color is the most important

factor ('*Lo que se fija más al color de la piel,*' DAJ_INT1). One participant in Santiago

agrees that skin color is the primary determinant in the *jabao* profile but sees the role of skin

color in a way that is distinct from the other descriptions. For her, the *jabao* profile is about

contrasting skin tones: *morenos* with white patches on their skin, *indios* with white patches,

blancos with black patches ('*Personas morenas con manchas blancas. Igual que una*

persona india, con manchas blancas. Personas blancas con manchas negras—también

jabao,' STI_INT8).

Although participants view skin color as determinative, it can also be relative. A

participant in Santo Domingo explains:

> 'In a family of eight siblings, with parents from two distinct racial groups—He is *negro*; she is *blanca*—the children will turn out in one way or another. One comes out that is more *blanco* than everyone, *jabao*.'

> ('*En una familia de ocho hermanos, con padres de dos grupos raciales diferentes— Él es negro; ella es blanca—Los hijos saldrán de un modo u otro. Sale uno que es más blanco que todos, jabao*,' SDQ_INT1).

This participant does not mention hair color or texture or specific facial features. Rather, the determinative factor in this case is the skin color of the child in relation to his or her siblings.

Nevertheless, for some participants, hair, not skin color, is determinative for the *jabao* profile. Hair color and hair texture are key elements of this profile. A participant in Santiago describes the hair color of the *jabao* as 'from yellow to white' and continues that the profile is 'not necessarily the skin' ('*Pelo de amarillo a blanco. No necesariamente la piel*,' STI_INT4). For a participant in Santo Domingo, *rojizo* is the determinative color, and a person that is *jabao* will even have eyelashes and eyebrows that are the same reddish color as the individual's hair ('*…hasta las pestañas y las cejas son como rojizas*,' SDQ_INT6). For other participants, the description includes a combination of hair color and hair texture. One participant in Santiago describes this combination as 'Blonde-ish hair. Coarse hair with curls' ('*Pelo medio arubiao. Pelo crespo con rizos*,' STI_INT3). Finally, some participants highlight hair texture without mentioning color. A participant in Santo Domingo, while describing her grandmother, states that her grandmother was a strange *jabá* because she did not have '*pelo malo*' but rather smooth, curly hair ('*Mi abuela era jabá, pero una jabá rara porque no tenía el pelo malo. El pelo rizo y bueno*' SDQ_INT8). A participant in Dajabón speaks about how hair texture can be the determining factor for a description of *jabao* versus a description of *blanco*. She states, 'It is rare to see a white person with bad hair. If [the

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person] has bad hair, [the person] is *jabao*. [The person] is not pure *blanco'* ('*Es raro ver una persona blanca con el pelo malo. Si tiene el pelo malo, es jabao. No es blanco puro,*' DAJ_INT7).

Because of its physical characteristics, *jabao* is a category with a lot of overlap, particularly with respect to *colorao, pelirrojo, blanco* and *rubio*. In Santiago, participants reference an overlap between *jabao* and *pelirrojo* and between *jabao, blanco,* and *indio lavado*. One participant states, 'We also call *pelirrojos jabao*' ('*También a los pelirrojos es que decimos jabao,*' STI_INT5). Another participant, while describing FEMALE_2, states, 'She can be *blanca* or *india lavada. Jabá* too, because of [her] freckles' ('*Puede ser blanca o india lavada. Jabá también, por pecas,*' STI_INT7). In Santo Domingo, participants describe the positioning of *jabao* between *blanco* and *indio* and the difference between *jabao* and *rubio*. One participant states, 'The *jabao* is quite a light person, more *amarillo* than *blanco* and more *blanco* than *indio*' ('*El jabao viene siendo una persona bastante clara, más amarillo que blanco y más blanco que indio,*' SDQ_INT4). Another participant highlights hair texture as the difference between the categories of *jabao* and *rubio*, 'The only [thing] is that the *jabao* is not like the hair of the *rubio*. The *jabao* has bad hair, even though it is blonde. A rougher hair, coarser. Basically, that is the difference' ('*Lo único es que el jabao no es como el cabello del rubio. El jabao tiene el pelo malo, aunque sea rubio. Un cabello más áspero, más crespo. Basicamente, ésa es la diferencia,*' SDQ_INT7). In Dajabón, a participant describes the overlap between the categories of *jabao* and *colorao*. For this participant, *jabao* is a type of *colorao* ('*Jabao viene siendo una variedad de colorao,*' DAJ_INT2). While describing his grandmother's physical profile, the participant treats *jabao* and *colorao* as overlapping categories, 'My grandmother was *colorá* as they

say, or *jabá'* ('*Mi abuela era colorá como dicen, o jabá,*' DAJ_INT2).

Social Meaning and Functions: *Jabao*

In addition to their descriptive function, forms of *jabao* may be used as nicknames or as direct forms of address. A participant in Santiago confirms, 'Here there are people that use it as a nickname' ('*Aquí hay gente que lo usa de apodo,*' STI_INT8). While participants generally agree that *jabao may* be used as a form of direct address, there is some difference of opinion about the frequency of its use for this function. For one participant in Santo Domingo, *jabao* may be used as a form of direct address because it is descriptive and not pejorative ('*Sí, el jabao no es peyorativo. Es descriptivo,*' SDQ_INT1). For another participant, *jabao* may be used in direct address, but it is not common because *jabao* is a race ('*Sí, menos común, porque es una raza. Sí, se puede decir así, menos común,*' SDQ_INT6). For a third participant, *jabao* is very frequent as a form of direct address, 'And it is used to call [someone] also, '*Jabao,* look at that *jabao.*' It is very common' ('*Y se usa para llamar también, 'Jabao, mira ese jabao.' Es muy común,*' SDQ_INT7). Finally, a participant in Dajabón states that *jabao* is not usually used in this way ('*Usualmente, no se usa jabao para identificar,*' DAJ_INT2).

Although *jabao* is generally descriptive and not pejorative, *jabao* may be used in a pejorative way in certain contexts. A participant in Santiago describes such circumstances. When asked whether *jabao* could be used as an insult, the participant put the term in context, ''Look, [you] damn *jabao*!' When they speak like that, they are insults' (''*Mira, ¡maldito jabao!' Cuando hablan así, son insultos,*' STI_INT8). A participant in Santiago addresses social perceptions of the *jabao*. He states that people say, '*Jabaos* are dangerous. Hard to get along with' ('*Los jabao son peligrosos ... Malos de tratar,*' STI_INT4). For a

participant in Dajabón, there are also societal prejudices against *jabaos* because of their

undefined profile, 'There are prejudices against *jabaos* – as they do not have a defined

pigmentation. [He] has a discolored color. It is an element also of feature[s] of prejudice'

('*Hay prejuicios en contra de los jabaos, porque el jabao – como no tienen una*

pigmentación definida. Tiene un color desteñido. Es un elemento también de rasgo de

prejuicio,' DAJ_INT5).

Visual Representations of *Jabao*

Participants identify eight images that could be described as *jabao* in the Dominican

Republic: FEMALE_3, MALE_6, MALE_3, FEMALE_6, FEMALE_2, FEMALE_1,

FEMALE_9, FEMALE_25. Six participants describe FEMALE_3 as *jabao / jabá*. For two

participants, FEMALE_3 is *jabá* because she has freckles (STI_INT5, STI_INT7). A

participant in Santiago describes FEMALE_3, MALE_6, and FEMALE_2 as *jabaos*. For

this participant, FEMALE_3 and FEMALE_2 are *jabá* because of their freckles, and

MALE_6, although he does not have freckles like the other two, is *jabao* because his image

presents a great contrast. He has 'white skin' but facial features that would not typically be

associated with whiteness (STI_INT7). Another participant in Santiago describes

FEMALE_6 as jabá because of her skin color and hair texture: 'Maybe someone might say

blanca. A yellowish color. Coarse hair' ('*Quizás alguien diga blanca. Un color medio*

amarillento. Pelo crespo,' (STI_INT6). A participant in Santo Domingo describes

FEMALE_9 as '*jabá*-ish' and FEMALE_1 as *jabá* but does not explain why ('*Ella es media*

jabá,' SDQ_INT8). The Santiago participant that describes MALE_3 and FEMALE_25 as

jabao does not explain which features prompt this description (STI_INT3).

trigueño/a

In general, participants agree that forms of *trigueño* are not very frequently used descriptors in the Dominican Republic. For some participants, this evaluation is unqualified, 'Almost no one uses *trigueño*,' ('*Casi nadie usa trigueño*,' STI_INT6). A participant in Santiago contrasts the frequency of the term *trigueño* with the frequency of *mulato*. The participant states that, while *mulato* is not common and requires a certain educational level, *trigueño* is a word used in rural spaces ('*No, tiene que ser una persona de cierto nivel académico. La persona del pueblo no lo va a decir … Se usaría indio, moreno. Trigueño es una palabra del pueblo*,' STI_INT7). For a participant in Santo Domingo that self identifies as *trigueño*, the *trigueño* profile is actually the most common ('*Sí, creo que es el más común*,' SDQ_INT6).

Physical Meaning: *Trigueño*

When participants describe the Dominican conception of *el trigueño*, they invoke four primary variables: (1) hair color, (2) skin color, (3) hair texture, and (4) facial features. The prototypical *trigueño* conforms to the description for all four characteristics. Based on the descriptions that participants give and the images they identify, another *trigueño* profile emerges that reveals the persistent legacy of a historical distinction between *trigueño claro* and *trigueño oscuro* (Guzmán, 1974). *Trigueño* is also a category with significant category overlap, particularly with gradations of *indio*. From sixteen participants that explicitly describe the physical characteristics of the *trigueño*, the following prototype emerges: (1) dark hair, (2) light skin (but not white), (3) straight hair, (4) fine features. A person that fits this physical description is *trigueño* in the Dominican Republic. A second profile that can represent the *trigueño*, profile b, also emerges from participant responses. For this

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description, an individual must have (1) dark hair, (2) darker skin, and may have (3) straight

or coarse hair.

	(1) HAIR COLOR	(2) SKIN COLOR	(3) HAIR TEXTURE	(4) FEATURES
a.	*pelo oscuro*	*clara*	*lacio / bueno*	(*facciones finas*)
b.	*pelo oscuro*	*oscurita / tostada / oscura*	*lacio / crespo*	

Participants at all three research sites frame *trigueño* as a category that is characterized

by mixture. Specifically, *trigueño* frequently evokes a combination of *blanco* and *indígena*.

In Santiago, *trigueño* is an intermediate term—'Darker than *blanco*; lighter than *negro*'

('*Más oscura que el blanco; más clara que el negro*,' STI_INT8). At the popular level,

trigueño is the union of *blanco* with *indígena / europeo* with *indígena* ('*Nivel popular –*

unión de blanco con indígena … mezcla de europeos con indígenas,' STI_INT6). One

participant in Santiago specifically relates *trigueño* to the notion of *mestizaje*. He states:

> '*Trigueño* comes with a combination of *mestizaje*. The combination with *aborigen*, not *negro*. A skin tone that is neither *blanca* nor *negra*. It is the one that is *mestizo*. Neither *blanco* nor *oscuro*'
>
> ('*Trigueño viene con una combinación de mestizaje. La combinación con aborigen, no negro. Una tintura de piel que no es blanca ni negra. Es aquel que es mestizo. Ni blanco, ni oscuro*,' STI_INT4).

In Santo Domingo, a participant describes *trigueño* as the mix between *indio, blanco* and

morenito ('*El trigueño es como una mezcla – entre indio, blanco, morenito*,' SDQ_INT7). In

Dajabón, participants conceptualize the mixture of *trigueño* in a slightly broader way. For

one participant, *trigueño* is the mixture of various races ('*Trigueño quiere decir como*

me'colanza de varias razas,' DAJ_INT2). For two additional participants, *trigueño*

contemplates a mixture that includes the country's three principal historical ethnic groups:

black, white, and indigenous. One participant states, 'The *trigueño* is as if it were of three.

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White, black, and indigenous race. Tri-, three' ('*El trigueño es como si fuera de tres. Raza blanca y negra e indígena. Tri-tres*,' DAJ_INT6). The second participant incorporates historical perspective and frames *trigueño* as an undefined mixture of three groups:

> *Trigueño*, in fact, the very composition, tri, n*egro, blanco* and *indio*. It can be the very same *mestizo* color. *Mestizaje* was initially seen between Europeans with Taínos, Europeans with Africans, Africans with Taínos. That hybridity originated that *trigueño* color. That is, the *trigueño* is like the national flag. That is, you cannot place it. It does not make sense. In terms of lineage, it would be *blanco*, which is the smallest population, *negro*, which is the largest population, and *mestizo*.'

> ('*Trigueño de hecho la misma composición, tri, negro, blanco e indio. Puede ser el mismo color mestizo. Mestizaje se vio inicialmente entre europeos con taínos, europeos con africanos, africanos con taínos. Esa hibridad originó ese color trigueño. O sea el trigueño es como la bandera nacional. O sea tú no puedes ubicarlo No tiene sentido. En términos de linaje, sería blanco, que es la población menor, el negro que es la población mayor, y mestizo*' DAJ_INT5).

In terms of the specific physical characteristics of the *trigueño* profile, skin color is the feature to which participants most frequently refer. For one profile, the *trigueño* is characterized by light, not white, skin. A participant in Santiago describes these features as 'Light skin with dark hair' ('*Piel clara con pelo oscuro*,' STI_INT7). A participant in Santo Domingo describes the skin tone in terms of its relationship to *blanco*, 'Light skin. And a little [heading] toward *blanco*, but not necessarily *blanco*. It is a path toward *blanco*' ('*Piel clara. Y un poco tirando a blanco, pero no necesariamente blanco. Es un camino hacia el blanco*,' SDQ_INT1). Moreover, for this participant, skin color is the determining factor in the *trigueño* profile. The *trigueño* that he describes conforms to the *blanco* profile in all other respects (e.g., hair color and texture, facial features) but has slightly darker skin ('*Son blancos de físico, pero la piel no es tan blanca. Ése es el trigueño*,' SDQ_INT1). A Second profile of the *trigueño* is characterized by darker skin. A participant in Santiago describes this profile as overlapping with the category *indio oscuro*. This participant identifies two

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images as *trigueñas*—FEMALE_7 and FEMALE_8. The participant points to the images and describes their skin color as 'a little more toasted' ('*piel un poco más tostada,*' STI_INT5)*.* After the description, she concludes, 'Tonality determines the typification' ('*Tonalidad determina la tipificación,*' STI_INT5).

Because *trigueño* is a category characterized by mixture, the profile is also characterized by significant category overlap. For many participants, *trigueño* overlaps with the category *indio*. A participant in Santiago states, 'Almost no one uses *trigueño*. That is what they call *indio* – the *indio claro*' ('*Casi nadie usa el trigueño. A eso es lo que llaman indio – el indio claro,*' STI_INT6). Another Santiago participant, when describing FEMALE_5, positions the image as conforming to the profiles for both *trigueña* and *india lavada* ('STI_INT7). A participant in Santo Domingo states that people will call the *trigueño indio* ('*Las personas la llaman indio,*' SDQ_INT6). A participant in Dajabón states that a *trigueño* is like an *indio*, but with coarse hair ('*Es como un indio, pero con los cabellos crespos,*' DAJ_INT2).

For other participants, *trigueño* may also overlap with the categories of *moreno, mulato*, and *negro*. A participant in Santiago compares the profiles of *trigueño* and *moreno*. For this participant, if a person has light skin and straight hair, he or she is *trigueño/a*. However, if the person has light skin and coarse hair, than he or she will continue to be *moreno/a* ('*Si es de tez un poco claro-pelo crespo—sigue siendo moreno,*' STI_INT9). For a participant in Dajabón, *trigueño* is very similar to *mulato*, and the two terms are synonyms ('*Un trigueño es casi muy parecido a lo que viene siendo el mulato. Creo que son sinónimos,*' DAJ_INT1). For another participant in Dajabón, the *trigueño* 'is practically *negro*, not with the rough features of the *negro*. [The *trigueño*] is lighter than the *negro*' ('*Es practicamente negro, no con las facciones ásperas del negro. Es un poco más claro que el negro,*' DAJ_INT7).

Social Meaning and Functions: *Trigueño*

In addition to the physical information embedded in the term *trigueño*, participants articulate the ways in which *trigueño* may be deployed in discourse. According to participants, the primary function of *trigueño* is descriptive. In addition to the descriptive function, forms of *trigueño* may sometimes be used as nicknames and forms of direct address. For a participant in Santiago, *trigueño*, like *blanco*, is commonly used for description but would be strange for direct address. She gives an example, '*Esa trigueñita que va allí*' ('That *trigueñita* that is going there,' STI_INT3). For a participant in Santo Domingo, *trigueño* may not be used as a nickname (SDQ_INT1), but for a participant in Santiago, it may, 'Look, *mami*, *trigueñita*' ('*Mira, mami, trigueñita*,' STI_INT8). Participants also discuss whether *trigueño* may be used as a form of address more generally. A participant in Santiago gives an example from a poem by Arturo Pellerano, 'I would like to be a pack mule, that searches for water, where you, my *trigueñita*, bathe' ('*Quisiera ser un burro de cargo, que busca el agua, donde tú, mi trigueña, te bañas*,' STI_INT7). For a participant in Santo Domingo, however, *trigueño* is only used to describe and not as a form of direct address. He gives as an example, '*Sí, es un poco trigueña*' ('Yes, [she] is a little *trigueña*,' SDQ_INT1). Another participant in Santo Domingo expounds. For him, because *trigueños* are a minority of the population, people do not often use *trigueño* as a form of address. *Trigueño* can be used, however, to describe someone, as in, '*El trigueñito que estaba parado*' ('The *trigueñito* that was standing there') or '*Sí, la chica aquella, la trigueña,*' ('Yes, that girl, the *trigueña*,' SDQ_INT6).

For some participants, *trigueño* also performs ideological functions. A participant in Dajabón states that *trigueño* is not offensive and that people generally accept the description

('*Si lo dice, no se ofende. Si lo usa, la gente lo acepta*,' DAJ_INT7). For a participant in

Santo Domingo, *trigueño* brings a note of elegance ('*Porque el trigueño le da una nota de*

elegancia,' SDQ_INT6). For a second participant in Dajabón, *trigueño* has a more sinister

function, 'The *trigueño* is also a form of hiding our color … to not say *negro*, they say

trigueño' ('*El trigueño es también una forma de esconder el color de nosotros … Para no*

decir negro, le dicen trigueño, DAJ_INT6).

<u>Visual Representations of *Trigueño*</u>

Participants identify ten images that could be described as *trigueño* in the Dominican

Republic: FEMALE_4, FEMALE_5, MALE_14, MALE_19, FEMALE_2, FEMALE_7,

MALE_7, FEMALE_8, MALE_13, MALE_21. Participants identify each of the images as

trigueño/a one time. What emerges from these images, however, is a historical distinction

within the category: *trigueño claro* and *trigueño oscuro*. Although participants no longer use

the modifiers *claro* and *oscuro*, the images that participants identify reveal the persistence of

this distinction. FEMALE_4, FEMALE_5, MALE_14, MALE_19 and FEMALE_2 evoke

trigueño claro, while FEMALE_7, MALE_7, FEMALE_8, MALE_13, and MALE_21

evoke *trigueño oscuro*. Participants in Santiago and Santo Domingo conceive *trigueño* as

trigueño claro. Regarding FEMALE_4, a participant in Santiago states, 'She is what I call

trigueña' ('*Ella es lo que yo llamo trigueña*,' STI_INT6). Another participant in Santiago

describes FEMALE_5 as *trigueña* or *india lavada* because of her dark hair and light skin

(STI_INT7). A participant in Santo Domingo states that MALE_14 *could* be *trigueño*

('*Podría ser él también*,' SDQ_INT1). When asked whether MALE_14 qualifies despite

having curly hair, the participant states, 'That hair is not curly; it is a permanent' ('*Ese pelo*

no es rizado; es un permanente,' SDQ_INT1). The same participant identifies MALE_19 as

trigueño and states that what really matters for the profile is having straight hair ('*Lo que importa es el pelo lacio*,' SDQ_INT1). When this same participant evaluates FEMALE_2, he concludes, 'She is very *morenita* to be *trigueña*' ('*Está muy morenita para ser trigueño*,' SDQ_INT1).

Participants in Santiago and Santo Domingo also conceive of *trigueño* as *trigueño oscuro*. One participant in Santiago identifies FEMALE_7 and FEMALE_8 as *trigueña*. Another participant in Santiago states, regarding MALE_7, 'For me, he is *trigueño*' ('*Para mí es trigueño*,' STI_INT6). Participants in Santo Domingo describe MALE_13 as on the border between *indio claro* and *trigueño*. During the interview, one participant describes MALE_13 as *indio claro*, and the other participant chimes in that he is entering or bordering *trigueñito* (SDQ_INT3). A participant in Santiago describes MALE_21 as on the border of *moreno* and *trigueño*, 'He is *moreno*, but they would not call him *moreno. Trigueño*' ('*Él es moreno, pero a él no lo llamarían moreno. Trigueño*,' STI_INT3).

Although participants generally identify images that fit either the *claro* or *oscuro* part of the *trigueño* profile, the two are not always mutually exclusive. As an example, a participant in Santiago identifies both FEMALE_4 and MALE_7 as *trigueños*, where FEMALE_4 represents the lighter end of the profile and MALE_7 the darker end.

indio/a

More than for other terms, origin narratives emerge as important components of the *indio* profile. For some participants, the proliferation of *indio* as a skin color term is a direct legacy of the Trujillo dictatorship. On this point, a participant in Santiago states, 'The concept of [the] color *indio* came from Trujillo. A way to deny the *mulato* … Trujillo did

not want *mulato, negro*' ('*El concepto de color indio vino de Trujillo. Una manera de negar el mulato … Trujillo no quería mulato, negro,*' STI_INT4). A second participant confirms that Trujillo instituted the use of *indio* as a skin color descriptor on the *cédula* because he did not want any *cédula* to say *negro* ('*Tiene que ver con Trujillo. No quería que ninguna cédula dijera 'negro',*' STI_INT5). For a third participant, *indio* is an ideological legacy of the Trujillo regime ('*Es ideológico, Trujillo,*' STI_INT6).

Other participants point to the nation's indigenous past as a lens for contemporary *indio* usage. In these narratives, the modern *indio* profile in the Dominican Republic is set against the historical backdrop. Participants look at factors such as skin color and hair texture to connect the contemporary *indio* to the historical *indio*. A participant in Santo Domingo, when asked why the term *indio* is used, responds, 'Because the skin color [of the Taínos] was more or less like that, but with straighter hair' ('*Porque el color de la piel* [*de los taínos*] *era más o menos así, pero con el pelo más lacio…*' SDQ_INT2). A participant in Santiago echoes this point, '[One] always saw the drawings of the aboriginal Taínos. Cinnamon color, because of their skin color. *Pelo chino* – thick but straight. Indigenous hair. *Indio* comes from that' ('*Siempre vio los dibujos de los aborígenes taínos. Color canela, por su color de piel. Pelo chino – grueso pero lacio. Pelo indígena. De eso viene indio,*' STI_INT9).

As a participant in Dajabón states that people regularly call him *indio,* he explains why, 'Regularly, they call me *indio*. Because initially, *indios* inhabited [the island]. Before becoming the Dominican Republic. They had skin similar to yours and mine' ('*Por lo regular me dicen indio. Porque inicialmente, habitaban indios. Antes de ser República Dominicana … Tenían la piel parecida a la tuya y a la mía,*' DAJ_INT5). The indigenous

population is always framed as a part of the past. A participant in Dajabón states that *indio*

derives from the indigenous population that the island used to have ('*De los mismos*

indígenas que teníamos aquí,' DAJ_INT1). He continues that Dominicans are a diverse mix

and that is where *indio* comes from. Having stated this, the participant also invokes the

Trujillo ideology and states that *indio* is used to avoid saying *negro* ('*Aquí en la República*

Dominicana somos una mezcla bastante diversa. La palabra india viene de por allí, para no

decir que somos negros,' DAJ_INT1). For this participant, *indio* is about mixture, 'You are

neither *blanco* nor *negro*. You are a mix' ('*Tú no eres ni blanco ni negro. Tú eres una*

mezcla,' DAJ_INT1).

　　While participants attribute the use of *indio* to the nation's indigenous past, they also

generally state that the historical *indio*, the indigenous *indio* disappeared a long time ago.

For a participant in Santiago, *indio* is [the] purest race … [the] original race. [The] *indio*

disappeared a long time ago' ('*Indio – raza más pura … raza original. Indio desapareció*

hace mucho tiempo,' STI_INT7). Perhaps the indigenous past is so far removed, that some

participants do not find a connection between contemporary *indio* and historical *indio*. On

this point, a participant in Santo Domingo states:

> 'No, I do not think that [*indio*] has to do with the indigenous [population]. Because
> the indigenous [population], they all died. I do not think that it has to do with the
> indigenous [population], that it has something from the indigenous [population]. I do
> not know where it came from. I do not know where the word came from'
>
> ('*No, no creo que tenga que ver con el aborigen, Porque el aborigen, se murieron*
> *todos. No creo que tenga que ver con el aborigen, que tenga algo del aborigen. No*
> *sé de dónde salió. No sé de dónde salió la palabra,*' SDQ_INT5).

　　Participants across research sites confirm that forms of *indio* are among the most

commonly used descriptors in the Dominican Republic. Participants highlight that *indio* is

an accessible term that may be used by speakers regardless of educational background

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(STI_INT7). This presents a contrast with terms such as *mulato* (to be discussed in the next section), which participants state are generally only used by individuals with a higher level of education. In this sense, *indio* is used more frequently than *mulato* (DAJ_INT1). For some participants, the *indio* profile is also more frequent than *blanco* and *negro* ('*Sí, los indios son muy communes. Las personas del color indio abundan más que los blancos, negros,*' DAJ_INT4).

<u>Physical Meaning: *Indio*</u>

The concept of *indio* is broad in the Dominican Republic, and it is precisely because of this breadth that so many forms of *indio* exist. A participant in Santo Domingo estimates that 70 percent of the country could fall within the category of *indio* ('*Es muy amplio. Allí hay que caber un 70 por ciento del país,*' SDQ_INT1). The participant continues by stating that *indio* is broad and general, making it the easiest way to describe someone ('*Es amplia y muy generalizada. La categoría indio es la forma más fácil de describir*, SDQ_INT1). The physical description represented by *indio* crosses many categorical boundaries, and participants comment on this overlap. A participant in Santo Domingo holds a list with racial terms during the interview. She motions towards terms on the list—*indio, moreno, prieto*—and says, 'It is that, for me, the word *india* is like, it is the same as all of these' ('*Es que para mí la palabra india es como que, es lo mismo, que ya todos estos,*' SDQ_INT5). The inherent challenge in describing *indio*, then, is tackling its breadth.

When participants describe the Dominican conception of *indio*, they invoke four variables: (1) hair color, (2) skin color, (3) hair texture, and (4) features. *Indio* is a category that is very much defined by its relationship to other categories, thus, while some participants describe *indio* on its own terms, others construct meaning for the category by

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juxtaposing it to other categories. To begin to investigate the question of prototype, I first

divide the *indio* category into the commonly used subcategories: *indio, indio claro*, and

indio oscuro. From nineteen participants that explicitly describe the physical characteristics

of the Dominican *indio*, the following prototypes emerge. For *indio*, (1) black hair, (2)

intermediate skin tone, and (3) straight hair. For *indio claro*, (1) black hair, (2) light (not

white) skin, and (3) straight hair. For *indio oscuro*, (1) black hair, (2) dark skin, (3) straight

(sometimes coarse) hair, and (4) fine or rough features. These broad descriptions allow the

use of *indio* for many different physical profiles.

	(1) HAIR COLOR	(2) SKIN COLOR	(3) HAIR TEXTURE	(4) FEATURES
Indio	*negro*	*tono intermedio*	*lacio*	
Indio claro	*negro*	*claro*	*lacio*	
Indio oscuro	*negro*	*oscuro*	*lacio* (*crespo*)	*finas / ásperas*

Participants at all research sites frame *indio* as a category that is characterized by

mixture. Specifically, *indio* evokes for participants an intermediate space between *blanco*

and *negro.* In Santo Domingo, participants comment on this mixture in a variety of ways.

For one Santo Domingo participant, *indio* can be used to describe anyone that is neither

blanco nor *negro* because *indio* is specifically understood as a space between *blanco* and

negro ('*Todo el que no es ni blanco ni negro. Es todo un espacio entendido entre blanco y

negro,*' SDQ_INT1). He continues, 'Exact definition [of *indio*] – neither *blanco* nor *negro*.

Later modifiers [are used] to [describe grade]' ('*Definición exacta – ni blanco, ni negro.

Luego moduladores para gradar,*' SDQ_INT1). Another participant describes *indio* as a

variety of *mulato*—understood as the mixture between *blanco* and *negro* ('*El indio es como

una combinación de mulato,*' SDQ_INT8). A third participant, designated as "SDQ4," uses

the metaphor of *café con leche* (lit. 'coffee with milk') to describe the category of *indio*.

When asked to describe the Dominican conception of *indio*, SDQ4 responds that it is 'like a *café con leche*.' He continues, 'And coffee, what is it?' '*Negro*,' I answer. 'And milk?' SDQ4 asks. '*Blanca*,' I respond. 'What color does that give you?' SDQ4 asks. I answer, '*Café con leche*' ('(SDQ4) *Como un café con leche. Y café, ¿qué es?* (EW) *Negro.* (SDQ4) *¿Y la leche?* (EW) *Blanca.* (SDQ4) *¿Qué color te da?* (EW) *Café con leche*,' SDQ_INT4).

Participants in Dajabón also frame *indio* as a category defined by mixture. For one participant, *indio* is an ambivalent category wherein someone is not *blanco* and not *negro*. A person that is described as *indio* may be any color up to *negro*, but not *blanco*. Because the range of skin tones that fall within *indio* can go all the way up to *negro*, *indio* is also a compromise category used to avoid calling someone *negro* ('*Es un ambivalente. No eres blanco y no eres [negro] … El indio puede ser hasta negro, pero no blanco. Es como un intermedio, para no decirte negro*,' DAJ_INT1). Another participant in Dajabón, despite stating that '*indio* does not exist,' also states that Dominicans will use forms of *indio* to describe someone that is mixed ('*No existe indio, sino-, existe en persona, mezcladita como tú – le dicen india. A mí también me dicen indio. Donde eso no es possible*,' DAJ_INT3). A final participant in Dajabón confirms *indio* as mixture between *negro* and *blanco*. She states, 'It is a mix between *negra* and *blanca*, with finer features. Not as fine as the [features] of the *blanco*. Not as rough as the features of the *negro*' ('*Es una mezcla, entre negra y blanca, con facciones más finas. No tan finas como las del blanco. No tan ásperas como el negro*,' DAJ_INT7).

With respect to the physical parameters of the category, the most salient characteristic is skin color. For a participant in Santiago, a description of *indio* is no longer a racial matter but one of skin color, as used on the *cédula* ('*Está en la cédula de identidad. Ya no es un*

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asunto racial,' STI_INT6). For another participant in Santiago, this skin color is brown ('*Un color indio es un color marrón*,' STI_INT6). For another, it is an intermediate tone, neither light nor dark ('*Tono intermedio. Ni claro, ni oscuro*,' STI_INT7). For another, it is a cinnamon color ('*Un color canela*,' STI_INT9). Participants in Santo Domingo agree that forms of *indio* primarily describe skin color. When asked directly whether *indio* implies contemporary indigeneity, a participant responds, 'No, [it is a] skin color specification' ('*No, especificación de la piel*,' SDQ_INT4). For this participant, this specification is not very dark and not very light. It is a simple, attractive tone. To demonstrate the correlation with attractiveness, the participant gives an example of a compliment that he would give a woman meeting the *india* description, 'Look, what a pretty *india*' ('*Un colorcito ni muy oscuro ni muy claro. La definición. No muy negro, ni muy blanco. Un tono allí, sencillo, atractivo, 'Mira, que india más linda*,'' SDQ_INT4). Another participant describes the *indio* skin tone as a different type of tan ('*Tiene como si fuese un bronceado diferente*,' SDQ_INT8). A participant that has trouble articulating exactly what *indio* is, chooses to define *indio* by what it is not—*blanco* ('*No sé ni cómo explicarte ... un color que no es, una persona que no es blanca*,' SDQ_INT5). A final participant in Santo Domingo positions skin color as an important factor in determining the modifier that will be used with *indio*. He states, '[It is] how your skin looks. It denotes, if you are an *indio lavaíto*, or an *indio claro, oscuro*. It is the tone, the intensity' ('*Como luce tu piel. Denota, si tú eres un indio lavaíto, o un indio claro, oscuro. Ya es el tono, la intensidad*,' SDQ_INT6).

While participants generally concur that skin color can be determinative for the *indio* profile, some participants emphasize that hair texture may be a salient factor as well. For a participant in Santiago, '*indio* has a lot to do with the form of the hair. His dark color. It

does not matter if very dark or a little. If he is dark and has straight hair, he is *indio'* ('*El indio tiene que ver mucho con la forma del pelo. Su color oscuro. No importa si muy oscuro o poco. Si es oscuro y tiene el pelo lacio, es indio,*' STI_INT9). For a participant in Santo Domingo, hair texture is important because it can distinguish an *indio* from a *moreno* ('*Cabellito un poco más lacio que el moreno,*' SDQ_INT4). For another Santo Domingo participant, an *indio* should have 'good' / straight black hair, that is generally abundant. These features evoke the profile of the historical *indio* ('*Salvo que el indio debe tener el pelo negro y bueno, generalmente abundante. Como que esas facciones te hacen ver el indígena,*' SDQ_INT6). For a participant in Dajabón, someone that is *indio* must have straight hair, because 'an *indio* does not have coarse hair' ('*El cabello totalmente lacio. Un indio no tiene cabello crespo,*' DAJ_INT5).

Descriptions of skin color change somewhat when participants describe the subcategory of *indio claro*. For a participant in Dajabón, a person that is *indio claro* has more of a tendency toward *blanco* ('*Más tendencia hacia el blanco,*' DAJ_INT1). In Santo Domingo, a participant describes *indio claro* as between *blanco* and *indio* ('Between *blanco* and *indio,*' SDQ_INT3). For a participant in Santiago, a person that is *indio claro* is 'a little lighter than the *trigueño*. [He] has better hair. A little straighter, less curly' ('*Un poco más claro que el trigueño. Tiene el pelo mejor. Un poquito más lacio, menos rizado,*' STI_INT9). Another participant in Santiago frames the subcategory *indiecito claro* in relation to *indio claro*. For this participant, *indiecito claro* is:

> A tiny bit [darker] than the *blanquito*. Sub classifications. Not as light as the *blanquito*, but not as dark as the *indio claro*. They do not take nose, ears, or anything into consideration. A different tint of the skin.

('*Un poquiningo menos claro que el blanquito. Subclasificaciones. No tan clara como el blanquito, pero no tan oscuro como el indio claro. No toman en consideración ni nariz ni orejas ni nada. Una tintura diferente de la piel,*' STI_INT4).

Participants in Santiago and Dajabón comment on the subcategory *indio lavado*. When asked to describe the *indio lavado*, the participant in Santiago first jokes, '*Los que se bañaron*' ('The ones that bathed'). '*Mentira, mentira,*' he continues ('Lie[s], lie[s]'). He then explains that *indio lavado* is a dark color ('*Indio lavado, colorcito oscuro,*' STI_INT9). The participant in Dajabón states that there is a racist connotation inherent in the term, a connotation that negates blackness ('*Hay una connotación racista con esa palabra. El indio con sus varias, una palabra racista, con la negación del negro,*' DAJ_INT1).

Participants describe the subcategory of *indio oscuro* as a contrast between dark skin and straight hair. This is precisely how a participant in Santiago describes the *indio oscuro* profile ('*Pelo lacio, piel oscura,*' STI_INT9). The participant goes on to emphasize that skin color and hair texture are primary determinants, because facial features can vary ('[Facciones] *pueden ser más finas, o un poco más rústicas o bruscas,*' STI_INT9). Another participant in Santiago describes how individuals deploy the category *indio oscuro* in discourse. For example, people might assert membership in the category of *indio oscuro* to eschew another category, such as Haitian. According to the participant, 'Many [people] say, 'I am not Haitian; I am *indio oscuro*' ('*Este, muchos dicen, 'Yo no soy haitiano; yo soy un indio oscuro,*' (STI_INT6). For this participant the *indio oscuro* profile also includes dark skin and straight hair ('*Piel más oscura, pero el pelo más lacio,* STI_INT6). For another participant in Santiago, the difference between the categories *indio oscuro* and *indio lavado* is that, with *indio oscuro*, African descent is more salient ('*Se nota África,*' STI_INT7). A participant in Dajabón concurs. *Indio oscuro* has a tendency toward *negro* ('*Hacia el negro,*'

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DAJ_INT1).

Some participants in Santo Domingo and Dajabón describe the physical appearance of the *indio* in terms of perfection. A participant in Santo Domingo states regarding the *indio*, 'A totally incredible physique, like almost perfect' ('*Un físico totalmente increíble, como casi perfecto*,' SDQ_INT8). A participant in Dajabón concurs, stating that the *indio* is like the *rubio* in that he/she generally has straight hair, which the participant associates with perfection ('*Es igual que el rubio. El rubio generalmente tiene el pelo lacio. Más, más la perfección*,' DAJ_INT1).

For other participants, contemporary *indio* identity is a paradox. Participants frame this dilemma in terms of how *indio* can be used as a descriptive category when the historical *indio* disappeared centuries ago. The question of existence is key to the expression of this paradox, as is the distinction between indigenous *indio* and skin color *indio*. A participant in Santiago states that *indio oscuro* and *indio claro* simply do not exist ('*No existen indio oscuro / claro*,' STI_INT7). Participants in Santo Domingo share the opinion that the skin color *indio* does not exist. One participant states, 'People call it *indio*. But the *indio* does not exist, because *indio* is a race,' a race that has disappeared ('Las *personas la llaman indio. Pero que el indio no existe, porque el indio es una raza*,' SDQ_INT6). Having established that, the participant confirms that people use the term *indio* frequently as a skin color term. He opines that they might use it because of confusion ('*Pero también la gente lo usa mucho, quizás por confusión*, SDQ_INT6). Another participant in Santo Domingo alludes to the paradox of the *indio* category as she describes her *cédula*. The participant's *cédula* describes her skin color as *india*. The participant, however, does not accept this description, choosing to identify instead as *negra*. She states, 'According to the perception that I have of *indio*, I

am not *india*' ('*Según la percepción que yo tengo de indio, no soy india,*' (SDQ_INT8). For this participant, *indio* should only describe the indigenous *Taínos* that inhabited the island prior to the arrival of Columbus ('*Indios solamente los taínos que estaban en el país …*' SDQ_INT8). Participants in Dajabón also confront this dilemma. A participant in Dajabón describes how government documents, such as birth certificates, also include a skin color designation of *indio* and yet insists that the color *indio* does not exist ('*En el acta de nacimiento ponen 'color indio,' pero el indio no es un color,*' DAJ_INT2). As the participant makes his point, he asks me directly, 'Is *indio* a color?' ('*¿El indio es un color?* DAJ_INT2). When I respond that *indio* is a color in the Dominican Republic, the participant refuses to accept that justification. 'The color does not exist. It is something from here from the Dominican Republic' ('*El color no existe. Es algo de aquí de RD,*' DAJ_INT2). A second participant argues that *indio* cannot be used as a racialized color because such a usage is not found within the ambit of Anthropology, and that *indio* was instituted to avoid saying *mulato* or *negro* ('*Indio no es un color de raza. Indio era para no decirle ni mulato ni negro. Por ejemplo, me dicen indio. Indio no está dentro del patrón de la antropología. No está,*' DAJ_INT3).

Because of the breadth of space covered by *indio*, it is a term with significant category overlap. For some participants, *indio claro* overlaps with the category *blanco*. A participant in Santiago, while describing FEMALE_4, states, 'This is a *blanca*.' She pauses. 'She could be an *india lavada*. Processed hair' ('*Ésta es una blanca. Podría ser una india lavada. Pelo procesado,*' STI_INT7). The same participant speaks about the overlap between *indio* and *mulato*. She explains that facial features such as the nose and mouth are key for determining whether someone is *indio* or *mulato*. The distinction is not one of racial difference, as an

indio and a *mulato* can be siblings with the same parents. If a person has a 'wider nose' and a 'big mouth,' he or she is *mulato* ('*Nariz, boca, muy determinante. Pueden ser del mismo padre y madre. Si sale con nariz más ancha, boca grande – mulato*,' STI_INT7).

Participants also speak about the difference between the categories of *indio* and *trigueño*. In Santiago, participants frame the distinction between the two categories in terms of skin tone. A person that is *indio* will generally have a darker skin tone than someone that is *trigueño*, and participants describe both sides of this comparison: *Indio* is 'darker than the trigueño' ('*Más oscuro que el trigueño*,' STI_INT8), and '*Trigueño* is much lighter' than *indio* ('*El trigueño es mucho más claro*,' STI_INT9). Still, participants find similarity across the two categories. A participant in Santo Domingo states that the two profiles have something in common in terms of skin color, but that hair texture can distinguish the two categories ('*Tiene algo en común en el tono de la piel. Salvo que el indio debe tener el pelo negro y bueno*,' SDQ_INT6). Even though the skin tone is similar, the participant states that the *trigueño* is lighter than the *indio* ('*Porque los trigueños son más claros que el indio*,' SDQ_INT6). Although both categories are defined by mixture, another participant in Santo Domingo states that the *indio* is a person that is more defined than the *trigueño* ('*Una persona más definida que el trigueño*,' SDQ_INT7).

Finally, participants comment on the overlap between *indio* and categories such as *moreno* and *negro*. For one participant in Santo Domingo, this juxtaposition is not common. When asked whether there can be overlap between *moreno* and *indio* and *negro* and *indio*, the participant answers, 'No, [it is] very difficult' ('*No, muy difícil*,' SDQ_INT4). For other participants, however, the overlap is very much possible. A participant in Santo Domingo defines the category of *indio* by explicitly invoking the profile of *moreno*. She explains, 'An

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indio here is a *moreno*, a *moreno claro* with good and straight hair ('*Un indio aquí es un moreno, un moreno claro con el pelo bueno y lacio*,' SDQ_INT8). A participant in Dajabón echoes the importance of both skin color and hair texture to this profile. As he describes the *indio* profile, the participant uses my physical appearance as an example of the overlap and distinction between *indio* and *moreno*, 'My color, your color. But your hair does not allow [you] to enter *indio* … coarse. So you have a quality of *morena*. [The] *indio*'s hair is straighter' ('*El color mío, el color tuyo. Pero el cabello tuyo no deja entrar en indio … crespo. Entonces tú tienes una calidad de morena. Cabello de indio más lacio*,' DAJ_INT2). When discussing the *indio* profile, another Dajabón participant also confirms the importance of hair texture as a distinguishing feature between *indio* and *negro* or *moreno*. She states that if someone has the skin tone of the *indio* profile but has coarse hair, people will call him *negro*, or *moreno* to avoid calling him *negro* ('*Le dicen negro. Moreno. Para no decirle negro, también le dicen moreno*,' DAJ_INT4).

When participants talk about the *indio* category, they frequently invoke external narratives that challenge contemporary *indio* identity in the Dominican Republic. The deference that participants afford to these external evaluations of Dominican racial categories broaches the question of epistemologies. A participant in Santiago relates an anecdote about a Dominican man that went to study in Spain. She describes the man as *indio* with coarse hair, *indio oscuro*. One day, a Spanish guy tells him, 'You are *mulato*, not *indio*.' The Dominican man says that it was very revealing to have that experience in another country (STI_INT7).

<u>Social Meaning and Functions: *Indio*</u>

In addition to the physical information embedded in the term *indio*, participants

comment on the ways in which forms of *indio* may be deployed in the social sphere. In general, forms of *indio* are descriptive and not offensive. In addition to the descriptive function, forms of *indio* may also be used as nicknames and forms of direct address. Participants additionally comment on the ideological functions of the term *indio*. For participants in Santo Domingo, *indio* may be used as a nickname. One participant gives the example '*la india ciboney*' (SDQ_INT1). A second participant gives the example '*indiecita*' ('*Sí, indiecita, sí,*' SDQ_INT7). For a participant in Dajabón, the use of *indio* as a nickname would be strange (DAJ_INT7).

Participants are divided regarding the frequency with which *indio* is used as a form of direct address. For one participant in Santiago, this usage is not common ('*No, no es tan común,*' STI_INT7). For another Santiago participant, *indio* may be used as a form of direct address and, in *piropos*, may also be used as an indirect direct form of address, as in, '*Mira ese indiecito que está bueno,*' ('Look at that *indiecito* that [looks good],' STI_INT8). In Santo Domingo, one participant states that *indio* can be used as a form of direct address. As an example, he calls out, '¡*Indio*!'. Then he follows up with a confirmation, 'Yes, in another country it would be an insult; not here' ('¡*Indio*! *Sí. En otro país sería un insulto, aquí no,*' SDQ_INT1). For a second Santiago participant, *indio* is not a common form of address in its standard form but may be employed in the diminutive ('*No es tan común. En disminutivo, sí, 'Mira ese indiecito',*' SDQ_INT7).

Finally, participants at all three research sites comment on the ideological functions of *indio*. For a participant in Dajabón, although *indio* is generally not offensive, it may be deployed with the meaning of 'idiot,' a practice that Dominicans trace back to initial interactions between the island's indigenous population and Spanish colonizers ('*A veces se*

da con el sentido de idiota,' DAJ_INT3). Other participants understand *indio* as a term used

to hide African ancestry. A participant in Santiago states, 'In my opinion, it is that we want

to hide the *negro*. We know that we are not *blancos*. Indian race' ('*En mi opinión, es que*

nosotros queremos esconder el negro. Sabemos que no somos blancos. Raza india.,'

STI_INT6). For another Santiago participant, *indio* is a euphemism to avoid saying *mulato*

('*Un eufemismo para no decir mulato*,' STI_INT7). Participants in Dajabón echo this theme.

'*Indio* is for me, it is an invented color to not say that someone was *negro*. For me it is a

denial of *negro* ('*El indio es para mí, es un color inventado para no decir que uno era*

negro. Para mí es una negación del negro,' DAJ_INT1). Another participant concurs,

'*Indio*, that is an anti-black, anti-Haitian expression, so you do not say that you are black'

('*El indio, ésa es una expresión anti-negra, anti-haitiana, para tú no decir que eres negro*,'

DAJ_INT2). For other Dajabón participants, *indio* is used instead of *mulato, negro,* and

mestizo ('*Indio era para no decirle ni mulato ni negro*,' DAJ_INT3; '*Para no decirle*

mestizo,' DAJ_INT5). One participant in Santo Domingo contests this function. He states,

'The description of '*indio*' is no a rejection of *negro*, 'The Dominican does not accept

himself.' [The Dominican] has created a system of neology, to describe racial mixtures ('*La*

descripción de 'indio' no es un rechazo del negro. 'El dominicano no acepta a si mismo.'

Ha creado un sistema neológico, para describir las mezclas raciales,' SDQ_INT1).

Visual Representations of *Indio*

Participants identify 31 images that can be described as *indio* in the Dominican

Republic. These results confirm that *indio* is a broad category. Participants most frequently

describe FEMALE_5 as *india*. Six participants describe FEMALE_5 as *india, india clara,*

and *india lavada*. A participant that describes FEMALE_5 as *india clara* states that it is

because she has dark hair and light, not necessarily white, skin ('*Pelo oscuro. Piel clara, no necesariamente blanca,*' STI_INT7). Five participants describe FEMALE_2 and MALE_5 as *indio/a*. For participants, FEMALE_2 is *india, india clara,* and *india lavada*. A participant in Santiago states, 'That [girl] is *india clara*. Black hair' ('*Ésa es india clara. Pelo negro,*' STI_INT6). MALE_5 is *indio* (4) and *indio claro* (1). A participant in Santiago describes MALE_5 as *indio* because of his 'intermediate tone' ('*Tono intermedio,*' STI_INT7). Four participants describe FEMALE_4 and MALE_4 as *indio*. FEMALE_4 is *india clara* and *india lavada*, and MALE_4 is *indio claro* and *indio charlatán.*

Three participants describe as *indio* MALE_3, MALE_6, MALE_7, FEMALE_7, FEMALE_8, FEMALE_10, and FEMALE_15. MALE_3 is *indio* and *indio lavao*; MALE_6 is *indio* and *indio claro*; MALE_7 is *indio* and *indio oscuro*; FEMALE_7 is *india* and *india trigueña*; FEMALE_8 is *india* and *india morenita*; FEMALE_10 is *india*; and FEMALE_15 is *india* and *india oscura*. Two participants describe the following images as *indio*: FEMALE_9, FEMALE_16, FEMALE_17, FEMALE_19, FEMALE_20, MALE_15, MALE_18, MALE_19, and MALE_20. For these participants, FEMALE_9 is *india clara*; FEMALE_16 is *india* and *indiecita / blanca*; FEMALE_19 is *india clara*; and FEMALE_20 is *india clara*. FEMALE_17 is *india oscura*. One participant gives the reason for this classification, 'She is *india oscura*. [She] is a *negra*, but not *negra negra* ('*Ella es india oscura. Es una negra, pero no negra negra,*' SDQ_INT1). MALE_15 and MALE_18 are *indio*; and MALE_19 and MALE_20 are *indio claro*. One participant describes each of the remaining images as *indio*: MALE_1, MALE_2, FEMALE_3, FEMALE_6, FEMALE_11, MALE_11, MALE_13, FEMALE_14, MALE_21).

c. *Raza Negra* (*mulato, moreno, negro, prieto*)

The terms that Guzmán (1974) assigns to *la raza negra—mulato, moreno, negro, prieto*—have traditionally corresponded to notions of an African past in the Dominican Republic. Of the four categories, *mulato* and *negro* can refer to both *raza* and *matiz racial*. As it relates to physical description, *negro* is actually a fairly narrow category, much narrower than those represented by cognate forms in other settings. As such, *moreno* has a much broader application for physical description. Participants juxtapose the terms in the *Raza Negra* category and describe substantial overlap among *moreno, negro*, and *prieto*, overlap that can be traced back to the colonial period. When participants talk about social meaning, they discuss the weight of each term as an insult, a term of endearment, or form of address. This section discusses terms related to *la raza negra* in the following order: *mulato, moreno, negro, prieto*.

mulato/a

Participants across research sites confirm that forms of *mulato* are not commonly used descriptors in the Dominican Republic. For a participant in Santiago, the use of *mulato* has to do with an individual's level of education, '…[It] has to be a person of [a] certain academic level. [A] person from the [country] is not going to say it' ('…*tiene que ser una persona de cierto nivel académico. La persona del pueblo no lo va a decir*,' STI_INT7). More widely accessible terms would be *indio, moreno* and *trigueño* (STI_INT7). Another participant in Santiago adds a temporal dimension to the frequency of *mulato*, stating that *mulato* is not used very much anymore 'in these times' ('*No es muy usado ya en estos tiempos*,' STI_INT9). In Santo Domingo, a participant explains, 'The word *mulato* does not

have an abundant usage among us. Another, different system of description predominates'
('*La palabra mulato no tiene un uso abundante entre nosotros. Predomina otro sistema de
descripción diferente*,' SDQ_INT1). Here, the participant alludes to the usage of other terms
such as *indio* for describing racial mixture. A participant in Dajabón makes a similar
observation. This participant also links the frequencies of the terms *mulato* and *indio*. He
states, 'Here, regularly the word *mulata* is not used much. The word *india* is used more'
DAJ_INT1). A second participant in Dajabón clarifies that *mulato*'s less frequent usage is
not because of a lack of familiarity. 'We know [the terms],' she states. 'But it is not used
much' ('*Los conocemos, pero no se usa tanto*,' DAJ_INT7).

　Physical Meaning: *Mulato*

　When participants describe the Dominican concept of *el mulato*, they invoke four
primary variables: (1) skin color, (2) hair texture, (3) facial features, and (4) bodily features.
From sixteen participants that explicitly describe the physical characteristics of the *mulato*,
the following prototype emerges: (1) brown / dark skin, (2) coarse or curly hair, (3) fine or
prominent features, and (4) strong / muscular (male), voluptuous / curvy (female). A person
that fits this physical description is *mulato* in the Dominican Republic and may also overlap
the categories of *moreno* and *negro*.

(1) SKIN COLOR	(2) HAIR TEXTURE	(3) FEATURES (FACE)	(4) FEATURES (BODY)
moreno, oscuro	*crespo / malo, rizo*	*mezcla*	*musculoso / fuerte, voluptuosa*

　Participants frame *mulato* as a term that, at its core, is about mixture. In Santiago,
participants describe *indio* and *mulato* as a mixture of *negro* and *blanco*. One participant
explains how this understanding relates to the *cédula*. Previously, the *cédula* classified
everyone as *color indio*, but later, people began to educate themselves that the combination

of *blanco* and *negro* is *mulato* ('*Antes en la identificación de nosotros (la cédula), todo el mundo que tuviera color era indio. Luego las personas fueron educándose, que la combinación de blanco con negro es un mulato*,' STI_INT3). A second participant mentions the overlap between the concepts of *indio* and *mulato* and explains the gendered inflection inherent in the term *mulato*. He explains that the literal concept of *mulato* is 'a white man with a black [woman]' ('*Concepto literal – un blanco varón con una negra*,' STI_INT4). He continues that with the Trujillo dictatorship what used to be *mulato* became *indio* ('… *lo que era un mulato se convirtió en indio*,' STI_INT4). Another participant in Santiago that identifies as *mulata* also describes *mulato* as a mixture of *blanco* and *negro* ('*Yo soy mulata – una mezcla de negra con blanca*,' STI_INT6). This participant's description also invokes a historical element, as she characterizes *mulato* as the mixture of *blancos* with *africanos* ('*Mezcla de blancos con africanos*,' STI_INT6). A final participant in Santiago views *mulato* as a slightly broader category, as the offspring of parents from different races, although not specifically *blanco* and *negro* ('*Mulato – padres de diferentes razas*,' STI_INT7).

In Santo Domingo, a participant describes the *mulato* mixture as *café con leche, negro* with *blanco* ('*Como una mezcla, café con leche, negro con blanco*,' SDQ_INT8). For this participant, *mulataje* can manifest as straight or curly hair. She states that it is very rare to see a *mulata* with very coarse hair. If a *mulata* does have coarse hair, then the strand is fine and long. The nose is normal, neither flat nor big ('*Mulataje puede salir con el pelo lacio, o rizo. Es muy raro ver una mulata con pelo muy crespo. Si tiene pelo crespo, la hebra es fina; no es gorda, y largo. La nariz normal, ni muy achatada, ni muy grande*,' SDQ_INT8). For this participant, *mulato* may also imply a small indigenous element ('*Un pequeñito*

rasgo de lo indígeno,' SDQ_INT8).

A participant in Dajabón states that *mulato* is about mixture but is unsure of the exact mix, whether it is between *indio* and *negro* or *blanco* ('*El mulato que es una mezcla entre el indio, y el negro, o el blanco. No recuerdo,*' DAJ_INT1). Another participant invokes the gendered and temporal dimensions of the term. He explains that *mulato* is the mixture of *negro* and *blanco*, 'but never, never of *blanco-*, never of *negro* with *blanca*. Nowadays, [it] has changed. There are many *negros* that marry *blancas*' ('*Es mulata – de negro y blanco. Pero nunca, nunca de blanco – nunca de negro con blanca. En actualidad ha cambiado. Hay muchos negros que casan con blancas,*' DAJ_INT3). A third participant in Dajabón describes the *mulato* as the offspring of two *indios* and describes the resulting color as the color of the interviewer ('*El mulato es de dos indios. Allí es que sale la mulata, como tú. Tienes el color mulato ...*' DAJ_INT4).

Participants emphasize that body type may be a determinative factor for the *mulato* profile. A participant in Santiago, when describing the *mulata* mentions features that tend toward 'fine,' a little lighter skin, with many dangerous curves ('*Facciones inclinan más a fino, piel un poco más clara. Corpulento, muchas curvas peligrosas,*' STI_INT9). A participant in Santo Domingo echoes this sentiment, 'The *mulata* is like a *morenita*, generally a voluptuous *morenita*' ('*La mulata viene siendo como una morenita, una morenita generalmente voluptuosa,*' SDQ_INT6). He continues, 'Yes, robust, with nice curves. Exactly. Generally [with a] prominent behind and darker skin. [A woman like] this is recognized as *mulata*' ('*Sí, corpulenta, con buenas curvas. Exacto. Generalmente de pompis prominentes y de tez un poco oscura. Así se les reconoce como la mulata,*' SDQ_INT6). Another participant in Santo Domingo describes the *mulata* as having lighter skin and black

hair, an ordinary person. She then states that it is rare to see a *mulata* with no curves; she will either have a few curves or a lot of curves ('*Tiene la piel más o menos clara, el pelo negro. Una persona común y corriente. Es muy raro ver a una mulata sin curvas. O tiene chin curva o mucha curva,*' SDQ_INT8). For a participant in Dajabón, physical size is important to the *mulato* profile. A *mulato* is '*moreno*, bad hair, and strong, above all strong … yes, not fat, strong ('*Moreno, pelo malo, y fuerte, sobre todo fuerte … sí, no gordo, fuerte,*' DAJ_INT7).

For participants across research sites, *mulato* may overlap with categories such as *negro, indio, moreno,* and *trigueño*. The m*ulato* is more *negro* than the *indio*, with darker skin, *pelo malo*, dark eyes ('*Mulato – más negro que el indio. Mulato – piel más oscura, pelo malo, ojos oscuros,*' STI_INT8). The *mulato* is also a bit lighter than the *moreno* and very similar to the *trigueño*, but with a body ('*Un poquito más claro que el moreno. Muy parecido al trigueño, pero con cuerpo,*' STI_INT9). The *mulato* profile shares features with neighboring categories. One participant states that the *mulata* has the body of a *negra* with the face and profile of the *trigueña* … a lot of thigh, a lot of chest, like a big drumstick ('*La mujer mulata, cuerpo de negra, cara y perfil, física de trigueña … mucho muslo, mucha pechuga, como un picapollo grande,*' STI_INT9). The *mulato* is also defined by his body type. A *mulato* man is muscular. If not, he will be described as *moreno* or *negro* ('*El hombre mulato, musculoso. Si no, es moreno o negro,*' STI_INT9). A participant in Santo Domingo frames *mulato* as overlapping the category of *negro* and associates the profile with Haiti, '*Mulatos* are almost of Haitian descent. They are *negro, negro, negro, negro*' ('*Los mulatos casimente son de descendencia haitiana. Son negro, negro, negro, negro,*' SDQ_INT2). Another participant in Santo Domingo describes the *mulato* as between *rubio* and *indio* ('*Ni*

rubio ni indio, diría yo,' SDQ_INT4). In Dajabón, a participant states, 'It is clear that the *mulato* is *negro* … [he] is a *negro*, after [having] features of [the] *negro*' ('*Está claro que el mulato es negro … es un negro, después de ser negro de facciones*,' DAJ_INT2).

For a participant in Santo Domingo, *mulato* is a primarily external evaluation of the Dominican racial setting. He states, '[It] has to with how others see us, people from outside, how they see Dominicans. People understand that it is a form of mixture' ('*Tiene que ver con cómo nos ven los otros, gente de afuera, cómo ven los dominicanos. La gente entiende que es una forma de mezcla*,' SDQ_INT1).

<u>Social Meaning and Functions: *Mulato*</u>

To understand the functions for which *mulato* is deployed, it is useful to first establish how people are conceptualizing the term. A participant in Santo Domingo, when asked whether *mulato* is primarily used as a descriptor of physical appearance or as a racial designation, states that *mulato* is better understood as a racial designation ('*Designación racial. Hay tantas variaciones*,' SDQ_INT1). For this reason, forms such as *mulato claro* or *mulato oscuro* do not exist, he concurs, just *mulato* (SDQ_INT1). For another participant in Santo Domingo, *mulato* is a neutral term, without negative connotations. *Mulato* may additionally have positive connotations, as when a man is describing a woman, 'It can also be positive, 'O, the *mulata*, you know, that voluptuous girl … that was kind of, you know, pow!' ('*También puede ser positivo. 'O la mulata, tú sabes, esa muchacha voluptuosa … que estaba media, tú sabes, pah!*' SDQ_INT6).

Although *mulato* is used to describe, it is not frequently deployed as a form of direct address. This is true for participants across research sites. In Santiago, a participant states, 'I have not heard it [used that way] … it would not be like a nickname' ('*No lo he oído … no*

sería como un apodo,' STI_INT8). A participant in Santo Domingo concurs, 'It is used more as a qualifying adjective – the *mulato*, the *mulata*. But it is almost never used [to call someone]' ('*Se utiliza más también como un adjetivo calificativo- el mulato, la mulata. Pero casi nunca se usa como llamado*,' SDQ_INT6). When asked whether *mulato* could be used as a nickname, a participant in Dajabón responds that the term is not used much ('*Tampoco es un término que se usa mucho*,' DAJ_INT7). One participant states, however, that *mulata* was used as a form of direct address in the past when a man was picking up a woman, 'That *mulata* looks good' ('*Sí, para enamorar a las mujeres. No es muy usado ya en estos tiempos. 5, 6 años atrás, 'Esa mulata sí está buena'*,' STI_INT9).

