



University
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AN ANALYSIS OF THE NATIONAL IDENTITY
IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC'S HISTORY TEXTBOOK

Dissertation submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Education Inclusive Education: Research, Policy & Practice

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SUMMARY

Haitians that live in the Dominican Republic hold a highly disadvantaged position; not always being able to access public services or working in harsh conditions. For many years, they have faced discrimination and attacks by Dominicans which were racially motivated. Previous researches have argued that the roots of this phenomenon were during the post-colonial era since the formation of the Dominican National identity was built in opposition to Haitians' stigma. Nonetheless, during the last five years, this situation has worsened and inequality has increased both in a personal and institutional level. Recently, a school history textbook sparked controversy among some intellectuals who stated that the content was racist and it encouraged children to generate xenophobia attitudes. The aim of this study is to explore what national identity is constructed and transmitted through this school textbook to discuss to what extent the Dominican identity is built through the exclusion of Haitians. To address this research, a critical discourse analysis of the textbook content has been conducted to explore what hidden values and beliefs are normalised and which social groups are presented as dominants in it. The findings show that the Dominican national identity is built emphasising their differences to any other culture and thus, highlighting the exclusion of certain groups specially Haitians. In addition, Dominicans hegemony over Haitians implicitly appears in the textbook through the normalisation of beliefs of racial hierarchy and ethnocentrism. Consequently, it is argued that content about racism and inequality should be regarded as a priority in the curriculum in order to foster the development a national identity based on the need to respect and value everyone's culture. Future research should be done analysing other educational materials used and teachers' practices in order to contribute to the development of inclusive, tolerant and respectful societies.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Research shows that Haitians suffer more discrimination and inequality in the Dominican Republic than five years ago (Howard, 2007). This situation has worsened partly due to the growing population of Haitians who have emigrated to the Dominican Republic as a result of their harsh living conditions in their native country (Tavernier, 2008). According to the study performed by Christian Aid (2006), three-quarters of the Haiti population is below the poverty threshold, which is the reason why they move to other countries to prosper. Nowadays, the only official data about immigration in the Dominican Republic indicate that 87.3% of the total immigration is of Haitian origins which represent the 4.7% of the population of the country (DONS, 2013). Nonetheless, since many Haitians are undocumented immigrants, this register lacks validity and thus, the number of Haitian immigrants is assumed to be larger.

On the other hand, Haitians' inequality in the Dominican Republic is rooted in the history, in particular, in the post-colonial period. From that era, the concept of race emerged and with it the development of racial identities (Buck, 2013; Wade, 1997; Hall and Gay, 1996; Desmond and Emirbayer, 2013). Consequently, people began to be classified by their presumed natural physical features and power and cultural capital were unequally distributed among the resulting categories (Markus, 2013; Buck, 2013; Wade, 1997; Hall and Gay, 1996; Desmond and Emirbayer, 2013). As a result of this racial stratification, dark-skin people were considered inferior while whites were the most privileged. Due to the stigma associated with blackness, Dominicans created a national identity emphasising their distinction from the African origins. During the dictatorship of Trujillo, this identity was reinforced by the promotion of discourses against Haitians and the desire to whiten the population. As a result, nowadays Haitians in the Dominican Republic still struggle to have equal rights and to have the same opportunities as any other citizen in the Dominican Republic (Tavernier, 2008). The stigmatization of Haitians in the Dominican Republic is known as *antihaitianismo* or anti- Haitianism.

Recently, the textbook used in primary 6 in Social Science in the Dominican Republic sparked off polemic due to the content transmitted. Its content was argued to be racist and xenophobic by encouraging racialized identities based on power relations (Vargas García, 2015; Listin Diario, 2015). As a result, in 2015, the textbook was reviewed and withdrawn from all schools and an updated textbook was apparently provided to replace the polemic one. Unfortunately, nowadays the textbook is still in use in some schools from rural areas which can encourage the perpetuation of discrimination and racism in the Dominican Republic. Researchers have argued that history textbooks constitute an important mean of helping children build their cultural memories (Brown and Brown, 2010) and, thus, they influence the development of their national identities. Nevertheless, history textbooks always represent someone's version of reality and thus, their content is not neutral (Sleeter and Grant, 2011; Takeda, 2017). The implicit beliefs and ideologies transmitted through their content can foster the development of a national identity based on the exclusion of the others and the hegemony of certain ethnicity (Hall and Gay, 1996; Laclau, 1990; cited by Hall and Gay, 1996).

Given the current situation in the Dominican Republic and the importance of textbooks to shape children's identities, my research focus is on the Dominican national identity transmitted in the textbook used in primary 6 in Social Science. Previous research shows that Dominican national identity has been built in opposition to Haitians' stigma (Nasser, 2004; Howard, 2001; Duany, 1998, 2006; Wade, 1997; Candelario, 2009; Gregory, 2007; Hippert, 2017). Nonetheless, in spite of their relevance, the previous studies have not been based on the analysis of the textbooks used at schools. To date, there is a lack of critical investigation of the ideologies transmitted and normalized through the Dominican textbooks. For all these reasons, a critical discourse analysis of the textbook content has been performed. To address this research, the following research question has guided this study: *What Dominican national identity is constructed and transmitted through the school history textbooks?* It has also been explored which cultural beliefs and ideologies are

normalised in the textbook and which social groups are presented as dominant. To further explore the complexity of the identity transmitted, the focus has also been placed on race and ethnicity and on the power relations that are resultant from the interaction of these attributes with the social world.

In order to conduct the analysis, the dissertation begins with a review of the literature on the concept and development of identity. This section also includes an examination of the concept of race and ethnicity as attributes of the identity. Although the focus is only on these two social categories, it is acknowledged that different factors influence the formation of the national identity. This section continues with a contextualization of the history of the Dominican Republic and a review of their national identity and the significance of textbooks. The next section begins with an introduction of documentary research, followed by a review of the framework used for the analysis which includes both Critical Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics. Finally, the findings of the study are exposed and analysed in the discussion.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

2.1.1. Dimension of Identity

Every person develops different identities throughout life which can be described as multiple facets of one's self-image (Phinney and Ong, 2007; Vandeyar *et al*, 2017). These images of self are dependent on the context and therefore, they are constantly evolving and changing over time and space (Markus, 2013; Hall and Gay, 1996; Cummins, 1996). Nevertheless, the development of new identities is mainly a reconceptualising process and thus, it does not imply a rejection of the previous ones (Hall and Gay, 1996). The dynamic aspect of identities makes them complex to analyse since "... we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies" (Hall and Gay, 1996:4). For this reason, the setting where they emerge needs to be explored in order to understand in depth their formation.

In addition, because identities are created through interactions and within discourse (Hall and Gay, 1996), they do not only project a person's self-definition, but also other people's views about her (Markus, 2013). Gross (1998) describes the process of identity development as an experimentation period where aspects of oneself are assessed regarding the acceptance of others. As a result, identities can be represented as an unstable and provisional 'suture point' between the place we occupy in a social group through discourses and practices and the efforts we make in producing subjectivities that lead to accept, modify or reject the position given (Hall and Gay, 1996). Therefore, although a person's different aspects give her a place in the world (Weber, 2013), it is the person who can still control what to emphasise of herself (Markus, 2013). Consequently, identities are unique due to their temporary and contextual aspects and the influence that the environment and others exert on them (Markus, 2013) providing patterns of

behaviours and interaction (Bauman, 1996). Figure 1, below, displays how identities are developed and how sociocultural and environmental factors, such as race, ethnicity, nation, and so on, play an important role in the resultant behaviour.

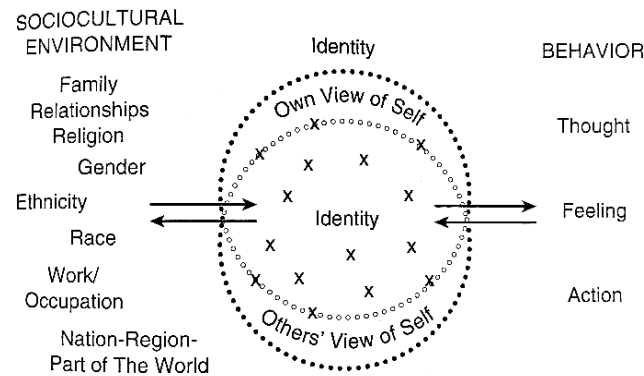


Figure 1. The Society-Identity-Behaviour-Society Cycle. (Markus, 2013:185)

For all these reasons, the study of a person's national identity can serve as a source of important information and understanding of how the social world works (Markus, 2013). As Hall and Gay state

identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not 'who we are' or 'where we came from', so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves

(Hall and Gay, 1996:4)

Therefore, national identities embrace many sociocultural aspects which influence our experience in the world leading our choices, thinking, feelings and actions in many areas of our life (Erikson, 1968; cited by Phinney and Ong, 2007; Markus, 2013). In other words, national identities act as 'blueprints' for action (Markus, 2013) that help to place oneself into a behavioural and cultural style, socially accepted as proper by everyone (Bauman, 1996). Nonetheless, because identities place boundaries to delimit a particular cultural and social pattern, they constitute an act of power (Laclau, 1990; cited by Hall and Gay, 1996).

Hall and Gay (1996:4) argue that cultural identities “...are more the product of the marking of difference and exclusion, than they are the sign of an identical, naturally-constituted unity –an ‘identity’ in its traditional meaning...”. They state that they are the result of the relation with the Other and that they emphasise what is outside, what lacks or differs which they call it the ‘constitutive outside’ (Hall and Gay, 1996). Laclau (1990; cited by Hall and Gay, 1996) agrees on the excluding component of cultural identities and adds that the relation with the Other is generally based on a hierarchical relationship when different cultural identities coexist in the same country and one tends to receive all power and resources. As shown in figure 1, race and ethnicity, among others, are two categories that influence the formation of national identities and they have both been, historically, linked to the distribution of power, status and other cultural capital (Markus, 2013). Thus, they can be considered an influencing factor on the perpetuation of a hierarchy among different cultural identities (Markus, 2013).

2.1.2. Race and ethnicity as identity aspects

The concepts of race and ethnicity are not clearly understood and defined in the same way for all researchers (Johnston-Guerrero, 2016). This lack of clarity is due to the fact that they sometimes overlap (Cornell & Hartmann, 2007; cited by Johnston-Guerrero, 2016) which can lead to confusion among them. Therefore, a clarification of these concepts is needed based on a review of the literature in this field. Desmond and Emirbayer (2013) state that race is a modern concept which did not exist before the 16th century. Since then, this term has embraced different meanings, although it is usually associated with a group of people sharing particular physical characteristics and ancestry (Weber, 2013; Wade, 1997). Nonetheless, the categories used to divide people by their phenotypic traits can be redefined and vary according to the social and historical context (Buck, 2013; Desmond and Emirbayer, 2013; Smith, 1961; cited by Hall and Gay, 1996). For instance, the category ‘black’ embrace a heterogeneous and diverse group which is site- and time- specific (Wade, 1997). Thus, race can be defined as a symbolic category

socially constructed which is usually misrecognized as natural or biological (Desmond and Emirbayer, 2013; Glenn, 2013; Quintana *et al*, 2006).

