The Meaning of Race at the Intersection of Santo Domingo and New York:

A Case Study of Dominican and U.S. Perceptions

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For departmental honors in Global Studies

Department of Global Studies and Geography

Spring 2014

I remember telling my great-grandfather, a former sharecropper turned landowner, that 'we were calling ourselves African American now,' to which he responded, 'I do not care what you call yourself; I am Colored.' Reflecting on what he said much later made sense to me because of his situated and lived racial experience in the South.
    —Kimberly Eison Simmons (2009)
        Reconstructing Racial Identity

You can be anything you want to be,
Just turn yourself into anything you think that you could
    ever be,
Be free with your tempo, be free, be free,
Surrender your ego — be free, be free to yourself …
    —Queen (1991)
        "Innuendo"

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Acknowledgments

In the summer of 2013, I wondered if it was already too late to plan a thesis; by winter 2014, it had already grown into much more than a thesis; and now, finally, summer is coming again and I think it is time to take a break before I let such a large task sneak up on me again.

I owe warm thanks to many people who helped this thesis to fruition along the way, including those friends who may not have known it, but their criticism was shaping my arguments, and including those family members who may not have believed it, but this project was specifically created so that I might meet them again, though it felt like the first time.

Special thanks to Phil Tyler and Sarah Mori for your unfailing support, your thoughtful critiques, and all our competing to see who could describe their research in one sentence, first. Thanks also to Katie Smith, Josh Ettinger, and Kayla Rivara, whose attentions to social and political solutions I blame for putting the idea of a senior thesis in my head in the first place. I appreciate also the staff and friends I met at The Real News Baltimore, whose collective passion for social justice gave steam to my thoughts when they needed it most.

Special thanks to Kevin Tamerler, Billy Stein, Sean Williams, and Nolan Meditz for feedback, input, and for helping me sort out my thoughts along the way.

To my friends in New York, I would thank every one of you for your inspiring ambition, your love of life, your movie nights, your dinner company, your arts, and your companionship every chance I get—but I know I would leave someone out if I tried.

Thanks to my friends from New Britain, without whom I might not have been so driven to write as much as I have this year—instead I might have gone in for math, but since so many of you are in the sciences I can't very well have done the same thing as all of you.

To my committee: Professor Sills, I am thankful to have met an English professor who could still make a college class feel subversive, and just when I was beginning to wonder what college was all about. Professor Jensen, words cannot express my surprise and gratitude to have discovered that the one tenured member of the department whom I had yet to meet prior to beginning this thesis turned out to be the most perceptive mentor in sensible, empirical techniques that I could ask for.

To Professor Wiley, I will always remember that it was your casual suggestion to travel, as though it were the most natural thing in the world, which got me thinking about this thesis as more than just an academic challenge; and I am incredibly grateful for your tact in planning for deadlines (oops!) and revisions (hooray!).

To my extended family and friends in the D.R., *muchas, muchas gracias* for welcoming me to the warmest place I have ever been, in every sense of the word. My deepest thanks to my Tía Ive, for setting a place for me at her dinner table and in her home; to my cousin Pedro, for taking my research more seriously than I thought anyone would; to my cousin Dianivel, for showing me how to enjoy the culture I had actually thought I could write about at a distance; to my cousin Flori, for her advice and insights; to Clarissa Carmona and her literary club, which I was heartbroken to cut from my already too-heavy thesis; and to cousin Georgina, who made sure my time was spent richly in meeting the family I needed most to see.

Thanks to the nearly 60 people who said yes, they would take my survey. Every yes made me jump a little with relief and joy, and I learned from every interview.

I was longwinded in my thesis—I couldn't very well be shortwinded now. Special thanks to my parents, my brother, my grandmother, and our darling cats, for the neverending support and wisdom that makes everything possible.

Introduction

In September 2013, the Dominican Republic fell under the international spotlight when

its supreme court of constitutional law, the *Tribunal Constitucional* (TC), ruled retroactively that

the descendants of immigrants who had entered the country illegally, including descendants who

had already acquired Dominican birth certificates and their resulting citizenship, would no longer

be considered legal citizens. The ruling particularly affected Haitian groups, due to the unique

geographic situation of the two countries cohabiting on an island of 29,000 square miles (76,000

km²) besides each other and due also to the difference in political infrastructure available on

either side of the Dominican–Haitian border. The president of the Dominican Republic's Central

Electoral Board (*Junta Central Electoral*, or J.C.E.), Roberto Rosario Márquez, acknowledged

such political difficulties in his official documented response to the law:

> The principal difficulty that has confronted the Dominican Republic in its registry
> system for registering aliens coming from the sister Republic of Haiti and its
> descendants, lies … [in that the] said State does not guarantee to these aliens the
> essential rights contained in the American Convention on Human Rights[1] … by
> not issuing to them any official identity documentation as nations of that State.
> (My translation, Márquez, 2013)
>
> *La principal dificultad que ha confrontado la República Dominicana en su
> sistema registral para asentar a extranjeros provenientes de la hermana
> República de Haití y sus descendientes, radica … [en que] dicho Estado no le
> garantiza los derechos esenciales contenidos en la Convención Interamericano de
> los Derechos Humanos … por no emitirle ningún documento de identificación
> como nacionales de ese Estado.* (Original text, Márquez, 2013)

Similarly, the Dominican ambassador to the United States, Aníbal de Castro, wrote in a January,

2014, defense of the TC's immigration ruling in the *Miami Herald*:

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[1] Márquez is referring to a November, 1969, document presented at the Organization of
American States (OAS) at San José, Costa Rica, which was ratified by the Dominican Republic
in January, 1979. Its signers and ratifiers include mostly Caribbean and South American states,
including Haiti, listed online as a September, 1977, ratifier according to the OAS
(http://www.cidh.oas.org/basicos/english/basic3.american%20convention.htm).

> This comprehensive reform is long overdue in the Dominican Republic. It will not only allow the Dominican Republic to meet its development challenges, but enhance the country's ability to combat human trafficking and ensure the integrity of its territory.
>
> This will benefit the island of Hispaniola and the region, and could serve as a roadmap for the United States and other countries that are facing similar issues. (De Castro, 2014)

What these official responses to the TC's judicial revision of the nation's immigration policy reveal is that the country's administrators are working to confront their own political anxieties about the state's primary international boundary. As De Castro suggests in his opinion piece for the *Miami Herald*, anxiety about a large and porous border with a largely underdeveloped country is a sentiment that the D.R. easily shares with the United States of America: just as the Dominican Republic hopes to improve and control its process of immigration from its western neighbor, the United States easily shares similar anxieties with regards to its border to the south.

I became interested in this development between the D.R. and its immigrant population in fall 2013, as the TC made its ruling, because I was already thinking about racial relations in the D.R. and the U.S.—at the time, I was reading articles and watching films that were alleging that Dominicans are racist, and it may have been my own Dominican background through my father, but I felt personally offended by the generalizations I was reading. Whenever I filled out a race and ethnicity question on an official form, I felt my frustrations brought closer to home, because I have not yet seen a form for filling out my racial identity that provided any labels I felt wholly comfortable applying to myself. White has always felt culturally accurate, but I would associate this word with a lighter skin color and with a European ancestry, which I did not feel fit my own. Black did not seem to describe the culture or heritage I attributed to myself, and Hispanic or Latino have also seemed too foreign as racial or ethnic terms, although I have felt closer to the word Latino since this project began. I still choose not to respond to these questions whenever I

am offered the opportunity to opt out, not only because I am personally bothered by the very idea that I might be selected for a job or a program on the basis of my race, which is a personal choice, but also because I did not think that I had any race according to the terms that were being provided to me—and this did not feel like a choice at all.

Having already felt my own reservations about describing my culture as "Black," when I have not applied the term to myself any more frequently than I have applied the term "White"— that is, next to never—I was frustrated to hear critics from the U.S. describing Dominicans as being Blacks who are in denial of being Blacks (Gates, 2011; Robles, 2007). It seemed absurd to me to allege that a person can be convinced of their race rather than be encouraged to define an identity for themselves, and when I saw Dominican critics echoing these same ideas, as I saw in Gates' (2011) interviews in the D.R., I worried that this process was really an unhealthy form of cultural globalization—even ideological imperialization. The U.S.'s unhealthy Black versus White divide was being rhetorically exported abroad to a country that traditionally accepted *indio* (Indian) as an acceptable term to describe people's intermediate skin colors, even though Dominicans will tend to acknowledge that the word does not accurately describe their familial heritage (Suero, 2011). This project therefore became a way for me to explore my own Dominican background, and an excuse to explore questions about my own identity crises, by exploring how other people were responding to the same dilemmas I had in my mind.

Many critics of Dominican society could have easily made the TC's judicial ruling into a racial issue, and in terms of the relationship between the Latino nation and its Creole neighbor, they often do look at conflicts between these two societies under a racial lens. Critics of D.R. society continue to debate the ways that the Dominican Republic discriminates against people of darker skin, just as critics of U.S. society debate how the United States discriminates against

people of darker skin. But in these familiar debates seeking to reveal and demolish our social

boundaries along racial lines, each social example that gets counted towards evidence of *racial*

discrimination generates a powerful call for comparison with these same issues in related debates

over *immigration*, to the same extent in both the Dominican Republic and the United States.

      One question that remains largely unexplored is the question of how discrimination

against immigrant groups and discrimination against racial groups are related, and which

factor—perceived race or perceived immigrant status—may be more important to a better

understanding of why discrimination and prejudices occur. In other words, despite the long

history of racially divided experiences in the colonial and now postcolonial world, one aspect

that critics often gloss over is the fact that many disadvantaged racial groups were and are so

closely intertwined with a perceived foreigner-status that we cannot always prove whether, for

example, a Haitian person was discriminated against on the grounds of mere skin color or on the

grounds of his or her perceived status as being a foreigner to the local host culture; and likewise,

we cannot always prove whether a "Black" person in the U.S. was discriminated against on the

grounds of his or her skin color or, again, on the grounds of his or her perceived foreignness to

the host culture. In distinguishing between these two qualities—skin color and perceived

immigrant status—it is important to note, of course, that even if a group (e.g., African Americans

or Haitians) has made in-roads into a host nation at large for decades or even centuries,

nevertheless the segregation of communities and new immigration patterns can still allow for a

local perception of a social group's non-belonging which, I suggest, may be even more important

to the host culture's discriminating processes against the foreign group than any racism against

mere physical features like skin color. The easiest illustration of this idea is that, whenever an

immigrant group does become socially accepted by its peers as "belonging" culturally to the host

region, whatever physical features initially distinguished that group nonetheless continue to exist

even as the stigma of segregation or discrimination fades away; and similarly, historical

examples of immigrant groups that were rejected despite little difference between their and the

host group's skin color are not hard to find.[2]

The concern that I seek to address in this study is the question of whether physical skin

color or perceived immigrant status is a more important factor in the process of discrimination

that so many people experience. Specifically, I hope to separate the issue of skin color and the

issue of cultural belonging, two important components (physical and social) of a larger concept

we tend to label "race," in an effort to determine which component is a more vital factor in the

human formation of prejudicial views against another person. The following section will lay out

a case-study review of the literature on racial identity-formation processes and of other critiques

of race-based discrimination in Dominican culture. After the literature review, I will discuss the

methodology and results of my own field study, followed by a conclusion discussing the

combined implications of the case-study literature review and field-study surveys towards

uncovering the roles of skin color and cultural belonging in the formation of negative prejudices

against another person.

Literature Review

When critics (from within and without) look at the Dominican Republic through a racial

lens, one of the most common critiques they offer is that the majority of Dominicans are in

denial about their own black heritage, ignoring their common African descent; and that

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[2] One example that comes immediately to my mind is the treatment of Irish immigrants in the northeastern United States during the 19th century—a social status that is crudely illustrated in a Thomas Nast cartoon for the cover of *Harper's Weekly* (HarperWeek, LLC, 2008) with racial caricatures, where a balance scale weighs an American "Black" equal to a White Irishman, with the caption: "The ignorant vote—honors are easy."

Dominicans, because they have common African descent, are hypocritical if they form

prejudices against dark-skinned Haitians (Candelario, 2007; Robles, 2007). This line of

reasoning may be well intended as an attempt to show that all humans are closer than they are

willing to admit, but by its logic the argument assumes that racism is hypocrisy only if two

people are of the same skin color, and that if a dark-skinned Dominican discriminates in any way

against a dark-skinned Haitian, he is discriminating against a mirror image of himself. Is this a

fair assumption? Are dark-skinned Dominicans who act prejudicially against dark-skinned

Haitians merely discriminating on the grounds of skin color, and would they stop their

prejudicial behavior if they recognized a common African ancestry with that Haitian? Or to

pursue this logic further, do we exclude lighter-skinned Dominicans or Europeans who

discriminate against dark-skinned Haitians from the accusation of hypocrisy, if their common

African ancestry is less recent or obvious?

The claim that any discriminator is hypocritical only works if we assume that all

discrimination is hypocrisy. After all, we are all members of the human species, and our biology

suggests that among *homo sapiens* there are no races in the biological sense of sharp, genetic

differentiation (Templeton, 2013)—in this sense, we are all created equal, regardless of

superficial differences in appearance. Templeton offers a scientific and 21st-century variation of

the old Thomas Jefferson statement,[3] which, though less eloquent, is vital to a comprehensive

understanding of human "races":

> [R]estrictions on gene flow ensure that human populations are genetically
> differentiated from one another, and local adaptation ensures that some of these
> differences reflect adaptive evolution to the environmental heterogeneity that our
> globally distributed species experiences. However, most of our genetic variation

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[3] Thomas Jefferson in *The Declaration of Independence*: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal…" (1776, July 4).

exists as differences among individuals, **with between population differences being very small**. (270; Emphasis added)

In other words, if you have ever seen a genetic "tree" that attempts to illustrate the human population as genetically distinct—distinguishing, for example, between "African," "French," "Han," and so forth lines of ancestry—Templeton argues that such illustrations are "simply invoked" but are "scientifically indefensible." Yes, geneticists do use tests of genetic markers to suggest a person's geographic ancestry; and, yes, between individuals there may be a greater or lesser propensity for certain diseases that are genetically influenced. But attaching scientific research investigating genetically distinctive groups of human beings directly onto our preconceived ideas about human races, e.g. imagining genetically distinguishable "Black," "White," and "Yellow" persons, or genes revealing African, American, Asian, and European ancestries, is bad science; these existing languages for race are poor predictors of statistically significant patterns of genes in human populations, if we wish to offer a genetic definition to the concept of human races.

Similarly, Fujimura (2011) suggests that genetic research does have the potential to generate new, genetically based and medically meaningful classifiers to distinguish pseudoracial groups among humans, if anyone besides insurance companies is looking for that data. However, the present danger from this type of genetic research is that researchers and media outlets may be too comfortable using the existing and arbitrary racial language (Black, White, Yellow, African, European, Asian, etc.) to describe their scientific results, contributing to the confusion of readers who think that the researchers are making genetic confirmations of pre-existing ideas about geographic borders between these supposed races.

The way that cultures actually use racial language is neither scientific nor consistent. Researchers studying the regions of North and South America often find that ideas about

"whiteness" and "blackness" do not map easily from one culture onto another: for instance, the

Latin American idea of who gets called White is more inclusive of darker skin tones than norms

of who gets called White in the former English colonies (Candelario, 2007; Templeton, 2013).

Critics who look at the United States' racial culture in contrast to the experience of race in Latin

America often speak of the U.S.'s "hypo-descent rule," which suggests that race in the United

States is dominantly Black versus White, and any persons who might consider themselves to

have a mix of Black and White ancestries become more strongly associated with a Black racial

experience in national dialogues.[4] The vocabulary of race in legal and political rhetoric seeks to

classify even Latin Americans into these two categories following this "hypo-descent rule." But

Latin American experiences of race, even though the region shares with the U.S. a fundamental

experience of Western colonization—complete with Europeans' mixing with, enslavement of,

and wars against indigenous and African populations—nonetheless are unique from the U.S.

experience and cannot be easily translated into a North American vocabulary, complete with all

its U.S. history and connotations.

Simmons (2009) does not see the distinction between U.S. and Latin American

vocabularies as an insurmountable difference. She suggests that, in the context of the Dominican

Republic and the United States, the Dominican vocabulary for describing skin color does not

always agree with its direct translation into American English but does correspond adequately

well to distinctions of skin color that she attributes to African American communities:

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[4] This was historically exemplified in an 1859 play produced in New York City and subsequently in London, Dion Boucicault's *The Octoroon*, in which a light-skinned Southern woman is revealed during a slave auction to have an eighth of African ancestry and to be up for auction, to her White lover's dismay. As a result of her "octoroon" nature, the woman realizes she and her lover can never be married in polite society.

> [W]hile the United States is usually described as having black-white bipolar racial politics (which is true), the intra-group colorization practice among African Americans is very similar to that of Dominicans. (4)

In the case of these two sets of racial language, the Dominican word for black (*negro*) corresponds to the darkest skin tones among African Americans; Dominican words like mixed and Indian (*mestizo* and *indio*) correspond to intermediate and dark tones for African Americans; and words like white (*blanco*) may be used to describe a lighter African-American skin tone which, in the U.S., usually would not be labeled as White. According to Simmons, the language itself (*negro, mestizo, indio, blanco,* etc.) may be unique to Dominican culture, but the gradations of skin tone (darkest, mixed, lighter-mixed, lightest) are not nonexistent in U.S. culture despite the popularity of a Black vs. White, bipolar critical lens that is usually imposed on the U.S. racial experience by its race critics.

