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DOMINICAN AND HAITIAN RELATIONS: CHANGING CONSTITUTIONS AND
MIGRANT RIGHTS

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Honors Project
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Introduction

The small Caribbean island of Hispaniola has a long and troublesome history. Originally inhabited by aboriginal people, Christopher Columbus “discovered” the island in 1492. By 1506, sugar cane was introduced to the island. Within a few years, Spaniards arrived on the island accompanied by their African slaves that would work the newly established sugar cane plantations.¹

The Spanish settled on the eastern half of the island due to the presence of gold, which they began to mine. After learning about the riches of the New World, Britain and France travelled to the island of Hispaniola as well. They quickly realized that the western side of the island held more valuable resources than the eastern side. They began to loot the lands, returning to their homelands with the newly discovered riches. During this period, France increasingly gained control of the island until, in 1795, the island was declared French and renamed Saint Domingue. The French rule over the island lasted less than two decades. By 1809, the Spanish had reestablished their rule over the eastern side of the island and its name was reverted to Santo Domingo.² The island was eventually split and two independently ruled republics were formed: Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

Jean-Pierre Boyer, a Haitian president, invaded the eastern side of the island, maintaining power there from 1822 until 1844. During his rule, he abolished slavery. Nevertheless, Haitians remained marginalized by the elite white population. The white population resented being ruled by those of African descent.

¹ John Gunther, "Hispaniola," *Foreign Affairs* 19, no. 4 (1941): 764.

² *Ibid.*, 765-766.

This spurred anti-Haitian sentiments in the Dominican Republic, sentiments that have yet to subside.³

Anti-Haitianism, or *Antihaitianismo*, is more complicated than the term would lead one to believe; it does not represent the simple rejection of Haitian people. *Antihaitianismo* idealizes the Dominicans both racially and culturally. It emphasizes the differences between the two, signifying Dominican superiority in nearly every aspect of life. *Antihaitianismo* essentially stresses Haitian barbarianism, underscoring the lack of Christianity and the blackness of the people. Conversely, it exemplifies Dominicans as white, Catholic, European descendants.⁴ This juxtaposition of these peoples intensifies these sentiments. In fact, the Dominican Republic's national identity embraces these attitudes. As a result, Haitians are characterized as unwelcome guests that are ultimately detrimental to the Dominican culture.⁵

Haitians' desire to reclaim and unify the entirety of the island is another belief that is commonly attributed to *antihaitianismo*. This idea stems from Boyer's invasion and stronghold of Dominican territory for more than twenty years. Consequently, Dominican leaders throughout history have suggested that Haitian

³ David Howard, *Coloring the Nation: Race and Ethnicity in the Dominican Republic*, (Oxford: Signal Books, 2001): 28.

⁴ Ibid., 5.

⁵ Ibid.

migration into Dominican territories is part of a strategy to conquer Dominican lands.⁶

Sociologist Ernesto Sagás notes that *antihaitianismo* “combines a legacy of racist Spanish colonial mentality, nineteenth-century racial theories, and twentieth-century cultural neo-racism into a web of anti-Haitian attitudes, racial stereotypes, and historical distortions.”⁷ Therefore, analyzing the relationship of the Dominican Republic and Haiti through the lens of *antihaitianismo* facilitates the understanding of the state’s reasoning for legal and constitutional changes intended to eliminate Haitians’ citizenship and legality in the Dominican Republic. In this paper, I will explore *antihaitianismo* and its impact on the political ideology of the Dominican Republic’s leaders, influencing constitutional amendments and the treatment of migrants.

Methodology

My research method is qualitative. I will find my data using academic databases. The information from the databases will help me find the various sources outlining the ideology of *antihaitianismo*. Moreover, I hope to discover scholarly journal articles that already detail how this sentiment has contributed to legal and political discourse in the Dominican Republic. In addition to the academic databases, I will use online newspaper articles to demonstrate the atmosphere in

⁶ Ernesto Sagás, *Race and Politics in the Dominican Republic*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000).

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.

the country. I also have books that contain similar information to the aforementioned sources.

Choosing sources is one of the most difficult parts of this project. There is a lack of sources from the area that outline the maltreatment of the Haitians. As a result, the sources I have chosen have been primarily from the United States. To ensure that I have a more holistic account of events in the Dominican Republic, I have decided to use sources from the United Kingdom. Nevertheless, I have used some sources from the Dominican Republic.