Visual Representations of *Mulato*

Participants identify eight images that could be described as *mulato*/a in the Dominican Republic: MALE_7, MALE_5, MALE_2, FEMALE_5, MALE_6, FEMALE_8, MALE_8, FEMALE_10. For a participant in Santiago, *mulato* and *negro* are overlapping categories, and she identifies the same images for both: FEMALE_7, MALE_7, and MALE_8. Two other participants also describe MALE_7 as overlapping *mulato* and another category. For one participant in Santiago, MALE_7 is *mulato*, but people might describe him as *moreno* ('*La gente puede decir es un moreno. En mi opinión es un mulato*,' (STI_INT6). Another Santiago participant describes MALE_7 as *mulato* and also *indio oscuro* (STI_INT7). Two participants describe MALE_5 as *mulato*. A participant in Santiago describes MALE_2 as *mulato*. A participant that describes FEMALE_5 as *mulata* explains, 'A *mulata* is more or less like this. She can be a *mulata* … [She] has more or less light skin, black hair' ('*Una mulata es más o menos así. Ella puede ser una mulata … Tiene la piel más o menos clara. El pelo negro*,' SDQ_INT8). One participant describes MALE_6 as *mulato*. A participant in

Santo Domingo describes FEMALE_10 using the categories *india* and *mulata*. The participant first describes FEMALE_10 as *india*. She then changes the description to *mulata* ('Better stated, *mulata*') because of the form of FEMALE_10's hair and nose (SDQ_INT8).

moreno/a

Forms of *moreno* are very commonly used descriptors in the Dominican Republic. The prevalence of usage of *moreno* is often attributed to its ability to perform certain functions that other terms cannot. For a participant in Santiago, 'Almost no one says *negro*; you say *moreno*' ('*Casi nadie dice negro; se dice moreno*,' STI_INT6). For another participant in Santiago, *moreno* is also used more frequently than *mulato*, because it is accessible to people of various educational backgrounds ('*Se usaría indio, moreno*,' STI_INT7). Participants in Santo Domingo confirm the relative frequency of *moreno*. *Moreno* and *negro*, for example, are used more frequently than *prieto* ('*El prieto ya-, se usa más moreno y negro*,' SDQ_INT4). *Morena* is also used frequently in the realm of *piropos* ('[*Morena*] *se escucha mucho en el ámbito de los piropos…*,' SDQ_INT4).

Physical Meaning: *Moreno*

When participants describe the Dominican concept of *el moreno*, they primarily invoke three variables: (1) skin color, (2) hair texture, and (3) facial features. From eighteen participants that explicitly describe the physical characteristics of the *moreno*, the following prototype emerges: (1) dark skin (but a little lighter than the *negro*), (2) coarse hair, and (3) features that tend toward the *negro* (but a little more *fino*). A person that fits this physical description will be *moreno* in the Dominican Republic, but may also be described as *negro* or *prieto* depending on the speaker and the circumstances.

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(1) SKIN COLOR	(2) HAIR TEXTURE	(3) FEATURES
oscuro	*crespo*	*ordinarios*

In addition to the prototypical image of the *moreno*, participants view some diversity

within the *moreno* profile. A participant in Santo Domingo describes the physical

characteristics of different *moreno* profiles. She explains, 'Among the [very] same *morenos*,

there is a mix.' There are *morenos* with long, curly hair; straight hair; and very coarse hair.

When the participant describes the coarse hair, she mentions that people in the Dominican

Republic refer to the coarse hair texture as *moño malo* (lit. 'bad hair'). She then states, 'I

would say that there is no bad hair because God made everything good, and what comes out

of someone is not bad. Different hair types.'

> *Entre los mismos morenos, hay una mezcla. No hay un solo perfil. Hay varios perfil.*
> *Hay morenos que te salen con totalmente el pelo rizo y largo. Hay morenos que te*
> *salen con el pelo lambío. O sea lacio, que parece chino. Hay otros con el pelo muy*
> *crespo. Lo que dicen es moño malo. Yo diría que no hay ningún moño malo porque*
> *Dios hizo todo bueno, y lo que le sale de uno no es malo. Diferentes tipos de cabello*
> (SDQ_INT8).

Other participants focus their descriptions on features other than hair. For example, a

participant in Santiago highlights the centrality of the dark skin tone to the *moreno* profile.

She describes dark skin that evokes African ancestry ('*Piel oscura, muy africano*,'

STI_INT7). She continues, 'Yes, [a] dark tone. *Negro* or [a] dark tone' ('*Sí, tono oscuro.*

Negro o tono oscuro,' STI_INT7). For another participant, the dark tone of the *moreno*

profile, hair texture and features evokes the image that she has of Haitians. For this

participant, the *moreno* has 'completely black skin' and 'very bad hair' ('*Piel*

completamente negra. Pelo – malísimo,' STI_INT8). At this point, the participant switches

from a description of *moreno* to a description of *negro*. She continues, 'The *negro* always

has the wide nose, flat, big, ugly. *Chembuse*, big mouth. As if they were of [those] Haitian

people' ('*El negro siempre tiene la nariz ancha, aplastada, grande, fea. Chembuse, boca grande. Como si fueran de esa gente haitiana,*' STI_INT8).

A participant in Santo Domingo describes the skin tone of the *moreno* profile and how it relates to other categories, 'Notice one thing. The *moreno*, his color gets a little darker' ('*Fíjate una cosa. El moreno, su color va oscureciéndose un poco,*' SDQ_INT6). When asked whether the tone is darker than that of the *indio*, the participant confirms that it is and highlights additional features that distinguish the two profiles, 'Yes, it can be the same tone, but the features vary. The hair is coarse. [The person] perhaps a bit more ordinary' ('*Sí, puede ser el mismo tono, pero varían ya las facciones. El cabello es crespo. Quizás un poquito más ordinario,*' SDQ_INT6). The participant continues by describing the physique that he associates with the *moreno* profile and positions the *moreno* with respect to the *negro*, 'People [with] black skin are physically more developed. Their muscles are stronger. It is like the person is walking toward *negro*' ('*Personas de tez negra son físicamente o sea más desarolladas. Sus músculos, son más fuertes. Es como que la persona va caminando hacia el negro,*' SDQ_INT6).

Participants additionally describe *moreno* as a relative term. In certain circumstances, a person may be described as *moreno* even if he or she does not conform to the prototype or any of the other physical varieties of the *moreno* profile. A participant in Santiago describes how this relativity operates within families, 'In a house, they will affectionately call the darkest person *moreno* or *negro*' ('*En una casa, al más oscuro le van a decir en casa de cariño moreno o negro,*' STI_INT7). This is true even when the individual does not have the physical characteristics of the *moreno* or *negro* profile, and simply because he or she is the darkest in the group ('*Sí, porque en el grupo es el más oscuro,*' STI_INT7). A participant in

Dajabón describes a specific example of this phenomenon, 'My wife's family is totally white. A girl was born, lighter than you, straight hair. And they call her *morena*, because she is a little darker …' ('*La familia de la esposa mía es totalmente blanca. Una muchacha nació, más clara que tú, pelo lacio. Y le dicen morena, porque es un poco más oscura…*,' DAJ_INT3).

   Participants also describe the characteristics of the *moreno* in relation to other profiles. Frequently, these descriptions invoke the overlap between *moreno* and categories such as *negro* and *prieto*. A participant in Santo Domingo describes *moreno* as it relates to *negro*. A *moreno* has features that are a little more fine; he is a little lighter, with a narrower nose and smaller eyes ('*Un poco más fino. Un chin más clarito. Nariz un poco más estrecha. Los ojos un poco más pequeños*,' SDQ_INT4). With respect to social attitudes regarding the two profiles, *moreno* is 'More passable. A bit more tolerable' ('*Más pasable. Una persona un chin más tolerable*,' SDQ_INT4). The participant then gives examples of how someone might describe the *morena*. A *morena* is lighter, *lavaíta*, and someone might say 'Look, what a *morenita lavaíta*' or 'Look how cute that *morena* looks' ('*Morena más lavaíta que otra, 'Mira, qué morenita más lavaíta,' 'Mira qué linda se ve esa morena'* ,' SDQ_INT4).

   Another participant describes *moreno* with respect to *indio*, 'Because the *moreno* is a darker person than the *indio*' ('*Porque el moreno es una persona más oscura que el indio*,' SDQ_INT7). The same participant describes *moreno* with respect to *negro*, '*Negro* – persons of more ordinary features … very dark skin. While the *moreno* can have a more or less fine skin color, right?' ('*Negro – personas así de facciones más ordinarias … la tez de la piel bien oscura. Mientras que el moreno puede tener medio fino el color de piel, verdad?*' SDQ_INT7).

A third participant in Santiago navigates the *moreno* and *negro* profiles by explaining how others describe her. Other Dominicans describe her as *morena*. The participant describes why, 'I am not so dark, I am not burned, as they say here.' She continues that the *morena* has black hair and skin that is a bit light. The lighter skin is what distinguishes the *moreno* from the *negro*, according to what people say (SDQ_INT8). When considering facial and body features of the *moreno*, the participant describes substantial diversity. There are *morenos* that are flat with no curves and may have a very aquiline nose or a well structured mouth. Then, there are *morenos* that do have curves and may have a large, flat nose and a big mouth. The final feature that can distinguish the *moreno* and *negro* profiles, according to this participant, is hair texture. The participant states that because she has curly hair people call her *morena*. If she were to have coarse, dry hair, like an afro, then people would call her *negra*. This is because people relate the afro more with the *negro* than with the *moreno*.

SDQ_INT8	Skin Color: *Pero según otras personas, me describirían como morena. No soy tan oscura, no soy quemada, como le dicen acá. Sino que bueno, una morena tienes el pelo negro; tu color de piel es un poco claro. Eso te diferencia de un negro, según se dice.*
	Features: *Allí es muy diferente. Hay morenos que son planos totalmente, no tienen curvas, pero tienen por ejemplo su nariz muy perfilada, o una boca muy bien estructurada … pero hay morenos que pueden tener curvas, muy bien. Pero entonces tienen la nariz muy grande y achatada, boca grande ...'*
	Hair Texture: *Tengo mi pelo rizo, me dicen morena. Si hubiese sido crespo y reseco, estilo afro, me hubiesen dicho que yo soy negra. El afro lo relacionan más con el negro y el pelo rizado con el moreno.*

For participants in Dajabón, the physical profiles of *moreno, negro* and *prieto* are overlapping synonyms. For one participant, the categories can all be used to describe the same physical appearance, but the different terms represent differing ideologies:

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'Look, for me, they are the same. What happens? The problem is that the *moreno* is like denial. You are a *moreno* and they tell you here that you are Haitian. For me these three are synonyms … *Moreno* is the same but it smooths [it for] you.'

('*Mira, para mí, que son lo mismo. Qué lo que pasa? El problema es que el moreno es como la negación. Tú eres un moreno y te dicen aquí que eres haitiano. Para mí esos tres son sinónimos … Moreno es lo mismo pero te suaviza,*' DAJ_INT1).

The participant continues that people do not want to say that you are *negro*, something they have against the black race ('*No quieren decir que tú eres negro. Lo que tenemos en contra de la raza negra,*' (DAJ_INT1). Another participant in Dajabón concurs, 'These are synonyms, *moreno* and *prieto*; *moreno, prieto, negro* … the skin is very dark. There are other *negros* that do not have very dark skin, like you and me. We fit in with the *morenos*' ('*Estos son sinónimos, moreno y prieto; moreno, prieto, negro … La tez muy oscura. Hay otros negros que no tenemos la tez muy oscura, como tú y yo. Cabemos dentro de los morenos,*' DAJ_INT3). For another participant, *negro* is the darkest of the three, and *moreno* and *prieto* represent the same physical profile. That is, a skin tone almost the same as the *indio* but a little darker ('*El negro es el más oscuro. Moreno y prieto vienen siendo el mismo. Tez casi igual que el indio, más oscuro que el indio,*' DAJ_INT4). A final participant in Dajabón states that *moreno, negro,* and *prieto* all mean the same thing. At their root, they are all *negros*, and the *moreno* is a little lighter than the other two ('*Moreno, negro, prieto son palabras que significan el mismo. En el fondo son negros … el moreno es un poco más claro,*' DAJ_INT6).

Social Meaning and Functions: *Moreno*

In addition to the physical information embedded in the term *moreno*, participants articulate the ways in which *moreno* may be deployed in discourse. In addition to their descriptive function, forms of *moreno* may be used as nicknames and forms of direct

address. *Moreno* also performs various social and ideological functions. For a participant in Santiago, the connotation of *moreno* is dependent on context. *Moreno* can be used as a term of endearment or as an insult, depending on the tone and movements with which the speaker deploys it ('*Morena, afecto o menospreciando. Tonalidad y momentos determinan significado*, STI_INT4). A participant in Santo Domingo concurs, 'It depends on the tone and the way in which it is said ('*Depende del tono y la forma cómo que se le diga*,' SDQ_INT6). For other participants, the use of *moreno* is not offensive. When asked whether it is offensive to describe someone as *moreno*, a participant in Santo Domingo states, 'No' (SDQ_INT1). A participant in Santiago describes the endearing function of *moreno*, '*Moreno* is endearing here. *Moreno* is said with delicateness. People do not want to be *negra*. So they say *morena … morena* can be friendly' ('*Moreno aquí es cariñoso. Moreno se dice con delicadeza. Gente no quiere ser negra. Entonces le dice morena … morena puede ser amistosa*,' STI_INT7).

For participants across research sites, *moreno* is a term that may be frequently used as a nickname. A participant in Santo Domingo describes why this usage is so common:

> 'Yes, here it is common. Because here in this country, people tend to put a lot of nicknames. And they do it in physical terms, or of origin. If, for ex-, *morena*. They say to you, '*Morena*, how are you?' The same happens with *la rubia*.'

> ('*Sí, aquí es común. Porque aquí en este país, la gente tiende a poner muchos sobrenombres. Y lo hace en términos físicos – o de proscendencia. Si por es – morena. Te dicen, 'Morena, cómo tú 'tá'?' Lo mismo pasa con la rubia*,' SDQ_INT6).

Although nicknames based on physical appearance are common, the participant states that all terms are not employed with equal frequency, 'It is used more at the extremes. Because of that, it happens more with the *morenos*, that they say, '¡*Moreno, Morena, Rubio, Rubia*!' ('*Lo usa más en los extremos. Por eso sucede más con los morenos, que dicen, '¡Moreno,*

Morena, Rubio, Rubia,' SDQ_INT6). A participant describes addressing someone as

moreno, '¡Look, *moreno*!' ('*¡Mira, moreno!*' STI_INT8). A participant in Santo Domingo

speaks about how the *moreno* description manifests in popular music. 'Yes, it is very

common,' he states. 'It is also funny sometimes … There is a song that talks about *morenos*'

('*Sí, es muy común. También es a veces gracioso … Hay una canción que habla de los*

morenos,' SDQ_INT1). The participant looks up the song using the computer in his office.

'The song is by *Los Ilegales*. It speaks about *la morena*. They talk about the attractive aspect

of *la morena*. [It] has its charge also' ('*De Los Ilegales es la canción. Habla de la morena.*

Dicen el aspecto atractivo de la morena. Tiene también su carga,' SDQ_INT1). Participants

additionally have a sense of the connotation of *moreno* in relation to *negro*. A participant in

Santo Domingo states, 'The [connotation] of *moreno* is more neutral. *Negro* is more

marked' ('*La de moreno es más neutral. Negro es más marcado*,' SDQ_INT7). A

participant in Dajabón emphasizes that the *moreno* nickname is not offensive, 'There are

even people that have the nickname *Moreno* and it is not offensive. It is not offensive, is

what I want to say to you. The term is not offensive' ('*Inclusive, hay personas que tienen de*

apodo Moreno y no es ofensivo. No es ofensivo, es lo que te quiero decir. El término no es

ofensivo,' DAJ_INT7).

    Moreno is also a term that may be used in direct address, even if there is no previous

relationship between two individuals. A Santiago participant discusses this phenomenon in

the ambit of *piropos*. During the interview, the participant says to me, 'I don't know if you

have heard your pick-up lines' ('*No sé si tú has escuchado tus piropos?*' STI_INT6). I

respond that people generally called me *morena*. The participant then explains that people

call her *morena* as well, and that it has to do with color and frame. For her, *negra* is less

common. Men almost never say it in pick-up lines, but it may be used affectionately between spouses ('*A mí me dicen morena también. Color. Contextura física. Casi nunca dicen negra. De afecto entre esposos*,' STI_INT6). For another participant in Santiago, *moreno* may be used to replace *negro*, or may be used in the same circumstances as the diminutive form of *negro – negrito*. 'You are going to say *morenito*. 'Excuse me, *morenito*, come here,' '*Negrito*, come here' ('*Tú le vas a decir morenito. 'Discúlpame, morenito, ven acá,' 'Negrito, ven acá'*,' STI_INT9). A participant in Santo Domingo opines that *moreno* is one of the most frequent terms used to address people, 'I think that it is one of the most common. And as [a] nickname – *moreno*, *morenita*. Diminutive. One of the most common [terms] that are used to call people' ('*Creo que es uno de los más comunes. Y de apodo – moreno, morenita. Disminutivo. Uno de los más comunes que se usa para llamar a personas*,' SDQ_INT7). Finally, a participant in Dajabón talks about the particular position of *moreno* with respect to the realm of beauty, 'A beautiful *morena*. [You] do not say 'beautiful *prieto*' or 'beautiful *prieta*.' It is not used much, but yes it is known what *prieto* is. *Moreno* enters more into the [realm of] beauty' ('*Una morena bella. No dice prieto bello, ni bella prieta. No se usa tanto, pero sí se sabe qué es prieto. Moreno se inscribe más en lo bello*,' DAJ_INT2).

For some Dominicans, there may be a correlation between the *moreno* description and socioeconomic status. A participant considers the terms *moreno, negro,* and *prieto*, '*La morena* is the most acceptable. *La morena* – a more careful expression. *La morena* – if she is middle class, she is *morena*. If she is low class, she is *prieta*' ('*La morena es la más acceptable. La morena – una expresión más cuidada. La morena – si es clase media, es morena. Si es clase baja, es prieta*,' STI_INT4). This relationship between socioeconomic

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status and physical description reveals that the term *moreno* is not solely determined by physical characteristics, but rather is also inflected with social information.

For other participants, the *moreno* profile may also be associated with outsider status. While describing features of the *moreno*, a participant in Dajabón describes the features of the *moreno* as not so negroide. He continues, 'It is, in Haiti, you find many people like this' ('*Las facciones no pueden ser tan negroides. Es, en Haití, tú encuentras muchas personas así,*' DAJ_INT2).

For participants, *moreno* also serves several ideological functions. The choice to use *moreno* versus *negro*, for example, may relate to whether the person being described is Dominican or Haitian. A participant in Dajabón states, '*Negro* is used more for Haitians. There are dark skinned Dominicans' ('*Negro, se usa más para haitianos. Hay dominicanos de piel oscura* (DAJ_INT1). For some other participants, *moreno* can replace *negro* or be used to hide one's *negritud*. A participant in Santiago states that *moreno* is 'a form of not calling a person *negro*' ('*Una forma de no decirle negro a una persona,*' STI_INT7). A participant in Dajabón concurs, stating, 'At the core they are *negros*. It is to hide *negritud*. *Moreno* and *prieto* are to hide *negritud*' ('*Al fondo son negros. Es para esconder la negritud. El moreno y el prieto son para esconder la negritud,*' DAJ_INT6). According to this participant, *moreno* and *negro* soften the stigma. He continues that intellectuals created the typology and that, in other countries, there do not exist as many colors as in the Dominican Republic ('*Entonces, lo suavizan. Que fueron intelectuales que formaron esta tipología. En otros países no existen tantos colores como en República Dominicana,*' DAJ_INT6).

Visual Representations of *Moreno*

Participants identify 18 images that can be described as *moreno/a* in the Dominican Republic. Five participants describe FEMALE_8 as *morena*. A participant in Santiago positions FEMALE_8 as *morena* and *india*. For the participant, FEMALE_8 is *morena* but may also be considered *india*, depending on her hair ('*Morena, aquí sería india. Depende del pelo*,' STI_INT6). Another participant describes FEMALE_8 as *morena* or *negra* ('*Muchacha morena o negra*,' STI_INT7). Two participants in Santo Domingo consider whether FEMALE_8 is *india* or *morena*. They conclude that she is *india*, approximating *morenita* (SDQ_INT3). Four participants describe MALE_7 as *moreno*. A participant in Santiago describes MALE_7 *moreno* and *mulato* (STI_INT6). Another participant describes MALE_7 as *moreno* and *indio oscuro* (STI_INT7). Three participants describe MALE_8 and FEMALE_7 as *moreno*. MALE_8 is *moreno* and *negro*. Regarding MALE_8's appearance, a participant in Santiago states, 'Notice that here someone might say he is Haitian. He could simply be a Dominican *moreno*. Haitian – if [someone] does not hear him speak' ('*Fíjate que aquí quizás alguien diga él es haitiano. Podría ser simplemente un dominicano moreno. Haitiano – si no lo escucha hablar*,' STI_INT6). FEMALE_7 is *morena*.

Two participants describe FEMALE_3, FEMALE_10, MALE_13, and MALE_21 as *morenos*. FEMALE_3 is described as *morena*, and one participant also describes FEMALE_3 as potentially overlapping four categories: *blanca, rubia, morena,* and *jabá* (STI_INT6). FEMALE_10 is *morena* and *morena chula*. MALE_13 is *morenito, moreno*, and *negro*. A participant in Santiago describes MALE_13 as a cute *morenito* because of his smile ('*Es un morenito lindo, por su sonrisa*,' STI_INT8). Another participant describes

MALE_13 as *negro* and *moreno* (SDQ_INT1). MALE_21 is *moreno* and *trigueño*. A

participant in Santiago describes MALE_21 using the categories *moreno* and *trigueño*. The

participant states, 'He is *moreno*, but they would not call him *moreno*. *Trigueño*,'

(STI_INT3).

The remaining images are identified as *moreno* or *morena* by one participant each.

MALE_3, MALE_6 and MALE_20 are *moreno*. FEMALE_5, FEMALE_11, FEMALE_15,

FEMALE_18, FEMALE_20, and FEMALE_25 are *morena*. FEMALE_17 is *morena* and

india oscura (SDQ_INT1).

negro/a

Participants draw a distinction between whether the *negro* profile appears and whether

people use the term *negro* to describe the profile. For a participant in Santiago, 'Almost no

one says *negro*; they say *moreno*' ('*Casi nadie dice negro; se dice moreno*,' STI_INT6). For

this participant, people will almost never say, 'He is *negro*' ('*La gente casi nunca dice, 'Él

es negro'*,' STI_INT6). For another participant in Santiago, the use of *negro* is becoming

more frequent, as a result of television ('*Eso está en proceso. Programas de televisión*,'

STI_INT7). The relative frequency of *negro* is described as less frequent than *moreno*, more

frequent than *prieto*, and about as frequent as *mulato* (STI_INT6, SDQ_INT4, SDQ_INT1).

Physical Meaning: *Negro*

When participants describe the Dominican conception of *el negro*, they invoke three

primary variables: (1) skin color, (2) hair texture, and (3) facial features. The prototypical

negro conforms to the description for all three characteristics. From seventeen participants

that explicitly describe the physical characteristics of the *negro*, the following prototype

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emerges: (1) very dark skin (darker than *moreno*), (2) hard / rough / coarse hair, (3) 'ordinary' features (e.g., full lips, flat nose), not as 'rugged' as *el prieto*. A person who fits this description is undeniably *negro* in the Dominican Republic, but may also overlap the categories of *moreno* and *prieto*.

(1) SKIN COLOR	(2) HAIR TEXTURE	(3) FEATURES
(*muy*) *oscura*	*crespo / duro / malo*	*ordinarias / ásperas / bruscas*

Participants describe the features of the *negro* profile using different combinations of skin color, hair texture, and facial features. These specific physical understandings of the *negro* profile are important, because *negro* is generally deployed so that the audience understands the physical characteristics of the person described. A participant in Dajabón makes this point, 'The *negro*. When they say, '[He] is a *negro*,' it is so that you understand his features ('*El negro. Cuando dicen, 'Es un negro,' es para que entiendas sus facciones*,' DAJ_INT2). For a participant in Santiago, *negro* represents one end of the continuum, '*Negro, negro* is the last [one]. The skin shines. It becomes like ashy. Very different from other skin [types]. Hair, bad. Also, the person [is] very ordinary' ('*Negro, negro ya viene siendo el último. Brilla la piel. Se pone como cenizo. Muy diferente a las demás pieles. Pelo, malo. También la persona muy ordinaria*,' STI_INT8). For another participant in Santo Domingo the distinctive physical features of the *negro* are viewed negatively in the country, 'The *negro* has tangled hair. [He] has to [have a big nose] … Bad hair. Big nose. Big eyes. Big mouth. Problematic. *Negro* is the most negative [thing] that can exist in this country' ('*El negro tiene el cabellito enredado. Tiene que ser narizón ... Cabello malo. Nariz grande. Ojo grande. Bocón. Problemático. El negro es lo más negative que puede existir en este país*,' SDQ_INT4).

Other participants in Santo Domingo also weigh in. For one participant, the *negro* profile is defined by complexion and facial features, '*Negro* – people [with] more ordinary features. People. The complexion of the skin [is] very dark' ('*Negro – personas así de facciones más ordinarias. Gente. La tez de piel bien oscura*,' SDQ_INT7). Another participant in Santo Domingo points to several physical attributes of the *negro* profile and explains what kinds of features are less commonly associated with the profile. She begins by describing skin color and hair texture, 'The *negro* is a dark person, with coarse or bad hair…' ('*El negro es una persona oscura, con el pelo crespo o malo…*' SDQ_INT8). The participant then describes facial features, '…and the face is not very aquiline, full lips, a flat nose' ('… *y la cara no muy perfilada, labios carnosos. Nariz un poco achatada*,' SDQ_INT8). On the point of facial features, the participant emphasizes that there may be some variability because there are sometimes *negros* that have a more aquiline profile ('*A pesar de que hay negros que a veces tienen su perfil más perfilado, su nariz finita … sus ojos negros*,' SDQ_INT8).

One participant in Dajabón addresses how *negro* may be used as a racial descriptor, even when someone has a lighter physical profile, 'Others say that I am *negro*, of the black race. Because of my features, my nose. I am a mixture' ('*Otros dicen que soy negro, de la raza negra. Por mis rasgos, mi nariz. Yo soy una mezcla*,' DAJ_INT1). Another participant in Dajabón emphasizes hair texture and facial features, 'When they call you *negro* here, you enter into another [category]. You are talking about a *negra*, [with] hard hair and [with] features that can be thick lips' ('*Cuando aquí te dicen negro aquí, ya tú entras en otro. Estás hablando de una negra, de cabellos duro', y de facciones que pueden ser labios frondosos*,' DAJ_INT2). A third participant in Dajabón talks about the notion of a 'pure *negro*' and addresses how skin and hair texture factor into this description. 'Because when you are

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negro negro, you are really shiny. They say, 'That [guy] is [a] pure *negro*.' 'Why?'

'Because he [secretes] oil through his pores' ('*Porque cuando tú eres negro negro, eres*

brillosísimo. Le dicen, 'Ése es negro puro.' '¿Por qué?' 'Porque tira aceite por los poros','

DAJ_INT5). The participant also talks about the different terms for coarse hair and shares a

refrain regarding hair:

> 'Because *cabello malo,* as they say, the hair of the *negro* is tangled. And besides that, the treatment is difficult … A refrain toward *cabello malo*, toward *los negros*. They say, 'He that wants pretty hair,' that is, like mine, 'tolerates pulls / yanks'

> ('*Porque el cabello malo, como se dice, el cabello de negro es liado. Y además de eso, es difícil el tratamiento … Un refrán hacia el cabello malo, hacia los negros. Dicen, 'El que quiere cabello bonito,' o sea, como el mío, 'aguanta jalones',*' DAJ_INT5).

Here, the participant refers to hair straightening procedures from beauty salons. The

participant continues to talk about the specific lexicon regarding hair texture, 'For example,

the real name of your hair is coarse hair. The real [name] of my hair is straight hair. The

common [way], good hair, bad hair, pepper hair, smooth hair' ('*Por ejemplo, el nombre real*

del pelo tuyo es cabello crespo. El real del cabello mío es cabello lacio. El común, pelo

bueno, pelo malo, cabello de tipo pimienta, cabello suave,' DAJ_INT5). Hair texture is

additionally a characteristic that people may look to when considering how to 'refine' the

race of their offspring:

> That also has an attraction, in terms that there are people that want to refine. Example: I am in [a good] economic [position]. You fall in love with me. Apart from the [economic] position, you see the possibility of refining.

> ('*Eso también tiene una atracción, en términos de que hay personas que quieren refinar. Ejemplo: Estoy en condiciones económicas. Tú te aficias de mí. Aparte de la posición, ves la posibilidad de refinar*,' DAJ_INT5).

While acknowledging prototypical characteristics of the *negro* profile, participants also

address physical diversity within the profile. A participant in Santo Domingo states that

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there are many different types of *negros* and that they are not all the same ('*Los negros no son una sola raza. Hay muchos negros diferentes*,' SDQ_INT1). Two additional participants in Santo Domingo discuss the variety of *negros*. For these participants, the *negro* profile may be subdivided into two groups – light and emphatically dark. One participant proposes that there are two types of *negros*. When I ask him what those types are, the participant responds 'the light *negro*,' and the second interview participant adds 'the *negro negro*.' The first participant confirms this designation, 'And the *negro negro*, that is a color like blue' (SDQ_INT3). I ask how people would describe this individual, the darker *negro*, and the participants confirm that an individual meeting the description would be described as '*negro azulito*' (SDQ_INT3).

In some cases, a person that is described as *negro* may vary from the physical profile that participants describe. In such cases, however, people may search for justifications for the atypical characteristic. A participant in Santo Domingo addresses how straight hair texture interacts with the *negro* profile. According to this participant, people find it strange when a person that is *negro* has straight or fine, curly hair. When people encounter a '*negro* with *pelo bueno*,' they look for some relative to which to attribute the hair texture:

> *Cuando tú ves un negro que tiene el pelo como le dicen natural, dicen que su cabello si es lacio o es rizo, que se puede manejar, que es fino-que es la palabra correcta, dicen que allí hay algo raro. Salió así por parte de la mamá, o del papá. Dicen,* 'O *tú eres un negro con pelo bueno.' Así le dicen. 'Ah, ¿pero eso fue por tu mamá, tu papá?' Buscan un familiar. Para buscar cómo saliste con el pelo así* (SDQ_INT8).

The same happens when a person that is *negro* has very aquiline features. The participant explains, 'And if you see, for example, a very fine, aquiline face, you say, 'No, you have that descent because of someone else, someone from your family' ('*Y si ves, por ejemplo, el rostro muy fino, perfilado, usted dice, 'No, tú tienes esa ascendencia por alguien*

más, alguien de tu familia,' SDQ_INT8). A participant in Dajabón also addresses differing hair types within the *negro* profile. For this participant, although there are some exceptions, 'rough' hair is the norm ('*Tienen algunas excepciones, como una mezcla genética, pero casi siempre salen los hijos con el pelo áspero,*' DAJ_INT4).

Participants also describe the characteristics of the *negro* in relation to other profiles. Frequently, these descriptions invoke the overlap between *negro* and categories such as *moreno* and *prieto*. A participant in Santo Domingo describes *negro* as it relates to *prieto*, '*Negro* is more refined' ('*Negro ya viene siendo más refinado,*' SDQ_INT2). A participant in Santiago describes *negro* in relation to *moreno*, '*Negro* – complexion of the skin is darker. Features [are] a little rougher' ('*Negro – tez de la piel es más oscura. Facciones un poco más bruscas,*' STI_INT9). A participant in Santo Domingo also describes the *negro* in relation to *moreno*:

> 'The *negro* is much darker than the *moreno*. And the *negro*, the vast majority, do not have good hair, as they say, but rather bad hair. In men, they have it like [in] little rolls, but very dry, and coarse. And short'

> ('*El negro es mucho más oscuro que el moreno. Y el negro la gran mayoría no tienen el pelo bueno, como dicen, sino lo tienen malo. En los hombres, lo tienen como rolito, pero muy reseco, y crespo. Y corto,*' SDQ_INT8).

The participant lingers on hair texture and explains how hair texture would adjust her classification, 'I have my curly hair; they call me *morena*. It if had been coarse and dry, Afro style, they would have told me that I am *negra*' ('*Tengo mi pelo rizo; me dicen morena. Si hubiese sido crespo y reseco, estilo afro, me hubiesen dicho que soy negra,*' SDQ_INT8).

For some participants, descriptors used for profiles at the darker end of the spectrum are synonyms or near synonyms. A participant in Dajabón states that *moreno, negro* and *prieto*

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are all synonyms that describe a person with a very dark complexion ('*Estos son sinónimos, moreno y prieto, moreno, prieto, negro. La tez muy oscura*,' DAJ_INT3). A participant in Santiago does not make a distinction between *negro* and *prieto*, although she uses *negro* more frequently ('No *hago distinction – negro y prieto. Uso más negro*,' STI_INT5). Other participants define the terms in relation to each other. For a participant in Dajabón, among *moreno, negro,* and *prieto*, *negro* is the darkest ('*El negro es el más oscuro*,' DAJ_INT4). For another participant, *prieto* is darker than *moreno*, and at their core the two are both *negro* ('*El prieto es más negro que el moreno. En el fondo, los otros dos son negros*,' DAJ_INT6). When describing the overlap between *negro* and *prieto*, a participant in Santo Domingo states that the difference between *negro* and *prieto* may be social rather than physical, '*Negro* is more refined. 'Look at this *prieto.*' <harsh tone> One sees in the like heavier tone. But it is the same. The same police officer with a different club' ('*Negro viene siendo ya más refinado. 'Mira este prieto'* <harsh tone> *Se ve en el tono como más pesado. Pero es el mismo. El mismo policía con diferente macana*,' SDQ_INT2).

Social Meaning and Functions: *Negro*

In addition to the physical information embedded in the term *negro*, participants articulate that forms of *negro* may be used as nicknames and forms of direct address. *Negro* also performs various social and ideological functions. For a participant in Santo Domingo, *negro* does not necessarily have to be offensive. It is like *mulato* in that it is used but not as frequently as other forms ('*No tiene que ser ofensivo. Es como un mulato – se usa pero no tanto como los otros*,' SDQ_INT1). While forms of *negro* are not always offensive, they are also not neutral. A participant in Santo Domingo states:

'Unfortunately, it is not neutral. It is used in a manner [that is] a bit pejorative, 'That *negro, negro…*' Although there are people as well that take on a nickname like that. It does not have to be bad, but usually, a bit pejorative.'

('*Lamentablemente, no es neutral. Se usa de una manera un poco despectivo. 'Ese negro, negro …' Aunque hay personas también que se ponen a apodar así. No tiene que ser malo, pero usualmente, un poco despectivo,*' SDQ_INT7).

A participant in Dajabón opines that *negro* is the form that is used most pejoratively ('*El negro es que se usa más como despectivo,*' DAJ_INT7). The participant goes on to explain that, in the border region, *haitiano* is less offensive than *negro* ('*A pesar de que vivimos en la frontera, quizás por eso, [haitiano] es menos ofensivo que el mismo negro, porque es nacionalidad,*' DAJ_INT7). For another participant in Dajabón, forms of *negro* can have sexual connotations that are viewed positively.

'*Negro* does not necessarily have a personal connotation, but rather even [a] sexual [one]. For example, they say, 'That man has it [like a] *negro*.' In the United States, it is said like that also. That is the only positive part. It is an element'

('*El negro no necesariamente tiene una connotación personal, sino hasta sexual. Por ejemplo, dicen, 'Ese hombre lo tiene de negro.' En EEUU, se dice así también. Ésa es la única parte positiva. Es un elemento,*' DAJ_INT5).

In addition to its use to describe others, *negro* may be used as a form of self identification. A participant in Santo Domingo discusses this function and expresses that it is a use that comes from exterior. 'They can call themselves *negros*. Descriptions from the exterior. Television. [A person] knows Denzel Washington, and [he] calls himself *negro* at the end' ('*Se pueden llamar negros. Descripciones del exterior. Televisión. Conoce a Denzel Washington. Y se dice negro para el fin,*' SDQ_INT1). The use of *negro* as a nickname, however, is a very common practice in the Dominican Republic. During an interview in Santiago, a participant positions me with respect to usage of *negro*, 'You, if you were Dominican and had a husband, 'Look, *negra*.' Affection. Nickname' ('*Tú misma, si fueras*

dominicana y tuvieras un esposo, 'Mira, negra.' Afecto. Apodo,' STI_INT8). According to another participant, not only can *negro* be used as a nickname, but it may also be used as a given name, 'Yes, there are people that their nickname is *Negro. Cédula* – Negro Gonzales. As a given name. *Morena del Carmen. Negra de los Santos'* ('*Sí, hay personas que su apodo es Negro. Cédula – Negro Gonzales. Como nombre propio. Morena del Carmen. Negra de los Santos,'* STI_INT9). When asked whether people with the given name *Negro* will also have that physical description, the participant responds, 'Regularly, yes. Descriptive names' ('*Regularmente sí. Nombres descriptivos,'* STI_INT9). The same is not true for the use of forms of *negro* as nicknames, however. The participant explains that he has a friend whose physical description is that of a *trigueña*. She has curly hair, and her skin is not so dark. Everyone knows her as *Negra*, and they call her *Negra* as a nickname. ('*Amiga – persona trigueña, pelo rizado, tez no tan oscura … Todo el mundo la conoce por 'Negra'. No tiene tez oscura, pelo rizo. Le dicen "Negra" de apodo,'* STI_INT9). In Santo Domingo, another participant confirms the relationship between physical appearance and the nickname *negro*. For this participant, forms of *negro* are used as nicknames very frequently, and within families someone may be called *negro* even if he is *blanco* ('*Muchísimo. Para una familia, alguien de la familia – negro. Aunque siendo blanco,'* SDQ_INT1).

In addition to its function as a nickname, participants discuss whether *negro* may be used as a form of direct address. For a participant in Santiago, *moreno* would be substituted for this function, although *negro* could still be used between two people with a close relationship, ''Look, *moreno*!' I call a friend '*Negrito*!' because he is very dark' ('*'¡Mira, moreno!' A un amigo le digo '¡Negrito!' porque es bien prietico,'* STI_INT8). Another participant in Santiago echoes this point. *Negro,* when used with someone that a speaker

does not know well, is pejorative. Therefore, speakers will substitute *negro* with forms of *moreno*, or diminutive forms such as *morenito* or *negrito* to soften the impact. 'No, it is pejorative. There then you are going to call him *morenito*. 'Excuse me. *Morenito*, come here.' '*Negrito*, come here.' … A diminutive for a person that you do not know' ('*No, es despectivo. Allí entonces, tú le vas a decir morenito. 'Discúlpame. Morenito, ven acá,' 'Negrito, ven acá' … Un disminutivo, para una persona que no conoces,*' STI_INT9). A participant in Santo Domingo addresses the two main ways that *negro* is used in direct address – (1) as a term of endearment, and (2) as a pejorative term. For this participant, *negro* is not neutral. The participant states, 'Well, the term *negro*, here not so much. To, at least, to call. If it is on a level of familiarity – *mi negro, mi negra* – it is used more.' The participant continues, 'Or in pejorative terms. They also say, 'That *negro*,' or 'It had to be [a] *negro*.' It is not used to call – hardly ever. Unless it is affectionate, or pejorative' (SDQ_INT6):

> *Bueno, el término negro, aquí no tanto. Para, por lo menos, para llamar. Si es a nivel de confianza – mi negra, mi negro, se utiliza más. O en términos despectivos. También dicen, 'El negro ese,' p 'Tenía que ser negro.' No se usa como un llamado – casi nunca. Salvo que sea de cariño, o despectivo* (SDQ_INT6).

For a participant in Dajabón, whether *negro* is used as a form of direct address among strangers depends on the context of the situation. According to this participant, blackness is highlighted in negative situations (while whiteness is minimized), and blackness is minimized in positive situations (while whiteness is highlighted):

> 'Yes, even the *negro* does not like it. People make it pejorative. 'Look, you, *negro*, get out of there.' Conversely, they do not say, 'Look, you, *blanco*, get out of there.' Just 'Get out of there,' or 'Sir, Ma'am, get out of there''
>
> ('*Sí, al propio negro no le gusta. La gente lo pone peyorativo, 'Mira, tú, negro, quítate de allí.' Al contrario, no dicen, 'Mira, tú, blanco, quítate de allí.' Sólo 'Quítate de allí,' o 'Señor, Señora, quítate de allí,'*' DAJ_INT7).

When it comes to flirting, the opposite occurs, 'Conversely as well, if [one] wants to fall in love, you do not say to a woman, 'Hey, *negra*, you look good!' or to a *blanca* like this, 'Oh, *rubia*, you look cute'' ('*Contrario también, si quiere enamorar, a una mujer no le dices, 'Oye, negra, ¡qué bien tú te ves!' O a una blanca así, 'O, rubia, qué linda tú te ves',' DAJ_INT7). The participant summarizes the rules:

> 'The term *negro*, when it is to fall in love they do not say it … They say the pick-up line without referencing the color. But if I dye my hair, they [will] say to me, 'Hey, *rubia*, you look good!' And it is pleasing'
>
> ('*El término negro, cuando es para enamorar no la dicen … Dicen el piropo sin hacerle referencia al color. Pero si yo me tiño el pelo, me dicen, 'Oye, rubia, ¡qué bien te ves!' Y es agradable*,' DAJ_INT7).

For participants across research sites, forms of *negro* may be specifically used to communicate affect, even when a person does not have the physical characteristics of the *negro* profile. In Santiago, one participant opines that people do not frequently use *negra* but that it is used affectionately between spouses ('*Casi nunca dicen negra. De afecto entre esposos*,' STI_INT6). Another participant in Santiago states that the terms *negro, moreno* and *more* are very frequently used to communicate affection ('*Se usa mucho moreno, more, negro*,' STI_INT7). Some participants specifically address affectionate uses of *negro* that do not match a person's physical description. For example, a participant in Santiago addresses this use, after first describing the two faces of *negro*, 'Affectionately – *negrito*, a cute *negrito*. If it is a *negro* [that is] not very well loved, '*Negro de la Joya*,' a very bad neighborhood in Santo Domingo' (STI_INT9). The term *mi negro*, however, always communicates positive affect. '[*Mi negro is*] what wives say to their husbands, even [with] both being *rubios*. Term of endearment. [A] couple of people with light complexion, '*Negro*, pass me the towel,' '*Negra*, such and such.' Affection, pleasing' (STI_INT9).

De cariño – negrito, un negrito lindo. Si es un negro no muy bien querido, 'Negro de la Joya.' Un barrio muy malo en Santo Domingo … [Mi negro] Así le dicen las esposas a los esposos, hasta siendo rubios los dos. Palabra de cariño. Pareja de personas de tez clara, 'Negro, pásame la toalla,' 'Negra, tal cosa.' Halago, agrado (STI_INT9).

With respect to the forms *mi negro* or *mi negra*, a participant in Santo Domingo states that the terms may be used for someone that does not fall within the *negro* profile. In this context, *mi negro* is more about communicating affect than it is about physical description. 'Very affectionate. '*Mi negrito,*' '*Morena.*' When one says 'my' [that] is affect' (SDQ_INT1).

Another participant in Santo Domingo confirms this point, 'Including the term *negro*, there is – like affection. There are couples that call each other '*mi negro*,' '*mi negra*,' and it is a nice aspect. They do not do it [in a] pejorative way' ('*Incluyendo el término negro, hay – como cariño. Hay parejas que se dicen 'Mi negro,' 'Mi negra,' y es un aspecto chulo. No lo hacen de forma despectiva*,' SDQ_INT6). When asked whether people that are affectionately described as *negro* must have dark skin, the participant replies, 'Not necessarily' ('*No necesariamente*,' SDQ_INT6). I then ask whether this usage of *negro* is a term of endearment, and the participant replies, 'Yes, of familiarity' (SDQ_INT6).

Although participants do conceptualize *negro* as within the Dominican racial system, some participants address how the *negro* profile is frequently associated with outsider status. According to a participant in Santiago, there is a perception that every true *negro* is Haitian ('*Todavía aquí se piensa que todo negro negro es haitiano*,' STI_INT4). The participant then ties in the role of language and states that a *negra* that does not speak Spanish will be perceived as Haitian ('*Una negra que no habla español es haitiana*,' STI_INT4). Another participant in Santiago confirms that 'A *negro* can be associated with a Haitian' ('*Un negro,*

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puede ser relacionado con un haitiano,' STI_INT7). When asked whether the *negro* profile

is less frequently associated with Dominicanness, the participant replies that a person with

very dark skin has an undefined origin ('*Persona de piel muy oscura, origen indefinido*,'

STI_INT7). Another participant in Santiago describes residents of her sector as *negro negro*

negro but foreigners, 'They are not from here. They come here, but they are from there'

('*Son negro negro negros, pero extranjeros. No son de aquí. Vienen aquí, pero son de allá*,'

STI_INT8). Participants frequently use emphatic forms of *negro* when describing the

physical profile of the Haitian. While describing the *mulato* profile, a participant in Santo

Domingo invokes the relationship between blackness and Haitianness, '*Mulatos* are almost

of Haitian descent. They are *negro negro negro negro*' ('*Los mulatos casimente son de*

descendencia haitiana. Son negro negro negro negro,' SDQ_INT2). A participant in

Dajabón opines that Haitians are *negro negro* and relates how people described Dominican

presidential hopeful José Francisco Peña Gómez as *azul* because of his dark tone ('*Cuando*

usted es negro negro, como por ejemplo son el caso de los haitianos. Acá había un líder de

PRD, Peña Gómez. ¿Sabes cómo le decían? Azul,' DAJ_INT5). A participant in Santo

Domingo explains how black Americans may also fall outside of the Dominican racial

system. The participant uses the example of actor Sidney Poitier, 'There is another type of

American *negro* that does not fit. Sidney Poitier. They are going to say, 'That [man] is

Haitian' … he does not enter within the system' ('*Hay otro tipo de negro americano que no*

cabe. Sidney Poitier. Van a decir, 'Ése es haitiano' … no entra dentro del sistema,'

SDQ_INT1).

A participant in Dajabón addresses the social perceptions that are associated with the

negro profile and how these perceptions are inflected with considerations of nationality. The

participant begins by contrasting two groups within the country – *negros cocolos* and *negros haitianos*. *Negros cocolos* are the black laborers brought from the British Antilles to work in the Dominican sugar cane industry, and *negros haitianos* are immigrants from the neighboring country of Haiti. The participant asserts that *negro cocolos* are not considered the same as *negros haitianos*, although they both proceed from the same place of origin— Africa. 'But listen to the difference,' the participant states, 'So that you see the extreme to which it goes, the prejudice against the Haitian.' The participant continues, 'Because the prejudice is not against the *negro*; it is against the Haitian *negro*.' I state the accompanying presumption that the prejudice is not against the Haitian *blanco*, and the participant confirms that the prejudice is also not against the black American. As an example, the participant states, 'Because Michael Jordan goes out and they even open the door for him.' I mention that people open the door for me, and the participant replies, 'Yes, but you have a different color. Michael Jordan passes more as Haitian. But or another player, Lebron James. He is very black, a Haitian, Lebron James. People even identify him, 'Look at that Haitian, so big the Haitian.' They are going to say, 'Oh, Lebron James! Excuse me, Lebron James!'

DAJ_INT5	(DAJ5) *Ese tipo de negro,* *los negros cocolos no son los mismos que los negros haitianos* *y proceden ambos del mismo lugar de origen – de África.* *Pero oye la diferencia.* *Para tú ver hasta dónde llega la extremación,* *el prejuicio en contra del haitiano.* *Porque el prejuicio no es contra el negro; es contra el negro haitiano.* (EW) *No es contra el blanco haitiano.* (DAJ5) *O el negro norteamericano. Porque sale Michael Jordan y le abren hasta la puerta*
	(DAJ5) *Sí, pero tú tienes un color distinto.* *Michael Jordan pasa más como haitiano.* *Pero u otro jugador. Lebron James.* *Es negrísimo, un haitiano Lebron James.*

	La gente hasta lo identifica, *'Mira ese haitiano, tan grande el haitiano.'* *Le van a decir, 'Ah, ¡Lebron James! ¡Excúsame, Lebron James!'*

In addition to other social understandings of *negro*, participants share some common (and less common) sayings that reveal additional aspects of social meaning in the Dominican setting (Table 53). Participants explain that these sayings can have positive and negative connotations. Sayings 1, 2, and 5 are examples of sayings that communicate positive affect toward *negro*. Sayings 3 and 4 bring in connotations of the *negro* as a lover. Sayings 6 and 7 are examples of how blackness is associated with negative characteristics even when not used in racial terms. Sayings 8 and 9 relate to ideologies such as 'refining the race' and communicate that *negro* is not a welcome mixture in some families. Sayings 10-14 communicate low estimations of value, and some (such as saying 11) trace back to the Trujillo dictatorship. Finally, saying 15 (as discussed in the section regarding *blanco*) communicates the inherent irony in stated racial attitudes.

Table 53. Sayings Relating to *Negro*

1	*El negro pega con todo* '*Negro* goes with everything'	STI_INT9, SDQ_INT4
2	*Donde hay un negro la cosa se pone buena* 'Where there is a *negro* things get good'	STI_INT9
3	*Si te enamoró un negro, no te toca un blanco* 'If you fell in love with a *negro*, a *blanco* does not touch you'	STI_INT9
4	*Donde entró un negro no hay cabida para ningún blanquito* 'Where a *negro* entered, there is no room for any *blanquito*'	STI_INT9
5	*Negrura con sabrosura* 'Black with flavor'	SDQ_INT7
6	*Qué maldito día negro* 'What a cursed black day'	SDQ_INT4
7	*La oveja negra de la casa* 'The black sheep of the house'	SDQ_INT4
8	*Negro en mi casa nada más el caldero /* *En mi casa, sólo negro el fondo de la paila* 'In my house, only the pot [is] *negro*'	SDQ_INT4, DAJ_INT3

9	*Negro solamente el trasero* 'Only the behind is *negro*'	DAJ_INT3
10	*Tenía que ser negro* 'It had to be [a] *negro*'	SDQ_INT6
11	*El negro, cuando no lo hace a la entrada, lo hace a la salida* 'The *negro*, when he does not do it coming, he does it going'	DAJ_INT3, DAJ_INT5, DAJ_INT6
12	*El negro no se puede tener confianza* 'You cannot trust the *negro*'	DAJ_INT6
13	*El negro es comida de cerdo /* *El negro es comida de puerco* 'The *negro* is pig's food'	DAJ_INT3, DAJ_INT6
14	*El que cree en negro, no cree en nadie* 'He that believes in [a] *negro*, believes in no one'	DAJ_INT3
15	*Yo no soy racista; a mí me da igual un blanco que un maldito negro* 'I am not racist; to me a *blanco* and a damn *negro* are the same'	DAJ_INT7

Visual Representations of *Negro*

Participants identify seven images that could be described as *negro* in the Dominican Republic (in order of frequency): MALE_8, MALE_7, FEMALE_8, MALE_23, FEMALE_7, MALE_13, and FEMALE_15.

prieto/a

While forms of *prieto* are used across research sites, participants opine that the relative frequency of *prieto*, with respect to categories such as *moreno* and *negro*, is low. A participant in Santiago states, '*Prieto* is not a word from my vocabulary' ('*Prieto no es una palabra de mi vocabulario*,' STI_INT5). A participant in Santo Domingo comments on the relative frequency of *prieto*, '*Prieto* now, *moreno* and *negro* are used more' ('*El prieto ya, se usa más moreno y negro*,' SDQ_INT4). The participant additionally comments on the gendered dimension of frequency. When asked specifically about the frequency of the feminine form *prieta*, the participant responds that it is used 'Very little. In the sphere of women, *negra* is used more' ('*Muy poco. En el ámbito de las mujeres, se usa más negra*,' SDQ_INT4).

Physical Meaning: *Prieto*

When participants describe the Dominican conception of *el prieto,* they invoke three primary variables: (1) skin color, (2) hair texture, and (3) facial features. The prototypical *prieto* conforms to the description for all three characteristics. From fifteen participants that explicitly describe the physical characteristics of the *prieto*, the following prototype emerges: (1) dark / black skin, (2) coarse / bad hair, (3) ordinary features. A person who fits this description is undeniably *prieto* in the Dominican Republic, but may also overlap the categories of *moreno* and *negro*.

(1) SKIN COLOR	(2) HAIR TEXTURE	(3) FEATURES
oscura / negra	*crespo / malo*	*muy ordinarias* (*chemba grande, nariz achatada*)

Participants primarily define the *prieto* profile in terms of skin color. At the most basic level, *prieto* describes a person that has dark skin. According to a participant in Santo Domingo, *prieto* is 'someone with dark skin,' and the term 'is not affectionate' ('*Prieto – alguien con la piel oscura. No es afectivo,*' SDQ_INT1). Another participant in Santo Domingo confirms, 'It is understood that the word *prieto* is used for dark complexion' ('*Se entiende que la palabra prieto se usa para tez oscura,*' SDQ_INT4). A third participant confirms, '[He/she] is going to have a very dark complexion, coarse hair … large mouth' ('*Va a tener la tez bien oscura, pelo crespo … de chemba grande,*' SDQ_INT6). A fourth participant states that *prieto* is 'A black person, of darker complexion. Very ordinary' ('*Una persona negra, de tez más oscura. Muy ordinaria,*' SDQ_INT7).

To communicate the degree of darkness in the complexion of the *prieto*, participants employ creative language and comparisons. A participant in Santiago emphatically

expresses this color in the following way:

> Clearly, the *prieto prieto* is *prieto*. A person [that is] *negra negra*, inside and out. They are so *prietos* that they even have a purple hand. Nothing of color. There is nothing light there.
>
> ('*Claro, el prieto prieto es prieto. Una gente negra negra, por dentro y por fuera. Son tan prietos que tienen hasta la mano morá. Nada de color. No hay nada claro allí.*' STI_INT8)

A participant in Santo Domingo compares the complexion of the *prieto* to the darkness of night and the darkness of coal.

> 'The *prieto*, ay yay yay yay yay. Well, the *prieto* already is a person of very dark complexion, very dark. I have known people that are very dark, like the night. Like, like like coal. So, they call that type of person *prieto*'.
>
> ('*El prieto, ay yay yay yay yay. Bueno, el prieto ya es una persona de tez bien oscura, bien oscura. Yo he conocido a personas, que son bien oscuras, como la noche. Como, como como el carbón. Entonces, a ese tipo de persona le llaman prieto.* SDQ_INT6).

Another participant in Santo Domingo compares the complexion of the *prieto* to that of a Haitian or a black color pencil. She states, 'Here, I am going to say it in raw terms, a *prieto* like this is a Haitian. In the sense that he is *negro negro*. He is almost the same color as the color pencil. Like if you take a pencil to paint *negro*. And it is like that, very *prieto*, very burned, very very dark' (SDQ_INT8). She continues, 'That even, sometimes, *prietos* often have whiter teeth. And lips, the lip line, they have it pinker, more prominent, but *negro negro negro negro*. And the hair [is] *prieto prieto prieto*. And the hair is bad, or bad in the sense [of] very coarse and short, dry, mistreated, that the wind hits it and it does not move' (SDQ_INT8). She describes additional features and relates them to perceptions of Haitianness and Africanness, 'Flat nose. It is from an African. It can be from a Haitian or from an African' (SDQ_INT8):

> ('*Aquí, lo voy a decir en términos crudos, un prieto así es un haitiano. En ese sentido*

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de que es negro negro. Es casi el mismo color como el lápiz de color. Como si tú coges un lápiz para pintar negro. Y es así. Muy prieto, muy quemado, muy muy oscuro.

Que incluso, a veces, los prietos suelen tener la dentadura más blanca. Y los labios, la línea labial, la tienen más rosadita, más destacada. Pero negro negro negro negro. Y el cabello prieto prieto prieto. Y el cabello es malo, o sea malo en el sentido muy crespo y cortico, reseco, maltratado, que le da la brisa y no se mueve. La nariz achatada, Es de un africano. Puede ser de un haitiano o de un africano.' SDQ_INT8)

For one participant in Santiago, *prieto* may be a temporary condition, such as when one tans after spending time in the sun, '*Prieto* is a *negro,* [a] person of dark skin … It is used with the beach as well. 'I got *prieta*'' ('*Prieto – es un negro, persona de piel oscura … Se usa con la playa también. 'Me puse prieta'*,' STI_INT7).

Participants additionally describe *prieto* as it relates to other categories such as *moreno* and *negro*. In Santiago, a person that is *prieto* has the same features as the *negro*, but the *prieto* is darker ('*La palabra prieto/a, personas que tienen los mismos rasgos que el negro,*' STI_INT9; '*Prieto más oscuro,*' STI_INT3). In Santo Domingo, participants also conceptualize the *prieto* as darker than the *negro*, 'Yes, the *negro*, the *prieto* goes beyond the *negro*' ('*Sí, el negro, el prieto va más allá del negro,*' SDQ_INT7). In Dajabón, participants discuss overlap. For one participant, *prieto* is the same as *negro* ('*Prieto es lo mismo. Negra, así negra,*' DAJ_INT2). For another participant, *prieto* is the same as *moreno* ('*Moreno y prieto vienen siendo lo mismo,*' DAJ_INT4). A third participant explains that, while *moreno, negro* and *prieto* essentially mean the same thing, there are differences in skin tone. '*Moreno, negro, prieto* are words that mean the same [thing]. At the bottom they are black. The *prieto* is a black person as well. The *moreno* is a little lighter. The *prieto* is more *negro*' ('*Moreno, negro, prieto son palabras que significan el mismo. En el fondo son negros. El prieto es una persona negra también. El moreno es un poco más claro. El prieto*

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es más negro,' DAJ_INT6).

<u>Social Meaning and Functions: *Prieto*</u>

In addition to the physical information embedded in the term *prieto*, participants articulate the ways in which *prieto* may be deployed in discourse. Besides their descriptive function, forms of *prieto* may be used as nicknames and forms of direct address. *Prieto* also performs various social and ideological functions. For a participant in Santiago, '*Prieto* [is] the lowest on the scale. It is not the same to be *morena* as *prieta* ('*Prieto – más bajo de la escala. No es lo mismo ser morena que prieta*,' STI_INT4). When asked whether *prieto* is an insult, another participant in Santiago responds, 'People that are ignorant. 'Look, what [a] damn *negro*,' and they feel offended, angry' ('*Personas que son ignorantes. 'Mira, qué maldito negro' y ellos se sienten ofendidos, enfadados*,' STI_INT8). A third participant in Santiago confirms that *prieto* can be pejorative and imply ignorance, among other negative characteristics. 'Normally for people that are not very educated. No elegance, they are not very clean. It is used more as something pejorative' ('*Regularmente para personas que no son muy educadas. No elegancia, no son muy limpios. Se utiliza más como algo despectivo*,' STI_INT9). The participant summarizes, 'The reality is that *prieto* is pejorative' ('*La realidad es que prieto es despectivo*,' STI_INT9).

Although *prieto* may be associated with negrative connotations, it is not always pejorative. A participant in Santo Domingo explains. When asked whether *prieto* is pejorative, the participant responds, 'Not necessarily. But 'Damn *prieto*' … a way of separating onseself' ('*No necesariamente. Pero 'maldito prieto' ... una forma de despegarse*,' SDQ_INT1). On this point, I ask whether someone could use the form '*mi maldito prieto*,' to which the participant responds, 'Never' ('*Jamás*,' SDQ_INT1). For

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another participant in Santo Domingo, *prieto* is not pejorative, but rather normal ('*No, no, aquí es normal*,' SDQ_INT3). A third participant in Santo Domingo opines that *prieto* is completely pejorative, 'That [one] yes is pejorative. No affection or anything. That [one] is completely pejorative. 'Look at that *prieto*,' 'Such [an] ugly *prieto*' ('*Ése sí es despectivo. Ni afecto ni nada. Ésa es despectiva entera. 'Mira ese prieto,' 'Prieto tan feo*',' SDQ_INT7). Another participant in Santo Domingo addresses how context may change the connotation of *prieto*:

> But as in everything, when it is used, it can be used in a positive way, pretty. 'Oh, my *prieto*, caramba.' The tone changes … 'Oh my *prieto*,' 'I adore my *prieta*.' Things like that. And it is nice.
>
> ('*Pero como en todo, cuando se utiliza, se puede utilizar de forma positiva, bonita. 'Ay, mi prieto, caramba.' Varía el tono … 'Ay mi prieta,' 'Yo adoro a mi prieta.' Cosas así. Y es bonito*,' SDQ_INT6).

For participants in Dajabón, *prieto* takes more of a negative connotation. One participant states, 'When they say *prieto*, it is already more pejorative. 'Look, old *prieto* … Look, *prieto*! Like it is now a little more. [You] see another connotation' ('*Cuando dicen prieto, ya es más despectivo. 'Mira, prieto viejo … ¡Mira, prieto!' Como ya un poquito más. Ve otra connotación*,' DAJ_INT1). For another participant, *prieto* is the form that is most used in a pejorative way, 'The *prieto* is the [one] that is most used [in a] pejorative way. A beautiful *morena*. [One] does not say 'Beautiful *prieto*' or 'Beautiful *prieta*'' ('*El prieto es el que más se usa de manera despectiva. Una morena bella. No dice 'prieto bello', ni 'bella prieta*,' DAJ_INT2). A third participant weighs in, '[*Prieto*] is also pejorative, perhaps not as much as the *negro*, but it is also pejorative. 'That *prieto* man.' It is like brutish, it is like, he is stubborn, dense. 'Leave him alone, [because] he is *prieto*' ('[*Prieto*] *es también despectivo, quizás no tanto como el negro, pero es también despectivo. 'Ese hombre prieto.' Es como*

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bruto, es como que, es terco, es burro. 'Déjalo tranquilo, que él es prieto',' (DAJ_INT7). In this sense, the participant alludes to a direct link between color terms and social implications.