If genetically based definitions of race only weaken the importance of human racial identities (Templeton, 2013), and if linguistically based distinctions prove the imprecision of common skin color terminology (Simmons, 2009), then Bernasconi (2012) provides a handy counterdefinition of race that explains both why our social categories of race really do exist and why the genetic and linguistic definitions fail to capture that reality. Bernasconi sees race as defined not by clear ideas of what a given race is, but instead by ideas of what the given race is not, and he looks for its definition not in a pure, essentialist model but instead in the contemporary uses to which race definitions were applied, historically, by the law. This means that race cannot be easily defined as a timeless concept; a given race, such as Black or White, is only defined in relation to the bordering, alternative racial experiences, which are then reciprocally defined by further, border races:

> [R]acism is not an epistemological error to be resolved conceptually. Attempts to think of race as a relational concept have the advantage of making the valid point that no race understands itself, or can be understood, in isolation from the other

races with which it has dealings, but such attempts can suffer from the defect of minimizing the divisiveness of race. For this reason, I prefer to employ in this context Sartre's concept of 'reciprocity' .... (212)

Despite the reference to Sartre here, Bernasconi more often refers to this reciprocity through a racial "borderland," a term that he says is borrowed from a book by Ariela Gross, *What Blood Won't Tell: A History of Race on Trial in America*. Like Gross, Bernasconi illustrates through historical, legal examples of racial experiences in the southern U.S. that the lines between racial categories, like political borders, can change over time. Seen as a border, the bipolar racial politics of the U.S., governed by the rule of "hypo-descent" for mixed ancestries, makes sense because such a large part of U.S. racial history emphasizes the importance of being "White" in the eyes of society and the struggle of being "Black"; but now, other growing immigrant groups are increasingly shedding light on alternative racial experiences outside of the old bipolar racial politics, and it is becoming more obvious that Latin American immigrant groups include one example of a set of racial identities that do not fit neatly into any predominant ideas about race that have been embodied by the previous laws and politics of the United States.

The borderland concept of race suggests the malleability of racial categories, a phenomenon that is not always evident until one looks away from the less controversial centers of these categories to the more difficult borders suggesting where one race ends and another begins. Just as an alien human experience generally does not reveal itself to tourists who do not stray beyond a zone of cultural familiarity, the exploration of race as a malleable concept requires venturing into an often unfamiliar and volatile "borderland." Bernasconi demonstrates this malleability through an anecdote about Eston and James Madison Hemings, two brothers who worked on Thomas Jefferson's plantation as Virginia slaves until Jefferson's death:

Eston not only was considered white and listed as such in the 1830 census; he was white according to the laws of the day. However … James Madison Hemings, although legally white like his brother, was considered 'colored' by the 1830

census[5] …. From most people's perspective today, James Madison Hemings was

black, but according to the laws of the day he was white. (217)

This confusion between what these two Hemings brothers ought properly to be considered—both

of them "White" by law, but only one of them "Black" according to popular perception—

illustrates the volatility of race, and ought not to be considered an especially rare or even an

exclusively historical phenomenon.[6]

Roth (2010) demonstrates how Latin Americans can find the wording of 2010 U.S.

Census categories to be unclear or confusing, and she explains that part of this experience

emerges from the U.S. census's attempt to define race as a singular experience. The wording of

the question, "What is this person's race?" (Humes, Jones, & Ramirez, 2010), implies that even

if a person is multiracial (the question is followed by the note, "Mark one or more boxes"),

nonetheless that person is very clearly defined in terms of that multiraciality: it predicts that a

person is very clearly "Black," "White," "American Indian," or any combination of these and the

other presented options.

But, as Roth points out, a person who identifies him- or herself as racially "Latino" or

"White" may experience discrimination by people who believe that person to be "Black" or

"Asian," depending on how observers interpret and misinterpret the outward physical and

cultural traits of that person. In this case, which race is more important—the singular, self-

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[5] One distinction between the census of 1830 and that of 2010 is that James Madison Hemings
would not have self-identified his race; until the first large-scale mailed census of 1960, most
census responses would have reflected the external perception of persons' races according to the
perception of the enumerator (Roth, 2010).
[6] In May, 2014, Carolyn A. Liebler of the University of Minnesota and James Noon of the U.S.
Census Bureau presented to the Populaton Association of America their finding that "more than
10 million [Americans] checked different race or Hispanic-origin boxes in the 2010 census than
they had in the 2000 count" (Cohn, 2014). Although the reasons behind these changes are as yet
unclear—D'Vera Cohn suggests in her article about the research that "the data provide more
evidence of Americans' puzzlement about how the census asks separately about race and
ethnicity"—nonetheless, this is one contemporary manifestation of the volatility of race in the
attempt of one government institution to define racial borders.

reported race of "Latino" and "White," or the various observer-perceived races of "Black" and

"Asian?" If the census is interested in enumerating the cultural diversity of self-identities in this

country, then the first person's opinion—what Roth (2010) calls an individual's "internal"

race—is more important. However, as Roth points out, most people consider that the census's

purpose for keeping track of racial statistics in the first place is to build a statistical tool for

fighting racial discrimination with the aid of meaningful data. The U.S. Census Bureau itself

justifies its inclusion of the race question as being important in order to observe how laws related

to race are being enforced and how the socioeconomic characteristics of the national population

may reflect disparities according to race lines (Humes, Jones, & Ramirez, 2011). From the

perspective that the census's race question is meant to build a statistical tool for discovering and

targeting racial discrimination, the more important identity to report is not a person's "internal"

race but his or her "external" race, which outsiders tend to consider that person to be.[7]

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[7]And just in case you're not familiar with the idea of an internal race diverging from an external race, consider the voice of former TSA employee Jason Edward Harrington, who wrote in his confessional Politico piece, "Dear America, I Saw You Naked":

> Each day I had to look into the eyes of passengers in niqabs and thawbs undergoing full-body pat-downs, having been guilty of nothing besides holding passports from the wrong nations. As the son of a German-American mother and an African-American father who was born in the Jim Crow South, I can pass for Middle Eastern, so the glares directed at me felt particularly accusatory. The thought nagged at me that I was enabling the same government-sanctioned bigotry my father had fought so hard to escape. (2014)

In addition to Mr. Harrington's example here, I can offer an example from pop culture and also my own. The star Freddie Mercury, of Queen fame, is well-known as a British rock star but is largely unknown by his given name, Farrokh Bulsara; like many successful celebrities, Mercury has managed to be much less known by his born ethnicity (Persian; Bhatia, 2011). And personally, I identify myself according to my Dominican and Jewish background, but I am used to my peers—ethnic Dominicans and Jews included—admitting that they thought I had some "Middle Eastern," "Egyptian," or "Indian" in me. And who knows? After hearing the suggestion so many times, I have begun to wonder if in fact my peers have realized some insight into my family tree that is otherwise lost. But I have never felt the need to report "Egyptian" as my race,

There are other problems that suggest your or my race exists only in the eyes of the

beholder and not in some universal or Platonic state. Instead of finding the 2010 Census's race

question to be self-evidently clear, Roth's Dominican and Puerto Rican interviewees were

confused because they were not sure whether the labels of "Black," "White," and "American

Indian" applied specifically to the U.S. experience of being Black, White, and indigenous, or if

these terms were meant to include the Latin American experience of these identities as well. The

phrasing of these choices—"Black" was coupled with "African American" and "Negro,"

"American Indian" with "Alaska Native" and the direction "Print name of enrolled or principal

tribe"—left ambiguous to Roth's interviewees whether the census question wished to incorporate

Latin American blacks under the same category as "African Americans," or whether native

American ancestry from outside North America was welcome under the "American Indian"

category.[8]

These qualities of race—that it is not genetically meaningful to humans, who overcome

all geographic odds to mix their genetic material anyway; that it is not constant over time and

space, but varies as the cultural or legal lens is changed; and that it is not simply singular or

mixed for a given person, because everyone has the potential to keep multiple identities at once

depending on whether he or she is viewed from an internal or external perspective—all bring us

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despite the fact that, if I am ever treated in either a favorable or unfavorable manner by virtue of
my appearances alone, it may be that the discriminator has assumed that I am of that background.
[8]A 2011 overview of the census race question does clarify that all American, Western-
hemisphere experiences were meant to be included in this question, but unfortunately, many
census-takers do not fill out their censuses with official footnotes and appendices laid out before
them as I have these notes laid out before me (Humes et al., 2011). The overview also clarifies
that certain entries written into the "other" box, such as "Haitian" or "Nigerian," were
enumerated as responses for "Black" in census results. What is less clear is whether the
participants were simply confused about the census's meaning by the "Black" category, or
whether they intentionally rejected the label and then, in the coding of everyone's responses,
those participants were sorted back into the very categories they wished to reject.

closer to answering the question that began this discussion. Is it fair to claim that dark-skinned

Dominicans who have formed prejudices against dark-skinned Haitians are demonstrating racism

against dark-skinned Dominicans, too; and if so, ought we to consider that light-skinned

Dominicans or Europeans are equally hypocritical if they act with prejudice against any human

being that is dark-skinned?

Racism and prejudice can occur anywhere, in any culture and for any individual. Even a

person who claims not to be racist, or who is well versed in the possible damage that racism can

cause, may occasionally find him- or herself confronted with a foreign "other" against whom

they will attach false generalizations and stereotypes. When critics, observing from a D.R. or U.S.

vantage point, suggest that one group of Dominicans' prejudice against another group of Haitians

is hypocrisy among Blacks, those critics are also employing a racist argument, one that, though

these critics may have the welcome intention of discouraging discrimination against people with

dark skin, effectively assumes that Dominicans with African ancestors and Haitians with African

ancestors are more closely related to each other than, say, lighter-skinned Dominicans are to

darker-skinned Haitians—or, for that matter, than either group is related to lighter-skinned

Haitians. This type of criticism assumes that:

1. all persons with recent African ancestors are more closely related to each other than
   they are to persons with less recent African ancestors—this is a superficial
   assumption not supported by genetic research; and,

2. all persons who are prejudiced against other persons, if both populations look similar
   in the eyes of outsiders, are prejudiced against themselves—this idea neglects the fact
   that internal (self-identified) and external (observer-identified) racial identity has the
   ability to vary greatly.

The claim that a group of Dominicans can be racist against themselves simply by being racist against a group of Haitians is much like saying that, if a group of Han Chinese individuals is racist against a group of Japanese individuals, then the Han Chinese group is racist against themselves simply because "all Asians look the same to White people"; it is a claim that should be self-evidently ridiculous and unfair, and yet, when we are speaking about dark-skinned Dominicans and dark-skinned Haitians, somehow the same critics who should realize the ridiculousness of that alternative statement do not seem to realize the inherent racism in their own claim.

The same kind of reasoning manifests itself in other lines of criticism that look at Dominican society's tensions within itself. There has been much discussion in and around the D.R. debating whether a majority of Dominicans would be better off embracing racial identities that are strictly Black or that acknowledge blackness in their mix, in place of the traditional, mixed categories that critics allege are obscuring or denying Black heritage for Dominicans (Gates, 2011; Simmons, 2009; Suero, 2011). Many critics in this debate argue that Dominicans are, for the most part, black, on the basis of their African heredity. These critics explain that, if Dominicans are largely descended from ancestors who represented both European colonists and African slaves, then the racial labels Black (*negro*) and mulatto (*mulato*) are more accurate and therefore more appropriate to describe their skin color or race than the historically popular label Indian (*indio*), which has been applied to the majority of Dominicans on their identity cards (*cédulas*) distributed by the state (Gates, 2011).

Other proponents for encouraging Black identities among populations in the D.R. argue that forming politically advantageous, social alliances according to the common qualities of the socioeconomically disadvantaged—qualities that usually include some degree of being identified

as Black—can empower those disadvantaged groups to realize positive social reforms (Crenshaw, 1995; Hanchard, 2010).

From a historical perspective, this latter discussion tends to recognize that a large part of the suppression of Black identity can be attributed to whitening (*blanquismo* or *blanqueamiento*, depending on which sources you read) policies by the Dominican government. Whitening policies are most often attributed to General Trujillo's reign,[9] but evidence of a national effort to attract White Europeans to the Dominican Republic can also be seen from racial labels in early Dominican censuses and in Eurocentric immigration policies from before even Trujillo's time (Simmons, 2009). Dominican anxieties about their population's alleged blackness can be seen in the 19th century through the lyrics of Dominican poets like Juan Antonio Alix (Candelario, 2007); today, those same anxieties can be seen in political cartoons published by a popular national newspaper, *El Listin Diario* (Guilamo, 2013). Similar anxieties about alleged blackness can be seen in the legislative and judicial policies that affect access to education and naturalization along racial lines—much like what has been seen in recent U.S. history—and in news outlets reporting people's reactions to how those policies have been applied (Kim, 2013; Méndez, 2013; Tribunal Constitucional, 2013).

Both in artistic representations and in real social situations, most critics find that "Black" and "Haitian" characteristics can get conflated in the Dominican national consciousness (Candelario, 2007; Bernasconi, 2012). Simmons reports her own experience of seeing a light-

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[9] General Rafael Trujillo, long-term dictator of the Dominican Republic (1930-61) who took power through control of the national army and the establishment of a totalitarian Dominican Party soon after the U.S. ended its first military occupation (1916-24). Trujillo is very closely tied into racial relations in the D.R. in a more gruesome way: in October 1937, Trujillo was ordered army troops to shoot more than 12,000 Haitian peasants in a border region of the Dominican state, claiming it was retaliation against the theft of cattle. The U.S. government's reaction was to pressure Trujillo to decline to run for D.R. president in 1938 but leave him in command of the military (Betances, 1995).

skinned Haitian socially welcomed in the D.R. and called "Dominican," and seeing a dark-

skinned Dominican rejected and called "Haitian," from which one might conclude that a person's

dark-skinned appearance is a greater factor for social exclusion than a person's claim of having

Haitian roots (Simmons, 2009). But Candelario (2007) also emphasizes that skin color is not the

only factor that goes into racial judgments: hair type also plays a factor, as does every element of

a person's physical features and the ways a person presents him- or herself (speech, fashion,

posture, and so on).

It should be encouraging that many of the arguments favoring an expansion of Black

identities in the D.R. originate from (self-identified) Black scholars, but the variety of rhetorical

strategies that differentiate arguments favoring an increase in Dominicans identifying as Blacks

should be a warning sign that each argument deserves to be met with equal caution.

For example, sociological arguments supporting Black identities for persons who were

historically denied the option of being Black may be considered valid arguments, because they

suggest that individuals should feel free to identify themselves as Black without fear of

discrimination or oppression. This is an argument which Simmons (2009) adopts, concluding

from interviews with Dominicans and from her studies of the Dominican state's use of racial

propaganda and censuses throughout its history that Dominicans did not universally reject Black

self-identities, but instead,

> [B]lackness was actually denied Dominican people for much of the twentieth
> century by the state in efforts to whiten the population as witnessed by
> immigration policies, national racial and color categories [e.g. the official
> category *indio*, Spanish for "Indian," to signify darker, mixed skin tones], and
> other socialization practices where mixture was promoted over blackness. (5)

Simmons also predicts that, influenced by contact with Black pride movements in the U.S. and

by the Dominican state's current lack of interest in promoting cultural whitening, Dominicans

will become increasingly comfortable using the word "Black" to describe themselves or others than they may have been in the past.

But placing this valid argument aside for a moment, the more common argument encouraging black identities for Dominicans is based on hereditary, biological claims. These arguments are more troublesome because they suggest that even individuals who have no interest in identifying themselves as Black, and who already may have constructed a healthy self-identity, are in danger of having an identity forced upon them by external judges. Although Roth (2010) argues that both a person's internal and his or her external racial identities (both what we say is our race and what other people say is our race) are equally valid, considering that both of these identities have a real influence on our overall racial "experience," nonetheless a Black identity that is pushed onto a population's internal identity and presented misleadingly not as an option, but as though it were a biological fact, is merely a reversal of Trujillo-state policies that had denied those Black identities in the first place through similar, authoritative logic.

Although the work of honest society continues to be an effort to fight the negative impact of discrimination against persons of darker skin, this effort should in no way be confused with an obligation to assert an identity onto a person except in voluntary collaboration with that person; it is better to have someone realize an interest in adopting *X* identity through education about and communication with what it means to be *X*, than to have that same person feel forced to adopt an identity as a result of closed and constricting arguments. The first process produces an identity in which a person may feel pride and participatory ownership; the latter process produces an identity that is more like a prison than it is a part of oneself.

Methodology

The primary aim of this case study was to better understand how members of the Dominican and U.S. populations might form prejudicial views against strangers, founded on a review of the literature that analyzes what race actually is and means for academics and non-academics. I supplemented the above literature review with surveys and interviews of Dominicans residents whom I met in various public and private spaces of Santo Domingo, D.R., and of U.S. residents whom I met in New York City and in the nearby cities of Hempstead and Garden City, New York. Specifically, I was interested in investigating the importance of lighter or darker skin colors in the formation of prejudices. I did not want to assume that Dominican or even U.S. residents would tend to be more prejudiced against people with darker skin colors, preferring instead to investigate whether skin color or possibly other factors are more likely to influence negative judgments against a stranger.

In my review of the literature on Dominican race, I paid special attention to whether a source explained racial identity in terms that suggested blackness was a function of heredity rather than a socially defined concept, in order to distinguish between biological and sociological notions of race. I was particularly interested whenever a critic's analysis of how racial identities are constructed had an alternative to the classic, hereditary arguments for explaining race-identity production.

The sources I consulted before beginning my field studies in Santo Domingo and New York consisted of academic books and journals, periodicals, and online blogs writing about the problems associated with racial identity in the cultural contexts of the D.R. and U.S., as well as data from government censuses and related documents suggesting how race was understood and classified by state institutions. Both U.S.- and D.R.-based sources were included, with an

occasional consultation of sources from outside these regions for supplementary scholarship

(after all, as Knowles, 2010, points out, it is sometimes difficult—even misguided—to enforce

geographic borders on an academic discourse that generally transcends borders). The academic

sources were consulted so that I might ground my observations on previous, intriguing studies

that have investigated how specific human experiences and policies produce racial identities.

Online and print periodicals were also valuable sources, because the products of journalism can

provide snapshots of key political developments and public reactions to those developments

while they were "still happening," such as articles and comments published following the 2013

Dominican judiciary's decision to withdraw citizenship from the children of illegal immigrants

or during the 2011 announcement that the Dominican *cédula*-granting institution would consider

abolishing *indio* as a skin color; from published reports of these events, I was able to glean

insights into the debates and reactions of a culture that I was not able to witness personally from

the ground during those moments when public reactions were the most politically excited and

visible.

Similarly, online blogs supplement the reports of professional reporters with the personal

reactions that individuals wish to express to a large public audience. Blogs and periodicals

available on the Internet also provide a wealth of public comments in addition to the original

author's writing, and these comments further characterized my understanding of social reactions

to key, recent developments related to race relations in the D.R.