To analyze my data, I will compare the Dominican Republic's constitutions from 2002 and 2010. Information pertaining to the country's leaders during each period will be used to substantiate or refute the idea that *antihaitianismo* impacted the constitutional alterations. Based on the evidence, I will form a conclusion about what is most likely true.

2002 Constitution

TITULO III - DERECHOS POLITICOS

SECCION I - DE LA NACIONALIDAD

ART.11.- Son dominicanos:

1. Todas las personas que nacieren en el territorio de la República, con excepción de los hijos legítimos de los extranjeros residentes en el país en representación diplomática o los que están de tránsito en él.
2. Las personas que al presente estén investidas de esta calidad en virtud de constituciones y leyes anteriores.
3. Todas las personas nacidas en el extranjero, de padre o madre dominicanos, siempre que, de acuerdo con las leyes del país de su nacimiento, no hubieren adquirido una nacionalidad extraña; o que, en caso de haberla adquirido, manifestaren, por acto ante un oficial público remitido al Poder Ejecutivo, después de alcanzar la edad de diez y ocho (18) años, su voluntad de optar por la nacionalidad dominicana.
4. Los naturalizados. La ley dispondrá las condiciones y formalidades requeridas para la naturalización.

Párrafo I. Se reconoce a los dominicanos la facultad de adquirir una nacionalidad extranjera.

Párrafo II. La mujer dominicana casada con un extranjero podrá adquirir la nacionalidad de su marido.

Párrafo III. La mujer extranjera que contrae matrimonio con un dominicano seguirá la condición de su marido, a menos que las leyes de su país le permitan conservar su nacionalidad, caso en el cual tendrá la facultad de declarar, en el acta de matrimonio, que declina la nacionalidad dominicana.

Párrafo IV. La adquisición de otra nacionalidad no implica la pérdida de la nacionalidad dominicana. Sin embargo, los dominicanos que adquieran otra nacionalidad no podrán optar por la Presidencia o Vicepresidencia de la República.

SECCION II - DE LA CIUDADANIA

ART. 12.- Son ciudadanos todos los dominicanos de uno y otro sexo que hayan cumplido 18 años de edad, y los que sean o hubieren sido casados, aunque no hayan cumplido esa edad.

ART. 13.- Son derechos de los ciudadanos:

1. El de votar con arreglo a la ley para elegir los funcionarios a que se refiere el Artículo 90 de la Constitución.
2. El de ser elegibles para ejercer los mismos cargos a que se refiere el párrafo anterior.

ART. 14.- Los derechos de ciudadanía se pierden por condenación irrevocable por traición, espionaje o conspiración contra la República, o por tomar las armas, prestar ayuda o participar en cualquier atentado contra ella.

ART. 15.- Los derechos de ciudadanía quedan suspendidos en los casos de:

- a. Condenación irrevocable a pena criminal, hasta la rehabilitación.
- b. Interdicción judicial legalmente pronunciada, mientras ésta dure.
- c. Por admitir en territorio dominicano función o empleo de un gobierno extranjero sin previa autorización del Poder Ejecutivo.

2010 Constitution

CAPITULO V

DE LA POBLACIÓN

SECCIÓN I

DE LA NACIONALIDAD

Artículo 18.- Nacionalidad. Son dominicanas y dominicanos:

- 1) Los hijos e hijas de madre o padre dominicanos;
- 2) Quienes gocen de la nacionalidad dominicana antes de la entrada en vigencia de esta Constitución;
- 3) Las personas nacidas en territorio nacional, con excepción de los hijos e hijas de extranjeros miembros de legaciones diplomáticas y consulares, de extranjeros que se hallen en tránsito o residan ilegalmente en territorio dominicano. Se considera persona en tránsito a toda extranjera o extranjero definido como tal en las leyes dominicanas;
- 4) Los nacidos en el extranjero, de padre o madre dominicanos, no obstante haber adquirido, por el lugar de nacimiento, una nacionalidad distinta a la de sus padres. Una vez alcanzada la edad de dieciocho años, podrán manifestar su voluntad, ante la autoridad competente, de asumir la doble nacionalidad o renunciar a una de ellas;
- 5) Quienes contraigan matrimonio con un dominicano o dominicana, siempre que opten por la nacionalidad de su cónyuge y cumplan con los requisitos establecidos por la ley;
- 6) Los descendientes directos de dominicanos residentes en el exterior;
- 7) Las personas naturalizadas, de conformidad con las condiciones y formalidades requeridas por la ley.