Nevertheless, race not only emerges as a social fabrication but also through history (Wade, 1997; Desmond and Emirbayer, 2013). The term race has been used since the first colonial encounters and it emerged as a way to mark the difference between grouped people and to preserve their supposed homogeneity (Buck, 2013; Wade, 1997; Hall and Gay, 1996; Desmond and Emirbayer, 2013). As a result, each racial group is associated with certain ideas, stereotypes and behavioural patterns, which are usually claimed by people outside the group, and which place them in a specific social status and power level (Markus, 2013; Johnston-Guerrero, 2016). Therefore, "racial taxonomies are bound to their specific social and historical contexts" (Desmond and Emirbayer, 2013:22) and can lead to inequality when certain racial groups are linked to cultural capital, privileges and social power and status (Desmond and Emirbayer, 2013).

The racialization of social and economic stratification occurs when social resources, such as education, wealth, occupation, income and so on, are unequally distributed among the different racial groups (Hall, 1977; Ferguson, 2013). As a result, being placed in a racial group associated with low status, marginalized jobs and scarce access to resources can strongly limit life choices and opportunities (Dill and Zambrana, 2013). Desmond and Emirbayer (2013) argue that unequal situations led by racism are rooted both in individual and institutional discourses and actions. Therefore, racism is not only ideological and cultural but also based on social and economic relations (Solomos, 2014; Dill and Zambrana, 2013). The power relationships resulting from institutional and interpersonal racism evidence the oppression that is exerted on certain racial groups, reinforcing the unequal distribution of social assets and the transmission of negative stereotypes (Weber, 2013). Misrecognizing race as a natural and inherent characteristic can lead to "... interpret the inequalities as a 'natural' outcome of each group's presumed superior or inferior traits" (Weber, 2013:8).

“For ethnic minority and immigrant youth, experiences of racial discrimination may play an important role in their ethnic identity development” (Pahl and Way, 2006:1404) since ethnicity is also tied to power relations (Wade, 1997). The term ethnicity began to be popularly used after the creation of new postcolonial nations and the increase of migration flows (Wade, 1997) and it has been described as a shared lifestyle based on cultural practices and a sense of affiliation within a group (Desmond and Emirbayer, 2013; Phinney and Ong, 2007; Ali, 2003). These cultural practices are grounded in language, traditions, customs and representations of a particular setting, which are transmitted by socialization (Pahl and Way, 2006; Hall and Gay, 1996). Therefore, its formation is also strongly bonded to historical and geographical space (Wade, 1997; Hall and Gay, 1996) and cultural practices (Ali, 2003). In addition, because ethnic identities are context-dependent, they are multifaceted and a person can hold different ethnic identities depending on the context (Phinney and Ong, 2007; Wade, 1997). Their dynamism is why they need to be considered regarding their formation.

Phinney and Ong (2007) argue that ethnic identities development is characterised by “... a strong attachment and a personal investment in a group” (Phinney and Ong, 2007:272) which can become problematic when the identification of oneself as a member is mainly based on sameness and differences with the Other (Ali, 2003; Wade, 1997) since it can lead to discrimination. This sense of commitment and belonging is usually reinforced through the exploration and evaluation of particular ethnic behaviours and in-group attitudes, with the subsequent adoption of them. Therefore, ethnic groups are usually internally claimed and focused on the values and beliefs of the people of the in-group (Wade, 1997; Markus, 2013; Phinney and Ong, 2007). On the contrary, racial groups are usually defined and claimed by the external belief of people who are not identified as members of the group (Markus, 2013). Despite these differences, “both race and ethnicity involve a discourse about origins and about the transmission of essences across generations” (Wade, 1997:21) which generate a sense of affiliation to a group that can vary across time and context (Phinney and Ong, 2007). The

significance of both concepts for the development of a national identity place these two concepts as the spotlight of the research. The fact that some cultural beliefs and ideologies regarding race and ethnicity are normalised in the textbook can encourage or hinder respectful attitudes towards other cultures and the appreciation of diversity within a group.

2.1.3. Race and ethnicity in Latin America

The history of Latin America has been deeply marked by the notion of race and ethnic identities. In order to explore in depth about this ethnic and racial phenomena, an analysis of the historical background is needed (Hall and Gay, 1996). From the beginning, the European colonization and slavery in the Americas were led from a racial perspective which “marked a turning point in how physical differences were viewed” (Zuberi, 2013:70-71). The label ‘Indian’ emerged to refer to the native Americans which were used as primary source of slave labour in the sugar plantations (Zuberi, 2013). The need to justify slavery and exploitation took to classify ‘Indians’ as cannibals, ignorable and savage (Wade, 1997). However, the demographic decline of Native Americans led to replace ‘Indians’ by Africans slaves (Zuberi, 2013). As a consequence, anti-black discourses began to appear by linking blackness to inferiority, low social status and disadvantage to legitimate too their exploration (Zuberi, 2013; Desmond and Emirbayer, 2013).

As a result of plural societies, a sexual and cultural mixture among Africans, Europeans and Native Americans happened, giving rise to ‘mixed’ people called *mestizos* (Wade, 1997). Nevertheless, the European settlers endeavoured to maintain a hierarchical classification based on races, called socioracial stratification or *sociedad de castas* (Wade, 1997). Despite the difficulty to determine positions due to the miscegenation, whites were placed at the top hierarchical pyramid, while Indians and blacks at the bottom (Wade, 1997; Howard, 2007; Duany, 1998). “Fundamentally, they distributed the population into two broad and dichotomous groups along rigidly racial, colour and status lines: white owners and managers, black ‘unfree’ slave labour” (Hall, 1977:160). These racial nomenclatures were

anchored in power relationships between the dominator and the subordinator, and their impact encouraged the middle categories to distinguish themselves from the lowest ones (Hall, 1977).

During the post-colonial period, racial ideologies changed and, although Western scientific theories about evolution still relegated blacks and Indians into the lowest social position (Wade, 1997), the categories of Indians and slaves were temporarily abolished in Latin America (Wade, 2008). Nonetheless, the white supremacy was still a powerful idea in most countries and, thus, a process of whitening the population of Latin America was encouraged by political practices (Wade, 2008). For all these reasons, Wade (2013) claims that ideas about race to determine a national identity were extremely relevant in the Latin American contexts. Nonetheless, Caribbean societies are still nowadays based on racial stratification systems which dominate the economic, political and social structure (Hall, 1977; Wade, 1997; Duany, 1998) due to the decisive influence that history has had in constructing these societies (Hall, 1977). Consequently, a textbook content that reinforces ideas about racial identity, white supremacy or racial hierarchy may lead the formation of national identities based on racist or xenophobic attitudes which emphasise to the unequal distribution of power, status and other cultural capital among members of a social group (Markus, 2013). In addition, how social groups are represented in the textbook regarding their status and power relations among them can influence the development of children's national identity.

2.2. THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

2.2.1. The Constitution of the Dominican Republic

Due to the development of the colonial regimes, the Dominican Republic was at first part of the Spanish colony who named the whole island, Hispaniola. This society was formed of Spanish colonist, African slaves and Native Americans who were referred to as the indigenous population (Howard, 2001). Nevertheless, as in most of the Latin American regimes, the indigenous population declined rapidly because of new diseases brought from Spain.

Therefore, in the middle of the 16th century, most of the population was of African origin who were brought as slaves for working in the sugar mills and plantations (Howard, 2001). In the following years, gold and silver began to gain importance and many slaves were moved from the Dominican Republic to other Spanish colonies from Latin America where gold and silver were more abundant (Howard, 2001). Soon after, in the middle of the 17th century, French settlers invaded the west part of Hispaniola and called the French colony Saint-Domingue (Howard, 2001). The French colony was a pioneer in sugar production and therefore, many African slaves were needed for working in the plantations (Howard, 2001).

In 1791, a slave revolution in the French colony arose, giving birth in 1804 to Haiti as an independent republic where most of the population were from African origin (Howard, 2001; Keys *et al*, 2017). From that moment, the Spanish colony was handed to the French settlers and the Haitians on different occasions, until Haiti under President Jean-Pierre Boyer invaded the actual Dominican Republic from 1822 to 1844 with the intention to unify the island (Howard, 2001; Keys *et al*, 2017, Gregory, 2007). This historical period is critical on the formation of the national Dominican identity, which will be explored in great detail below, and still nowadays remains unforgettable in most of the Dominican population (Keys *et al*, 2017). In 1844, thanks to a secret society in favour of independence formed mainly by Dominican politicians of the white elite, the Dominican Republic declared independence from Haiti (Howard, 2001; Gregory, 2007).

2.2.2. The Dominican National Identity

“Dominican identity formation is structured by power relations that are at once transnational, geopolitical, and personal” (Candelario, 2009:201). After the Dominican Republic gained its independence, the government policies were focused on creating a “... a national identity against the persisting Haitian threat –one that emphasised the new republic’s Hispanic, rather than African origins and its racial distinctiveness from black Haiti” (Howard, 2001:180). A general feeling that Haitians were no longer seen as black slaves

was spread and instead, they began to regard them as a 'bloodthirsty menace' (San Miguel, 2005:45; cited by Key *et al*, 2017) to their national identity and integrity, and their safety (Duany, 2006). For this reason, the words black and mulatto -which was used for someone with black and white ancestry (Wade, 1997)- ceased to be used to describe Dominicans and, instead *indio/a* gained popularity due to the representation of their indigenous past which distanced them from their African origins (Duany, 1998, 2006; Wade, 1997; Candelario, 2009). As a consequence, an "ethno-racial Hispanicized Indian, or an Indo-Hispanic identity" was embraced by most of the population (Duany, 2006:237) which was defined also by particular sociocultural factors, such as religion, language and race.

Dominican elites' discourses laid emphasis on these sociocultural factors for the formation of the national Dominican identity, since these aspects emphasised the differences between Haitians and Dominicans. It was claimed that Dominicans were white, Indian (*indio*) or *mestizo*, while only Haitians were regarded as blacks. Nonetheless, the Dominican population is 85% dark-skinned which has led to the creation of different labels to avoid the word black, such as, *indio oscuro* (dark Indian), *indio lavado/a* (washed Indian), *indio quemado/a* (burnt Indian), *indio canela* (cinnamon Indian), *moreno/a* (brown-skinned) or *de color* (coloured person) (Duany, 1998, 2006). The hair texture has also been another phenotype aspect that has been used by Dominicans to distinguish themselves from Haitians (Duany, 2006; Candelario, 2009). Although they both have curly hair, which they call them *pelo malo* ('bad' hair), Dominicans are obsessed with straight hair since they link it with whiteness and, therefore, with progress, social status and success (Candelario, 2009). As a result, most Dominicans practice chemical hair straightening in order to have *pelo bueno* ('good' hair), as they called it; while Haitians usually wear their hair natural (Gregory, 2007, Duany, 2006).