Finally, government censuses and documents, particularly from the U.S. Census Bureau

and the D.R. Central Electoral Board (*Junta Central Electoral* or J.C.E.), supplemented the

professional studies, journalism, and public reactions with primary source material that described

the states' policies towards defining race. Censuses provide quantitative data that sometimes

suggests the range of diversity constituting a society, but they are also worth analyzing for their

language and format; both of these characteristics can reflect and affect how a society perceives

the divisions of race. The U.S. Census Bureau shares a substantial amount of data on its public

website, which is where I accessed all of its resources, and the J.C.E. very recently updated its

website for 2014 into a much more user-friendly resource. Although the J.C.E.'s mission is based

on organizing elections and not on collecting an annual census—the data that is recorded in the

population census that the D.R. does organize is nowhere near as elaborate as the U.S.'s, as best

as I could determine—the J.C.E. does reflect and reinforce ideas of race in the categories of skin

color that appear on its national identity cards (*cédulas*), issued to all legal citizens of the D.R.

The J.C.E.'s response to the Dominican Tribunal Constitucional's (Constitutional Tribunal court)

2013 decision regarding the nationality of the children of undocumented workers and other,

Internet-available documents respecting the J.C.E.'s policies were of primary interest to this

study.

The field study that followed the literature review was based on qualitative, rather than

quantitative, research methods. I knew that I would not have the time or resources to plan

statistically representative samples or significant sample sizes. I was interested in interviewing

people firsthand in order to become better acquainted with the people I would be interviewing

and to better observe the reactions they might have had to my survey questions, and therefore I

chose not to incorporate online or other long-distance surveying methods that may have reduced

these time constraints.

For my field study, I focused in the interviews and surveys (see Appendix A for the

survey templates) on:

- various aspects of race, such as the participants' perceived multiplicity of their own and of other people's races;

- judgments about skin color, such as how participants associated or did not associate a person's degree of blackness with a perceived "higher" or "lower" social status, and with personal traits such as honesty; and

- whether U.S. participants would tend to apply a bipolar system of Black vs. White racial classification onto their readings of Dominicans' identities, or whether Dominicans would apply their system of racial categories onto U.S. Americans.

With this strategy in mind, I found it useful to base the surveys on images of 10 people, 5 born in the U.S. and 5 in the D.R. (see Appendix B for the images), and I focused particularly on selecting people who are externally perceived as "American" or "Dominican" so that from participants' responses I might have predicted how the participants would have judged each other, had they all been gathered into one room (this scenario would have required a pre-selected sample group, whereas I preferred to interview strangers spontaneously, without prior notice and preparation on the participant's part). I also found it useful to use high-resolution images of celebrities, ranging from greater to lesser degrees of international fame, instead of high-resolution images of strangers; this decision streamlined problems of acquiring and developing images and the permission to use those images, and also allowed me to organize participants' responses based on their level of familiarity with the person depicted in each image. This last point was especially important to me, because I expected that if any prejudices associated with a person's appearance did emerge, those prejudices would be less pronounced or would disappear with persons whom the participants recognized and knew as more than a face, a result I hoped to

track by comparing responses by participants who recognized an image against responses by participants who did not.

The design of the survey instrument is intended to reflect an awareness of open-ended multiplicities of skin colors, following the suggestions of Denton and Deane (2010), in that I did not intend to code multiple responses for one person's skin color or race as single responses, but instead counted each response individually and then measured these individual responses against each other based on the rate of their usage; and of Roth (2010), in that I applied my own demographic labels of the participant's skin tone on a scale from lightest to darkest first, then asked participants how their skin tone (D.R.) or race (U.S.) was officially registered by the J.C.E. (D.R.) or Census Bureau (U.S.), and finally asked participants how they would classify their own skin tone or race, in order to compare or contrast these external and internal expressions of racial identity. Although Roth also applied her own racial label to the participants (all of her participants were labeled Hispanic, because they had to identify as either Puerto Rican or Dominican in order to participate in her study), I did not go this far, as I was primarily interested in differences between how the participants reported their races officially (externally expressed identity) and how they felt about their races internally (internal identity).

Another large influence in the survey design was Crenshaw's (1995) suggested duality of the oppositional images that define a White versus Black divide in U.S. cultural stereotypes. When asking participants to judge the social status of the persons depicted in the survey images, I designed the specific questions for social status judgments—i.e. does the person appear hardworking or lazy, does the person have a high or low level of education, is the person honest or dishonest, and does the person have a high or low income—based on Crenshaw's suggested "historical oppositional dualities" between the U.S. experience of White versus Black cultural

stereotypes. Crenshaw suggests that these dualities are culturally entrenched images and counter-images of being industrious (White culture) and lazy (Black culture); intelligent and unintelligent; moral and immoral; knowledgable and ignorant; enabling culture and disabling culture; law-abiding and criminal; responsible and shiftless; and virtuous/pious and lascivious. I intended to investigate whether these oppositional dualities would express themselves in consistent correlation with the skin colors that participants attributed to each of the ten images; in other words, did images rated as whiter or lighter-skinned consistently and positively correlate with hardworking, high-education, honest, and high-income labels, and did images rated as blacker or darker-skinned consistently and positively correlate with lazy, low-education, dishonest, and low-income labels. I also added another component of social status, the perceived family background of the person in the image, because I knew that all of the images showed fairly accomplished professionals, and I was curious whether participants would acknowledge that the darker-skinned persons in the images had good social status now (were hardworking, had high education, were honest, and made high income), but would then consistently imply that these individuals had come to their success after originating in an immoral or poor family background.

In addition to skin color, I kept note of other physical or general qualities that the participants were able to list as having influenced their judgments during the survey: participants were asked near the completion of the survey to recall any qualities about the celebrities' depicted features that they felt had influenced any of their responses. If there was a strong correlation between any one factor and negative judgments about a depicted celebrity throughout participants' responses (e.g. darker skin was repeatedly judged more harshly by a large percentage of the participants), I intended to interpret this as evidence (not proof, which comes

from repeated and altered studies) that skin color played an influential role in the formation of prejudice.

To look for these correlations, I kept a record of these factors besides skin color that participants named as influencing their judgments, so that I could then look for correlations with these factors across all of the 10 celebrities' images—thus, if an image of Alex Rodríguez repeatedly elicited negative responses, but then I found that the participants' reported skin color or race of Alex Rodríguez did not correlate with negative responses to other celebrities who had a similar reported skin color or race, then I might consider other personal factors, such as A-Rod's professional reputation, as possibly playing a more important role in the formation of that negative perception. I also hoped that I might do the same analysis in the opposite direction: if some of the celebrities consistently received positive responses from participants, I hoped I might look at whether they shared factors besides skin color or race that might have influenced a higher rate of positive judgments for those celebrities.

Participants

The targets of the survey were residents of the D.R. and residents of the U.S., irrespective of their citizenship status, which I did not request from the participants. The two sites for the interviews, the urban areas centered at Santo Domingo and New York City, were chosen both for their cultural proximity to one another and for their convenience: they are culturally close because of heavy migration patterns between the two cities, and I was able to conduct my research during a winter visit to my extended family in Santo Domingo and during my final semester of undergraduate classes on Long Island in the state of New York. Participation in the survey was voluntary: I approached individuals who appeared to be inactive or unoccupied, because I hoped that my survey would offer them an interesting diversion to pass their time.

Since I did not have a gift or any compensation for participants who did complete the survey and the subsequent interview, it was important to me that the people who elected to participate did not feel it was inconvenient to offer their time to the study.

Participants were informed prior to beginning the survey that their responses and involvement would be kept anonymous and that I did not require any personal information that they did not wish to give. Furthermore, participants were informed of the average duration of the survey, 15 minutes, and they were informed that they were free to end the survey at any time before then, should they feel uncomfortable or need to leave. In the Dominican Republic, three participants did terminate the survey early, but thankfully this was due to their keeping prior engagements and not due to any evident discomfort with our interview: one participant ended the survey after responding to questions about the 3rd image, one ended it after responding to the 7th image, and another ended it after responding to the 10th image, so that in the D.R. responses there were 29 total participants who responded to the first three images, 28 total participants who responded to Images 4 through 7, and 27 total participants who responded to Images 8 through 10.

Most interviews were conducted on a one-on-one basis, although some interviewees recommended a nearby friend or relative for the survey and then quietly remained during the interview to hear their friend's or relative's responses. Among other demographic information, I asked participants to report whether they had ever spent more than two weeks outside of the country where they were being interviewed, and for how long, so that I could analyze whether any discrepancies in the responses might be explained by influences from external cultures. The demographics of the participants from the D.R. and the U.S. are provided at the beginning of the Results section.

Materials

The survey questions were based on 10 images of celebrity's faces, with each image showing one of 10 unique individuals (see Appendix B for the full-size images). I found it useful to use celebrities for all the images, not only because I was able to quickly acquire creative-commons licensed images at medium to high resolution in the hurried weeks of winter holiday, when I was preparing for the January trip to Santo Domingo, but also because the fact that all of the depicted persons shared a general status of celebrity meant that they all actually shared a comparable social status ("celebrity" status) of success or accomplishment in their profession. I suspected that if the images all showed "unknown" or "ordinary" persons, and if the survey responses then showed that light or dark skin tones consistently correlated with positive or negative qualities in participants' responses, then the results might simply suggest that participants had learned to expect that racial discrimination was a reality defining the relative success of individuals in their country or in the world at large—and not necessarily that they actually held those prejudicial views themselves.

In other words, had the results suggested that respondents' evaluations of "ordinary" or random people were discriminating on the basis of skin tones, this finding would better support the idea that respondents were reflecting on a perceived reality of racial inequality than it would support the idea that respondents were revealing their own (conscious or unconscious) racial prejudices. However, if in a group of similarly wealthy and successful persons, especially if they are recognized or perceived to be wealthy and successful—while, at the same time, the images' depicted skin tones were consistently correlated with how images were rated in terms of more personal judgments in their perceived social statuses (specifically, if a skin color was consistently correlated with labels of a bad family background, lazy work ethic, or dishonest

character, even while individuals were being recognized as having high incomes)—then I hoped

that the reality of the depicted persons' similar social statuses would make a more compelling

case for whether skin color was a major determining factor in how participants formed their

more prejudicial, less obvious evaluations of the depicted persons' social status.

The images were printed on photo paper of either 8.5" × 11" or 4" × 5", where the

dimensions were chosen based on the quality of each image resolution that was available. I found

that the format of the images helped to simulate an experience similar to sharing photos with a

family member or a friend, and this quality may have contributed to the fact that many of the

participants seemed well at ease or even suggested that they were enjoying the survey.[10]

Using digital manipulation software, I removed the backgrounds of the images so that the

only visual bases for participants' judgments of the images were facial features (e.g., structure of

the face, skin tone, eye color) and hair. The images were grouped into 5 Dominican-born

celebrities (the first five images that were shown to all participants during the course of the

survey) and 5 U.S.-born celebrities (the last five images), and in my analysis of participants'

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[10] Other participants who said that they were less comfortable with the survey questions explained that it was the process of labeling strangers that bothered them, rather than the process of viewing strangers' images. In general, whenever participants explained why they had answered "I don't know" to a survey question about a depicted celebrity's family background, work ethic, level of education, honesty, or income, their reasoning would be that they "don't know" the person. This was all the more interesting to me as a surveyor because it seemed to imply that when they did choose to respond, it was because they felt they *did* know the person. Participants likely meant that they did not know enough *about* the person who was shown to answer the question I was asking, but the omission of that key preposition *about* drastically changes the meaning that participants conveyed to me through the semantics of their explanations. On a related note: participants' expressed feelings of familiarity for each of the celebrities they recognized in the images varied based on the context in which participants recognized a celebrity. For example, fans of the Yankees sometimes playfully scorned the social qualities of the Red Sox's batter, David Ortiz, but explained that their feelings were largely based on the competitiveness between those two baseball teams.

responses I looked at the nationality of the depicted persons as another factor that may have

influenced positive or negative social ratings.

Initially, I planned to interview Dominican immigrants in the New York City interviews

in order to compare the current D.R. residents' responses with those of former D.R. residents

who had since migrated to the U.S. In anticipation of this strategy, I chose few celebrities who

might easily have been labeled "White," because I was primarily interested in whether

Dominican citizens living in the D.R. and Dominican migrants living in the U.S. would navigate

between Black and other non-white labels similarly or differently in their efforts to label race.

Because the 10 images nonetheless showed a range of lighter and darker skin tones, I do not

believe this preference in my selection of the images had an impact on the final results that

looked at trends in qualitative responses correlated with skin tones for the images. I eventually

decided that the U.S. residents should not be limited to Dominican immigrants after my visit to

the D.R. led me to wonder how non-Latino Americans would respond to the same survey

questions and how their responses would reflect cultural differences from the D.R.

Survey Instrument Strategies

For questions that aimed to identify race or a racial identity (Questions 1, 3, and 6 in

Appendix A), I used open-ended questions because I wanted to avoid biases that might have

arisen from my offering a set of predetermined options. I preferred this open-ended approach

instead of a close-ended approach, because I felt that the responses should reflect what comes to

mind for each participant when he or she sees the celebrity's image, even if the terms the

participant chose did not agree with typical *cédula* or census categories of skin color or race.

I initially intended to pretend that I expected the participant to give a "correct" answer for

each question, to encourage them to offer their sincerest estimations of the racial identities of the

persons in the images, but decided after consulting with Dr. Jensen on qualitative survey

methods and research ethics that I preferred to encourage responses with reminders that all

answers would be equally correct and non-responses would be accepted as well. In any case, I

did very little research on the backgrounds of the celebrities whose images I was using, because I

did not wish to reveal through reflex reactions to participants' responses whether they were

especially right or wrong; in some cases, this was unavoidable, but I never discouraged or

corrected a participant's response, even if I knew it was inaccurate.

For those questions that aimed to identify social qualities for the celebrities in the images

(Question 4 in Appendix A), I initially structured the questions as close-ended; but during

interviews, I found the responses so interesting that I treated these as open-ended. The large

degree of open-ended responses in the surveys presented a hefty coding challenge, but I hoped

that the participants' open-ended responses would be revealing in themselves.

Results

Demographics

As shown in Table 1 on the following page, the demographics for the surveys completed

in Santo Domingo, D.R., consisted of 25 Dominican-born residents[11]; 1 Puerto Rican-born

resident of the D.R. (about 18 years in Puerto Rico, 4 years in the D.R.); and 3 respondents who

terminated the interview in order to meet prior engagements, at which point this information had

not been obtained. Of the 29 participants who began the survey, 13 reported that they had not

spent any time outside of the Dominican Republic, and the remainder reported spending between

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[11] "Resident" will refer to a resident of the Dominican Republic in discussions of D.R. results; in U.S. results, it will refer to a resident of the United States. Although I originally intended to separate Dominican-born and U.S.-born from foreign residents in the survey results, I eventually decided to include all residents, as they are all participating in the cultures I was studying for trends. Just as an internationally educated U.S. citizen might have skewed results, I did not see a compelling reason to treat immigrants of four or more years' residence any differently.

Demographics: D.R. participants		
	Total	29
Sex	M	17
	F	12
Age	Younger adults (18-35 years)	22
	Older adults (35+ years)	7
Skin tone	Very light	0
	Lighter	3
	Middle	16
	Darker	4
	Very dark	6
National origin*	Dominican Republic	25
	Puerto Rico	1
	No response**	3
Traveled outside the D.R. to…*	Never left the D.R.	13
	United States	7
	Other Caribbean islands	3
	Africa	1
	European Union (or Europe)	4
	Mexico	1
	South America	2
	No response**	3
Location of interview	Agora Mall	17
	Jurisdicción Inmobiliaria	6
	UNPHU	5
	At home	1

*National origin and travel responses were reported by the participants. All other data (sex, age, skin tone, and location) in the demographics tables were defined by me. See the Demographics section of the Results for details on how these were defined.
**Three participants had to leave for prior commitments before I could request this information.

Demographics: U.S. participants		
	Total	28
Sex	M	14
	F	14
Age	Younger adults (18-35 years)	23
	Older adults (35+ years)	5
Skin tone	Very light	14
	Lighter	3
	Middle	4
	Darker	3
	Very dark	4
National origin*	United States	24
	Jamaica	1
	Senegal	1
	Russia	1
	Cameroon	1
Traveled outside the U.S. to…*	Never left U.S. for more than 2 weeks	8
	Caribbean islands	5
	Africa	1
	East Asia	3
	European Union (or Europe)	11
	Canada	5
	Honduras	1
	Israel	1
	Mexico	4
	Russia	1
	South America	3
Location of interview	Herald Square, NYC	3
	Hofstra University, Hempstead	11
	Madison Square Park, NYC	3
	Penn Station	8
	Roosevelt Field Mall	3

Table 1: Demographics of participants in the D.R. and the U.S.

two weeks and seven years in various parts of the United States, Africa (Morocco and West

Africa), the Caribbean (Cuba and Puerto Rico), the European Union (Germany, Italy, and

Switzerland specifically, while some participants simply reported "Europe" or the European

Union), Mexico, and South America (Peru and Venezuela); again, the 3 participants mentioned

above ended the survey before this information could be obtained.

Dominican residents were represented by 17 males and 12 females, interviewed during

January, 2014; 22 were younger adults (roughly ages 18 to 35), and 7 were older adults (35+

years). Out of the 29 surveys, 17 participants were interviewed at the food court or benches of

Agora Mall; 6 participants were interviewed in a waiting room at Jurisdicción Inmobiliaria de

distrito nacional, the capitol district's legal zoning office; 5 participants were interviewed at an

outdoor cafeteria of Universidad Nacional Pedro Henríquez Ureña (UNPHU); and 1 participant,

my cousin, was interviewed at the home where I stayed during my visit to Santo Domingo.

Surveys completed in New York City (NYC), Hempstead, New York, and nearby Garden

City consisted of 24 U.S.-born residents; one Jamaican-born resident (13 years in Jamaica, 11

years in the U.S.); one Senegalese-born resident (37 years in Senegal, 23 years in the U.S.); one

Russian-born resident (about 20–30 years in Russia, 6 years in the U.S.); and one Cameroonian-

born resident (25 years in Cameroon, 5 years in the U.S.). Of these 28 participants, 8 reported

that they had not spent more than two weeks outside of the United States, and the remainder

reported spending between two weeks and 37 years in various parts of the Caribbean (Dominican

Republic, Puerto Rico, and many of the lesser Antilles islands), Africa (Cameroon, Mali, and

Senegal), East Asia (China and Japan), Bermuda, Canada, Europe (England, France, Germany,

Greece, Italy, Portugal, Scandinavia,[12] Spain, and Switzerland), Honduras, Israel, Mexico,

Russia, South America (Brazil, Chile, and Peru), and Turkey.