According to participants, forms of *prieto* may be used as nicknames. A participant in Santiago states, 'There are people that say *prieto* [as a] nickname. *Prietico'* (*'Hay personas que dicen prieto de apodo. Prietico,'* STI_INT8). Another participant discusses the role of additional adjectives when *prieto* is used as a nickname, ''My *prieto*,' 'My beautiful *prietica'* … You have to put adjectives, 'My precious *prietica''* (''*Mi prieto,' 'Mi prietica bella' … Tienes que ponerle adjetivos, 'Mi prietica preciosa',*' STI_INT9). Although *prieto* may be used as a nickname, it cannot be used in the same broad way as *negro / negra*. A participant in Santo Domingo discusses the parameters of this use. When asked whether '*mi prieto'* may be used as a term of endearment for someone that does not have dark skin, the participant responds:

> 'Eh, I have not heard it in those terms. At least as *negro* is used. It is used more at [a] level of familiarity, 'my *prieto*, 'my *prieta*,' or in pejorative terms, 'That *beep prieto'* … or 'It had to be that *beep prieto*.'

> ('*Eh, yo no lo he escuchado en términos así. Al menos como se utiliza el negro. Se utiliza más a nivel de confianza, 'mi prieto,' 'mi prieta,' o en términos despectivos. 'Ese beep prieto' … o 'Tenía que ser ese beep prieto',*' SDQ_INT6).

In addition to its use as a nickname, *prieto* may also be used as a form of direct address, although this use may be to specifically cause offense. In an interview in Santo Domingo, two participants discuss the use of *prieto* as a form of direct address. For the first participant, *prieto* may be used to describe all kinds of things. He continues, 'Now, when you are going to make a difference with [it], you are going to say, 'Look, *morenita*.' But that [one] that is *prieto prieto*, 'Look, *azulito'* or 'Look, *prieto'* (SDQ_INT3). The second participant

suggests that *moreno* may also be used. The first participant agrees and repeats that everything can be called *prieto*.

SDQ_INT3	(SDQ3a) *Aquí el prieto, se la llama prieto a todo* (EW) *Okey* (SDQ3a) *Ahora, cuando tú vas a hacer una diferencia con ella,* *vas a decir, 'Mira, morenita.'* *Pero aquel que es prieto prieto,* *'Mira, azulito,'* *O 'Mira prieto.'* (SDQ3b) *O moreno* (SDQ3a) *O moreno* (SDQ3a) *Pero se le llama prieto a todo*

Another participant in Santo Domingo states that *prieto* is primarily used to describe, rather than to call, 'Yes, to describe. Also, 'Look, damn *prieto*' … *Prieto* is mainly used for that' ('*Sí, para describir. También, 'mira, maldito prieto' … Mayormente para eso se usa la palabra prieto*,' SDQ_INT4).

For some participants, *prieto* additionally serves ideological functions. According to a participant in Dajabón, *moreno* and *prieto* are used to hide blackness, and they soften the stigma of the term *negro* ('*El moreno y el prieto son para esconder la negritud. Entonces, lo suavizan*,' DAJ_INT6).

As with *negro*, although participants do conceptualize *prieto* as within the Dominican racial system, some participants address how the *prieto* profile is frequently associated with outsider status. A participant in Santo Domingo discusses the ways in which *haitiano* and *prieto* may be deployed toward Dominicans with darker skin tones:

> The term Haitian is because they come from Haiti. But unfortunately, in my country, there are people that say to a person, 'Well you are Haitian,' being Dominican. Or, or, 'damn *prieto*,' 'Cooking pot *prieto*' … burned, like that.

('*El término haitiano es porque vienen de Haití. Pero lamentablemente, en mi país, hay personas que le dicen a una persona, 'Pues tú eres haitiano,' siendo dominicano. O, o, 'prieto del diache,' 'prieto del caldero' … quemado, así,'* SDQ_INT8).

In addition to other social understandings of *prieto*, participants share some common (and less common) sayings that reveal additional aspects of social meaning in the Dominican setting. The four sayings shared by interview participants uniformly communicate negative affect. Sayings 1 and 2 assert that the *prieto* brings bad luck and always messes things up. Saying 3 communicates negative personal or societal expectations for the *prieto*. Finally, saying 4 communicates the *prieto* does not have any value, in the same way that pigs eat scraps and slop that has no value.

Table 54. Sayings Relating to *Prieto*

1	*El prieto siempre la daña /* *Donde hay un prieto, la cosa siempre se daña* 'The *prieto* always messes it up.' / 'Where there is a *prieto*, thing[s] always get messed up.'	STI_INT9
2	*El prieto trae mala suerte* 'The *prieto* brings bad luck.'	STI_INT9
3	*Tenía que ser ese *beep* prieto* 'It had to be that *beep* *prieto*.'	SDQ_INT6
4	*El prieto es comida de puerco* 'The *prieto* is pig's food.'	DAJ_INT7

<u>Visual</u>

Participants do not identify any images that may be associated with the *prieto* profile.

D. *Racialization of Region*

Within the Dominican Republic, residents have expectations for regional racial demographics that can be traced to historical and political events. As such, racial terms carry expectations of a person's region of origin, and, likewise, regional origin corresponds to expectations of race. For each of the study's focal terms, participants consider the relationship between race and region in the Dominican Republic and explain how each

region has been racialized. Table 55 contains a summary of these data. The sections that

follow discuss racialization of the north, south, east and border regions.

Table 55. Racialization of Region by Term

Matiz Racial	Region	City
rubio	North NOT South	Constanza San José de las Matas Jánico Jarabacoa La Placeta Rincón de Piedra Moca
blanco	Cibao Cordillera Central	Constanza Jánico Jarabacoa La Vega Moca Ocoa San José de las Matas Santiago
pelirrojo	---	---
colorao	Cibao	Jarabacoa Constanza
jabao	North / Cibao No Specific Region	---
trigueño	Cibao	Santiago La Vega Moca San Francisco de Macorís
indio	No specific place	---
mulato	South	Barahona San Cristóbal
moreno	South East Dominican-Haitian Border	Ázua Barahona Villa Mella San Pedro de Macorís La Romana Higuey Santo Domingo Dajabón Jimaní
negro	South East Dominican-Haitian Border	San Cristóbal Santo Domingo Villa Mella San Pedro de Macorís Samaná Jimaní

Matiz Racial	Region	City
		Dajabón
		Pedernales
prieto	---	---

1. Racialization of the North: Lighter Profiles

For interview participants, the northern region of the country is characterized by lighter profiles such as *rubio, blanco, colorao, jabao,* and *trigueño*.

RUBIO

When asked which regions of the country are associated with *rubios*, participants readily identify broad regions, specific cities, and even neighborhoods. For one participant, 'there is no specific region' where rubios may be found, but the northern region of the country is perceived to be lighter than the southern region ('*No hay región específico. El norte es más claro que el sur. Habrá más gente en el norte con esos rasgos,*' SDQ_INT1). This same participant continues, although there may be *rubios* in any region of the country, it is strange for someone from the deep south (e.g., Barahona) to be *rubio* ('*Puede ser cualquier sitio. Es muy raro que alguien que sea del sur profundo sea rubio. Barahona,*' SDQ_INT1). While participants would be surprised to see *rubios* in southern cities such as Barahona, several participants list specific cities that have the reputation for *rubios*: Constanza, San José de las Matas, Jánico, Jarabacoa, La Placeta, Rincón de Piedra, Moca (STI_INT3, STI_INT8, SDQ_INT8). When asked about these regions, participants describe them as mountain settings, with cooler climates, or concentrations of European immigration. Finally, one participant discusses how regional distribution plays out within a single city, in this case, Santo Domingo. He states, ' In Santo Domingo, there is a bit of everything. Here there is a bit [of] a summary of the country' ('*En Santo Domingo, hay un poco de todo. Aquí está un poco un resumen del país,*' SDQ_INT1). He goes on to say that frequency of *rubios* in Santo

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Domingo varies according to the neighborhood. For example, there are more *rubios* in Naco (a more affluent neighborhood) than in Villa Juana (a less affluent neighborhood).

BLANCO

While, as one participant acknowledges, *blancos* may be found throughout the country ('*En todo el país un poco*,' SDQ_INT1), participants most frequently associate the *blanco* profile with the northern region, and the Cibao Valley specifically. Some participants indicate that *blancos* are most frequently found in mountainous regions such as the *cordillera central*. One participant comments that people in these mountain communities have characteristics of Spaniards because they remained in that area for a long time without mixing ('*Permanecieron mucho tiempo sin mezclar. Características de españoles*,' STI_INT7). With respect to specific cities, participants identify Constanza, Jánico, Jarabacoa, La Vega, Moca, Ocoa, San José de las Matas, and Santiago as cities with large populations of *blancos*. Constanza is the most frequently identified city, and participants attribute the physical characteristics of the city's inhabitants to the region's cool climate (SDQ_INT2, SDQ_INT8). Perhaps not surprisingly, the region and cities that participants associate with *blancos* overlap with the cities that participants associate with *rubios*.

PELIRROJO

Participants did not associate the *pelirrojo* profile with a particular region of the country.

COLORAO

When asked about regions of the country that might be associated with *coloraos*, participants primarily identify the Cibao Valley (e.g., '*La norte es la zona más colorada*,' SDQ_INT1). A participant in Santiago specifically identifies the cities of Jarabacoa and Constanza, identifying them as 'cold places' (STI_INT8). A participant in Dajabón

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comments on the regional distribution of the term: '[*Colorao*] is the very same *jabao*, but here they are not called *colorao*. In other places. [but] here in Dajabón, no' ('[*Colorao*] *es el mismo jabao. Pero aquí no se les llama colorao. En otras zonas,* [*pero*] *aquí en Dajabón, no,*' DAJ_INT7).

JABAO

Participants in Santiago concur that there is no specific region associated with the *jabao* profile: 'I do no think [so]' (*No creo,*' STI_INT3); 'No, really, it came out like that. There is no pattern' ('*No, realmente, salió así. No hay un patrón,*' STI_INT7); 'There is no specific place' ('*No hay un sitio específico,*' STI_INT8). Interestingly, however, participants in Santo Domingo associate the *jabao* profile with the northern region where Santiago is located. One participant states, 'In the Cibao they use the word *jabao, colorao, prieto* a lot' ('*En el Cibao usan mucho la palabra jabao, colorao, prieto,*' SDQ_INT5). Another participant opines, 'I think that where there are [the] most *jabao* is in the northern zone' ('*Creo que donde hay más jabao es en la zona norte,*' SDQ_INT6).

TRIGUEÑO

Participants have differing opinions on which regions of the country may be associated with *trigueños*. For a participant in Santiago, the *trigueño* profile, much like *indio*, has no specific place because they are the most noticeable groups (STI_INT4). For other participants, the *trigueño* profile is more common in the northern Cibao region—in Santiago, La Vega, Moca, and San Francisco de Macorís. One participant states, 'In Santiago there are many, La Vega, Moca' ('*En Santiago hay muchos, La Vega, Moca,*' STI_INT7). Another participant states that the most *trigueños* that he has seen in the country was in San Francisco de Macorís ('*San Francisco de Macorís – más trigueños que he visto*

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en el país,' STI_INT9). For still other participants, the *trigueño* profile extends beyond the Cibao region. For a participant in Santo Domingo, *trigueños* may be found in La Vega, Santiago, and the entire northern region, but also in San Juan in the south and in Baní ('*Sí, La Vega, Santiago, en todo el norte …También en San Juan en la parte del sur, en Baní. Es una denominación corriente,*' SDQ_INT1). For another participant, the *trigueño* profile is frequent in the east and in the south, although it abounds throughout the country ('*En el este se ve mucho. En el sur también. Pero abunde en todo el país,*' SDQ_INT6).

2. Racialization ot the South, East, and Border Region: Darker Profiles

For interview participants, the southern, eastern, and border regions of the country are characterized by darker profiles such as *mulato, moreno,* and *negro*. In some cases, in cities like San Pedro de Macorís and Samaná, region may outweigh physical characteristics for the classification of race.

MULATO

One participant comments on the regions of the country that she associates with the *mulato* profile. This participant opines that *mulatos* may be found in the southern region of the country, in cities such as Barahona and San Cristóbal (STI_INT8)

MORENO

Although the *moreno* profile is found throughout the country, participants readily identify regions and specific cities that they associate with *morenos*. Some participants associate the *moreno* profile with the south, specifically cities such as Ázua and Barahona. For a participant in Santiago, the *moreno* profile is prevalent in the south and the east (STI_INT7). For a participant in Santo Domingo, although the *moreno* profile may exist

anywhere, there are more *morenos* in Ázua and Barahona ('*Sur – Ázua, Barahona, son más morenos … Puede ser cualquier sitios,*' SDQ_INT1). The participant continues that the south is the zone most characterized by the *moreno* ('*El sur está comenzando desde Ázua. Es la zona más morena,*' SDQ_INT1). While the *moreno* profile may be found in the northern Cibao region along with *trigueño* and *negro*, a participant in Santiago states that the profile is more prevalent along the Dominican-Haitian border in cities like Dajabón and Jimaní ('*¿Tiene que ser en la República Dominicana? Dajabón, Jimaní, en la frontera,*' STI_INT8). For other participants, the *moreno* profile is prevalent in the east. A participant in Santiago mentions the city of Villa Mella near Santo Domingo. She states that if Dominicans see a man that is very dark and strong, they might say. 'You look like a *moreno* from Villa Mella' ('Villa Mella – *Hombre muy negro, fuerte, 'Tú pareces un moreno de Villa Mella,*' STI_INT7). Another participant in Santiago mentions additional cities in the eastern region where the *moreno* profile abounds: San Pedro de Macorís, La Romana, Higuey, and Santo Domingo (STI_INT9). A participant in Santo Domingo concurs regarding the prevalence of the *moreno* profile in the eastern region ('*Por el este, la mezcla de los morenos con la trigueña, la blanca,*' SDQ_INT6).

NEGRO

When asked which regions of the country are associated with *negros*, participants are able to identify broad regions and specific cities. Overall, participants most frequently associate the *negro* profile with the southern and eastern regions of the country and with the area along the Dominican-Haitian border (STI_INT7). A participant in Santiago comments that in the south there are more *negros*, and near the border as well ('*Sur – más negros, cerca de la frontera también,*' STI_INT3). A participant in Dajabón describes the racial

demographics in a specific southern city, 'San Cristóbal. In San Cristóbal, the people are

almost always dark, of very dark skin. They are not Haitians, but they have very dark skin.

They are Dominicans' ('*San Cristóbal. En San Cristóbal, la gente casi siempre son oscura,*

de piel como muy oscura. No son haitianos, pero son de piel muy oscura. Son dominicanos,'

DAJ_INT4). This same participant describes other communities with persistent black

populations, 'And in other communities, there are people [that are] *negras*, very *negras*, that

although they marry people [that are] *blancas* they remain *negras*' ('*Y en otras*

comunidades, hay personas negras, muy negras, que aunque se casan con personas blancas

se quedan negras,' DAJ_INT4). For other participants in Santiago, the southern and eastern

region have a higher concentration of *negros* because these zones had larger populations of

enslaved Africans (STI_INT7). One participant states regarding Santo Domingo:

> Santo Domingo – the African impact is felt more. Sugar plantations. Businesses …
> In Santo Domingo, there are very strong communities. Villa Mella. Tall, big, strong
> … A man very *negro* and strong, 'You seem like a *moreno* from Villa Mella.'

> ('*Santo Domingo – se siente más el impacto africano. Ingenios. Negocios … En*
> *Santo Domingo hay comunidades muy fuertes. Villa Mella. Altos, grandotes, fuertes*
> *… Hombre muy negro, fuerte, 'Tú pareces un moreno de Villa Mella',*' STI_INT7).

Another participant states:

> It also has to do with the settlement of the Africans. Samaná – another type of
> cultures. *Mulatos, negros* from Philadelphia. The zone that is supposedly the whitest
> – El Cibao. The south, the east – more African descendants. Santo Domingo is in the
> south.

> ('*También tiene que ver con el asentamiento de los africanos. Samaná – otro tipo de*
> *culturas. Mulatos / negros de Filadelfia. Zona – supuestamente más blanca – El*
> *Cibao. El Sur, El Este – más descendientes africanos. Santo Domingo está en el sur,*'
> STI_INT6).

Another participant in Santiago speaks about the particularities of race in cities like Samaná

and San Pedro de Macorís. The participant is describing Dominican baseball player Sammy

Sosa. He states:

> San Pedro de Macorís – he is *negro*. It is understood that *guloyas* are from San Pedro de Macorís, or from Samaná. Brought from Louisiana. From Los Minas. From Villa Mella. Even if [a person] has features toward *blanco*, if he is from San Pedro de Macorís, Samaná, he is *negro*.
>
> ('*San Pedro de Macorís – es negro. Se entiende que guloyas son de San Pedro de Macorís, o de Samaná. Traídos de Luisiana. De Los Minas. De Villa Mella. Aún si tiene características hacia el blanco, si es de San Pedro de Macorís, Samaná, es negro, guloya*,' STI_INT4).

In this sense, in very particular cases, region can outweigh physical features for the determination of a person's description. This reveals the persistence of these notions of *ascendencia* ('lineage').

For several participants, the *negro* profile is also associated with the Dominican-Haitian border region. For one participant in Santiago, this profile is present in the cities of Jimaní and Dajabón, and it is very rare to see a *blanquito* in the region ('*Jimaní, Dajabón, la frontera específicamente ... Allí es muy raro ver un blanquito*,' STI_INT8). For another participant, the profile is also prevalent in these border cities, 'Border zones – Dajabón, Pedernales … people with very dark skin, rustic' ('*Zonas fronterizas – Dajabón, Pedernales ... personas de tez muy oscura, rústica*,' STI_INT9). A participant in Dajabón speaks about the racial expectations that people have when they come to Dajabón, 'People think that when they come to Dajabón, they are going to arrive to a city full of Haitians everywhere. And others come maybe because they want to see all *negros*' ('*Personas piensan que cuando vienen a Dajabón, van a llegar a una ciudad llena de haitianos por todos lados. Y otros vienen quizás porque quieren ver todos negros*,' DAJ_INT2).

PRIETO

Participants do not associate *prieto* with a specific region. This may be because of the

social, rather than physical, differences between *prieto* and categories such as *moreno* and *negro*. Because of the overlap in physical referent, a *prieto* could conceivably be found wherever a *moreno* or a *negro* is found. Participants do not specifically comment on this point, however.

3. *Indio* as a 'Regionless' Profile

Unlike other racial terms, participants do not associate the *indio* profile with any specific region of the country. Rather, participants position *indio* as a profile that appears throughout the country. On this point, one participant in Santiago states that *indios* do not come from one specific place (STI_INT4). Another Santiago participant echoes this opinion, '*Mayormente, en todas partes hay personas indias*' ('Mainly, there are *personas indias* everywhere,' STI_INT8). When asked the question of region, a participant in Santo Domingo replies, '*De todas. No hay una especifidad*' ('From all [regions]. There is no specificity,' SDQ_INT1).

To summarize, participants associate the northern region of the country with racial terms that describe lighter profiles such as *rubio, blanco, colorao, jabao,* and *trigueño*. Darker profiles, such as *mulato, moreno,* and *negro* correspond to the southern, eastern, and border regions; and the *indio* profile may be found throughout the country.

E. *Chapter Summary*

This chapter has outlined an analyzed a complex system of racial categorization with the objective of reaching an understanding of the internal logic of the Dominican racial system. To this end, the first section analyzed how participants racialize self using categories from

the Dominican racial system, noting that many participants positively affirm blackness in contrast to prevailing narratives. The second section explored how participants characterize the Dominican racial setting, its nature, its categories, prejudices and discrimination, and the notion of race. The third section discussed how participants navigate the physical and social meaning embedded in each racial category in groups relating to *la raza negra, la raza, mulata,* and *la raza blanca*. The analysis in these groups allowed for an exploration of similarities and differences across related categories. The final section discussed the racialization of region.

These results indicate that the Dominican racial system has a high tolerance for mixture, category overlap, and linguistic innovation. Mixture is, in fact, a central notion of racial identity, such that participants do not separate a mixed identity into the sum of its parts (as with the dessert *arroz con leche*). Rather, they are comfortable navigating mixture. Moreover, many categories have overlapping boundaries, such that a single individual may be described using different terms depending on the person and context of the interaction. Participants accept this fluidity and understand the circumstances that may inflect a change from one category to another. Furthermore, participants describe the Dominican racial system as one of linguistic innovation, wherein some existing categories have broadened, some have narrowed, and some new ones have been invented. As categories change, and as rules for navigating these categories change, participants learn, adapt, and challenge uses with which they do not agree.

CHAPTER 6

Shades of Meaning:

Contemporary Physical and Social Parameters of *Raza* and *Matiz Racial* Terms in the Dominican Republic[24]

To understand the contemporary physical and social parameters of *raza* and *matiz racial* terms, this chapter analyzes survey data from participants located in Santiago, Santo Domingo, and Dajabón, Dominican Republic and comprises four sections. The first section analyzes contemporary racial categories as reported in participant self-identifications and explores the underlying racial paradigms that emerge from these categories. The second section analyzes contemporary skin color categories and contrasts participant self-descriptions with official *cédula* classifications. The third section explores how participants visualize the physical meaning of *matiz racial* terms by examining the results from two photo description tasks. The final section analyzes how racial terms interact with social characteristics for one photo description task.

A. Contemporary Racial Categories: Self-Identification

This first section examines contemporary racial categories in terms of racial paradigms and the regional reality of race.

1. Racial Paradigms

After centuries of meaning making in the Dominican Republic, the word *raza* (≈'race') can be interpreted in a number of ways. The present study engages contemporary notions of

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[24] Portions of this chapter previously published as Wheeler, E. M. (2015). Race, Legacy, and Lineage in the Dominican Republic. *The Black Scholar* 45(2), 34-44.

race by examining self-descriptions of *raza* given by participants at three research sites in

the Dominican Republic: Santiago, Santo Domingo, and Dajabón. A diverse sample of 332

adult participants was recruited to participate in the study. 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

(summarized in Table 56) are instructive on the contemporary understanding of *raza* in the

Dominican Republic.

Table 56. *Raza* (Participant Self Description)

Raza			
(Participant Self-description, n=263)			
1. *Afro/Dominicana*	1	13. *Humilde*	1
2. *Blanco/a*	16	14. *Indio/a*	39
3. *Caribeña*	1	15. *Latino/a*	10
4. *Dominicano/a*	85	16. *Mestizo/a*	28
5. *Dominicano/a* ("Toda clase de liga," "Indio/a," "Mestizo")	4	17. *Meturao*	1
6. *Dominicano y Haitiano*	1	18. *Mixta (Blanca y Negra)*	1
7. *Dominicano Ascendencia Haitiana*	1	19. *Moreno*	8
8. *Haitiana*	1	20. *Mujer (Femenina)*	10
9. *Híbrida*	3	21. *Mulato*	25
10. *Hispana*	3	22. *Negro/a (Claro)*	12
11. *Hombre (Dominicano)*	8	23. *Neutral*	1
12. *Humana*	1	24. *Trigueña*	2
		Total:	**263**

The 263 responses for *raza* yield 24 unique categories: *afro/dominicana, blanco/a,*

caribeña, dominicano/a, dominicano (+modifier), *dominicano y haitiano, dominicano*

ascendencia haitiana, hatiana, híbrida, hispana, hombre, humana, humilde, indio/a,

latino/a, mestizo/a, meturao, mixta, moreno, mujer, mulato/a, negro/a, neutral, trigueña. An

association rules analysis of these categories reveals that the use of different racial terms is

not attributable to differing education levels. Table 57 contains nine 1-to-1 rules that derive

from the relationship between the variables RACE and EDUCATION_LEVEL. While Rule

1 predicts that participants that describe themselves as *moreno* will report an education level

of *medio* (high school), Rules 2 through 9 predict that participants that describe their race as

latino, mujer, negro, blanco, mulato, mestizo, indio, and *dominicano* will report an

education level of *universidad.* That is to say, a participant's decision to describe himself as

indio or *mulato* is purely a question of level of education.

Table 57. Association Rules: RACE, EDUCATION_LEVEL

	If	*Then*	Support	Confidence	Lift
1	{RACE=MORENO}	{EDUCATION_.LEVEL= MEDIO}	0.015	0.625	3.294
2	{RACE=LATINO}	{EDUCATION_.LEVEL= UNIVERSIDAD}	0.027	0.900	1.358
3	{RACE=MUJER}	{EDUCATION_.LEVEL= UNIVERSIDAD}	0.024	0.800	1.207
4	{RACE=NEGRO}	{EDUCATION_.LEVEL= UNIVERSIDAD}	0.021	0.583	0.880
5	{RACE=BLANCO}	{EDUCATION_.LEVEL= UNIVERSIDAD}	0.039	0.813	1.226
6	{RACE=MULATO}	{EDUCATION_.LEVEL= UNIVERSIDAD}	0.060	0.800	1.207
7	{RACE=MESTIZO}	{EDUCATION_.LEVEL= UNIVERSIDAD}	0.045	0.536	0.808
8	{RACE=INDIO}	{EDUCATION_.LEVEL= UNIVERSIDAD}	0.078	0.667	1.006
9	{RACE= DOMINICANO}	{EDUCATION_.LEVEL= UNIVERSIDAD}	0.136	0.529	0.799

When viewed as a whole, the 24 descriptors given for *raza* may be understood in terms

of ten subcategories or paradigms: (1) Sex; (2) Traditional Western Racial Paradigm; (3)

Nationality; (4) Ethnically-linked Nationality; (5) Ethno-linguistic Descriptors (6) Mixture

in Latin America; (7) Regional Identity; (8) Skin Color; (9) Other; and (10) Multi-referent

(Table 58).

Table 58. Racial Paradigms that Emerge from Participant Self-Description

Racial Paradigms				
Sex 6.84% *Hombre* *Mujer* *Femenina*	Traditional Western Racial Paradigm 20.15% *Blanco* *Negro* *Mulato / Mixta*	Nationality 34.98% *Dominicano* *Dominicano y Haitiano* *Dominicano-* *Hacendencia Ahitiana* *Haitiana*	Ethnically-linked Nationality 0.38% *Afro/Dominicana*	Ethno-linguistic Descriptors 4.94% *Hispana* *Latino-americano* *Latina*
Mixture in Latin America 11.79% *Mestizo* *Hibrida*	Regional Identity 0.38% *Caribeña*	Skin Color 3.42% *Moreno/a* *Negro claro*	Other 2.28% *Neutral* *Humana* *Humilde* *Meturao* *Trigueña*	Multi-referent 14.83% *Indio/a*

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. 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 put these ten subcategories of *raza* into the context of the broader literature, it is

useful to engage the racial schemas proposed by Roth (2012): (1) continuum racial schema, (2) nationality racial schemas, and (3) U.S. racial schemas. The descriptors comprising the Traditional Western Racial Paradigm engage Roth's U.S. racial schema. A broader framing (Western vs. U.S.) is employed here because, while the terms *blanco*, *negro*, *mulato*, etc. may invoke notions of black, white and Mulatto in the U.S. racial system, the terms were imposed by the Spanish imperial system and reflect the dominant racial paradigm in the broader West from the 16th through the 20th centuries. Moreover, the usage of the terms *blanco* and *negro* in the Dominican Republic does not directly correlate to the usage of the terms white and black in the United States.

Descriptors in the other subcategories of *raza* engage Roth's remaining schemas. Descriptors comprising the categories Nationality, Ethnically-linked Nationality, and Ethno-linguistic descriptors fall under Roth's nationality racial schemas. For the present analysis, these categories are separated to highlight nuances. Terms from the categories Skin Color, Multi-referent, and Other, fall under the Continuum racial schema. The ten categories employed in this study engage Roth's racial schemas, converging in key ways, and both models are helpful for organizing and understanding the various categories and paradigms underlying racial terms in the Dominican Republic.

That the notion of *raza* can be conceptualized and divided in these many different ways reveals the complexity of the notion and informs the challenge of describing Dominican racial identity. Researchers must be cognizant of which paradigm they invoke, as well as the accompanying conceptual implications.

2. Regional Reality of Race

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 (See e.g., Balaguer, 2002; Lizardo, 1979). 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 (Lizardo, 1979; Mayes, 2014).[25] 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

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[25] The demographics of this region are attributed to the historical importance of the sugar cane industry, as a result of which a concentration of laborers of African descent (Dominicans, Haitians, laborers from British West Indies) settled in the area.

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).[26] Table 59 contains three 1-to-1 rules that derive from the relationship between the variables RACE and LOC (location). These rules predict that participants that describe their race as *latino, blanco,* or *mestizo* will be from Santiago.

Table 59. Association Rules: RACE, LOC (Santiago)

	If	*Then*	Support	Confidence	Lift
1	{RACE=LATINO}	{LOC=STI}	0.024	0.800	1.844
2	{RACE=BLANCO}	{LOC=STI}	0.036	0.750	1.729
3	{RACE=MESTIZO}	{LOC=STI}	0.054	0.643	1.482

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. Table 60 contains four 1-to-1 rules that derive from the relationship between the variables RACE and LOC (location). These rules predict that participants that describe their race as *moreno, mujer,*

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[26] *Blanco*, as used here, does not necessarily imply "Spaniard" as 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., Wheeler (2014).

negro, or *mulato* will be from Santo Domingo.

Table 60. Association Rules: RACE, LOC (Santo Domingo)

	If	*Then*	Support	Confidence	Lift
1	{RACE=MORENO}	{LOC=SDQ}	0.024	1.000	2.142
2	{RACE=MUJER}	{LOC=SDQ}	0.021	0.700	1.499
3	{RACE=NEGRO}	{LOC=SDQ}	0.030	0.833	1.785
4	{RACE=MULATO}	{LOC=SDQ}	0.057	0.760	1.628

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 for third most frequent descriptor with *mestiza.* 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. Table 61 contains one 1-to-1 rule that derives from the relationship between the variables RACE and LOC (location). This rule predicts that participants from Dajabón will describe their race as *dominicano*.

Table 61. Association Rules: RACE, LOC (Dajabón)

	If	*Then*	Support	Confidence	Lift
1	{LOC=DAJ}	{RACE=DOMINICANO}	0.051	0.515	2.012

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.

B. Contemporary Skin Color Categories: Cédula and Self-Identification

A complement to the understanding of racial categories in the Dominican Republic is the notion of racialized skin color (or *matiz racial*). Whereas the concept of *raza* comprises various understandings of identity, skin color does the day-to-day work of ideological and pragmatic description. Skin color appears on the *cédula*, is used to brand products, is referenced in popular music and pick-up lines, used in nicknames, and more. Understanding the linguistic wealth of the system of skin color classification helps to further explain Dominican notions of race. This section analyzes contemporary skin color categories and contrasts participant self-descriptions with official *cédula* classifications.

The same sample of participants in Santiago, Santo Domingo, and Dajabón was asked (1) to give a self-description of their skin color, and (2) to give the official description of their skin color as it appears on their *cédula* (n=332). No options were given, so as not to influence the answers of the participants. Following is a discussion of skin color categories as used in participant self-description and in official *cédula* classifications.

The descriptors found on the *cédula* have reflected official conceptions of skin color at different points in Dominican history. The category *piel*, however, has long carried a notion of race. Participants report six skin color categories that appear on their *cédulas*: *blanco*, *indio*, *mulato, mestizo, moreno*, and *negro*. These data are summarized in Table 62.

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Table 62. Skin Color Categories Appearing on Participant *Cédulas*

Color de piel: Cédula	Santiago	Santo Domingo	Dajabón	Overall
B (*blanco/a, blanco opaco, crema*)	23 (15.9%)	10 (6.5%)	4 (12.1%)	37 (11.1%)
I (*indio/a, indio/a claro/a*)	78 (54.2%)	82 (52.9%)	18 (54.5%)	178 (53.6%)
M (*mestizo/a, moreno/a, mulato/a*)	22 (15.3%)	32 (20.7%)	2 (6.1%)	56 (16.9%)
N (*negro/a*)	0	5 (3.2%)	0	5 (1.5%)
OTHER	0	1 (0.6%)	0	1 (0.3%)
Unclassified	21 (14.6%)	25 (16.1%)	9 (27.3%)	55 (16.6%)
	144	155	33	332

Several patterns emerge from the *cédula* data. First, the most frequent skin color

descriptor across sites is *indio/a*—54.2 percent in Santiago, 52.9 percent in Santo Domingo,

and 54.5 percent in Dajabón. For more than 50 years, the *cédula* has disseminated a State-

sponsored discourse on skin color, and the proliferation of *indio/a* as a skin color category

has been attributed to its position on the *cédula*. The use of *indio/a* as an official skin color

descriptor is much more frequent than its use as a racial descriptor—53.6 percent (skin color

– *cédula*) vs. 14.83 percent (*raza* from section A). That is to say, participants who self-

identify using racial categories other than *indio* have been described as having the skin tone

indio/a. This usage of *Indio/a* as a skin color descriptor—even when not a racial

descriptor—is uniquely Dominican and has been the subject of much analysis and criticism.

After more than 50 years of using *indio/a* to describe skin color, the Dominican government

officially eliminated the category in 2011. However, *cédulas* were not recalled, and over

half of survey participants still had "*I*" for "*indio/a*" in the *cédula* skin color category.

Second, there is some regional variation in the frequency and distribution of skin color

descriptors. For example, the descriptor *blanco/a* appears more frequently in Santiago than

in Santo Domingo and Dajabón; and *negro* appears in Santo Domingo only. It will be interesting to see how categories are restructured in the future to account for the removal of i*ndio/a*.

When participants are asked to give a self-description of skin color, a variety of patterns emerge that contrast the official description of the *cédula.* First, when participants describe their own skin color, they use categories that do not appear on the *cédula* (e.g., *trigueño/a, amarillo/a, canela, rubia*). Second, when participants describe their own skin color, they use the term *indio* less frequently. Whereas the *cédula* classifies 53.6 percent of participants as *indio*, only 37.1 percent of participants describe their skin color as *indio*. Third, there are distributional differences across sites. For example, *blanco/a* appears more frequently as a self-description (20.8%) than as a *cédula* description in Santiago (15.9%); *negro/a* appears more frequently as a self-description (9.7%) than as a *cédula* description (3.2%) in Santo Domingo; and *indio* appears more frequently as a self-description (60.6%) than as a *cédula* description in Dajabón.

Table 63. Skin Color Categories (Participant Self-Description)

Color de piel: Self Description	Santiago	Santo Domingo	Dajabón	Overall
amarillo/a	3 (2.1%)	5 (3.2%)	0	8 (2.4%)
blanco/a (*blanquita, blanca bronceada*)	30 (20.8%)	7 (4.5%)	4 (12.1%)	41 (12.4%)
bronceado oscuro	0	1 (0.6%)	0	1 (0.3%)
(*color*) *canela*	2 (1.4%)	3 (1.9%)	0	5 (1.5%)
claro/a (*un poco clara*)	1 (0.7%)	4 (2.6%)	0	5 (1.5%)
color caramelo	1 (0.7%)	0	0	1 (0.3%)
entre blanca e india	1 (0.7%)	0	0	1 (0.3%)
india (*morenita lavaíta*)	0	1 (0.7%)	0	1 (0.3%)
indio/a (*indiesito, indio canelo*)	53 (36.8%)	50 (32.3%)	20 (60.6%)	123 (37.1%)

Color de piel: Self Description	Santiago	Santo Domingo	Dajabón	Overall
indio claro	7 (4.9%)	7 (4.5%)	1 (3.0%)	15 (4.5%)
indio oscuro (*indiecito oscuro*)	0	2 (1.3%)	0	2 (0.6%)
M	0	5 (3.2%)	0	5 (1.5%)
mestizo/a	9 (6.3%)	3 (1.9%)	0	12 (3.6%)
moreno/a (*moreno/a claro/a, morenito/a*)	11 (7.6%)	32 (20.7%)	5 (15.2%)	48 (14.5%)
mulato/a	11 (7.6%)	5 (3.2%)	1 (3.0%)	17 (5.1%)
negro/a	1 (0.7%)	15 (9.7%)	0	16 (4.8%)
oscuro/a	0	2 (1.3%)	0	2 (0.6%)
rubia	0	2 (1.3%)	0	2 (0.6%)
trigueño/a	3 (2.1%)	1 (0.7%)	1 (3.0%)	5 (1.5%)
Unclassified	11 (7.6%)	10 (6.4%)	1 (3.0%)	22 (6.6%)
	144	155	33	332

In Santiago, the most frequent skin color self-descriptions are *indio/a* (36.8 percent) and *blanco/a* (20.8 percent). In Santo Domingo, the most frequent skin color self-descriptions are *indio/a* (32.3 percent) and *moreno/a* (20.7 percent). In Dajabón, the most frequent skin color description is *indio/a* (60.6 perent). The State's decision to eliminate *indio/a* as a skin color category on the *cédula* will have implications for the 30 to 40 percent of the population that self describes as *indio/a*. It remains to be seen how individuals that presently use this skin color category will engage and/or reject the government's official elimination of the category.

The following discussion analyzes the extent to which self descriptions and official descriptions coincide. For the present analysis, only the responses from participants that provided both a self-description and the *cédula* description are considered—119 participants in Santiago, 125 participants in Santo Domingo, and 24 participants in Dajabón (n=268). Across sites, a participant's self-description and official description are consistent in 68.28

percent of cases. Table 64 below shows where official categories and individual categories differ.

Table 64. Skin Color Categories (Self Description vs. *Cédula*)

Cédula	Self-Description	Santiago	Santo Domingo	Dajabón	
blanco	*amarillo/a*	2	2	0	
	claro	1	0	0	
	indio/a	0	2	2	12
	morenito	0	1	0	(14.12%)
	mulato	1	0	0	
	mestizo	1	0	0	
indio	*amarillo/a*	0	2	0	
	blanco/a	5	2	0	
	bronceado oscuro	0	1	0	
	canela	2	1	0	
	clara	0	1	0	
	color caramelo	1	0	0	
	mestizo	1	2	0	54
	moreno (morenito/a)	3	13	3	(63.53%)
	morena clara	1	0	0	
	mulato	5	0	1	
	negro/a	0	4	0	
	oscuro	0	1	0	
	rubia	0	2	0	
	trigueño/a	2	0	1	
mestizo / mulato / moreno	*amarilla*	1	0	0	
	blanca	1	0	0	
	canela	0	1	0	
	claro (un poco clara)	0	2	0	17 (20%)
	entre blanca e india	1	0	0	
	indio/a	4	4	1	
	negro/a	0	2	0	
negro	*moreno/a*	0	2	0	2 (2.35%)
	Total	32	45	8	85

Of the 85 participants for whom self-description and *cédula* description differ, 63.53

percent of responses differ when the *cédula* description is *indio*; 20 percent differ when the *cédula* description is *mestizo, mulato,* or *moreno*; 14.12 percent differ when the *cédula* description is *blanco*; and 2.35 percent differ when the *cédula* description is *negro*. Participants that the *cédula* classifies as *indio* describe themselves using terms ranging from *blanco* to *negro*; participants that the *cédula* classifies as *mestizo, mulato*, or *moreno* also describe themselves using a variety of terms ranging from *blanco* to *negro*; participants that the *cédula* classifies as *blanco* describe themselves using terms ranging from *amarillo* to *mulato*; and participants that the *cédula* describes as *negro* describe themselves as *moreno*. Here, individuals and the State are in dialogue about the boundaries and application of these specific skin color categories.

With this overview of the terms that participants are using to describe their *raza* and skin color, the analysis turns to physical and social meaning embedded in the study's focal terms.

C. Contemporary Visualization of Matiz Racial

This section explores how participants visualize the physical meaning of *matiz racial* terms and comprises three sections. The first section analyzes the factors that shape physical meaning for the *matiz racial* categories overall. The second section explores the physical boundaries of specific terms using the results from Survey 1; and the third section explores the physical boundaries of the study's focal terms using the results from Survey 2.

1. *Matiz Racial* Overall

This section analyzes the factors that shape the physical meaning for *matiz racial* terms overall and comprises a discussion of characteristics internal to the image being described and characteristics external to the image being described.

a. *Characteristics of the Image*

As discussed in Chapter 5, individuals may take several different types of features into account when deciding the parameters of a given racial category: skin color, hair color and texture, features of the face, and features of the body. An initial exploration of the traits of hair texture and facial features with a small focus group in Santiago revealed that participants did not come to consensus regarding these features for any particular image. Moreover, because the images used in the study only show the model's face and not the body, participants are not able to evaluate the body type of the person in each photo. This section, thus, examines characteristics that may be objectively measured: skin color, eye color, and hair color. In the present analysis, "color" derives from an average RGB value extracted from each image using the photo editor GIMP. Furthermore, the present discussion is limited to the results from Survey 1 and thus skin color, eye color, and hair color data for the FEMALEs_1-8 and MALEs 1-8 interact with racial categories.

Skin Color

Table 65 contains six 1-to-1 rules that derive from the relationship between the variables SkinRGB and DESCRIPTION. As discussed in Chapter 4, association rules are *if-then* constructions that detect patterns across sets of categorical variables. The 'Support' value for each rule represents relative frequency, and the 'Confidence' value represents conditional probabilities.

Table 65. Association Rules: SkinRGB, Description

	If	*Then*	Support	Confidence	Lift
1	{DESCRIPTION=RUBIO}	{SkinRGB=SkinCluster5}	0.049	0.779	2.076
2	{DESCRIPTION=PRIETO}	{SkinRGB=SkinCluster4}	0.019	0.752	6.018
3	{DESCRIPTION= PELIRROJO}	{SkinRGB=SkinCluster1}	0.017	0.750	12.00
4	{DESCRIPTION=NEGRO}	{SkinRGB=SkinCluster4}	0.037	0.583	4.664

	If	*Then*	Support	Confidence	Lift
5	{SkinRGB=SkinCluster3}	{DESCRIPTION= MORENO}	0.069	0.556	3.557
6	{SkinRGB=SkinCluster6}	{DESCRIPTION= BLANCO}	0.034	0.547	2.667

Rule 1 predicts that images described as *rubio* will belong to Skin Cluster 5 (mean RGB: 217-155-133). This is the rule with the highest confidence value, or highest conditional probability (0.779). Rule 2 predicts that images described as *prieto* will belong to Skin Cluster 4 (mean RGB: 176-108-88). Rule 3 predicts that images described as *pelirrojo* will belong to Skin Cluster 1 (mean RGB: 203-140-90). Rule 4 predicts that images described as *negro* will belong to Skin Cluster 4 (mean RGB: 176-108-88). Rule 5 predicts that images that belong to Skin Cluster 3 will be described as *moreno* (mean RGB: 199-130-107). Finally, rule 6 predicts that images belonging to Skin Cluster 6 will be described as *blanco* (mean RGB: 231-195-202). The *apriori* algorithm additionally generates 12 rules with multiple input variables, as in Table 66.

Table 66. Association Rules: SkinRGB, Description (Combination)

	If	*Then*	Support	Confidence	Lift
1	{SkinRGB=SkinCluster3, HairRGB=HairCluster1}	{DESCRIPTION= MORENO}	0.035	0.566	3.617
2	{SkinRGB=SkinCluster4, HairRGB=HairCluster1}	{DESCRIPTION= MORENO}	0.035	0.562	3.593
3	{SkinRGB=SkinCluster3, EyesRGB=EyesCluster4}	{DESCRIPTION= MORENO}	0.069	0.556	3.557
4	{SkinRGB=SkinCluster3, HairRGB=HairCluster3}	{DESCRIPTION= MORENO}	0.034	0.547	3.497
5	{SkinRGB=SkinCluster6, EyesRGB=EyesCluster1}	{DESCRIPTION= BLANCO}	0.034	0.547	2.667
6	{SkinRGB=SkinCluster6, HairRGB=HairCluster1}	{DESCRIPTION= BLANCO}	0.034	0.547	2.667
7	{SkinRGB=SkinCluster2, EyesRGB=EyesCluster4}	{DESCRIPTION= BLANCO}	0.034	0.543	2.648
8	{SkinRGB=SkinCluster3, EyesRGB=EyesCluster4, HairRGB=HairCluster1}	{DESCRIPTION= MORENO}	0.035	0.566	3.617

	If	*Then*	Support	Confidence	Lift
9	{SkinRGB=SkinCluster4, EyesRGB=EyesCluster4, HairRGB=HairCluster1}	{DESCRIPTION= MORENO}	0.035	0.562	3.592
10	{SkinRGB=SkinCluster3, EyesRGB=EyesCluster4, HairRGB=HairCluster3}	{DESCRIPTION= MORENO}	0.034	0.547	3.497
11	{SkinRGB=SkinCluster6, EyesRGB=EyesCluster1, HairRGB=HairCluster1}	{DESCRIPTION= BLANCO}	0.034	0.547	2.667
12	{SkinRGB=SkinCluster2, EyesRGB=EyesCluster4, HairRGB=HairCluster2}	{DESCRIPTION= BLANCO}	0.034	0.543	2.648

Rules 1 through 4 in this table predict that images in Skin Clusters 3 and 4 (mean: 199-130-107, 176-108-88) with hair color in clusters 1 and 3 (mean: 18-20-25, 73-41-34) or an eye color in Cluster 4 (mean: 58-40-38) will be described as *moreno*. These rules have moderate confidence values from 0.547 to 0.566. Rules 5 through 7 predict that images in Skin Clusters 6 and 2 (mean: 231-195-202, 217-169-162) with an eye color in Eye Clusters 1 and 4 (mean: 90-55-50, 58-40-38) or a hair color in Hair Cluster 1 (mean: 18-20-25) will be described as *blanco*. Rules 8, 9 and 10 predict that images in Skin Clusters 3 and 4, with an eye color in Eye Cluster 4, and a hair color in Hair Clusters 1 and 3, will be described as *moreno*. Rules 11 and 12 predict that images in Skin Clusters 2 and 6, with Eye Clusters 1 and 4, and Hair Clusters 1 and 2, will be described as *blanco*.

These results are born out in cross-tabulation Table 67. Images in Skin Cluster 1 (6.25% of all responses) correspond to higher than expected use of *pelirrojo* (75.3%), as predicted by rule 3 in Table 65, and also *jabao* (17.1%) and *colorao* (13.6%). Images in Skin Cluster 2 (25.0% of all responses) correspond to higher than expected use of *trigueño* (35.1%), *blanco* (34.4%), as predicted by rules 7 and 12 in Table 66, and *colorao* (34.4%). Images in Skin Cluster 3 (12.5% of all responses) correspond to higher than expected use of *moreno* (44.5%), as predicted by rule 5 in Table 65 and rules 1, 3, 4, 8, and 10 in Table 66, and also

negro (32.4%). Images in Skin Cluster 4 (12.5% of all responses) correspond to higher than expected use of *prieto* (75.2%), as predicted by rule 2 in Table 65, and *negro* (58.5%), as predicted by rule 4 in Table 65. Images in Skin Cluster 5 (37.5% of all responses) correspond to higher than expected use of *rubio* (77.9%), as predicted by rule 1 in Table 65. Finally, images in Skin Cluster 6 (6.25% of all responses) correspond to higher than expected use of *blanco* (16.6%), as predicted by rule 6 in Table 65 and rules 5, 6 and 11 in Table 66.

Table 67. Cross-Tabulation: SkinRGB, Description

SKIN COLOR	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3	Cluster 4	Cluster 5	Cluster 6	
Blanco/a	21 (2.4%)	337 (34.4%)	2 (0.2%)	2 (0.2%)	370 (42.1%)	**146 (16.6%)**	878
Colorao/a	21 (13.6%)	53 (34.4%)	2 (1.3%)	2 (1.3%)	63 (40.9%)	13 (8.4%)	154
Indio/a	34 (4.0%)	269 (31.8%)	69 (8.2%)	36 (4.3%)	402 (47.5%)	36 (4.3%)	846
Jabao/a	51 (17.1%)	77 (25.8%)	0	2 (0.7%)	149 (49.8%)	20 (6.7%)	299
Moreno/a	9 (1.3%)	81 (12.1%)	**298 (44.5%)**	215 (32.1%)	64 (9.6%)	3 (0.4%)	670
Mulato/a	14 (3.8%)	93 (25.5%)	36 (9.9%)	32 (8.8%)	172 (47.1%)	18 (4.9%)	365
Negro/a	1 (0.4%)	15 (5.5%)	88 (32.4%)	**159 (58.5%)**	9 (3.3%)	0	272
Pelirrojo/a	**73 (75.3%)**	7 (7.2%)	5 (5.2%)	0	11 (11.3%)	1 (1.0%)	97
Prieto/a	0	4 (3.7%)	21 (19.3%)	**82 (75.2%)**	1 (0.9%)	1 (0.9%)	109
Rubio/a	20 (7.4%)	29 (10.7%)	1 (0.4%)	0	**212 (77.9%)**	10 (3.7%)	272
Trigueño/a	19 (6.7%)	99 (35.1%)	11 (3.9%)	2 (0.7%)	134 (47.5%)	17 (6.0%)	282
OTHER	5	8	3	4	21	2	43
BLANK	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	268	1072	536	536	1608	268	4288
	6.25%	25.00%	12.50%	12.50%	37.50%	6.25%	100.00%

Based on these data, skin color thus appears to be a salient predictor of physical description. This is consistent with the responses given by interview participants regarding the determinative nature of skin color. As the terms move from dark to light, the mean R and G values for each cluster also increase. While the mean B value for each cluster increases, generally, there is an exception between clusters 3 and 1. Figure 29 represents the

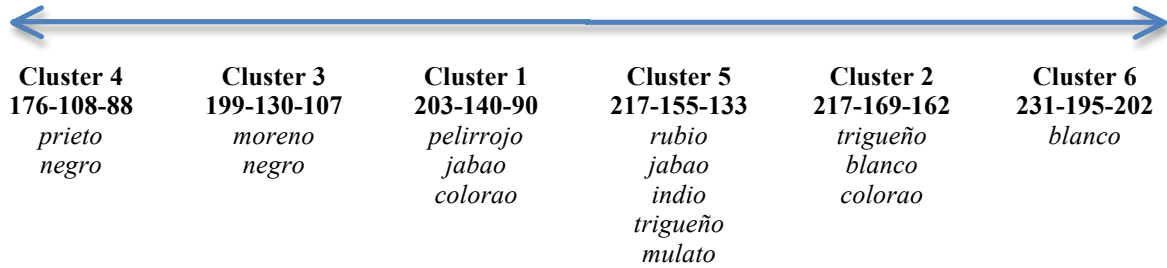relationship between categories and skin color RGB values.

Cluster 4	Cluster 3	Cluster 1	Cluster 5	Cluster 2	Cluster 6
176-108-88	**199-130-107**	**203-140-90**	**217-155-133**	**217-169-162**	**231-195-202**
prieto	*moreno*	*pelirrojo*	*rubio*	*trigueño*	*blanco*
negro	*negro*	*jabao*	*jabao*	*blanco*	
		colorao	*indio*	*colorao*	
			trigueño		
			mulato		

Figure 29: *Matiz Racial* **Categories by Skin Color RGB**

Eye Color

Table 68 contains five 1-to-1 rules that derive from the relationship between the variables EyesRGB and DESCRIPTION.

Table 68. Association Rules: EyesRGB, Description

	If	*Then*	Support	Confidence	Lift
1	{DESCRIPTION=PRIETO}	{EyesRGB=EyesCluster4}	0.024	0.945	2.519
2	{DESCRIPTION=NEGRO}	{EyesRGB=EyesCluster4}	0.058	0.919	2.450
3	{DESCRIPTION= PELIRROJO}	{EyesRGB=EyesCluster2}	0.018	0.792	3.167
4	{DESCRIPTION=MORENO}	{EyesRGB=EyesCluster4}	0.121	0.774	2.064
5	{DESCRIPTION=RUBIO}	{EyesRGB=EyesCluster3}	0.046	0.731	5.845

Rule 1 predicts that images described as *prieto* will correspond to Eye Cluster 4 (mean: 58-40-38). This is the rule with the highest confidence value, or highest conditional probability (0.945). Rule 2 predicts that images described as *negro* will also correspond to Eye Cluster 4. Rule 3 predicts that images described as *pelirrojo* will correspond to Eye Cluster 2 (mean: 27-18-23). Rule 4 predicts that images described as *moreno* will correspond to Eye Cluster 4. Rule 5 predicts that images described as *rubio* will correspond to Eye Cluster 3 (mean: 100-104-96).

The *apriori* algorithm additionally generates one rule with multiple input variables, as in Table 69. Rule 1 in this table predicts that an image belonging to Eye Cluster 4 and Hair

Cluster 1 (mean: 18-20-25) will be described as *moreno*.

Table 69. Association Rules: RGBEyes, Description (Combination)

	If	*Then*	Support	Confidence	Lift
1	{EyesRGB=EyesCluster4, HairRGB=HairCluster1}	{DESCRIPTION= MORENO}	0.070	0.564	3.605

These results are born out in cross-tabulation Table 70. Images in Eye Cluster 1 (25.0% of overall responses), although not predicted by the association rules, correspond to higher than expected use of *indio* (43.9%)*, mulato* (40.5%)*,* and *trigueño* (37.6%). Images in Eye Cluster 2 (25.0% of overall responses) correspond to higher than expected use of *pelirrojo* (79.4%), as predicted by rule 3 in Table 68, and also to *colorao* (44.2%) and *trigueño* (42.2%). Images in Eye Cluster 3 (12.5% of overall responses) correspond to higher than expected use of *rubio* (73.2%), as predicted by rule 5 in Table 68, and also to *blanco* (22.1%) and *jabao* (19.4%). Finally, images in Eye Cluster 4 (37.5% of overall responses) correspond to higher than expected use of *prieto* (94.5%), *negro* (91.9%), and *moreno* (77.5%), as predicted by rules 1, 2 and 4 in Table 68.

Table 70. Cross-Tabulation: RGBEyes, Description

EYE COLOR	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3	Cluster 4	
Blanco/a	213 (24.3%)	263 (29.9%)	194 (22.1%)	208 (23.7%)	878
Colorao/a	22 (14.3%)	68 (44.2%)	21 (13.6%)	43 (27.9%)	154
Indio/a	371 (43.9%)	266 (31.4%)	26 (3.1%)	183 (21.6%)	846
Jabao/a	55 (18.4%)	94 (31.4%)	58 (19.4%)	92 (30.8%)	299
Moreno/a	105 (15.7%)	45 (6.7%)	1 (0.1%)	**519 (77.5%)**	670
Mulato/a	148 (40.5%)	95 (26.0%)	11 (3.1%)	111 (30.4%)	365
Negro/a	17 (6.3%)	5 (1.8%)	0	**250 (91.9%)**	272
Pelirrojo/a	2 (2.1%)	**77 (79.4%)**	9 (9.3%)	9 (9.3%)	97
Prieto/a	5 (4.6%)	1 (0.9%)	0	**103 (94.5%)**	109
Rubio/a	13 (4.8%)	29 (10.7%)	**199 (73.2%)**	31 (11.4%)	272
Trigueño/a	106 (37.6%)	119 (42.2%)	12 (4.3%)	45 (15.9%)	282
OTHER	14	10	5	14	43
BLANK	1	0	0	0	1
	1072	1072	536	1608	4288
	25.00%	25.00%	12.50%	37.50%	100.00%

While there is some uniformity in these data (e.g., highest RGB values correspond to lightest profiles), eye color does not appear to be a perfect predictor of physical description. Although images with the lightest eye color (Cluster 3) correspond to the lighter categories of *rubio, blanco,* and *jabao*, the images with the darkest eye color (Cluster 2) do not correspond to darker profiles. In fact, images in Cluster 4, described as *prieto, negro*, and *moreno*, have a higher RGB value (i.e., lighter eye color) than the images in Cluster 2. The distribution of eye color across racial categories is thus not as uniform as the distribution of skin color. This result is consistent with the responses given by interview participants regarding the relationship between eye color and racial categories. Participants emphasize the importance of eye color for the *rubio* and *blanco* profiles, and the survey results confirm the description. As the terms move from dark to light, the mean R and G values for each cluster also increase. Figure 30 represents the relationship between categories and eye color

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RGB values.

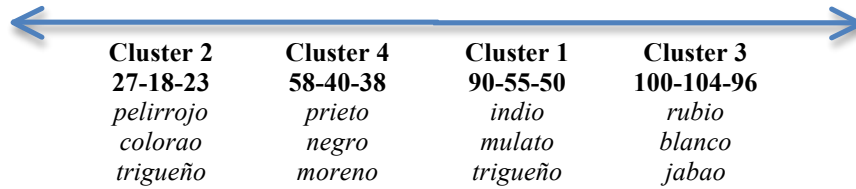|	Cluster 2	Cluster 4	Cluster 1	Cluster 3
	27-18-23	**58-40-38**	**90-55-50**	**100-104-96**
	pelirrojo	*prieto*	*indio*	*rubio*
	colorao	*negro*	*mulato*	*blanco*
	trigueño	*moreno*	*trigueño*	*jabao*

Figure 30: *Matiz Racial* **Categories by Eye Color RGB**

Hair Color

Table 71 contains four 1-to-1 rules that derive from the relationship between the variables HairRGB and DESCRIPTION.

Table 71. Association Rules: HairRGB, Description

	If	*Then*	Support	Confidence	Lift
1	{DESCRIPTION= PELIRROJO}	{HairRGB=HairCluster3}	0.018	0.813	4.333
2	{DESCRIPTION= RUBIO}	{HairRGB=HairCluster4}	0.047	0.734	3.916
3	{DESCRIPTION= PRIETO}	{HairRGB=HairCluster2}	0.017	0.651	2.606
4	{DESCRIPTION= MORENO}	{HairRGB=HairCluster1}	0.083	0.528	1.409

Rule 1 predicts that images described as *pelirrojo* will correspond to Hair Cluster 3 (mean: 73-41-34). This is the rule with the highest confidence value, or highest conditional probability (0.813). Rule 2 predicts that images described as *rubio* will correspond to Hair Cluster 4 (mean: 117-92-71). Rule 3 predicts that images described as *prieto* will correspond to Hair Cluster 2 (mean: 26-30-40). Rule 4 predicts that images described as *moreno* will correspond to Hair Cluster 1 (mean: 18-20-25).

These results are born out in cross-tabulation Table 72. Images in Hair Cluster 1 (37.5% of overall responses) correspond to higher than expected use of *moreno* (52.8%), as predicted by rule 4 in Table 71. Images in Hair Cluster 2 (25.0% of overall responses) correspond to higher than expected use of *prieto* (65.1%), as predicted by rule 3 in Table 71,

and also to *negro* (47.4%). Images in Hair Cluster 3 (18.75% of overall responses) correspond to higher than expected use of *pelirrojo* (81.4%), as predicted by rule 1 in Table 71, and also to *colorao* (32.5%) and *jabao* (32.4%). Finally, images in Hair Cluster 4 (18.75% of overall responses) correspond to higher than expected use of *rubio* (73.5%), as predicted by rule 2 in Table 71, and also to *jabao* (28.1%) and *blanco* (25.2%).

Table 72. Cross-Tabulation Table: RGBHair, Description

HAIR COLOR	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3	Cluster 4	
Blanco/a	366 (41.7%)	211 (24.0%)	80 (9.1%)	221 (25.2%)	878
Colorao/a	30 (19.5%)	48 (31.2%)	50 (32.5%)	26 (16.9%)	154
Indio/a	365 (43.1%)	221 (26.1%)	132 (15.6%)	128 (15.1%)	846
Jabao/a	58 (19.4%)	60 (20.1%)	97 (32.4%)	84 (28.1%)	299
Moreno/a	**354 (52.8%)**	133 (19.9%)	162 (24.2%)	21 (3.1%)	670
Mulato/a	152 (41.6%)	88 (24.1%)	67 (18.4%)	58 (15.9%)	365
Negro/a	97 (35.7%)	129 (47.4%)	42 (15.4%)	4 (1.5%)	272
Pelirrojo/a	3 (3.1%)	6 (6.2%)	**79 (81.4%)**	9 (9.3%)	97
Prieto/a	30 (27.5%)	**71 (65.1%)**	8 (7.4%)	0	109
Rubio/a	19 (6.9%)	24 (8.8%)	29 (10.7%)	**200 (73.5%)**	272
Trigueño/a	120 (42.6%)	72 (25.5%)	49 (17.4%)	41 (14.5%)	282
OTHER	13	9	9	12	43
BLANK	1	0	0	0	1
	1608	1072	804	804	4288
	37.50%	25.00%	18.75%	18.75%	100.00%

Based on these data, hair color does appear to be related to physical description. For profiles that are characterized by hair color, such as *rubio* and *pelirrojo*, this relationship is expected and is born out in association rules. This is consistent with the responses given by interview participants regarding the determinative nature of hair color for these categories. Although images with the lightest hair color (Cluster 4) correspond to the lighter categories

of *rubio, blanco,* and *jabao*, the images with the darkest hair color (Cluster 1) correspond to

a variety of profiles, light and dark: *moreno, indio, trigueño*. Moreover, the images in

Cluster 2 have slightly higher RGB values (i.e., lighter hair color) and correspond to the

darkest profiles: *prieto* and *negro*. Hair color, thus, does not appear to be a perfect predictor

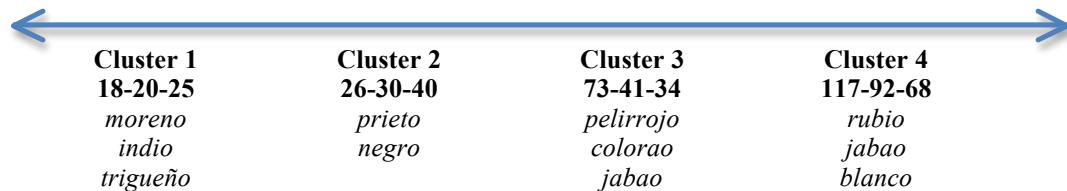of physical description. Figure 31 represents the relationship between categories and hair

color RGB values.

Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3	Cluster 4
18-20-25	26-30-40	73-41-34	117-92-68
moreno	*prieto*	*pelirrojo*	*rubio*
indio	*negro*	*colorao*	*jabao*
trigueño		*jabao*	*blanco*

Figure 31: *Matiz Racial* **Categories by Hair Color RGB**

An analysis of the internal characteristics of an image, such as RGB value of hair color,

skin color, and eye color, reveals that objective color characteristics do have a relationship

with racial categories. Specifically, skin color is a particularly salient predictor of the racial

term that participants will use to describe a given image. Moreover, while eye color and hair

color are not uniform predictors of physical appearance overall, the relationship between

RGB values and profiles such as *rubio* and *pelirrojo* are particularly salient. The next

section turns to an examination of the relationship between physical description and factors

that are external to the image.

b. *Characteristics of the Participant*

This section examines the extent to which characteristics of the participant are related to

the use of a particular racial term. Specifically, this section analyzes the relationship

between a given racial term and the region where the description takes place or the self

description the person describing the image. This analysis initially also included an exploration of the relationship between participant age and racial category use, but that analysis returned no salient results.

<u>Region</u>

How an individual is described may relate to the region of the country where the description takes place. Following is an analysis of the regional frequency of racial terms as used by participants in two experiments.

Experiment 1: Santiago vs. Santo Domingo

The first experiment comprises 4,288 responses from participants in Santiago and in Santo Domingo. Overall, 53.73 percent of responses correspond to Santiago and 46.27 percent correspond to Santo Domingo. Table 73 contains eleven 1-to-1 rules that derive from the relationship between the variables RESEARCH SITE and DESCRIPTION.

Table 73. Association Rules: Research Site, Description

	If	*Then*	*Support*	*Confidence*	*Lift*
1	{DESCRIPTION =PRIETO}	{RESEARCH.SITE= SANTIAGO}	0.016	0.633	1.174
2	{DESCRIPTION =PELIRROJO}	{RESEARCH.SITE= SANTIAGO}	0.014	0.625	1.159
3	{DESCRIPTION =COLORAO}	{RESEARCH.SITE= SANTO DOMINGO}	0.022	0.604	1.311
4	{DESCRIPTION =JABAO}	{RESEARCH.SITE= SANTO DOMINGO}	0.042	0.602	1.307
5	{DESCRIPTION =INDIO}	{RESEARCH.SITE= SANTIAGO}	0.118	0.595	1.103
6	{DESCRIPTION =BLANCO}	{RESEARCH.SITE= SANTIAGO}	0.119	0.582	1.079
7	{DESCRIPTION =TRIGUENO}	{RESEARCH.SITE= SANTIAGO}	0.037	0.574	1.064
8	{DESCRIPTION =NEGRO}	{RESEARCH.SITE= SANTIAGO}	0.033	0.524	0.972
9	{DESCRIPTION =MULATO}	{RESEARCH.SITE= SANTIAGO}	0.044	0.518	0.960

	If	*Then*	*Support*	*Confidence*	*Lift*
10	{DESCRIPTION =MORENO}	{RESEARCH.SITE= SANTIAGO}	0.079	0.504	0.935
11	{DESCRIPTION =RUBIO}	{RESEARCH.SITE= SANTO DOMINGO}	0.032	0.502	1.089

Rules 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 predict that the image descriptions *prieto, pelirrojo, indio, blanco, trigueño, negro, mulato,* and *moreno* will correspond to the research site Santiago. Rules 3, 4, and 11 predict that the descriptions *colorao, jabao*, and *rubio* will correspond to the research site Santo Domingo. These results are born out in cross-tabulation Table 74.

Table 74. Cross-Tabulation Table: Research Site, Description

	STI	SDQ	
Blanco/a	510 (58.1%)	368 (41.9%)	878
Colorao/a	61 (39.6%)	93 (60.4%)	154
Indio/a	502 (59.3%)	344 (40.7%)	846
Jabao/a	119 (39.8%)	180 (60.2%)	299
Moreno/a	337 (50.3%)	333 (49.7%)	670
Mulato/a	188 (51.5%)	177 (48.5%)	365
Negro/a	142 (52.2%)	130 (47.8%)	272
Pelirrojo/a	60 (61.9%)	37 (38.1%)	97
Prieto/a	69 (63.3%)	40 (36.7%)	109
Rubio/a	135 (49.6%)	137 (50.4%)	272
Trigueño/a	159 (56.4%)	123 (43.6%)	282
OTHER	22 (51.2%)	21 (48.8%)	43
BLANK		1	1
	2304	1984	4288
	53.73%	46.27%	100.00%

Although participants at both locations describe the same 16 images, when participant responses are weighted by region, regional patterns of use emerge. For example, although responses from Santiago comprise 53.73 percent of the total, participants in Santiago are overrepresented in their use of the categories *blanco, indio, pelirrojo, prieto,* and *trigueño*. Likewise, although responses from Santo Domingo comprise 46.27 percent of the total, responses from Santo Domingo are overrepresented for the categories *colorao, jabao, rubio,*

moreno, mulato, and *negro*. These results reveal several patterns. First, a participant is slightly more likely to be described as *blanco* or *indio* in Santiago, and slightly more likely to be described as *moreno* or *mulato* in Santo Domingo. Participants in Santiago prefer *pelirrojo*, while participants in Santo Domingo prefer *colorao*. Although there is a slight overrepresentation in Santo Domingo, participants at both sites use *negro* at a frequency nearly proportional to their respective proportion of overall responses. Participants in Santiago, however, use *prieto* more frequently than expected. Finally, a participant is slightly more likely to be described as *trigueño* in Santiago and slightly more likely to be described as *rubio* in Santo Domingo. Because participants are describing the same images at both research sites, the differing results suggest regional tendencies in the use of racial terms.

Experiment 2: Santo Domingo vs. Dajabón

The second experiment comprises 3,072 responses from participants in Santo Domingo and Dajabón. Overall, 48.44 percent of responses correspond to Santo Domingo and 51.56 percent correspond to Dajabón. Table 75 contains one 1-to-1 rule that derives from the relationship between the variables RESEARCH SITE and DESCRIPTION. This rule predicts a relationship between use of the term *trigueño* and the research site Dajabón.

Table 75. Association Rules: Research Site, Description (Survey 2)

If	*Then*	*Support*	*Confidence*	*Lift*
{DESCRIPTION= TRIGUENO}	{RESEARCH.SITE=DAJ}	0.029	0.739	1.435

The *apriori* algorithm additionally generates some rules with multiple input variables, suggesting a relationship among participant sex, image description, participant description, and research site. These nine 2-to-1 and three 3-to-1 rules appear in Table 76.

Chapter 6: Shades of Meaning

Table 76. Association Rules: Research Site, Description, Participant Sex, Participant Description

	If	*Then*	*Support*	*Confidence*	*Lift*
1	{PARTICIPANT_SEX=M, DESCRIPTION=TRIGUENO}	{RESEARCH.SITE= DAJ}	0.019	0.808	1.567
2	{PARTICIPANT_SEX=M, DESCRIPTION=COLORAO}	{RESEARCH.SITE= DAJ}	0.015	0.804	1.558
3	{PARTICIPANT_SEX=H, DESCRIPTION=COLORAO}	{RESEARCH.SITE= SDQ}	0.012	0.661	1.364
4	{PARTICIPANT_SEX=H, DESCRIPTION=RUBIO}	{RESEARCH.SITE= SDQ}	0.014	0.700	1.445
5	{PARTICIPANT_SEX=H, DESCRIPTION=NEGRO}	{RESEARCH.SITE= SDQ}	0.021	0.703	1.452
6	{PARTICIPANT_SEX=H, DESCRIPTION=MULATO}	{RESEARCH.SITE= SDQ}	0.031	0.762	1.573
7	{PARTICIPANT_SEX=M, DESCRIPTION=MORENO}	{RESEARCH.SITE= DAJ}	0.036	0.735	1.426
8	{PARTICIPANT_SEX=M, DESCRIPTION=BLANCO}	{RESEARCH.SITE= DAJ}	0.075	0.668	1.295
9	{PARTICIPANT_SEX=M, DESCRIPTION=INDIO}	{RESEARCH.SITE= DAJ}	0.099	0.693	1.344
10	{PARTICIPANT_SEX=H, PARTICIPANT_DESCRIPTION= INDIO, DESCRIPTION= NEGRO}	{RESEARCH.SITE= SDQ}	0.013	0.837	1.727
11	{PARTICIPANT_SEX=H, PARTICIPANT_DESCRIPTION= MULATO, DESCRIPTION= MULATO}	{RESEARCH.SITE= SDQ}	0.012	1.000	2.065
12	{PARTICIPANT_SEX=H, PARTICIPANT_DESCRIPTION= INDIO, DESCRIPTION=JABAO}	{RESEARCH.SITE= DAJ}	0.013	0.683	1.325

When a female participant describes an image as *trigueño*, rule 1 predicts that the

corresponding research site will be Dajabón. Likewise, when a female participant describes

an image as *colorao*, rule 2 predicts that the research site will be Dajabón. Conversely, when

a male participant describes an image as *colorao*, rule 3 predicts that the corresponding

research site will be Santo Domingo. Moreover, when a male participant describes an image

as *rubio, negro*, or *mulato*, rules 4, 5, and 6 predict that the research site will be Santo

Domingo. When a female participant describes an image as *moreno, blanco*, or *indio*, rules

7, 8, and 9 predict that the research site will be Dajabón. With respect to 3-to-1 rules, when

a male participant describes himself as *indio* and describes an image as *negro*, rule 10

predicts that the research site will be Santo Domingo. Likewise, when a male participant

describes himself as *mulato* and describes an image as *mulato*, rule 11 predicts that Santo

Domingo will be the research site. Finally, when a male participant describes himself as

indio and describes an image as *jabao*, rule 12 predicts that the research site is Dajabón.

These results, by research site, are represented in cross-tabulation Table 77.

Table 77. Cross-Tabulation: Research Site, Description (Survey 2)

	SDQ	DAJ	Total
Blanco/a	276 (45.2%)	335 (54.8%)	611
Colorao	48 (42.5%)	65 (57.5%)	113
Indio/a	400 (45.1%)	487 (54.9%)	887
Jabao/a	70 (41.2%)	100 (58.8%)	170
Moreno/a	161 (41.7%)	225 (58.3%)	386
Mulato/a	131 (56.2%)	102 (43.8%)	233
Negro/a	73 (59.4%)	50 (40.7%)	123
Pelirrojo/a	43 (64.2%)	24 (35.8%)	67
Prieto/a	14 (42.4%)	19 (57.6%)	33
Rubio/a	60 (52.2%)	55 (47.8%)	115
Trigueño/a	27 (26.5%)	75 (73.5%)	102
OTHER	177 (85.1%)	31 (14.9%)	208
None	8	16	24
	1488	1584	3072
	48.44%	51.56%	100.00%

Participants at both locations examine the same 48 photos, and regional patterns of use

emerge. For example, although responses from Santo Domingo comprise 48.44 percent of

the total, participants in Santo Domingo are overrepresented in their use of the categories

mulato, negro, pelirrojo, and *rubio*. Likewise, although responses from Dajabón comprise

51.56 percent of the total, responses from Dajabón are overrepresented for the categories

blanco, colorao, *indio, jabao, moreno, prieto*, and *trigueño*. These results reveal several

patterns. *Blanco* is more frequent in the results from Dajabón, and *rubio* is more frequent in the Santo Domingo results. *Pelirrojo* is more frequent in Santo Domingo, whereas *colorao* is more frequent in Dajabón. *Mulato* and *negro* are substantially more frequent in Santo Domingo, and *prieto* is more frequent in Dajabón. Participants are additionally more likely to be described as *jabao* or *trigueño* in the Dajabón results.

These results indicate that, where objective characteristics of the image remain constant (e.g., skin color, hair color, eye color), how a participant is described may vary based on the region where the description happens, the sex of the person describing the image, and the self-description of the person describing the image. This suggests that, while objective color characteristics are fairly strong predictors of physical description, the description also depends on factors (such as region) that are external to the image.

Participant Self-Description

How an individual is described may also relate to the way that a participant describes him or herself. Following is an analysis of the frequency of racial terms as weighted by the self descriptions of participants in two experiments.

Experiment 1

The first experiment comprises 4,288 responses from participants that describe themselves as *blanco* (13.81%), *indio* (34.7%), *indio claro* (4.48%), *mestizo* (5.6%), *moreno* (11.94%), *moreno claro* (0.37%), *mulato* (5.22%), *negro* (5.97%), *rubia* (0.37%), and *trigueño* (1.49%), among others. Table 78 contains one 1-to-1 rule that derives from the relationship between the variables PARTICIPANT DESCRIPTION and DESCRIPTION. This rule predicts that if an image is described as *indio*, then the participant also describes him or herself as *indio*.

Table 78. Association Rules: Participant Description, Description

If	*Then*	*Support*	*Confidence*	*Lift*
{DESCRIPTION= INDIO}	{PARTICIPANT_DESCRIPTION= INDIO}	0.102	0.515	1.311

An exploration of cross-tabulation Table 79 reveals additional patterns in the data. Participant self description is related to how the participants describe others in two ways in Experiment 1. First, participants are more likely to describe others using the same descriptor that they use for themselves. This means, for example, that a participant that describes himself as *blanco* also uses *blanco* to describe others more frequently than would otherwise be expected. This is true of participants that describe themselves as *blanco* (16.17% vs. 13.81% expectation), *indio* (46.79% vs. 34.7%), *moreno* (14.2% vs. 11.94%), *mulato* (11.59% vs. 5.22%), *negro* (11.4% vs. 5.97%), and *trigueño* (3.55% vs. 1.49%). Second, the way that participants describe themselves is related to the frequency with which they use other terms. A person that self describes as *blanco* is more likely to describe others as *pelirrojo*, *trigueño* or *prieto* and less likely to describe others as *rubio*. A person that self describes as *indio* is more likely to describe others as *rubio* and less likely to use *colorao* and *mulato*. The difference in distribution between *indio* and *mulato* is persistent in the data. A person that self describes as *moreno* is more likely to describe others as *colorao* and less likely to use *indio* and *negro*. A person that self describes as *mulato* is more likely to describe others as *negro* and less likely to describe others as *indio* or *moreno*. Likewise, a person that self describes as *negro* is more likely to describe others as *mulato* and less likely to use *indio* and *trigueño*. A participant that self describes as *rubia* is more likely to describe others as *jabao*. Finally, a person that self describes as *trigueño* is more likely to describe others as *prieto* and less likely to describe others as *rubio* or *colorao* (See Table 80).

Table 79. Cross-Tabulation: Participant Description, Description

	Blanco/a	Indio/a	Indio/a Claro/a	Mestizo/a	Moreno/a	Moreno/a Claro/a	Mulato/a	Negro/a	Rubia	Trigueño/a	OTHER	None	
Blanco/a	142 (16.17%)	274 (31.21%)	45 (5.13%)	44 (5.01%)	94 (10.71%)	2 (.23%)	55 (6.26%)	55 (6.26%)	2 (.23%)	16 (1.82%)	70 (7.97%)	79	878
Colorao/a	19 (12.34%)	43 (27.92%)	9 (5.84%)	15 (9.74%)	30 (19.48%)		7 (4.55%)	6 (3.9%)	1 (.65%)	1 (.65%)	10 (6.49%)	13	154
Indio/a	106 (12.85%)	386 (46.79%)	42 (5.09%)	30 (3.64%)	87 (10.55%)		25 (3.03%)	31 (3.76%)	3 (.36%)	12 (1.45%)	57 (6.91%)	46	825
Indio/a Claro/a	8 (44.44%)	4 (22.22%)	2 (11.11%)								1 (5.56%)	3	18
Indio/a Oscuro/a		1 (33.33%)									1 (33.33%)	1	3
Jabao/a	38 (12.71%)	99 (33.11%)	10 (3.34%)	11 (3.68%)	32 (10.7%)	1 (.33%)	21 (7.02%)	22 (7.36%)	4 (1.34%)	3 (1.00%)	36 (12.04%)	22	299
Moreno/a	80 (11.96%)	234 (34.98%)	32 (4.78%)	35 (5.23%)	95 (14.2%)	3 (.45%)	19 (2.84%)	38 (5.68%)	2 (.3%)	9 (1.35%)	69 (10.31%)	53	669
Moreno Oscuro											1 (100%)		1
Mulato/a	47 (12.88%)	91 (24.93%)	7 (1.92%)	41 (11.23%)	43 (11.78%)	3 (.82%)	42 (11.51%)	35 (9.59%)		4 (1.1%)	35 (9.59%)	17	365
Negro/a	35 (12.87%)	84 (30.88%)	7 (2.57%)	16 (5.88%)	28 (10.29%)		27 (9.93%)	31 (11.4%)	1 (.37%)	3 (1.11%)	18 (6.62%)	22	272
Pelirrojo/a	17 (17.53%)	30 (30.93%)	6 (6.19%)	6 (6.19%)	11 (11.34%)		2 (2.06%)	9 (9.28%)			8 (8.25%)	8	97
Prieto/a	17 (15.6%)	35 (32.11%)	8 (7.34%)	7 (6.42%)	12 (11.01%)		5 (4.59%)	3 (2.75%)		4 (3.67%)	11 (10.09%)	7	109
Rubio/a	31 (11.4%)	105 (38.6%)	11 (4.04%)	17 (6.25%)	32 (11.76%)	2 (.74%)	10 (3.68%)	12 (4.41%)	1 (.37%)	2 (.74%)	22 (8.09%)	27	272
Trigueño/a	45 (15.96%)	91 (32.27%)	13 (4.61%)	18 (6.38%)	36 (12.77%)	5 (1.77%)	11 (3.9%)	10 (3.55%)	2 (.71%)	10 (3.55%)	24 (8.51%)	17	282
OTHER	7 (16.28%)	11 (25.58%)			12 (27.91%)			4 (9.3%)			4 (9.3%)	5	43
BLANK											1		1
	592 13.81%	1488 34.70%	192 4.48%	240 5.60%	512 11.94%	16 0.37%	224 5.22%	256 5.97%	16 0.37%	64 1.49%	368 8.58%	320 7.46%	4288

Table 80. Summary of Cross-tabulation results for Participant Description, Description

		More Frequent	Less Frequent
blanco	(13.81%)	*pelirrojo* (17.53%) **blanco** (16.17%) *trigueño* (15.96%) *prieto* (15.6%)	*rubio* (11.4%)
indio	(34.7%)	**indio** (46.79%) *rubio* (38.6%)	*colorao* (27.92%) *mulato* (24.93%)
moreno	(11.94%)	*colorao* (19.48%) **moreno** (14.2%)	*indio* (10.55%) *negro* (10.29%)
mulato	(5.22%)	**mulato** (11.59%) *negro* (9.93%)	*indio* (3.03%) *moreno* (2.84%)
negro	(5.97%)	**negro** (11.4%) *mulato* (9.59%) *pelirrojo* (9.28%)	*indio* (3.76%) *trigueño* (3.55%)
rubia	(0.37%)	*jabao* (1.34%)	---
trigueño	(1.49%)	*prieto* (3.67%) **trigueño** (3.55%)	*rubio* (0.74%) *colorao* (0.65%)

Experiment 2

The second experiment comprises 3,072 responses from participants that describe

themselves as *blanco* (6.25%), *indio* (49.48%), *indio claro* (4.69%), *indio oscuro* (3.13%),

mestizo (3.13%), *moreno* (20.31%), *moreno claro* (1.56%), *mulato* (4.69%), *rubia* (1.56%),

and *trigueño* (1.56%), among others. While the 124 rules yielded by the *a priori* algorithm

do not include any 1-to-1 rules predicting the relationship between participant description

and image description, an examination of the data in cross-tabulation Table 81 reveals some

initial patterns.

Table 81. Cross-Tabulation: Participant Description, Description (Survey 2)

	Blanco/a	Indio/a	Indio/a Claro/a	Indio/a Oscuro/a	Mestizo	Moreno/a	Moreno Claro	Mulato/a	Rubia	Trigueño/a	None	
Blanco/a	56 (9.17%)	304 (49.75%)	41 (6.71%)	28 (4.58%)	24 (3.93%)	91 (14.89%)	15 (2.45%)	21 (3.44%)	3 (.49%)	8 (1.31%)	20	611
Colorao	1 (.88%)	41 (36.28%)	15 (13.27%)			30 (26.55%)		11 (9.73%)	2 (1.77%)	5 (4.42%)	8	113
Indio/a	30 (4.17%)	474 (65.92%)	17 (2.36%)	19 (2.64%)	4 (.56%)	106 (14.74%)	17 (2.36%)	22 (3.06%)	2 (.28%)	11 (1.53%)	17	719
Indio/a Claro/a	6 (3.92%)	47 (30.72%)	1 (.65%)	5 (3.27%)		69 (45.1%)		3 (1.96%)	18 (11.76%)	4 (2.61%)		153
Indio/a Oscuro/a		1 (6.67%)		2 (13.33%)		6 (40%)			5 (33.33%)	1 (6.67%)		15
Jabao/a	10 (5.88%)	92 (54.12%)	1 (.59%)	7 (4.12%)	8 (4.71%)	28 (16.47%)	3 (1.76%)	2 (1.18%)	6 (3.53%)	6 (3.53%)	7	170
Moreno/a	35 (9.49%)	171 (46.34%)	14 (3.79%)	6 (1.63%)	3 (.81%)	97 (26.29%)	7 (1.9%)	15 (4.07%)	4 (1.08%)	4 (1.08%)	13	369
Moreno/a Claro/a		7 (63.64%)				1 (9.09%)			3 (27.27%)			11
Moreno/a Oscuro/a		5 (83.33%)				1 (16.67%)						6
Mulato/a	8 (3.43%)	118 (50.64%)	9 (3.86%)	20 (8.58%)	11 (4.72%)	16 (6.87%)	2 (.86%)	43 (18.45%)		4 (1.72%)	2	233
Negro/a	6 (4.88%)	58 (47.15%)	5 (4.07%)	2 (1.63%)	3 (2.44%)	32 (26.02%)	2 (1.63%)	12 (9.76%)			3	123
Pelirrojo/a	2 (2.99%)	24 (35.82%)	3 (4.48%)	1 (1.49%)		31 (46.27%)		1 (1.49%)			5	67
Prieto/a	1 (3.03%)	15 (45.45%)	2 (6.06%)	2 (6.06%)		7 (21.21%)		1 (3.03%)	1 (3.03%)	2 (6.06%)	2	33
Rubio/a	8 (6.96%)	41 (35.65%)	16 (13.91%)	2 (1.74%)	5 (4.35%)	28 (24.35%)	2 (1.74%)	6 (5.22%)		2 (1.74%)	5	115
Trigueño/a	28 (27.45%)	32 (31.37%)	5 (4.9%)	2 (1.96%)		26 (25.49%)		3 (2.94%)		1 (.98%)	5	102
OTHER	1 (.48%)	90 (43.27%)	15 (7.21%)		38 (18.27%)	55 (26.44%)		4 (1.92%)	4 (1.92%)		1	208
None											24	24
	192	1520	144	96	96	624	48	144	48	48	112	3072
	6.25%	49.48%	4.69%	3.13%	3.13%	20.31%	1.56%	4.69%	1.56%	1.56%	3.65%	

As in Experiment 1, participant self description is related to how the participant will describe others in two ways in Experiment 2. First, there is a relationship between the term that participants use to describe themselves and the frequency with which they use the same term to describe others. This is true of participants that describe themselves as *blanco* (9.17% vs. 6.25% expectation), *indio* (65.92% vs. 49.48%), *moreno* (26.29% vs. 20.31%), and *mulato* (18.45% vs. 4.69%). Second, the term that participants use to describe themselves is related to the frequency with which they use other terms. A person that self describes as *blanco* is more likely to describe others as *trigueño* or *moreno* and less likely to describe others as *prieto, pelirrojo* or *colorao*. A person that self describes as *indio* is more likely to describe others as *jabao* and less likely to use *colorao, pelirrojo, rubio* and *trigueño*. A person that self describes as *moreno* is more likely to describe others as *pelirrojo* and *colorao* and less likely to use *blanco, indio* and *mulato*. A person that self describes as *mulato* is more likely to describe others as *negro* and *colorao* and less likely to describe others as *pelirrojo* or *jabao*. A participant that self describes as *rubia* is less likely to use *blanco* and *indio*. Finally, a person that self describes as *trigueño* is more likely to describe others as *prieto* or *colorao* and less likely to describe others as *trigueño* (See Table 82).

Table 82. Summary of Cross-tabulation Results for Participant Description, Description (Survey 2)

		More Frequent	Less Frequent
blanco	(6.25%)	*trigueño* (27.45%) *moreno* (9.49%) ***blanco*** (9.17%)	*prieto* (3.03%) *pelirrojo* (2.99%) *colorao* (0.88%)
indio	(49.48%)	***indio*** (65.92%) *jabao* (54.12%)	*colorao* (36.28%) *pelirrojo* (35.82%) *rubio* (35.65%) *trigueño* (31.37%)

		More Frequent	Less Frequent
moreno	(20.31%)	*pelirrojo* (46.27%) *colorao* (26.55%) ***moreno*** (26.29%)	*blanco* (14.89%) *indio* (14.74%) *mulato* (6.87%)
mulato	(4.69%)	***mulato*** (18.45%) *negro* (9.76%) *colorao* (9.73%)	*pelirrojo* (1.49%) *jabao* (1.18%)
rubia	(1.56%)	--	*blanco* (0.49%) *indio* (0.28%)
trigueño	(1.56%)	*prieto* (6.06%) *colorao* (4.42%)	*trigueño* (0.98%)

This section has analyzed the factors that shape the physical meaning for *matiz racial*

terms, specifically examining factors internal to an image and factors external to an image.

These results indicate that there is a relationship between objective color characteristics such

as skin color, eye color, and hair color and racial terms. Of these factors, skin color is the

most salient predictor of racial term use. The results additionally reveal patterns in the use of

racial terms that correspond to the region where the image is described and the way in which

the person describing the image describes him or herself. This means that part of the *matiz*

racial description is determined by the physical characteristics of the person being

described, and part of this description depends on characteristics of the person that is doing

the describing. The following section explores the physical meaning embedded in *matiz*

racial terms by examining the relationship between racial categories and specific images.

2. Matiz Racial Results by Category: Experiment 1

In Santiago and in Santo Domingo, 268 participants completed the Physical Description

Task. For this task, participants looked at 16 images and described the *matiz racial* ('racial

shade/nuance') of the person in the photo. Participants were instructed to describe the *matiz*

racial of the person in each photo using one of the words appearing in a box on the page

(*blanco/a, colorao/a, indio/a, jabao/a, moreno/a, mulato/a, negro/a, pelirrojo/a, prieto/a, rubio/a, trigueño/a*) or another adequate word. Table 83 contains the frequency data for each term. Forms of *blanco* are the most frequent and represent 20.48 percent of total responses. Forms of *indio* and *moreno* are also frequent and represent 19.73 percent and 15.63 percent of responses, respectively. *Mulato* (8.51%), *jabao* (6.97%), *trigueño* (6.58%), *negro* (6.34%), and *rubio* (6.34%) represent intermediate frequency. Less frequent terms include *colorao* (3.59%), *prieto* (2.54%), and *pelirrojo* (2.26%).

Table 83. Frequency Data: *Matiz Racial* Task (Survey 1)

Term	#	%
blanco	878	20.48%
indio	846	19.73%
moreno	670	15.63%
mulato	365	8.51%
jabao	299	6.97%
trigueño	282	6.58%
negro	272	6.34%
rubio	272	6.34%
colorao	154	3.59%
prieto	109	2.54%
pelirrojo	97	2.26%
Other	43	1.0%
None	1	0.02%
	4288	100%

This section explores how participants conceptualize the physical parameters of the categories *rubio, blanco, pelirrojo, colorao, jabao, trigueño, indio, mulato, moreno, negro,* and *prieto*.

a. rubio/a

Based on initial ethnographic observation and informal interviews in Santiago, I hypothesized that participants would identify MALE_1 and FEMALE_1 as *rubio* and *rubia*, respectively. For interview participants, the *rubio* profile is summarized below:

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(1) HAIR COLOR	(2) SKIN COLOR	(3) EYE COLOR	(4) HAIR TEXTURE
blonde / yellow light	*white / light*	*light*	*straight / good*

Although MALE_1 does not have blonde hair, his fair complexion, light-colored eyes, and straight light brown hair bring him within the Dominican conception of *rubio*. Likewise, although FEMALE_1 may have hair that is dyed blonde, this hair color combined with her light eye color and fair complexion bring her within the Dominican conception of *rubia*.

Figure 32: *Rubio* **Hypotheses**

Participant responses confirm this hypothesis and most frequently identify MALE_1 and FEMALE_1 as *rubio* and *rubia*. While forms of *rubio* comprise 6.34 percent of overall responses, *rubio* is overrepresented in participant descriptions of MALE_1 (35.45%) and FEMALE_1 (38.81%).
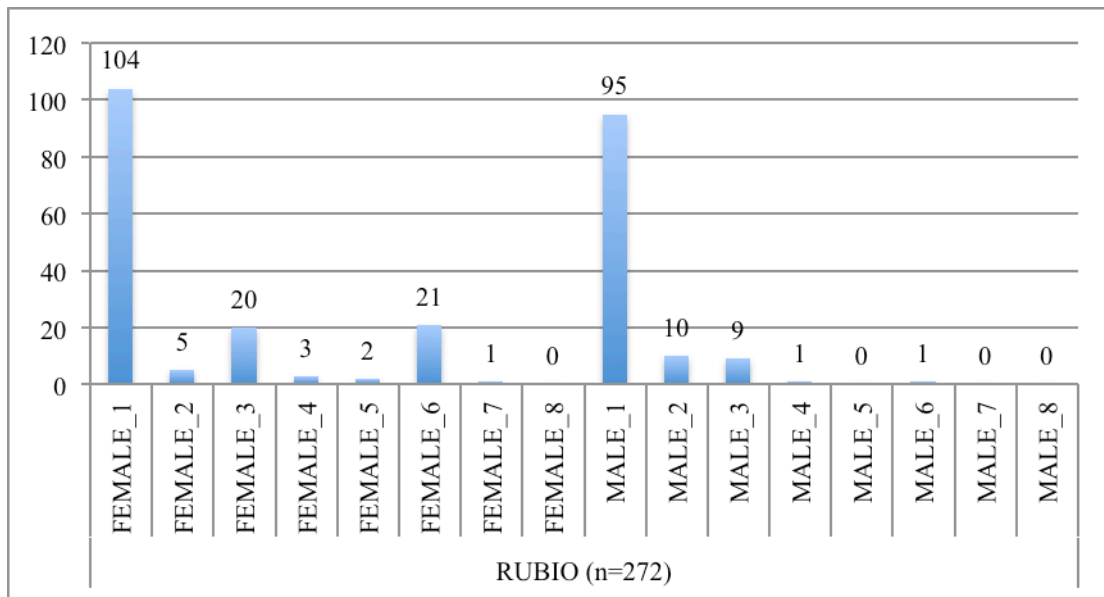
Figure 33. Distribution of *Rubio* by Image (Survey 1)

Comparing the RGB value information for the two images gives some insight into the types of images included in this category. First, with respect to skin color, both participants have R values greater than 210, G values greater than 160, and B values around 140. MALE_1 has a slightly higher R value in this category, and the higher R value here corresponds to a slightly lighter skin tone. As discussed in previous sections, these values are similar enough that MALE_1 and FEMALE_1 are grouped together in a cluster analysis (Skin Cluster 5). Second, with respect to hair color, FEMALE_1 has the highest RGB values of all the images, and also the lightest hair. Although MALE_1's RGB values are substantially lower, these values are still higher than all but one other image (MALE_6). Moreover, a cluster analysis groups MALE_1 and FEMALE_1 together based on hair color RGB values (Hair Cluster 4). Finally, with respect to eye color, the two images have the highest RGB values of all the images. The values are similar enough that a cluster analysis groups MALE_1 and FEMALE_1 together based on eye color RGB values (Eye Cluster 3).

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	RGB (Skin)	RGB (Hair)	RGB (Eyes)
FEMALE_1	214-164-144	155-120-80	102-102-86
MALE_1	225-164-140	95-75-67	98-105-106

The confirmation of the *rubio* hypothesis reveals that the category *rubio* in the Dominican Republic is broader than that referenced by the cognate term 'blonde' in, for example, the United States. Hair color is a highly salient variable for the *rubio* profile, but this hair color may manifest in myriad ways. For example, a person does not have to be born with blonde hair to be described as *rubio*, as long as the person's hair is presently *rubio*. Here, even when participants know that someone has elected to become *rubio*, they may still describe the individual as *rubio* (as in the case of FEMALE_1). Furthermore, a person may be described as *rubio* even when he or she does not actually have blonde hair, elective or otherwise (as in the case of MALE_1). A person that is brunette with a lighter hair color and a light eye color may still be considered *rubio*. The *rubio* category does have boundaries, however, and images most frequently described as *rubio* have light skin (Skin Cluster 5), light hair (Hair Cluster 4), and light eyes (Eye Cluster 3).

b. blanco/a

Based on initial ethnographic observation and informal interviews in Santiago, I hypothesized that participants would identify MALE_2 and FEMALE_2 as *blanco* and *blanca*, respectively.

(1) HAIR COLOR	(2) SKIN COLOR	(3) EYE COLOR	(4) HAIR TEXTURE	(5) FEATURES (FACE)
brown *light* *black* *red* *blonde*	*white* *light*	*blue* *light* *brown* *green*	*coarse* *straight* *smooth* *curly*	*fine features* *aquiline nose* *fine lips* *big ears* *yellow teeth*

Both images have a fair complexion with dark hair and dark eyes. This fits within the broad definition of *blanco* that interview participants identify.

Figure 34: *Blanco* Hypotheses

Participant responses confirm this hypothesis and add additional layers. MALE_2 is the male image that participants most frequently identify as *blanco*, and FEMALE_2 is the second most frequent female image that participants identify as *blanca*. While forms of *blanco* comprise 20.48 percent of overall responses, *blanco* is overrepresented in participant descriptions of FEMALE_6 (54.48%), MALE_2 (54.48%), MALE_1 (48.88%), and FEMALE_2 (47.01%). These frequency data appear in Figure 35.
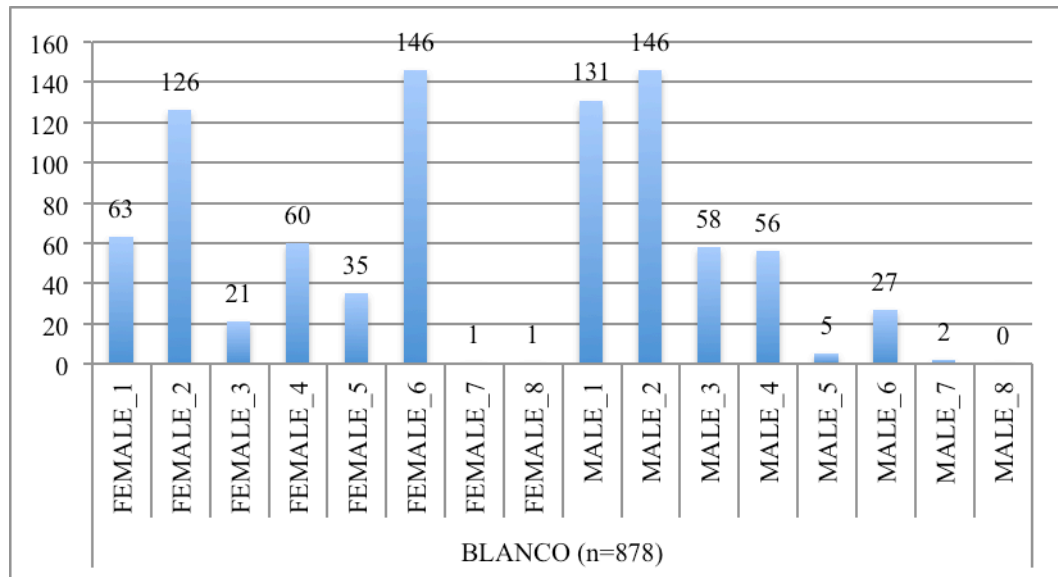
Figure 35: Distribution of *Blanco* by Image (Survey 1)

In addition to the frequency data, an association rules analysis returns two rules for the interaction between images and the use of the term *blanco*. Rule 1 predicts that, if the image is MALE_2, then the description will be *blanco*. Rule 2 predicts that, if the image is FEMALE_6, then the description will be *blanco*. Although these rules have a moderate confidence value, they indicate that there is a statistical relationship between these images and the *blanco* descriptor.

Table 84. Association Rules: *Blanco*

	If	*Then*	*Support*	*Confidence*	*Lift*
1	{IMAGE=MALE_2}	{DESCRIPTION=BLANCO}	0.034	0.547	2.667
2	{IMAGE=FEMALE_6}	{DESCRIPTION=BLANCO}	0.034	0.543	2.648

Among the images most frequently described as *blanco*, MALE_2 and FEMALE_2, the *blanco* hypotheses, are unsurprising. Likewise, MALE_1, the *rubio* hypothesis, is unsurprising in this category. However, FEMALE_6, the female image most frequently identified as *blanca*, is an unexpected result. Although FEMALE_6 has somewhat fair skin, her facial features and hair texture would not fall within prototypical descriptions of whiteness. Comparing the RGB value information for the four images gives some insight

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into the types of images included in this category. With the exception of MALE_1, the images have dark hair and dark eyes, indicated by R, G, and B values under 41 for hair color, and G and B values under 50 and R values under 100 for eye color. As in the case of *rubio*, the images most frequently identified as *blanco* have skin color R values greater than 200, G values greater than 160, and B values greater than 140. Unlike with *rubio,* the images most frequently described as *blanco* do not share a single skin cluster: FEMALE_2 and FEMALE_6 fall in Skin Cluster 2 (mean: 217-169-162); MALE_1 falls in Skin Cluster 5 (mean: 217-155-133); and MALE_2 falls in Skin Cluster 6 (mean: 231-195-202).

	RGB (Skin)	RGB (Hair)	RGB (Eyes)
FEMALE_6	203-171-160	15-28-41	52-42-36
MALE_2	231-195-202	27-22-26	96-46-41
MALE_1	225-164-140	95-75-67	98-105-106
FEMALE_2	224-178-171	11-14-24	34-18-22

In addition to the most frequently identified images, participants identify several images at the category's expected level of frequency that indicate that the range of physical descriptions represented by the *blanco* category is broad. Forms of *blanco* comprise 20.48 percent of overall responses, and *blanco* appears at near this expected frequency in participant descriptions of FEMALE_1 (23.51%), FEMALE_4 (22.39%), MALE_3 (21.64%), and MALE_4 (20.9%). Among these four images, MALE_3 is perhaps the most surprising, although all four images fall outside of prototypicality for this category. Comparing the RGB value information for the four images gives some insight into why participants include these images in this category. With the exception of FEMALE_1, the images have dark hair and dark eyes. For FEMALE_4 and MALE_4, this is indicated by R, G, and B values under 40 for hair and eye color. For MALE_3, this is indicated by R, G, and B values under 66 for hair and eye color. As in the case of the images most frequently

identified as *blanco*, these images have skin color R values greater than 200. Of this group,

FEMALE_4 has the highest RGB values, corresponding to lighter skin, followed by

FEMALE_1, MALE_3, and MALE_4. A cluster analysis groups MALE_3, MALE_4, and

FEMALE_1 (Skin Cluster 5). FEMALE_4 is in Skin Cluster 2.

	RGB (Skin)	RGB (Hair)	RGB (Eyes)
FEMALE_1	214-164-144	155-120-80	102-102-86
FEMALE_4	225-158-163	26-25-35	35-23-40
MALE_3	221-148-132	66-48-52	61-34-35
MALE_4	221-151-126	16-26-28	22-23-27

These values speak to the salience of skin color for the *blanco* category. Although the

images most frequently identified as *blanco* have different hair colors and textures, different

eye colors, and different features, skin color (as measured by RGB values) is a common

denominator. This is true irrespective of yellow, pink, or reddish hue. Participants describe

FEMALE_4 as *blanca* and *blanca oscura*, MALE_3 as *blanco* and *blanco amarillo*, and

MALE_4 as *blanco, blanco oscuro*, and *blanco y indio* [*sic*]. These results indicate that the

descriptor *blanco/a* encodes physical parameters that are much broader than categories of

whiteness in the U.S. and even in other Latin American countries. In the U.S., for example,

FEMALE_4 and MALE_4 would be classified as Hispanic/Latino and not white; MALE_3

would likely be classified as black; and FEMALE_1 could be black or Hispanic/Latina.

c. pelirrojo/a

Based on initial ethnographic observation and informal interviews in Santiago, I

hypothesized that participants would identify FEMALE_3 as *pelirroja*.

(1) HAIR COLOR	(2) SKIN COLOR	(4) HAIR TEXTURE	(5) FEATURES (FACE)
red / reddish	white	good	freckles

Because *pelirrojo*, like *rubio*, is a category that may be determined by hair color, I made this

hypothesis based on the reddish color of FEMALE_3's hair and the presence of freckles on her face.

FEMALE_3
Figure 36: *Pelirrojo* **Hypothesis**

Participant responses confirm this hypothesis. FEMALE_3 is the image that participants most frequently identify as *pelirroja*. Forms of *pelirrojo* comprise 2.62 percent of overall responses, and *pelirroja* is overrepresented in participant descriptions of FEMALE_3 (27.24%). Within this category, there is some overlap with *rubio*, as 2.99 percent of participants also identify FEMALE_1 (the *rubia* hypothesis) as *pelirroja*. These frequency data appear in Figure 37.
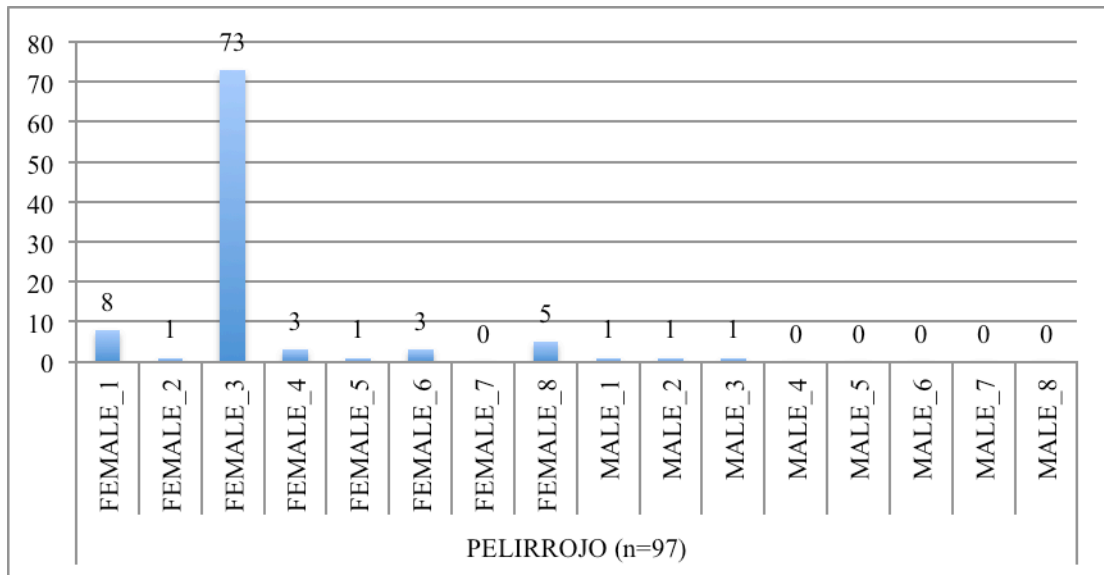
Figure 37: Distribution of *Pelirrojo* by Image (Survey 1)

In addition to the frequency data, an association rules analysis returns one rule for the interaction between images and the use of the term *pelirrojo*. This rule predicts that, if the description is *pelirrojo*, then the image will be FEMALE_3 (Table 85).

Table 85. Association Rules *Pelirrojo*

If	Then	Support	Confidence	Lift
{DESCRIPTION=PELIRROJO}	{IMAGE=FEMALE_3}	0.017	0.750	12.000

For this category, RGB values for skin color and eye color do not appear to be determinative. While hair color is salient, the moderate "red" value corresponds to the dark red color of FEMALE_3's hair.

	RGB (Skin)	RGB (Hair)	RGB (Eyes)
FEMALE_3	203-140-90	88-42-15	16-6-2

d. colorao

Based on initial ethnographic observation and informal interviews in Santiago, I hypothesized that participants would identify MALE_3 and FEMALE_3 as *colorao* and *colorá*, respectively. For interview participants, there are three possible profiles that may be

described as *colorao*:

	(1) HAIR COLOR	(2) SKIN COLOR	(3) HAIR TEXTURE
a.	any color	red / reddish / pink	good / smooth / straight
b.	red / reddish / brick	light	bad / hard
c.	red / reddish	white	good / smooth / straight

MALE_3 has the reddish complexion of profile a and the hair texture of profile b.

FEMALE_3 has the characteristics of profile b: coarse reddish hair and light skin.

Figure 38: *Colorao* Hypotheses

Participant responses confirm this hypothesis and add additional layers. MALE_3 is the
male image that participants most frequently identify as *colorao*, and FEMALE_3 is the
second most frequent female image that participants identify as *colora(d)a*. Forms of
colorao comprise 3.59 percent of overall responses, and *colorao* is overrepresented in
participant descriptions of FEMALE_4 (12.31%), MALE_3 (10.45%), and FEMALE_3
(7.84%). These frequency data appear in Figure 39.

Chapter 6: Shades of Meaning
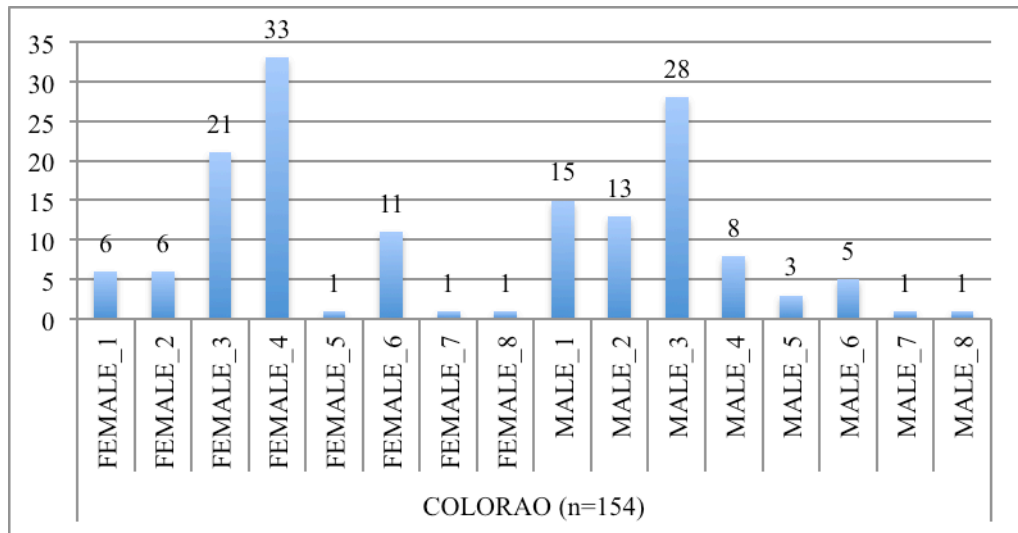
Figure 39: Distribution of *Colorao* by Image (Survey 1)

Female_4 has the characteristics of *colorao* profile a: pink skin and straight hair of any color. As previously noted, MALE_3 has the skin color of profile a with the hair texture of profile b, and FEMALE_3 has the hair and skin color and hair texture of *colorao* profile b.

RGB values for this category are instructive but not determinative. For *colorao* profile a, eye color and hair color are not determinative, but skin color and hair texture are most salient. FEMALE_4's higher skin color RGB values correspond to the lightness of her complexion, and the isolated "R" value of 225 corresponds to the pink hue of her skin. For *colorao* profile b, eye color is not determinative, but hair color, skin color, and hair texture are salient elements of the profile. Although FEMALE_3's hair is noticeably redder than MALE_3's hair, the hair color RGB values for both images fall within the same cluster (Hair Cluster 3). With respect to skin color, MALE_3's R, G, and B values are higher, corresponding to a lighter complexion. Again, however, as with FEMALE_4, the redness of MALE_3's complexion is particularly salient (R value=221).

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	RGB (Skin)	RGB (Hair)	RGB (Eyes)
FEMALE_4	225-158-163	26-25-35	35-23-40
MALE_3	221-148-132	66-48-52	61-34-35
FEMALE_3	203-140-90	88-42-15	16-6-2

Additional images that participants describe as *colorao* include MALE_1 (5.6%),

MALE_2 (4.85%), and FEMALE_6 (4.1%). MALE_1 and MALE_2 have a slight pinkness

in their complexion and straight hair consistent with *colorao* profile a. FEMALE_6

conforms less specifically to the *colorao* profile. The RGB values for the images appear

below.

	RGB (Skin)	RGB (Hair)	RGB (Eyes)
MALE_1	225-164-140	95-75-67	98-105-106
MALE_2	231-195-202	27-22-26	96-46-41
FEMALE_6	203-171-160	15-28-41	52-42-36

Prototypically, *colorao* is a profile characterized by red tones in skin or hair color.

e. jabao/a

Based on initial ethnographic observation and informal interviews in Santiago, I

hypothesized that participants would identify MALE_3 and FEMALE_3 as *jabao* and *jabá*,

respectively. For interview participants, there are three possible profiles that may be

described as *jabao*:

	(1) HAIR COLOR	(2) SKIN COLOR	(3) HAIR TEXTURE	(4) FEATURES (FACE)
a.	red / reddish	light	coarse	freckles
b.	yellow / blonde	white / yellowish	coarse / hard	(freckles)
c.	---	white	coarse	(freckles) (ordinary features)

MALE_3 has the light skin, coarse hair and freckles of *jabao* profile a, although his hair

does not appear reddish. FEMALE_3 has the red / reddish hair, light skin, coarse hair and
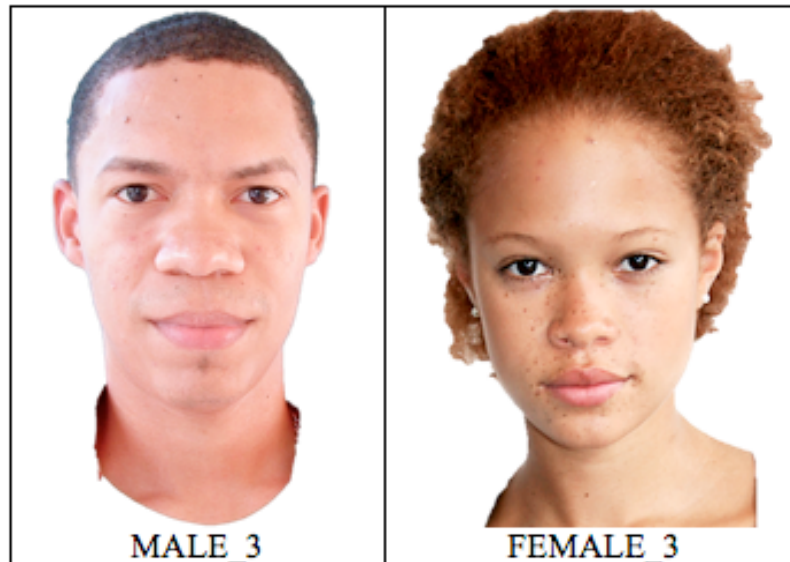
freckles of *jabao* profile a.

Figure 40. *Jabao* **Hypotheses**

Participant responses confirm this hypothesis. MALE_3 and FEMALE_3 are the images

that participants most frequently describe as *jabao*. Forms of *jabao* comprise 6.97 percent of

overall responses, and *jabao* is overrepresented in participant descriptions of FEMALE_3

(19.03%), MALE_3 (17.16%), FEMALE_6 (16.42%), and FEMALE_1 (15.67%). These
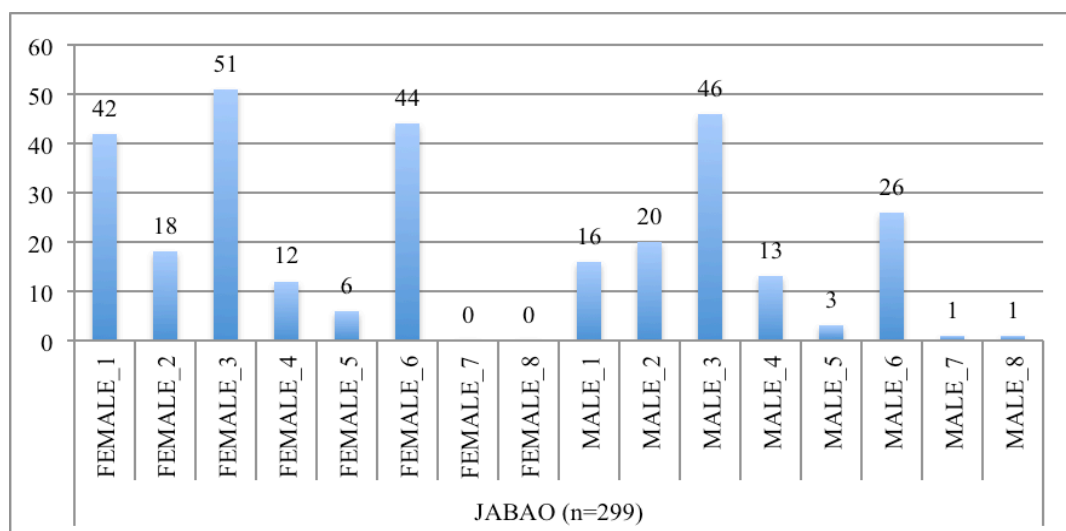
frequency data appear in Figure 41.

Figure 41: Distribution of *Jabao* by Image (Survey 1)

As previously noted, MALE_3 and FEMALE_3 have the characteristics of *jabao* profile

a. FEMALE_6 has the 'white' skin and coarse hair of *jabao* profile c, and FEMALE_1 has

the blonde hair, 'white / yellowish' skin, coarse hair, and freckles of *jabao* profile b.

The RGB values for these images appear below.

	RGB (Skin)	RGB (Hair)	RGB (Eyes)
FEMALE_3	203-140-90	88-42-15	16-6-2
MALE_3	221-148-132	66-48-52	61-34-35
FEMALE_6	203-171-160	15-28-41	52-42-36
FEMALE_1	214-164-144	155-120-80	102-102-86

The *jabao* profile is characterized by contrast—coarse red hair, coarse blonde hair, or fair

skin with coarse dark hair.

f. trigueño/a

Based on initial ethnographic observation and informal interviews in Santiago, I

hypothesized that participants would identify MALE_4 and FEMALE_4 as *trigueño* and

trigueña, respectively. For interview participants, there are two possible profiles that may be

described as *trigueño*:

	(1) HAIR COLOR	(2) SKIN COLOR	(3) HAIR TEXTURE	(4) FEATURES (FACE)
a.	dark	light	straight / good	(fine features)
b.	dark	dark	straight, coarse	

Both images have the physical characteristics of *trigueño* profile a: dark hair, light skin, and

straight (or non-coarse) hair.

Figure 42: *Trigueño* Hypotheses

Participant responses confirm this hypothesis. MALE_4 and FEMALE_4 are the images that participants most frequently describe as *trigueño*. Forms of *trigueño* comprise 6.58 percent of overall responses, and *trigueño* is overrepresented in participant descriptions of FEMALE_4 (13.81%), MALE_4 (13.43%), FEMALE_5 (12.31%), MALE_6 (10.82%), FEMALE_2 (10.07%), MALE_5 (10.07%), and MALE_3 (8.96%). These frequency data appear in Figure 43. These images primarily conform to *trigueño* profile a: light skin with dark hair.
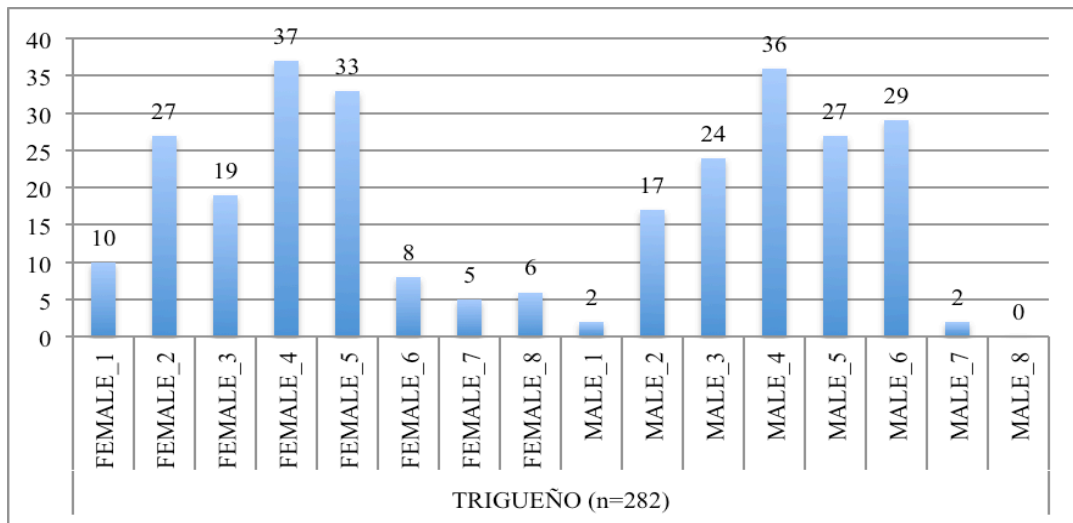
Figure 43: Distribution of *Trigueño* by Image (Survey 1)

While eye color is not determinative for the *trigueño* profile, skin color and hair color are salient. With the exception of MALE_6, the skin color R values for the images are higher than 214, corresponding to light complexions. MALE_6 and MALE_3 have brown hair color, and the remaining images have hair color R, G, and B values lower than 40.

	RGB (Skin)	RGB (Hair)	RGB (Eyes)
FEMALE_4	225-158-163	26-25-35	35-23-40
MALE_4	221-151-126	16-26-28	22-23-27
FEMALE_5	224-153-119	20-19-25	88-57-48
MALE_6	199-151-134	102-80-66	78-55-52
FEMALE_2	224-178-171	11-14-24	34-18-22
MALE_5	215-167-153	30-31-39	96-62-60
MALE_3	221-148-132	66-48-52	61-34-35

g. indio/a

In Chapter 5, interview participants describe *indio* as much by what it is not, as by what it is. *Indio* is not *blanco,* and not *negro.* This leaves the vast space in between. Based on initial ethnographic observation and informal interviews in Santiago, I hypothesized that participants would identify MALE_5 and FEMALE_5 as *indio* and *india*, respectively. For interview participants, there are three possible profiles that may be described as *indio, indio*

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claro, and *indio oscuro*:

	(1) HAIR COLOR	(2) SKIN COLOR	(3) HAIR TEXTURE	(4) FEATURES (FACE)
indio	black	intermediate tone	straight	
indio claro	black	light	straight	
indio oscuro	black	dark	straight (coarse)	fine / rough

MALE_5 meets the characteristics of the *indio* and *indio claro* profiles: light or intermediate skin tone and black hair. FEMALE_5 meets the characteristics of the *india* and *india clara* profiles: light or intermediate skin tone and black hair.

MALE_5   FEMALE_5

Figure 44: *Indio* Hypotheses

Participant responses confirm this hypothesis. MALE_5 and FEMALE_5 are the images that participants most frequently describe as *indio*. Forms of *indio* comprise 19.73 percent of overall responses, and *indio* is overrepresented in participant descriptions of MALE_5 (43.66%), FEMALE_5 (43.28%), MALE_6 (38.06%), and MALE_4 (36.94%). These frequency data appear in Figure 45.
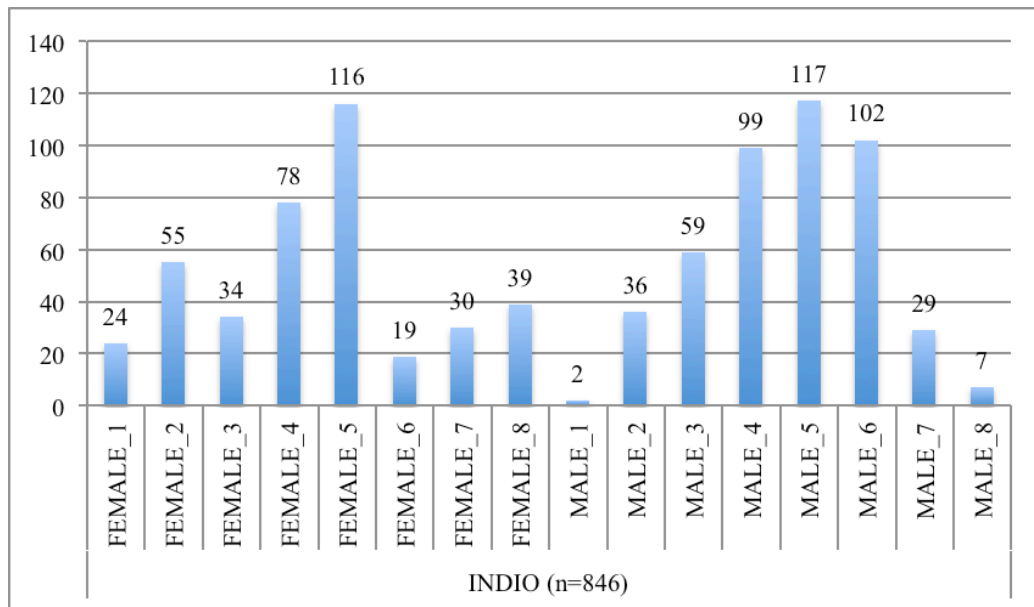
Figure 45: Distribution of *Indio* by Image (Survey 1)

Male images reveal the arc of *indio* – as images move away from whiteness (MALEs_1 and 2), the frequency of *indio* designation increases. This frequency decreases again as the images move closer to blackness (MALEs_7 and 8). These images primarily conform to the *indio claro* profile: light skin with straight black hair. MALE_5 and MALE_4 vary from this profile slightly in that there appears to be a slight curl in their hair texture. MALE_6 varies from the prototype in both the color and texture of his hair.