The development of the Dominican national identity has been also influenced by the importance of emphasising Spanish as the language of the Dominicans, while Haitians have been identified as Creole speakers (Sagás, 2000). Gregory (2007:171) identifies this fact during his stay in the Dominican Republic when

a *motoconcho* (motorrickshaw) put it to him, "No Haitian can speak Spanish like a Dominican, not even one born in this country". The term Creole has also been used in the Dominican Republic to refer to the population born of Spanish settlers and indigenous or of Spanish settlers and African slaves. While Creole language is associated with Haitians, Dominicans have identified themselves as having Creole ancestors. Finally, Catholicism also played an important role on the formation of the national identity, since it has also been used to differentiate themselves from Haitians as they are associated with voodoo practices (Tavernier, 2008; Duany, 1998; Sagás, 2000).

Nonetheless, all these differences based on race and ethnicity are socially constructed, since they are dependent on the social status linked to a certain phenotype in a specific place and time (Duany, 1998). For instance, Duany (1998) argues that while some Dominicans would identify themselves as black if they lived in New York, they would reject this label in the Dominican Republic calling themselves *indios*. Candelario (2009) also states that Dominicans in Washington are more likely to identify themselves as black. In contrast in the Dominican Republic, because black Haitians are associated with low status, if you ask "*What does it mean to be Dominican?*", many Dominicans answer, *not Haitian*" (Howard, 2001:25). Thus, the Dominican national identity is characterised by being an oppositional identity that is counter to the Haitians stigma (Duany, 1998) and that emphasise the 'constitutive outside' (Hall and Gay, 1996). Blackness has become the symbol of the Other and "...is constructed and represented outside the dominant discourses of national identity" (Duany, 2006:242).

In addition, the relation between Dominicans -the mainstream identity- and Haitians -the Others- is influenced by a general belief on white supremacy. Dominicans consider whiteness to be a synonym of modernity and progress (Hippert, 2017:195), while blacks are placed at the bottom of the implicit hierarchical classification based on race (Howard, 2007). This situation was shown in the Dominican system of racial classification where 'black' was a separate category reserved only for Haitians and 'Indian' encompassed from light coloured to mulatto (Duany, 1998). Consequently, the results from this

classification mainly displayed a white and Indian population which was used as a discursive strategy to foster the idea of a homogeneous Dominican Republic away from blackness (Duany, 1998). This discourse strategy emphasises the exclusion of the Other who is associated with dark skin and African ancestors and serves to justify their social, economic and cultural marginalization, dehumanizing and depriving them of citizenship rights (Duany, 2006). Therefore, this hierarchical system of racial categories is led by power and control (Hippert, 2007) and it causes that people placed in certain categories according to their supposed biological physical aspects will have limited and fewer options to choose in life (Gregory, 2007; Dill and Zambrana, 2013). This constant discrimination in all aspects of life against Haitians or dark-skinned people in the Dominican Republic is called *antihaitianismo* and the reasons why they have suffered historical stigmatization will be explored below.

2.2.3. Haitians in the Dominican Republic: *antihaitianismo*

Nowadays, it is estimated that 458,233 Haitians are living in the Dominican Republic which constituted the 4.7% of the total population (ONE, 2013). In addition, Haitians are the most numerous group of immigrants in the Dominican Republic; 87.3% of the immigration is originating from Haiti (ONE, 2013). This demographic profile has been shaped mainly due to the hard conditions that Haitians has to face in their countries where 75% of its population live below the poverty line, and 55% in abject poverty (Christian Aid, 2006). Thus, the Dominican Republic is most of the times the only chances that Haitians have to aspire to a better life (Gregory, 2007). Nonetheless, once in the country Haitians have to face discrimination, prejudice and unfair situations which are led by an *antihaitianismo* ideology rooted both in personal and institutional discourses (Howard, 2007).

“Scholars have traced the origins and development of a racist and xenophobic ideology in the Dominican Republic since the mid- 19th century” (Duany, 1998:150). Since then, discrimination, rejection and exclusion against Haitians and dark skin people of African descendant have been conducted due to the

stigmatization of these people (Tavernier, 2008). Link and Phelan (2001:377) argue that “stigma exists when elements of labelling, stereotyping, separation, status loss, and discrimination occur together in a power situation that allows them”. In the Dominican Republic, stigmatization has led to the association of the label ‘black skin’ and ‘African heritage’ with negative attributes such as primitive, ruthless, dangerous, animal-like and destitute (Duany, 2006; Gregory, 2007). Haitians have also been portrayed as practitioners of barbaric rituals, witchcraft and black magic (Duany, 2006) which has led Dominicans to clearly separate ‘them’ from Haitians (Link and Phelan, 2001). The stigma attached to Haitians has also involved discrimination in an individual and structural level. For instance, Duany (1998) claimed that Dominicans from lower-classes tended to target Haitians as the reasons for all social problems and negative incidents. This personal discrimination in everyday situations, although it is not a direct consequence of institutional discrimination, is sustained on discriminatory discourses of the social institutions (Desmond and Emirbayer, 2013).

Researchers have stated that structural discrimination has its origin during the colonial period after the Dominican Republic gained its independence from Haiti (Howard, 2001; Hippert, 2017). From then on, many historical facts have proved the existence of discriminatory institutional practices. For instance, the stigmatization enabled the Trujillo dictatorship to justify the massacre of 25,000 Haitians men, women and children in 1937 (Gregory, 2007; Howard, 2001; Keys *et al*, 2017; Duany, 1998, 2006; Hippert, 2017). “In the wake of the massacre, the Trujillo dictatorship embarked on a renewed *negrophobic*, anti-Haitian campaign that infiltrated public education and other Dominican institution” (Gregory, 2007:181). This campaign was also marked by an attempt to ‘whiten’ the Dominican population by fostering white immigration but limiting non-white entrance (Gregory, 2007; Hippert, 2017, Howard, 2001). After the Trujillo dictatorship, institutional discourses concerning the possibility of a ‘pacific invasion’ from Haitians persisted (Gregory, 2007) and served to justify extrajudicial deportations of Haitians in 1991, 1996, 1997,

1999, 2000, 2005, 2011 and still nowadays (Keys *et al*, 2017; Howard, 2007, Gregory, 2007; Kushner, 2012).

Haitians have also been disadvantaged in the location of the division of labour; working on sugar plantation under nearly slavery conditions (Howard, 2001; Tavernier, 2008). This situation has worsened since, in 2010, the Dominican government retroactively denied the citizenship of Dominican children born of Haitian parents (Gregory, 2007; Keys *et al*, 2017; Hippert, 2017, Kushner, 2012). The lack of birth certificate implies not being able to access some public services and rights, such as school after grade 8, work permits, travel documents and driver's licenses (Kushner, 2012) which negatively affects and restricts all areas of their lives. In sum, it can be claimed that discrimination against Haitians is institutionalized (Kushner, 2012) and therefore, the Dominican educational system, among others, can be used as an institution for justifying and reproducing the Dominican national identity based on a racial identity in opposition to Haitians (Nasser, 2004). "One aspect of a state's control of its education system is through control of the cultural messages transmitted to students through school textbooks" (Nasser, 2004:221). Below it will be explored how textbooks used in schools can constitute an important element of institutional discrimination and social power.

2.3. SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

"Only the teacher -and perhaps a blackboard and writing materials- are found as universally as the textbook in our classrooms" (Cronbach, 1955; cited by Sleeter and Grant, 2011:186). The textbook is indeed a popular educational material in most schools and, even nowadays with the digital era, they are still used in various supports and formats (Brosnan, 2016). Nonetheless, scholars have questioned the impact that textbooks have on the actual learning, since they do not fully determine learning nor teaching (Brosnan, 2016; Pratt, 1972). However, Hintermann *et al* (2014) found that most teachers use textbooks as lesson plans and, therefore, they can be considered as the main source of information on most subjects' areas. In this sense,

although textbooks are not the only element that enables learning, they play an important role in it.

In addition, Weitzman and Rizzo (1974) stated that textbooks not just provide information and knowledge on subjects, but also ethical and moral values, cultural and racial beliefs and notions of society (Cho and Park, 2016; Pratt, 1972; Brosnan, 2016; Hummel, 1988). This type of knowledge is called by Weitzman and Rizzo (1974) as 'latent content' since it is not explicitly taught, but it is transmitted in class. However, according to Klein (1985:1), "there is no such thing as an unbiased book. Every communication expresses the views of the individuals or group of individuals making them". Therefore, all the norms and cultural beliefs reflected on textbooks are biased (Byrne, 2001) and culturally influenced by the political forces and national ideologies of the historical period (Nasser, 2004). Thus, [history] "textbooks are of particular significance in this regard, as they can be read as 'national biographies'" (Hintermann *et al*, 2014:15) and they can be used to construct a national identity (Nasser, 2004). As Nasser states

"School [history] textbooks attempt to shape the collective memory of students, and construct their consciousness about their ancestors, their origins, and their heroic past. Thus, history textbooks try to shape students' collective identity and identification."

Nasser (2004:228)

Candelario (2009) and Kushner (2012) agree that school history textbooks are a way to renegotiate and reinvent Dominicans' national history to cultivate and spread certain beliefs about the national sentiment of being Dominican. In Dominican Republic textbooks are valued by the National Council of Curriculum Transformation and certified by the Dominican Ministry of Education (Minerd), therefore, all the information included in the history textbooks must be approved by the government. Sleeter and Grant (2011) argue that textbook's content embodies a particular vision of the mainstream ideas and knowledge that are sufficiently valued to pass on to new generations. In the Dominican Republic, this selection and rejection of certain ideas are conducted by the government institutions and, thus students are

provided with their pre-selected insights and beliefs (Sleeter and Grant, 2011; Kearl, 2014). As a result, the curriculum can be used as a mean of social control (Takeda, 2017) by presenting students with a single version of reality and by omitting the version of others which may lead them to think that they are not as important (Sleeter and Grant, 2011; Takeda, 2017).