U.S. residents were represented by 14 males and 14 females, interviewed during March

and April, 2014; 23 were younger adults (roughly ages 18 to 35), and 5 were older adults (35+

years). Out of the 28 surveys, 11 participants were interviewed at Hofstra University in

Hempstead, New York; 8 participants were interviewed at the dining and waiting areas of Penn

Station, NYC; 3 participants at Herald Square, NYC; 3 participants at Madison Square Park,

NYC; and 3 at the food court in Roosevelt Field Mall in Garden City, New York.

In the demographics information that was collected (Table 1), the participants reported

their own national origins and the countries in which they had spent a total time greater than two

weeks. I did not distinguish between participants who went abroad to visit family, those who

went on student exchange programs, and those who went as part of a cruise, etc.[13] Occasionally,

however, people did volunteer these details. In the D.R., some of the participants reported

traveling… for an international exchange student program (to Italy); in the role of a company's

customer service agent (U.S., Mexico, Europe); and one participant was actually from Puerto

Rico but had been residing in the D.R. to attend university. In the U.S., some of the participants

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[12] At the time of the interview, I did not think to ask the participant to specify which
Scandinavian countries he meant. Usually I followed up regional responses, such as "Europe" or
"Africa," by asking for countries, but this was one occasion when I simply forgot to ask.
[13] I was not greatly interested in the details of how people interpreted the question, "Have you
spent any time in another country?" as long as they gave an impression of where they had been
and the sorts of cultures they might have seen firsthand. Beyond that impression, it is up to a
combination of circumstance and the individual to determine how he or she spends his or her
time while traveling, and one person who passes time abroad as part of a cruise may well gain
more cultural awareness from the experience than another person who passes time abroad as part
of a student exchange program if circumstance or personal determination so allows. I do not
intend to encourage any stereotypes that, for example, college students who traveled would
necessarily have gained the most knowledge from their experiences, and so I did not include a
follow-up question in my survey instrument for this or any similar demographics question.

reported traveling… to visit family (Canada); for vacation (Chile), such as at a resort (Mexico), on a cruise (South America, Europe), or simply with their family as a child (Israel); for a volunteer/community service project (Honduras); for an international exchange student program (Peru); and four of the participants had been born and grew up outside of the U.S.

Participants' sexes, ages, skin tones, and the locations of the interviews were reported by me, and I did not seek to specify precise ages or skin tones for reasons that I will explain in this section. Although I am of course aware that the issue of gender identity is, easily, equally as nuanced as the issue of racial identity, nonetheless I wished to focus the surveys on questions of race and racially related biases rather than on questions of sex and sexually related biases. I therefore chose to identify participants' genders based on how I perceived their outward appearances rather than request that the participants self-report their gender, feeling that the latter method might have invited discussion on a very interesting topic—this would not have bothered me, but could have derailed the racial-identity topic of the interview, and I was already expecting the topic of racial perceptions to be sensitive.[14] The demographics of participants' sexes is provided to offer an impression of the diversity of people interviewed, and should not be interpreted as definitively indicating the internal gender identities of the participants; if any of these identifications conflicted with a participant's self-identified gender, I was not aware of it.

As for the demographic reports of participants' skin tones, I again reported these tones according to how I perceived their outward appearances. In the case of skin tones, however, I was already interested in Roth's (2010) distinctions between external and internal racial identity,

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[14] As mentioned in the Methodology section, I was glad to find that the topic was not as sensitive, or at least not as threatening, as I had first feared. Participants in all of the survey sites generally acted very comfortably with my survey questions, and any hesitancy or discomfort that they expressed was always attributed by the participants to the problem of labeling people, without indicating any blame or anger towards me for asking these difficult questions—or else, there was no blame or anger that I could perceive.

and so I later followed-up with a question (Survey Question 6) asking participants how they would identify their own skin color (in the D.R., to compare these responses with their *cédula-*reported skin tone) or race (in the U.S., to compare these responses with their census-reported race), and these identities were considered part of my results rather than part of the groups' demographics. For the purposes of demographics reporting, determining these skin tones based on my own internalized scale for these tones allowed me to report the participants' appearances more consistently than if I had represented participants by their self-reported skin tones, in which case labels like "very dark," "middle," or "very light" skin could easily have become inconsistent and confusing between participants' differing interpretations of these labels. In any case, skin tone distinctions provided in Table 1 are not meant to be too precise, and are included merely to offer a visual "sketch" of the range of skin tones of the participants I interviewed.

Similarly, I did not seek participants' own reports of their ages but instead offered another "sketch" of my impressions of their "younger" (from 18 up to about 35 years old) or "older" (above about 35 years old) status in adulthood. This decision to omit self-reported ages from the surveys was based primarily on my own prior observations of friends and relatives who have been annoyed by online and telephone surveys asking them to report their age, and subsequently appeared to hold a negative bias against their interviewers; furthermore, many of these friends and relatives have admitted to me that they do not always report their ages accurately.[15] Because of my own experience seeing individuals who have felt bothered by questions about their age and due to these individuals own admittances that they may also lie in

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[15] Given the size and selection method for the groups interviewed in the D.R. and the U.S., each just under 30 participants and approached based on availability, I felt that I would not have been able to confidently suggest larger, societal trends between participants' types of responses and their ages. As such, while exact, reported ages might have been interesting, I am not sure they would have been very useful if any reader was hoping to generalize age-correlated results and suggest trends in the attitudes of a population beyond these particular groups.

their responses, I simply identified participants' ages during the interviews as very young (18 to

early 20s), young (20s to 30s), middle (30s to 40s), older (40s to 50s), and upper ages (above

50s), based on the participants' outward appearances. Later, I condensed these classifications

into the still-imprecise distinctions of "younger adults (18-35)" and "older adults (35+)," simply

to allow for the likely discrepancies between the ages I thought participants appeared to be and

what their self-reported ages might have been.

Within these loose generalizations that I used to "sketch" the ages of the participants I

interviewed, those ages were closely concentrated around younger adults. This imbalance was

due mostly to the way in which I used universities as interviewing sites, especially when I was

finishing my surveys in the United States; outside of the universities, I consciously challenged

myself to diversify the ages of participants, but when I visited a university I focused my surveys

on younger adults among the students in the dining areas.

I did strive to diversify the participants by approaching people of different skin tones,

ages, and alternating sexes whenever possible. My surveys were not designed to be

representative of a larger population, and my concluding remarks are generally confined to

observations based on the two groups of about 30 participants from the settings chosen for this

field study, so the problem of diversifying participants was important primarily to diversify the

possible perspectives I might solicit. Although I was able to approach about an equal number of

male and female participants in both settings, I found that in Santo Domingo I more frequently

found medium- and darker-skinned participants available than lighter-skinned participants, and

in New York I found more lighter- and darker-skinned participants available than persons of

medium skin tones. In the case of New York, I did not pattern my interviews after the 2010 U.S.

Census but have since noted that the census counted 72.4 percent White responses and 12.6

percent Black or African American responses to its race question, compared to my 75.0 percent

medium- to lighter-skinned participants (21 participants) and 25.0 percent darker-skinned

participants (7 participants). Although the Dominican government does not appear to keep

similar statistics attempting to enumerate its population by race, I felt that the skin tones of the

participants I interviewed did have a large range that reflected the range of skin tones I observed

during my three-week visit to the D.R.

       The locations of the sites were often relatively privileged spaces—none of the locations

denied access to the public, but the nature of these locations may have skewed participants

towards more affluent members of society. In the D.R., Agora Mall is a relatively up-scale

shopping center, accessible to drivers via a parking garage, taxi-riders via a drop-off area, and to

pedestrians via a busy intersection. The Jurisdicción Inmobiliaria waiting room had participants

from a range of economic backgrounds, including one participant who was a custodial employee

on a break; and participants at UNPHU were all students attending a private university. The U.S.

site of Hofstra University is also a private university where the students who participated were

all privileged through their status as university students. The participants at Penn Station

represented a larger range of affluence, including both travelers and persons who were simply

using its space. The participants at Herald Square appeared to represent different economic

backgrounds, while Madison Square Park was situated in a very affluent part of the city, but one

of the participants there was very vocal about his Harlem roots and his labor background as a

construction worker. Roosevelt Field Mall was, like Agora Mall, a shopping center with parking

garage, taxis, and located between busy intersections, and the participants interviewed there were

all graduate or undergraduate university students. The participants in this survey may have

represented a higher proportion of privileged backgrounds, such as of people who had access to

expensive educations or people who were able to travel extensively, that may have influenced

the results expressed by these participant groups. I will therefore emphasize, here as elsewhere,

that the participants are not a representative sample and the grouping of responses collected in

this survey may not accurately reflect any realistic populations' overall views. I do believe I was

able to represent at least a range, if not a representative proportion, of economic backgrounds in

the responses, and I hope that this has helped to contributed to the diversity of the responses that

I received in the surveys.

What is a valid race?

      As explained in the literature review, the word "race" is loaded with meaning. For

various participants, the term signified skin color, nationality, ethnicity, or any number of terms

that defied narrow categorization. Before beginning the image-based survey, I began each

interview by asking the participant the question, "What are all the races of all the people on this

planet?" (*¿Cuáles son las razas de toda la gente en este planeta?*). For Dominican participants,

the responses tended to bring this initial, broad question in the direction of skin color and

mixture; for U.S. participants, the responses tended towards nationality and origin (for a list of

the D.R. and U.S. participants' unique responses to this question, see Tables 2 and 3 on the next

pages). Although each participant's list was never meant to be exhaustive—at each interview, I

told the participants I had received enough answers once it was clear that they were struggling to

think of any more—the wealth of responses that I did receive are very suggestive of the diversity

of ideas embodied by the word "race." Some U.S. participants mentioned that the authority

guiding their lists was their recollection of the options they had seen on the U.S. Census; others

either confused the census's Hispanic/Latino and national origin questions with its race question,

or displayed their own, unique take on what is meant by this term.

Dominican participants' responses:

Español	English
• *africano*	(African)
• *afroamericano*	(Afro-American)
• *amarillo*	(yellow)
• *americano*	(American)
• *americano nativo*	(Native American)
• *asiática*	(Asiatic)
• *blanco*	(White)
• *chino*	(Chinese)
• *coreano*	(Korean)
• *dominicano*	(Dominican)
• *egipcio*	(Egyptian)
• *español*	(Spanish)
• *europeo*	(European)
• *indio*	(Indian: skin color)
• *indígena/indio*	(Indian: indigenous peoples)
• *japonés*	(Japanese)
• *judío*	(Jewish)
• *latinamericano*	(Latin American)
• *mexicano*	(Mexican)
• *moreno*	(dark-haired/dark-skinned)
• *mulato*	(mulatto)
• *mestizo*	(mixed race, usually White and Black)
• *mongol*	(Mongolian)
• *negro*	(Black)
• *norteamericano*	(North American)
• *oriental*	(Oriental)
• *ruso*	(Russian)
• *taíno*	(Taíno: pre-Columbian inhabitants of the D.R.)
• *vietnamita*	(Vietnamese)

Table 2: D.R. responses to the initial, open-ended race question:
*   "What are all the races of all the people on this planet?"* (¿Cuáles son las razas de toda la gente en este planeta?*)*

U.S. participants' responses:

- Caucasian
- Chinese
- African
- African American
- Alaska Native
- "'Anything'-American"
- Arabic
- Asian (unspecified)
- Asian (specifically eastern nations)
- Australian
- Black
- Eastern European
- European
- Filipino
- French
- Germanic
- Hispanic
- Indian (South Asian)
- Indian (Native American)
- indigenous people
- Israeli
- Japanese
- Korean
- Latin American
- Mexican
- Mexican American
- Middle-Eastern
- Mongoloid
- Native American
- Pacific Islander
- Slavic
- South Asian
- South American
- Spanish
- White
- White American

Table 3: U.S. responses to the initial, open-ended race question:
"What are all the races of all the people on this planet?" (¿Cuáles son las
razas de toda la gente en este planeta?)

D.R. ideas of race. One Dominican participant (who did not have time to provide his self-identified skin color), having listed *blanco*, *negro*, *mestizo*, and *mulato*, asked for confirmation from me before stating that these were all the races:

> *… y indio, ¿no? Son las razas.*
>
> (… and *indio*, right? Those are the races.)

Another said of the term *indio*,

> *Indio se desapareció. Era un color utilizaba en la cédula y la J.C.E. no utilitiza el término.*
>
> (*Indio* disappeared. It was a color used on the *cédula* and the J.C.E.[16] doesn't use the term.)

When I later asked the participant what skin color was written on his *cédula*, he reached into his wallet and found the *I* there, indicating *Indio*, to which he responded: —*¿Qué puedo decir?* (What can I say?). But when prompted to define his skin color for himself, the participant answered that he was *negro* (Black), "*porque estoy más cerca de color negro de blanco*" (because I am closer to the color black than [to] white).

Another participant (who did not have enough time to provide his self-identified skin color) answered my question with the statement,

> *Ya no hay razas. No existe una clasificación. Es una construcción social.*
>
> (Now, there are no races. A classification doesn't exist. It's a social construction.)

Similarly, I heard from a participant who identified his skin color as *negro* that,

> *Para mi, todos son iguales debajo el criador—entiendo que todos son iguales por la iglesia de cristo.*
>
> (For me, all are equal under the Creator—I understand that everyone is equal through the church of Christ.)

When I thought to ask one participant (who identified his skin color as *indio*) whether he saw any difference between race and skin color, he answered that they were the same; in

---

[16] *Junta Central Electoral*, i.e. the Central Electoral Board. See Glossary for definition.

response to the same question, another respondent (who identified her skin color as *mestizo*) said race and skin color were "*diferentes cosas pero somos iguales*" (different things but we [humans] are equal). One participant defined how he used *negro*, which he later applied to define his own skin color, saying *negro* refers to an hereditary origin from "*el centro de Africa y sur*" (central Africa and below, or south); therefore, he said he distinguished Egyptians as African but *blanco*.

U.S. ideas of race. Participants in the U.S. occasionally suggested that the races they listed each had their own "subdivisions" or "sub-categories" (for a list of all the unique races named by U.S. participants, see Table 3). Among the U.S. residents interviewed, one participant, who identified his race as Caucasian, responded to my question by saying,

> I couldn't give you an answer. Nothing is homogenous…. The president [Barack Obama]—What race is he? He's a mixture. We're all one race—the human race.

From another respondent, who identified her race as White, I was pleased to hear my own thoughts echoed in the participant's reply,

> I think race is a social construct. It doesn't even matter where you're from, what's your genetic makeup—it all comes down to what people perceive you to be.

This participant also concluded her response by adding, "There is just one, large, human race," a sentiment I heard uttered occasionally in both D.R. and U.S. responses.

A U.S. participant, who defined his race as Hispanic, listed Black and White and then announced, "That's it," declaring every other variation a mixture of these two. One participant, who defined his race as Hispanic or Latino, reflected of his identity that, "We come in different shades and colors, but we are mostly brown." Many U.S. participants limited their responses to Black, White, Asian, and indigenous American, and suggested that all people can be placed somewhere on a spectrum between those categories. One participant, who identified his race as White/Caucasian, added on to his answer of "indigenous people" with the comment, "That tends to get a race"; while the sole participant who named "Alaska Native" as a race specifically cited

the U.S. census as the source from which he was drawing his answer (this participant self-

identified his race as Black). Although most comments reflecting deeply on this question were

attached to the grey area of defining race for Latinos or to the problem of dividing humanity into

divisions at all, only one participant (who identified himself as Black/African American) noted

of the White category that,

> I tend to think of generally European countries as their own race—France, Spain,
> Germany—and then I think of Eastern European/Slavic countries as their own
> race.

Overall, the responses of Dominican and U.S. residents to this initial question revealed a similar

conflation of color, nationality, and ethnicity terms in the overarching concept captured by the

word, "race." Also interesting was the relative absence of African, European, or South American

countries in specific responses.

How did participants classify skin color in the 10 images?

As mentioned earlier, a central focus of my study was the field-study survey, in which I

presented 10 images to participants in both the Dominican Republic and the United States in

order to compare the participants' responses. Their responses included social-status evaluations

of the person shown in each of the images (see Survey Question 4, Appendix A), and I compared

their responses first to other responses within the same national boundaries and then between the

two cultures. The images (shown in Appendix B[17]) were photos of the following 10 people,

edited to show only the person's head and hair from the chin up. The first five were born in the

D.R.; the latter five were born in the U.S.:

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[17] The reader may, of course, consult Appendix B whenever reviewing results that relate to the
images. For an alternative approach to reading the results, however, I would caution the reader
that we are all capable of forming our own prejudices. One reason why I only show these images
once, in Appendix B, rather than insert them across the results where they are relevant is that I
wish to encourage the reader to let the results speak for themselves, first, and then to compare
those results with the reader's own impressions of the images after gaining an awareness of the
participants' own responses and explanations.

1.	Danilo Medina, president of the Dominican Republic

2.	Félix Sánchez, track athlete and Olympian gold-medalist

3.	Dania Ramírez, TV actor (*Heroes*)

4.	David Ortiz, Boston Red Sox baseball star and 3-time MLB World Series winner

5.	Juan Marichal, retired pitcher recognized in the MLB Hall of Fame

6.	Michelle Rodríguez, Hollywood actor (*The Fast and the Furious*)

7.	Zoe Saldaña, Hollywood actor (*Avatar*; *Star Trek*)

8.	Michael Jordan, Chicago Bulls basketball star and 6-time NBA Finals winner

9.	Barack Obama, president of the United States

10.	Alex Rodríguez, top-paid MLB baseball star with the New York Yankees (suspended by the MLB for the 2014 season)

Table 4 presents Dominican and U.S. residents' responses describing the skin colors of

the persons in each of the 10 images, which were shown to all participants in order from 1 to

10.[18] Following the suggestion of Denton and Deane (2010), I accepted and welcomed responses

of multiple racial identities from each participant who offered multiple options. These responses

should always be read as a component of a larger racial identity, because a participant's two

responses would have been recorded separately as two unique responses. For example, responses

alleging Barack Obama's (Image 9) whiteness were often accompanied by assertions of his

blackness; it is these two responses operating together, White and Black, that should be

understood as Barack Obama's collective skin color, as well as responses like *mestizo,* indicating

that he has a mixed race; none of these terms (White without Black, Black without White, or

mestizo without the implication of White and Black) operates entirely alone in the responses for

---

[18] Three participants in the D.R., mentioned in the Demographics section of the Results, did not complete the survey and so did not get to see all 10 images; all of the participants in the U.S., however, did see every image.