	RGB (Skin)	RGB (Hair)	RGB (Eyes)
MALE_5	215-167-153	30-31-39	96-62-60
FEMALE_5	224-153-119	20-19-25	88-57-48
MALE_6	199-151-134	102-80-66	78-55-52
MALE_4	221-151-126	16-26-28	22-23-27

While eye color is not determinative for the *indio* profile, skin color and hair color are salient. With respect to skin color, the R values for the images approximate or exceed 200; the G values exceed 150; and the B values approximate or exceed 120. MALE_6 has a lighter brown hair color (RGB 102-80-66), and the remaining images have hair color R, G, and B values lower than 40.

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h. mulato/a

Based on initial ethnographic observation and informal interviews in Santiago, I hypothesized that participants would identify MALE_6 and FEMALE_6 as *mulato* and *mulata*, respectively. For interview participants, the *mulato* profile is summarized below.

(1) SKIN COLOR	(2) HAIR TEXTURE	(3) FEATURES (FACE)	(4) FEATURES (BODY)
brown / dark	coarse / bad, curly	mix	muscular / strong, voluptuous

While MALE_6 and FEMALE_6 do not meet the prototypical skin color description of *mulato*—brown/dark skin, both have coarse hair and facial features that could be associated with a person of African descent.
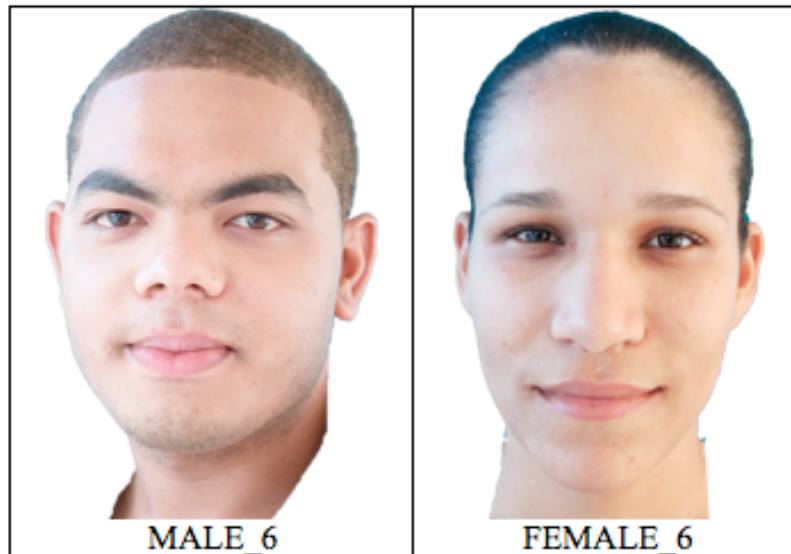

Figure 46: *Mulato* Hypotheses

Participant responses confirm the hypothesis with respect to MALE_6. MALE_6 is the image that participants most frequently identify as *mulato*. Forms of *mulato* comprise 8.51 percent of overall responses, and *mulato* is overrepresented in participant responses for MALE_6 (17.54%), FEMALE_5 (16.42%), MALE_5 (14.55%), MALE_4 (13.81%),

MALE_3 (12.31%), and FEMALE_4 (10.07%). As an initial observation, the four images most frequently described as *mulato* (MALE_6, FEMALE_5, MALE_5, MALE_4) are also the four images most frequently described as *indio*. This is further evidence of the overlap between the categories of *indio* and *mulato*.
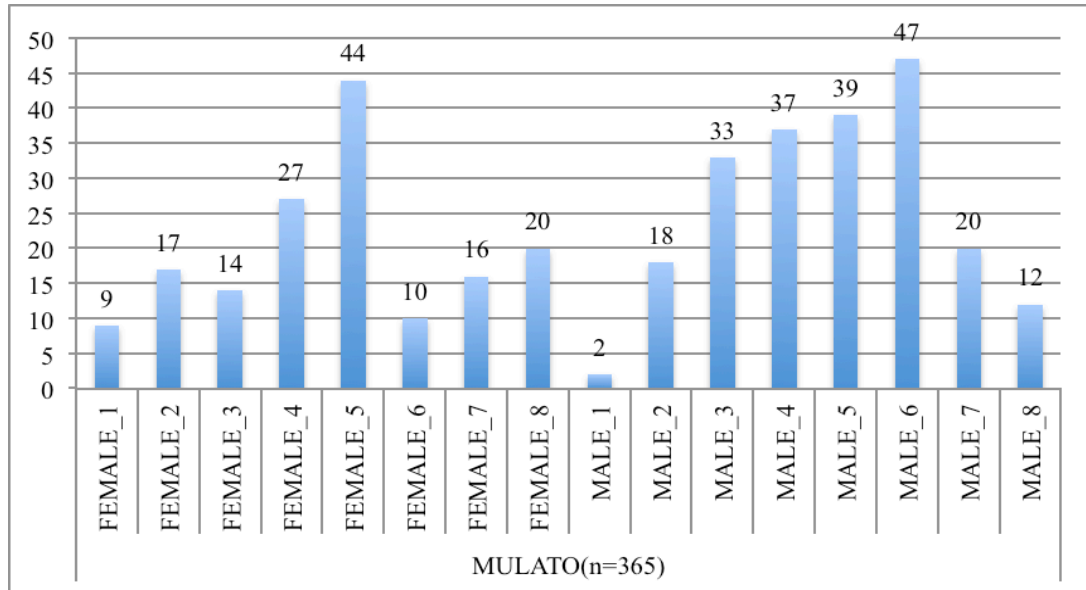

Figure 47: Distribution of *Mulato* by Image (Survey 1)

The six images most frequently identified as *mulato*, like the *mulato* hypotheses, do not conform to the skin color description of the *mulato* profile—brown or dark. This tends to suggest that the *mulato* profile is broader than described by participants in the interviews. The images most frequently identified as *mulato*—MALE_6 and FEMALE_5—have lighter skin, as do the other images. That a lighter complexion may conform to the *mulato* profile is evidenced in the RGB values of the skin color of each image. With the exception of MALE_6, each image has a skin color R value greater than 214.

	RGB (Skin)	RGB (Hair)	RGB (Eyes)
MALE_6	199-151-134	102-80-66	78-55-52
FEMALE_5	224-153-119	20-19-25	88-57-48
MALE_5	215-167-153	30-31-39	96-62-60
MALE_4	221-151-126	16-26-28	22-23-27
MALE_3	221-148-132	66-48-52	61-34-35
FEMALE_4	225-158-163	26-25-35	35-23-40

Participants also identify MALE_7 and FEMALE_8 as *mulato* and *mulata*, respectively,

at a slightly lower than expected frequency: MALE_7 (7.46%) and FEMALE_8 (7.46%).

Unlike the images more frequently identified as *mulato*, MALE_7 and FEMALE_8 conform

more closely to the *mulato* profile described by interview participants—brown/dark skin and

coarse hair. These descriptions are confirmed by the skin color RGB values for each

image—R values less than 200, G values less than 130, and B values less than 105.

	RGB (Skin)	RGB (Hair)	RGB (Eyes)
MALE_7	181-108-89	18-19-23	55-24-23
FEMALE_8	192-126-104	65-34-35	60-43-36

i.   moreno/a

Based on initial ethnographic observation and informal interviews in Santiago, I

hypothesized that participants would identify MALE_7 and FEMALE_7 as *moreno* and

morena, respectively. For interview participants, the *moreno* profile is summarized below.

(1) SKIN COLOR	(2) HAIR TEXTURE	(3) FEATURES (FACE)
dark	coarse	ordinary

MALE_7 and FEMALE_7 conform to the *moreno* profile because of dark skin, coarse hair,
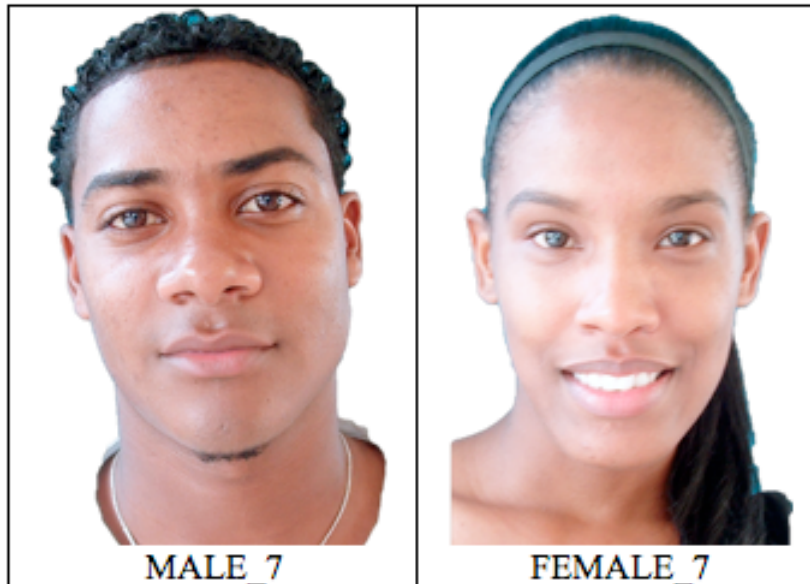
and features.

Figure 48: *Moreno* **Hypotheses**

Participant responses confirm this hypothesis. MALE_7 and FEMALE_7 are the images

that participants most frequently describe as *moreno*. Forms of *moreno* comprise 15.63

percent of overall responses, and *moreno* is overrepresented in participant descriptions of

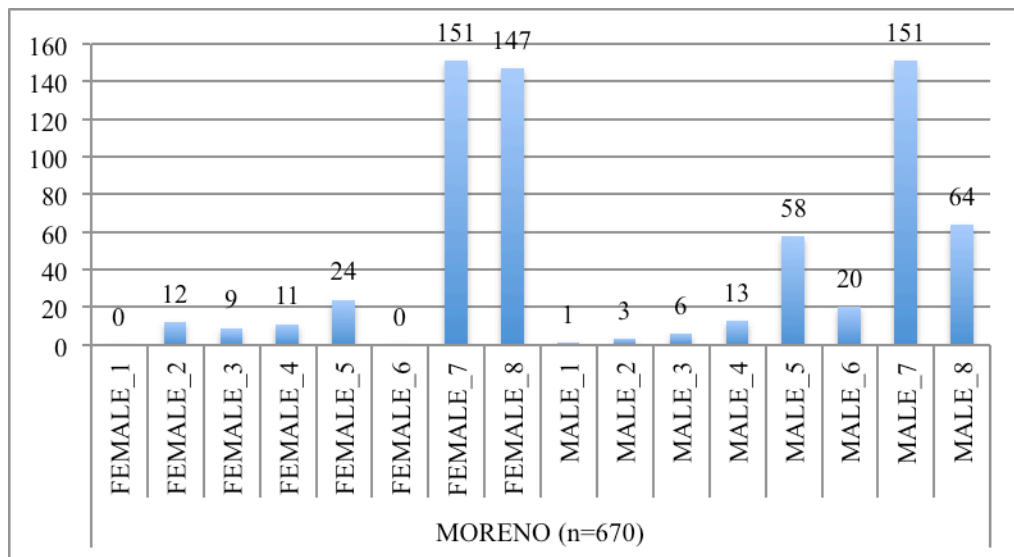FEMALE_7 (56.34%), MALE_7 (56.34%), and FEMALE_8 (54.85%) (Figure 49).

Figure 49: Distribution of *Moreno* **by Image**

In addition to the frequency data, an association rules analysis returns three rules for the

interaction between images and the use of the term *moreno*. Rule 1 predicts that, if the

image is MALE_7, then the description will be *moreno*. Rule 2 predicts that, if the image is

FEMALE_7, then the description will be *moreno*. Likewise, rule 3 predicts that, if the image

is FEMALE_8, then the description will be *moreno* (Table 86).

Table 86. Association Rules *Moreno*

	If	*Then*	*Support*	*Confidence*	*Lift*
1	{IMAGE=MALE_7}	{DESCRIPTION=MORENO}	0.035	0.562	3.593
2	{IMAGE=FEMALE_7}	{DESCRIPTION=MORENO}	0.035	0.566	3.617
3	{IMAGE=FEMALE_8}	{DESCRIPTION=MORENO}	0.034	0.547	3.497

A visual inspection of the three images most frequently identified as *moreno* confirms that

the images conform to the *moreno* profile: dark skin and coarse hair.

An examination of RGB values further confirms what these profiles have in common.

These images have R values higher than 180 and less than 207. A cluster analysis groups

FEMALE_7 and FEMALE_8 (Skin Cluster 3), and MALE_7 is in Skin Cluster 4. These

values correspond to a complexion that is lighter than that associated with the *negro* profile

and darker than that associated with profiles such as *indio*.

	RGB (Skin)	RGB (Hair)	RGB (Eyes)
FEMALE_7	206-134-109	16-22-25	66-51-50
MALE_7	181-108-89	18-19-23	55-24-23
FEMALE_8	192-126-104	65-34-35	60-43-36

Participants additionally identify the following images as *moreno* at a higher than

expected frequency: MALE_8 (23.88%) and MALE_5 (21.64%). The reduced frequency of

MALE_8 and MALE_5 may relate directly to skin color, as indicated by RGB value.

Images that participants most frequently identify as *moreno* have skin color R values greater

than 180 and less than 207. MALE_8 has a skin color R value of 170, and MALE_5 has a

skin color R value of 215.

	RGB (Skin)	RGB (Hair)	RGB (Eyes)
MALE_8	170-108-87	33-34-43	55-46-48
MALE_5	215-167-153	30-31-39	96-62-60

j. negro/a

Based on initial ethnographic observation and informal interviews in Santiago, I hypothesized that participants would identify MALE_8 and FEMALE_8 as *negro* and *negra*, respectively. For interview participants, the *negro* profile is summarized below.

(1) SKIN COLOR	(2) HAIR TEXTURE	(3) FEATURES (FACE)
(*very*) dark	coarse / hard / bad	ordinary / rough / brusque

MALE_8 and FEMALE_8 have dark skin, coarse hair and features that conform to the *negro* profile.
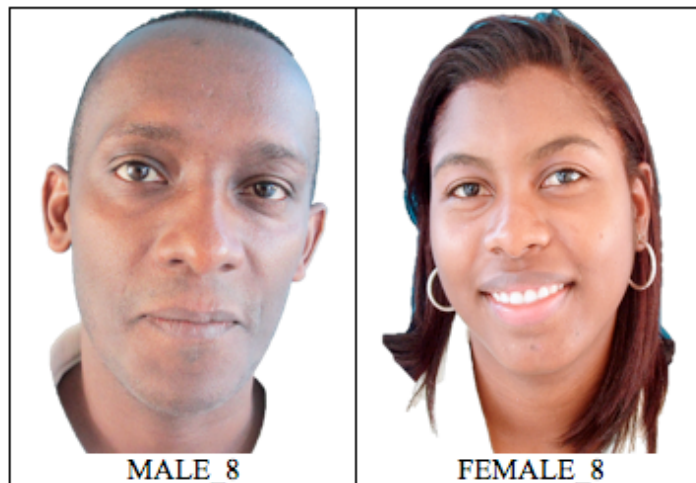

Figure 50: *Negro* Hypotheses

Participant responses confirm this hypothesis with respect to MALE_8. MALE_8 is the image that participants most frequently describe as *negro*. Forms of *negro* comprise 6.34 percent of overall responses, and *negro* is substantially overrepresented in participant descriptions of MALE_8 (42.54%). To a lesser extent, *negro* is also overrepresented in the descriptions of FEMALE_7 (17.91%), MALE_7 (16.79%), and FEMALE_8 (14.93%).

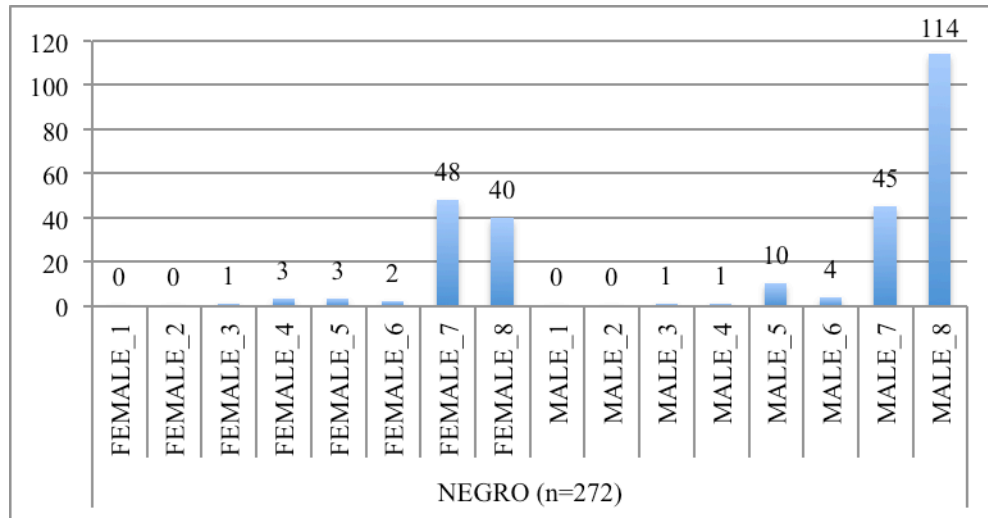These frequency data appear in Figure 51.

Figure 51: Distribution of *Negro* by Image (Survey 1)

A visual inspection of the four images most frequently identified as *negro* confirms that the images conform to the *negro* profile: dark skin and coarse hair. While all four images have dark skin and hair, participants identify MALE_8 as *negro* with substantially greater frequency than the other images. An examination of RGB values for skin color is instructive. FEMALE_7, MALE_7, and FEMALE_8 each have skin color R values greater than 180, and MALE_8 has a skin color R value of 170. This difference in R values corresponds to a slightly darker complexion.

	RGB (Skin)	RGB (Hair)	RGB (Eyes)
MALE_8	170-108-87	33-34-43	55-46-48
FEMALE_7	206-134-109	16-22-25	66-51-50
MALE_7	181-108-89	18-19-23	55-24-23
FEMALE_8	192-126-104	65-34-35	60-43-36

In contrast to *blanco* and *indio*, which are much broader categories than their English cognate forms, the term *negro* is very narrowly construed. There is no rule of *hypodescent*. This is to say – every Afro-descended person is not automatically *negro*. And thus, while the images described as *negro* fit within broader Western conceptions of blackness, all

images that may fit within the broader conception of blackness outside the Dominican Republic would not be categorized as *negro* in the Dominican Republic.

k. prieto/a

Based on initial ethnographic observation and informal interviews in Santiago, I hypothesized that participants would identify MALE_8 as *prieto*. For interview participants, the *prieto* profile is summarized below.

(1) SKIN COLOR	(2) HAIR TEXTURE	(3) FEATURES (FACE)
dark / black	coarse / bad	very ordinary (large mouth, flat nose)

MALE_8 conforms to this profile with dark skin, coarse hair, and ordinary features. Participant responses confirm this hypothesis. MALE_8 is the image that participants most frequently describe as *prieto*. Forms of *prieto* comprise 2.54 percent of overall responses, and *prieto* is substantially overrepresented in participant descriptions of MALE_8 (25%). To a lesser extent, *prieto* is also overrepresented in the descriptions of MALE_7 (5.6%), FEMALE_7 (4.85%), and FEMALE_8 (2.99%). These frequency data appear in Figure 52.
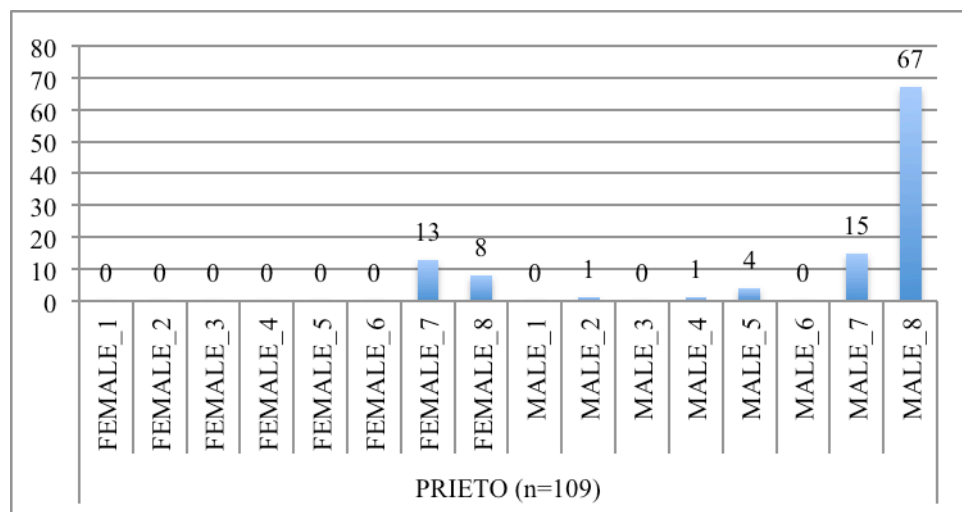

Figure 52: Distribution of *Prieto* by Image

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The four images most frequently described as *prieto* are also the four images most frequently described as *negro*. In addition to the frequency data, an association rules analysis returns one rule for the interaction between images and the use of the term *prieto*. This rule predicts that, if the description is *prieto*, then the image will be MALE_8 (Table 87).

Table 87. Association Rules *Prieto*

If	Then	Support	Confidence	Lift
{DESCRIPTION=PRIETO}	{IMAGE=MALE_8}	0.016	0.615	9.835

As in the case of *negro*, MALE_8, the image with the lowest skin color RGB value is most frequently identified as *prieto*.

	RGB (Skin)	RGB (Hair)	RGB (Eyes)
MALE_8	170-108-87	33-34-43	55-46-48
FEMALE_7	206-134-109	16-22-25	66-51-50
MALE_7	181-108-89	18-19-23	55-24-23
FEMALE_8	192-126-104	65-34-35	60-43-36

Prieto is a category characterized by very dark skin, coarse hair, and ordinary features. As a physical descriptor, *prieto* is also a relatively narrow category.

l. Summary

This section has explored how participants conceptualize the physical parameters of the categories *rubio, blanco, pelirrojo, colorao, jabao, trigueño, indio, mulato, moreno, negro,* and *prieto*. The section has analyzed how participants pair these terms with physical representations. *Matiz racial* reveals the internal complexity of broad terms such as *blanco, indio*, and *negro*; and the physical representation helps to communicate this meaning across cultural lines. The pairing of terms and physical representations additionally reveals the ways in which categories overlap. Based on descriptions given by participants, there is

demonstrated overlap across the following categories:

Table 88. *Matiz Racial* Category Overlap (Survey 1)

blanco	*jabao*		
blanco	*trigueño*		
colorao	*trigueño*	*mulato*	
colorao	*jabao*	*trigueño*	*mulato*
negro	*prieto*		
rubio	*jabao*		
pelirrojo	*colorao*	*jabao*	
trigueño	*indio*	*mulato*	

This overlap data by image appears in Table 89.

Table 89. *Matiz Racial* Category Overlap (Survey 1)

	rubio	*blanco*	*pelirroj.*	*colorao*	*jabao*	*trigueño*	*indio*	*mulato*	*moreno*	*negro*	*prieto*
F1	X				X						
F2		X				X					
F3			X	X	X						
F4				X		X		X			
F5						X	X	X			
F6		X			X						
F7									X		
F8									X		
M1	X										
M2		X									
M3				X	X	X		X			
M4						X	X	X			
M5						X	X	X			
M6						X	X	X			
M7									X		
M8										X	X

3. Matiz Racial Results by Category: Experiment 2

   In Santo Domingo and in Dajabón, 64 participants completed a Physical Description Task.

For this task, participants looked at 48 images and described the *matiz racial* ('racial

shade/nuance') of the person in the photo. Participants were instructed to describe the *matiz*

racial of the person in each photo using one of the words appearing in a box on the page

(*blanco/a, colorao/a, indio/a, jabao/a, moreno/a, mulato/a, negro/a, pelirrojo/a, prieto/a,*

rubio/a, trigueño/a) or another adequate word. Table 89 contains the frequency data for

each term. Forms of *indio* are the most frequent and represent 28.87 percent of total

responses. Forms of *blanco* and *moreno* are also frequent and represent 19.89 percent and

12.57 percent of responses, respectively. *Mulato* (7.58%), *jabao* (5.53%), and *negro* (4.0%)

represent intermediate frequency. Less frequent terms include *rubio* (3.74%), *colorao*

(3.68%), *trigueño* (3.32%), *pelirrojo* (2.18%), and *prieto* (1.07%).

Table 90. Frequency Data *Matiz Racial* Task (Survey 2)

Term	#	%
indio	887	28.87%
blanco	611	19.89%
moreno	386	12.57%
mulato	233	7.58%
jabao	170	5.53%
negro	123	4.0%
rubio	115	3.74%
colorao	113	3.68%
trigueño	102	3.32%
pelirrojo	67	2.18%
prieto	33	1.07%
Other	208	6.77%
None	24	0.78%
	3072	100%

This section explores how participants conceptualize the physical parameters of the

categories *rubio, blanco, pelirrojo, colorao, jabao, trigueño, indio, mulato, moreno, negro,*

and *prieto*. Because the number of images in this task is substantially larger than for the first

task, and many of the images have similar physical descriptions, I did not propose

hypothetical prototypes for each category for Experiment 2, but rather I sought to explore

the range of physical profiles that participants associated with each term.

a. rubio

Forms of *rubio* represent 3.74 percent of overall responses, and *rubio* is overrepresented

in the responses for MALE_10 (45.31%), FEMALE_1 (40.63%), and MALE_1 (25.0%).

Additional images that participants identify as *rubio* with increased frequency include

FEMALE_6 (9.38%), FEMALE_9 (7.81%), FEMALE_12 (7.81%), MALE_11 (6.25%),
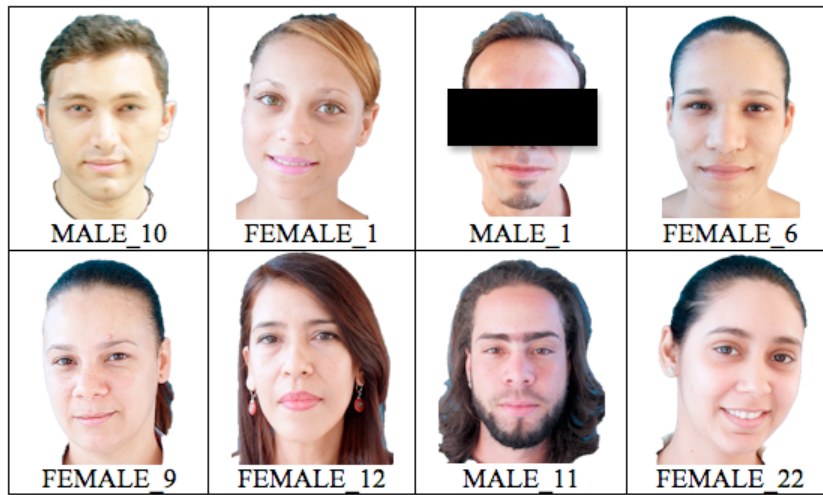
and FEMALE_22 (6.25%).

Figure 53: Images Described as *Rubio* (Survey 2)

b. blanco

Forms of *blanco* represent 19.89 percent of overall responses, and *blanco* is

overrepresented in the responses for FEMALE_12 (57.81%), MALE_2 (56.25%),

MALE_14 (56.25%), FEMALE_22 (54.69%), FEMALE_13 (51.56%), and FEMALE_19

(51.56%). Additional images that participants identify as *blanco* with increased frequency

include MALE_17 (42.19%), FEMALE_2 (39.06%), MALE_1 (39.06%), FEMALE_9

(39.06%), MALE_19 (37.5%), MALE_22 (35.94%), FEMALE_6 (32.81%), and

FEMALE_18 (32.81%). Images that participants identify as *blanco* with higher than

expected frequency include MALE_11 (29.69%), MALE_10 (28.13%), MALE_4 (26.56%),
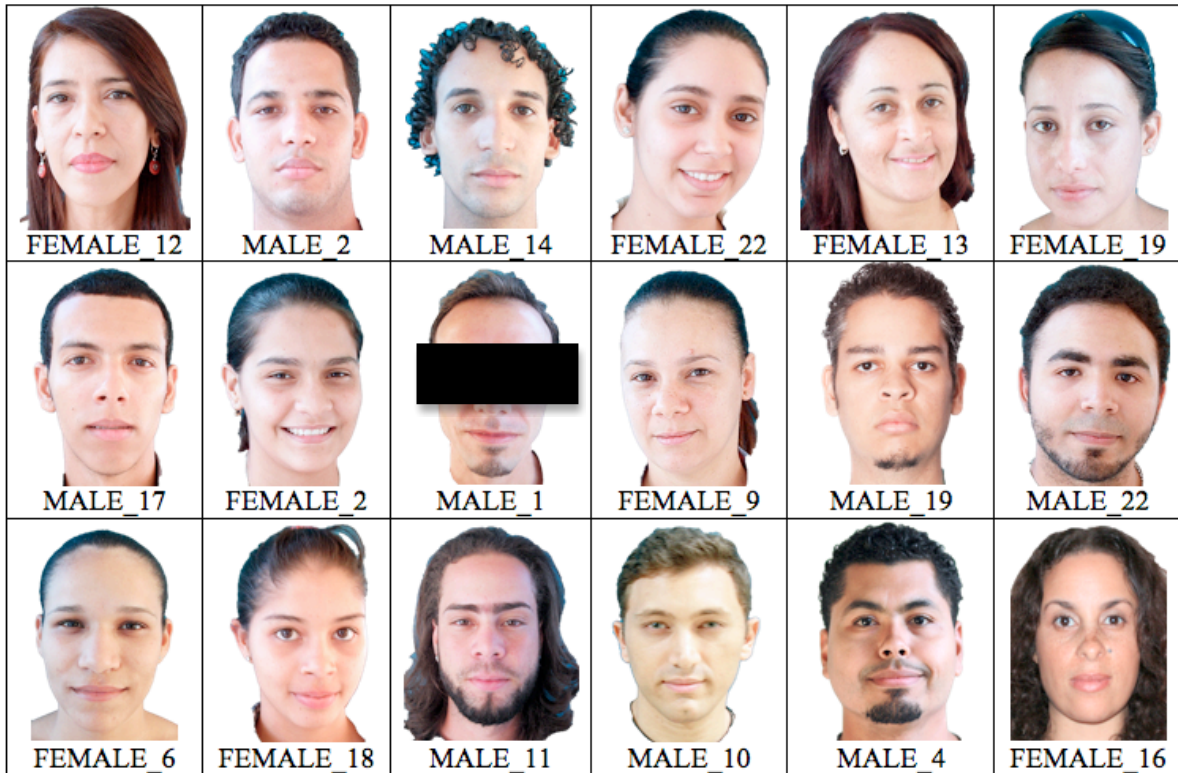
and FEMALE_16 (26.56%).

Figure 54: Images Described as *Blanco* (Survey 2)

c. pelirrojo

Forms of *pelirrojo* represent 2.18 percent of overall responses, and *pelirrojo* is overrepresented in the responses for FEMALE_3 (28.13%). Images that participants identify at slightly above the expected frequency include FEMALE_21 (6.25%), FEMALE_12 (4.69%), FEMALE_16 (4.69%), MALE_11 (4.69%), and MALE_17 (4.69%).

Figure 55: Images Described as *Pelirrojo* (Survey 2)

d. colorao

Forms of *colorao* represent 3.68 percent of overall responses, and *colorao* is overrepresented in the responses for MALE_3 (20.31%), MALE_11 (18.75%), and FEMALE_4 (17.19%). Participants additionally describe the following images as *colorao* with increased frequency: FEMALE_21 (14.06%), MALE_1 (12.5%), and MALE_14 (12.5%). Participants also describe the following five images as *colorao* with higher than expected frequency: FEMALE_16 (7.81%), FEMALE_9 (6.25%), FEMALE_18 (6.25%), FEMALE_25 (6.25%), and MALE_17 (6.25%).
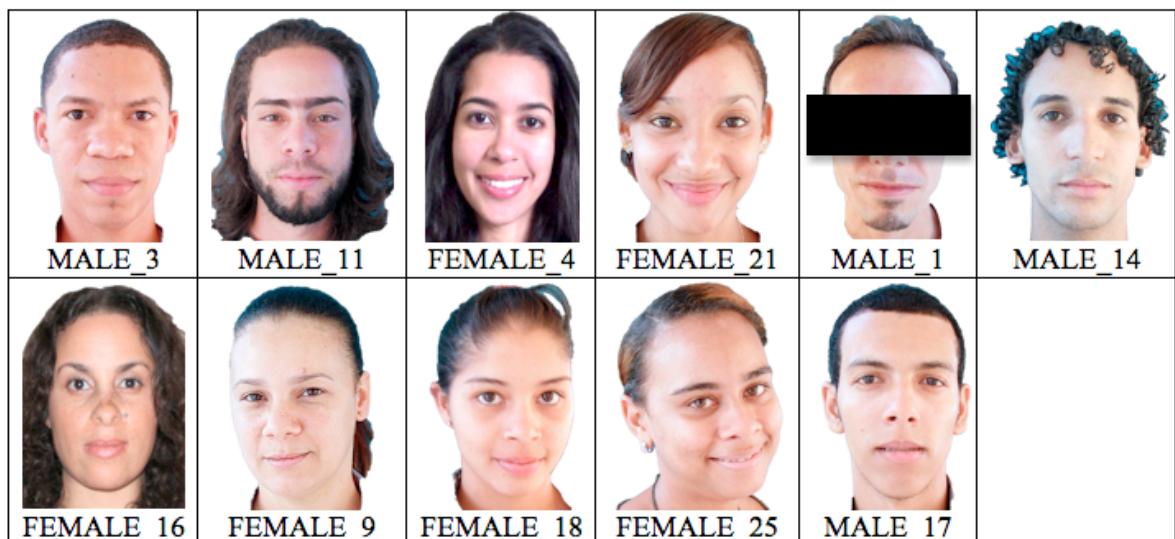
Figure 56: Images Described as *Colorao* (Survey 2)

e. jabao

Forms of *jabao* represent 5.53 percent of overall responses, and *jabao* is overrepresented in the responses for FEMALE_9 (23.44%), FEMALE_13 (18.75%), MALE_12 (17.19%), and FEMALE_11 (15.63%). Participants additionally identify the following images as *jabao* with increased frequency: FEMALE_3 (12.5%), FEMALE_19 (12.5%), FEMALE_6 (10.94%), FEMALE_16 (10.94%), and MALE_17 (10.94%). Participants also identify the

following images as *jabao* with higher than expected frequency: FEMALE_1 (9.38%), MALE_6 (9.38%), MALE_3 (7.81%), MALE_9 (7.81%), MALE_10 (7.81%), FEMALE_22 (7.81%), and FEMALE_25 (7.81%).
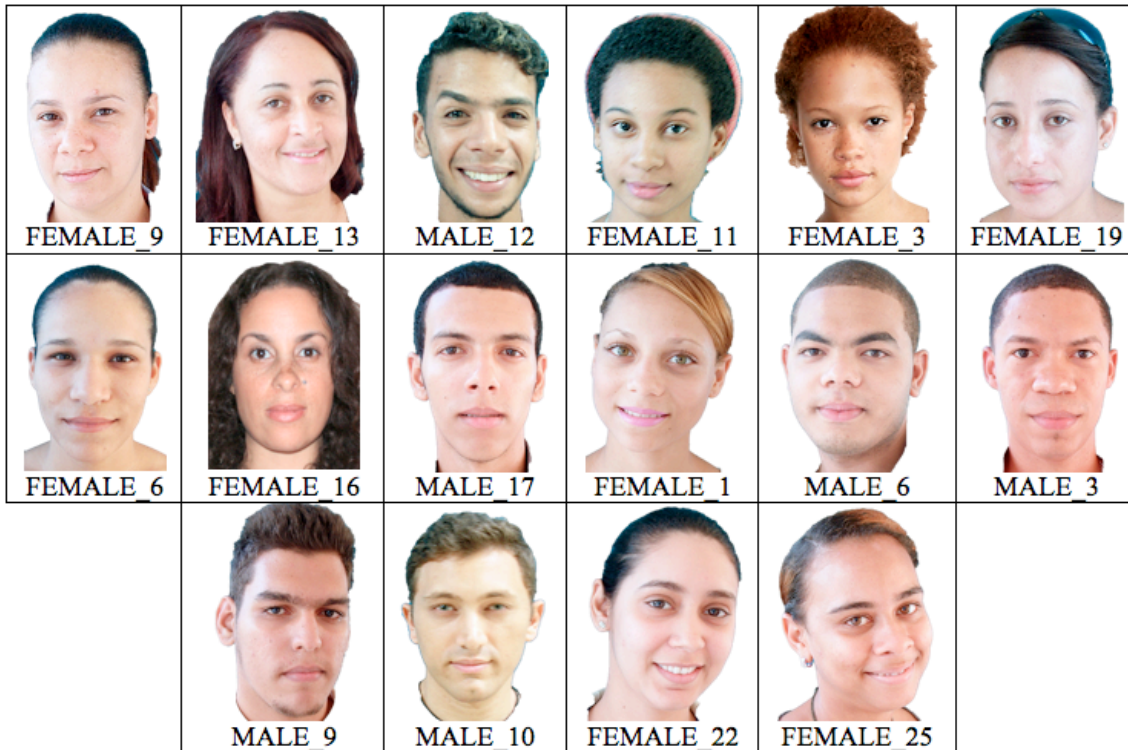
Figure 57: Images Described as *Jabao* (Survey 2)

f. **trigueño**

Forms of *trigueño* represent 3.32 percent of overall responses, and *trigueño* is overrepresented in the responses for FEMALE_11 (9.38%), FEMALE_23 (9.38%), MALE_6 (7.81%), FEMALE_24 (7.81%), and MALE_22 (7.81%). Participants additionally identify the following images as *trigueño* with higher than expected frequency: FEMALE_5 (6.25%), FEMALE_20 (6.25%), and MALE_20 (6.25%).

Figure 58: Images Described as *Trigueño* (Survey 2)

g. indio

Forms of *indio* represent 28.74 percent of overall responses, and *indio* is overrepresented in the responses for FEMALE_20 (56.25%), MALE_5 (54.69%), MALE_9 (53.13%), and FEMALE_25 (53.13%). Participants additionally identify the following images as *indio* with higher than expected frequency: MALE_18 (48.44%), FEMALE_5 (45.31%), FEMALE_24 (45.31%), FEMALE_10 (42.19%), FEMALE_23 (42.19%), MALE_19 (42.19%), and MALE_6 (40.63%). Participants also identify the following images as *indio* with higher than expected frequency: FEMALE_7 (39.06%), MALE_4 (39.06%), MALE_16 (35.94%), FEMALE_21 (35.94%), MALE_21 (35.94%), FEMALE_17 (34.38%), and MALE_20 (34.38%).
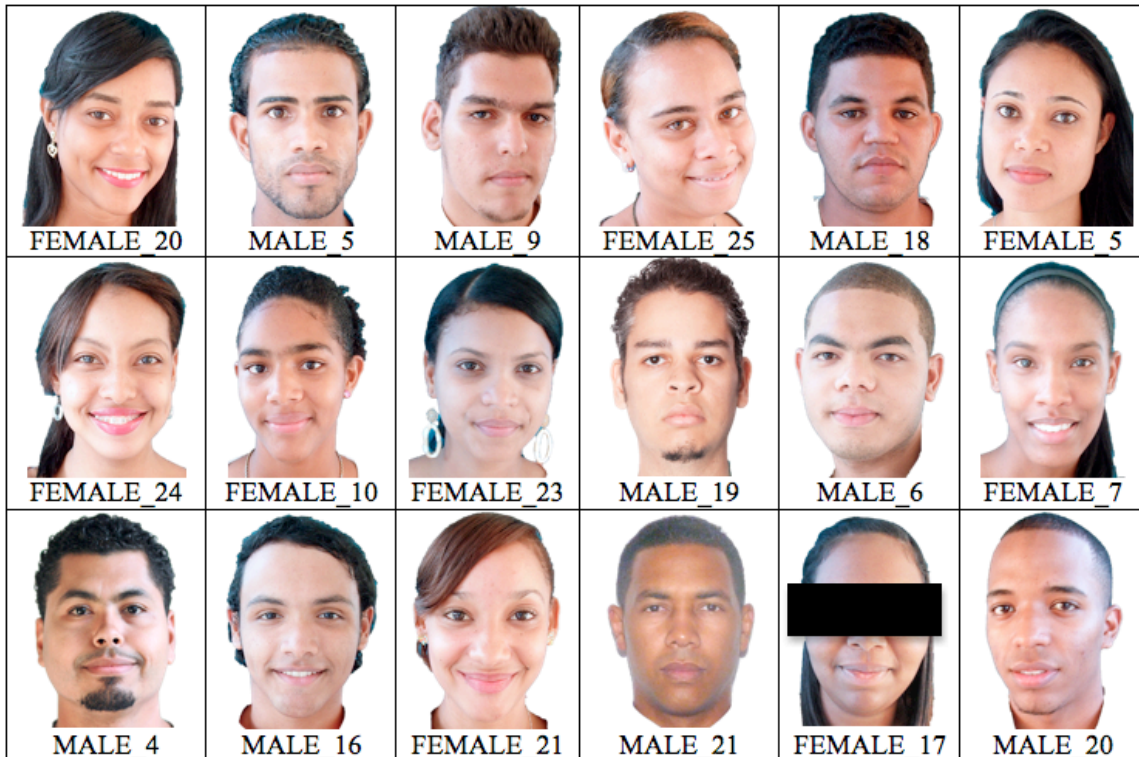
Figure 59: Images Described as *Indio* (Survey 2)

h. mulato

Forms of *mulato* represent 7.58 percent of overall responses, and *mulato* is overrepresented in the responses for FEMALE_23 (20.31%), MALE_15 (17.19%), FEMALE_14 (15.63%), FEMALE_17 (15.63%), and MALE_21 (15.63%). Participants additionally identify the following images as *mulato* with higher than expected frequency: FEMALE_3 (14.06%), FEMALE_8 (12.5%), MALE_7 (12.5%), FEMALE_11 (10.94%), MALE_12 (10.94%), FEMALE_4 (9.38%), FEMALE_7 (9.38%), MALE_5 (9.38%), and FEMALE_15 (9.38%).
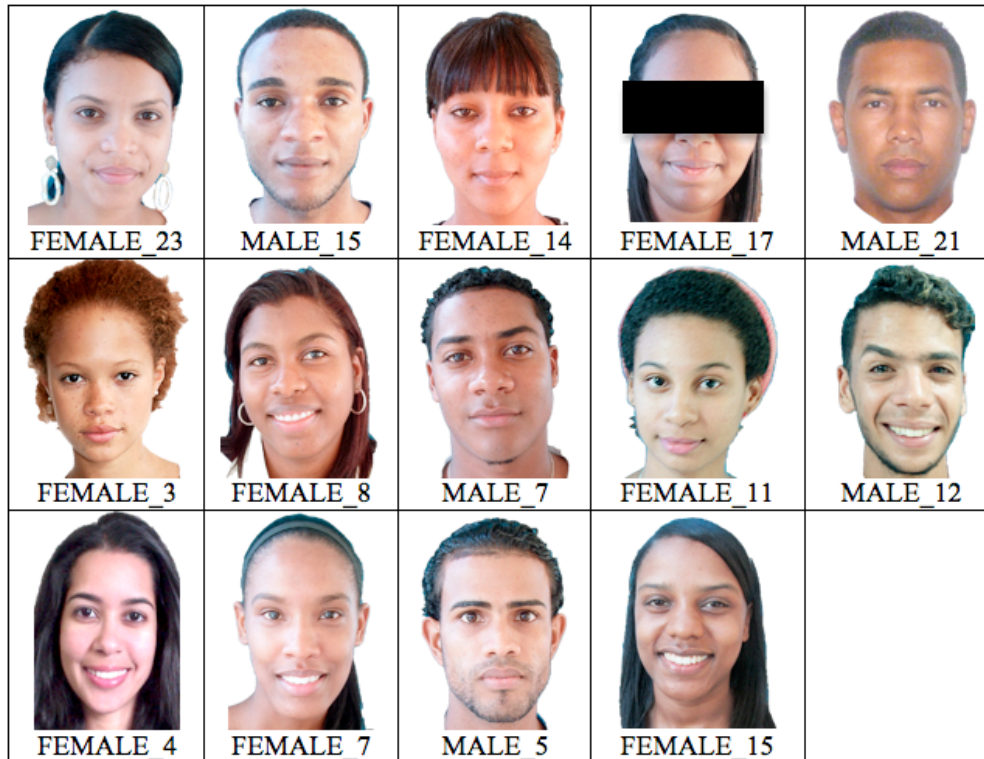
Figure 60: Images Described as *Mulato* (Survey 2)

i. moreno

Forms of *moreno* represent 12.57 percent of overall responses, and *moreno* is overrepresented in the responses for FEMALE_15 (53.13%), MALE_13 (50.0%), FEMALE_8 (46.88%), and MALE_7 (43.75%). Participants additionally identify the following images as *moreno* with higher than expected frequency: FEMALE_10 (40.63%), MALE_15 (35.94%), MALE_21 (35.94%), MALE_8 (35.94%), FEMALE_17 (35.94%), MALE_20 (35.94%), and FEMALE_7 (29.69%).
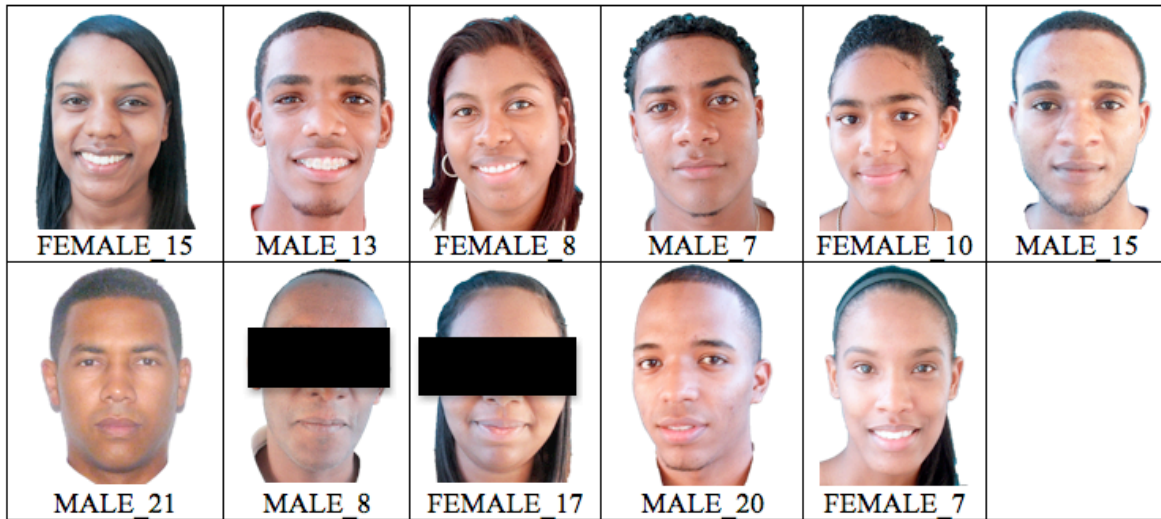
Figure 61: Images Described as *Moreno* (Survey 2)

j. negro

Forms of *negro* represent 4.00 percent of overall responses, and *negro* is

overrepresented in the responses for MALE_23 (51.56%) and MALE_8 (31.25%).

Participants additionally identify the following images as *negro* with higher than expected

frequency: FEMALE_15 (15.63%) and FEMALE_8 (10.94%).

Figure 62: Images Described as *Negro* (Survey 2)

k. prieto

Forms of *prieto* represent 1.07 percent of overall responses, and *prieto* is

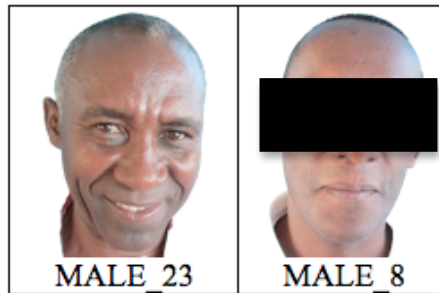overrepresented in the responses for MALE_23 (26.56%) and MALE_8 (14.06%).

Figure 63: Images Described as *Prieto* (Survey 2)

l. Summary

This section has explored the range of images that participants in Santo Domingo and Dajabón associate with the categories *rubio, blanco, pelirrojo, colorao, jabao, trigueño, indio, mulato, moreno, negro,* and *prieto*. This additional physical representation of meaning for each category moves beyond prototypes and demonstrates the family relationships within each category. The images additionally help to communicate the meaning across cultural lines. The pairing of terms and physical representations also reveals the ways in which categories overlap. Based on descriptions given by participants, there is demonstrated overlap across the following categories:

Table 91. *Matiz Racial* Category Overlap (Survey 2)

blanco	colorao		
blanco	indio		
blanco	jabao		
blanco	trigueño		
blanco	jabao	rubio	
blanco	pelirrojo	rubio	
blanco	colorao	jabao	pelirrojo
blanco	colorao	jabao	rubio
blanco	colorao	pelirrojo	rubio
colorao	jabao		
colorao	mulato		
colorao	indio	jabao	
colorao	indio	pelirrojo	
indio	jabao		
indio	moreno		

indio	*mulato*	
indio	*trigueño*	
indio	*jabao*	*trigueño*
indio	*moreno*	*mulato*
indio	*moreno*	*trigueño*
indio	*mulato*	*trigueño*
pelirrojo	*jabao*	*mulato*
jabao	*mulato*	
jabao	*rubio*	
jabao	*mulato*	*trigueño*
mulato	*moreno*	
moreno	*mulato*	*negro*
moreno	*negro*	*prieto*
negro	*prieto*	

This overlap data by image appears in Table 92.

Table 92. *Matiz Racial* Category Overlap (Survey 2)

	rubio	*blanco*	*pelirroj.*	*colorao*	*jabao*	*trigueño*	*indio*	*mulato*	*moreno*	*negro*	*prieto*
F1	X				X						
F2		X									
F3			X		X			X			
F4				X				X			
F5						X	X				
F6	X	X			X						
F7							X	X	X		
F8								X	X	X	
F9	X	X		X	X						
F10							X		X		
F11					X	X		X			
F12	X	X	X								
F13		X			X						
F14								X			
F15								X	X	X	
F16		X	X	X	X						
F17							X	X	X		
F18		X		X							
F19		X			X						
F20						X	X				
F21			X	X				X			
F22	X	X			X						
F23						X	X	X			
F24						X	X				
F25				X	X		X				
M1		X		X							
M2		X									
M3				X	X						
M4		X					X				
M5							X	X			

	rubio	blanco	pelirroj.	colorao	jabao	trigueño	indio	mulato	moreno	negro	prieto
M6					X	X	X				
M7								X	X		
M8									X	X	X
M9					X		X				
M10	X	X			X						
M11	X	X	X	X							
M12					X			X			
M13									X		
M14		X		X							
M15								X	X		
M16							X				
M17		X	X	X	X						
M18							X				
M19		X					X				
M20						X	X		X		
M21							X	X	X		
M22		X				X					
M23										X	X

D. Matiz Racial and Social Perceptions

In addition to the physical information encoded in racial terms in the Dominican Republic, this study investigates the social perceptions that accompany each term. Zahn and Hopper (1985) describe three broad categories for evaluating social attitudes: superiority, attractiveness, and dynamism. Within each of the three categories, factors index characteristics such as intelligence, physical attractiveness, aggressiveness, and sureness of self. To explore how these perceptions might relate to physical appearance, I developed a photo description task that instructed participants to describe the social characteristics and physical appearance of individuals in 16 images.

For the survey instrument, I selected 13 factors that index superiority, attractiveness, dynamism and one additional characteristic: (Superiority) intelligence, education, wealth; (Attractiveness) physical attractiveness, goodness, kindness, honesty; (Dynamism) talkativeness, aggressiveness, sureness of self, work ethic, sense of humor; (Other) strength. Each factor consists of two poles, and, in consultation with a local informant, I translated the

factors and their poles to Spanish.

Table 93. Factors Evaluated in the Social Characteristics Task

	Factor	Poles	
Superiority	Intelligence	*Inteligente*	*Bruto*
	Education	*Educado*	*Ignorante*
	Wealth	*Rico*	*Pobre*
Attractiveness	Physical Attractiveness	*Atractivo*	*Feo*
	Goodness	*Bueno*	*Malo*
	Kindness	*Amable*	*No amable*
	Honesty	*Honesto*	*Deshonesto*
Dynamism	Talkativeness	*Hablador*	*Callado*
	Aggressiveness	*Pasivo*	*Agresivo*
	Sureness of Self	*Seguro*	*Inseguro*
	Work Ethic	*Trabajador*	*Vago*
	Sense of Humor	*Divertido*	*Aburrido*
Other	Strength	*Fuerte*	*Débil*

For each image, participants evaluated the 13 social characteristics on a five-point semantic differential scale (Friborg, et al. 2006). That is, with the two poles of each factor set as extremes, participants evaluated social perceptions along a continuum.

Figure 64: Semantic Differential Scale for Social Characteristics Chart

The five dots that appear between the factor poles represent the range of possible evaluations for a given factor. As an example, consider the factor 'Education' and its poles *educado* and *ignorante*. Beginning on the left, the first dot represents *muy educado* ('very educated'); the second represents *más educado que ignorante* ('more educated than ignorant'); the third *ni educado ni ignorante* ('neither educated nor ignorant'); the fourth *más ignorante que educado* ('more ignorant than educated'), and the fifth *muy ignorante* ('very ignorant'). The instructions for the task and the meaning for each dot appear on the

first page of the survey instrument.

The following sections explore how the social perceptions data interact with the terms: *rubio, blanco, pelirrojo, colorao, jabao, trigueño, indio, mulato, moreno, negro,* and *prieto*.

1. Overall

A heat map diagram helps to illustrate the relationship among racial terms and social characteristics, overall (Figure 65 below). The dendrogram on the left side of the image clusters racial terms based on the similarity of the behavior of their rated social characteristics. At the first level, the diagram shows relationships between *negro* and *mulato*, between *jabao* and *colorao*, and between *prieto* and *rubio*. For *negro* and *mulato*, this similarity is most readily noted in higher than average evaluations of work ethic, in lower than average evaluations of wealth, and in average evaluations of aggressiveness. For *jabao* and *colorao*, similarity is noted in higher than average evaluations of sense of humor, lower than average evaluations of wealth, average evaluations of strength, higher than average evaluations of honesty, average evaluations of talkativeness, and lower than average evaluations of goodness. Although *prieto* and *rubio* seem like an unlikely pairing, the ratings for the two categories show similarity for sense of humor, work ethic, wealth, attractiveness, intelligence, and sureness of self. At the second level, *negro* and *mulato* are paired with *jabao* and *colorao*; and *moreno* is paired with *blanco*. At the third level, *moreno* and *blanco* are joined to *indio*; and *pelirrojo* joins *negro, mulato, jabao* and *colorao.* At the fourth level, *prieto* and *rubio* join *indio, blanco,* and *moreno.* At the fifth level, *negro, mulato, colorao, jabao,* and *pelirrojo* join *prieto, rubio, indio, blanco,* and *moreno. Trigueño* is the last term to join the others, and this is indicative of the unique behavior of ratings for this category.

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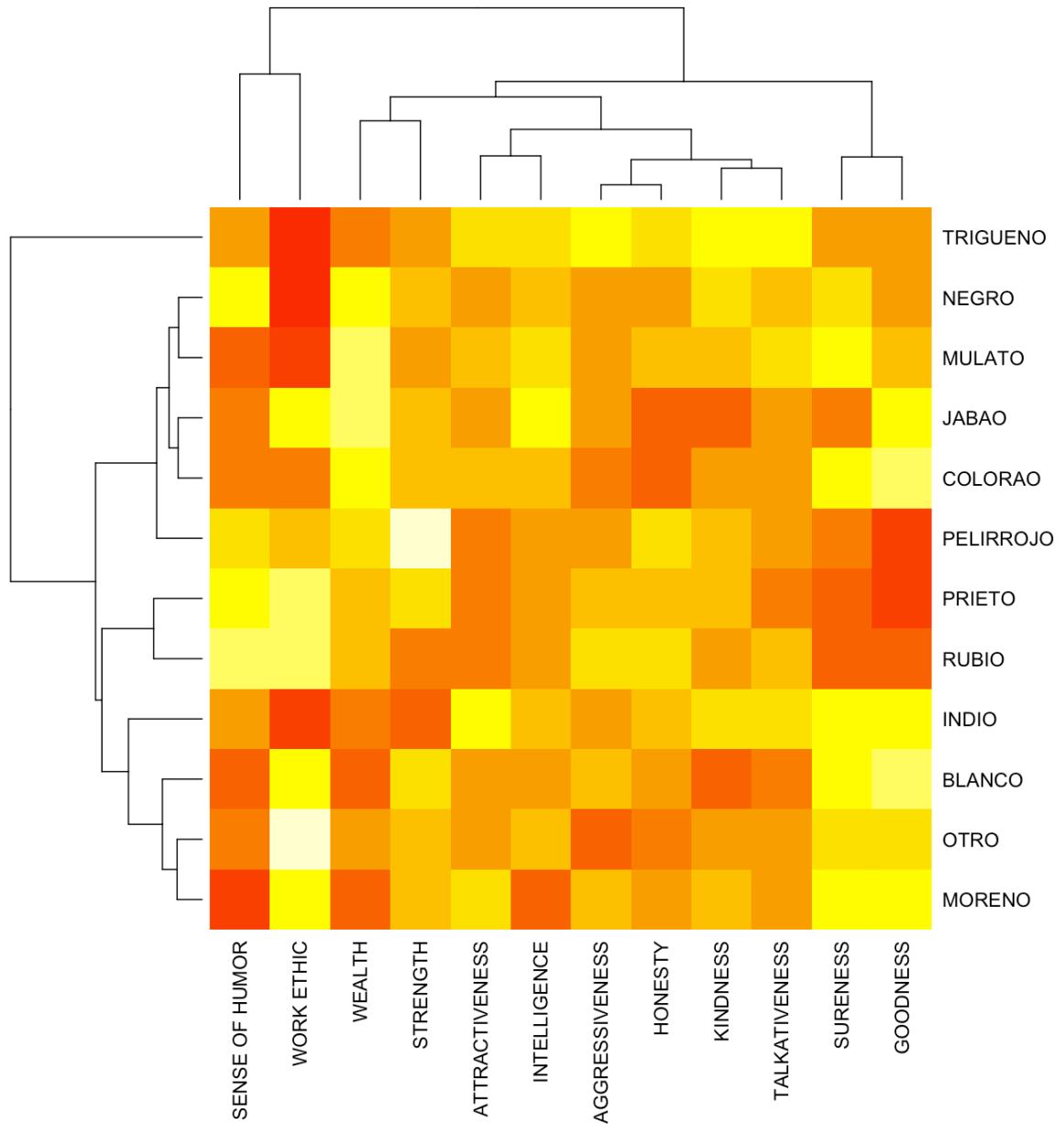
Figure 65: Heat Map Diagram - Racial Terms and Social Characteristics

The dendrogram at the top of the image clusters social characteristics based on the similarity of the behavior of their ratings. This clustering shows relationships between the ratings for aggressiveness and honesty, kindness and talkativeness, attractiveness and

intelligence, sureness of self and goodness, wealth and strength, and sense of humor and work ethic.

The following sections discuss participant evaluations of the broad categories of superiority, attractiveness, and dynamism and how they relate to the study's focal racial terms.

2. Superiority

To evaluate participant perceptions of superiority, this section analyzes data from three factors: intelligence, education, and wealth.

a. *Intelligence*

Overall, participant evaluations of intelligence skew toward *inteligente*. Across all categories, participants describe images according to the following frequencies: *muy inteligente* (26.4%), *más inteligente que bruto* (29.52%), *ni inteligente ni bruto* (26.52%), *más bruto que inteligente* (9.34%), and *muy bruto* (5.13%).
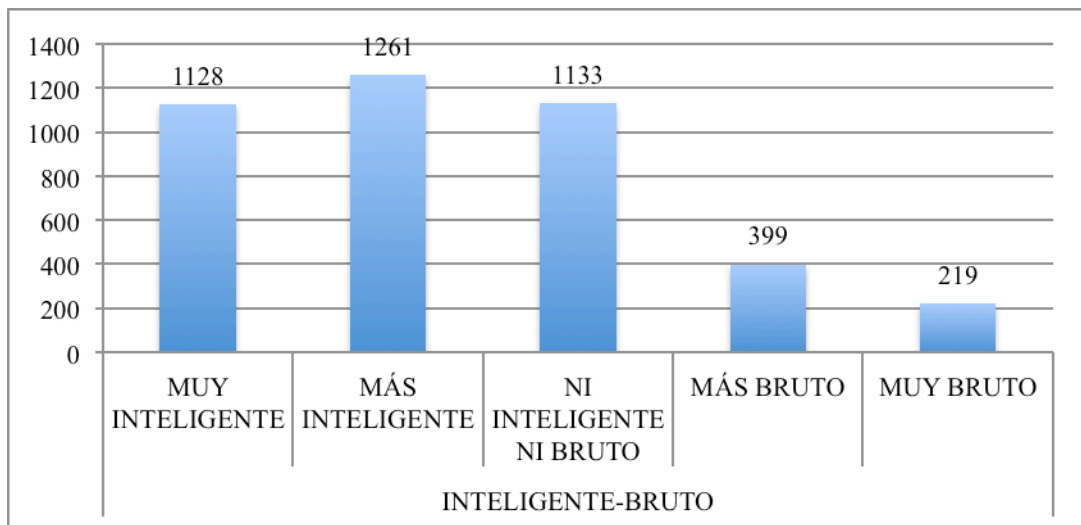
Figure 66: Distribution of Factor INTELIGENTE-BRUTO

When the response data are divided by racial term, several patterns emerge. While all categories are more likely to be rated as intelligent than as brutish, responses vary from the

expected frequency under several circumstances. For example, although the response '*muy inteligente*' represents 26.4 percent of responses overall, the frequency of this description is higher than expected for the categories *blanco* (31.1%) and *colorao* (31.2%). Likewise, *más inteligente que bruto* comprises 29.52 percent of overall responses, and this description is overrepresented for the categories of *trigueño* (34.3%), *indio* (33.2%), and *moreno* (33.1%). For the neutral category *ni inteligente ni bruto*, nearly all categories share higher than expected frequencies, with the exception of *blanco, indio, moreno*, and *pelirrojo*. The category *más bruto que inteligente* corresponds to 9.34 percent of overall responses, and this description is substantially overrepresented for the category *prieto* (18.4%) and less dramatically so for the categories *pelirrojo* (11.5%), *negro* (11.4%), *jabao* (11.0%), and *mulato* (10.5%). The category *muy bruto* corresponds to 5.13 percent of overall responses, and the description is overrepresented most substantially for the category *negro* (8.1%) and also for the categories *mulato* (6.9%), *rubio* (6.3%), and *blanco* (6.2%).