Textbooks are also influential tools to legitimate the status of dominant groups; to reinforce stereotypical patterns and to map social norms (Sleeter and Grant, 2011; Mburu and Nygah, 2012; Hintermann *et al*, 2014), since they present knowledge as a fixed reality (Cho and Park, 2016). Consequently, the social relationship depicted in textbooks are easily misinterpreted as natural and, thus, acceptable and proper (Sleeter and Grant, 2011). Therefore, they may influence the views held by one-self about the Other and promote the development of stereotyped, unequal or discriminatory relationships (Hintermann *et al*, 2014). For instance, Kushner (2012) argue that Dominican textbooks used to describe Spanish slavery less aggressive and harsh than the French one which it is associated with Haiti. Consequently, it was portrayed a better image of Spanish people than French and Haitians. These beliefs may be incorporated by children without questioning themselves since they are presented as truth. In addition,

For many pupils, school history will be the only formal instruction they receive about what went before and what led up to today's world. Beliefs implanted through school history books may therefore persist for a lifetime. History textbooks, probably more than any other kind of school-book, have the capacity to influence the social and political thinking of whole generations, and because of this they deserve scrutiny

(Dean *et al*, 1983:102)

For all these reasons, textbooks began to be analysed by the League of Nations during the post-first world war era in order to identify possible bias (Dean *et al*, 1983). In 1946, UNESCO took its place by promoting the revision of existing textbooks to improve its quality and remove all negative stereotypes of minority groups (UNESCO, 2014). Since then, many studies have been conducted on gender bias, while recent analyses of racial or

nationalistic bias in textbooks are scarce (Sleeter and Grant, 2011). Nasser (2004) conducted a study on the Jordanian National Identity represented in school textbooks and found that the government reproduces a collectively Jordanian identity separated from Arabs. Another study was carried out by Cho and Park (2016) in Korea and found that Korean textbooks promoted a Korean-ethnicity and west-centred identity. A research on racial bias in textbooks used during the American Civil War and Reconstruction era performed by Brosnan (2016) argued that black people were represented at the bottom of the racial hierarchy, while whites on the top. Takeda (2017) also found that minority groups, such as Asian Pacific Americans were marginalized on American government textbooks. Unfortunately, so far there is no record of any published analysis of Dominican textbooks.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. RESEARCH DESIGN

Grounded in a constructivism approach, a critical discourse analysis of the history textbook used in primary 6 in Dominican Public Schools has been conducted. This analysis is guided by a research approach that holds that reality is subjective since each person understand it in different ways and, therefore, different and multiple realities exists according to each person's interpretation (Arthur *et al*, 2012; Cohen *et al*, 2000). In this sense, the world is socially constructed and we can only construct meaning by interacting with it (Fairclough, 2003). From this epistemological position, discourse can provide relevant information about the social world since it is a reflection or a representation of it (Mason, 2002). Nonetheless, because discourse is constructed in specific social, cultural, historical and ideological contexts, it cannot be neutral and sometimes it expresses power relations (Rogers *et al*, 2005; Rogers, 2011). Thus, in order to analyse it and to examine the values and beliefs expressed in it, a critical theoretical perspective has been adopted, which will be explored in-depth in the next section.

In general terms, discourse analysis of written texts and, in particular of a textbook, is a social research method that allows gathering relevant information that is not explicitly said about the reality represented (Olsen, 2012). Thus, the data obtained has been explored and interpreted to construct meaning and to understand in-depth the hidden values and beliefs transmitted (Bowen, 2009). Consequently, a hermeneutical approach to conduct the data analysis has been adopted to gain understanding of the text and to construct meaning through its interpretation (Bowen, 2009; Fairclough, 2003). Nonetheless, because interpretation is subjective and it is dependent on each researcher, it has been highly necessary to analyse the discourse several times to capture the complexity of the hidden values and beliefs (Olsen, 2012). Moreover, although objectivity is not a concern in this kind of research method, it has been essential to explore oneself's role and thoughts that can influence the analysis to be open and critical throughout the process

(Bloor and Bloor, 2007). The benefits of using textbooks are that they can be analysed several times to get a more complete picture of the content without being affected by the process or altering the results (Curtis *et al*, 2013). Moreover, they are a feasible method that enables to explore the national identity depicted in school history textbooks in the Dominican Republic without having to travel there (Bowen, 2009).

To explore this field, the research question that has guided this analysis has been: *What Dominican national identity is constructed and transmitted through the school history textbooks?* To address this research, issues of race and ethnicity have been explored. Specifically, how race and ethnicity are presented as identity attributes as a pretext to perpetuate a hierarchical classification. For this reason, the power relations between Haitians and Dominicans represented in the textbook which can encourage inequality and exclusion have also been explored. It has also been explored which cultural beliefs and ideologies are normalised in the textbook and which social groups are presented as dominant. The methodology and methods used to address this research have been chosen because they served to answer the previous question adequately and they have been commonly used in similar educational research (Brown and Brown, 2010). Rogers *et al* (2005:366) also state that “during the past decade, education researchers increasingly have turned to Critical Discourse Analysis as an approach to answering questions about the relationships between language and society”.

3.2. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an approach that focuses on the analysis of language, social practices and the social world and the relationship between these three elements (Rogers *et al*, 2005). Specifically, it is

...an attempt to bring social theory and discourse analysis together to describe, interpret, and explain the ways in which discourse constructs, becomes constructed by, represents, and becomes represented by the social world.

(Rogers *et al*, 2005:366)

Nonetheless, as it has been mentioned before, discourse expresses and constitutes social relations based on power and unequal situations. For this reason, the main focus of CDA is to critically reflect “on how language as a cultural tool mediates [these] relationships of power and privilege in social interactions, institutions, and bodies of knowledge” (Rogers *et al*, 2005:367) which affect the unequal distribution of social goods and opportunities (Lim, 2014; Gee, 2004; Heros, 2009; Bloor and Bloor, 2007). Therefore, from a CDA framework, power is regarded as an oppressive manifestation of dominance that is performed through and within discourse and that hinders the free development of each individual (Rogers, 2011). This phenomenon can be addressed both from a macro and a micro level, depending on the scope of the research (Bloor and Bloor, 2007). In this particular case, a micro approach has been adopted to analyse critically the representation of national identity issues in a Dominican school textbook. Therefore, the discourse used in this analysis has been a single text which, according to Fairclough (2003), constitutes discourse at a micro-level.

“Within a CDA tradition, discourse has been defined as language use as social practice” (Rogers *et al*, 2005:369) and thus, it is socially constructed, dialectically connected with the social world, and culturally and historically based (Rogers *et al*, 2005; Fairclough, 2003). Therefore, to construct meaning from the language it is necessary to analyse it from a historical, social, political and ideological context (Rogers, 2011) since the meaning of words changes over time (Bloor and Bloor, 2007). According to Lester *et al* (2016), language also provides information about the formation of identity since it is through language that people attribute to others and to oneself identities and social positions. This fact contributes to establish or perpetuate the dominance of certain social groups since “people tend to identify themselves with their own social groupings (Self) and often place themselves in opposition to other social groupings (Other)” (Bloor and Bloor, 2007:20). For this reason, language has been described as a controlling force that can produce and reproduce inequalities among different groups in societies (Lester *et al*, 2016). School textbooks are products of discourse and thus, the

language they encompass can contain certain beliefs that may place people in power structures (Bloor and Bloor, 2007). Bloor and Bloor (2007) describe these shared beliefs and attitudes among individuals of a group as ideology; nonetheless, it differs from Fairclough's critical view of it.

Fairclough (2003:9) describes ideologies as "representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation". For this reason, he emphasises the effects that text can have on individuals in reproducing and even inculcating certain ideologies (Fairclough, 2003) since textbooks cannot be written from an objective perspective (Heros, 2009). Since school textbooks are usually written by experts that belong to the elite groups and that, thus, are the holders of power, it is the ideology of the dominant groups that is usually transmitted and accepted as 'true' and unquestionable by mostly all students (Bloor and Bloor, 2007). Critical theorists are especially concerned about the way these cultural beliefs and ideologies become normalized and adopted as common sense facts through the language used (Bloor and Bloor, 2007). Although there are many ways of conducting a CDA, the method chosen to analyse the ways in which national identity is transmitted within textbooks is through the Systemic Functional Linguistic approach.

3.3. SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS

The Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) model analyses the language used regarding its function rather its structure, thus it places its emphasis on the way language is used within the social world (Heros, 2009). Fairclough (2003) argues that language's functions can be analysed by three external relations: (a) action: how language enacts or enables social relations; (b) representation: how language represent aspects of the world; (c) identification: how language is used to make judgements, commitments, evaluations, and so on. The way these three aspects are interrelated is what enables us to construct meaning from the text. For this research, it has been decided to use Fairclough's theory of systemic functional linguistics among others scholars to interpret

and analyse the relationships between the language used in the textbook and the identity transmitted, since his theory places the main emphasis on grammatical and semantic analysis (Fairclough, 2003). From the guidelines provided by Fairclough (2003) and Heros (2009) for the analysis of discourse, the following aspects have been analysed:

- a) The use of conjunctions and other elements to express causal -reason, consequence, purpose-, conditional, temporal, additive, elaborative and contrastive/concessive relations.
- b) The use of different clause types to express statements of fact, 'irrealis' statements (predictions and hypothetical) and evaluations.
- c) The use of linguistic elements to express assumptions (existential assumptions, propositional assumptions and value assumptions)
- d) The use of nominalizations, third person, impersonal forms and passive voice to express events as entities or facts instead of processes, so that human responsibility is not described explicitly.
- e) The use of pronouns to construct identities (i.e. the use of 'we' assume that the reader holds the same position) or utterances to express ideologies.

From the grammatical and semantic analysis, different themes have emerged regarding the formation of the Dominican national identity. In order to obtain the core themes, a coding scheme has been followed based on the inductive approach performed by Williams (2013). Thus, I first created a provisional list of codes that have contributed to responding to the research question. Then, while reading the textbook I associated different sections of the textbook content with the codes. During this process, new codes emerged. After rereading the text, I generated a coding scheme in which the different codes were classified by themes. Finally, I reviewed the codes and themes and I have got the following three main themes: Race and ethnicity in the Dominican Republic: Relations between Blacks, Indians and Whites; Dominicans-Haitians relations; Dominican Identity and Cultural Values (see appendix for the coding scheme).

3.4. THE STUDY SAMPLE

The critical discourse analysis has been performed on the data selected from the school textbook used in primary 6 in Social Science in the Dominican Republic and private schools. This book was written by Juan Ricardo Hernández and Alejandro Hernández Grullón in 2006 and had the approval of the Ministry of Education (MINERD) which certified that the content was appropriate according to the Dominican curriculum. In addition, this book was revised and updated twice, in 2009 and 2013 by the MINERD. Nonetheless, in 2015, the essayist and member of the Dominican Academy of the Spanish Language, Manuel Núñez, complained about the content. He described the content as "racist, xenophobic, fusionist and anti-patriotic" (Vargas García, 2015: online) and he argued that

The conception that this book has is based on race and not culture. It links the segregation of one racial group against another, and it distorts the story, because in some paragraphs the child is told that Dominicans are racist, and this does not contribute positively in their pedagogical development

Listin Diario (2015)

As a result of the complaints and the scandal generated, the MINERD submitted the book for review and in 2015, they decided to replace it in all schools throughout the country with a new version. Nonetheless, the withdrawal was not effective and, to date, some schools in rural areas are still using this textbook in primary 6. The head teacher of a primary school Sabana Yegua (Azua) provided the textbook for the analysis.

To delimit the sections of the textbooks that were suitable for the analysis, I first reviewed the 37 topics included in the textbook. I then marked the sections that were related explicitly and implicitly to the Dominican and Haitian history, culture and identity. The images were excluded from the study sample due to the irrelevance of the theme analysed since most of them were maps or portraits of celebrities. In summary, the total number of topics that deal with issues related to the Dominican national identity was 20 out of 37, and, thus, these sections were the sample used for the critical discourse

analysis. Therefore, a purposive sample was selected to analyse this issue better (Curtis *et al*, 2013).