D.R. responses			No.	U.S. responses		
Person depicted	*Recog.*	*Popular race terms (frequency)*		*Popular race terms (frequency)*	*Recog.*	*Person depicted*
Danilo Medina	(29/29)	mulatto (7) + mixed (4) + *Indio* (8) + light-*Indio* (3) + White (10)	**1**	light (5) + White (13) + Hispanic (5) + Caucasian (5)	(0/28)	**Danilo Medina**
Félix Sánchez	(27/29)	Black (5) + mulatto (5) + mixed (4) + *Indio* (16) + Yellow (3)	**2**	Black (8) + brown (3) + tan (5) + light (4)	(1/28)	**Félix Sánchez**
Dania Ramírez	(2/29)	Black (6) + dark (4) + mulatto (4) + *Indio* (16)	**3**	Black (4) + light brown (4) + mixed (3) + tan (4) + Latino (5)	(2/28)	**Dania Ramírez**
David Ortiz	(27/28)	Black (17) + dark (7)	**4**	Black (13) + dark (6) + African-American (4) + Hispanic (3)	(9/28)	**David Ortiz**
Juan Marichal	(12/28)	Black (3) + mulatto (7) + mixed (4) + *Indio* (11) + White (4)	**5**	tan (6) + Latino (4) + Hispanic (5)	(0/28)	**Juan Marichal**
Michelle Rodríguez	(15/28)	dark (3) + mulatto (3) + mixed (3) + *Indio* (6) + light-*Indio* (3) + White (13)	**6**	tan (6) + White (3) + Hispanic (5)	(12/28)	**Michelle Rodríguez**
Zoe Saldaña	(21/28)	Black (6) + dark (8) + mulatto (5) + *Indio* (10)	**7**	Black (7) + mixed (3) + light (4) + White (3) + African-American (4)	(14/28)	**Zoe Saldaña**
Michael Jordan	(18/28)	Black-Black (emphasis; 3) + Black (20) + dark (6)	**8**	Black (14) + dark (7) + African-American (7)	(22/28)	**Michael Jordan**
Barack Obama	(27/27)	Black (16) + dark (4) + mulatto (3) + mixed (5) + *Indio* (4)	**9**	Black (8) + light brown (4) + mixed (4) + light (4) + White (6) + African-American (5) + Caucasian (3)	(28/28)	**Barack Obama**
Alex Rodríguez	(26/27)	mulatto (4) + *Indio* (3) + White (22) + Yellow (3)	**10**	mixed (3) + tan (5) + light (4) + White (5) + Latino (3) + Hispanic (6)	(15/28)	**Alex Rodríguez**

Table 4 (above):   Summary of D.R. participants' (left) and U.S. participant's (right) responses describing the skin color or race of the persons shown. Only responses that were used by 3 or more participants (frequency ≥ 3) are listed here. For complete table of responses from both groups of participants, see Appendix C.

Barack Obama's skin color. The sum total of the responses within a national context might be

read as the collective racial identity assigned by each group of participants, i.e. the cumulative

perspectives of the D.R. group and of the U.S. group.

The results show a broader range of terms used to describe the 10 images in the U.S. (46

unique racial terms) than in the D.R. (31 unique racial terms), although there were similar

numbers of respondents in both groups (28 U.S., 29 D.R.). Respondents in both countries

sometimes revealed through their responses that they were guided by a national standard

determining what were appropriate terms for defining race: some respondents in the D.R.

referred to the example of their *cédula* to decide whether a depicted person with a similar

complexion to their own was *indio*, which I only noticed if they were not sure what skin color

term was written on their *cédula* to refer to themselves and then checked and found the letter *I*

written there, before responding with the skin color they perceived for the image in front of them.

Others in the D.R. expressed skepticism that *indio* was an acceptable term for describing the skin

color of a depicted person despite admitting a predisposition to use the term, and this hesitation

reflected those participants' awareness of the debates in Dominican society surrounding whether

the Junta Central Electoral ought to continue using *indio* as a term for Dominican race and skin

color or whether the term ought to be reserved as an ethnic term for true Native Americans (De

León, 2011; Suero, 2011). In the U.S., some respondents demonstrated their awareness of the

2010 U.S. Census's classifications of race by asking whether they could answer that *Latino* or

Hispanic was a depicted person's race, acknowledging that they thought the Census had

determined it was an ethnicity and not a race.

It is crucial for the reader to be aware when reading all results that I began by asking

participants in my first surveys to respond with what they thought was the "race" (*raza*) of the

depicted person, but by the end of conducting the Dominican surveys and for nearly all of the

U.S. surveys I began to specify that I was looking for each of the 10 persons' "skin color." I

changed my approach to this question after the first Dominican participants all asked me to

clarify whether by *raza* I meant *color de piel* or else *raza* as in *racismo*, the latter phrase

presumably referring to a person's culture, ethnicity, or national origin.[19] One participant defined

the difference for her as the following: *raza* refers to a "*mezcla de culturas*" (a mix of cultures),

but it also refers to "*color de tu piel,*" the color of your skin; another participant felt that *raza*

definitely refers to "*etnicidad*" and "*nacionalidad,*" (ethnicity and nationality). Given these

demonstrated variations in how participants defined race and the variety of nationality and skin

color concepts reflected when participants were asked simply to list the races they could name

(Tables 2 and 3), I quickly found it was necessary to provide more structure to this question if I

hoped to have cumulative results drawing from the responses of all the participants.

For better consistency, I initially specified "skin color" (*color de piel*) for the D.R.

participants who asked what I meant by "race" (*raza*), and eventually I began the question with

color de piel always specified in place of *raza*. Although I could have specified another term,

such as national origin,[20] I was largely interested in comparing participants' own suggestions for

the skin colors they saw in the images with the existing color classifications used by the official

D.R. *cédulas* (i.e., *blanco, negro, indio,* and *mulato*: De León, 2011), and also I hoped to use

participants' responses rather than my own judgment to define the 10 depicted persons as being

darker- or lighter-skinned. For the U.S. surveys, I kept up this language of skin color for the

---

[19] For the one U.S. survey where I accidentally reverted to my original form of the question, "What is this person's race?" I received a similar response, from a participant who defined herself as White/Caucasian: "Are we doing race as different colors, or different origins?"
[20] Or ethnicity—but had I based my research on the language of "ethnicity," I suspect that I would have run into many of the same difficulties interpreting the meaning of that term as I ran into with the word "race."

questions based on the 10 images only, but transitioned to the language of "race" when I asked

participants how they had self-identified for the 2010 U.S. Census (Survey Question 6, Appendix

A).

Incidentally, even though I phrased the question as "What is the skin color of this person?"

(instead of "What is this person's race?") for nearly all of the participants in the U.S., I still

received some responses that described the person's origin or nationality, e.g. Latin American or

African American, rather than an obvious color term. I found that this reaction by participants to

the term "skin color" exemplified the extent to which race is a confused and conflated term:

since the example of the U.S. censuses and general usage intermix color terms (e.g., White and

Black) with geographic origins (e.g., Native American, Asian, and so forth), I found that the U.S.

respondents were as inclined to respond to a skin color-worded question with a statement of the

person's descent or origin as the Dominican respondents were inclined to respond to a race-

worded question with a statement of the person's skin color (e.g., *indio*, which is largely

recognized to describe both a mixed skin tone and a Native American origin, depending on the

context in which it is used or the preference of the speaker using the term).

Once all of the participants' responses to the race (skin color) question were collected, I

found that the 29 participants in the D.R. had actually suggested a fairly limited vocabulary for

the skin colors of the 10 depicted persons (see Table 4, left columns; I've also included ratios of

the number of respondents who recognized the depicted individual versus all the respondents

who saw the image). The most popular racial language (words used by 3 or more participants)

consisted of Black, dark, mulatto, mixed, *Indio*, White, and Yellow (7 unique terms), with some

variations on these basic terms. The images that received the simplest skin color ratings after all

of the D.R. participants' responses were tallied were David Ortiz (Image 4—2 unique terms used,

Black and dark) and Michael Jordan (Image 8—2 unique terms, Black and dark, and one

variation of Black, i.e. Black-Black). The remainder of the images were given between 3 and 5

unique skin color labels plus up to 1 variation: Félix Sánchez (Image 2), Michelle Rodríguez

(Image 6), Juan Marichal (Image 5), and Barack Obama (Image 9) were all given 5 unique skin

color labels, and Michelle Rodríguez was labeled with 5 unique skin color labels plus 1 variation

(light-*Indio* was a variation of *Indio*).

Participants in the D.R. specified that they arrived at their ratings of each image's skin

color by studying the depicted person's skin as well as their hair, nose, eye color, lips—in other

words, the specified skin color was not always so simple as the actual, perceived color of the

person's skin, and sometimes took into consideration other facial features that are generally

considered a part of a person's racial appearance. This supplementary information was especially

important to participants looking for evidence of "mixed race" (*mestizo*): according to one

participant, Alex Rodríguez's light eye color was the only thing stopping her from classifying

him as simply *mestizo*, because she felt that his eyes pushed him into the *blanco* category. I

counted both these responses, *mestizo* and *blanco*, in the results.

For participants in the U.S., their responses to the same question are summarized in Table

4, in the right columns (again, the number of participants who recognized the depicted individual

versus the total number who saw the image is shown as a ratio beside the names of the

individuals). The race and skin color vocabulary used among the 28 U.S. participants was larger

than the vocabulary used by the 29 D.R. participants: the most popular unique terms (used 3 or

more times) were Black, dark, brown, mixed, tan, light, White, African-American, Latino,

Hispanic, and Caucasian (11 unique terms). The simplest skin color and race ratings consisted of

3 unique terms, which the U.S. participants applied to Juan Marichal (Image 5—tan, Latino, and

Hispanic), Michelle Rodríguez (Image 6—tan, White, and Hispanic), and Michael Jordan (Image

8—Black, dark, and African-American). Barack Obama (Image 9) and Alex Rodríguez (Image

10) received the most complex skin color and race ratings, with 7 and 6 unique terms applied to

them, respectively.

As in the D.R., participants in the U.S. sometimes admitted to factors besides skin color

itself that influenced their responses to what was the race or skin color of the depicted person.

One U.S. participant, again looking at Image 10 of Alex Rodríguez, commented that she thought

he had Italian descent but, she said, "the nose throws me off." For this participant, the shape of

Rodríguez's nose suggested an African ancestry that conflicted with her image of his Italian

origins.

Obviously, it is difficult to sort any of these combinations of responses describing the

depicted persons' skin colors into singular, solid racial categories—it would be too simplistic to

say that the U.S. responses for Barack Obama label him as "Black," for instance. We may agree

in the public sphere of the U.S. to label Barack Obama as "Black" and "African-American,"[21]

with his mixed race implied or understood, but participants in this survey were not bound to

follow what they may have perceived as the consensus. Nonetheless, participants did for the

most part stick to the language of his skin color or race being Black, Black mixed with White,

African-American, or a combination of one of these terms and Caucasian. Participants never

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[21] Despite the arrangement of these two terms, Black and African-American, as neighbors on the
2010 U.S. Census' race question, I do not consider the terms synonymous for this study.
Simmons (2009) provides an account of her experience adopting "African-American" as a new
racial identity to replace or supplement her "Black" identity in the Introduction of her book, and
she suggests that through the adoption of this new word, subtle new meanings were picked up
and other meanings were lost. I have adopted a part of this passage in my epigraph, where
Simmons refers to her great-grandfather's rejection of the latest term for dark-skinned people
and learns from him just how much meaning a mere label for one's race can carry. I will add that
Black seems to be a more universal term, whereas African-American appears to have originated
in the U.S. and usually implies a specifically U.S. identity or experience (O.E.D., 2014).

described Obama as White, however, which may suggest that the hypo-descent, or "one-drop," rule for categorizing people of "mixed" race into Black but never White categories (Bernasconi, 2012) may not be solely a U.S. phenomenon, because it also occurred here in D.R. responses—5 of the D.R. participants described Barack Obama as Black (*negro*) and nothing else, while 0 described him as only White. On the other hand, it may simply reflect the darker tone of Obama's skin, since participants were being asked to identify his skin color, or it may reflect D.R. participants' awareness of Obama's (and my own) U.S. background and Black–White binary culture: a few of the D.R. participants stated that they knew Obama was "Black" to the United States, but they felt that he was *indio* or *mestizo* by their own standards. I encouraged these respondents to use these and any other labels that may have come to their minds, because it is the wealth of terms that individuals are capable of applying to persons' races, sometimes in defiance of a perceived "Black" or "White" norm for a person, that reveals why it is problematic to suggest that one person's race is, or should be, projected to the world at large in any fixed, consistent form.

As the responses for the skin colors of the depicted persons show (Table 4), participants in the D.R. and U.S. groups sometimes showed an international consensus in the skin color and race terms they used to describe the same depicted person. For Michael Jordan, both groups agreed that he was dark and Black. The terms mulatto (*mulato*) and *indio* (best translated as "Indian") were used exclusively by D.R. participants; the terms African-American, Hispanic, Latino, and Caucasian were used exclusively by U.S. participants.

By comparing racial labels from the D.R. and U.S. groups alongside one another for the same images, it becomes apparent that some of these terms may be congruous to one another; this finding reinforced Simmons' (2009) suggestion that it is possible to translate race and skin

color terms between Dominican and U.S. cultures not by literal translation, but by recognizing

similar conveyed meanings of lightness and darkness. For any images where D.R. participants

applied the term *indio*, U.S. participants applied either Hispanic, brown, tan, Latino, or a

combination of those terms, with the exception of Zoe Saldaña (Image 7) whom U.S. participants

simply suggested was mixed. D.R. participants also often applied the term *indio* to Barack

Obama's image (Image 9) but recognized him at a very high rate of 27 out of 27 participants, so

the term *indio* should not be confused with a Latino- or Hispanic-specific term; it merely implies

a mix of Black and White skin tones, and this mixture or tone is equivalently implied by the U.S.

skin color and race terms brown, tan, and likely also Hispanic and Latino.

The U.S. participants' term African-American was always matched by both the terms

Black and dark in the D.R. participants' labels, yet the U.S. participants' term Caucasian was

only matched by White for the first image, Danilo Medina. In the only other usage of Caucasian,

U.S. participants used the terms White and Caucasian as part of Barack Obama's skin color or

race, whereas D.R. participants never explicitly named either of these terms for Barack Obama.

The results of racial labels used by Dominicans seem contrary to critics who suggest that

Dominicans are afraid to use the term Black (Gates, 2011; Robles, 2007), and agree with critics

who suggest that Latin Americans are increasingly disposed to embrace "Black" and "Afro-

American" identities (Simmons, 2009; Hanchard & Sawyer, 2010). In their choices of labels to

apply to the depicted persons who represented both D.R. and U.S. nationalities, the D.R.

participants were very liberal in applying the term Black (*negro*) to 7 of the 10 images. The 29

D.R. participants also revealed themselves to be more conservative than the U.S. participants in

their use of the term White (*blanco*), with which they described 4 of the 10 images. The 28 U.S.

participants in contrast applied the term Black to 6 of the 10 images, only withholding the term

when D.R. participants used it for Juan Marichal (Image 5) and agreeing in all other instances;

and the U.S. participants applied the term White to 5 of the 10 images, adding Barack Obama

and Zoe Saldaña after subtracting Juan Marichal from those images already labeled White by the

respondents in the D.R. Participants in both settings may have implied the omitted races, such as

Black or White, through words like mulatto, mixed, *indio*, Hispanic, or Latino, but the fact that

some images of individuals with mixed races were given specific labels of what went into that

idea of mixture by three or more participants, while other images were only labeled with none or

half of those components (a term for mixture plus a term for White or Black, but not both) may

suggest that, for those images, the participants had trouble determining the exact racial

components that they felt would form the "mixed" race they perceived the individual to have.

This much was suggested by the participant who guessed that Alex Rodríguez's features were

Italian but then found his nose "troubling," because she was not confident about the exact races

she would name to explain the mixture of backgrounds she saw in his image.

Did the D.R. responses correlate consistently with skin color?

   Family Background (see Tables 5a & b, next page). As shown in Table 5a, the top

rates for responses suggesting that a depicted individual came from a humble, poor, or bad

family background were given for a mix of darker- and lighter-skinned persons, with a possible

correlation between the darkest skin tones and the highest response rates. David Ortiz, for whom

9 of 28 participants suggested he had a humble, poor, or bad family background, and Michael

Jordan, for whom 6 of 27 participants suggested the same, had the highest response rates and

were rated two of the darkest individuals by D.R. participants, who almost uniformly labeled

these persons "Black" (*negro*) or "dark" (*moreno*) (see Table 4). Each of these response rates

amounted to less than one third of the total participants' responses. David Ortiz and Michael

D.R. responses:
Family Background

Note: In the following tables, percent rates are provided to facilitate comparison between response rates when these are based on an unequal total of participants who responded to each image (29 participants began the D.R. survey; 3 did not finish; 28 participants completed the U.S. survey). Percent rates should not be interpreted as suggesting representative results, because the participant groups were not randomly sampled to represent a larger population.