Table 94. Cross-Tabulation: Intelligence, *Matiz Racial*

	Muy Inteligente	Mas Inteligente	Ni Inteligente Ni Bruto	Mas Bruto	Muy Bruto	None	
Blanco/a	**272 (31.1%)**	232 (26.5%)	206 (23.5%)	82 (9.4%)	54 (6.2%)	30	876
Colorao/a	**48 (31.2%)**	34 (22.1%)	**50 (32.5%)**	12 (7.8%)	6 (3.9%)	4	154
Indio/a	231 (27.4%)	**280 (33.2%)**	202 (23.9%)	68 (8.1%)	39 (4.6%)	24	844
Jabao/a	55 (18.4%)	80 (26.8%)	**104 (34.8%)**	33 (11.0%)	7 (2.3%)	20	299
Moreno/a	176 (26.4%)	**221 (33.1%)**	161 (24.1%)	56 (8.4%)	32 (4.8%)	21	667
Mulato/a	79 (21.8%)	105 (28.9%)	**107 (29.5%)**	38 (10.5%)	25 (6.9%)	9	363
Negro/a	63 (23.3%)	69 (25.5%)	**80 (29.5%)**	31 (11.4%)	**22 (8.1%)**	6	271
Pelirrojo/a	26 (27.1%)	26 (27.1%)	25 (26.0%)	11 (11.5%)	3 (3.1%)	5	96
Prieto/a	13 (11.9%)	30 (27.5%)	**38 (34.9%)**	**20 (18.4%)**	5 (4.6%)	3	109
Rubio/a	64 (23.6%)	83 (30.6%)	**78 (28.8%)**	24 (8.9%)	17 (6.3%)	5	271
Trigueño/a	72 (25.9%)	**95 (34.3%)**	**76 (27.4%)**	24 (8.7%)	6 (2.2%)	4	277
OTHER	29 (65.9%)	6 (13.6%)	6 (13.6%)	0	2 (4.6%)	1	44
BLANK					1		1
	1128	1261	1133	399	219	132	4272
	26.40%	29.52%	26.52%	9.34%	5.13%	3.09%	

b. Education

Overall, participant evaluations of education skew toward *educado*. It is important to note here that participants do not conceptualize the *educado-ignorante* distinction as one of formal education but rather as a description of manners and politeness. Across all categories, participants describe images according to the following frequencies: *muy educado* (28.32%), *más educado que ignorante* (29.99%), *ni educado ni ignorante* (21.44%), *más ignorante que educado* (10.7%), and *muy ignorante* (6.34%).
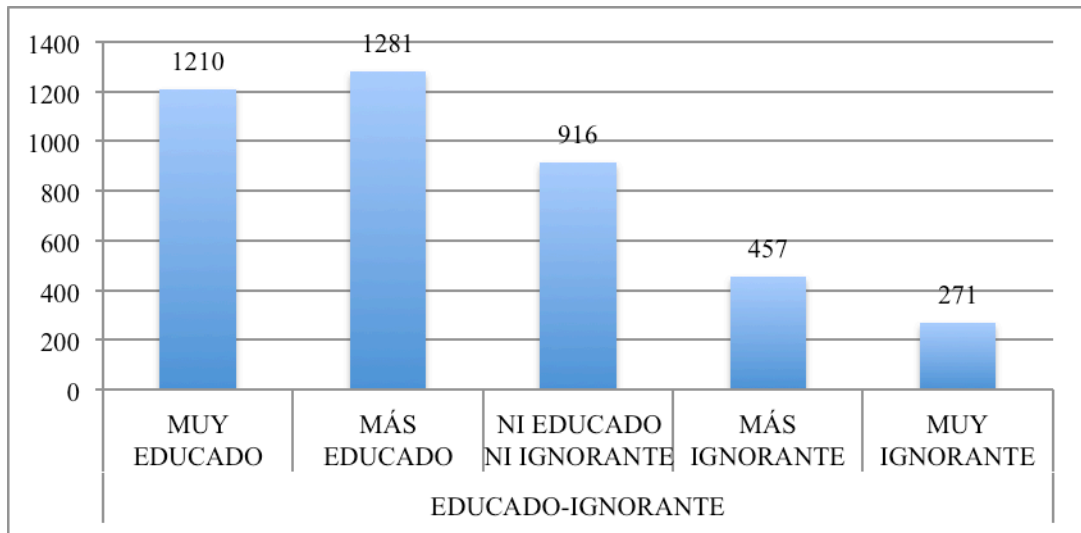
Figure 67: Distribution of Factor EDUCADO-IGNORANTE

While all categories are more likely to be described as educated than as ignorant, patterns emerge when the response data are divided by racial term. For example, although the description *muy educado* corresponds to 28.32 percent of overall responses, the frequency of this description is higher than expected for the categories *colorao* (33.8%), *blanco* (32.5%), and *indio* (31.0%). Likewise, although the description *más educado que ignorante* corresponds to 29.99 percent of overall responses, this description is overrepresented for the categories *trigueño* (35.7%), *moreno* (33.9%), *indio* (33.2%), and *prieto* (32.1%). As with *inteligente-bruto*, for the neutral category *ni educado ni ignorante*, nearly all categories share higher than expected frequencies, with the exception of *trigueño, blanco* and *indio*. The description *más ignorante que educado* corresponds to 10.70 percent of overall responses, and this description is overrepresented for the categories *jabao* (14.1%) and *rubio* (14.0%), and, to a lesser extent, for *prieto* (12.8%)*, pelirrojo* (12.5%), and *mulato* (12.1%). Finally, the description *muy ignorante* corresponds to 6.34 percent of overall responses, and this description is overrepresented for the categories *blanco* (7.9%)*, negro* (7.8%)*, pelirrojo* (7.3%), and *mulato* (7.2%).

Table 95. Cross-Tabulation: Education, *Matiz Racial*

	Muy Educado	Mas Educado	Ni Educado Ni Ignorante	Mas Ignorante	Muy Ignorante	None	
Blanco/a	**285 (32.5%)**	235 (26.8%)	166 (18.9%)	90 (10.3%)	**69 (7.9%)**	31	876
Colorao/a	**52 (33.8%)**	45 (29.2%)	35 (22.7%)	8 (5.2%)	10 (6.5%)	4	154
Indio/a	262 (31.0%)	**280 (33.2%)**	139 (16.5%)	91 (10.8%)	49 (5.8%)	21	844
Jabao/a	57 (19.1%)	75 (25.1%)	92 (30.8%)	**42 (14.1%)**	15 (5.0%)	**18**	299
Moreno/a	172 (25.8%)	**226 (33.9%)**	158 (23.7%)	54 (8.1%)	34 (5.1%)	23	667
Mulato/a	91 (25.1%)	103 (28.4%)	86 (23.7%)	44 (12.1%)	26 (7.2%)	13	363
Negro/a	76 (28.0%)	74 (27.3%)	61 (22.5%)	31 (11.4%)	**21 (7.8%)**	8	271
Pelirrojo/a	21 (21.9%)	26 (27.1%)	25 (26.0%)	12 (12.5%)	7 (7.3%)	**5**	96
Prieto/a	18 (16.5%)	35 (32.1%)	**34 (31.2%)**	14 (12.8%)	7 (6.4%)	1	109
Rubio/a	74 (27.3%)	76 (28.0%)	62 (22.9%)	**38 (14.0%)**	15 (5.5%)	6	271
Trigueño/a	76 (27.4%)	**99 (35.7%)**	53 (19.1%)	30 (10.8%)	13 (4.7%)	6	277
OTHER	26 (59.1%)	7 (15.9%)	5 (11.4%)	3 (6.8%)	2 (4.6%)	1	44
BLANK						1	1
	1210	1281	916	457	271	137	4272
	28.32%	29.99%	21.44%	10.70%	6.34%	3.21%	

c. Wealth

Overall, participant evaluations of wealth skew toward *pobre*. Across all categories, participants describe images according to the following frequencies: *muy rico* (8.17%), *más rico que pobre* (12.36%), *ni rico ni pobre* (39.44%), *más pobre que rico* (21.28%), and *muy pobre* (15.87%).
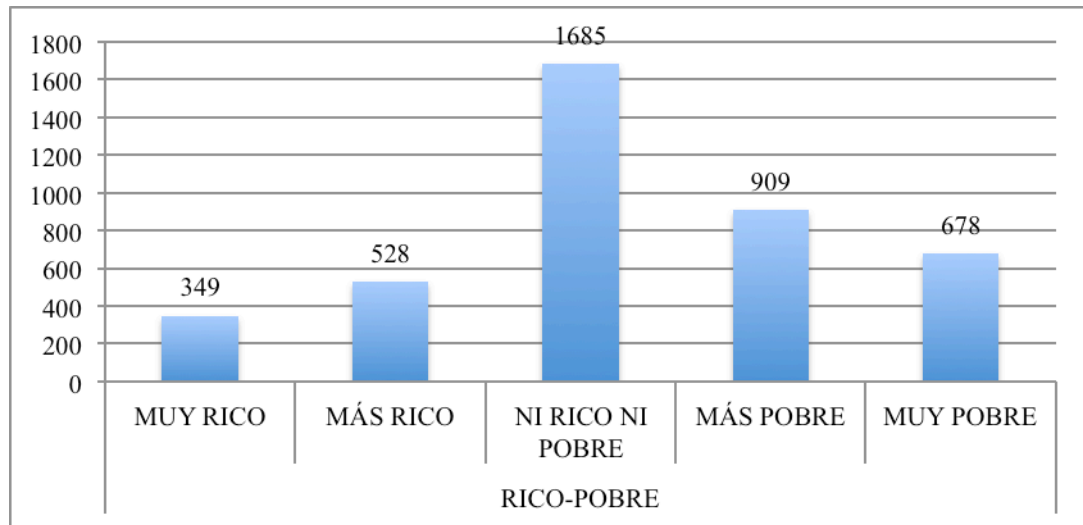
Figure 68: Distribution of RICO-POBRE

While all categories are more likely to be described as poor than as rich, patterns emerge

when the response data are divided by racial term. For example, although the description

muy rico corresponds to 8.17 percent of overall responses, the frequency of this description

is higher than expected for the category *blanco* (13.5%), and to a lesser extent *colorao*

(9.7%), and *rubio* (8.9%). Likewise, although the description *más rico que pobre*

corresponds to 12.36 percent overall responses, this description is overrepresented for the

categories *blanco* (15.9%), *trigueño* (15.9%), and *rubio* (15.9%). As with *inteligente-bruto*

and *educado-ignorante*, for the neutral description *ni rico ni pobre*, nearly all categories

share higher than expected frequencies, with the exception of *blanco, moreno, negro,* and

prieto. The description *más pobre que rico* corresponds to 21.28 percent of overall

responses, and this description is overrepresented for the categories *prieto* (28.4%) and

jabao (28.1%), and, to a lesser extent, for *mulato* (25.3%), *negro* (23.6%), *moreno* (22.9%),

and *pelirrojo* (22.9%). Finally, the description *muy pobre* corresponds to 15.87 percent of

overall responses, and this description is overrepresented for the categories *prieto* (28.4%)

and *negro* (23.6%).

Table 96. Cross-Tabulation: Wealth, *Matiz Racial*

	Muy Rico	Mas Rico	Ni Rico Ni Pobre	Mas Pobre	Muy Pobre	None	
Blanco/a	118 (13.5%)	140 (15.9%)	303 (34.6%)	153 (17.5%)	137 (15.6%)	25	876
Colorao/a	15 (9.7%)	22 (14.3%)	62 (40.3%)	31 (20.1%)	21 (13.6%)	3	154
Indio/a	64 (7.6%)	106 (12.6%)	353 (41.8%)	175 (20.7%)	125 (14.8%)	21	844
Jabao/a	17 (5.7%)	16 (5.4%)	133 (44.5%)	84 (28.1%)	30 (10.0%)	19	299
Moreno/a	41 (6.2%)	84 (12.6%)	257 (38.5%)	153 (22.9%)	114 (17.1%)	18	667
Mulato/a	16 (4.4%)	40 (11.0%)	151 (41.6%)	92 (25.3%)	50 (13.8%)	14	363
Negro/a	16 (5.9%)	14 (5.2%)	106 (39.1%)	64 (23.6%)	64 (23.6%)	7	271
Pelirrojo/a	5 (5.2%)	8 (8.3%)	42 (43.8%)	22 (22.9%)	16 (16.7%)	3	96
Prieto/a	5 (4.6%)	9 (8.3%)	31 (28.4%)	31 (28.4%)	31 (28.4%)	2	109
Rubio/a	24 (8.9%)	43 (15.9%)	111 (40.9%)	50 (18.5%)	37 (13.7%)	6	271
Trigueño/a	14 (5.1%)	44 (15.9%)	123 (44.4%)	45 (16.3%)	46 (16.6%)	5	277
OTRO	14 (31.8%)	2 (4.6%)	13 (29.5%)	8 (18.2%)	7 (15.9%)	0	44
BLANK				1			1
	349	528	1685	909	678	123	4272
	8.17%	12.36%	39.44%	21.28%	15.87%	2.88%	

For social characteristics relating to Superiority, overall participant responses skew toward intelligence, education, and poverty. The same is true when results are examined for individual racial terms. For a category like wealth, where all racial categories skew toward poverty, this result is particularly interesting. It suggests that participants are not automatically assuming, for example, that someone who is *blanco* will also be *rico*. For many scholars of the region, this may seem counterintuitive, but this result speaks to the utility of the present methodology. When contextual features such as clothing, vehicle, job, manner of speaking, etc. are removed (i.e., by only showing an individual's face), participants evaluate images belonging to different racial categories in similar ways. Furthermore, although, overall results follow the same trends across racial categories, relative frequency data within categories reveals that participants are in fact making subtle distinctions among racial categories. For example, for the factor 'Intelligence,' images

described as *colorao* and *trigueño* are overrepresented in the categories 'Very Intelligent'

and 'More Intelligent than Brutish,' respectively. Meanwhile, images described as *prieto* are

overrepresented in the category 'More Brutish than Intelligent,' and images described as

negro are overrepresented in the category 'Very Brutish.' For the factor 'Education,' images

described as *colorao* and *trigueño* are again overrepresented for the categories 'Very

Educated' and 'More Educated than Ignorant.' For this factor, however, images described as

blanco are overrepresented in the category 'Very Ignorant,' and images described as *jabao*

are overrepresented in the category 'More Ignorant than Educated.' Finally, for the factor

'Wealth,' images described as *blanco* are overrepresented in the categories 'Very Rich' and

'More Rich than Poor,' and images described as *prieto* are overrepresented in the categories

'Very Poor' and 'More Poor than Rich.' This result tracks expectations for the interaction of

racial categories with the factor of wealth.

Table 97. Terms With Highest Weighted Frequency by Factor (Superiority)

Muy Inteligente	Más Inteligente	Ni Inteligente Ni Bruto	Más Bruto	Muy Bruto
colorao	*trigueño*	*prieto*	*prieto*	*negro*
Muy Educado	Más Educado	Ni Educado Ni Ignorante	Más Ignorante	Muy Ignorante
colorao	*trigueño*	*prieto*	*jabao*	*blanco*
Muy Rico	Más Rico	Ni Rico Ni Pobre	Más Pobre	Muy Pobre
blanco	*blanco*	*jabao*	*prieto*	*prieto*

While participants do not specifically comment on their reasons for assigning a

particular rating and a particular racial term to each image, the survey results reiterate some

points reported during the interviews. First, interview participants comment on the use of

blanco as a marker of socioeconomic status as well as the underlying presumption that

someone who is *blanco* will have financial resources. This result is born out in the Social

Characteristics data. Although, overall, images described as *blanco* are more likely to be described as poor than as rich in these data, these images are also described as *rico* more frequently than other images. Second, interview participants describe the relationship between use of the term *prieto* and perceptions of brutishness. Interview responses do not, however, shed light on the distribution of *educado-ignorante* results: i.e., on why *blanco* is overrepresented in the category of 'Very Ignorant', and *colorao* in the category of 'Very Educated.' Additional interview data on the connection between racial terms and social perceptions would be instructive on this point.

3. Attractiveness

To evaluate participant perceptions of attractiveness, this section analyzes data from four factors: physical attractiveness, goodness, kindness, and honesty.

a. *Physical Attractiveness*

Overall, participant evaluations of physical attractiveness are nearly evenly divided between *atractivo* (36.17%) and *feo* (34.46%). Across all categories, participants describe images according to the following frequencies: *muy atractivo* (15.52%), *más atractivo que feo* (20.65%), *ni atractivo ni feo* (26.31%), *más feo que atractivo* (16.39%), and *muy feo* (18.07%).
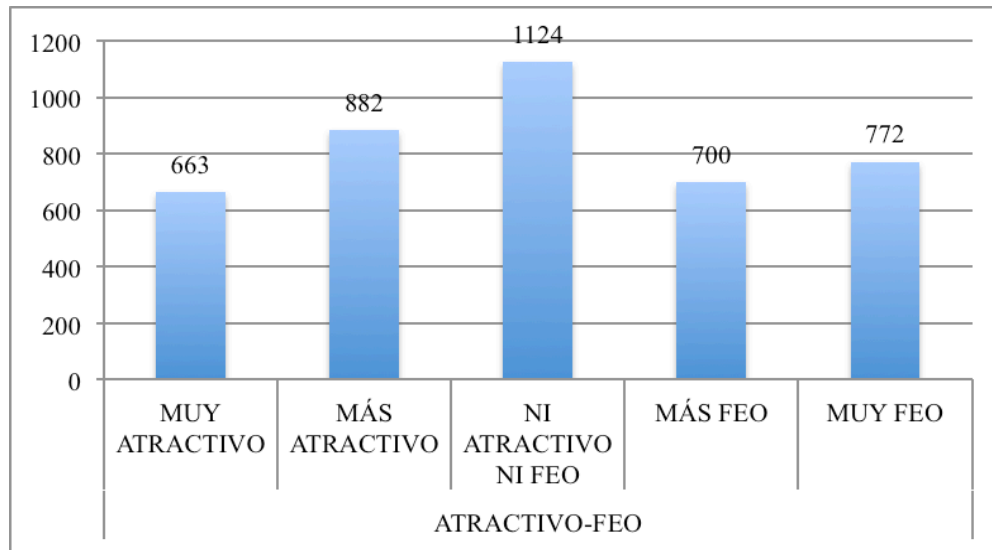
Figure 69: Distribution of ATRACTIVO-FEO

While all categories are nearly as likely to be described as attractive or unattractive, distinct patterns emerge when the response data are divided by racial term. For example, although the description *muy atractivo* corresponds to 15.52 percent of overall responses, the frequency of this description is higher than expected for the categories *blanco* (20.9%), *rubio* (19.2%), and *indio* (19.1%). Likewise, although the description *más atractivo que feo* corresponds to 20.65 percent of overall responses, this description is overrepresented for the categories *trigueño* (25.9%), *rubio* (23.3%), *colorao* (23.4%), and, to a lesser extent, *indio* (22.9%) and *moreno* (22.2%). For the category *ni atractivo ni feo*, the categories *pelirrojo, trigueño, moreno, jabao,* and *negro* are overrepresented, and the categories *indio, mulato, rubio, blanco, prieto*, and *colorao* are underrepresented. The description *más feo que atractivo* corresponds to 16.39 percent of overall responses, and this description is overrepresented for the categories *prieto* (24.8%) and *jabao* (24.1%), and, to a lesser extent, for *mulato* (18.5%) and *moreno* (18.1%). Finally, the description *muy feo* corresponds to 18.07 percent of overall responses, and this description is overrepresented for the categories

prieto (42.2%) and *negro* (32.8%) and, to a lesser extent, *colorao* (22.1%), *pelirrojo* (20.8%), and *mulato* (20.7%).

Table 98. Cross-Tabulation: Attractiveness, *Matiz Racial*

	Muy Atractivo	Mas Atractivo	Ni Atractivo Ni Feo	Mas Feo	Muy Feo	None	
Blanco/a	**183 (20.9%)**	176 (20.1%)	205 (23.4%)	143 (16.3%)	137 (15.6%)	32	876
Colorao/a	25 (16.2%)	36 (23.4%)	35 (22.7%)	22 (14.3%)	34 (22.1%)	2	154
Indio/a	161 (19.1%)	194 (22.9%)	221 (26.2%)	119 (14.1%)	127 (15.1%)	22	844
Jabao/a	27 (9.0%)	49 (16.4%)	84 (28.1%)	**72 (24.1%)**	51 (17.1%)	16	299
Moreno/a	75 (11.2%)	148 (22.2%)	201 (30.1%)	121 (18.1%)	103 (15.4%)	19	667
Mulato/a	46 (12.7%)	75 (20.7%)	88 (24.2%)	67 (18.5%)	75 (20.7%)	12	363
Negro/a	22 (8.1%)	35 (12.9%)	73 (26.9%)	45 (16.6%)	89 (32.8%)	7	271
Pelirrojo/a	7 (7.3%)	19 (19.8%)	**32 (33.3%)**	15 (15.6%)	20 (20.8%)	3	96
Prieto/a	3 (2.8%)	7 (6.4%)	25 (22.9%)	**27 (24.8%)**	**46 (42.2%)**	1	109
Rubio/a	52 (19.2%)	**63 (23.3%)**	64 (23.6%)	37 (13.7%)	49 (18.1%)	6	271
Trigueño/a	45 (16.3%)	72 (25.9%)	85 (30.7%)	31 (11.2%)	34 (12.3%)	10	277
OTRO	17 (38.6%)	7 (15.9%)	11 (25.0%)	1 (2.3%)	7 (15.9%)	1	44
BLANK		1					1
	663	882	1124	700	772	131	4272
	15.52%	20.65%	26.31%	16.39%	18.07%	3.07%	

b. Goodness

Overall, participant evaluations of goodness skew toward *bueno*. Across all categories, participants describe images according to the following frequencies: *muy bueno* (23.1%), *más bueno que malo* (29.12%), *ni bueno ni malo* (29.07%), *más malo que bueno* (10.07%), and *muy malo* (6.02%).

Figure 70: Distribution of BUENO-MALO

While all categories are more likely to be described as good, patterns emerge when the response data are divided by racial term. For example, although the description *muy bueno* corresponds to 23.10 percent of overall responses, the frequency of this description is higher than expected for the categories *indio* (27.0%), *blanco* (25.6%), *moreno* (25.5%), and *colorao* (24.7%). Likewise, although the description *más bueno que malo* corresponds to 29.12 percent of overall responses, this description is overrepresented for the categories *trigueño* (37.2%), and, to a lesser extent, *indio* (31.4%), *negro* (31.4%), and *mulato* (31.1%). For the description *ni bueno ni malo*, nearly all categories share higher than expected frequencies, with the exception of *moreno, blanco,* and *indio*. The description *más malo que bueno* corresponds to 10.07 percent of overall responses, and this description is overrepresented for the categories *rubio* (14.8%) and *colorao* (12.9%), and, to a lesser extent, for *mulato* (11.9%), *jabao* (11.7%), *blanco* (11.1%), and *prieto* (11.0%). Finally, the description *muy malo* corresponds to 6.02 percent of overall responses, and this description is overrepresented for the categories *blanco* (7.5%) and *rubio* (7.4%).

Table 99. Cross-Tabulation: Goodness, *Matiz Racial*

	Muy Bueno	Mas Bueno	Ni Bueno Ni Malo	Mas Malo	Muy Malo	None	
Blanco/a	224 (25.6%)	235 (26.8%)	231 (26.4%)	97 (11.1%)	66 (7.5%)	23 (2.6%)	876
Colorao/a	38 (24.7%)	40 (25.9%)	46 (29.9%)	20 (12.9%)	7 (4.6%)	3 (1.9%)	154
Indio/a	228 (27.0%)	265 (31.4%)	211 (25.0%)	73 (8.7%)	51 (6.0%)	16 (1.9%)	844
Jabao/a	47 (15.7%)	73 (24.4%)	114 (38.1%)	35 (11.7%)	11 (3.7%)	19 (6.4%)	299
Moreno/a	170 (25.5%)	196 (29.4%)	193 (28.9%)	54 (8.1%)	31 (4.7%)	23 (3.5%)	667
Mulato/a	62 (17.1%)	113 (31.1%)	110 (30.3%)	43 (11.9%)	24 (6.6%)	11 (3.0%)	363
Negro/a	58 (21.4%)	85 (31.4%)	85 (31.4%)	24 (8.9%)	18 (6.6%)	1 (0.4%)	271
Pelirrojo/a	15 (15.6%)	25 (26.0%)	39 (40.6%)	7 (7.3%)	6 (6.3%)	4 (4.2%)	96
Prieto/a	17 (15.6%)	31 (28.4%)	41 (37.6%)	12 (11.0%)	7 (6.4%)	1 (0.9%)	109
Rubio/a	52 (19.2%)	70 (25.8%)	83 (30.6%)	40 (14.8%)	20 (7.4%)	6 (2.2%)	271
Trigueño/a	51 (18.4%)	103 (37.2%)	82 (29.6%)	23 (8.3%)	13 (4.7%)	5 (1.8%)	277
OTHER	25 (56.8%)	8 (18.2%)	7 (15.9%)	1 (2.3%)	3 (6.8%)		44
BLANK				1			1
	987	1244	1242	430	257	112	4272
	23.10%	29.12%	29.07%	10.07%	6.02%	2.62%	

c. Kindness

Overall, participant evaluations of kindness skew toward *amable*. Across all categories, participants describe images according to the following frequencies: *muy amable* (27.72%), *más amable que no amable* (30.69%), *ni amable ni no amable* (20.27%), *más no amable que amable* (10.65%), and *muy pobre* (7.79%).
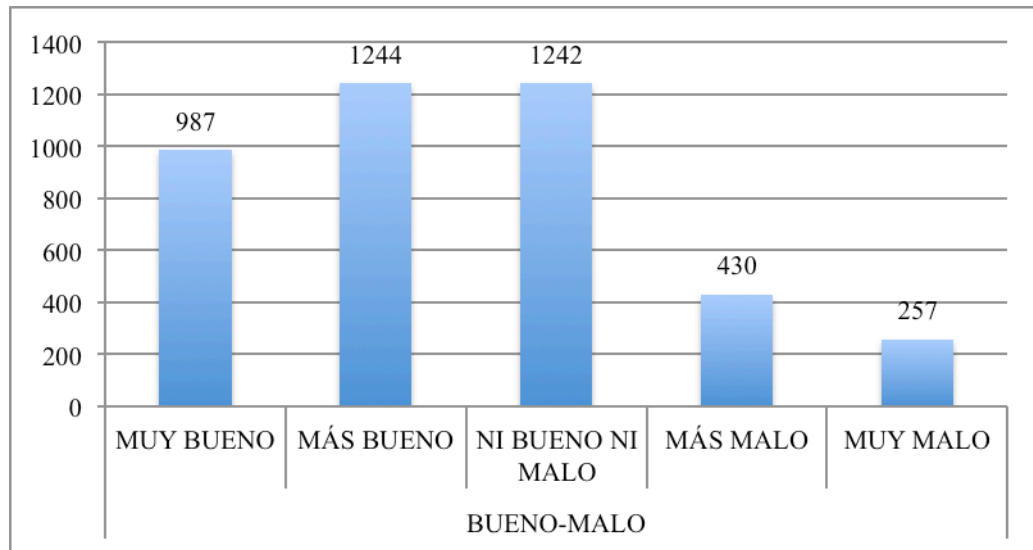
Figure 71: Distribution of AMABLE-NO AMABLE

While all categories are more likely to be described as kind, patterns emerge when the response data are divided by racial term. For example, although the description *muy amable* corresponds to 27.72 percent of overall responses, the frequency of this description is higher than expected for the categories *moreno* (29.9%), *blanco* (29.9%), *negro* (29.9%), *indio* (29.3%), and *colorao* (28.6%). Likewise, although the description *más amable que no amable* corresponds to 30.69 percent of overall responses, this description is overrepresented for the categories *moreno* (35.8%), *trigueño* (34.7%), *indio* (33.4%), and *pelirrojo* (32.3%). For the description *ni amable ni no amable*, nearly all categories share higher than expected frequencies, with the exception of *blanco, indio, moreno,* and *negro*. The description *más no amable que amable* corresponds to 10.65 percent of overall responses, and this description is overrepresented for the categories *mulato* (14.6%), *colorao* (14.3%), *rubio* (14.0%), and *jabao* (13.7%). Finally, the description *muy no amable* corresponds to 7.79 percent of overall responses, and this description is overrepresented for the categories *blanco* (11.1%), *pelirrojo* (10.4%), *negro* (9.2%), and *mulato* (8.5%).

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Table 100. Cross-Tabulation: Kindness, *Matiz Racial*

	Muy Amable	Mas Amable	Ni Amable Ni No Amable	Mas No Amable	Muy No Amable	None	
Blanco/a	262 (29.9%)	230 (26.3%)	172 (19.6%)	91 (10.4%)	97 (11.1%)	24	876
Colorao/a	44 (28.6%)	42 (27.3%)	38 (24.7%)	22 (14.3%)	6 (3.9%)	2	154
Indio/a	247 (29.3%)	282 (33.4%)	153 (18.1%)	83 (9.8%)	62 (7.4%)	17	844
Jabao/a	56 (18.7%)	90 (30.1%)	82 (27.4%)	41 (13.7%)	13 (4.4%)	17	299
Moreno/a	200 (29.9%)	239 (35.8%)	114 (17.1%)	51 (7.7%)	44 (6.6%)	19	667
Mulato/a	79 (21.8%)	105 (28.9%)	82 (22.6%)	53 (14.6%)	31 (8.5%)	13	363
Negro/a	81 (29.9%)	82 (30.3%)	51 (18.8%)	27 (9.9%)	25 (9.2%)	5	271
Pelirrojo/a	16 (16.7%)	31 (32.3%)	28 (29.2%)	7 (7.3%)	10 (10.4%)	4	96
Prieto/a	30 (27.5%)	32 (29.4%)	26 (23.9%)	12 (11.0%)	8 (7.3%)	1	109
Rubio/a	74 (27.3%)	73 (26.9%)	57 (21.0%)	38 (14.0%)	19 (7.0%)	10	271
Trigueño/a	70 (25.3%)	96 (34.7%)	58 (20.9%)	26 (9.4%)	16 (5.8%)	11	277
OTHER	25	9	5	4	1		44
BLANK						1	1
	1184	1311	866	455	333	123	4272
	27.72%	30.69%	20.27%	10.65%	7.79%	2.88%	

d. Honesty

Overall, participant evaluations of honesty skew toward *honesto*. Across all categories, participants describe images according to the following frequencies: *muy honesto* (23.55%), *más honesto que deshonesto* (28.35%), *ni honesto ni deshonesto* (28.39%), *más deshonesto que honesto* (10.02%), and *muy deshonesto* (6.91%).
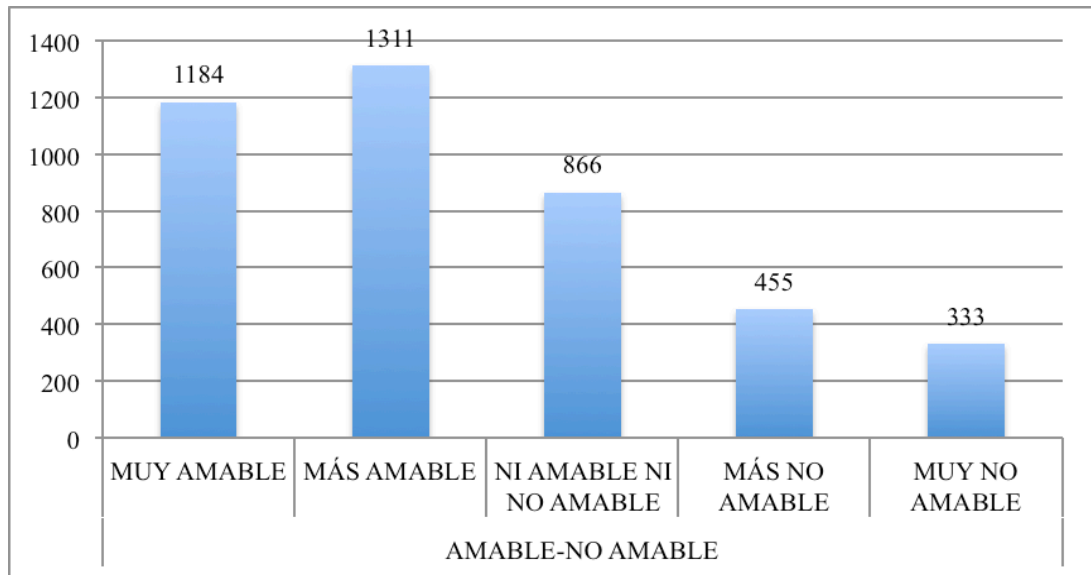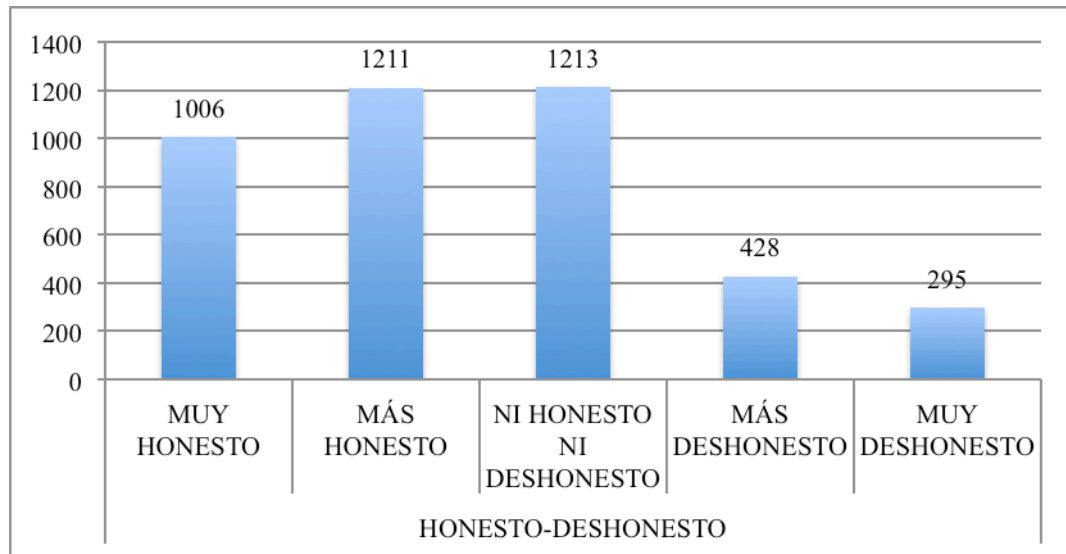
Figure 72: Distribution of HONESTO-DESHONESTO

While all categories are more likely to be described as honest, patterns emerge when the response data are divided by racial term. For example, although the description *muy honesto* corresponds to 23.55 percent of overall responses, the frequency of this description is higher than expected for the categories *blanco* (27.5%), *indio* (26.4%), and *colorao* (24.7%). Likewise, although the description *más honesto que deshonesto* corresponds to 28.35 percent of overall responses, this description is overrepresented for the categories *indio* (31.4%), *moreno* (30.7%), and *prieto* (30.3%). For the description *ni honesto ni deshonesto*, nearly all categories share higher than expected frequencies, with the exception of *blanco, indio,* and *moreno*. The description *más deshonesto que honesto* corresponds to 10.02 percent of overall responses, and this description is overrepresented for the categories *negro* (12.2%), *rubio* (11.8%), and *prieto* (11.0%). Finally, the description *muy deshonesto* corresponds to 6.91 percent of overall responses, and this description is overrepresented for the categories *blanco* (9.4%), *negro* (8.5%), and *rubio* (8.5%).

Table 101. Cross-Tabulation: Honesty, *Matiz Racial*

	Muy Honesto	Mas Honesto	Ni Honesto Ni Deshonesto	Mas Deshonesto	Muy Deshonesto	None	
Blanco/a	241 (27.5%)	220 (25.1%)	220 (25.1%)	88 (10.1%)	82 (9.4%)	25	876
Colorao/a	38 (24.7%)	42 (27.3%)	49 (31.8%)	13 (8.4%)	9 (5.8%)	3	154
Indio/a	223 (26.4%)	265 (31.4%)	203 (24.1%)	88 (10.4%)	52 (6.2%)	13	844
Jabao/a	51 (17.1%)	73 (24.4%)	110 (36.8%)	31 (10.4%)	17 (5.7%)	17	299
Moreno/a	156 (23.4%)	205 (30.7%)	185 (27.7%)	59 (8.9%)	40 (6.0%)	22	667
Mulato/a	65 (17.9%)	100 (27.6%)	117 (32.2%)	38 (10.5%)	27 (7.4%)	16	363
Negro/a	57 (21.0%)	79 (29.2%)	78 (28.78)	33 (12.2%)	23 (8.5%)	1	271
Pelirrojo/a	14 (14.6%)	25 (26.0%)	40 (41.7%)	8 (8.3%)	3 (3.1%)	6	96
Prieto/a	19 (17.4%)	33 (30.3%)	40 (36.7%)	12 (11.0%)	3 (2.8%)	2	109
Rubio/a	60 (22.1%)	70 (25.8%)	77 (28.4%)	32 (11.8%)	23 (8.5%)	9	271
Trigueño/a	61 (22.0%)	86 (31.1%)	90 (32.5%)	24 (8.7%)	11 (3.9%)	5	277
OTHER	21 (47.7%)	13 (29.6%)	4 (9.1%)	2 (4.6%)	4 (9.1%)		44
BLANK						1	1
	1006	1211	1213	428	295	119	4272
	23.55%	28.35%	28.39%	10.02%	6.91%	2.79%	

For social characteristics relating to Attractiveness, overall participant responses are nearly equally attractive or unattractive and skew toward goodness, kindness, and honesty. The same is true when results are examined for individual racial terms, except for the factor 'Physical Attractiveness,' where the results for images described as *prieto* skew unattractive. As with the characteristics relating to superiority, although overall results follow the same trends across racial categories, relative frequency data within categories reveals that participants are making subtle distinctions among racial categories. For example, for the factor 'Physical Attractiveness,' images described as *blanco* and *trigueño* are overrepresented in the categories 'Very Attractive' and 'More Attractive than Unattractive,' respectively. Meanwhile, images described as *prieto* are overrepresented in the categories 'More Unattractive than Attractive' and 'Very Unattractive.' This result prompts the question of whether evaluations of attractiveness are linked to broad racial

categories or to individual images. That is, if participants describe MALE_8 as *prieto*, for example, does the evaluation of attractiveness follow MALE_8 as an individual, or does the evaluation follow the category of *prieto*? Table 102 contains data that may shed light on this question.

Table 102 contains attractiveness data for two images: MALE_7 and MALE_8. In this table, the lower the number, the closer the rating is to attractiveness; and the higher the number, the closer the rating is to unattractiveness. For each of the two images, the average attractiveness rating is broken down by racial term, and this initial exploration suggests that evaluations of attractiveness are influenced by individual images as well as by broad racial categories. For example, when the racial term used to describe the images is held constant, participants consistently evaluate MALE_7 as more attractive than MALE_8. This is the evidence that suggests that attractiveness ratings are tied to individual images. There are, however, additional indications of a relationship between attractiveness and broader racial categories. For example, when MALE_7 is described as *moreno*, he is evaluated as more attractive than when he is described as *negro* or *prieto*. The same is true for MALE_8. These data do not indicate the directionality of this relationship (i.e., whether images are described as *moreno* <u>because</u> they are seen as more attractive, or whether images are seen as more attractive <u>because</u> they are described as *moreno*), but further research might explore this question.

Table 102. Attractiveness Data (MALE_7, MALE_8)

Atractivo-Feo (MALE_7)		Atractivo-Feo (MALE_8)	
moreno (148)	3.08	*moreno* (64)	3.81
negro (44)	3.19	*negro* (114)	4.05
prieto (15)	3.93	*prieto* (67)	4.26

For the factor 'Goodness,' images described as *indio* and *trigueño* are overrepresented

for the categories 'Very Good' and 'More Good than Bad.' For this factor, however, images described as *blanco* are overrepresented in the category 'Very Bad,' and images described as *rubio* are overrepresented in the category 'More Bad than Good.' For the factor 'Kindness,' images described as *moreno* are overrepresented for the categories 'Very Kind' and 'More Kind than Unkind.' For this factor, images described as *blanco* are overrepresented in the category 'Very Unkind,' and images described as *mulato* are overrepresented in the category 'More Unkind than Kind.' Finally, for the factor 'Honesty,' images described as *blanco* and *indio* are overrepresented in the categories 'Very Honest' and 'More Honest than Dishonest,' respectively. Images described as *negro* are overrepresented in the category 'More Dishonest than Honest,' and, interestingly, images described as *blanco* are also overrepresented in the category 'Very Dishonest.'

Table 103. Terms with Highest Weighted Frequency by Factor (Attractiveness)

Muy Atractivo	Más Atractivo	Ni Atractivo Ni Feo	Más Feo	Muy Feo
blanco	*trigueño*	*pelirrojo*	*prieto*	*prieto*
Muy Bueno	**Más Bueno**	**Ni Bueno Ni Malo**	**Más Malo**	**Muy Malo**
indio	*trigueño*	*pelirrojo*	*rubio*	*blanco*
Muy Amable	**Más Amable**	**Ni Amable Ni No Amable**	**Más No Amable**	**Muy No Amable**
moreno	*moreno*	*pelirrojo*	*mulato*	*blanco*
Muy Honesto	**Más Honesto**	**Ni Honesto Ni Deshonesto**	**Más Deshonesto**	**Muy Deshonesto**
blanco	*indio*	*jabao*	*negro*	*blanco*

Participants do not specifically comment on their reasons for assigning a particular rating and a particular racial term to each image, and the present analysis does not speculate. Additional interview research might specifically explore why participants are evaluating images described as *indio* and *trigueño* as good at higher than expected frequencies and

images decribed as *rubio* and *blanco* as bad; why *morenos* are evaluated as kinder and *mulatos* and *blancos* as less kind; and why *blancos* are seen as honest and dishonest at the same time. As discussed above, some of these evaluations may relate to characteristics of the individual images examined, but part of the difference may also relate to social perceptions attached to a particular racial category. Although this rationale is not specifically explored here, future analyses may undertake this question.

4. Dynamism

To evaluate participant perceptions of dynamism, this section analyzes data from five factors: talkativeness, aggressiveness, sureness of self, work ethic, and sense of humor.

a. Talkativeness

Overall, participant evaluations of talkativeness are nearly evenly divided between *hablador* (37.38%) and *callado* (36.92%). Across all categories, participants describe images according to the following frequencies: *muy hablador* (17.11%), *más hablador que callado* (20.27%), *ni hablador ni callado* (23.15%), *más callado que hablador* (20.67%), and *muy callado* (16.25%).
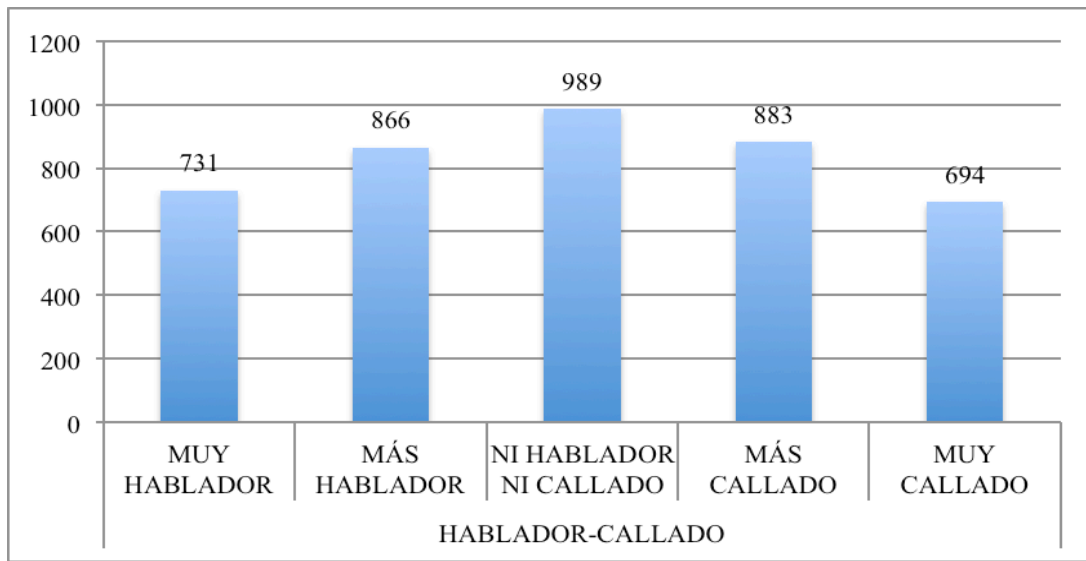
Figure 73: Distribution of HABLADOR-CALLADO

While all categories are nearly as likely to be described as talkative or quiet, distinct

patterns emerge when the response data are divided by racial term. For example, although

the description *muy hablador* corresponds to 17.11 percent of overall responses, the

frequency of this description is higher than expected for the categories *negro* (23.3%),

prieto (22.0%), and, to a lesser extent, *colorao* (19.5%), *blanco* (18.6%), and *moreno*

(18.29%). Likewise, although the description *más hablador que callado* corresponds to

20.27 percent of overall responses, this description is overrepresented for the categories

prieto (24.8%), *colorao* (22.1%), *indio* (22.0%), and *jabao* (21.4%). For the description *ni*

hablador ni callado, the categories *pelirrojo, mulato, jabao, trigueño, rubio* and *moreno* are

overrepresented, and the categories *indio, colorao, negro, blanco,* and *prieto* are

underrepresented. The description *más callado que hablador* corresponds to 20.67 percent

of overall responses, and this description is overrepresented for the categories *negro*

(23.9%), *indio* (22.5%), and *trigueño* (21.7%). Finally, the description *muy callado*

corresponds to 16.25 percent of overall responses, and this description is overrepresented for

the categories *pelirrojo* (21.9%), *blanco* (18.8%), *indio* (18.4%), and *trigueño* (17.3%).

Table 104. Cross-Tabulation: Talkativeness, *Matiz Racial*

	Muy Hablador	Mas Hablador	Ni Hablador Ni Callado	Mas Callado	Muy Callado	None	
Blanco/a	163 (18.6%)	165 (18.8%)	183 (20.9%)	177 (20.2%)	165 (18.8%)	23	876
Colorao/a	30 (19.5%)	34 (22.1%)	33 (21.4%)	27 (17.5%)	26 (16.9%)	4	154
Indio/a	116 (13.7%)	186 (22.0%)	182 (21.6%)	190 (22.5%)	155 (18.4%)	15	844
Jabao/a	38 (12.7%)	64 (21.4%)	82 (27.4%)	53 (17.7%)	43 (14.4%)	19	299
Moreno/a	122 (18.3%)	135 (20.2%)	158 (23.7%)	140 (20.9%)	92 (13.8%)	20	667
Mulato/a	65 (17.9%)	67 (18.5%)	101 (27.8%)	74 (20.4%)	43 (11.9%)	13	363
Negro/a	63 (23.3%)	53 (19.6%)	58 (21.4%)	65 (23.9%)	32 (11.8%)		271
Pelirrojo/a	5 (5.2%)	20 (20.8%)	28 (29.2%)	19 (19.8%)	21 (21.9%)	3	96
Prieto/a	24 (22.0%)	27 (24.8%)	21 (19.3%)	20 (18.4%)	15 (13.8%)	2	109
Rubio/a	49 (18.1%)	56 (20.7%)	67 (24.7%)	54 (19.9%)	39 (14.4%)	6	271
Trigueño/a	44 (15.9%)	52 (18.8%)	69 (24.9%)	60 (21.7%)	48 (17.3%)	4	277
OTHER	12 (27.3%)	6 (13.6%)	7 (15.9%)	4 (9.1%)	15 (34.1%)		44
BLANK		1					1
	731	866	989	883	694	109	4272
	17.11%	20.27%	23.15%	20.67%	16.25%	2.55%	

b. *Aggressiveness*

Overall, participant evaluations of aggressiveness skew toward *pasivo*. Across all categories, participants describe images according to the following frequencies: *muy pasivo* (25.82%), *más pasivo que agresivo* (27.97%), *ni pasivo ni agresivo* (23.13%), *más agresivo que pasivo* (12.48%), and *muy agresivo* (7.61%).

Figure 74: Distribution of PASIVO-AGRESIVO

While all categories are more likely to be described as passive, patterns emerge when the response data are divided by racial term. For example, although the description *muy pasivo* corresponds to 25.82 percent of overall responses, the frequency of this description is higher than expected for the categories *blanco* (30.9%), *colorao* (29.2%), *indio* (26.7%), and *trigueño* (26.4%). Likewise, although the description *más pasivo que agresivo* corresponds to 27.97 percent of overall responses, this description is overrepresented for the categories *indio* (31.9%), *moreno* (30.9%), and *trigueño* (30.7%). For the description *ni pasivo ni agresivo*, the categories *jabao, moreno, mulato, negro, prieto* and *rubio* are overrepresented, and the categories *blanco, colorao, indio, pelirrojo,* and *trigueño* are underrepresented. The description *más agresivo que pasivo* corresponds to 12.48 percent of overall responses, and this description is overrepresented for the categories *pelirrojo* (20.8%), *colorao* (16.2%), *prieto* (15.7%), *jabao* (14.4%), and *rubio* (14.0%). Finally, the description *muy agresivo* corresponds to 7.61 percent of overall responses, and this description is overrepresented for the categories *mulato* (9.6%), *blanco* (9.5%), *pelirrojo* (9.4%), and *rubio* (8.5%).

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Table 105. Cross-Tabulation: Aggressiveness, *Matiz Racial*

	Muy Pasivo	Mas Pasivo	Ni Pasivo Ni Agresivo	Mas Agresivo	Muy Agresivo	None	
Blanco/a	271 (30.9%)	238 (27.2%)	164 (18.7%)	94 (10.7%)	83 (9.5%)	26	876
Colorao/a	45 (29.2%)	41 (26.6%)	35 (22.7%)	25 (16.2%)	6 (3.9%)	2	154
Indio/a	225 (26.7%)	270 (31.9%)	167 (19.8%)	103 (12.2%)	60 (7.1%)	19	844
Jabao/a	57 (19.1%)	66 (22.1%)	97 (32.4%)	43 (14.4%)	19 (6.4%)	17	299
Moreno/a	158 (23.7%)	206 (30.9%)	163 (24.4%)	75 (11.2%)	41 (6.2%)	24	667
Mulato/a	77 (21.2%)	104 (28.7%)	91 (25.1%)	43 (11.9%)	35 (9.6%)	13	363
Negro/a	66 (24.4%)	70 (25.8%)	73 (26.9%)	36 (13.3%)	20 (7.4%)	6	271
Pelirrojo/a	24 (2.05%)	17 (17.7%)	22 (22.9%)	20 (20.8%)	9 (9.4%)	4	96
Prieto/a	25 (22.9%)	28 (25.7%)	29 (26.6%)	17 (15.7%)	8 (7.3%)	2	109
Rubio/a	59 (21.8%)	66 (24.4%)	78 (28.8%)	38 (14.0%)	23 (8.5%)	7	271
Trigueño/a	73 (26.4%)	85 (30.7%)	61 (22.0%)	37 (13.4%)	14 (5.1%)	7	277
OTHER	23 (52.3%)	4 (9.1%)	8 (18.2%)	1 (2.3%)	7 (15.9%)	1	44
BLANK				1			1
	1103	1195	988	533	325	128	4272
	25.82%	27.97%	23.13%	12.48%	7.61%	3.00%	

c. *Sureness of Self*

Overall, participant evaluations of sureness of self skew toward *seguro*. Across all categories, participants describe images according to the following frequencies: *muy seguro* (23.53%), *más seguro que inseguro* (26.52%), *ni seguro ni inseguro* (22.85%), *más inseguro que seguro* (13.67%), and *muy inseguro* (10.28%).
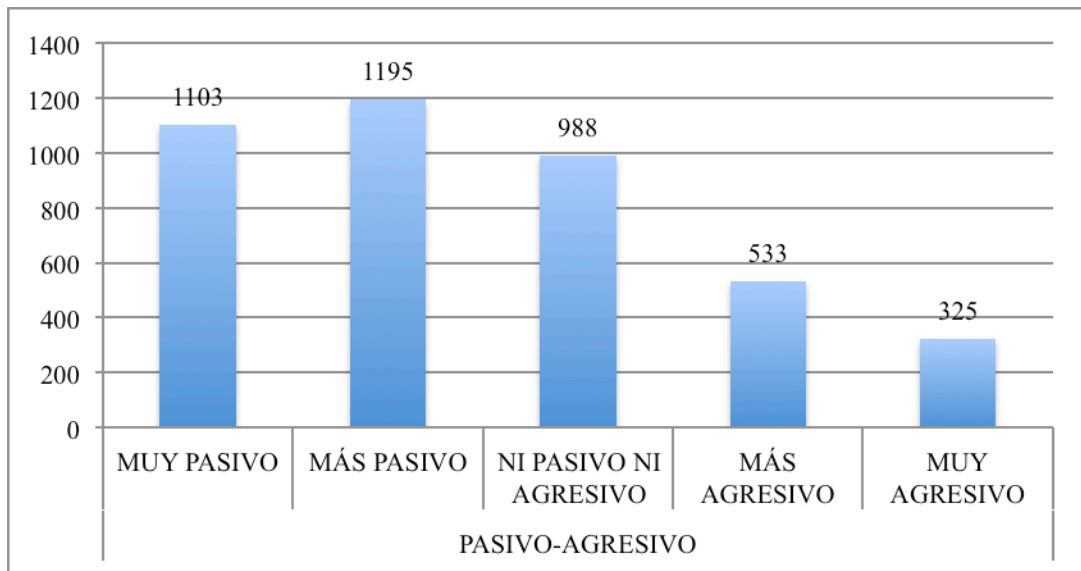
Figure 75: Distribution of SEGURO-INSEGURO

While all categories are more likely to be described as sure of self, patterns emerge

when the response data are divided by racial term. For example, although the description

muy seguro corresponds to 23.53 percent of overall responses, the frequency of this

description is higher than expected for the categories *indio* (26.1%), *blanco* (25.8%), and

colorao (25.3%). Likewise, although the description *más seguro que inseguro* corresponds

to 26.52 percent of overall responses, this description is overrepresented for the categories

trigueño (32.1%), *negro* (31.0%), *prieto* (30.3%), *moreno* (30.1%), and *indio* (28.9%). For

the description *ni seguro ni inseguro*, the categories *mulato* (27.8%), *jabao* (27.4%),

colorao (26.6%), and *prieto* (25.7%) are overrepresented. The description *más inseguro que*

seguro corresponds to 13.67 percent of overall responses, and this description is

overrepresented for the categories *pelirrojo* (20.8%), *rubio* (18.1%), *jabao* (17.1%), and

mulato (16.5%). Finally, the description *muy inseguro* corresponds to 10.28 percent of

overall responses, and this description is overrepresented for the categories *blanco* (13.5%),

pelirrojo (12.5%), and *mulato* (12.4%).

Table 106. Cross-Tabulation: Sureness of Self, *Matiz Racial*

	Muy Seguro	Mas Seguro	Ni Seguro Ni Inseguro	Mas Inseguro	Muy Inseguro	None	
Blanco/a	226 (25.8%)	195 (22.3%)	195 (22.3%)	110 (12.6%)	118 (13.5%)	32	876
Colorao/a	39 (25.3%)	39 (25.3%)	41 (26.6%)	21 (13.6%)	12 (7.8%)	2	154
Indio/a	220 (26.1%)	244 (28.9%)	169 (20.1%)	119 (14.1%)	71 (8.4%)	20	843
Jabao/a	52 (17.4%)	69 (23.1%)	82 (27.4%)	51 (17.1%)	25 (8.4%)	20	299
Moreno/a	155 (23.2%)	201 (30.1%)	158 (23.7%)	74 (11.1%)	55 (8.3%)	24	667
Mulato/a	61 (16.8%)	86 (23.6%)	101 (27.8%)	60 (16.5%)	45 (12.4%)	11	364
Negro/a	62 (22.9%)	84 (31.0%)	57 (21.0%)	29 (10.7%)	32 (11.8%)	7	271
Pelirrojo/a	15 (15.6%)	24 (25.0%)	21 (21.9%)	20 (20.8%)	12 (12.5%)	4	96
Prieto/a	22 (20.2%)	33 (30.3%)	28 (25.7%)	14 (12.8%)	11 (10.1%)	1	109
Rubio/a	65 (23.9%)	63 (23.3%)	60 (22.1%)	49 (18.1%)	25 (9.2%)	9	271
Trigueño/a	61 (22.0%)	89 (32.1%)	59 (21.3%)	33 (11.9%)	31 (11.2%)	4	277
OTHER	27 (61.4%)	6 (13.6%)	5 (11.4%)	3 (6.8%)	2 (4.6%)	1	44
BLANK					1		1
	1005	1133	976	584	439	135	4272
	23.53%	26.52%	22.85%	13.67%	10.28%	3.16%	

d. Work Ethic

Overall, participant evaluations of work ethic skew toward *trabajador*. Across all categories, participants describe images according to the following frequencies: *muy trabajador* (27.39%), *más trabajador que vago* (28.86%), *ni trabajador ni vago* (23.2%), *más vago que trabajador* (10.14%), and *muy vago* (7.79%).
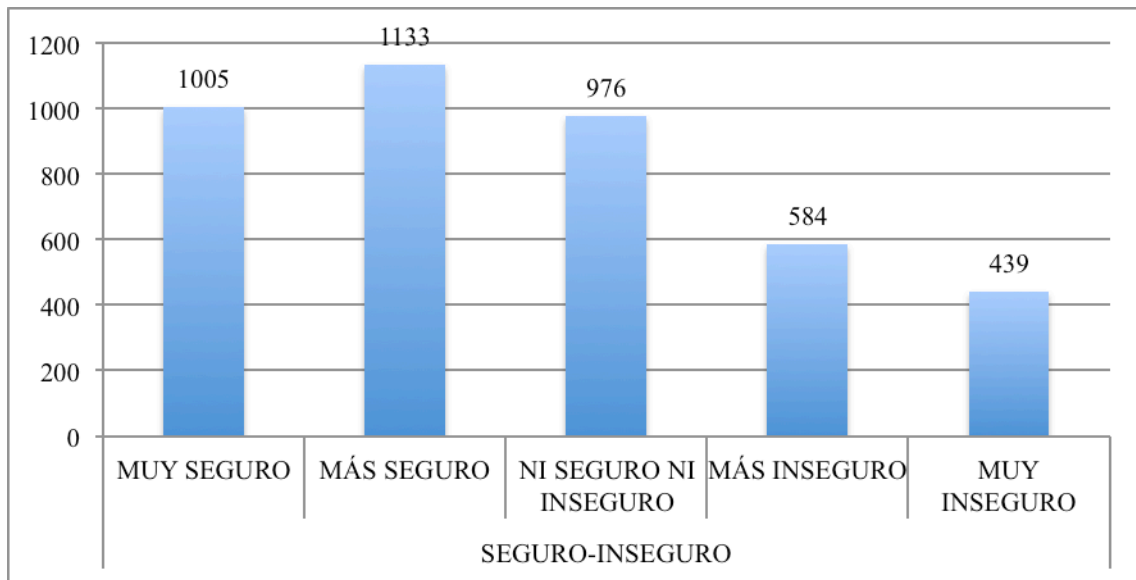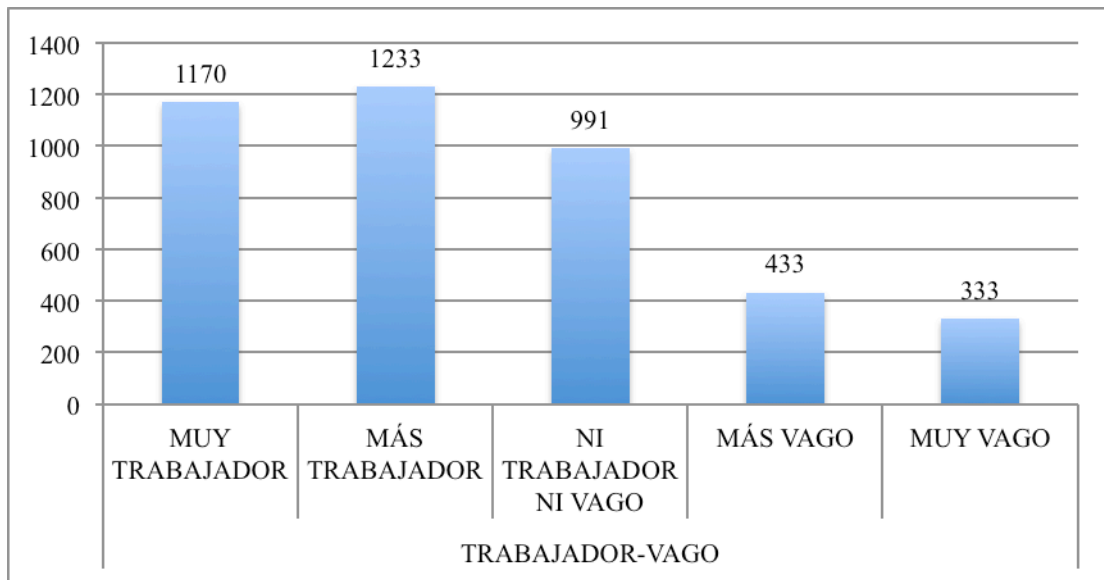
Figure 76: Distribution of TRABAJADOR-VAGO

While all categories are more likely to be described as hardworking, patterns emerge

when the response data are divided by racial term. For example, although the description

muy trabajador corresponds to 27.39 percent of overall responses, the frequency of this

description is higher than expected for the categories *negro* (34.3%), *prieto* (32.1%), *indio*

(29.9%), and *moreno* (29.4%). Likewise, although the description *más trabajador que vago*

corresponds to 28.86 percent of overall responses, this description is overrepresented for the

categories *prieto* (35.8%), *indio* (33.3%), and *moreno* (31.6%). For the description *ni*

trabajador ni vago, the categories *colorao, jabao, mulato, pelirrojo, rubio,* and *trigueño* are

overrepresented, and the categories *blanco, indio, moreno, negro,* and *prieto* are

underrepresented. The description *más vago que trabajador* corresponds to 10.14 percent of

overall responses, and this description is overrepresented for the categories *rubio* (14.4%),

prieto (13.8%), *mulato* (12.4%), and *jabao* (12.4%). Finally, the description *muy vago*

corresponds to 7.79 percent of overall responses, and this description is overrepresented for

the categories *pelirrojo* (11.5%), and *blanco* (10.1%).