3.5. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This study did not need ethical approval since the research did not involve human beings. The sample used for the analysis was taken legally since it is public and, thus, no consent is needed to access the information. Nonetheless, the head teacher of the primary school was informed and he agreed to provide the textbook knowing the purpose of the analysis. Finally, since the topic analysed is controversial, an ethical approach for its examination has been taken. The analysis has been done taking into account that the theme is highly sensitive and the interpretation of the content has been done ensuring that it does not violate people's rights.

3.6. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

From the CDA theory, inequality and power relationships in society are a phenomenon that can be analysed from different dimensions. Ferguson (2013) argues that this situation should be analysed from a global perspective taking into account various social categories, such as race, gender, sexuality and social class. According to him, "intersectionality is the theoretical perspective that argues we should not study these social categories in isolation" (Ferguson, 2013:1). Nonetheless, since it has been argued that the textbook content is racist, the focus of this research has been on examining the extent to which race and ethnicity are attributes of the Dominican national identity. On the other hand, researchers claim that inequality is maintained through four domains of powers: the structural, the disciplinary, the hegemonic and the interpersonal (Dill and Zambrana, 2013). In this research, due to its limited scope, the main focus has been on analysing whether the content is written or not from a hegemonic perspective. Dill and Zambrana (2013) describe the hegemonic domain as a way of holding power by promoting the creation of social stereotypes and ideologies about the oppressed group. Nevertheless, in the literature review, the influence of these four domains has been taken into account.

Regarding the documentary analysis, from a constructivism perspective, discourses are constructed in social events and its meaning can be understood differently by readers (Olsen, 2012). Therefore, the findings obtained could differ from other researchers since interpretation is a key process for the analysis. As mentioned before, in order to reduce bias, the analysis has been conducted several times to capture the complexity of the hidden beliefs. In addition, a critical and open approach has been adopted to ensure the relevance of the findings. The findings could also differ regarding the researcher's point of view about how textbooks should represent reality. Textbooks can either portrayed an idealistic or a realistic representation of the social world. This study has been critical with the realistic depictions that can foster discrimination and inequality since textbooks are means to encourage the development of respectful and inclusive societies (UNESCO, 2014; Cho and Park, 2016).

Finally, it has also been acknowledged that the findings obtained could be further developed with interviews with teachers and observations of the lessons. Although textbooks are commonly used at schools and can constitute influential tools of social control (Cronbach, 1955; cited by Sleeter and Grant, 2011; Hintermann *et al*, 2014; Mburu and Nygah, 2012), the analysis of them does not provide information of how are they used in class. Vygotsky's theory emphasised the importance of the interrelation between the teacher, children and the mediating artefacts, such as the textbook, when learning (Vygotsky, 1978). The lack of information about how the textbook is used in class to reinforce certain ideologies limits the findings presented.

4. FINDINGS

4.1. RACE AND ETHNICITY IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC: RELATIONS BETWEEN BLACKS, INDIANS AND WHITES

The content of the textbook used in primary 6 in Dominican schools is not neutral and it expresses insights about race, ethnicity and power relations. The analysis of the perception that is transmitted of blacks, Indians and whites is an attempt to shed light on the understanding of the Dominican identity transmitted through the history content. The notion of racial hierarchy which appears in the textbook is an influent factor in the development of the Dominican national identity since it has been used throughout history to justify discrimination against people with black or dark skin (Duany, 2006). In examining how these groups are represented in the textbook, assumptions of white supremacy and domination, and blacks and Indians inferiority and oppression are commonly found. Thus, the power relations between dominant and subordinate groups found in the textbook are mainly race-based which lead to implicit racial attitudes transmission.

Throughout twenty topics, the language used is a categorization based on skin colour, in particular, for dark-skinned people. Africans are most of the times labelled as blacks, and descendants of both white and black parents as mulattos. On the other hand, Europeans are not always described as whites, sometimes being also mentioned by their nationality, and Indians are mainly named as indigenous or native Indians/Americans. The variation of the terms depends on the topics discussed in the textbook. For instance, Europeans are referred to as whites when the miscegenation in Latin America and, in particular, in the Dominican Republic is explained (see Appendix, Table 1, Code 1). In contrast, the term black is not only used for explaining the miscegenation, but also when talking about racism (see Appendix, Table 1, Code 3), about racial segregation (see Appendix, Table 1, Code 2), about slavery (see Appendix, Table 1, Code 4) and about Haitians leaders that fought for Haiti's independence (see Appendix, Table 1, Code 6). Therefore, human skin colour is not only represented as an identity attribute of greater

importance for black people than for white, but also the term black is always associated with a negative situation, such as discrimination, a disadvantaged position or a struggle for freedom.

In addition, the social meanings attached to these skin colours differ significantly from each other. It is acknowledged in the textbook that “in the past black people were believed to be inferior to white people and therefore, they were not allowed to participate in organizations run by whites” (Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón, 2009:115). In the same chapter, it is also stated that “black people were socially rejected because whites’ ideology predominated” (Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón, 2009:115). The use of the word ‘because’ express a causal relation which leads to think on blacks as opposed to whites and on whites’ ideology as incompatible with blacks’ equality.

The discussion of racial inequality is further developed by explaining racism and xenophobia in nowadays. As defined in the textbook,

Black is still prevented from being part of some entities or to penetrate in some places and in some countries, they suffer physical aggressions and death [*eliminación física* - physical elimination], which is known as xenophobia.

(Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón, 2009:115)¹

The use of ‘some countries’ in this quotation could generate confusion since Dominicans may be included or not as part of this countries. Nonetheless, below this sentence, it is stated that racism is found in their territory. Therefore, the use of ‘some countries’ expresses a shared blame, since the USA, Europe and Puerto Rico are mentioned as territories where there is also racism. In other words, the Dominican Republic is not the only country portrayed negatively because of the existence of racial discrimination. In addition, the definition provided lacks rigour in the use of the term xenophobia. According to UNESCO, xenophobia implies

attitudes, prejudices and behaviour that reject, exclude and often vilify persons, based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the

¹(all translations from Spanish are my own)

community, society or national identity ... whereas racism usually entails distinction based on physical characteristic differences.

UNESCO (online)

The lack of rigour can either imply a misuse of words or that this section has been written unconsciously from a Dominican perspective where the Other or the outsider is associated with black people usually originated from Haiti.

Another example of sections written from a Dominican perspective is provided in chapter 2.2 where content about sugar production and slavery in the island Hispaniola during Columbus' colonisation is covered. In the exercise section called 'gathered to learn', the first activity is the following: "Comment the following proverb: 'Black is pork food'. The comments will be read in the classroom" (Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón, 2009:61). Apparently, this proverb was used by Spanish settlers when they arrived at the Dominican Republic, however, this information is not provided in any chapter of the textbook. The use of this proverb as a learning activity could lead to debate in class the racist situations that black people had to face for years and that still have. Nonetheless, the limitations of this study do not allow us to analyse how this activity would be conducted. On the other hand, this activity is exposed from a Dominican perspective which could cause black students to feel offended or uncomfortable discussing this activity with their classmates, taking into account the current situation between Haitians and Dominicans in the Dominican Republic. Another question posed from a Dominican perspective is provided in chapter 4.5 where children are asked: "what do you think when you see a black person?" (Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón, 2009:144). The fact that all these questions apply to black people from a Dominican perspective lead to assume that one group dominates over the other; portraying the Dominican hegemony.

On the other hand, implicit ideas about racial status and privileges are encompassed in many sections of the textbook. Throughout twenty chapters, the relationship between Blacks, Whites and Indians is depicted mainly as a struggle for power and equality. Whites are characterised as conquerors,

powerful, explorers and superiors (see Appendix, Table 1, Code 8, 9, 10, 11); while blacks and mulattos are usually referred to as powerless, inferiors, slaves and subordinated (see Appendix, Table 1, Code 8, 10, 12). The authors also acknowledge in the textbook whites' resistance to racial equality by stating: "mulattoes claimed their equal rights but, whites did not accept that claim and both groups clashed" (Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón, 2009:76). The use of the conjunction 'but' indicates contradiction and thus, it emphasises the power of whites over mulattoes. In addition, the fact that whites did not accept the claim implies that all decisions had to be made by them. Therefore, implicit in this statement is the idea of racial hierarchy and white supremacy which is recurrent throughout the book.

Another example of white superiority and racial inequality is seen at the beginning of chapter 4.1 in the section called 'tell me what you know'. This chapter covers the historical period when European countries conquered the Americas and they divided the land among them. Spain, Portugal, Holland, England, France, Denmark, Russia, Germany and Sweden are described as European economic powers that had the means to control most of the continents of the Americas. In the section "tell me what you know", children have to answer the following question: "Usually in a share-out, who takes the largest part?" (Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón, 2009:21). Although the textbook does not explicitly provide an answer, it does implicitly lead to think that who has more power takes the largest part and, thus, in that period the most powerful countries were the whites. In addition, from the above question, it is also implicitly assumed that distributions are always unequal and someone always has to get a bigger chunk. This statement portrays the current situation of inequality in Latin America which is usually marked by racial differences.

In contrast, whites are also described as tyrants, violent and authoritarian which helps to empathise with African Americans and indigenous (see Appendix, Table 1, Code 11, 13, 14). In the textbook, it is emphasised that aborigines and African Americans were mistreated by white settlers, they were subjected to forced labour and they were forced to follow the conquerors'

rules and their religious values. For instance, in the textbook, it is defined the French slave system as one of the most inhuman in all history (Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón, 2009:74). The use of the words 'the most inhuman in all history' expresses an evaluation of the French slave system by the authors and encourages readers to feel the pain for the aborigines and African Americans. In addition, it is emphasized in the book that the indigenous population had richness before Columbus arrived and that the commercial development of the Europeans was at the expense of Native Americans' exploitation (see Appendix, Table 1, Code 13). The evaluation terms used throughout the textbook reflect the pride of their indigenous ancestry and, specially, of the great figures that fought for their country. For example, as highlighted on the text: "it is necessary to emphasize the attitude assumed by Hernando de Montoro, himself with a group of followers faced the Spanish authorities" (Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón, 2009:62). The fact that authors considered necessary to emphasise his attitude express a subjective evaluation of his actions by the writers.

4.2. DOMINICANS-HAITIANS RELATIONS

An analysis of the perceptions about Haitians transmitted in the textbook in relation to the Dominican identity has been conducted. Dominican national identity has been claimed to be built in opposition to Haitians in order to distance themselves from the values and traditions of their neighbouring country. Stigmatization of Haitians has also been reported as a way of justifying the discrimination against them, both at an individual and institutional level. The findings of the textbook analysis support these facts since there is evidence of an attempt to convey an oppositional identity that is counter to the Haitians stigma. Nevertheless, some readings sections in the textbook provide a more positive view of Haitians in the past which can be regarded as a starting point for resolving this current situation.