No. of responses	Percent rate of responses	Image
9/28	32.1%	(Img 4) David Ortiz
6/27	22.2%	(Img 8) Michael Jordan
4/27	14.8%	(Img 10) Alex Rodríguez
4/28	14.3%	(Img 6) Michelle Rodríguez
4/29	13.8%	(Img 1) Danilo Medina
3/27	11.1%	(Img 9) Barack Obama
2/28	7.1%	(Img 5) Juan Marichal
2/29	6.9%	(Img 2) Félix Sánchez
1/28	3.6%	(Img 7) Zoe Saldaña
1/29	3.4%	(Img 3) Dania Ramírez

Table 5a (above):   Rate of responses suggesting HUMBLE, POOR, or BAD family background

No. of responses	Percent rate of responses	Image
25/29	86.2%	(Img 1) Danilo Medina
24/28	85.7%	(Img 7) Zoe Saldaña
23/27	85.2%	(Img 9) Barack Obama
23/29	79.3%	(Img 2) Félix Sánchez
21/27	77.8%	(Img 10) Alex Rodríguez
21/28	75.0%	(Img 5) Juan Marichal
18/28	64.3%	(Img 4) David Ortiz
17/28	60.7%	(Img 6) Michelle Rodríguez
16/27	59.3%	(Img 8) Michael Jordan
13/29	44.8%	(Img 3) Dania Ramírez

Table 5b: Rate of responses suggesting AVERAGE or GOOD family background

D.R. responses:
Work Ethic

No. of responses	Percent rate of responses	Image
27/27	100.0%	(Img 9) Barack Obama
28/29	96.6%	(Img 1) Danilo Medina
27/28	96.4%	(Img 4) David Ortiz
27/28	96.4%	(Img 7) Zoe Saldaña
26/27	96.3%	(Img 10) Alex Rodríguez
27/29	93.1%	(Img 2) Félix Sánchez
25/27	92.6%	(Img 8) Michael Jordan
24/28	85.7%	(Img 5) Juan Marichal
22/28	78.6%	(Img 6) Michelle Rodríguez
16/29	55.2%	(Img 3) Dania Ramírez

Table 6 (above): Rate of responses suggesting HARDWORKING work ethic

Among the rate of responses suggesting a lazy or average work ethic, none of these rates exceeded 3 responses (10 percent). I have not included a table of these responses, because the rates are so low that this type of response could not suggest any correlations for the D.R. participant group.

D.R. responses:
Level of Education

No. of responses	Percent rate of responses	Image
12/28	42.6%	(Img 4) David Ortiz
6/28	21.4%	(Img 5) Juan Marichal
6/28	21.4%	(Img 6) Michelle Rodríguez
6/29	20.7%	(Img 2) Félix Sánchez
4/27	14.8%	(Img 10) Alex Rodríguez
4/28	14.3%	(Img 7) Zoe Saldaña
4/28	14.3%	(Img 8) Michael Jordan
4/29	13.8%	(Img 3) Dania Ramírez
3/29	10.3%	(Img 1) Danilo Medina
2/27	7.4%	(Img 9) Barack Obama

Table 7a (above):   Rate of responses suggesting a HIGH SCHOOL, "SOME," or LOW level of education.

No. of responses	Percent rate of responses	Image
25/27	92.6%	(Img 9) Barack Obama
26/29	89.7%	(Img 1) Danilo Medina
21/28	75.0%	(Img 7) Zoe Saldaña
14/27	51.9%	(Img 10) Alex Rodríguez
13/27	48.1%	(Img 8) Michael Jordan
13/28	46.4%	(Img 6) Michelle Rodríguez
11/29	37.9%	(Img 2) Félix Sánchez
10/28	35.7%	(Img 5) Juan Marichal
10/29	34.5%	(Img 3) Dania Ramírez
3/28	10.7%	(Img 4) David Ortiz

Table 7b: Rate of responses suggesting a MEDIUM-HIGH to HIGH, PROFESSIONAL, or COLLEGE education.

D.R. responses:
Honesty

No. of responses	Percent rate of responses	Image
6/27	22.2%	(Img 10) Alex Rodríguez
4/28	14.3%	(Img 5) Juan Marichal
4/29	13.8%	(Img 1) Danilo Medina
2/27	7.4%	(Img 9) Barack Obama
2/28	7.1%	(Img 4) David Ortiz
1/28	3.6%	(Img 6) Michelle Rodríguez
1/28	3.6%	(Img 7) Zoe Saldaña
1/29	3.4%	(Img 3) Dania Ramírez
0/29	0.0%	(Img 2) Félix Sánchez
0/27	0.0%	(Img 8) Michael Jordan

Table 8a (above):   Rate of responses suggesting UNRELIABLE or DISHONEST character.

No. of responses	Percent rate of responses	Image
25/28	89.3%	(Img 4) David Ortiz
25/29	86.2%	(Img 1) Danilo Medina
25/29	86.2%	(Img 2) Félix Sánchez
24/28	85.7%	(Img 7) Zoe Saldaña
22/27	81.5%	(Img 8) Michael Jordan
21/27	77.8%	(Img 9) Barack Obama
18/28	64.3%	(Img 6) Michelle Rodríguez
17/28	60.7%	(Img 5) Juan Marichal
16/27	59.3%	(Img 10) Alex Rodríguez
16/29	55.2%	(Img 3) Dania Ramírez

Table 8b: Rate of responses suggesting HONEST character.

D.R. responses:
Income

No. of responses	Percent rate of responses	Image
26/27	96.3%	(Img 9) Barack Obama
26/27	96.3%	(Img 10) Alex Rodríguez
26/28	92.9%	(Img 7) Zoe Saldaña
25/27	92.6%	(Img 8) Michael Jordan
25/28	89.3%	(Img 4) David Ortiz
22/29	75.9%	(Img 1) Danilo Medina
21/29	72.4%	(Img 2) Félix Sánchez
18/28	64.3%	(Img 6) Michelle Rodríguez
16/28	57.1%	(Img 5) Juan Marichal
15/29	51.7%	(Img 3) Dania Ramírez

Table 9: Rate of responses suggesting HIGH or ABOVE AVERAGE income.

Among the rate of responses suggesting a low or below average income, none of these rates exceeded 10 percent. I have not included a table of these responses, because the response rates are so low that this type of response was insignificant among the D.R. participant group.

Jordan were then followed by Alex Rodríguez (4 of 27 participants), who was rated among the whitest images (Rodríguez, i.e. Image 10, received 22 responses by D.R. participants that labeled him "White" [*blanco*]; see Table 4). The pattern here might be described as dark-skinned athletes leading light-skinned athletes in the application of participants' responses of a humble, poor, or bad family background, although the Olympian track athlete, Félix Sánchez, then received the third lowest rate of responses of this type (2 of 29 participants). Ortiz, Jordan, and Sánchez were recognized by 27 out of 28, 18 out of 28, and 27 out of 29 participants, respectively, which does suggest that participants' responses could have been influenced by their knowledge of the athletes' professions. Following Alex Rodríguez in response rates were the actress Michelle Rodriguez (4 of 28 participants), who was labeled light-skinned with a mixed race by the D.R. participants[22]; next, the light-skinned mixed-race president Danilo Medina (4 of 29 participants); and the dark-skinned mixed-race president Barack Obama (3 of 27 participants), with no further, obvious correlations between skin color and a negative family background response.

In the opposing response rates suggesting an average to good family background for the images, the top response rates again did not show a strong correlation between skin tones and positive background ratings. The responses were highest for the light-skinned mixed-race president Danilo Medina (25 of 29 participants), followed closely by the darker-mixed actress Zoe Saldaña (24 of 28 participants), the darker-mixed president Barack Obama (23 of 27 participants), the darker-mixed athlete Félix Sánchez (23 of 29 participants), the lighter-mixed athlete Alex Rodríguez (21 of 27 participants), and the intermediate-color mixed athlete Juan

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[22] Wherever the racial identity of the depicted persons (see Appendix B) is not directly attributed to any source, I am referring to the cumulative, external identity that was suggested by the D.R. or U.S. participant groups. I have made no efforts to suggest the internal racial identity of any of the persons depicted in the images, for the simple reason that identity can change based on the context in which a person is situated (Cohn, 2014), and I cannot guarantee a consistent context for any of the identities that may have been previously expressed by the 10 depicted persons.

Marichal (21 of 28 participants). No obvious preference was shown for lighter skin tones in the rates of participants' responses suggesting a person had an average to good family background.

Work Ethic (Table 6). For the work ethic questions, participants were overall very liberal in their application of the adjective hardworking. The participants may have indicated that they saw a strong connection between hard work and fame. Even when participants did not recognize the person in the image, they often did guess correctly out loud that the images appeared to show celebrities: all of the persons shown in the 10 images are either politicians, athletes, or TV and movie actors with an international audience. In the responses, again there was no obvious connection between the skin tones assigned to the images and the work ethic attributed to them: all of the depicted persons received at least 22 responses suggesting they were hardworking, regardless of their skin color, national origin, or profession (presidential politicians did particularly well in the D.R.: Barack Obama was called hardworking by all of 27 participants, and Danilo Medina by 28 of 29 participants).

I have skipped presenting a table for the rate of responses suggesting a lazy or average work ethic because none of these responses were used by more than 3 participants. Participants who had a lower rate of "hardworking" responses had high rates of no response to this question, from those participants who answered that they did not know and would not guess the work ethic of the depicted person.

Level of Education (Tables 7a & 7b). The top rates of responses suggesting a high school, "some," or a low level of education were led by the dark-mixed hitter David Ortiz (12 of 28 participants), followed by a tie between the intermediate-mixed pitcher Juan Marichal and the light-mixed Michelle Rodríguez (6 of 28 participants), and then by the darker-mixed Félix Sánchez (6 of 29 participants). The Dominican baseball player David Ortiz may be one of the

darkest-skinned persons depicted in the survey, but he was followed by a mix of light, intermediate, and darker-skinned persons so that there was no obvious correlation between the darkest skin tones and negative responses in the education category. As in the responses suggesting a humble, poor, or bad family background above, the response rates suggesting a high school, "some," or a low level of education were themselves low: the rate for David Ortiz amounted to less than half of the participants, and the next highest response rate (for Juan Marichal and Michelle Rodríguez) was less than one quarter of the participants who looked at these two images.

Among the top rates of responses suggesting the depicted person had a medium-high to high, professional, or college education, the darker-mixed Barack Obama (25 of 27 participants) led the response rates, followed by the lighter-mixed Danilo Medina (26 of 29 participants) and the darker-mixed Zoe Saldaña (21 of 28). These images did not correspond consistently with a single type of skin color.

Honesty (Tables 8a & 8b). In the rates of responses suggesting an unreliable or dishonest character, the greatest responses went to lighter-mixed Alex Rodríguez (6 of 27 participants), then intermediate-mixed Juan Marichal (4 of 28 participants), and lighter-mixed Danilo Medina (4 of 29 participants); each of the response rates was less than one quarter of the participants who saw the image. Alex Rodríguez's slight lead in these response rates is not surprising: participants who rated him as dishonest sometimes commented on his facial features as seeming dishonest, as did participants who rated Juan Marichal as dishonest; but two participants added that they were judging Alex Rodríguez as dishonest specifically in the wake of the recent Biogenesis scandal, which alleged his use of unapproved performance-enhancing drugs while receiving the greatest pay in Major League Baseball.

In the rates of responses suggesting that the depicted persons were honest, there was no strong correlation between lighter skin and perceived trustworthiness. Darker-mixed David Ortiz (25 of 28 participants) led the response rates, followed by a tie between the lighter-mixed Danilo Medina and the darker-mixed Félix Sánchez (25 of 29 participants); the darker-mixed Zoe Saldaña (24 of 28 participants); and dark-skinned Michael Jordan (22 of 27 participants).

Income (Table 9). The responses suggesting a high or above-average income for a depicted person, including responses suggesting a person made high income in the past, were most frequent for darker-mixed Barack Obama and lighter-mixed Alex Rodríguez in a tie (26 of 27 participants), followed by darker-mixed Zoe Saldaña (26 of 28 participants) and dark-skinned Michael Jordan (25 of 27 participants). With the exception of Alex Rodríguez, this category seemed to show some correlation between darker skin tones and suspected high or above-average income. However, another correlation went further to include Rodríguez, too: the four persons with the highest response rates were all employed in high-profile professions or industries of the United States, specifically the office of U.S. President, the New York Yankees baseball team, the Hollywood movie industry, and (formerly) the Chicago Bulls basketball team. Barack Obama and Alex Rodríguez had very high recognition rates among the D.R. participants, and Zoe Saldaña and Michael Jordan were each recognized by more than half the D.R. participants (see Table 4), so that participants' knowledge of their U.S. employment may have influenced high estimations of these four persons' levels of income.

Responses suggesting that a depicted person had little income or less than he or she deserved were never more frequent than 3 responses. I chose not to include a table for these response rates, which are very low.

Did the U.S. responses correlate consistently with skin color?

Family Background (Tables 10a & 10b, next page). U.S. rates of responding that a depicted person had a slightly/pretty good to bad family background were generally higher than the corresponding D.R. response rates but were still low, at less than half of the total responses for each image. Juan Marichal, whom the U.S. participant group labeled as a tan Hispanic/Latino, had the highest response rate at 11 of 28 participants suggesting he came from a slightly/pretty good to bad family. Félix Sánchez, who was labeled as having a tan color and Black race, was given this rating by 10 of 28 participants, while intermediate-color and mixed-race Barack Obama was given the rating by 9 of 28 responses and dark-skinned Black-Hispanic David Ortiz was given the rating by 6 of 28 participants. Although the response rates were all fairly low, there did appear to be some correlation between darker skin tones in the images and more negative family background ratings by the U.S. participants, except for Juan Marichal, who was rated with a lighter, "tan" skin tone. More notable is the absence of any overtly light-skinned individuals from the negative family background responses.

In the rates of responses indicating a good or middle-class and higher family background, the highest response rates did not correlate strongly with consistently light or dark skin colors: Dania Ramírez (22 of 28 participants), who was rated by U.S. participants as a tan or brown mixed-Latina, received a higher response rate suggesting a positive family background than the light-skinned White-Hispanic Danilo Medina (21 of 28 participants), tan White-Hispanic Michelle Rodríguez (20 of 28 participants), and dark-skinned African-American Michael Jordan (again, 20 of 28 participants).

Work Ethic (Tables 11a & 11b). For the work ethic question, the rates of responses suggesting an average to lazy work ethic for the images placed the tan mixed-Hispanic Alex

U.S. responses:
Family Background

No. of responses	Percent rate of responses	Image
11/28	39.3%	(Img 5) Juan Marichal
10/28	35.7%	(Img 2) Félix Sánchez
9/28	32.1%	(Img 9) Barack Obama
6/28	21.4%	(Img 4) David Ortiz
5/28	17.9%	(Img 7) Zoe Saldaña
5/28	17.9%	(Img 8) Michael Jordan
4/28	14.3%	(Img 10) Alex Rodríguez
3/28	10.7%	(Img 3) Dania Ramírez
3/28	10.7%	(Img 6) Michelle Rodríguez
2/28	7.1%	(Img 1) Danilo Medina

Table 10a (above): Rate of responses suggesting SLIGHTLY/PRETTY GOOD or DECENT to BAD family.

No. of responses	Percent rate of responses	Image
22/28	78.6%	(Img 3) Dania Ramírez
21/28	75.0%	(Img 1) Danilo Medina
20/28	71.4%	(Img 6) Michelle Rodríguez
20/28	71.4%	(Img 8) Michael Jordan
19/28	67.9%	(Img 7) Zoe Saldaña
18/28	64.3%	(Img 9) Barack Obama
17/28	60.7%	(Img 4) David Ortiz
14/28	50.0%	(Img 2) Félix Sánchez
14/28	50.0%	(Img 5) Juan Marichal
4/28	14.3%	(Img 10) Alex Rodríguez

Table 10b: Rate of responses suggesting GOOD or MIDDLE-CLASS to AFFLUENT family.

U.S. responses:
Work Ethic

No. of responses	Percent rate of responses	Image
8/28	28.6%	(Img 10) Alex Rodríguez
7/28	25.0%	(Img 2) Félix Sánchez
3/28	10.7%	(Img 3) Dania Ramírez
3/28	10.7%	(Img 7) Zoe Saldaña
2/28	7.1%	(Img 5) Juan Marichal
2/28	7.1%	(Img 6) Michelle Rodríguez
2/28	7.1%	(Img 8) Michael Jordan
1/28	3.6%	(Img 1) Danilo Medina
1/28	3.6%	(Img 4) David Ortiz
1/28	3.6%	(Img 9) Barack Obama

Table 11a (above): Rate of responses suggesting a MIDDLE-GROUND/AVERAGE to LAZY work ethic.

No. of responses	Percent rate of responses	Image
27/28	96.4%	(Img 9) Barack Obama
26/28	92.9%	(Img 4) David Ortiz
26/28	92.9%	(Img 8) Michael Jordan
24/28	85.7%	(Img 5) Juan Marichal
23/28	82.1%	(Img 1) Danilo Medina
23/28	82.1%	(Img 6) Michelle Rodríguez
22/28	78.6%	(Img 7) Zoe Saldaña
21/28	75.0%	(Img 3) Dania Ramírez
19/28	67.9%	(Img 10) Alex Rodríguez
17/28	60.7%	(Img 2) Félix Sánchez

Table 11b: Rate of responses suggesting HARDWORKING work ethic.

U.S. responses:
Level of Education

No. of responses	Percent rate of responses	Image
17/28	60.7%	(Img 5) Juan Marichal
13/28	46.4%	(Img 4) David Ortiz
13/28	46.4%	(Img 10) Alex Rodríguez
12/28	42.9%	(Img 2) Félix Sánchez
9/28	32.1%	(Img 6) Michelle Rodríguez
8/28	28.6%	(Img 8) Michael Jordan
7/28	25.0%	(Img 3) Dania Ramírez
6/28	21.4%	(Img 1) Danilo Medina
6/28	21.4%	(Img 7) Zoe Saldaña
1/28	3.6%	(Img 9) Barack Obama

Table 12a (above): Rate of responses suggesting a HIGH SCHOOL, "SOME," or LOW level of education.

No. of responses	Percent rate of responses	Image
27/28	96.4%	(Img 9) Barack Obama
17/28	60.7%	(Img 8) Michael Jordan
15/28	53.6%	(Img 7) Zoe Saldaña
14/28	50.0%	(Img 1) Danilo Medina
14/28	50.0%	(Img 6) Michelle Rodríguez
12/28	42.9%	(Img 3) Dania Ramírez
8/28	28.6%	(Img 4) David Ortiz
8/28	28.6%	(Img 10) Alex Rodríguez
7/28	25.0%	(Img 2) Félix Sánchez
5/28	17.9%	(Img 5) Juan Marichal

Table 12b: Rate of responses suggesting MEDIUM-HIGH to HIGH, PROFESSIONAL, or COLLEGE education.

U.S. responses:
Honesty

No. of responses	Percent rate of responses	Image
19/28	67.9%	(Img 10) Alex Rodríguez
13/28	46.4%	(Img 5) Juan Marichal
11/28	39.3%	(Img 9) Barack Obama
10/28	35.7%	(Img 2) Félix Sánchez
8/28	28.6%	(Img 8) Michael Jordan
7/28	25.0%	(Img 1) Danilo Medina
7/28	25.0%	(Img 3) Dania Ramírez
7/28	25.0%	(Img 6) Michelle Rodríguez
6/28	21.4%	(Img 7) Zoe Saldaña
2/28	7.1%	(Img 4) David Ortiz

Table 13a (above): Rate of responses suggesting UNRELIABLE or DISHONEST character.