Table 107. Cross-Tabulation: Work Ethic, *Matiz Racial*

	Muy Trabajador	Mas Trabajador	Ni Trabajador Ni Vago	Mas Vago	Muy Vago	None	
Blanco/a	249 (28.4%)	234 (26.7%)	201 (22.9%)	78 (8.9%)	88 (10.1%)	26	876
Colorao/a	44 (28.6%)	44 (28.6%)	36 (23.4%)	17 (11.0%)	11 (7.1%)	2	154
Indio/a	252 (29.9%)	281 (33.3%)	164 (19.4%)	84 (9.9%)	52 (6.2%)	15	844
Jabao/a	53 (17.7%)	76 (25.4%)	97 (32.4%)	37 (12.4%)	19 (6.4%)	17	299
Moreno/a	196 (29.4%)	211 (31.6%)	136 (20.4%)	54 (8.1%)	50 (7.5%)	20	667
Mulato/a	74 (20.4%)	104 (28.7%)	98 (27.0%)	45 (12.4%)	31 (8.5%)	11	363
Negro/a	93 (34.3%)	73 (26.9%)	60 (22.1%)	25 (9.2%)	19 (7.0%)	1	271
Pelirrojo/a	20 (20.8%)	22 (22.9%)	33 (34.4%)	6 (6.3%)	11 (11.5%)	4	96
Prieto/a	35 (32.1%)	39 (35.8%)	17 (15.6%)	15 (13.8%)	2 (1.8%)	1	109
Rubio/a	66 (24.4%)	63 (23.3%)	74 (27.3%)	39 (14.4%)	21 (7.8%)	8	271
Trigueño/a	66 (23.8%)	81 (29.2%)	71 (25.6%)	29 (10.5%)	23 (8.3%)	7	277
OTHER	22 (50.0%)	9 (20.5%)	4 (9.1%)	4 (9.1%)	5 (11.4%)		44
BLANK						1	1
	1170	1233	991	433	333	112	4272
	27.39%	28.86%	23.20%	10.14%	7.79%	2.62%	

e. Sense of Humor

Overall, participant evaluations of sense of humor skew toward *divertido*. Across all categories, participants describe images according to the following frequencies: *muy divertido* (21.82%), *más divertido que aburrido* (24.77%), *ni divertido ni aburrido* (24.13%), *más aburrido que divertido* (14.61%), and *muy aburrido* (11.87%).
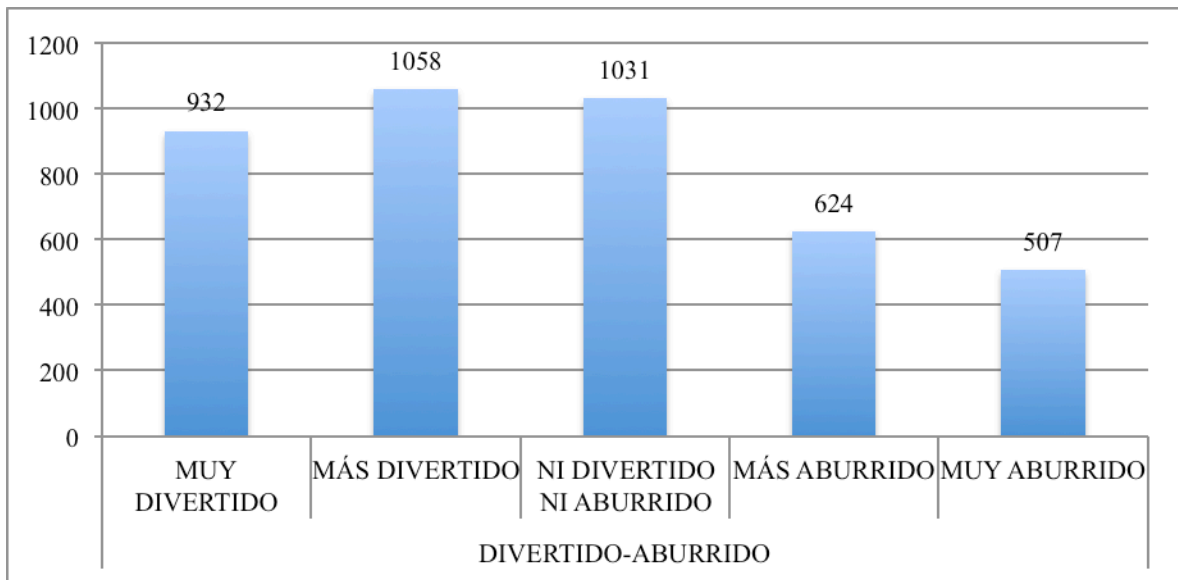
Figure 77: Distribution of DIVERTIDO-ABURRIDO

While all categories are more likely to be described as funny/entertaining, patterns emerge when the response data are divided by racial term. For example, although the description *muy divertido* corresponds to 21.82 percent of overall responses, the frequency of this description is higher than expected for the categories *blanco* (25.3%) and *moreno* (25.3%). Likewise, although the description *más divertido que aburrido* corresponds to 24.77 percent of overall responses, this description is overrepresented for the categories *moreno* (28.6%), *colorao* (28.6%), *negro* (26.6%), *indio* (26.5%), *mulato* (26.5%), and *trigueño* (25.9%). For the description *ni divertido ni aburrido*, the categories *indio, jabao, negro, pelirrojo, prieto,* and *trigueño* are overrepresented, and the categories *blanco, colorao, moreno, mulato,* and *rubio* are underrepresented. The description *más aburrido que divertido* corresponds to 14.61 percent of overall responses, and this description is overrepresented for the categories *prieto* (21.1%) and *pelirrojo* (20.8%), and, to a lesser extent, *jabao* (16.4%), *mulato* (16.3%), and *colorao* (16.2%). Finally, the description *muy aburrido* corresponds to 11.87 percent of overall responses, and this description is

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overrepresented for the categories *pelirrojo* (15.6%) and *prieto* (15.6%), *mulato* (13.8%),

trigueño (13.7%), *blanco* (13.7%), and *negro* (12.9%).

Table 108. Cross-Tabulation: Sense of Humor, *Matiz Racial*

	Muy Divertido	Mas Divertido	Ni Divertido Ni Aburrido	Mas Aburrido	Muy Aburrido	None	
Blanco/a	**222 (25.3%)**	180 (20.6%)	195 (22.3%)	136 (15.5%)	120 (13.7%)	23	876
Colorao/a	31 (20.1%)	**44 (28.6%)**	37 (24.0%)	25 (16.2%)	15 (9.7%)	2	154
Indio/a	183 (21.7%)	224 (26.5%)	210 (24.9%)	124 (14.7%)	87 (10.3%)	16	844
Jabao/a	42 (14.1%)	65 (21.7%)	**96 (32.1%)**	49 (16.4%)	28 (9.4%)	19	299
Moreno/a	**169 (25.3%)**	191 (28.6%)	150 (22.5%)	73 (10.9%)	63 (9.4%)	21	667
Mulato/a	65 (17.9%)	96 (26.5%)	80 (22.0%)	59 (16.3%)	50 (13.8%)	13	363
Negro/a	59 (21.8%)	72 (26.6%)	70 (25.8%)	34 (12.6%)	35 (12.9%)	1	271
Pelirrojo/a	10 (10.4%)	22 (22.9%)	26 (27.1%)	**20 (20.8%)**	**15 (15.6%)**	3	96
Prieto/a	19 (17.4%)	18 (16.5%)	30 (27.5%)	**23 (21.1%)**	**17 (15.6%)**	2	109
Rubio/a	61 (22.5%)	66 (24.4%)	60 (22.1%)	42 (15.5%)	32 (11.8%)	10	271
Trigueño/a	54 (19.5%)	72 (25.9%)	70 (25.3%)	35 (12.6%)	38 (13.7%)	8	277
OTHER	17 (38.6%)	8 (18.2%)	7 (15.9%)	4 (9.1%)	6 (13.6%)	2	44
BLANK					1		1
	932	1058	1031	624	507	120	4272
	21.82%	24.77%	24.13%	14.61%	11.87%	2.81%	

For social characteristics relating to Dynamism, overall participant responses are nearly

equally talkative or quiet and skew toward passive, sure of self, hardworking, and honest.

The same is true when results are examined for individual racial terms. As with the

characteristics relating to superiority and attractiveness, although overall results follow the

same trends across racial categories, relative frequency data within categories reveals that

participants are making some distinctions among racial categories. For example, for the

factor 'Talkativeness,' images described as *negro* and *prieto* are overrepresented in the

categories 'Very Talkative' and 'More Talkative than Quiet,' respectively. Meanwhile,

images described as *pelirrojo* are overrepresented in the category 'Very Quiet,' and images

described as *negro* are also described as 'More Quiet than Talkative.' For the factor

'Aggressiveness,' images described as *blanco* and *indio* are overrepresented for the categories 'Very Passive' and 'More Passive than Aggressive.' For this factor, images described as *mulato* are overrepresented in the category 'Very Aggressive,' and images described as *pelirrojo* are overrepresented in the category 'More Aggressive than Passive.' For the factor 'Sureness of Self,' images described as *indio* and *trigueño* are overrepresented for the categories 'Very Sure' and 'More Sure than Unsure.' For this factor, images described as *blanco* are overrepresented in the category 'Very Unsure,' and images described as *pelirrojo* are overrepresented in the category 'More Unsure than Sure.' For the factor 'Work Ethic,' images described as *negro* and *prieto* are overrepresented in the categories 'Very Hardworking' and 'More Hardworking than Lazy,' respectively. Images described as *pelirrojo* are overrepresented in the category 'Very Lazy,' and images described as *rubio* are overrepresented in the category 'More Lazy than Hardworking.' Finally, for the factor 'Sense of Humor,' images described as *blanco* and *indio* are overrepresented in the category 'Very Funny,' and images described as *moreno* are overrepresented in the category 'More Funny than Boring.' Images described as *pelirrojo* are overrepresented in the category 'Very Boring,' and images described as *prieto* are overrepresented in the category 'More Boring than Funny.'

Table 109. Terms with Highest Weighted Frequency by Factor (Dynamism)

Muy Hablador	Más Hablador	Ni Hablador Ni Callado	Más Callado	Muy Callado
negro	*prieto*	*pelirrojo*	*negro*	*pelirrojo*
Muy Pasivo	**Mas Pasivo**	**Ni Pasivo Ni Agresivo**	**Mas Agresivo**	**Muy Agresivo**
blanco	*indio*	*jabao*	*pelirrojo*	*mulato*
Muy Seguro	**Más Seguro**	**Ni Seguro Ni Inseguro**	**Más Inseguro**	**Muy Inseguro**
indio	*trigueño*	*mulato*	*pelirrojo*	*blanco*

Muy Trabajador	Más Trabajador	Ni Trabajador Ni Vago	Más Vago	Muy Vago
negro	*prieto*	*pelirrojo*	*rubio*	*pelirrojo*

Muy Divertido	Más Divertido	Ni Divertido Ni Aburrido	Más Aburrido	Muy Aburrido
blanco, moreno	*moreno*	*jabao*	*prieto*	*pelirrojo*

Participants do not specifically comment on their reasons for assigning a particular rating and a particular racial term to each image, and the present analysis does not speculate. Moreover, interview participants do not expound on the connection between racial categories and the social characteristics of Dynamism. Future analyses may examine what specific types of visual cues influence an evaluation of talkativeness, aggressiveness, sureness of self, work ethic, or sense of humor.

5. Other

To evaluate participant perceptions of other characteristics, this section analyzes data from one factor: strength.

a. Strength

Overall, participant evaluations of strength skew toward *fuerte*. Across all categories, participants describe images according to the following frequencies: *muy fuerte* (20.72%), *más fuerte que débil* (26.36%), *ni fuerte ni débil* (25.16%), *más débil que fuerte* (15.22%), and *muy débil* (10.0%).
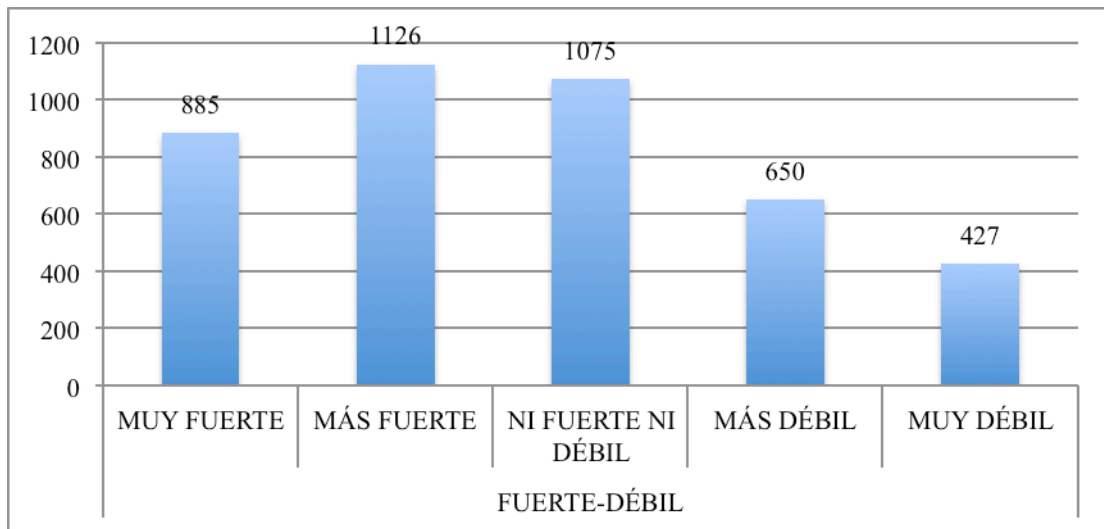
Figure 78: Distribution of FUERTE-DÉBIL

While all categories are more likely to be described as strong, patterns emerge when the response data are divided by racial term. For example, although the description *muy fuerte* corresponds to 20.72 percent of overall responses, the frequency of this description is higher than expected for the categories *negro* (27.3%) and *indio* (22.3%). Likewise, although the description *más fuerte que débil* corresponds to 26.36 percent of overall responses, this description is overrepresented for the categories *trigueño* (31.4%), *prieto* (31.2%), *indio* (28.3%), and *moreno* (28.0%). For the description *ni fuerte ni débil*, the categories *colorao, jabao, mulato, pelirrojo, prieto,* and *trigueño* are overrepresented, and the categories *blanco, indio, moreno, negro,* and *rubio* are underrepresented. The description *más débil que fuerte* corresponds to 15.22 percent of overall responses, and this description is overrepresented for the categories *rubio* (20.3%), *pelirrojo* (17.7%), and *jabao* (17.4%). Finally, the description *muy débil* corresponds to 10.0% percent of overall responses, and this description is overrepresented for the categories *pelirrojo* (15.6%), *rubio* (14.0%), and *blanco* (13.2%).

Table 110. Cross-Tabulation: Strength, *Matiz Racial*

	Muy Fuerte	Mas Fuerte	Ni Fuerte Ni Débil	Mas Débil	Muy Débil	None	
Blanco/a	190 (21.7%)	208 (23.7%)	201 (22.9%)	139 (15.9%)	116 (13.2%)	22	876
Colorao/a	26 (16.9%)	38 (24.7%)	49 (31.8%)	23 (14.9%)	13 (8.4%)	5	154
Indio/a	188 (22.3%)	239 (28.3%)	196 (23.2%)	124 (14.7%)	82 (9.7%)	15	844
Jabao/a	52 (17.4%)	74 (24.8%)	88 (29.4%)	52 (17.4%)	13 (4.4%)	20	299
Moreno/a	145 (21.7%)	187 (28.0%)	166 (24.9%)	88 (13.2%)	63 (9.5%)	18	667
Mulato/a	76 (20.9%)	96 (26.5%)	100 (27.6%)	59 (16.3%)	23 (6.3%)	9	363
Negro/a	74 (27.3%)	74 (27.3%)	60 (22.1%)	41 (15.1%)	20 (7.4%)	2	271
Pelirrojo/a	9 (9.4%)	20 (20.8%)	32 (33.3%)	17 (17.7%)	15 (15.6%)	3	96
Prieto/a	20 (18.4%)	34 (31.2%)	32 (29.4%)	15 (13.8%)	7 (6.4%)	1	109
Rubio/a	41 (15.1%)	62 (22.9%)	67 (24.7%)	55 (20.3%)	38 (14.0%)	8	271
Trigueño/a	47 (16.9%)	87 (31.4%)	75 (27.1%)	33 (11.9%)	29 (10.5%)	6	277
OTHER	16	7	9	4	8		44
BLANK	1						1
	885	1126	1075	650	427	109	4272
	20.72%	26.36%	25.16%	15.22%	10.00%	2.55%	

For the factor 'Strength', overall participant responses skew strong. The same is true when results are examined for individual racial terms. As with the characteristics relating to superiority, attractiveness, and dynamism, although overall results follow the same trends across racial categories, relative frequency data within categories reveals that participants are making some distinctions among racial categories. For the factor 'Strength,' images described as *negro* and *trigueño* are overrepresented in the categories 'Very Strong' and 'More Strong than Weak,' respectively. For this factor, images described as *rubio* are overrepresented in the categories 'Very Weak' and 'More Weak than Strong.'

Table 111. Terms with Highest Weighted Frequency by Factor (Other)

Muy Fuerte	Más Fuerte	Ni Fuerte Ni Débil	Más Débil	Muy Débil
negro	*trigueño*	*pelirrojo*	*rubio*	*rubio*

Participants do not specifically comment on their reasons for assigning a particular

strength rating and a particular racial term to each image, and the present analysis does not speculate. These results also prompt the question of the directionality of the relationship between social characteristics and racial terms. That is, whether participants are assigning social characteristics based on the racial term they would use to describe the person in the image, or whether participants are assigning a racial term to the image based on perceived social characteristics. Moreover, the question arises whether social perceptions are linked to specific individuals or to broad racial categories. An initial exploration suggests that evaluations of social characteristics may be linked to both. Having discovered relationships between certain racial terms and corresponding social characteristics, these results highlight the need for additional research on the nature of these relationships.

E. Chapter Summary

To explore the contemporary physical and social parameters of *raza* and *matiz racial* terms in the Dominican Republic, this chapter analyzed survey data from participants at three research sites in four sections. The first section analyzed contemporary racial categories and identified 10 underlying racial paradigms. That *raza* is being conceived in this broad way highlights the importance that researchers must give to understanding the racial paradigms that are at play in this racial setting. The second section analyzed contemporary skin color categories and contrasted these self descriptions of skin color with skin color descriptions from the *cédula*. The third section explored how participants visualize the physical meaning for each *matiz racial* term, exploring factors internal to the image, factors external to the image, and the range of possible images embedded in each category. The fourth section analyzed how racial terms interact with social characteristics such as superiority, attractiveness, and dynamism.

These results demonstrate the incredible complexity of Dominican racial terms, marked by race, color, and paradigm, containing physical information, and also social information. With respect to physical information, these results suggest that Dominican racial categories are not bounded in exactly the same way as categories in other societies. For example, *blanco* is a broad category that encompasses many different types of physical appearances. By contrast, *negro* is a narrow category that only describes a specific physical appearance. Furthermore, with respect to social information, the results reveal that, as here, where all else is held equal, participants evaluate social characteristics across racial categories following the same general trends. When the weighted frequencies of these evaluations are examined, however, some interesting distinctions occur, suggesting the need for additional research on the nature of the relationship between social characteristics and racial categories.

"Los dominicanos se miran en un espejo y lo que ven es Brad Pitt – rubio, guapo, ojos azules."

–Cuban national in Santiago[27]

Chapter 7

Delimiting *Dominicanidad*:

Race, Region and Notions of Typicality[28]

The population of the Dominican Republic comprises a rich racial, cultural, and phenotypic landscape, encompassing a diverse range of physical profiles and conveying a broad spectrum of "Dominican racial identity." Still, a cross-disciplinary academic consensus has contended that Dominicans lack racial self-awareness and are confused about their racial identity. This contention is echoed in popular sentiment, as in the case of a Cuban national in Santiago that states, regarding Dominican self-awareness, 'Dominicans look at themselves in a mirror and what they see is Brad Pitt – blonde, good-looking, blue eyes'. Chapter 6 of this dissertation discusses the ways in which participants describe their race and highlights that the most frequent identifier for race in these data is 'Dominican.' This chapter engages the notion of nationality as a racial identity and unpacks the physical information embedded in the term *dominicano*.

The notion of nationality as a racial identity has both inclusive and exclusionary ramifications. 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

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[27] 'Dominicans look at themselves in the mirror, and what they see is Brad Pitt – blonde, good-looking, blue eyes'.

[28] Portions of this chapter previously published as Wheeler, E. M. (2015). Race, Legacy, and Lineage in the Dominican Republic. *The Black Scholar* 45(2), 34-44.

becomes linked to physical characteristics, such that national identity becomes a functional index of racial identity. In this process, some physical profiles fall comfortably within the boundaries of *dominicanidad*, while others are pushed to the periphery. To the extent that peripheral physical profiles fail to conform to expectations for "*la raza dominicana*," these individuals may also face race-based challenges to their nationality.

This chapter first discusses the way in which interview participants describe the notion of a 'typical Dominican.' Then, the analysis turns to survey data from Santo Domingo and Dajabón concerning racial terms and Dominicanness. Finally, the chapter examines racial terms and specific designations of typicality among participants in Santiago and Santo Domingo.

A. Interview Participants: The 'Typical Dominican'

When asked to describe the physical appearance of the 'typical Dominican,' participants across research sites confirm that, generally, this is a difficult task. Participants primarily see this task as difficult because of the tremendous physical diversity within the country. A participant in Santiago states, 'It is very difficult … it is that we have from *albinos* to very *morenos* … very aquiline nose, wide [nose]. Every type of color' ('*Es muy difícil … Es que tenemos desde albinos hasta muy morenos … nariz muy perfilada, ancha. Todo tipo de color*,' STI_INT5). To illustrate this point, the participant invokes the image of the *muñeca sin rostro* (lit. 'doll without [a] face', see Figure 79). She explains, 'We do not have one face. Some artisans invented the *muñeca sin rostro*. There is every kind of variety here … [It] represents that, that there is not a specific face' ('*No tenemos un rostro. Algunos artesanos inventaron la muñeca sin rostro. Hay toda clase de variedad aquí … Representa*

eso, que no hay un rostro específico,' STI_INT5). For this participant, there is diversity in features of the face, such as lips and eyes, and also the different manifestations of Spanish, African, and Taíno heritage.

Figure 79: *Muñeca sin Rostro*

For other participants, although tremendous physical diversity exists within the country, the image of Dominican typicality falls within the *indio* or *trigueño* profiles. A participant in Santiago describes having an instinct that someone is Dominican. As an example, she states that sometimes while watching a movie she thinks 'That man seems Dominican,' although it is difficult to say why (STI_INT7). The participant offers that the instinct may be because of skin color that is *indio medio* or a mixture of African and European characteristics (STI_INT7). Another participant in Santiago, who describes herself as *trigueña*, positions herself as a near typical Dominican, 'I am … I am close to a typical Dominican … a mixture of white and black with different tones' ('*Yo soy ... estoy cerca de un dominicano típico* [*trigueña*] … *una mezcla de blanco y negro con diferentes tonos,*' STI_INT3). Other

participants confirm the position of *indio* and *trigueño* as sites of Dominican typicality. A participant in Santiago states, 'Here it is more the *indio* or the *trigueño*' ('*Aquí más es el indio o el trigueño*,' STI_INT8). A participant in Santo Domingo confirms:

> We have a mixture of, of [the] black and white race. So, the Dominican would be like an *indio*, *trigueño*, something like that. Although we have a little of everything, but like the mixture is strong like this. We cannot say that we are a white race.
>
> ('*Nosotros tenemos mezcla de, de raza negra y blanca. Entonces, el dominicano sería como un indio, trigueño, algo así. Aunque tenemos de todo un poco, pero como que la mezcla es fuerte así. No podemos decir que somos una raza de blanca*,' SDQ_INT7).

Another participant in Santo Domingo confirms that Dominican typicality may be situated in the *indio* category, 'That is the Dominican nation in its majority – *indios*' ('*Eso es el pueblo dominicano en su mayoría – indios*,' SDQ_INT1).

For some participants, although typicality is not specifically *indio* or *trigueño*, mixture still plays an important role. The 'typical Dominican' may manifest in a variety of physical profiles, but participants concur that *blanco* is generally positioned outside of Dominican identity. A participant in Santo Domingo describes this mixture as *mulato*, 'Primarily they say … that we are more *mulatos* than *negros* and *indios*. Primarily Dominicans are *mulatos*' ('*Mayormente dicen … que somos más mulatos que negros e indios. Mayormente los dominicanos son mulatos*,' SDQ_INT4). Another participant in Santo Domingo positions Dominican typicality in the middle space, 'We are neither *morenos* nor *blancos* ('*No somos ni morenos ni blancos*,' SDQ_INT6). Two other participants state that the 'typical Dominican' could represent any physical profile except *blanco*. The first participant states:

> Within *indio*, *mulato, moreno, negro* and *haitiano* … It is that it can be from all [profiles] … it is very broad, but do not look for it in *blanco* or *rubio* … Like my nephews, they do not appear Dominican because they are too white.

'*Dentro de indio, mulato, prieto, moreno, negro y haitiano … Es que puede ser de todos … es muy amplio, pero no lo busques dentro de lo blanco o lo rubio … Como mis sobrinos, no parecen dominicanos porque son demasiado blancos*,' SDQ_INT5).

The second participant states, 'The majority of the Dominican nation is a *mulato, negro* nation, everything except *blanco*' ('*La mayoría del pueblo dominicano es un pueblo moreno, mulato, negro, todo menos blanco*,' DAJ_INT2).

One participant invokes eyes color as part of the 'typical Dominican' profile and uses as an example Dominican American professional baseball player Alex Rodríguez, 'Alex Rodríguez is [a] descendant of Dominicans. He does not seem Dominican. People do not associate light eyes with Dominicans' ('*Alex Rodríguez. Es descendiente de dominicanos. No parece dominicano. La gente no asocian ojos claros con dominicanos*,' STI_INT7). She continues, 'Eyes complement the idea that someone forms' ('*Los ojos complentan la idea que uno forma*,' STI_INT7).

A participant in Santiago views several images and comments on how the person in each image would be positioned with respect to Dominican typicality. For this participant, FEMALE_7 is Dominican, without qualification. FEMALE_2 could be Dominican, but could also be Mexican or Central American. FEMALE_1 does not appear Dominican; FEMALE_5 is Dominican, more or less; and FEMALE_8 could be Haitian because of her dark color and full lips. FEMALE_4 is Dominican, and the participant asks where FEMALE_6 is from. MALE_1 is a Dominican from a mountain region; MALE_2, MALE_5, MALE_6, and MALE_7 are Dominican; and MALE_3 appears to be Haitian, even though he has lighter skin, because of his nose and his mouth. MALE_4 could be Mexican or Colombian (see Figure 80).
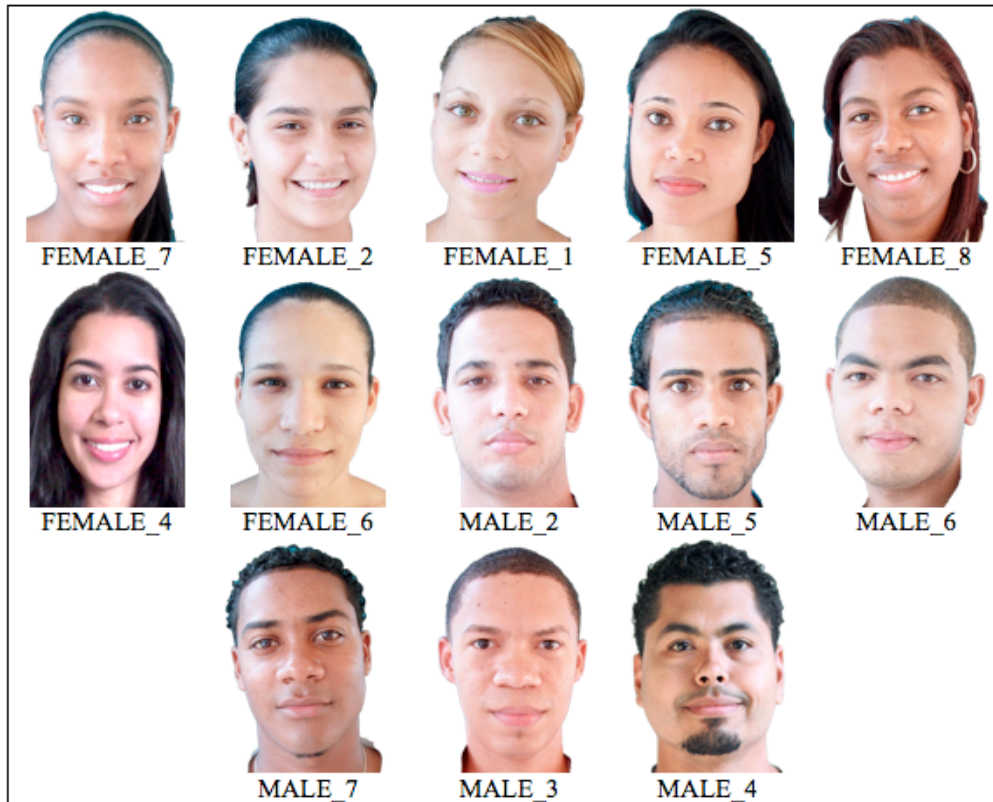
Figure 80: Images Evaluated by Interview Participant for Dominicanness

When considering whether there can be such a thing as a 'typical Dominican,' interview participants, while acknowledging broad physical diversity, generally place Dominican typicality as a mixed identity and emphasize that it is not a white identity.

B. *Experiment 1: ¿Dominicano o no?*

The following experiment explores how Dominicans see and delimit *la raza dominicana* – which physical profiles fall within the perceived boundaries of *dominicanidad* and which are peripheral. Otherwise stated, what physical information is included in the term *dominicano*, and what information is excluded? To explore this question, 64 participants in Santo Domingo and Dajabón were asked to examine 48 color photographs and indicate whether the person in each photo was Dominican. The results from this experiment appear

below.

1. Overall

Each of the 64 participants evaluates the perceived *dominicanidad* of individuals in 48 images, yielding a total of 3,072 data points. The results are as follows. Participants determine individual images to appear Dominican between 17.19 percent and 89.06 percent of the time. Participants additionally describe the *matiz racial* of the person in each image, and participants associate racial terms (e.g., *blanco, indio, negro*) with Dominicanness between 38.26 percent and 77.79 percent of the time. Figure 81 contains the frequency data for perceived Dominicanness by *matiz racial* category.
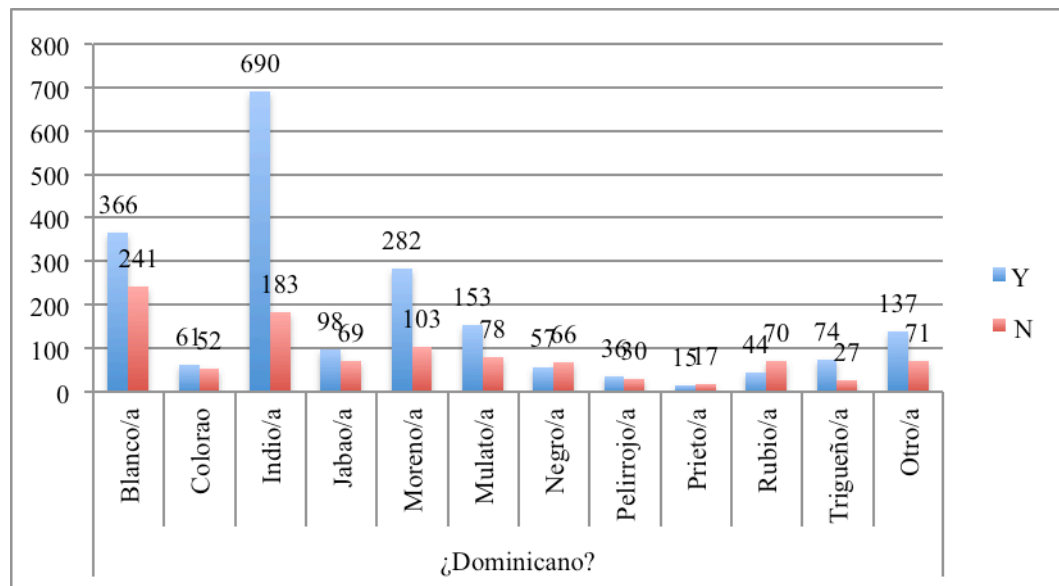
Figure 81: Perceived Dominicanness by *Matiz Racial* Category

When weighted by category, *indio* (77.8%) and *moreno* (76.4%) are the terms that participants most frequently use to describe images that they determine to be Dominican. *Rubio* (38.3%) is the category that participants least frequently use when identifying a person as Dominican. Overall, participants determine images from all categories to appear more Dominican than not, with the exception of images described as *negro* (46.3%), *prieto*

(45.5%), and *rubio* (38.3.%).

Table 112. Cross-Tabulation: Dominicanness, *Matiz Racial*

	Y	N	YN	None	
Blanco/a	**366 (59.9%)**	241 (39.4%)	**3 (0.5%)**	**1 (0.2%)**	611
Colorao	**61 (53.9%)**	52 (46.0%)			113
Indio/a	**690 (77.8%)**	183 (20.6%)	**10 (1.1%)**	**4 (0.6%)**	887
Jabao/a	**98 (57.7%)**	69 (40.6%)	**3 (1.8%)**		170
Moreno/a	**282 (76.4%)**	103 (27.9%)	**1 (0.3%)**		369
Mulato/a	**153 (65.7%)**	78 (33.5%)	**2 (0.9%)**		233
Negro/a	57 (46.3%)	**66 (53.7%)**			123
Pelirrojo/a	**36 (53.7%)**	30 (44.8%)	**1 (1.5%)**		67
Prieto/a	15 (45.5%)	**17 (51.5%)**	**1 (3.0%)**		33
Rubio/a	44 (38.3%)	**70 (60.9%)**	**1 (0.9%)**		115
Trigueño/a	**74 (72.6%)**	27 (26.5%)	**1 (0.9%)**		102
Otro/a	**137 (65.9%)**	71 (34.1%)			208
None	8 (33.3%)	4 (16.7%)	3 (12.5%)	9 (37.5%)	24
	2021	1011	26	14	3072
	65.79%	32.91%	0.85%	0.46%	

Table 113 contains four 1-to-1 association rules that derive from the relationship between the variables DESCRIPTION (*matiz racial* term) and DOMINICAN (evaluation of Dominicanness). These rules predict that participants that describe an image as *trigueño, mulato, moreno,* or *indio*, will also judge the image to look Dominican.

Table 113. Association Rules: DESCRIPTION, DOMINICAN

	If	*Then*	Support	Confidence	Lift
1	{DESCRIPTION= TRIGUENO}	{DOMINICAN=Y}	0.024	0.725	1.107
2	{DESCRIPTION= MULATO}	{DOMINICAN=Y}	0.049	0.652	0.996
3	{DESCRIPTION= MORENO}	{DOMINICAN=Y}	0.092	0.731	1.115
4	{DESCRIPTION= INDIO}	{DOMINICAN=Y}	0.223	0.773	1.181

From these evaluations, additional patterns emerge regarding the images most frequently, least frequently, and equally frequently described as Dominican.

The four profiles most frequently identified as Dominican appear in Figure 82: MALE_20, MALE_2, FEMALE_19, and FEMALE_25. The most frequent image of *dominicanidad* is MALE_20, identified as *dominicano* by 89.06 percent of participants. The second most frequent image is MALE_2, identified as *dominicano* by 87.5 percent of participants. Participants have identified FEMALE_19 and FEMALE_25 as *dominicana* in 85.94 percent of cases.

| MALE_20 | MALE_2 | FEMALE_19 | FEMALE_25 |

Figure 82: Images Most Frequently Identified as Dominican (SDQ, DAJ)

These evaluations confirm that a diverse range of physical profiles fit comfortably (here, with a 85.94 to 89.06 percent consensus) within the notion of *la raza dominicana*. This diversity is further revealed in the terminology used by participants to describe the *matiz racial* of the images. Participants describe MALE_20 as *moreno* (34.38 percent) and *indio* (34.38 percent) with equal frequency. This result is noteworthy for two reasons. First, it indicates the centrality of the *moreno* profile within *la raza dominicana*; second, it reveals the physical breadth of the category *indio*. MALE_2 is described as *blanco* (56.25 percent) and *indio* / *indio claro* (23.44 percent). Participants primarily describe FEMALE_19 as *blanca* (51.56 percent), and FEMALE_25 as *india* (53.13 percent). These results tend to suggest that there is a *moreno* profile, a *blanco/blanca* profile, and an *indio/india* profile that fit squarely within conceptions of *dominicanidad*.

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Notwithstanding the physical diversity of the Dominican Republic, participants have very clear ideas about which profiles fall at the periphery of Dominican racial identity. The four profiles least frequently identified as Dominican appear in Figure 83: MALE_10, MALE_1, MALE_11, and FEMALE_16. The least frequently identified image is MALE_10, identified as *dominicano* by only 17.19 percent of participants. MALE_1[29] is identified as *dominicano* by 28.13 percent of participants. Participants have identified MALE_11 as *dominicano* in 29.69 percent of cases, and FEMALE_16 as *dominicana* in 35.94 percent of cases. These evaluations reveal an interesting pattern in the profiles that fall at the periphery of *la raza dominicana*. With respect to *matiz racial*, MALE_10 is described as *rubio* (45.31 percent) and *blanco* (28.13 percent). MALE_1 is described as *blanco* (39.06 percent) and *rubio* (25 percent). MALE_11 is described as *blanco* (29.69 percent), *colorao* (18.75 percent) and *indio* (17.19 percent). FEMALE_16 is described as *india* (28.13 percent) and *blanca* (26.56 percent). All four of the images least frequently judged to be Dominican share a common descriptor – *blanco/a*.

MALE_10   MALE_1   MALE_11   FEMALE_16

Figure 83: Images Least Frequently Identified as Dominican (SDQ, DAJ)

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[29] 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.

As noted above, there is a *blanco/a* profile that fits squarely within *dominicanidad* (e.g., MALE_2, FEMALE_19 in Figure 82 above). The evaluations of the images in Figure 83, however, reveal that there is also a *blanco/a* profile that falls at the periphery of *dominicanidad*. Participants have described 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 answers, "No," that MALE_1 does not appear Dominican. "*Si es dominicano…*" the participant continues, "*…es cibaeño*" ('If he is Dominican, he's [from the Cibao Valley region]'), evoking again the relationship between race and region. Participants associate the northern region of the country with lighter physical profiles, profiles that might not otherwise fall within the perceived physical boundaries of Dominicanness. Participants also assign MALE_11 and FEMALE_16, who share the overlapping descriptors of *blanco/a* and *indio/a*, outsider identities – describing both as *americano/a* and *español/a.* Participants additionally describe MALE_11 as *boricua* ('Puerto Rican') and FEMALE_16 as *argentina* ('Argentine'). These results suggest that there is a physical *blanco/a* profile that participants associate with Europe, the United States, and other Latin American countries, that falls outside of contemporary conceptions of *la raza dominicana*.

The three profiles identified as Dominican and as not Dominican with nearly equal frequency appear in Figure 84: MALE_23, MALE_4, and FEMALE_9. Participants identify MALE_23 as *dominicano* in 48.44 percent of cases. MALE_4 and FEMALE_9 are identified as *dominicano/a* by 50 percent of participants.

Figure 84: Images Described as Dominican and as Not Dominican with Nearly Equal Frequency

These evaluations reveal additional information about the physical profiles that are equally likely to be considered Dominican or *extranjero* ('foreigner'). Regarding *matiz racial*, participants describe MALE_23 as *negro* (51.56 percent) and *prieto* (26.56 percent); MALE_4 as *indio* (39.06 percent) and *blanco* (26.56 percent); and FEMALE_9 as *blanca* (39.06 percent) and *jabá* (23.44 percent). The three profiles in this category are diverse, representing a spectrum of physical characteristics. Participants that identify MALE_23 as *extranjero* describe him as *haitiano* ('Haitian') and *africano* ('African'). Participants that describe MALE_23 as Dominican, describe him as having *descendencia africana* ('African descent'). The presence of this profile in this category 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. In this instance, participants describe MALE_23 as *negro* or *prieto* and are nearly equally likely to identify him as Dominican or not Dominican.

MALE_4 is another profile that intersects the categories of *indio* and *blanco* (Cf. MALE_2, MALE_11, FEMALE_16 in Figures 82 and 83 above), and, in this case, participants identify the image as Dominican and *extranjero* in equal proportion.

Participants that identify MALE_4 as *extranjero* describe him as *árabe* ('Arab'), *azteca* ('Aztec'), *americano* ('American'), and *mexicano* ('Mexican'). Participants that describe FEMALE_9 as *extranjera* do not assign her a specific nationality.

The results show that there is space for diverse profiles to fit comfortably within *dominicanidad*. The profiles that most frequently fall at the periphery of *la raza dominicana* are *blancos* and *rubios* believed to be *extranjeros*. The profile of the *negro* or *prieto* is understood to be as equally likely to be Dominican or *extranjero*. The following sections explore how these results change when divided by research site: Santo Domingo vs. Dajabón.

2. Santo Domingo

As overall, when weighted by category, *indio* (75.0%) and *moreno* (74.5%) are the terms that participants most frequently use to describe images that they determine to be Dominican. In contrast to the overall results, participants in Santo Domingo least frequently use *prieto* (and not *rubio*) when identifying a person as Dominican (35.7%). As overall, participants determine images from all categories to appear more Dominican than not, with the exception of images described as *prieto* (35.7%) and *rubio* (38.3%).

Table 114. Cross-Tabulation: Dominicanness, *Matiz Racial* (SDQ)

	Y	N	YN	None	
Blanco/a	**155 (56.2%)**	120 (43.5%)	**1 (0.4%)**		276
Colorao	**25 (52.1%)**	23 (47.9%)			48
Indio/a	**300 (75.0%)**	95 (23.8%)	**5 (1.3%)**		400
Jabao/a	**42 (60.0%)**	27 (38.6%)	**1 (1.4%)**		70
Moreno/a	**120 (74.5%)**	41 (25.5%)			161
Mulato/a	**91 (69.5%)**	39 (29.8%)	**1 (0.8%)**		131
Negro/a	**41 (56.2%)**	**32 (43.8%)**			73
Pelirrojo/a	21 (48.8%)	21 (48.8%)	**1 (2.3%)**		43
Prieto/a	5 (35.7%)	**8 (57.4%)**	**1 (7.1%)**		14
Rubio/a	23 (38.3%)	**36 (60.0%)**		**1 (1.7%)**	60

	Y	N	YN	None	
Trigueño/a	**16 (59.3%)**	10 (37.0%)	**1 (3.7%)**		**27**
Otro/a	**126**	51			**177**
None	3	2	3		**8**
	968	505	14	1	1488
	65.05%	33.94%	0.94%	0.07%	

Participants in Santo Domingo are slightly less likely than overall to describe a *blanco, colorao, indio, moreno, pelirrojo, prieto* or *trigueño* as Dominican. Participants in Santo Domingo are slightly more likely than overall to describe a *jabao, mulato, negro,* or *rubio* as Dominican.

3. Dajabón

As overall and in Santo Domingo, when weighted by category, *indio* (80.08%) is the term that participants most frequently use to describe images that they determine to be Dominican. In contrast to the overall results and Santo Domingo results, *trigueño* (and not *moreno*) is the second term that participants most frequently use to describe images that they perceive to be Dominican. In contrast to the overall results and Santo Domingo results, participants in Dajabón least frequently use *negro* (and not *rubio* or *prieto*) when identifying a person as Dominican (32.0%). As overall, participants determine images from all categories to appear more Dominican than not, with the exception of images described as *negro* (32.0%) and *rubio* (38.18%).

Table 115. Cross Tabulation: Dominicanness, *Matiz Racial* (DAJ)

	Y	N	YN	None	
Blanco/a	**211 (62.9%)**	121 (36.1%)	**2 (0.6%)**	**1 (0.3%)**	**335**
Colorao	**36 (55.4%)**	29 (44.6%)			**65**
Indio/a	**390 (80.1%)**	88 (18.1%)	**5 (1.0%)**	**4 (0.8%)**	**487**
Jabao/a	**56 (56.0%)**	42 (42.0%)	**2 (2.0%)**		**100**
Moreno/a	**162 (72.0%)**	62 (27.6%)	**1 (0.4%)**		**225**

	Y	N	YN	None	
Mulato/a	**62 (60.8%)**	39 (38.2%)	**1 (0.9%)**		102
Negro/a	16 (32.0%)	**34 (68.0%)**			50
Pelirrojo/a	**15 (62.5%)**	9 (37.5%)			24
Prieto/a	**10 (52.6%)**	9 (47.4%)			19
Rubio/a	21 (38.2%)	**34 (61.8%)**			55
Trigueño/a	**58 (77.3%)**	17 (22.7%)			75
Otro/a	**11**	20			31
None	5	2		9	16
	1053	506	11	14	1584
	66.48%	31.94%	0.69%	0.88%	

An association rules analysis of these data reveals that there is a relationship between the research site and whether an image will be judged to look Dominican. Rule 1 in Table 116 predicts that participants in Dajabón are slightly more likely to evaluate images as Dominican.

Table 116. Association Rule: RESEARCH SITE, DOMINICAN

	If	*Then*	Support	Confidence	Lift
1	{RESEARCH.SITE=DAJ}	{DOMINICAN=Y}	0.3423	0.665	1.015

Participants in Dajabón are slightly less likely than overall to describe a *jabao, moreno, mulato, negro,* or *rubio* as Dominican. Participants in Dajabón are slightly more likely than overall to describe a *blanco, colorao, indio, pelirrojo, prieto* or *trigueño* as Dominican.

Across research sites, participants least frequently describe as Dominican individuals that fall at the poles of the physical spectrum—*rubio* and *prieto / negro*. Still, there is some regional variation in the frequency with which participants associate these terms and their corresponding physical images with Dominicanness. For example, images described as *prieto* in Dajabón are more frequently determined to be Dominican than images described as *negro*, an interesting dynamic in this Dominican-Haitian border region. In Santo Domingo, the opposite is true. Images described as *negro* are more frequently determined to be

Dominican than images described as *prieto*. At both sites, the less extreme categories *blanco* and *moreno* are more frequently described as Dominican, except that participants determine *blanco* to be Dominican more frequently in Dajabón and *moreno* to be Dominican more frequently in Santo Domingo.

Engaging the ideology of "Race as Nationality," this section has explored how Dominicans see and delimit *la raza dominicana*. Engaging the Nationality paradigm of race, as a physical index, brings a new perspective to the question of contemporary racial identity in the Dominican Republic. The next section examines additional considerations of race, region, and typicality.

C. Experiment 2: Dominicano Típico

Whereas the preceding analysis has examined the broad spectrum of physical profiles that fall within *la raza dominicana*, the present analysis specifically examines how the notion of typicality engages factors such as race and region. When asked directly, many Dominicans will respond that there is no single image of the "typical Dominican," as in the case of a participant that stated, "*Todos los representa*[*n*] *porque somo*[*s*] *un país de muchas diver*[*s*]*idades*" ('They [the photos] all represent them because we are a country of many diversities'). Notwithstanding the challenge of the task, participants are able to identify physical profiles that conform to specific notions of *dominicanidad*. The following discussion engages participant perceptions to gauge the physical indices of typicality as understood in the Dominican Republic.

To explore this question, 268 participants in Santiago and Santo Domingo were asked to complete a photo description questionnaire, as a part of which participants examine 16 color

photographs and, among other tasks, indicate which of the 16 photos most represents *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 the physical profiles of typicality, as well as the *matiz racial* descriptors used to describe the images.

1. Overall

Of 227 given responses, 202 participants identify an image (and corresponding *matiz racial*), and 25 participants identify only *matiz racial*. The results are as follows. Three images are most frequently identified as *el dominicano típico*: MALE_7 (15.42 percent), FEMALE_5 (14.98 percent), and FEMALE_8 (13.22 percent) (Figure 85). Participants describe MALE_7 as *moreno* (62.86 percent) and *negro* (22.86 percent); FEMALE_5 as *india* (44.12 percent) and *mulata* (20.59 percent); and FEMALE_8 as *morena* (66.67 percent). These results frame an image of the "typical Dominican" that engages the *moreno/a, indio/a, negro/a,* and *mulato/a* profiles.

MALE_7   FEMALE_5   FEMALE_8

Figure 85: Images Most Frequently Identified as *Dominicano Típico*

Expanding the analysis beyond the three most frequently identified images confirms this

pattern. Overall, the modal *matiz racial* descriptor for images identified as *dominicano típico* is *moreno/a* (32.16 percent), followed by *indio/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). The remaining descriptors, those used with least frequency, are *trigueño/a* (4.85 percent), *jabao/a* (3.08 percent), *prieto/a* (2.20 percent), and *colorao* (1.76 percent). These results confirm that for study participants the image of typicality evokes the physical profile of the *moreno*, as typified by the images of MALE_7 and FEMALE_8.

It is worth noting here that what participants are describing is *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* (Guzmán, 1974). This stands in stark contrast to prevailing narratives. These results, though instructive, are not the end of the inquiry.

The following two sections explore the relationship between participant self description and participant assessment of typicality, and the relationship between region and participant assessment of typicality. As discussed in previous sections, Dominican racial identity is not a monolith, and informed analyses must acknowledge and engage regional and ideological differences.

2. Self Description

As with description of *matiz racial* (in Chapter 6), participants describe the typical Dominican in a way that relates to their own self description. Whereas, overall, participants describe the *dominicano típico* as *blanco* in 9.7 percent of responses, participants that

describe themselves as *blanco* identify the typical Dominican as *blanco* at twice the frequency (20.0%). The same is true for *indio*. Overall, participants describe the typical Dominican as *indio* in 24.7 percent of responses, participants that also describe themselves as *indio* identify the *dominicano típico* as *indio* in 33.3 percent of cases. Participants that describe themselves as *moreno* also describe the typical Dominican as *moreno* at a higher frequency (41.9%) than expected (32.2%). Likewise, while participants describe the *dominicano típico* as *mulato* in 11.45 percent of responses, participants that describe themselves as *mulato* identify the typical Dominican as *mulato* in 25 percent of cases. These participants additionally describe the typical Dominican as *negro* at a higher than expected frequency (41.7% vs. 9.7%). While participants describe the *dominicano típico* as *negro* in 9.69 percent of responses, participants that also describe themselves as *negro* are nearly twice as likely to use *negro* (18.8%). These participants also describe the typical Dominican as *moreno* at a higher frequency (37.5%) than expected (32.16%).

Table 117. Cross-Tabulation: Participant Description, Description of *Dominicano Típico*

	blanco	colorao	indio	jabao	moreno	mulato	negro	prieto	trigueño	other	
blanco	5 (20%)	1 (4%)	4 (2%)	1 (4%)	5 (20%)	6 (24%)	1 (4%)	1 (4%)	1 (4%)		25
indio	9 (11.1%)	2 (2.5%)	27 (33.3%)	3 (3.7%)	25 (30.9%)	5 (6.2%)	6 (7.4%)	1 (1.2%)	3 (3.7%)		81
moreno			8 (25.8%)	1 (3.2%)	13 (41.9%)	5 (16.1%)	1 (3.2%)	1 (3.2%)	2 (6.5%)		31
mulato			3 (25%)		1 (8.3%)	3 (25%)	5 (41.7%)				12
negro	1 (6.3%)		2 (12.5%)		6 (37.5%)	2 (12.5%)	3 (18.8%)	1 (6.3%)		1	16
rubio		1 (100%)									1
trigueño			2 (50%)		1 (25%)				1 (25%)		4
Other	4		7	1	14	5	2	1	31		15
Blank	3		3	1	8		4				19
	22	4	56	7	73	26	22	5	11	1	227
	9.69%	1.76%	24.67%	3.08%	32.16%	11.45%	9.69%	2.20%	4.85%	0.44%	

Although the frequency data suggest a relationship between participant self description and

identification of a typical image, the image description does not always vary with the

participant description. The association rules in Table 118 are an example. Rule 1 predicts

that participants that describe themselves as *blanco* and identify MALE_2 as the 'typical

Dominican' will describe MALE_2 as *blanco*. Likewise, Rule 2 predicts that participants

that describe themselves as *indio* and identify MALE_2 as the 'typical Dominican' will also

describe MALE_2 as *blanco*.

Table 118. Association Rules: PART. DESCRIPTION, IMAGE, DESCRIPTION

	If	*Then*	Support	Confidence	Lift
1	{PARTICIPANT_DESCRIPTION=BLANCO, IMAGE=MALE_2}	{DESCRIPTION=BLANCO}	0.013	0.750	7.739
2	{PARTICIPANT_DESCRIPTION=INDIO, IMAGE=MALE_2}	{DESCRIPTION=BLANCO}	0.013	1.000	10.318

3. Region

As with self description in the previous section, participants describe the typical

Dominican in a way that relates to the region in which the participant lives.

Table 119. Cross-Tabulation: Location, Description of *Dominicano Típico*

	blanco	colorao	indio	jabao	moreno	mulato	negro	prieto	trigueño	Other	
SDQ	6 (5.4%)	2 (1.8%)	24 (21.6%)	4 (3.6%)	43 (38.7%)	14 (12.6%)	9 (8.1%)	2 (1.8%)	6 (5.4%)	1	111
STI	16 (13.8%)	2 (1.7%)	32 (27.6%)	3 (2.6%)	30 (25.9%)	12 (10.3%)	13 (11.2%)	3 (2.6%)	5 (4.3%)		116
	22	4	56	7	73	26	22	5	11	1	227
	9.69%	1.76%	24.67%	3.08%	32.16%	11.45%	9.69%	2.20%	4.85%	0.44%	

As between Santiago and Santo Domingo, participants in Santiago are more likely to

identify the typical Dominican as *blanco*; participants from both sites identify the typical

Dominican as *colorao* with equal frequency; participants in Santiago are more likely to

identify the typical Dominican as *indio*; participants in Santo Domingo are slightly more

likely to identify the typical Dominican as *jabao* and substantially more likely to identify the typical Dominican as *moreno*; participants in Santo Domingo are also slightly more likely to identify the typical Dominican as *mulato*; participants in Santiago are slightly more likely to identify the typical Dominican as *negro* or *prieto*; and participants in Santo Domingo are slightly more likely to identify the typical Dominican as *trigueño*.

The following sections will further examine the *dominicano típico* results by region, and analyze the ways in which these results mirror and diverge from the overall results.

a. Santiago de los Caballeros

The 144 participants presented with the *dominicano típico* task in Santiago generate 116 responses. As in the overall results, the most frequently identified images are MALE_7, FEMALE_ 5, and FEMALE_8. What differs in Santiago is the order of frequency of the images. Whereas MALE_7 is the modal image of *el dominicano típico* overall, FEMALE_5 (19.83 percent) is the modal 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. Figure 86 contains these frequency data.
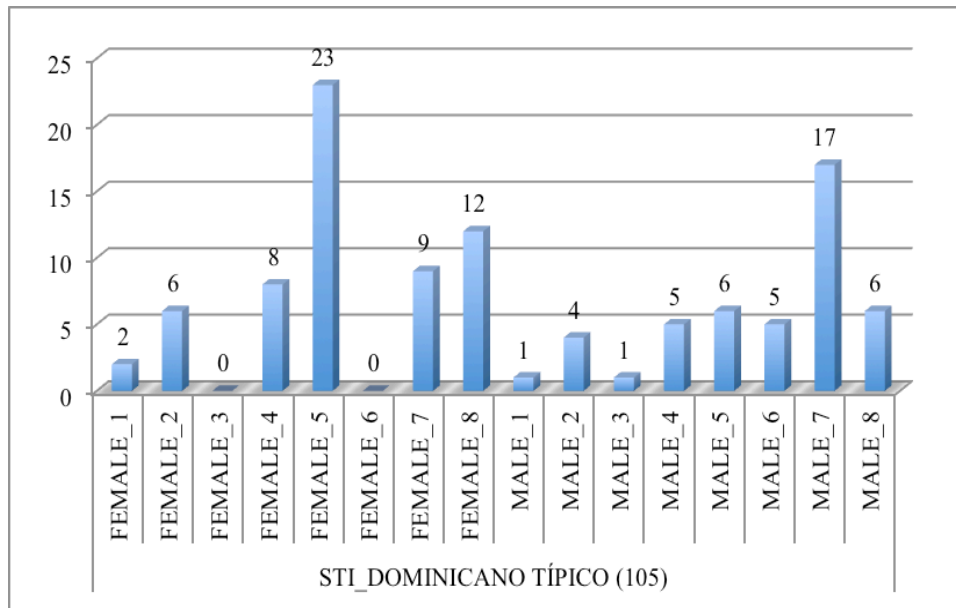
Figure 86: *Dominicano Típico* by Image (Santiago)

Table 120 contains two 1-to-1 association rules that derive from the relationship between the variables IMAGE and RESEARCH SITE. These rules predict that participants that identify FEMALE_4 or FEMALE_5 as the typical Dominican will be from Santiago.

Table 120. Association Rules: IMAGE, RESEARCH SITE

	If	*Then*	Support	Confidence	Lift
1	{IMAGE=FEMALE_4}	{RESEARCH.SITE= SANTIAGO}	0.035	0.727	1.423
2	{IMAGE=FEMALE_5}	{RESEARCH.SITE= SANTIAGO}	0.101	0.676	1.324

An examination of the *matiz racial* descriptors used to describe the images reveals that the change in frequency from the overall results between MALE_7 and FEMALE_5 is matched by a corresponding change in the relative frequency of *matiz racial* descriptors. Whereas, overall, the modal descriptor is *moreno/a*, followed by *indio/a*, the modal descriptor in Santiago is *indio/a* (27.59 percent), followed by *moreno/a* (25.86 percent). These results tend to suggest that the image of typicality in Santiago conforms to a slightly lighter profile than in the overall results.
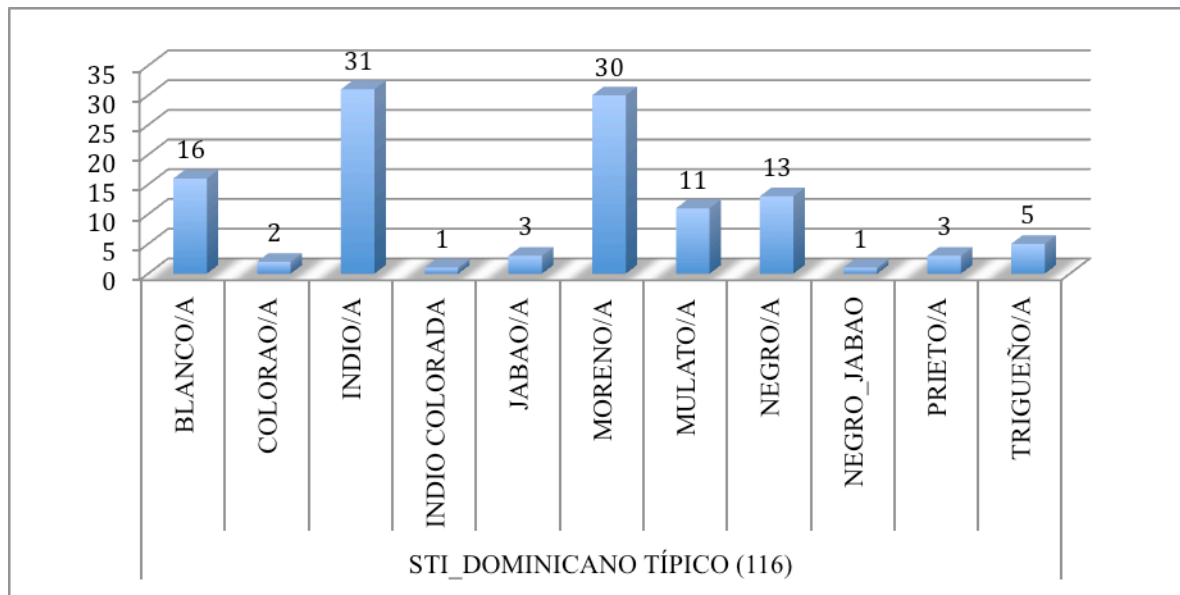
Figure 87: *Dominicano Típico* by Term (Santiago)

The association rule in Table 121 predicts that participants that identify the 'typical Dominican' as *blanco* will be from Santiago.