In analysing how the textbook represents Haitians, I found that they are described as being black and having African origins. In chapter 2.6, where the formation of the Haitian population is covered, the focus is on the racial

characteristics, although, the term used to describe the population structure is ethnicity. Nevertheless, the information provided does not take into account the shared cultural practices that enable to create a sense of affiliation with a group and instead the focus is on the race. As described in the textbook,

A large number of ships loaded with blacks from the African continent came to the colony. The proportion of blacks versus whites was much higher. This situation determined the ethnic structure of present-day Haiti.

(Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón, 2009:74)

The label 'black' to talk about Haitians is also used in chapter 2.8 when Haiti's independence is covered (see Appendix, Table 1, Code 17). For instance, Toussiant Louverture is always mentioned as 'the leader of the blacks' instead of the leader of the Haitian Revolution. Haitians are also described as having African origins which are portrayed as holding different cultural values, faiths and traditions, such as Vodou (see Appendix, Table 1, Code 18, 20, 22).

Chapter two also covers the sugar production in the Dominican Republic by slaves (chap. 2.2). The emphasis is placed on the slave trade and the working conditions of slaves. At the beginning of this chapter, in the section called 'tell me what you know', children are asked to answer the following question: "Who are the cane cutters in the Dominican Republic?" (Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón, 2009:59). Haitians labourers constitute the largest number of workers in the sugarcane field of the Dominican Republic. Unfortunately, Haitians have to face harsh conditions when working on sugar plantations which nearly reach slavery or exploitation (Howard, 2001 and Tavernier, 2008). Although the content does not explicitly link Haitians cane cutters with slavery in the 15th and the 16th century, the question leads to compare slavery in the past with the current employment situation of Haitians. Nonetheless, in this chapter slaves are referred to as blacks which can lead to connect black people with bad job conditions. This assumption can foster the perpetuation of stigmas about blacks and, specifically, about Haitians and their jobs.

In contrast, the information provided about the independence of Haiti is in overall more positive and some negative facts are omitted (see Appendix, Table 1, Code 24). For instance, it is explained that the president Dessalines was elected, instead of appointed himself as governor. He is glorified by describing him as a leader for the blacks who fought for their rights and wellbeing. Nevertheless, it is omitted that he issued an extermination order against the whites who were in living in Haiti at that time or that he was killed by members of his administration that were disaffected. Haiti is also described as the first country where enslavement was abolished, and human rights were respected for all human beings once their independence was proclaimed. Nonetheless, the Haitian constitution enacted in 1805 declared that

No white man of whatever nation he may be shall put his foot on this territory with the title of master or proprietor, neither shall he in future acquire any property therein.

(Corbett, online)

Indeed, there is an intention to provide a positive view of Haiti and Haitian leaders in the past which may reflect an attempt to demonstrate that Dominicans do not discriminate against Haitians reiteratedly. Nonetheless, the historical facts positively described of Haiti do not directly affect the Dominican Republic or its history. When it comes to the Haitians invasion of the Dominican Republic, negative evaluations are provided about their actions.

Bellow, there is an example of the negative evaluations of the Haitian invasion:

The national independence was the result of the confrontation with the Haitians, because the moment we decided to be free, we were under their domination. Being free, meant facing the Haitians. But they no longer represent a danger to our independence. Nowadays, in order to be free, we must preserve our sovereignty intact and defend it.

(Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón, 2009:147)

In this quotation, the use of the word 'confrontation' expresses that the Dominican independence was proclaimed and achieved thanks to the fight

against Haitians, instead of because most of the population was holding a nationalist sentiment and wanted to preserve their culture, traditions, language and religion. In addition, the fact that they emphasise that they were 'under their domination' when they decided to be independent expresses that being free meant to confront the Haitians. The semantic relation among this previous sentence and 'being free meant facing the Haitians' is an elaboration which implies that Dominican and Haitians had to be enemies to allow the Dominicans to be free. Therefore, Haitians were regarded as a threat to the freedom of their country. On the other hand, the contemporary relations among Haitians and Dominicans nowadays are no longer described as rivals, but from this example, a fear to be invaded is tangible since they acknowledge the need to defend their country. In addition, from the last sentence, it can also be implied that the national Dominican identity must not change, and any cultural invasion or influence should not be encouraged or adopted. Finally, the use of the pronoun 'we' assumes that the reader holds the same ideological position or encourage the reader to hold it in order to promote a national Dominican identity.

Other examples of this opposite relationship between Haitians and Dominicans are provided in the textbook. For instance, in the section 'tell me what you know' of chapter 2.6, children are asked to answer the following question: "What are the differences between the Dominican population and the Haitian population?" (Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón, 2009:72). In the exercise section of chapter 5.8, children are expected to "interview a Haitian person and ask him to explain to you why Dominicans are different in cultural terms from Haitians." (Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón, 2009:148) and in chapter 4.5, children are asked to answer from their point of view "which are the main differences between the Dominican population and the Haitian population" (Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón, 2009:116). All these questions focus on the difference among Haitians and Dominicans and indeed imply these two cultures are completely different. Only one question throughout the textbook rewords the question to highlight the common past that these two countries share. In the exercises section of

chapter 2.8, children are meant to answer: "Do you think that Haitians and Dominicans are two fraternal towns?" (Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón, 2009:81).

Haitians are also in overall being referred as foreigners in the textbook, emphasising that even though they live in the Dominican Republic they are still regarded as a foreigner. For instance, in chapter 2.6 and 2.8, in the exercise section children have to "ask a Haitian foreigner to tell you about voodoo in Haiti" (Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón, 2009:75) or "search for Haitian nationals in your community and interview them about the ideas of Toussaint Louverture and Jean Jacques Dessalines." (Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón, 2009:84). These activities implicitly distance one community from the other and encourage to think that Haitians who live in the Dominican Republic cannot be considered as Dominicans even though they have lived there for a long time or their children have born in there.

Regarding the contemporary relations among Haitians and Dominicans portrayed in the textbook, it is acknowledged that Latin American suffer from discrimination in different countries among which Haitians in the Dominican Republic by some Creoles. As explained in the textbook,

The racial and political system of apartheid that existed in South Africa, in the south of the African continent, is an expression of racism in the present. In the same way, the treatment that Latin Americans receive in the United States and in the European continent, as well as the Haitians in our territory by some Creoles, and Dominicans in Puerto Rico

(Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón, 2009:115)

From this quotation, racism and discrimination are described as a current situation in different countries and territories, not just from the Dominican Republic. Thus, there is again a desire to portray themselves as not being the only ones who have racism in their country. In addition, the Dominican Republic is the only country or region not mentioned by its name, instead, the words 'our territory' are used. The use of this expression emphasises the feeling of country ownership. Finally, the fact that they say 'by some Creoles'

implies that racism is less frequent in the Dominican Republic and only some people hold racist beliefs. Creoles people in the textbook are described as those having Spanish and indigenous or Spanish and African origins who were born in the Dominican Republic. This social group is described in the textbook as patriotic and defenders of the Dominican Republic' independence. Thus, from this quotation, it can be assumed that patriotism is sometimes associated with the rejections of Haitians or, in other words, immigration in their country. 'Dominican *criollismo*' is further explored in the next section where aspects of the Dominican national identity are analysed.

Another example of Haitians' rejections in the Dominican Republic is provided in the same chapter. In this section, it is said that

...at present, we still reject the black population and mainly, from Haitian nationality. This attitude was practised by the government, during the periods in which Rafael Leonidas Trujillo and Joan Balaguer governed us. Despite that both have disappeared, we continue in a similar situation

(Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón, 2009:115)

This paragraph is written from the first-person plural point of view and thus, it takes for granted that the reader will agree with the statement. The use of 'we' can also encourage to build new opinions since the information is presented as true and valid. For instance, in the exercise section, children are asked to answer the following question: "Why we reject blacks in our country?" (Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón, 2009:116). Again, the pronoun 'we' is used to express an ideology and to pass it on to the readers.

Nonetheless, an attempt to address racial discrimination is conducted in the exercise section where children are encouraged to reflect on "why we cannot you judge people by the colour of their skin?" or "is a person's importance determined by the colour of their skin?" or "when can we say that a person is racist?" (Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón, 2009:116). All these questions foster the development of children's critical thinking and make them question the current situation in their country.

4.3. DOMINICAN IDENTITY AND CULTURAL VALUES

The analysis of the Dominican national identity transmitted in the textbook suggests that race is an important attribute of collective identities. For instance, racial groups that are mentioned in the textbook are whites (*blancos*), blacks (*negros*), mestizos (*mestizos*), mulattoes (*mulatos*) and half-breed (*zambos*). Dominicans are described in chapter 5.7 as predominantly mulattoes and this fact is reinforced in other chapters in the exercise sections. Children are asked to answer the following questions: "what is the predominant ethnic composition in the Dominican Republic?", "do you consider yourself black, white or a mixture of both?" and "in teams look for pictures of your relatives, describe their physical features and compare them with your own, looking for a kinship with blacks and whites" (Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón, 2009:114,116,117). As a result, these sections encourage children to associate being mulattoes with being Dominican and, thus, they could feel influenced to describe themselves as mulattoes to fit into this category.

Regarding Dominicans' ancestry, their Creole origin is emphasised. Nonetheless, contrary to what previous literature says, their black ancestry is also mentioned. As described in the textbook:

Our country, in ethnic terms, is the result of the mixture of blacks and whites. For this reason, the mulatto population predominates. Thus, Creoles are the mulattoes who distinguished themselves in cultural terms from the Spaniards and the Africans. They developed a feeling of belonging to the territory and permanent protection of it ... The Dominican culture is based on the values of Creoles, it is a mixture of Spanish, aboriginal and African, which is manifested in dance, ten-line stanza, stories, kettledrum, religion, musical instruments, food, literature and arts

(Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón, 2009:144)

The use of the pronoun 'our' to refer to the country assume that the reader shares the same nationality and emphasises again the feeling of country ownership. In this quotation, Dominicans are also characterised as having mixed-race origins, although it is stated that they culturally distinguished

from blacks and whites. Therefore, their cultural practices are emphasised as an attribute of Dominicans identity of greater importance than the skin colour. 'Dominican criollismo', as mentioned in the textbook, is also characterized by having a strong feeling of belonging to the Dominican Republic which leads them to fight for its independence. The feeling of attachment and commitment to the country is mentioned several times throughout the textbook and it is described as another element of the Dominican people (see Appendix, Table 1, Code 33).

Another way to promote the Dominican national identity in the textbook that has been examined is by highlighting their differences with other groups. Children are asked to answer in several occasions questions like: "why do we, Dominicans, distinguish ourselves from other peoples?", "look around you and identify the elements of the Dominican culture and those of other cultures", "what are the characteristics that identify us as Dominicans?", "why do you consider yourself Dominican?" or "which people are Dominicans?" (Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón, 2009:114,151,116,134,148). All these questions lead to create a boundary between what means to be Dominican and what does not. In addition, some of them are worded using the pronoun 'we' to refer to Dominicans. The use of this point of view subconsciously encourages children to adopt a feeling of belonging to this category, even though they may not feel Dominicans. In chapter 5.8, the answer to all these questions is provided. It is argued that Dominicans distinguish from others for their culture and that the fact of sharing the same traditions, rituals and lifestyles is what allowed them to create a collective identity (see Appendix, Table 1, Code 34). Contrary to what previous literature says, Dominicans are not portrayed in the textbook as Spanish speakers which has been point out in other research as an important attribute of their national identity.