No. of responses	Percent rate of responses	Image
23/28	82.1%	(Img 4) David Ortiz
19/28	67.9%	(Img 7) Zoe Saldaña
18/28	64.3%	(Img 6) Michelle Rodríguez
18/28	64.3%	(Img 8) Michael Jordan
17/28	60.7%	(Img 3) Dania Ramírez
16/28	57.1%	(Img 9) Barack Obama
15/28	53.6%	(Img 1) Danilo Medina
14/28	50.0%	(Img 2) Félix Sánchez
12/28	42.9%	(Img 5) Juan Marichal
6/28	21.4%	(Img 10) Alex Rodríguez

Table 13b: Rate of responses suggesting HONEST character.

U.S. responses:
Income

No. of responses	Percent rate of responses	Image
12/28	42.9%	(Img 2) Félix Sánchez
12/28	42.9%	(Img 5) Juan Marichal
9/28	32.1%	(Img 1) Danilo Medina
3/28	10.7%	(Img 6) Michelle Rodríguez
3/28	10.7%	(Img 10) Alex Rodríguez
2/28	7.1%	(Img 3) Dania Ramírez
2/28	7.1%	(Img 4) David Ortiz
0/28	0.0%	(Img 7) Zoe Saldaña
0/28	0.0%	(Img 8) Michael Jordan
0/28	0.0%	(Img 9) Barack Obama

Table 14a (above): Rate of responses suggesting LITTLE or LESS THAN DESERVED income.

No. of responses	Percent rate of responses	Image
26/28	92.9%	(Img 7) Zoe Saldaña
25/28	89.3%	(Img 8) Michael Jordan
24/28	85.7%	(Img 9) Barack Obama
21/28	75.0%	(Img 3) Dania Ramírez
21/28	75.0%	(Img 4) David Ortiz
21/28	75.0%	(Img 10) Alex Rodríguez
19/28	67.9%	(Img 6) Michelle Rodríguez
12/28	42.9%	(Img 5) Juan Marichal
5/28	17.9%	(Img 2) Félix Sánchez
4/28	14.3%	(Img 1) Danilo Medina

Table 14b: Rate of responses suggesting HIGH or ABOVE AVERAGE income.

Rodríguez (8 of 28 participants) first, and then tan-skinned Black Félix Sánchez (7 of 28

participants), after whom the ratings drop to 3 or less responses for each image. The already-low

rates of responses suggesting an average to lazy work ethic do not suggest a strong correlation

between skin tones and participants' judgments of an average to lazy work ethic.

In the rates of responses suggesting a hardworking work ethic, intermediate-mixed

Barack Obama (27 of 28 participants) led ahead of the dark-skinned Black-Hispanic David Ortiz

(26 of 28 participants) and dark-skinned African-American Michael Jordan (26 of 28

participants); tan Hispanic/Latino Juan Marichal (24 of 28 participants); and lighter mixed-

Hispanic Danilo Medina tied with tan mixed-Hispanic Michelle Rodríguez (23 of 28

participants). In these results, it is notable that the depicted persons with the three highest

hardworking response rates all received a large "Black" and "African-American" rating from the

U.S. participants (8 and 5 for Barack Obama, 13 and 4 for David Ortiz, and 14 and 7 for Michael

Jordan). These results show some correlation between the darkest skin tones in the images and

the suggestions of a hardworking work ethic by the U.S. participants.

Level of Education (Tables 12a & 12b). In the rates of responses suggesting the

depicted persons had a high school, "some," or a low level of education, tan Hispanic/Latino

Juan Marichal (17 of 28 participants) was followed by dark-skinned Black-Hispanic David Ortiz

and tan mixed-Hispanic Alex Rodríguez (13 of 28 participants), who were tied; then tan-skinned

Black Félix Sánchez (12 of 28 participants). There is some correlation between tan skin colors

and higher rates of responses suggesting a negative level of education, with David Ortiz's image

as an exception.

The rates of responses suggesting a medium-high to high, professional, or college

education were highest for intermediate-mixed Barack Obama (27 of 28 participants), followed

at a distant gap by dark-skinned African-American Michael Jordan (17 of 28 participants), intermediate-mixed Zoe Saldaña (15 of 28 participants), and light-skinned White-Hispanic Danilo Medina even with tan White-Hispanic Michelle Rodríguez (14 of 28 participants). Notably, here higher perceived education correlates well with darker skin color in the top two highest rates, but also all of the response rates correlate higher perceived education fairly well with the most recognized images: Barack Obama was recognized by 28 out of 28 U.S. participants, and Michael Jordan was recognized by 22 out of 28. Following these two depicted persons, participants' response rates suggesting higher education appeared to skip over the fairly well-recognized Alex Rodríguez, who was recognized by 15 out of 28 U.S. participants, but assigned a high level of education to Zoe Saldaña, who was recognized by 14 out of 28. Michelle Rodríguez, the next-best recognized individual at 12 out of 28 U.S. participants, received about as many responses suggesting she had a high level of education as her rate of recognition by participants. Danilo Medina stands out in this category for the opposite reason from Alex Rodríguez, with nearly half of the participants suggesting he has a high level of education but zero U.S. participants recognizing him; for Danilo Medina's image, however, participants occasionally remarked that the glasses he wears in the image suggested to them a better-educated individual.

Honesty (Tables 13a & 13b). Among the responses rating the depicted persons as having an unreliable or dishonest character, tan mixed-Hispanic Alex Rodríguez (19 of 28 participants) had the highest response rate, after whom were tan Hispanic/Latino Juan Marichal (13 of 28 participants), intermediate-mixed Barack Obama (11 of 28 participants), and tan-skinned Black Félix Sánchez (10 of 28 participants), with some correlation between tan skin colors and higher response rates suggesting an unreliable or dishonest character.

Responses rating the depicted persons as being honest showed the dark-skinned Black-Hispanic David Ortiz (23 of 28 participants) having the greatest positive responses, then intermediate-mixed Zoe Saldaña (19 of 28 participants), a tie between tan White-Hispanic Michelle Rodríguez and dark-skinned African-American Michael Jordan (18 of 28 participants), and tan mixed-Latina Dania Ramírez (17 of 28 participants), with no obvious correlation between rates of responses and skin color.

Income (Tables 14a & 14b). Finally, with regards to U.S. participants' ratings of the income levels they suggested for the depicted persons, for little or less-than-deserved income responses the tan-skinned Black Félix Sánchez and tan Hispanic/Latino Juan Marichal tied at a response rate of 12 out of 28 participants, after which they were followed by light-skinned White-Hispanic Danilo Medina (9 out of 29 participants). In this category, there is not a strong correlation between skin color and higher response ratings suggesting little or less-than-deserved income, and response rates after Danilo Medina's image were 3 responses or less per image.

For responses suggesting that the depicted persons had a high or above-average income, the intermediate-mixed Zoe Saldaña led the response rates (26 of 28 participants), after whom dark-skinned African-American Michael Jordan followed (25 of 28 participants); then the intermediate-mixed Barack Obama (24 of 28 participants); and tied together were tan mixed-Latina Dania Ramírez, dark-skinned Black-Hispanic David Ortiz, and tan mixed-Hispanic Alex Rodríguez (21 of 28 participants). Here there was a slight correlation between darker-skin colors and higher response rates suggesting high or above average income, much like in the D.R. responses for the same question, except that in addition to rating individuals who worked in U.S. professions or industries higher the U.S. participants were also rating individuals whom they better recognized as having higher income ratings. Here Dania Ramírez was the exception, with

a low recognition by 2 out of 28 U.S. participants, but in her case participants' comments may

again provide an answer, as participants sometimes remarked that her hair in the image

suggested affluence to them.

   Summary of the D.R. and U.S. responses. The D.R. participants' responses showed a

predictable, though not a strong, correlation between the darkest skin tones and the highest rates

of bad-family background ratings for the images they saw (David Ortiz, Michael Jordan), but

they then included darker skin tones in the good-family background ratings, too (Zoe Saldaña,

Barack Obama). Similarly, darker-rated skin colors were present among their highest ratings

showing a consensus of whom they perceived to be hardworking individuals (Barack Obama,

David Ortiz, Zoe Saldaña), whom they perceived to be higher-educated individuals (Barack

Obama, Zoe Saldaña), whom they perceived to be honest individuals (David Ortiz, Félix

Sánchez), and whom they perceived to be making higher incomes (Barack Obama, Zoe Saldaña,

Michael Jordan).

   The U.S. participants' responses were similar: they showed some, not a strong,

correlation in the same category for darker-rated skin tones matching with the highest rates of

bad-family background ratings (Barack Obama, David Ortiz), but in this category there also was

not much separation in the rates of good-family background responses between darker-rated

individuals like Michael Jordan or Zoe Saldaña (20 and 19 responses, respectively) and lighter-

rated individuals like Danilo Medina and Michelle Rodríguez (21 and 20 responses, respectively).

U.S. participants actually appeared to show a preference for darker skin tones when this factor

was correlated against higher response rates suggesting a hardworking work ethic (Barack

Obama, David Ortiz, Michael Jordan) and a higher education (Barack Obama, Michael Jordan,

Zoe Saldaña), and darker skin tones featured prominently in high response ratings for an honest

character (David Ortiz led the response rates here for both countries' participants) and higher

income (Zoe Saldaña, Michael Jordan, Barack Obama).

Altogether, these responses by the nearly 60 participants from the D.R. and the U.S. do

not affirm the oppositional dualities of entrenched cultural discrimination suggested by

Crenshaw (1995), which suggest that a consistent correlation would have divided darker and

lighter skin tones more prominently in the participants' ratings of the hardworking versus lazy

work ethic, high versus low education, honest versus dishonest character, and high versus low

income that participants would have attributed to the individuals depicted in the survey.

Participants' explanations for their judgments

Although many of the participants recognized celebrities from the images, the wide range

of some of the responses also suggests how little they may have actually known about the

celebrities' lives. Rarely did participants answer that they "knew" a definite answer from prior

knowledge when prompted to explain how they arrived at their ratings of family background,

work ethic, level of education, honesty, and income level for the images. Instead, they pointed to

features on and surrounding the person's face that they thought had helped them to make a

decision:

For family background, participants said they looked at the image's smile and the degree

to which the depicted person had made up or refined their appearance to determine if the image

showed a person who came from a happy or a comfortable home. However, sometimes

participants interpreted a person's appearance as excessively made up or refined to a fault, and

this was perceived as an effort by the depicted person to cover up a poor or struggling past life at

home.

Hardworking traits were nearly universally handed out by participants in both Santo

Domingo and New York, a result which may be tied to participants' comments that they thought

that an unfamiliar face in the 10 images must be a celebrity, too, because of the refinement to

their appearance or because they were surrounded by other images of celebrities. Many of the

recognized persons were well-known and successful, and awareness or suspicion of this fact may

have lent itself to participants' interpreting other, unknown persons as successful and therefore

hardworking people, as well. One participant confided that the images looked like they were

publicity or professional photos rather than Facebook-quality images, and said she was

"answering, thinking they're all well-known people." But biases revealed themselves within the

recognized images, too. Some images were distinguished as less hardworking by participants

who expressed a belief that actors don't really work hard, or that athletes don't really work hard,

or whatever association the participant happened to attach to the depicted person's recognized or

suspected (if the image was unrecognized) line of work. Also, athletes who were recognized as

being retired were sometimes specified as having been hardworking in the past, a type of

response that suggested the participant wished to make no assumptions about the depicted

person's lifestyle at present, but was nevertheless willing to assert a positive trait felt to be true

about that person in the past. Some participants asserted that to determine a positive,

hardworking response, they were looking for wrinkles around the eyes to indicate a person's

concentrated attention or thoughtfulness through the years; and one U.S. participant answered

that she saw an empty piercing in Félix Sánchez's earlobe, which suggested to her both that he

had come from a modest or bad family and that he was working hard to make up for it now.

Glasses, clean skin, white teeth, or a well-groomed and made-up appearance suggested a

higher level of education to many of the participants, who said they thought higher education

could be inferred from better apparent hygiene, as did national biases such as that view that an

American education is "a good education," expressed by one Dominican respondent. Other

participants looked for wrinkled brows as evidence of intense thinking or intelligence and, they

concluded, a more likely higher education. In the case of better-recognized images, participants

often said of Barack Obama that they guessed he had a higher-level education because, as

president of the United States, they believed "he must"; for Michael Jordan, participants

responded that they knew he was college-educated because they were familiar with his career in

college basketball.

As a sign of honesty, participants often said they looked for a quality that they believed

was apparent from or around a person's eyes or smile. In the U.S., different participants

suggested that Danilo Medina, Michelle Rodríguez, Zoe Saldaña or Alex Rodríguez conveyed

for them a "sneaky" smile or "shifty" eyes; at the same time, Danilo Medina was later

counterbalanced by another participant who said he had an "honest" smile. In the D.R., Dania

Ramírez and Alex Rodríguez were repeatedly called dishonest "based on their face" or their eyes

in the photo that was shown. As an example of the types of responses stating "both" honest and

dishonest, one U.S. participant expressed that Michael Jordan and Barack Obama must have dual

roles in the realm of honesty because she trusted Michael Jordan's professional reputation, but

cited doubts about his treatment of his ex-wife; while for Barack Obama, the participant said that

his role as president necessarily requires both honesty and dishonesty, depending on whichever is

required by his diplomatic and political strategies.

To determine income, participants again looked at how well the person's appearance was

made-up, and of course consulted any knowledge they had about a person's career. Actors

recognized from Hollywood movies were usually assumed to make a lot of money, although

some respondents qualified that the actor's income depends on how much work he or she has

during a career and how well the actor's films sell. Presidents were said to make a lot, but some

respondents distinguished between the president's incomes and those of the extraordinarily

wealthy athletes shown beside them by saying that the presidents don't make as much money as

people think, or as much as they should make, presumably based on how hard these figures were

perceived to work for their constituents. Athletes who were recognized as retired occasionally

received the comment that they made a lot of money in the past, but no longer; only one

participant in the U.S. specifically suggested Michael Jordan still makes a lot of money due to

his majority ownership of an NBA team.

When participants declined to respond, they often insisted it was because they didn't

know the person in the image. One participant explained that they would not answer whether any

of the persons depicted came from a good or bad family or whether they made a lot of money,

unless he had specifically heard this information before:

> You can't tell …. I can put on $300 sneakers and be the poorest person; I see
> people in suits at Subway ask someone to swipe their card for them. You put on a
> suit, you might just be going to Bible school and be unemployed.

One can see from the high response rates for Barack Obama and, in the D.R., Danilo Medina,

that most participants felt comfortable that they had sufficient knowledge about these very public

and recognizable figures to offer responses in most cases.

I will give the participants credit, too, that many of them may not have firmly believed in

their own responses. As one participant said of his gut-feeling method to providing his responses,

> It's like a vibe—sometimes you can walk and tell if you connect with people
> spiritually. Sometimes it can be wrong, sometimes right.

Another participant said that,

> I'm a fairly poor judge of character. I try to give people the benefit of the doubt,
> which sometimes doesn't work in my favor.

In answer to the hardworking question, one participant stated that she would answer that a person was hardworking unless that person "did something stupid" for a career (the participant only penalized one of the actresses, despite recognizing the other two in the group). But that participant also admitted that,

> Even the people I said weren't hardworking, probably are. I would tend to think White people do less than anybody else.

Therefore, even the participants would not stress the significance of their responses too strongly.

Concluding Remarks

The findings of this study, which did not find a strong overall correlation between participants' ratings of skin colors and their ratings of the social status they perceived for 10 depicted persons, cannot be generalized too broadly to describe larger populations. The findings apply specifically to the nearly 60 participants who lent 15-20 minutes each for this study, and these participants were not selected to be representative of a larger population.

However, their responses are nonetheless interesting and useful, because they suggest personal experiences with and interpretations of race that are not often shown by large statistical surveys, such as the U.S. Census's measure of the races reported in the United States; and they show that a random group of about 60 individuals does not necessarily conform to behavior patterns that we are taught are widespread, such as the assumption that people in the D.R. or the U.S. are very likely to discriminate their perceptions of others on the basis of skin color. The findings suggest that personal experiences of discrimination may require further contextual information than the skin color of the persons involved in order to better understand why discrimination or prejudice occurs between humans. While this study does not in any way suggest that racism does not exist or that discrimination on the basis of a person's skin color can never occur, the weak correlations found, and missing correlations that were not found, between

skin color and participants' judgments of the images suggest that our conversations about race, in the D.R. and the U.S. especially, should not place too much emphasis on the importance of skin color without acknowledging a wider context in which to understand the prejudice and discrimination that does occur.

Participants suggested that their own responses were formed not only based on skin color, which they admitted in some of their responses to have considered as a factor, but also based on eye color and other facial features, on hair styles, dress and accessories, on smiles and other facial expressions, and more; doubtless, if the images were replaced by living persons, the participants could have named other factors, such as accents and perfumes, that would have supplemented their judgment of the 10 persons shown. Skin color was not a strong predictor of participants' responses to questions measuring how they would judge the social status of the 10 individuals depicted; instead skin color was just another component alongside these other components, and when political, journalistic, academic, or colloquial rhetoric applies sweeping generalizations in the language of discrimination based on skin color in the absence of these other factors, those speakers may be missing a vital point about the importance of context.

The importance of these results and the weak to nonexistent correlation between skin color and negative or positive social judgments in this study, is that we tend to associate skin color with being a dominant deciding factor in instances of discrimination, while ignoring the other neighboring factors that make up race. Race is much more than skin color, embracing how we perceive human differences in terms of other physical features, in terms of geographic origin, and in terms of cultural expressions like food and dress besides the color of one's skin.

Simmons (2009) found that some of her African-American-identifying exchange students in the D.R. were confused for Haitians, and she remarked that her experience sometimes

included negative interactions with people who criticized her hair; but in other Dominican

communities she has also found acceptance, much like her parallel descriptions showing how her

racial identity has been sometimes challenged and sometimes accepted in the U.S. As one

Haitian-American student recently reminded me, a light-skinned Haitian may be confused for a

Dominican just as easily as a dark-skinned Dominican may be confused for a Haitian. In these

situations, skin color is sometimes a factor, but it is not a singular or overriding factor, and I

would point to the treatment of David Ortiz's image in this study's results as an example that

ought to challenge the perceived rule, rather than stand out as a perceived outlier or exception.