Párrafo.- Los poderes públicos aplicarán políticas especiales para conservar y fortalecer los vínculos de la Nación dominicana con sus nacionales en el exterior, con la meta esencial de lograr mayor integración.

Artículo 19.- Naturalización. Las y los extranjeros pueden naturalizarse conforme a la ley, no pueden optar por la presidencia o vicepresidencia de los poderes del Estado, ni están obligados a tomar las armas contra su Estado de origen. La ley regulará otras limitaciones a las personas naturalizadas.

Artículo 20.- Doble nacionalidad. Se reconoce a dominicanas y dominicanos la facultad de adquirir una nacionalidad extranjera. La adquisición de otra nacionalidad no implica la pérdida de la dominicana.

Párrafo.- Las dominicanas y los dominicanos que adopten otra nacionalidad, por acto voluntario o por el lugar de nacimiento, podrán aspirar a la presidencia y vicepresidencia de la República, si renunciaren a la nacionalidad adquirida con diez años de anticipación a la elección y residieren en el país durante los diez años previos al cargo. Sin embargo, podrán ocupar otros cargos electivos, ministeriales o de representación diplomática del país en el exterior y en organismos internacionales, sin renunciar a la nacionalidad adquirida.

SECCION II

DE LA CIUDADANÍA

Artículo 21.- Adquisición de la ciudadanía. Todos los dominicanos y dominicanas que hayan cumplido 18 años de edad y quienes estén o hayan estado casados, aunque no hayan cumplido esa edad, gozan de ciudadanía.

Artículo 22.- Derechos de ciudadanía. Son derechos de ciudadanas y ciudadanos:

- 1) Elegir y ser elegibles para los cargos que establece la presente Constitución;
- 2) Decidir sobre los asuntos que se les propongan mediante referendo;
- 3) Ejercer el derecho de iniciativa popular, legislativa y municipal, en las condiciones fijadas por esta Constitución y las leyes;
- 4) Formular peticiones a los poderes públicos para solicitar medidas de interés público y obtener respuesta de las autoridades en el término establecido por las leyes que se dicten al respecto;
- 5) Denunciar las faltas cometidas por los funcionarios públicos en el desempeño de su cargo.

Artículo 23.- Pérdida de los derechos de ciudadanía. Los derechos de ciudadanía se pierden por condenación irrevocable en los casos de traición, espionaje, conspiración; así como por tomar las armas y por prestar ayuda o participar en atentados o daños deliberados contra los intereses de la República.

Artículo 24.- Suspensión de los derechos de ciudadanía. Los derechos de ciudadanía se suspenden en los casos de:

- 1) Condenación irrevocable a pena criminal, hasta el término de la misma;
- 2) Interdicción judicial legalmente pronunciada, mientras ésta dure;
- 3) Aceptación en territorio dominicano de cargos o funciones públicas de un gobierno o Estado extranjero sin previa autorización del Poder Ejecutivo;
- 4) Violación a las condiciones en que la naturalización fue otorgada.

SECCIÓN III

DEL RÉGIMEN DE EXTRANJERÍA

Artículo 25.- Régimen de extranjería. Extranjeros y extranjeras tienen en la República Dominicana los mismos derechos y deberes que los nacionales, con las excepciones y limitaciones que establecen esta Constitución y las leyes; en consecuencia:

- 1) No pueden participar en actividades políticas en el territorio nacional, salvo para el ejercicio del derecho al sufragio de su país de origen;
- 2) Tienen la obligación de registrarse en el Libro de Extranjería, de acuerdo con la ley;

3) Podrán recurrir a la protección diplomática después de haber agotado los recursos y procedimientos ante la jurisdicción nacional, salvo lo que dispongan los convenios internacionales.

Above are sections from the 2002 and 2010 Dominican constitutions. Even those lacking proficiency in the Spanish language, can make some valuable observations. First, and perhaps most importantly, these excerpts are the same section enacted a mere eight years apart. Notably, this section in the 2010 constitution is slightly more than twice the length of the section in the former constitution. Therefore, it becomes imperative to understand what was added.