The Dominican national identity is also glorified, and patriotism is the main aspect of their identity. For instance, in the exercise sections in chapter 5.8., there is the following question: "what are the reasons to feel proudly Dominican?" (Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón, 2009:148). Children are also encouraged in chapter 4.5 to organize a party for freedom where

they are requested to listen and dance traditional Dominican music and to cook and bring traditional Dominican food (see Appendix, Table 1, Code 35). On the other hand, cultural influences in the Dominican traditions are acknowledged, in particular from EEUU (see Appendix, Table 1, Code 38, 39). Nonetheless, they emphasise that the Dominican roots have to last in order to preserve their national identity which distinguishes them from the other countries. As described in the textbook,

There is an important presence of cultural manifestations from other countries, however, our cultural roots persist, although with different nuances. We cannot close ourselves to the new, but we need to preserve the values of the Dominican culture, which differentiates us from other peoples.

(Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón, 2009:150)

The fear that their national identity may be blurred by the influence of other cultures is also mentioned in the exercise section. Children are questioned: “Is it possible to *dominicanize* our territory if there are foreigners?” and “in the presence of a military invasion from foreign forces, what attitude would you adopt?” (Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón, 2009:116,148). Again, the sense of belonging to the country and the need to defend it from possible attacks are highlighted as characteristics of being Dominican. In addition, all these questions are posed from a Dominican perspective which emphasises the Dominican hegemony.

Another example of this feeling of belonging to the country is depicted in the manner of referring to the island Hispaniola. On seven occasions, it is described the island Hispaniola as ‘our’ island. The use of this possessive pronoun reflects the belief that the island is the property of the Dominican Republic, while in fact it is shared with Haiti. In addition, it can create confusion among the reader since it creates the false impression that Haiti and the Dominican Republic are on different islands. Another example is the name used to mention the whole island. While internationally it is known as Hispaniola, in the textbook they have preferred to use the term ‘Island of Santo Domingo’. There is evidence that the term ‘Island of Santo Domingo’ has been used throughout the history and even nowadays it is still used in the

Dominican Constitution (article 9) (Dominican National Assembly, 2015). Nonetheless, discussions around the use of this term have emerged since it is regarded as exclusive for Haitians.

5. DISCUSSION

From the analysis conducted, I found that the history textbook of primary 6 reinforces the notion of Dominicans as being different from any other culture and, in particular, from Haitians. The implicit belief that only certain people are members of this collective and others are excluded appears throughout the textbook. This distinction is both made from a racial and cultural perspective and it portrays their collective identity in contrast to any other country or culture, instead of emphasising a community with shared lifestyles and traditions. As Hall and Gay (1996) stated, this notion of national identity emphasises the idea of difference and exclusion which constitutes an act of power since the relation with the Other is based on a hierarchical relationship (Laclau, 1990; cited by Hall and Gay, 1996). The Dominicans' worldview is imposed in the textbook as the social norm by only considering their viewpoint on social, cultural and ideological ideas. Consequently, the Dominicans hegemony over the island may influence patterns of relations among different cultures. Thus, the textbook content may encourage to generate negative perceptions of certain cultures which are represented in a discriminatory way.

Second, Haitians are frequently represented as the Other and consequently, they are characterized as opposites and they are stigmatized. Furthermore, this discriminatory approach is emphasised using the first-person plural point of view to describe them which may encourage children to share the same belief. The textbook content also highlights the Dominican freedom as a synonym for facing the Haitians and, thus, it emphasises their rivalry. These negative representations of Haitians hinder students to build a critical and positive image of them and, instead, it encourages the perpetuation of patterns of discrimination and inequality among them. In addition, discourses based on white supremacy and racial hierarchy are implicitly adopted in the textbook which is used to legitimate the racial discrimination that black people and, in particular, Haitians suffer nowadays. Furthermore, racism and discrimination in the Dominican Republic are also described in the textbook as

a common fact in other countries. The lack of personal responsibility leads to think that this problem needs a global solution beyond reach, instead of emphasising the need for small and personal actions to start breaking these patterns.

Third, race and ethnicity are represented as attributes of great importance of the Dominican national identity. The textbook represents most social groups as holding racial identities and it characterized Dominicans as being predominantly 'mulattoes'. In contrast to previous literature studies (Duany, 1998, 2006; Wade, 1997; Candelario, 2009), Dominicans are not characterized as Indians and it is acknowledged their black ancestry. Nonetheless, when describing their African origins, the fact that Dominicans distinguished themselves from them is frequently mentioned. Thus, the desire to distanced themselves from their black origins is still transmitted. The racial taxonomies are also assumed to be biological categories instead of social products. The preservation of a racial stratification system as an inherent attribute of people lead children to understand racial discrimination as natural and unchangeable fact.

Ethnicity also plays an important role in the development of the Dominican national identity. The textbook content highlights their indigenous and Creole ancestry which influenced the Dominican values and traditions. Unlike what the existing literature has claimed, the textbook lacks content that emphasises on a Hispanic identity, whereas the feeling of belonging to the Dominican Republic is represented as the greatest attribute of the national identity. This sense of commitment and belonging is reinforced by glorifying the excellence of Dominicans and patriotism is encouraged through the learning activities suggested. A national identity based on the pride of being Dominican may encourage the readers to scorn other groups and to adopt an ethnocentric behaviour. More content that encourages children to respect and to value others social groups and cultures would be needed to build a more inclusive and tolerant society.

Finally, the content of the textbook transmits a national identity based on the need to defend their nation. The fear of a foreign invasion or the loss of sovereignty frequently appears in the textbook and, consequently, the national identity transmitted encourage to protect their nation by facing any possible attack that can modify this situation. Such a national identity may lead to xenophobic attitudes since foreigners are regarded as threats that may weaken their nation. For all these reasons, the authors state that the Dominican culture needs to be preserved despite the cultural influences from other countries. According to them, the loss of their cultural roots would imply the loss of their nation. Thus, the concept of culture held in the textbook acknowledges its dynamic formation but encourage to treat reality in a fixed way to maintain their traditions. Therefore, the incorporation of new members from other cultures in the country is portrayed negatively. Incorrect representation of immigration or of the concept of culture in the textbook may lead to conflict between existing different cultures in the country. An inclusive approach that includes diversity as a valued aspect should be adopted in the textbook.

6. CONCLUSION

School history textbooks are not only a source of information but also a mean to provide cultural beliefs and ideologies (Cho and Park, 2016; Pratt, 1972; Brosnan, 2016; Hummel, 1988). Consequently, textbooks constitute tools of social control which may influence children's notion of the social world (Sleeter and Grant, 2011) and the development of their national identity (Nasser, 2004). The Dominican national identity transmitted on the history textbook of primary 6 is focused on distinguishing themselves from any other culture, on a strong feeling of patriotism and on a need to defend and preserve their nation and their culture. This study also confirms that race and ethnicity are attributes of great importance of their national identity since beliefs of racial hierarchy and ethnocentrism are normalised in the textbook. The study also reveals the tension between Haitians and Dominicans which are reflected in the representation of a national identity in opposition to Haitians. Thus, Dominicans hegemony over Haitians implicitly appears in the textbook.

As argued in the literature review and in the discussion of the findings, the content of the textbook leads to the adoption of discriminatory attitudes and practices which are frequently associated to certain racial groups, such as blacks, which are portrayed negatively. In addition, since the concept of race is implicitly described as a natural trait of human beings, racism is understood as an inevitable outcome of some racial groups (Weber, 2013). Consequently, the emphasis of racialized identities in the textbook promotes the perpetuation of a hierarchy among the different cultural identities that coexist in the same country (Markus, 2013). As a result, these socially constructed beliefs determine the unequal distribution of power, status and other cultural capital (Markus, 2013) in the Dominican Republic. Therefore, the lack of content that leads to build a respectful national identity towards others' cultures evince the deficiencies of this textbook.

Since the ideologies reflected on school history textbooks have strong influences on shaping student's national identity (Nasser, 2004) and promoting interpretations and judgements about the social world, this textbook should

be effectively removed from all the schools and replaced it with a new version. The history textbook of Dominican schools should foster the development of a national identity based on the need to respect and value everyone's culture. In addition, the content should encourage children to break up with the current patterns of discrimination and inequality by taking an inclusive approach. In addition, content about racism and inequality should be regarded as a priority in the curriculum in order to promote peaceful, tolerant and united societies. Educational policies should also support this approach and provide the resources needed to ensure that teachers encourage an inclusive perspective in their history lessons.

Nonetheless, the analysis of this history textbook is only a starting point to contribute to the reduction of discrimination against Haitians in the Dominican Republic and the promotion of their inclusion. This phenomenon is complicated and many factors contribute to the perpetuation of inequality. A broader analysis regarding other social factors, such as social class or gender, and taking into account other domains of power would contribute to understanding more in-depth the complexity of the current situation in the Dominican Republic. In addition, to address this complex issue, further research should be done on the new history textbook published in 2015 which was released to replace the textbook analysed in this study. A comparison of the content of both textbooks should be conducted to ensure that the new content includes the suggestions provided above. Finally, future research should also focus on the teachers' practices by interviewing or performing observations in the classrooms. Teachers constitute an essential factor of children's learning and, thus, special emphasis should be placed on the classroom discourse which may influence discriminatory practices.