Table 121. Association Rule: DESCRIPTION, RESEARCH SITE

	If	*Then*	Support	Confidence	Lift
1	{DESCRIPTION= BLANCO}	{RESEARCH.SITE= SANTIAGO}	0.070	0.727	1.423

b. Santo Domingo

The 124 participants presented with the *dominicano típico* task in Santo Domingo generate 111 responses. As in the overall results, and in Santiago, the most frequently identified images are MALE_7, FEMALE_ 5, and FEMALE_8. In Santo Domingo, however, the order of frequency differs from both 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. Figure 88 contains these
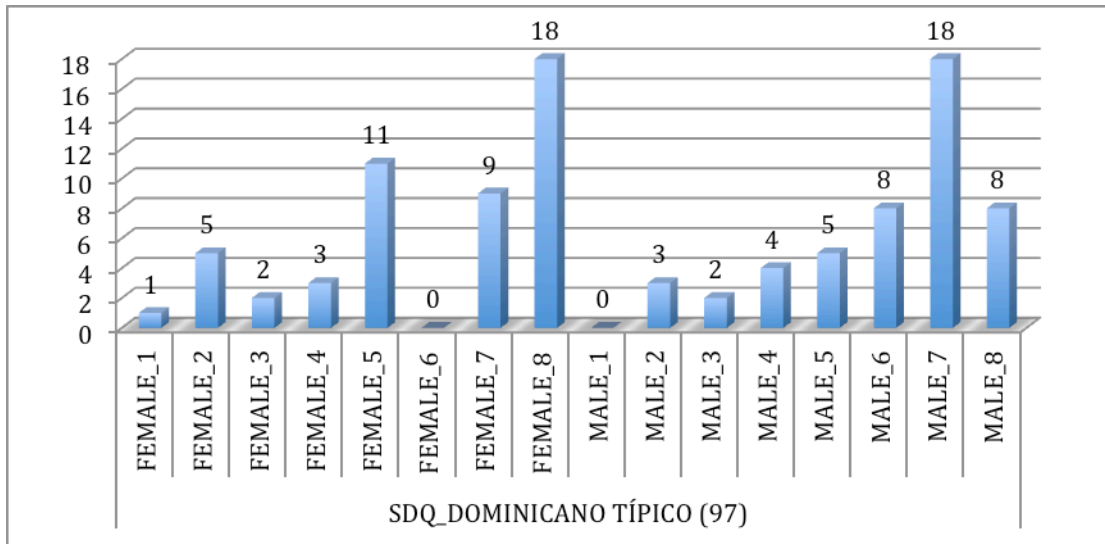
frequency data.

Figure 88: *Dominicano Típico* by Image (SDQ)

Viewing the results overall and across sites prompts the question of the relationship among race, gender and typicality in the Dominican Republic. The most frequently identified image overall, and the most frequently identified male image at each research site, is MALE_7 – identified by participants 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*, representing an intermediate to light profile. The most typical female image in Santo Domingo, however, is FEMALE_8 – described as *morena*, and representing a distinct physical profile from that presented by FEMALE_5. 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.

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)*, blanco/a* (5.41 percent)*, trigueño/a* (5.41 percent)*, jabao/a* (3.6 percent). A slight difference occurs with the two least frequent descriptors *prieto/a* (1.8 percent) and *colorao/a* (1.8 percent). Whereas, overall, *prieto* is slightly more frequent than *colorao/a*, the two profiles appear with equal frequency in the results from Santo Domingo.
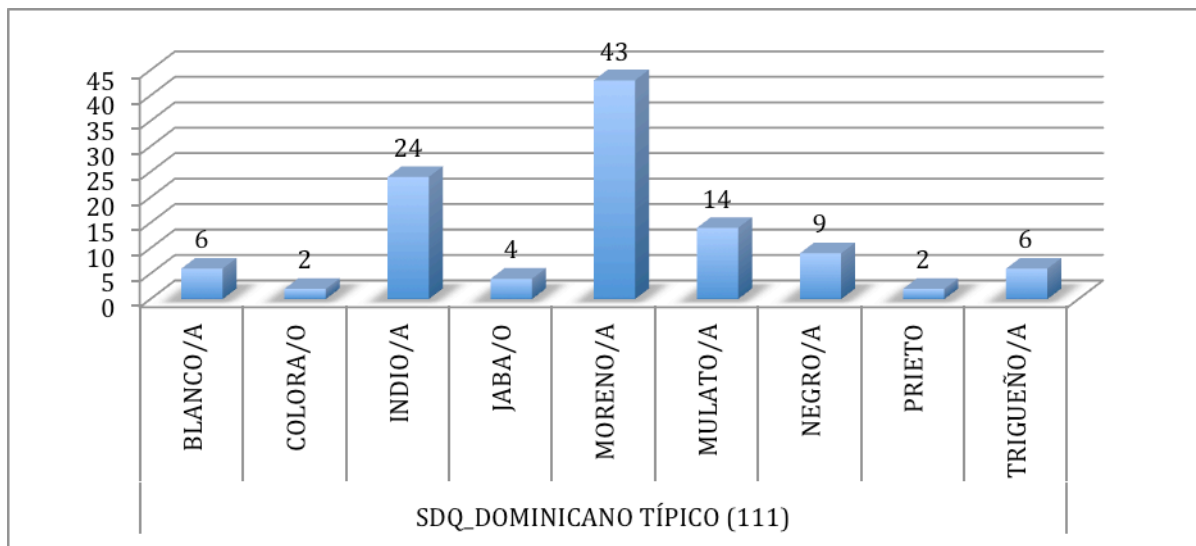
Figure 89: *Dominicano Típico* by Term (SDQ)

The present section has examined how the notion of typicality in the Dominican Republic engages factors such as race and region. The results show that, overall, participants most frequently associate typicality with the profile of the *moreno/a*. This association changes slightly when examined by region, where, for example, the most typical profile in Santiago is the *indio/a*. That Dominicans are conceptualizing 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.

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D. Chapter Summary

This chapter has discussed data from three settings regarding how participants understand the relationship between racial categories and Dominican typicality. Engaging the Nationality paradigm of race, this section has explored how Dominicans see and delimit *la raza dominicana*. In this first section, interview participants acknowledge broad physical diversity within the Dominican racial setting and generally position typicality within the categories of *indio* and *trigueño*. These participants also emphasize that *blanco* is not a 'typical' Dominican identity. In the second section, survey participants in Santo Domingo and Dajabón evaluate images to delimit the physical boundaries of Dominicanness and position *moreno, blanco,* and *indio* profiles as most Dominican and *blanco* and *rubio* profiles as least Dominican. The final section examines how the notion of Dominican typicality engages factors such as race and region. The results show that, overall, participants most frequently associate typicality with the profile of the *moreno/a*. When examined by region, a gender-based distinction emerges, confirming the typicality of the *moreno* profile across regions, while suggesting that notions of female racial typicality may vary by region. These results highlight again the importance of regionally informed analysis.

Chapter 8

Conclusion and Implications

This dissertation has employed language as a lens through which to understand the complex system of knowledge embedded in race and racialized skin color categories in the Dominican Republic. This linguistic perspective brings unique analytical benefits to the interdisciplinary conversation on the meaning of race in the Dominican Republic. A linguistic lens facilitates the analysis of racial terms for culturally-specific physical and social meaning, does not assume equivalence between cognate forms in different languages, and presents an analysis that does not rely on traditionally unstated assumptions. Moreover, this examination of Dominican racial categories does not defer to external defaults.

This chapter summarizes the conclusions and implications of the present study and is divided into four sections. The first section comprises an overview and final discussion of the findings with respect to each of the study's five research questions. The second section discusses the implications of the study for the fields of semantics, sociocultural linguistics, and racial and ethnic studies. The third section discusses directions for further research; and the final section delivers concluding remarks.

A. Overview and Final Discussion of the Findings

The introduction to this dissertation identifies several unstated, and largely unchallenged, assumptions that underlie prevailing discourses about the Dominican Racial setting:

(1) Dominicans have African ancestry.

(2) African ancestry is equivalent to blackness and must correspond to black identity.

(3) The term black in the U.S. is equivalent to the term *negro* in the Dominican

Republic.

(4) *Indio* denotes, and may only denote, indigenous heritage.

(5) Race is an objective thing that is constant across languages and cultures.

(6) No distinction need be made between race and skin color.

The findings from the present study interact with these assumptions in interesting and, sometimes, unexpected ways.

1. Findings for Research Question 1: *What physical information is embedded in racial terms in the Dominican Republic?*

In Chapter 5, interview participants associate racial categories with specific physical characteristics including skin color, hair color and texture, facial features, and features of the body. Participants talk about physical prototypes for each category and discuss the ways in which category boundaries are "fuzzy," allowing for category overlap and positioning clusters of racial terms as non-exclusive spaces. Survey participant responses in Chapter 6 confirm the prototypes and fuzzy boundaries discussed in Chapter 5. In addition, a quantitative analysis of the survey data reveals that racial categories are being defined as much by the characteristics of a particular image as by the characteristics of a particular participant. For example, while the RGB values for skin color, hair color, and eye color correspond to trends in physical description, so do factors such as region and participant self description. The physical information embedded in these racial categories is thus very nuanced and inflected by a number of different contextual factors.

2. Findings for Research Question 2: *What social information is embedded in racial terms in the Dominican Republic?*

In Chapter 5, interview participants discuss the social information embedded in the study's focal racial terms. This information includes parameters of use (e.g., You can yell out *rubio* to catch someone's attention but not *blanco*), connotations (e.g., Absent a modifier, *prieto* conveys low education, low socioeconomic status, and negative affect), and persistent racial hierarchy (e.g., *Negro* is used to emphasize negative characteristics). An understanding of this social meaning, in addition to physical meaning, is thus necessary for the navigation of Dominican racial categories. Participants emphasize that each category does not exist in isolation, but rather as part of a racial hierarchy that privileges whiteness and disparages blackness.

Survey participants describe 16 images using the study's focal racial terms and evaluate social characteristics of the individuals in these images. The analysis of these responses in Chapter 6 reveals, overall, the evaluations for all racial terms follow the same general trends for each social characteristic. For example, for the social characteristic "Wealth," where the overall trend was for images to appear more *pobre* than *rico*, the same was true for the results within racial categories. Variance occurs, however, when the frequencies of individual ratings are examined by racial category and by social characteristic.

3. Findings for Research Question 3: *How has the meaning of racial terms changed over time in the Dominican Republic?*

The diachronic nature of this dissertation sheds light on the complex questions of this study from multiple perspectives and permits the analysis of meaning for the study's focal racial terms over time. First, the colonial legacy of race is rooted in race as traceable lineage,

race as legal status, whiteness as aspiration, and blackness as regression. Historically, gender was also a salient component in the construction of racial categories. Over time, physical appearance has come to trump lineage in determining racial categories, although lineage is still highly salient in the specific case of Haitian descent. The analysis further demonstrates that a core group of racial terms has persisted since the colonial period, while others—such as *tercerón, cuarterón,* and *saltapatrás* have waned. Over time, the meaning of some terms has evolved, as with *negro*, which no longer denotes enslaved status, and *indio*, which may now refer to skin color instead of race. This analysis also demonstrates that certain additional characteristics of contemporary Dominican racial categories are persistent legacies of the colonial system. One such characteristic is the nature of skin color categories as non-exclusive spaces in this setting, a fact demonstrated by 16th-century legal documents and by interview and survey participants in the contemporary Dominican Republic. This flexibility is not rooted in confusion as posited by external critics, but is rather rooted in a comfort with mixture and category overlap that has been present in this racial system for more than 500 years.

4. Findings for Research Question 4: *What does the meaning of racial terms reveal about the notion of* raza *in the Dominican Republic?*

After centuries of meaning making in the Dominican Republic, the word *raza* (≈'race') can be interpreted in a number of ways. When participants describe their own *raza*, the responses reveal several underlying subcategories or paradigms of race. These paradigms range from the most frequent Nationality paradigm, to the Ethno-linguistic Descriptor paradigm used in the U.S., to the multi-referent term *indio*. The ten racial paradigms that

emerge from the data in the present study engage Roth (2012)'s racial schemas. That the notion of *raza* can be conceptualized and divided in these many different ways reveals the complexity of the notion and informs the challenge of describing Dominican racial identity. Researchers must be cognizant of which paradigm they invoke, as well as the accompanying conceptual implications.

5. Findings for Research Question 5: *How do racial terms interact with notions of typicality in the Dominican Republic?*

In Chapter 6, the analysis shows that the most frequent term that participants use to describe their race is a racialized version of Nationality—i.e., Dominican. Chapter 7 revisits the notion of nationality as a racial identity and demonstrates that the images that participants most frequently describe as Dominican are also described as *moreno, indio*, and *blanco* (in the broad Dominican sense of the term). The images that participants least frequently identify as Dominican are *blancos* and *rubios* that fall outside of what participants consider to be the Dominican racial spectrum, and the categories of *negro* and *prieto* are considered to be Dominican by just under 50 percent of participants. Moreover, when participants are specifically asked to identify the image of a 'typical Dominican,' parents gravitate toward images that they describe as *moreno* and *indio*. The results in both experiments are inflected by region, and the results of the *Dominicano Típico* experiment are also inflected by gender. These results demonstrate the utility of engaging existing racial paradigms in the Dominican Republic to understand race in a new way, suggesting that effectiveness need not be sacrificed to frame a conversation about race that engages the Nationality paradigm. This section additionally suggests new methodologies for examining the question of Dominican racial identity.

B. *Implications of the Study*

This study is the first of its kind, a linguistic approach to racial studies that complements the big picture racial setting analysis of historians, sociologists, and anthropologists, and presents innovative methodology for examining complex questions. The dissertation thus adds a voice to the conversation on racial identity in the Dominican Republic. Moreover, the dissertation is truly interdisciplinary; and its methodology presents the opportunity for both qualitative and quantitative analysis of results, a novel approach to the examination of racial categories.

1. Implications for Semantics

An investigation of meaning explicitly invokes the field of semantics. The present study demonstrates the utility of semantics as a frame for analyzing complex questions and highlights the importance of the thoughtful examination of meaning. Moreover, the study additionally demonstrates how existing linguistic approaches to investigating prototyping and color can be used to build innovative approaches to the investigation of race and racialized color classification.

2. Implications for Sociocultural Linguistics

The present study joins the expanding body of sociocultural linguistic scholarship on the critical intersection of language and race. In doing so, the study adds support to the case for examining language as a central analytic concern in research on race. A key difference between the present study and most existing linguistic work on language and race is that this study specifically focuses on racial categories to explore the various dimensions of meaning inherent in a particular system of racial categorization. Rather than analyze racial identity or

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racial discourse in an overt sense, the present analysis positions racial terms within a body of social knowledge in the specific cultural context of the Dominican Republic and then extracts meaning from the terms. The study also proposes a mixed methods approach that may prove useful for other researchers. Additionally, the study updates the empirical research on racial identity in the Dominican Republic.

3. Implications for Racial Studies

In the field of racial studies, the results of this study have methodological and substantive implications. First, by positioning language as a primary analytic concern, the study brings a new perspective and new methodology to racial studies inquiries. Moreover, the dissertation offers an additional voice on racial identity in the Dominican Republic that is grounded in rigorous analysis and social and historical context. As the study builds on prior research in the field, it specifically includes the consideration of racialization of region, presents images of prototypical members of Dominican racial categories, and proposes association rules analysis as an analytical tool.

The results of this dissertation should challenge researchers investigating themes related to race in various cultural and linguistic settings to identify and address unstated racial assumptions and to challenge these assumptions methodologically to test whether they are empirically supported. Second, as discussed in Chapter 6, how individuals see themselves influences how they see and describe others. This empirical finding has significant implications for researchers conducting cross-cultural analyses. First, it means that researchers must be cognizant of, and able to check, their own racial perspective. Second, it means that how participants describe themselves is a critical component of any analysis that involves the description of others. Finally, the study offers a framework for examining race

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in settings in which individuals talk about race in non-traditional ways. This is illustrated in the analysis from Chapter 7: Delimiting Dominicanidad. Whereas, in Chapter 6, the highest percentage of participants describe their race by racializing their nationality— *dominicano/a*—Chapter 7 demonstrates that it is still possible to meaningfully analyze the physical parameters of this non-traditional racial category.

C. Directions for Further Research

Directions for further study include additional research in the Dominican Republic, research in the Dominican diaspora, and research in other racial settings.

1. Further Research in the Dominican Republic

Further research in the Dominican Republic may expand the present study in several ways. First, additional research may expand participant sampling and increase the number of overall participants to examine whether additional considerations might emerge from a larger participant sample. Specifically, given the finding that the frequency and meaning of racial categories may be inflected according to region of the country, the expanded sampling could investigate the physical and social meaning of racial categories in additional regions of the Dominican Republic: southern cities such as Barahona and San Cristóbal, additional border cities such as Pedernales and Jimaní, eastern cities such as Higuey and La Romana, and more rural settings. Second, further research in the Dominican Republic could build on the present study by further analyzing racial categories in social context. For example, the present study has isolated faces for analysis, and further studies might include full-body photos, video data, audio data, and other contextual cues to examine how additional variables influence racial categorization. Third, the present study has examined the

perspectives of Dominican adults with respect to racial terms. Further research might, with the appropriate ethical review and parental permission, examine the perspectives of Dominican adolescents and children as it relates to racial categories. This facet of the analysis invokes broader considerations of how and when individuals are socialized into a shared understanding of race and racialized color categories. Finally, further research might investigate how immigrants living in the Dominican Republic interpret, inhabit, and deploy Dominican racial terms. In the data collection phase of the present study, I collected some surveys and informal interviews regarding Dominican racial terms with Haitian, Cuban, Puerto Rican, and Spanish students and immigrants living in the Dominican Republic. Because this perspective was not the focus of the present study, I did not collect a substantial amount of data on this question. Nevertheless, it would be interesting to see how this question would bear out empirically.

2. Further Research in the Dominican Diaspora

Further research in the Dominican Republic may also expand the present study in several ways. There are large populations of Dominican immigrants, second generation Dominicans, and children of one Dominican parent and one parent from another background in countries such as the United States and Spain. For example, the Bronx, a borough in New York City, has the largest population of Dominicans and individuals of Dominican descent outside of Santo Domingo. In this environment, where multiple racial systems and multiple racial ideologies are in contact, further research might explore the extent to which Dominicans in this setting continue to subscribe to the Dominican system of racial classification. Additionally, this research might explore how individuals understand the relationship between English racial categories and the Spanish racial categories of the Dominican racial

system. Where individuals have a parent from another racial, ethnic, or cultural background, it would be interesting to examine how this additional racial system factors into an individual's understanding of racial categories. A similar analysis might be carried out in Spanish cities with sizeable Dominican immigrant populations, such as Madrid or Barcelona. An even more nuanced analysis might be carried out in Dominican communities in non-Spanish-speaking European settings, such as France, Italy, and Holland.

3. Further Research in the Other Racial Settings

Further research in other racial settings may also expand the present study in several ways. First, in the Spanish-speaking context, ethnography, photo description tasks, and interviews might illuminate local understanding of racial categories in Mexico, Colombia, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, among other settings. These analyses would be specifically designed to account for regional inflections, as in the present analysis. In additional to facilitating the analysis of racial terms in each country, this analysis would enable a hemispheric comparison of terms such as *negro* or *moreno* that maintains the cultural-specific information of each research site. Beyond other Spanish-speaking settings, the methodology from the present analysis could be expanded to examine racial categories in Portuguese-speaking settings such as Brazil, or the African countries of Cape Verde, Angola, and Mozambique. A particularly interesting companion to the present analysis would be research on the physical and social meaning embedded in Kreyol racial categories in Haiti, as well as the racialization of Haitianness. These expanded analyses bring global racial systems into conversation, with a methodology that prevents false equivocations and preserves the locally-derived meanings.

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D. Concluding Remarks

This dissertation opens with the statement by a Dominican government official that "Dominicans are in complete denial of who they are." This sentiment and its accompanying assumptions permeate most social and academic commentary on the Dominican racial setting. By contrast, however, participants in this study discuss their own racial identity and how this engages notions of blackness and notions of mixedness; juxtapose the Dominican racial system and its particularities to the racial systems of other countries; explain the positive and negative connotations associated with racial terms; address intersections of race, region, gender, and class; identify the physical and social boundaries of racial categories; and present an image of Dominican typicality that is primarily identified as *moreno*. These results do not support a conclusion that Dominicans are confused or in denial. Rather, they suggest that new methodologies and approaches can problematize longstanding consensus and illuminate new perspectives. Moreover, to respect Dominican racial categories as a complex system of social knowledge is not to assert that issues of racism and discrimination do not exist in this setting. Rather, by removing specious claims about the Dominican racial system, the analysis allows for a more thoughtful consideration of racial questions in this setting.

Many academic studies on race in the Dominican Republic have invoked racial categories without exploring them, taken for granted the universality and translatability of racial terms across linguistic and cultural contexts, and, in doing so, have glossed over a wealth of physical, social, historical, political, and legal meaning contained within these terms. This original research reframes research on the analysis of Dominican racial categories and contributes to the fields of semantics, sociolinguistics, and racial studies.

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Appendix 1: Biographical Questionnaire

DATOS BIOGRÁFICOS

(Estos datos se usarán sólo para realizar el análisis actual. Los resultados del cuestionario son anónimos y no se usarán para identificarlo a usted.)

Edad: _____ **Sexo:** Hombre / Mujer **Raza:** _____

Color de piel: _____ **Color de piel:** _____
(Auto-descripción) **(Cédula)**

Lugar de nacimiento (ciudad, país): _____

Lugar de nacimiento de los padres de usted (ciudad, país):

   Padre: _____ Madre: _____

Lugar de crianza (ciudad, país): _____

Residencia actual (ciudad, sector): _____

¿Vivió alguna vez en otro país? Sí / No

¿Cuál(es)? _____ **¿Cuándo?** _____

Nivel de estudios:

☐ Inicial (de 0 a 6 años de edad)   ☐ Medio (1ero a 4to de bachiller)

☐ Básico 1 (1er a 4to grado)   ☐ Universidad

☐ Básico 2 (5to a 8vo grado)   ☐ Postgrado/Profesional

Profesión: _____

¡Muchas gracias por su participación!

Appendix 2: Survey 1 (Version A)

DESCRIPCIÓN DE FOTOS

Se le presentarán a usted 16 fotos de personas. Se solicita que usted describa varias características de la persona en cada foto. Se busca su opinión personal y auténtica. No hay respuesta ni incorrecta ni mala, con tal de que sea sincera.

PARTE A. **Para cada par de características (por ejemplo, BAJO-ALTO), indique cuál mejor describe a la persona de la foto, según su primera impresión.**

EJEMPLO:

BAJO	•	•	•	⊙	•	ALTO
FLACO	•	•	•	•	⊙	GORDO
MAYOR	•	⊙	•	•	•	JOVEN
TRISTE	•	•	⊙	•	•	FELIZ

Los puntos se pueden interpretar así:

| **BAJO** | ♦ | ♦ | ♦ | ♦ | ♦ | **ALTO** |
| | Muy | Más | Ni uno ni el otro | Más | Muy | |

#1

EDUCADO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	IGNORANTE
INTELIGENTE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	BRUTO
ATRACTIVO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	FEO
SEGURO DE SÍ MISMO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	INSEGURO
PASIVO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	AGRESIVO
RICO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	POBRE
BUENO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	MALO
AMABLE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	NO AMABLE
HONESTO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	DESHONESTO
HABLADOR	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	CALLADO
TRABAJADOR	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	VAGO
DIVERTIDO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	ABURRIDO
FUERTE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	DÉBIL

#2

DIVERTIDO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	ABURRIDO
HONESTO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	DESHONESTO
TRABAJADOR	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	VAGO
EDUCADO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	IGNORANTE
RICO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	POBRE
INTELIGENTE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	BRUTO
SEGURO DE SÍ MISMO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	INSEGURO
AMABLE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	NO AMABLE
BUENO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	MALO
HABLADOR	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	CALLADO
ATRACTIVO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	FEO
FUERTE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	DÉBIL
PASIVO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	AGRESIVO

#3

DIVERTIDO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	ABURRIDO
HONESTO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	DESHONESTO
TRABAJADOR	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	VAGO
EDUCADO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	IGNORANTE
RICO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	POBRE
INTELIGENTE	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	BRUTO
SEGURO DE SÍ MISMO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	INSEGURO
AMABLE	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	NO AMABLE
BUENO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	MALO
HABLADOR	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	CALLADO
ATRACTIVO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	FEO
FUERTE	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	DÉBIL
PASIVO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	AGRESIVO

#4

AMABLE	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	NO AMABLE
BUENO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	MALO
PASIVO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	AGRESIVO
FUERTE	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	DÉBIL
INTELIGENTE	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	BRUTO
SEGURO DE SÍ MISMO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	INSEGURO
ATRACTIVO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	FEO
RICO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	POBRE
HABLADOR	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	CALLADO
EDUCADO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	IGNORANTE
TRABAJADOR	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	VAGO
DIVERTIDO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	ABURRIDO
HONESTO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	DESHONESTO

#5

FUERTE	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆ **DÉBIL**
ATRACTIVO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆ **FEO**
INTELIGENTE	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆ **BRUTO**
TRABAJADOR	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆ **VAGO**
HABLADOR	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆ **CALLADO**
BUENO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆ **MALO**
RICO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆ **POBRE**
EDUCADO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆ **IGNORANTE**
DIVERTIDO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆ **ABURRIDO**
SEGURO DE SÍ MISMO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆ **INSEGURO**
AMABLE	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆ **NO AMABLE**
PASIVO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆ **AGRESIVO**
HONESTO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆ **DESHONESTO**

#6

BUENO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	MALO
AMABLE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	NO AMABLE
ATRACTIVO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	FEO
RICO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	POBRE
HONESTO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	DESHONESTO
DIVERTIDO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	ABURRIDO
SEGURO DE SÍ MISMO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	INSEGURO
FUERTE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	DÉBIL
EDUCADO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	IGNORANTE
INTELIGENTE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	BRUTO
HABLADOR	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	CALLADO
PASIVO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	AGRESIVO
TRABAJADOR	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	VAGO

#7

HABLADOR	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	CALLADO
AMABLE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	NO AMABLE
ATRACTIVO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	FEO
DIVERTIDO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	ABURRIDO
BUENO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	MALO
HONESTO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	DESHONESTO
EDUCADO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	IGNORANTE
PASIVO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	AGRESIVO
RICO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	POBRE
SEGURO DE SÍ MISMO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	INSEGURO
TRABAJADOR	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	VAGO
FUERTE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	DÉBIL
INTELIGENTE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	BRUTO

#8

PASIVO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	AGRESIVO
SEGURO DE SÍ MISMO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	INSEGURO
HONESTO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	DESHONESTO
BUENO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	MALO
TRABAJADOR	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	VAGO
FUERTE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	DÉBIL
ATRACTIVO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	FEO
AMABLE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	NO AMABLE
INTELIGENTE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	BRUTO
DIVERTIDO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	ABURRIDO
HABLADOR	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	CALLADO
EDUCADO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	IGNORANTE
RICO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	POBRE

#9

SEGURO DE SÍ MISMO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦ INSEGURO
TRABAJADOR	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦ VAGO
PASIVO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦ AGRESIVO
AMABLE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦ NO AMABLE
HABLADOR	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦ CALLADO
RICO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦ POBRE
BUENO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦ MALO
EDUCADO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦ IGNORANTE
DIVERTIDO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦ ABURRIDO
HONESTO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦ DESHONESTO
FUERTE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦ DÉBIL
ATRACTIVO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦ FEO
INTELIGENTE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦ BRUTO

#10

HABLADOR	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	CALLADO
PASIVO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	AGRESIVO
RICO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	POBRE
ATRACTIVO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	FEO
DIVERTIDO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	ABURRIDO
EDUCADO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	IGNORANTE
FUERTE	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	DÉBIL
SEGURO DE SÍ MISMO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	INSEGURO
TRABAJADOR	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	VAGO
AMABLE	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	NO AMABLE
BUENO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	MALO
INTELIGENTE	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	BRUTO
HONESTO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	DESHONESTO

#11

FUERTE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**DÉBIL**
INTELIGENTE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**BRUTO**
DIVERTIDO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**ABURRIDO**
AMABLE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**NO AMABLE**
PASIVO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**AGRESIVO**
EDUCADO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**IGNORANTE**
ATRACTIVO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**FEO**
SEGURO DE SÍ MISMO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**INSEGURO**
HONESTO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**DESHONESTO**
BUENO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**MALO**
RICO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**POBRE**
TRABAJADOR	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**VAGO**
HABLADOR	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**CALLADO**

#12

AMABLE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	NO AMABLE
RICO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	POBRE
HABLADOR	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	CALLADO
TRABAJADOR	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	VAGO
PASIVO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	AGRESIVO
ATRACTIVO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	FEO
HONESTO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	DESHONESTO
INTELIGENTE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	BRUTO
EDUCADO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	IGNORANTE
DIVERTIDO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	ABURRIDO
BUENO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	MALO
SEGURO DE SÍ MISMO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	INSEGURO
FUERTE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	DÉBIL

#13

SEGURO DE SÍ MISMO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	INSEGURO
EDUCADO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	IGNORANTE
BUENO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	MALO
TRABAJADOR	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	VAGO
HABLADOR	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	CALLADO
AMABLE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	NO AMABLE
FUERTE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	DÉBIL
DIVERTIDO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	ABURRIDO
ATRACTIVO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	FEO
PASIVO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	AGRESIVO
INTELIGENTE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	BRUTO
RICO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	POBRE
HONESTO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	DESHONESTO

#14

DIVERTIDO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**ABURRIDO**
HABLADOR	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**CALLADO**
HONESTO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**DESHONESTO**
SEGURO DE SÍ MISMO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**INSEGURO**
ATRACTIVO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**FEO**
EDUCADO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**IGNORANTE**
BUENO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**MALO**
AMABLE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**NO AMABLE**
TRABAJADOR	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**VAGO**
RICO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**POBRE**
INTELIGENTE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**BRUTO**
FUERTE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**DÉBIL**
PASIVO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	**AGRESIVO**

#15

RICO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	POBRE
TRABAJADOR	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	VAGO
PASIVO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	AGRESIVO
HONESTO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	DESHONESTO
INTELIGENTE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	BRUTO
BUENO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	MALO
HABLADOR	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	CALLADO
SEGURO DE SÍ MISMO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	INSEGURO
AMABLE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	NO AMABLE
FUERTE	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	DÉBIL
DIVERTIDO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	ABURRIDO
EDUCADO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	IGNORANTE
ATRACTIVO	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	FEO

#16

FUERTE	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	DÉBIL
INTELIGENTE	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	BRUTO
BUENO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	MALO
DIVERTIDO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	ABURRIDO
HONESTO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	DESHONESTO
HABLADOR	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	CALLADO
PASIVO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	AGRESIVO
RICO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	POBRE
SEGURO DE SÍ MISMO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	INSEGURO
EDUCADO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	IGNORANTE
TRABAJADOR	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	VAGO
ATRACTIVO	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	FEO
AMABLE	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	NO AMABLE

PARTE B. Describa la <u>matiz racial</u> de la persona en cada foto, usando una de las palabras del cuadro por persona, u otra palabra adecuada. Las palabras se pueden repetir, si es necesario.

jabao/a	trigueño/a	mulato/a	pelirrojo/a
indio/a	prieto/a	moreno/a	rubio/a
colorao/a	negro/a	blanco/a	otro:_____

#1 _____   #9 _____

#2 _____   #10 _____

#3 _____   #11 _____

#4 _____   #12 _____

#5 _____   #13 _____

#6 _____   #14 _____

#7 _____   #15 _____

#8 _____   #16 _____

¿Cuál imagen más representa al dominicano típico? #_____

¡GRACIAS POR SU PARTICIPACIÓN!

Appendix 3: Survey 2 (version A2)

DESCRIPCIÓN DE FOTOS

Se le presentarán a usted 48 fotos de personas. Se solicita que usted describa varias características de la persona en cada foto. Se busca su opinión personal y auténtica. No hay respuesta ni incorrecta ni mala, con tal de que sea sincera.

PARTE A. Describa el <u>matiz racial</u> de la persona en cada foto, usando una de las palabras del cuadro por persona, u otra palabra adecuada. Las palabras se pueden repetir, si es necesario.

indio/a	jabao/a	colorao/a	prieto/a
blanco/a	pelirrojo/a	moreno/a	negro/a
negro/a	rubio/a	mulato/a	otro:_____

#1 _____

#2 _____

#3 _____

#4 _____

#5 _____

#6 _____

#7 _____

#8 _____

#9 _____

#10 _____

#11 _____

#12 _____

#13 _____

#14 _____

#15 _____

#16 _____

#17 _____

#18 _____

#19 _____

#20 _____

#21 _____

#22 _____

indio/a	jabao/a	colorao/a	prieto/a
blanco/a	pelirrojo/a	moreno/a	negro/a
negro/a	rubio/a	mulato/a	otro:_____

#23 _____

#24 _____

#25 _____

#26 _____

#27 _____

#28 _____

#29 _____

#30 _____

#31 _____

#32 _____

#33 _____

#34 _____

#35 _____

#36 _____

#37 _____

#38 _____

#39 _____

#40 _____

#41 _____

#42 _____

#43 _____

#44 _____

#45 _____

#46 _____

#47 _____

#48 _____

PARTE B. Para cada foto, indique si la persona es dominicana/o o no.

#1	Sí ☐	No ☐	#25	Sí ☐	No ☐
#2	Sí ☐	No ☐	#26	Sí ☐	No ☐
#3	Sí ☐	No ☐	#27	Sí ☐	No ☐
#4	Sí ☐	No ☐	#28	Sí ☐	No ☐
#5	Sí ☐	No ☐	#29	Sí ☐	No ☐
#6	Sí ☐	No ☐	#30	Sí ☐	No ☐
#7	Sí ☐	No ☐	#31	Sí ☐	No ☐
#8	Sí ☐	No ☐	#32	Sí ☐	No ☐
#9	Sí ☐	No ☐	#33	Sí ☐	No ☐
#10	Sí ☐	No ☐	#34	Sí ☐	No ☐
#11	Sí ☐	No ☐	#35	Sí ☐	No ☐
#12	Sí ☐	No ☐	#36	Sí ☐	No ☐
#13	Sí ☐	No ☐	#37	Sí ☐	No ☐
#14	Sí ☐	No ☐	#38	Sí ☐	No ☐
#15	Sí ☐	No ☐	#39	Sí ☐	No ☐
#16	Sí ☐	No ☐	#40	Sí ☐	No ☐
#17	Sí ☐	No ☐	#41	Sí ☐	No ☐
#18	Sí ☐	No ☐	#42	Sí ☐	No ☐
#19	Sí ☐	No ☐	#43	Sí ☐	No ☐
#20	Sí ☐	No ☐	#44	Sí ☐	No ☐
#21	Sí ☐	No ☐	#45	Sí ☐	No ☐
#22	Sí ☐	No ☐	#46	Sí ☐	No ☐
#23	Sí ☐	No ☐	#47	Sí ☐	No ☐
#24	Sí ☐	No ☐	#48	Sí ☐	No ☐

¡GRACIAS POR SU PARTICIPACIÓN!

Appendix 4: Demographic Information for Interview Participants

STI_INT3_M01	STI	35-40	M	TRIGUEÑA	Professor
STI_INT4_H03	STI	40-45	H	NEGRO	Professor
STI_INT5_M02	STI	35-40	M	MORENA / TRIGUEÑA	Professor
STI_INT6_M03	STI	60-65	M	MULATA	Professor
STI_INT7_M04	STI	50-55	M	BLANCA	Professor
STI_INT8_M05	STI	60-65	M	INDIA CLARA	Ama de Casa
STI_INT9_H04	STI	40-45	H	MORENO	Locutor; Pharm. Salesman
SDQ_INT1_H01	SDQ	55-60	H	NEGRO	Professor
SDQ_INT2_H02	SDQ	50-55	H	INDIO	Obrero
SDQ_INT3_H03M01	SDQ	H: 40-45; M:40-45	H; M	H: JABAO; M: INDIA	H: Engineer; M: [X]
SDQ_INT4_H04	SDQ	30-35	H	NEGRO	Student
SDQ_INT5_M02	SDQ	40-45	M	JABÁ	Odontóloga
SDQ_INT6_H05	SDQ	35-40	H	TRIGUEÑO	Dental Technician; Government employee
SDQ_INT7_M03	SDQ	25-30	M	BLANCA	Customs
SDQ_INT8_M04	SDQ	20-25	M	NEGRA	Student
DAJ_INT1_H01	DAJ	40-45	H	JABAO	Non-profit Org
DAJ_INT2_H02	DAJ	60-65	H	TRIGUEÑO	Businessman
DAJ_INT3_H03	DAJ	55-60	H	INDIO	Professor
DAJ_INT4_M01	DAJ	40-45	M	INDIA	Non-profit Org
DAJ_INT5_H04	DAJ	50-55	H	INDIO	Non-profit Org
DAJ_INT6_H05	DAJ	55-60	H	NEGRO	Culturólogo
DAJ_INT7_M02	DAJ	40-45	M	INDIA	Non-profit Org

Appendix 5: Forms of Racial Terms Used by Interview Participants

1. **RUBIO**

In addition to the masculine and feminine forms *rubio* and *rubia*, participants also employ the forms listed below:

rubito/a	4
rubiota	2
rubio/a de farmacia	2
falsa rubia	1
rubio negro	1
rubio rubio	1
típico rubio	1

Rubito/a is formed by adding the diminutive morpheme *–ito/a*. According to a participant in Santiago, *rubito* is not the same as *rubio* ('*No es el mismo rubito que rubio,*' STI_INT4). The diminutive suffix *–ito* can change the connotation of the term to one of affect—as when a participant describes her son—or to one of artificial blondeness or blondeness that varies from the prototype (STI_INT3, SDQ_INT6). *Rubiota* is formed by adding the augmentative morpheme *–ota*, which serves an intensifying function. Participants describe *rubiota* as a form that men might use when describing or addressing an attractive woman. *Falsa rubia* ('false blonde'), *rubio/a de farmacia* ('pharmacy blonde'), and *rubio negro* ('black blonde') invoke the distinction between natural and elective *rubios*. *Rubio rubio* is an emphatic form used to describe natural *rubios*, and *típico rubio* evokes the image of the prototypical *rubio*.

2. **BLANCO**

In addition to the masculine and feminine forms *blanco* and *blanca*, participants also employ the forms listed below: morphological variants, emphatic forms, and modified forms.

Morphological Variants	blancote	1		
	blancuzco	1		
	blanquito/a(s)	35		
Emphatic Forms	blanco blanco	8		
	blanco puro	1		
Modified Forms	blanca de aquí	1	blanco jipato	1
	blanca pálida	1	blanco judío	1
	blanco colorao	2	blanco ordinario	1
	blanco descolorío	1	blanco raro	1
	blanco grifo	1	blanco rojo	1
	blanco jabao	1		

The first morphological variant, *blancote*, is formed by adding the augmentative morpheme *–ote*. For the participant that uses this term, *blancote* has to do with size and thus would be used to describe *un blanco grande* ('a big white [man],' SDQ_INT1). The same participant mentions the form *blancuzco*. Although the participant does not explain what he means by *blancuzco*, the definition given by the *Real Academia Española* is instructive: "*Que tira a blanco, o es de color blanco sucio*" ('That approximates white, or is of dirty white color'). The third morphological variant, *blanquito*, is most frequent in the data and is formed by adding the diminutive suffix *–ito*. For participants, *blanquito* is not the same as *blanco*. For a participant in Santiago, the difference between *blanco* and *blanquito* manifests in physical characteristics. *Blanquito*, for him, is a physical description between *mulato* and *blanco* (STI_INT4). A person who is *blanquito* has light skin but also has elements of African heritage that can manifest in features of the face, body, or hair ('*Blanquito tiene una tintura de piel clara sin manchas ... pero tiene unos elementos de herencia africana,*' STI_INT4). For other participants, the difference between *blanquito* and *blanco* is social. For these participants, *blanquito* can have a connotation of socioeconomic status, but it can also be used to speak pejoratively of a person (STI_INT6, STI_INT7, SDQ_INT4). For a third group of participants, the social import of *blanquito* depends on context, tone, and gestures; because it is not the same if you say, "*Ey, blanquito*" versus "*el blanquito ese*" (SDQ_INT6). With a certain tone and gestures, the latter is pejorative.

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In some cases, participants emphasize that they are referring to a prototypical *blanco* by employing emphatic forms. Participants most frequently accomplish this emphasis by employing reduplicative forms, such as '*blanco blanco*'. One additional participant uses the form *blanco puro* (DAJ_INT7). These emphatic forms are a contrast to the many modified forms that exist: such as *blanca de aquí* ('white from here'), *blanca pálida* ('pallid white'), *blanco colorao* and *blanco rojo* ('reddish white'), *blanco descolori(d)o* ('pale white'), *blanco grifo* (a white person having hair like [Asians], SDQ_INT1), *blanco jabao* (a white person with a lot of freckles, SDQ_INT1), *blanco jipato* ('pale white'), *blanco judío* ('Jewish white'), *blanco ordinario* ('ordinary white'), and *blanco raro* ('strange white').

3. **PELIRROJO**

Participants use the masculine and feminine forms *pelirrojo*(*s*) and *pelirroja*(*s*) but do not use other variants.

4. **COLORAO**

Colorao is an interesting term morphologically given that its most frequent forms are morphological variants of the form *colorado*. In the interview data, participants use both *colorao / colorá* and *colorado / colorada* to describe this profile. Two participants additionally use the modified form *blanco colorao*. In ethnographic observation, participants also used the diminutive forms *coloraíto* and *coloraíta*, but interview participants did not use these forms.

colorá	1
colorada	1
colorado	1
blanco colorao	2

5. **JABAO**

In addition to the masculine and feminine forms *jabao* and *jabá*, participants also employ the forms listed below: morphological variants and modified forms.

jabada	1
jabaíto	2
medio/a jabao / jabá	2
pinta jabá	1
jabao típico / clásico	1

Like *colorao*, *jabao* is a morphologically interesting term, given that the more commonly-used terms *jabao* and *jabá* are variants of the less frequent forms *jabado* and *jabada*. In the interview data, participants, when describing people, only use the *jabao/jabá* forms. One participant uses the form *jabada* when describing a type of speckled hen to which the participant attributes usage of the term *jabao*. 'That hen is called *jabada*, or *jabá*. Linguistic economy. *Jabá* in honor of the hen' ('*Esa gallina se llama jabada, o jabá. Economía lingüística. Jabá en honor a la gallina,*' STI_INT4). Two participants use the diminutive form *jabaíto*. Two participants use the forms *medio jabao / media jabá*, communicating that a person more or less meets the characteristics of the *jabao* profile. One participant uses the form *pinta jabá*, describing a *jabá* with freckles. Finally, one participant uses the form *jabao típico / clásico* when describing the prototypical physical profile of the *jabao*.

Source: www.infojardin.com, 24 de noviembre de 2013

6. **TRIGUEÑO**

In addition to the masculine and feminine forms *trigueño* and *trigueña*, participants also

inform the diminutive forms *trigueñito* and *trigueñita* and the modified forms *muy trigueño*

('very *trigueño*') and *más o menos trigueño* ('more or less *trigueño*'), as below.

trigueñito/a	9
muy trigueño	1
más o menos trigueño	1

7. **INDIO**

In addition to the masculine and feminine forms *indio* and *india*, participants also

employ the forms listed below: morphological variants, modified forms, modified

morphological variants, hybrid forms, and emphatic forms.

Forms of *indio*		
Morphological Variants	*Indiecito/a*	7
Modified Forms	*Indio/a claro/a*	19
	Indio/a oscuro/a	11
	India oscurita	1
	Indio/a lavado/a	5
	Indio lavao	2
	Indio/a lavadito/a (lavaíto/a)	4
	Indio canela	1
	Indio fino	2
	Indio ordinario	2
	Indio asentado	1
	Indio normal	1
	Indio charlatán	1
	India ciboney	1
Modified Morphological Variants	*Indiecito/a claro/a*	5
	Indiecito/a oscuro/a	2
Hybrid Forms	*India morenita*	1
	Indio/a trigueño/a / trigueñita	3
	Indio atrigueñado	1
Emphatic Forms	*Indios indios*	1

The primary morphological variant is the diminutive form *indiecito / indiecita*, formed

by adding the suffix *–ecito/a* to the root *indi-*. For a participant in Santiago, the form

indiecito implies that the tone of the skin is going to be lighter than the general *indio* profile

('*Indiecito significa que la tonalidad de la piel tiende a ser más clara*,' STI_INT4). For other participants, however, *indiecito* may be used in the same way as *indio* by adding modifiers such as *claro* and *oscuro* and yielding the forms *indiecito/a claro/a* and *indiecito/a oscuro/a*. In addition to the morphological variant *indiecito*, several modified forms exist that index different physical and social characteristics. Some of these modified forms refer to skin color gradations: *indio claro, indio lavado, indio oscuro, indio canela*. Other forms reference facial features: *indio asentado, indio fino, indio ordinario*. Still other forms index social perceptions: *indio charlatán, india ciboney*. Participants also use hybrid forms of *indio* by combining *indio* with other racial descriptors: *india morenita, indio trigueño, india trigueñita, indio atrigueñado*. Finally, participants also emphasize that they are referring to indigeneity (as opposed to skin color) by employing emphatic forms such as '*indios / indios*.'

8. **MULATO**

In addition to the masculine and feminine forms *mulato* and *mulata*, participants also employ the morphological variants *mulatona* and *mulataje*. *Mulataje* is formed by adding the suffix –aje to the root *mulat-* and is a nominalized form that refers to the *mulato* mixture generally. *Mulatona* is formed by adding the augmentative suffix –ona to the stem *mulat-*. A participant from Santiago gives an example of how *mulatona* may be deployed in discourse, '*Mulatona,* what a *mami*!' ('*'Mulatona, ¡qué mami!*' STI_INT8). When asked whether *mulatona* differs from *mulata*, a second participant in Santiago describes the difference as one of degree. According to this participant, the *mulata-mulatona* distinction rests in the features of the body. The *mulatona* is 'a *mulata* with a much bigger body' ('*Una mulata con el cuerpo mucho más grande*,' STI_INT9). The participant uses the metaphor of an acoustic guitar to illustrate this difference. In this case, the *mulata* is a normal acoustic guitar, and the

mulatona is a Mexican acoustic guitar with more prominent curves ('*Una guitarra acústica normal, una guitarra acústica mexicana. Curvas más prominentes*,' STI_INT9). The participant goes on to describe a famous Dominican woman that was a dancer and program host. Her nickname was *La Mulatona* because of her hair type and her prominent body ('*Mujer famosa del país, hacía de bailarina y presentadora … La Mulatona – apodo. Tipo de pelo. Por su prominente cuerpo*,' STI_INT9).

mulatona	3
mulataje	1

In ethnographic observation, participants also used the diminutive forms *mulatico* and *mulatica*, but interview participants do not use these forms.

9. **MORENO**

In addition to the masculine and feminine forms *moreno* and *morena*, participants also employ the forms listed below: morphological variants, modified forms, and modified morphological variants.

Forms of *moreno*		
Morphological Variants	*more*	1
	morenito/a	14
	morenai	1
	morenota	1
Modified Forms	*moreno/a bello/a*	2
	moreno/a claro/a	3
	moreno lavadito	1
	morena lavaíta	1
	morena del diablo	1
Modified Morphological Variants	*morenita bella*	1
	morenito/a lindo/a	3
	morenito lavadito	1

The first morphological variant, *more*, is a term of endearment that participants understand as a combination of *amor* and *moreno* ('*More – combinación de amor y moreno*,' STI_INT7). The second morphological variant, *morenito*, is most frequent in the data and is formed by adding the diminutive suffix *–ito*. Although participants do not

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indicate a physical difference between the forms *moreno* and *morenito*, the forms may navigate relational difference. *Morenito* can be used a term of endearment, but it may also be used as an insult ('*Morenito – se puede usar como un insulto*,' SDQ_INT4). A participant in Santiago mentions the third morphological variant, *morenai*, as he is describing the way that some of his friends address him, 'There are some friends that call me '*morenai*' ('*Hay algunos amigos que me dicen 'morenai*',' STI_INT9). When asked about the meaning of *morenai*, the participant states that *morenai* is a term of endearment that can be defined as 'a *moreno* that is cool' ('*Forma de cariño, 'un moreno que es chévere*,' STI_INT9). I asked what someone would call a *moreno* that was not *chévere*. '*Prieto Viejo* – the *moreno* that is not cool,' the participant responded ('*Prieto Viejo – el moreno que no es chévere*,' STI_INT9). The fourth morphological variant, *morenota*, is formed by adding the augmentative morpheme *–ota*.

Modified forms of *moreno* can communicate physical differences as well as social perceptions. For example, *moreno claro* and *moreno/a lavadito/a* refer to a person on the lighter end of the *moreno* spectrum. *Moreno/a bello/a* is used to communicate positive affect, and *morena del Diablo* is used to communicate negative affect. A participant in Santo Domingo explains how speakers may move across category lines in order to accomplish certain functions. If a speaker wishes to insult a person fitting the *moreno* profile, he may communicate the negative information through context, as in '*morena del diablo*,' or he may recast the addressee as *negro*. The participant gives the examples, '*Mira, maldita negra*' and '*Tenía que ser un maldito negro*' (SDQ_INT4). A category switch does not always come with negative connotations, however. When discussing the ways that people describe *morenos*, a participant in Santo Domingo states that sometimes they are called '*chocolate*' ('*Sí, le dicen chocolate*,' SDQ_INT3).

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10. **NEGRO**

In addition to the masculine and feminine forms *negro* and *negra*, participants also employ the forms listed below: morphological variants, emphatic forms, and modified forms.

Morphological Variants	*negrito/a*	5
	negritud	3
	negroide(s)	2
	negrísimo	1
Emphatic forms	*negro/a negro/a*	15
	negro negro negro (*de verdad*)	4
	negro negro negro negro	2
	negro puro	1
Modified Forms	*negro americano*	1
	negro asentado	1
	(*negro*) *azulito*	2
	negro bembón	1
	negro(s) claro(s)/clarito	2
	negros cocolos	3
	negro de la Hoya	1
	negros de Harlem	1
	el negro ese	1
	negro fino	1
	negro grasoso	1
	negro(s) haitiano(s)	3
	negro lavado	3
	negrito lindo	1
	negro tirando azul	1
	maldito/a negro/a	6
	mi negro/a	3
	mi negrito	1

The first morphological variant, *negrito*, is formed by adding the diminutive morpheme –*ito*. For participants that use this term, the physical referent does not change, but the form may navigate relational distance. The second morphological variant is the noun form *negritud* that refers to the notion of 'blackness.' The third morphological variant, *negroide*, is a cognate form of the English word Negroid. *Negroide* is used in the name of a genre of poetry by Afro-descended poets—*poesía negroide*. For one participant in Dajabón, *negroide*

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describes facial features that mark African descent. In this sense, the participant describes the facial features of a person belonging to the *moreno* profile as 'not so Negroid' ('*Las facciones no pueden ser tan negroides*,' DAJ_INT2). The fourth morphological variant, *negrísimo*, is formed by adding the intensifying suffix *–ísimo* and communicates a very dark skin tone.

Participants use reduplication to create a number of emphatic forms: *negro negro, negro negro negro* (*de verdad*), and *negro negro negro negro*. Each successive *negro* emphasizes the degree of blackness of the speaker. One participant also uses the form *negro puro* ('pure *negro*'). A participant in Dajabón describes certain people in the region using an emphatic form, 'However, in the rivers here, the people are truly *negro negro negro*' ('*Sin embargo, en los arroyos de aquí, la gente son negro negro negro de verdad*,' DAJ_INT6).

Participants also use a number of modified forms that index physical appearance, provenance, and affect. The terms *negro asentado, negro azulito, negro bembón, negro claro, negro fino, negro grasoso, negro lavado,* and *negro tirando azul* index an additional element of physical appearance. A participant in Dajabón describes why he uses *negro azulito*, 'Because, what happens? When the *negro* has a very good quality of life, his skin takes a tone. He has a blue skin tone. People say *azulito*' ('*Porque, ¿qué ocurre? Cuando el negro tiene un nivel de vida sumamente bueno, la piel toma un tono. Tiene el tono de la piel azul. Se dice azulito*,' DAJ_INT5). Participants in Santo Domingo also discuss the meaning of *azulito*. In an interview with two participants, the first states, '*Azulito* because he is very black' ('*Azulito, porque es demasiado negro*,' SDQ_INT3). The second participant concurs, 'He is so black that he is not seen at night' ('*Es tan negro que ni se ve de noche*,' SDQ_INT3). I asked the same participants about the form *azuloso*, which I have heard used in ethnographic observation. The second participant responds, 'They are the *negro negros*,'

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employing an emphatic form ('*Son los negro negros*,' SDQ_INT3). A participant in Santo Domingo describes the form *negro lavado*, using as an example American actor and singer Harry Belafonte, 'The expression also exists, synonym of *indio – negro lavado*. It is said to a person that is more or less brown-ish. *Negro lavado* is used. Harry Belafonte. People say that he is *negro*, but he is very *lavado*. He is not *negro*; he is *lavado*' ('*Existe también la expresión, sinónimo de indio – negro lavado. Se le dice a una persona que es más o menos marroncito. Se usa negro lavado. Harry Belafonte. La gente dice que es negro, pero es muy lavado. No es negro; es lavado*,' SDQ_INT1). A participant in Dajabón explains the term *negro grasoso*, '*Negro grasoso* – that when he spends time in the sun, he does not need sunblock. An oil comes out of the skin of the *negro* that protects him from burning ('*Negro grasoso- que cuando le da mucho sol, no necesita la grasa antisolar. El negro sale un aceite de la piel que lo protege de la quemadura*,' DAJ_INT5).

The terms *negro americano, negro cocolo, negro de la Hoya, negro de Harlem,* and *negro haitiano* index provenance, in addition to social and historical information. *Negro americano* and *negro de Harlem* differ in that, while both reference provenance, *negro de Harlem* is a more emphatic form. A participant from Dajabón relates an anecdote about black Peace Corps volunteers, 'That group from the Peace Corps, of *negros*. *Negros* from Harlem, *negro negro*. That secrete oil through their pores' ('*Ese grupo del Cuerpo de Paz, de negros. Negros de Harlem, negro negro. Que tiran aceite por los poros*,' DAJ_INT5). *Negro cocolo* refers to the offspring of laborers from the British Antilles that immigrated to the Dominican Republic to work in the thriving sugar cane industry. *Negro de la Hoya*, although technically referring to a specific neighborhood in Santo Domingo, may be deployed as an insult. *Negro haitiano* refers to a *negro* from Haiti.

Finally, participants use forms of *negro* that communicate affect, such as *el negro ese, negrito lindo, maldito negro, mi negro / negrito*. The form *negrito lindo* communicates positive affect toward the person being described. The forms *mi negro/a* or *mi negrito* also communicate positive affect and close relational distance. 'There are couples that call each other *mi negro*, *mi negra* and it is a positive aspect. They do not do it in a despective way' ('*Hay parejas que se dicen ' mi negro,' 'mi negra' y es un aspecto chulo. No lo hacen en forma despectiva*,' SDQ_INT6). The inclusion of the possessive *mi* decreases the relational distance. '*Mi negrito* – when [a person] says 'my,' it is affect' ('*Mi negrito – cuando dice 'mi' ya es el afecto*,' SDQ_INT1). Participants also mention forms that communicate negative affect. A participant in Santo Domingo gives an example, 'Look, damn *negro*' ('*Mira, maldito negro*,' SDQ_INT4). Another participant states, 'Or in pejorative terms as well it is said, 'That *negro*'' ('*O en términos despectivos también dice, 'El negro ese*',' SDQ_INT6). The forms that communicate negative affect do not communicate close relational difference.

11. **PRIETO**

In addition to the masculine and feminine forms *prieto* and *prieta*, participants also employ the forms listed below: morphological forms, emphatic forms, and modified forms.

Morphological Variants	*Prietico/a*	3
Emphatic Forms	*Prieto prieto*	1
	Prieto prieto prieto	1
Modified Forms	*Prieto/a bello/a*	2
	Prieto bembú	1
	Prieto del caldero	1
	Prieto del diache	1
	Prieto viejo	2
	Maldito prieto	2
	Mi prieto/a	4
Modified Morphological Variants	*Prietica bella*	1
	Prietica preciosa	1

The morphological variant *prietico/a* is formed by adding the diminutive suffix *–ico/a*.

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For participants, *prietico* is not the same as *prieto*. For a participant in Santiago, the difference between *prieto* and *prietico* is not as much physical as it is social. '*Prietica* gives you a lower level of accusation of 'sub'. Being *prietica* is not the same as being *prieta*. Neither is it the same as being *morena*' ('*La prietica te da menos nivel de acusación de 'sub'. Ser prietica no es igual que ser prieta. Tampoco es igual que ser morena*,' STI_INT4). While the diminutive suffix softens the brunt of *prieto*, *prietico* does not rise to the status of *moreno*.

In some cases, participants emphasize dark color by employing emphatic forms. In one case a participant uses the form *prieto prieto* (SDQ_INT3). In another case, a participant uses the form *prieto prieto prieto* to refer to dark hair ('*Y el cabello prieto prieto prieto*,' SDQ_INT8). Some modified forms, such as *prieto bembú*, index physical appearance. Other modified forms index positive and negative affect. Positive affect manifests in the forms *prieto bello, mi prieto, prietica bella,* and *prietica preciosa*. Negative affect manifests in the forms *prieto del caldero, prieto del diache, prieto Viejo*, and *maldito prieto*.

APPENDIX 6: SUMMARY OF RACIAL TERMS (INTERVIEW)

	(1) HAIR COLOR	(2) SKIN COLOR	(3) EYE COLOR	(4) HAIR TEXTURE	(5) FEATURES (FACE)	(6) FEATURES (BODY)
rubio	*rubio / amarillo claro*	*blanca / clara*	*claros*	*lacio / bueno*		
blanco	*castaño claro marrón negro rojo rubio*	*blanca clara lavadita*	*azul claro marrón verde*	*bueno entre bueno y malo lacio liso rizo suave*	*Rasgos finos / Facciones finas Nariz alargada / aguileña / perfilada Labios finos Cara alargada / Rostro perfilado Orejas grandes Dientes amarillos*	*Sin caderas / Sin curvas Piernas gordas / Piernas delgadas Pocas nalgas*
pelirrojo	*rojo / rojizo*	*blanco*		*bueno*	*pintas*	
colorao a.	*cualquier color*	*rojo / rojizo / rosadito*		*bueno / liso / lacio*		
b.	*rojo / rojizo / ladrillo*	*claro*		*malo / duro*		
c.	*rojo / rojizo*	*blanco*		*bueno / liso / lacio*		
jabao a.	*rojo / rojizo*	*claro*		*crespo*	*pecas / pintas*	
b.	*amarillo / rubio*	*blanco / amarillento*		*crespo / duro*	*(pecas / pintas)*	
c.		*blanco*		*crespo*	*(pecas / pintas) (rasgos ordinarios)*	
trigueño a.	*pelo oscuro*	*clara*		*lacio / bueno*	*(facciones finas)*	
b.	*pelo oscuro*	*oscurita / tostada / oscura*		*lacio / crespo*		
indio	*negro*	*tono intermedio*		*lacio*		
indio claro	*negro*	*claro*		*lacio*		
indio oscuro	*negro*	*oscuro*		*lacio (crespo)*	*finas / ásperas*	
mulato		*moreno, oscuro*		*crespo / malo, rizo*	*mezcla*	*musculoso / fuerte, voluptuosa*
moreno		*oscuro*		*crespo*	*ordinarios*	
negro		*(muy) oscura*		*crespo / duro / malo*	*ordinarias / ásperas / bruscas*	
prieto		*oscura / negra*		*crespo / malo*	*muy ordinarias (chemba grande, nariz achatada)*	

APPENDIX 7: FORMS OF RACIAL TERMS USED IN SURVEYS 1 AND 2

SURVEY 1

albina	***colora(d)o***	*indio jabao*	***negro/a***
amarillo/a	***colora(d)a* / *colorá***	*indio más o menos*	*negrito*
blanco/a	*colorido*	***jaba(d)o***	*oscuro/a*
blanco amarillo	*de(s)teñi(d)o*	***jaba(d)a* / *jabá***	*pecosa*
blanco e indio	***indio/a***	*jaba(d)ita*	***pelirrojo/a***
blanco oscuro	*indio/a claro/a*	*mestizo/a*	***prieto/a***
blanquito/a	*indio/a oscuro/a*	***moreno/a***	***rubio/a***
(*color*) *canelo/a*	*india refinada*	*morenito/a*	***trigueño/a***
cimarrón	*indiesita*	*moreno oscuro*	*zambó*
claro/a	*indio colorada*	***mulato/a***	

SURVEY 2

(*color*) *amarillo/a*	*indiecito/a*	*morenito quemao*
amarillito	*indiecito/a claro/a, indiecito clarito*	***mulato/a***
(*color*) ***blanco/a***	*indiecito/a oscuro/a*	*mulatica*
blanco claro	***jabá* / *jabaa***	***negro/a***
blanco colorao	***jabao***	*negrito/a*
blanquito/a	*jabaíto/a*	*negrito / morenito de coco*
(*medio / súper*) *claro/a*	*mestizo/a*	***pelirrojo/a***
clarito/a	***moreno/a***	*pelirrojo blanco*
colorá* / *colorada	*moreno/a claro/a*	(*Media*) *pinta*
colora(d)o	*morena laba*	***prieto/a***
coloraíto/a	*morenito/a*	*quemao*
(*color*) ***indio/a***	*morenito claro*	*rojizo/a*
india bonita	*morenito afinao*	*rojo*
india canela	*morenito* (*trigueño*)	*rosado*
indio/a claro/a, indio clarito	*morenito canelo*	*rosada clara*
indio/a moreno/a	*morenito oscuro*	***rubio/a***
indio/a oscuro/a	*moreno/a oscuro/a*	*rubita*
		trigueño/a