The 2002 constitution grants citizenship to individuals born within the country, with the exception of those departing the country and those born to diplomats; the children of Dominican citizens residing outside of the country, assuming the child does not adopt citizenship in the country of residence; and those that have completed the process of naturalization. Moreover, this section permits Dominican citizens to pursue citizenship in other states and allows these same individuals to adopt the citizenship of his or her spouse; still, those with dual citizenship may not be elected into the presidency or vice presidency. There are very few alterations regarding the content of this section. However, the 2010 constitution underscores the country's enthusiasm to ensure the continuity of active citizenship of those that have migrated out of the nation. The 2010 version also notes that some limitations may legally be placed upon those that become citizens through the process of naturalization. The most significant addition is arguably the

elaboration and/or redefinition of the individuals departing the country. In 2010, this was extended to include anyone who residing in the nation illegally.

The earlier constitution dictates that Dominicans over the age of eighteen or those that are or have been married are eligible to vote. The government has the power to take this privilege away should one commit treason or espionage. Any criminal activity could result in a loss of the privilege to vote until a probationary period has been completed. Those that consciously employ illegal aliens may also lose voting privileges. The constitution from 2010 contains the same information, but elaborates on citizens' ability to run for and elect individuals into various offices. Although this constitution provides citizens with more voting rights, it also names additional ways in which one could lose his or her ability to participate as an active citizen including receiving materials from a foreign location illegally and violating the terms of naturalization.

This change has left many children stateless. Those born in the Dominican Republic after 2004 to parents who do not have the ability to prove their legal status, will also be considered illegal. These children are, as a result susceptible to deportation, resulting in an unstable environment.⁸ Furthermore, Dominicans of Haitian descent born before 2004 may also be stripped of their citizenship.

⁸ Lesley Bartlett, Kiran Jayaram, and Gulin Bonhomme, "State literacies and Inequality: Managing Haitian Immigrants in the Dominican Republic," *International Journal of Educational Development*, no. 31 (2011): 588.

The basis for the stripping of citizenship is related to the interpretation of the in- transit clause of the constitution before the 2010 Constitutional change.

The Sentence states that the constitution of 1929 stated that “not all who are born in the territory of the Dominican Republic are born Dominicans”

(Sentence 0168-13:7). The Sentence clarifies that an individual is not born Dominican if they are the child of a foreign mother who at the time of giving birth is in an irregular situation and cannot justify her entry or residence.⁹

With prevalent anti-Haitian sentiments, Haitians and Dominicans of Haitian descent are likely fearful that their legal status could change abruptly.

Presidents

Leonel Fernández was the Dominican Republic’s president from 2004 to 2012. He was also president from 1996 until 2000. His return was welcome and much needed, but his task was difficult. In his first term as president, Fernández worked diligently to ensure that once his term had ended, the country would be able to continuously flourish. He desired a nation with a strong economy and hoped to see it develop rapidly after his presidency. Unfortunately, the opposite happened. Fernández’s successor, Hipolito Mejia, failed to develop the economy. Instead, the Dominican Republic was led awry, resulting in an economic collapse in 2003.¹⁰

⁹ Sasha Miranda, “Citizens without a nation: The construction of Haitian illegality and deportability in the Dominican Republic,” (Illinois State University: Proquest, 2014): 88.

¹⁰ Leticia Lozano, and Julian Marshall. "Fernández struggles to rebuild," *Euromoney* 36, no. 433 (2005): 21-22.

As a result, Fernández returned. He hoped to reconstruct the stable economic base from his first presidency. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) provided Fernández with a \$670 million loan to facilitate the economy's revival; while it was helpful, it was not enough to eliminate the challenges Fernández would encounter in rebuilding the economy. During his presidency, Mejia recognized the economic woes and used government funds for a bailout. In 2003, the country spent two-thirds of the national budget to bail out Baninter, one of the nation's leading banks, thus catapulting the nation into a financial crisis. The consequences of the bank's collapse were felt in several different industries. As a result, the Dominican Republic sought loans to lessen the economic burden.¹¹ This left the banking industry in a state of crisis and resulted in \$1.1 billion in sovereign debt. Moreover, the country defaulted on its payment of its commercial debt. Fernández expressed that paying back the debts would be challenging until the 2006 and 2013 global bonds were restructured.