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8. APPENDIX

Table 1: Coding scheme from the textbook analysis

Theme 1: Race and ethnicity in the Dominican Republic: Relations between Blacks, Indians and Whites	
CODES	EXAMPLES ²
Code 1: Miscegenation	<p>"In South America, there was a great miscegenation in the population due to the mixture between American aborigines, whites European and blacks Africans" p.30</p> <p>"Whites did not mix with blacks and much less with the natives" p.30</p>
Code 2: Racial segregation	<p>"The Spanish colonies were divided into: landowners, miners and merchants. These groups represented the leading groups of the society. The subordinated ones were: creoles, indigenous, blacks, mestizos, mulattoes and half-breed" p.144</p>
Code 3: Racial hierarchy	<p>"Blacks were socially considered below white" p.115</p> <p>"Black was rejected and was not allowed to participate in certain organizations where whites attended" p.115</p>
Code 4: African and indigenous enslavement	<p>"Slaves were categorized into: The <i>bozales</i>, blacks brought directly from Africa ... The <i>ladinos</i>, blacks who spoke the language and knew the customs of their owners" p.59</p> <p>"To the extent that Spanish and black slaves started developing a sense of belonging to this land, it can be</p>

² All the examples from Ricardo Hernández and Hernández Grullón (2009)

	<p>said that the Dominican nation emerged" p.146</p> <p>"In the second half of the eighteenth century, about half a million of black slaves resided in that colony" p.74</p> <p>"The owners ... got an authorization to import black slaves ..." p.111</p>
Code 5: African and Native American freedom struggle	"Mulattos claimed their equal rights but, whites did not accept that claim and both groups clashed" p.76
Code 6: Racialized identities	<p>"Desalines ... replaced Toussaint fighting for the cause of the blacks [Haitians are referred to as the blacks]."</p> <p>p.80</p> <p>"So he sent an army of 60,000 men, in 1802, commanded by General Leclerc, to confront the black leader" [Toussaint Louverture is referred to as the black leader]. p.79</p>
Code 7: Slave rebellions	<p>"At first the economy in the colony was based on the exploitation of indigenous who were submitted to forced labour. This situation caused that indigenous rebelled and confronted the Spaniards" p.57</p> <p>"Due to the mistreatment that the slaves received from the owners, they decided to escape to the mountains and obtain freedom" p.60</p>
Code 8: White / Europeans supremacy	<p>"Whites did not mix with blacks and much less with the natives Americans" p.30</p> <p>"One of the postulates of the French Revolution was that all human beings had equal rights, although the</p>

	<p>whites understood that they were superior to slaves and mulattoes" p.76</p> <p>"Why the Europeans in that historical moment did not enslave each other?" p..37</p> <p>"Many of the <i>Cimarrones</i> groups were defeated due to the military superiority of Europeans" p.60"</p> <p>"The owner who bought a slave had the right to dispose even of his life" p.60</p> <p>"Spanish colonization was characterized by developing trade at the expense of colonized territories, exploiting natural wealth uncontrollably, enslaving the aborigines and imposing their religious values" p.32</p>
Code 9: Europeans resistance to racial equality	<p>"Mulattos claimed their equal rights but, whites did not accept that claim and both groups clashed" p.76</p>
Code 10: Blacks' / Indigenous' feeling of powerless	<p>"This situation [exploitation and enslavement] caused the natives to rebel and confront the Spaniards. However, the weapons used by Europeans were superior which gave them the victory" p.57</p> <p>"Many of the <i>Cimarrones</i> groups were defeated due to the military superiority of Europeans" p.60"</p> <p>"The superiority of Esquivel and his colleagues [Spanish settlers] allowed them to subdue its local population" p.27</p> <p>"The conquest implied the subjection of the native population to the orders of the conqueror" p.28</p>

<p>Code 11: Europeans as tyrants</p>	<p>"These gentlemen [Spanish settlers] made an exaggerated use of their riches, which were acquired through the exploitation of the slaves" p.74</p> <p>"This is how one of the most inhuman slave systems in history was installed" p.74</p>
<p>Code 12: Power relations</p>	<p>"The mixture between whites and blacks was originated from the existence of the slave system. Black women had sons of their white lords" p.144</p> <p>"Indigenous had to look for gold and obligatory give it to the Spaniards" p.57</p>
<p>Code 13: Expropriation of indigenous' properties and riches</p>	<p>"These gentlemen [Spanish settlers] made an exaggerated use of their riches, which were acquired through the exploitation of the slaves" p.74</p> <p>"In order to achieve their goal [to conquer the whole island], the aborigines were mistreated taking away their properties and forcing them to forced labour" p.27</p>
<p>Code 14: Exploitation of African and indigenous by settlers</p>	<p>"This is how one of the most inhuman slave systems in history was installed" p.74</p> <p>"They [Spanish settlers] not only explored the islands but also conquered the lands and their inhabitants" p.26</p>
<p>Code 15: Racial violence</p>	<p>"Black is still prevented from being part of some entities and from penetrating in some places and in some countries, they suffer physical aggressions and death (<i>eliminación física</i> - physical elimination), which is known as xenophobia" p.115</p>
<p>Code 16: Europeans</p>	<p>"It is necessary to emphasize the attitude adopted by</p>

as rivals	Hernando de Montoro, himself with a group of followers faced the Spanish authorities" p.62
Theme 2: Dominicans-Haitians relations	
CODE	EXAMPLES
Code 17: Haitians as blacks	<p>"Desalines ... replaced Toussaint fighting for the cause of the blacks [Haitians are referred to as the blacks]." p.80</p> <p>"So, he sent an army of 60,000 men, in 1802, commanded by General Leclerc, to confront the black leader" [Toussiant Louverture is referred to as the black leader]. p.79</p>
Code 18: African values	<p>"...in those places they tried to make their normal life, trying to preserve the African cultural values" p.60</p> <p>"Africans brought with them some beliefs and traditions, among which the magic-religious expression called Voodoo" p.74</p>
Code 19: Haitians as foreigners	"Ask a Haitian foreigner to tell you about voodoo in Haiti" p.75
Code 20: Haitians as voodoo practitioners	<p>"Ask a Haitian foreigner to tell you about voodoo in Haiti" p.75</p> <p>"Africans brought with them some beliefs and traditions, among which the magic-religious expression called Voodoo" p.74</p>
Code 21: Haitians as enemies	<p>"The war between Dominicans and Haitians lasted many years and there several battles between them" p.136</p> <p>"To consolidate the Dominicans' independence, it was</p>

	necessary to fight in many military battles, where the Dominicans faced the Haitians" p. 136
Code 22: Distinct cultural identity between Dominicans and Haitians	<p>"What are the differences between the Dominican population and the Haitian population?" p.72</p> <p>"Interview a Haitian person and ask him to explain to you why Dominicans are different in cultural terms from Haitians" p.148</p> <p>"Which are the main differences between the Dominican population and the Haitian population" p.116</p>
Code 23: Haitian labourers on Dominican sugar plantations	"Who are the cane cutters in the Dominican Republic?" p.59
Code 24: Haitian portrayed positively	<p>"After the Independence of Haiti President Dessalines was elected, this former slave was the one who replaced Toussaint fighting for the cause of the blacks. His government lasted until 1807 when he was assassinated" p.80</p> <p>"Haiti was also the first country where slavery was abolished, and all human beings were recognized as equal" p.121</p>
Code 25: Dominicans' sense of belonging to the whole island	<p>"Why is our island called Santo Domingo?" p.17</p> <p>"Do you know the previous names of our island?" p.17</p> <p>"Who were the original inhabitants of our island?" p.17</p> <p>"The Spaniards gave the eastern part of our island..." p.45</p>

	<p>"Europeans came to our island" p.56</p> <p>"This type of indigenous exploitation began on our island in 1503 ..." .57</p>
Code 26: Fraternal nations	"Do you think that Haitians and Dominicans are two fraternal towns?" p.81
Code 27: Anti-Haitians political ideologies	"...at present, we still reject the black population and mainly, from Haitian nationality. This attitude was practised by the government, during the periods in which Rafael Leonidas Trujillo and Joan Balaguer governed us. Despite that both have disappeared, we continue in a similar situation" p.115
Code 28: Haitians as a threat to the nation	"Being free meant facing the Haitians. But they no longer represent a danger to our independence." p.147
Code 29: Violent invasion by Haitians	"The national independence was the result of the confrontation with the Haitians, because the moment we decided to be free, we were under their domination. Being free, meant facing the Haitians" p.147
Code 30: Anti-racism discourses	<p>"Why we reject blacks in our country?" p.116</p> <p>"Why we cannot you judge people by the colour of their skin?" p.116</p> <p>"Is a person's importance determined by the colour of their skin?" p.116</p> <p>"When can we say that a person is racist?" p.116</p>
Theme 3: Dominican Identity and Cultural Values	

CODES	EXAMPLES
Code 31: African and black ancestry	<p>"Our country, in ethnic terms, is the result of the mixture of blacks and whites" p.144</p> <p>"To the extent that Spanish and black slaves started developing a sense of belonging to this land, it can be said that the Dominican nation emerged" p.146</p>
Code 32: Mixed-race identity and ethnicity	<p>"Our country, in ethnic terms, is the result of the mixture of blacks and whites" p.144</p> <p>"The Dominican culture is based on the Creoles' values" p.144</p> <p>"To the extent that Spanish and black slaves started developing a sense of belonging to this land, it can be said that the Dominican nation emerged" p.146</p>
Code 33: A powerful sense of belonging to the Dominican nation	<p>"To the extent that Spanish and black slaves started developing a sense of belonging to this land, it can be said that the Dominican nation emerged" p.146</p> <p>"What are the reasons to feel proudly Dominican?" p.148</p> <p>"[The mulatto] developed a feeling of belonging to the territory and of permanent protection of it" p.144</p>
Code 34: Community / Collective identity	<p>"The fact that there was a human group sharing the same territory, traditions, rituals and lifestyles contributed to the formation of a collective identity. Everyone felt from the same place. The emergence of the Dominican identity was an important factor for Dominicans to achieve their independence" p.146</p>
Code 35: Patriotism	<p>"What are the reasons to feel proudly Dominican?" p.148</p>

	<p>"Party for freedom: Listen and dance different types of Dominican music. Prepare and eat typical Dominican food" p.118</p>
Code 36: <i>Criollismo</i>	<p>"The Dominican culture is based on the Creoles' values" p.144</p>
Code 37: Distinction between "self" and "other"	<p>"Why do we, Dominicans, distinguish ourselves from other peoples?" p.114</p> <p>"Look around you and identify the elements of the Dominican culture and those of other cultures" p.151</p> <p>"What are the characteristics that identify us as Dominicans?" p.116</p> <p>"Why do you consider yourself Dominican?" p.134</p> <p>"Which people are Dominicans?" p.148</p> <p>"... we need to preserve the traditional values of the Dominican culture which differentiates us from other people" p.150</p>
Code 38: America's cultural influence	<p>"In our country [The Dominican Republic], baseball, American music, fast food, among others, became popular" p.150</p>
Code 39: Cultural influence	<p>"[In the Dominican Republic] there is an important influence of cultural manifestations from other countries" p.150</p>
Code 40: Traditional values	<p>"... we need to preserve the traditional values of the Dominican culture which differentiates us from other people" p.150</p>

Code 41: Dominican hegemony	<p>"Is it possible to <i>dominicanize</i> our territory if there are foreigners?" p.116</p> <p>"In the presence of a military invasion from foreign forces, what attitude would you adopt?" p.148</p> <p>"What do you think when you see a black person?" p. 114</p> <p>"Comment the following proverb: 'Black is pork food' . The comments will be read in the classroom" p.61</p>
Code 42: Defenders of the nation	<p>"Nowadays in order to be free, we [the Dominicans] must preserve our sovereignty intact and defend it" p.147</p> <p>"Another element that proves the emergence of the Dominican nation is the defence of the territory..." p.146"</p>
Code 43: Freedom	<p>"The national independence was the result of the confrontation with the Haitians, because the moment we decided to be free, we were under their domination.</p> <p>"Nowadays in order to be free, we [the Dominicans] must preserve our sovereignty intact and defend it" p.147</p>
Code 44: Mulattoes	<p>"Our country, in ethnic terms, is the result of the mixture of blacks and whites. For this reason, the mulatto population predominates" p.144</p>