Despite the obstacles he faced, Fernández was successful. "Inflation halved in 2004 from almost 30% in 2003 and is expected to fall again in 2005. The peso has stabilized after a long free fall and the key tourism sector is growing again. That should lift the economy by up to 3% this year and by 5% in 2006."¹² Still, Fernández was tasked with creating a sustainable economy.

¹¹ Dominican Republic in Crisis. (2003, December 29). *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2003/12/29/opinion/dominican-republic-in-crisis.html>

¹² Leticia Lozano, and Julian Marshall. "Fernández struggles to rebuild," *Euromoney* 36, no. 433 (2005): 21-22.

Analysis

The threat of crippling debt may have been the impetus for the migration reform in the 2010 constitution. The common belief is that the “Haitian immigrants raise the level of unemployment; they reduce salaries by accepting lower pay; and they reduce the quality of social security by being a burden on the medical and education system.”¹³ In reality, the Haitian labor force aids in the development of the economy. The Haitian laborers are unskilled and are thus willing to work for less pay. This opens higher paying and more skilled jobs for Dominicans. Nevertheless, Haitians represent nearly 65% of the workforce in principal economic sectors such as, sugar, coffee, bananas, rice, and construction. The issue lies in the legal status of these workers. Only one percent of the workers are legal immigrants. Because so many of the workers are illegal, the government has no way to tax them. Therefore, the illegal immigrants access social programs like healthcare and education, but do not assist the Dominican people in funding these services.¹⁴

Considering the aforementioned statistics, it is not surprising that shortly after the implementation of the 2010 constitution, the Dominican government began deporting Haitians in large numbers. In February of 2010, the state detained 170 undocumented Haitian immigrants.¹⁵ The United States Coast Guard’s website

¹³ Sasha Miranda, “Citizens without a nation: The construction of Haitian illegality and deportability in the Dominican Republic,” (Illinois State University: Proquest, 2014): 50.

¹⁴ Rubén Sillié, “Aspectos y variables de las relaciones entre República Dominicana y Haití,” *Revistas Futuro* 9, no. 3 (2005): <http://www.revistafuturos.info>.

notes that it saves the United States' taxpayers billions of dollars annually by preventing illegal immigrants from entering the country. The process to deport an individual is often long and costly, but is relatively simple if the individual is caught before entering the country.¹⁶ The process is similar in the Dominican Republic. Colonel Rafael Nunez Santana, Commander of the Specialized Corpse of the Border Security for the Dominican Republic, noted that those stopped near the border would be promptly returned to Haiti through the immigration office.¹⁷

Although the economic reasons may substantiate the changes made in the constitution, *antihaitianismo* likely influenced some of the changes as well. As mentioned above, the newest version of the constitution urges Dominican citizens abroad to remain politically active. In 2000, the US Census found that 764,945 individuals identified as being of Dominican origin. This large number accounts for nearly nine percent of the overall Dominican population.¹⁸ With such a large portion of the Dominican population residing within the United States and so many Haitians migrating into the Dominican Republic, the government may be fearful that

¹⁵ "Dominican Republic Detains 170 Undocumented Haitians," *Xinhua News Agency – CEIS*, February 19, 2010, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/451521771?accountid=26417>.

¹⁶ Alien Migrant Interdiction (2014, October 31). In *United States Coast Guard*. Retrieved November 1, 2014, <http://www.uscg.mil/hq/cg5/cg531/amio/amio.asp>

¹⁷ "Dominican Republic Detains 170 Undocumented Haitians," *Xinhua News Agency – CEIS*, February 19, 2010, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/451521771?accountid=26417>.

¹⁸ "Alien Migrant Interdiction," *United States Coast Guard*, October 3, 2014, <http://www.uscg.mil/hq/cg5/cg531/amio/amio.asp>.

Haitian citizens or those of Haitian descent may gain political power should those abroad neglect to vote. This fear is an extension of the 22 years in which Haitians ruled over Dominicans.

Hardships for Haitians

Human Right Watch has taken an interest in the treatment of Haitians in the Dominican Republic. The organization condemns the ways in which the Dominican government has deported hundreds of thousands of both Haitians and Dominicans of Haitian descent. The organization disapproves of what they consider to be forced, expulsion of masses of individuals. The Dominican government does this periodically. The operations range from two weeks to several months. Human Rights Watch claims that the crimes the government is committing against Haitians and those of Haitian descent are “glaringly obvious.”¹⁹ On their webpage they note that these individuals are “Snatched off the street, dragged from their homes, or picked up from their workplaces, ‘Haitian-looking’ people are rarely given a fair opportunity to challenge their expulsion during these wholesale sweeps.”²⁰ The group claims that Haitians are targeted and deported due to their skin color. Moreover, they are not provided the opportunity to prove citizenship or legal status.

Deportees are generally not permitted to gather their belongings or bid farewell to their family members. The entire deportation process typically,

¹⁹ “‘ILLEGAL PEOPLE’: Haitians And Dominico-Haitians In The Dominican Republic,” *Human Rights Watch*, April 2002, <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/domrep/>.

²⁰ Ibid.

according to the Human Rights Watch, ends several hours after it begins. The individuals are delivered to the Dominican Republic-Haiti border and are left without any of their possessions.

The summary procedures in use during these deportations fall far short of the due process requirements of international law, specifically those outlined in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the American Convention on Human Rights. The race-based selection of deportees violates international prohibitions on racial discrimination.²¹

In a report with the Human Rights Watch, a Dominican government official explained that Dominicans can easily distinguish Haitians because they are poor, live in decrepit houses, and have rough black skin. He continued to make prejudiced statements about the Haitian youth, describing their presence as a type of invasion. Attitudes like these make it difficult for Haitians and Dominicans of Haitian descent to prove their worth and legitimacy in society. They are an underrepresented people, which the Dominican government views as beneficial. This results in a lack of opportunities in various aspects of life for these individuals. Although no law prohibits these children from attending school, many of them are still denied education, which ultimately prevents further development and perpetuates the marginalization of this race of people.²²

Conclusion

The Dominican Republic and Haiti have a long and strained history. The two

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

sides of Hispaniola have developed into vastly different nations. Each speaks a different language, was colonized by a different country, and is comprised of people from different races. Over time, the Dominican Republic has developed, surpassing Haiti economically and socially. As a result, there has been an influx of Haitian immigrants in the Dominican Republic. The constitution enacted in 2010 by President Leonel Fernández has far more stipulations for citizenship than Hipolito Mejia's 2002 constitution.

This could be a result of the economic downturn, impacting the nation's ability to support social programs used by illegal immigrants. However, this could be due, at least in part, to anti-Haitian sentiments. Perhaps the Dominican government fears that should a plethora of Haitians be granted citizenship and the voting rights, Haitians could once again rule the country. Although this likely the mentality of many individuals that perceive politics through the lens of *antihaitianismo* in the Dominican Republic, this theory is incorrect and cannot coincide with the theory that deportations are necessary economically. The Dominican government does not have the financial means to support illegal immigrants' use of social programs such as healthcare and education, but it would be able to support these individuals' use of the same programs if they were legal for they would be taxed. Yet, if the individuals are illegal, then there is no need to fear that their votes would impact any political election results. While citizens may have these political and economic concerns, it does not seem that the Haitian immigration could be simultaneously impacting the economic and political arena in the Dominican Republic.

Nevertheless, Haitians are being expelled from the country at a rapid rate. In the first week of 2011, more than 700 Haitians were deported.²³ The constitution, in conjunction with other laws makes it easier for the Dominican Republic to reassess the citizenship of Haitians. The Human Rights Watch has comprised a list of recommendations for the Dominican government on how to deport individuals without infringing upon their basic rights. As stated above, it is believed that Haitians that are deported are maltreated. Furthermore, some of those deported were residing in the country legally, but were unable to prove their legality due to social stigmas and racial profiling.

Overall, the Human Rights Watch believes that the Dominican Republic, despite recent constitutional changes, has improved. Unlike in the past, the Dominican authorities no longer respond to criticism from the international community with hostility.²⁴ Every law has downfalls, but maybe the Dominican Republic's new constitution will benefit more individuals than it will harm.

²³ The Associated Press, "Dominican Republic: Haitians Detained," *New York Times*, January 8, 2011, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/822791988?accountid=26417>

²⁴ "‘ILLEGAL PEOPLE’: Haitians And Dominico-Haitians In The Dominican Republic," *Human Rights Watch*, April 2002, <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/domrep/>.

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