The Dominican–Haitian experience is particularly crucial to understanding racial prejudice and

discrimination because it is of course possible to be, for instance, a dark-skinned Dominican and

to still be respected and admired as a Dominican, and D.R. and U.S. participants' shared

consensus to trust in the dark-skinned Dominican David Ortiz—as a symbol of a hardworking

work ethic and as an honest character—ought to stand as a point of evidence in this direction.

Bernasconi (2012) suggests that racial boundaries are constantly being defined and

redefined over time and geographic space, and in the Dominican–Haitian racial boundary—

which of course exceeds the geographic boundary between their countries—it should not be

difficult to find other factors besides skin color that may explain the prejudicial views and

discriminating stereotypes that members from one national group may apply to individuals

perceived to originate from its neighbor. After all, in the U.S., Irish Americans found themselves

at no greater advantage in the 19th century, though they had lighter skin (HarperWeek, LLC,

2008), and Mexican Americans today certainly enjoy no abundance of welcome despite the fact

that many of these immigrants enjoy lighter skin. Yet as soon as one cultural group shares dark-

skinned features, we seem to jump to the conclusion that there is an overbearing skin-color

divide, and ignore other factors that may lend themselves to that divide and which may actually be within our power to remedy—such as socioeconomic gaps or differences in norms of expression.

When reporters in *The New York Times* and the *Miami Herald* report on data about prejudice and discrimination, that data is often presented as though our discrimination along racial lines is so strong that society will blindly follow predictable, racist biases. And while this may still hold true at a large, statistical scale—whether from participants answering quantitative questions about race or from correlations between available data—nonetheless, most incidents and events of prejudice and discrimination occur in a much more intimate setting; as Roth (2010) suggests in her study of racial identity for Dominican and Puerto Rican immigrants to New York, discrimination can occur intimately in interactions with police and security guards, in schools, in banks, and in human resources offices, or it can occur more distantly through speeches, advertisements, and media programming. Seen from an intimate perspective and not only at a distance through statistical reports, it may be easier to appreciate that discrimination and prejudice are still behaviors we can learn to understand, anticipate, and educate against on a personal level, and if skin color is in fact not an overriding factor in social judgments for more people outside of this study, then that would be a promising result suggesting that we can refine our understanding of human prejudice and focus our energies on the factors that have the greatest influence in determining hurtful human interactions.

The decision to conform, reject, or adapt to a culture is a decision that one can assume some degree of control over; race, or at least one's external identity according to outside observers, is something that one has much less control over. An assumption about race is that Black students in school are more prone to be criticized for wearing baggy or low-hanging jeans;

a more culturally aware statement recognizes that this dress code transcends race, just as dressing neat or "preppy" equally transcends racial boundaries. In the end, whether or not we decide to recognize certain races as "owning" parts of culture, it is still an individual's external expression of his or her culture, and not, I would suggest from my survey results, an individual's skin color, that seems to determine most strongly how one individual is judged by another individual in an intimate (i.e., not a crowd) setting.

Consider, for a recent example, talk host Wendy Williams' critique of light-skinned pop star Miley Cyrus on her talk show on Sept. 25, 2013:

> The thing is that, when "young White people" do "the Black thing," these same White people grow up to be middle-aged White people, they take off the whole Black, accessory thing and they become White again—do you understand what I'm saying? … [At Miley Cyrus] You can't pick Black up and put it down. Black is something that you are, and it is.

It is not, in this critique, Miley Cyrus's White skin that appears to be problematic so much as her respect, or disrespect, of "Black" culture. Again, we may consent to recognize a race as owning culture or we may not consent, but in any case, Williams acknowledges that Black skin is not a prerequisite for participation in the "Black" culture being described here. In her same critique, Wendy Williams allows Justin Timberlake, who is light-skinned, a place in that culture because he is perceived as having authentically built "Black" culture into his identity:

> When Justin Timberlake came out [as an R&B artist], I think that Black people gave Justin Timberlake a pass, because Justin Timberlake wasn't trying so hard, it was just the soulful way that he was, it wasn't like an affectation of silliness.

The concern that Williams appears to express is not that Miley Cyrus is too light-skinned and that therefore she should be blocked from the culture that she has been accused of appropriating; instead, Williams' concern appears to be that Miley Cyrus is using "Black" culture for her own ends, and that once the singer has achieved those ends or become tired of that culture, Cyrus will

casually put aside "Black" culture again without having ever let it become a serious part of her identity beyond an attention-grab for her performances.

My interest in separating culture from race and specifically from skin color is not meant to trivialize real instances of discrimination that actually occur, but it is meant to re-interpret those instances in a way that may be more helpful toward decreasing their occurrence. Despite the fluidity of race, we still sometimes see race as a static concept—participants responding to my initial question, "What are all the races of all the people on this planet?" listed terms that largely suggested ancestral descent, or a fixed fact determined by one's fate and appearance—but we need not define discrimination in terms of that static concept, if investigations into the relationship between discrimination and race do not confirm that discrimination is really always tied to genetic characteristics like skin color. Anecdotes shared by Simmons (2009) describing her African-American students' treatment in the D.R. are real and problematic stories, but so are the anecdotes of Simmons and her students getting along with their host culture and enjoying themselves—the fact that they are dark-skinned does not block them from finding acceptance and assimilation in the D.R., but at times their expression of their individual cultures runs into conflict against various exterior cultures they run up against during their travels—much as they might occasionally run up against hostile cultures in the U.S., or anywhere else abroad.

We tend to view racism through a "classic" lens, as was pointed out to me by various participants who immediately denied that the D.R. has racism in the classic sense.[23] Classic

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[23] I attribute my use of this term, "classic racism," to the suggestion of Eugenio García Cuervas, a Dominican poet and writer who has also resided in Puerto Rico, who told me in an interview:

> Here there is racism, definitely, but between Dominicans and Haitians, more against ethnic populations, not skin color … it is not classic racism, you can't generalize. (My translation; Cuervas, personal communication, Jan. 2014)

racism is institutionalized racism, like the racism of American slave plantations or South African

apartheid; awareness of these events in our collective history is important, but once you strip

away the laws of skin color-based, institutionalized discrimination or slavery, I think that the

discrimination or racism that remains has become more complicated and less overtly about skin

than we suggest in our passing conversations and comments on the status of discrimination in the

D.R. or the U.S., at least. Today's –ism may be a by-product of the process of immigration itself,

rather than a by-product of racialization: immigrant status, and the failure (or deliberate decision

not) to assimilate into the host culture is a source for anxiety and tension, and this tension may

exist for both the host and immigrant parties. Thus, when Anibal de Castro (2014) addresses a

U.S. audience via the *Miami Herald* to suggest that the D.R.'s judicial approach to strip

citizenship from the descendants of immigrants may "serve as a roadmap for the United States,"

the anxiety is very real. Immigrants are at a disadvantage, as they ever are, and in our efforts to

perceive a racial divide in the U.S. and abroad that does not exist beyond what we construct for

ourselves, we may lose sight of a real need to protect communities that have elected not to, or

have yet to successfully, assimilate.

The status of Haitians in the D.R. is often just this, leaving many of them in a volatile

borderland where externally perceived differences associated with their race or culture can

intensify a party's rejection from society, and the current difficulty of legal limbo under the TC

ruling is already much like other historical legal structures that were applied against dark-

skinned persons living in the U.S. In the case of Dominican–Haitian relations, I would caution

against concluding that skin color above all other factors is the key to understanding the

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*Aquí hay racismo definitivamente, pero dominicano entre haitanos más contra
poblaciones étnicas, no color de piel … no es racismo clásico, no puede generalizar.*
(original statement; Cuervas, personal communication, Jan. 2014)

relationship, but I do acknowledge that the common stereotype of Haitians as poor or backwards, much like similar stereotypes against Mexicans and other Latino groups in the U.S., may be detrimental to the integration of immigrant parties into the host culture. With the influence of national legal protections in the U.S. and international movements that raise the issue of Black civil rights in Latin America, race in terms of skin color continues to be an obstacle primarily as our obsession with superficial features keeps us distracted from the real areas that need our attention, and which we may actually be able to develop in meaningful ways: such as protecting the rights of immigrants, which can be defended without regard for skin color or race.

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Glossary of Spanish terms

Race terms

amarillo – Yellow. As in the U.S., the term is used to suggest Asian descent.

bien – well (adv.). Can be used for emphasis.

blanco – White.

blanco-blanco – Extremely, or pure, White.

blanquito – A little bit White.

bronceado – tanned (lit. bronzed), as by the sun. The only participant to use this term admitted she was a big fan of Alex Rodríguez.

casi – almost or nearly.

claro – light.

color de piel – skin color.

indio – lit. Indian (Native American). The term is used to describe an intermediate tan or brown skin tone, but is somewhat controversial because it can suggest that a person is Native American and its origin as a state-sanctioned skin color has been traced to government whitening policies during the Trujillo dictatorship. The J.C.E. has considered removing the term but, as of January 2014, most Dominicans still had *indio* as the skin color on their *cédula*.

-ito – diminutive suffix added to the ends of words; suggests less of that thing.

marrón – brown.

mestizo – mixed race, usually White and Black. Also refers to the tan or brown skin tone of a mixed-race person. (This usage may differ from other American cultures where *mestizo* is White and indigenous, but in the D.R. where it is widely viewed that indigenous races are all but nonexistent in the average person's lineage, the term is applied much more frequently to refer to this White and Black mixture.)

moreno – dark-skinned or dark-haired.

morenito – a little bit dark-skinned.

mulato – mulatto, suggesting that one parent is White and one parent is Black.

negro – Black.

negro-negro – Extremely, or pure, Black.

oscuro – dark.

raza – race.

racismo – racism.

rojo – red. It was unclear whether the participant that used this term was referring to a blush or how else she may have meant this term.

rubio – blond-haired.

trigueño – lit. wheat-colored. Usually dark-skinned, although personally I find the word's flexible usage no clearer than U.S. participants' usage of the word "olive" for a skin tone. Oh, and I do *not* recommend a Google Images search of this term—the word's flexible application seems to include uses that are not suitable for work!

Other Spanish places and terms

blanquismo or *blanqueamiento* – whitening. Any state policy that seeks to "whiten" a state's dark or mixed-race population, usually through policies meant to attract White immigrants to settle and inter-marry with the population, propaganda encouraging a White ideal image for the country, and ideological renunciation or neglect of Black and dark skin tones.

cédula – National identity card. A citizen's *cédula* carries his or her name, image, and skin color, among other pertinent information. The skin color is determined by agents at a J.C.E. office.

Junta Central Electoral (J.C.E.) – Central Electoral Board. A government agency of the Dominican Republic that organizes state elections and also prints the national identity cards, or *cédulas*, required of all registered voters.

Jurisdicción Inmobiliaria de distrito nacional – lit. Zoning Jurisdiction of the National District. The property zoning agency for Santo Domingo.

Tribunal Constitucional (TC) – Constitutional Tribunal. The Dominican Republic's national court for decisions and trials pertaining to the state constitution.

Universidad Nacional Pedro Henríquez Ureña (UNPHU) – National University of Pedro Henríquez Ureña. A private, nonprofit university in Santo Domingo.

Appendix A: Survey Instrument

English Copy (D.R. and U.S. versions):

1. What are the races of people on this planet—How many of the races can you name, right

    now?

 The following questions 2-4 are based on a series of 10 images, which were identified based

on the national origin of the depicted persons:

> ➢ [*Introducing the first series of images*:]
>
>   All of these people were born in the Dominican Republic…
>
> ➢ [*Introducing the second series*:]
>
>   All of these people were born in the United States…

[*Repeat questions 2-4 each time a new image is presented*: ×**10 total**]

2. Do you recognize this person? [*If yes*:] Who is it?

3. What is the race of this person? [If the participant gives only one answer, add a follow-up

    question:] Only (the given race) ? [E.g. "Only white?"]

4. What would you say about this person's background…

    - Is this person from a rich family or a poor family?

    - Is this person hardworking or lazy?

    - Did they receive a high or low level of education?

    - Is this person honest or dishonest?

    - Does this person make a high or low income?

5. What physical characteristics in the images helped you to answer these questions?

[*The following questions come after all of the 10 images have been identified.*]

6. May I ask, how does your skin color appear on your *cédula*? (D.R.) / how did you report

    your race to the U.S. Census? (U.S.) (If the participant could not recall this info, I asked,

    "How would you report your skin color/race on a government form?")

- Do you agree that this is your skin color? (D.R.) / … that this is your race? (U.S.)

- How do you know this is your skin color / race? (Asked for the skin color or race that

    the participant preferred after the previous question)

Demographic questions:

Observation-based (reported by me, based on participant's appearance):

- Gender (male or female)

- Age (approximate)

- Skin color (approximate)

Interview-based (reported by participant):

- Was the participant raised in the U.S.? If not, how long has the participant been a resident

    in the U.S.?

- Has the participant been to any other country besides the D.R. (or U.S. for participants in

    New York) for longer than two weeks? Which countries and for how long in each

    country?

Spanish Copy (D.R. and U.S. versions):

1. ¿Cuáles son las razas de la gente en este planeta—cuántas de las razas puede nombrar Usted, en este momento?

Las próximas preguntas 2-4 son basados en la serie de 10 imágenes, que estaban identificados por el origen nacional de las personas en las imágenes:

> ➤ [*Antes de la primera serie de imagenes:*]
>
> Toda la gente que siguen nacieron en la República Dominicana…
>
> ➤ [*Antes de la segunda serie:*]
>
> Toda la gente que siguen nacieron en los Estados Unidos…

[*Repita las preguntas 2-4 cada vez que una nueva imagen es presentada*: ×10 total]

2. ¿Reconoce Usted esta persona [*Si el participante dice que sí:*] ¿Quién es?

3. ¿Cuál es la raza de la persona? [*Si el participante da sólo una respuesta, siga con la pregunta:*] ¿Sólo <u>(la raza que ya le dió)</u> ? [*Por ejemplo:* "¿Sólo blanco?"]

4. ¿Qué me diría Ud. de esta persona…?

    -   [*Primero:*] ¿Parece que esta persona viene de buena familia?

    -   ¿Es esta persona trabajador(a) o perezoso(a)?

    -   ¿Qué nivel de educación cree usted que tiene esta persona? ?

    -   ¿Es esta persona honesto?

    -   ¿Gana esta persona mucho o poco dinero ?

5. Para las imágenes, ¿cuáles aspectos físicos le ayudan a identificar el color de piel de la persona? (D.R.) / …a identificar las cualidades de la persona? (U.S.)

[*Las preguntas que siguen vienen después de que las 10 imágenes estuvieron identificandas.*]

6. Si la pregunta no le molesta, ¿cuál color de piel aparece en su cédula? (D.R.) / …¿cuál raza

    puso en el censo? (U.S.)

    - ¿Está de acuerdo que esa es su color de piel? (D.R.) / … que esa es su raza? (U.S.)

    - ¿Y cómo sabe usted que esa es su color de piel / raza? (Preguntado para el color de

      piel o la raza que el participante preferió para su identidad en la pregunta antes)

Informaciónes demográficas de los participantes:

Observados (notado por mí):

    - El sexo (masculino o femenino)

    - La edad (aproximada)

    - Color de piel observado por apariencia (aproximada)

Información basada en la entrevista y otras preguntas para el participante:

    - ¿Creció el participante en la R.D.? ¿Cuántos años ha vivido el participante en éste país?

    - ¿Ha pasado el participante algún tiempo en otros países además de la R.D.? ¿Cuáles son

      los países y cuántos años pasó el participante allá?
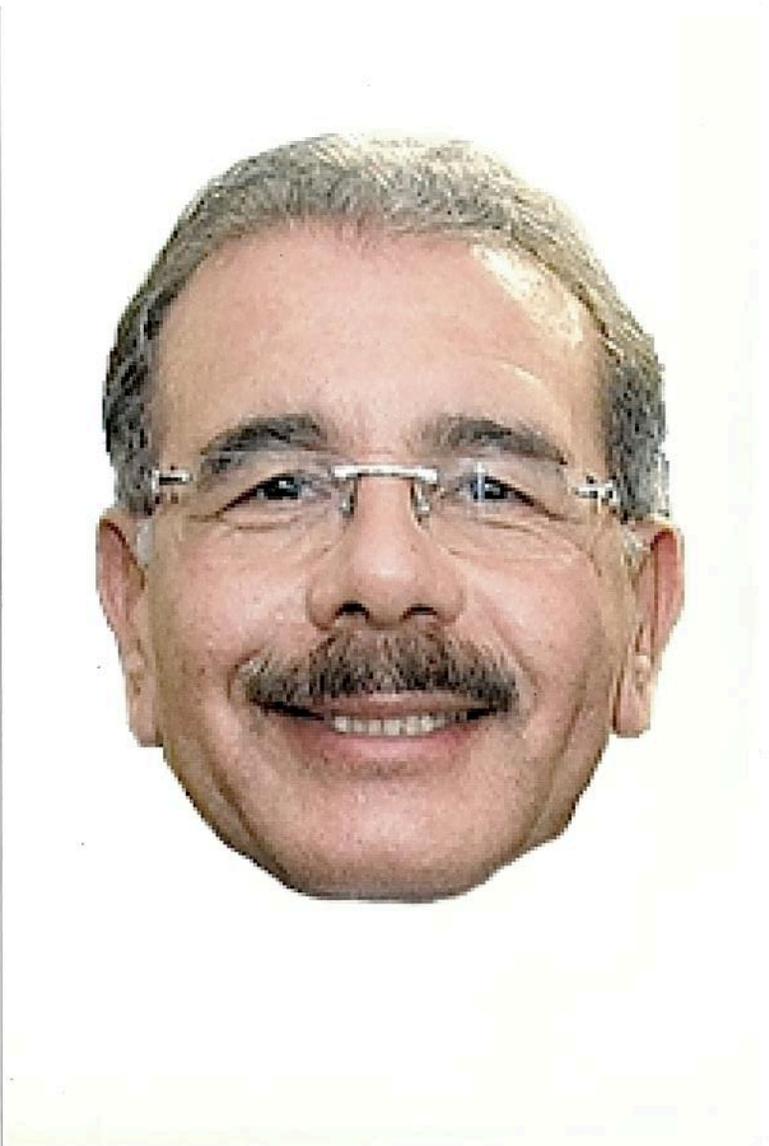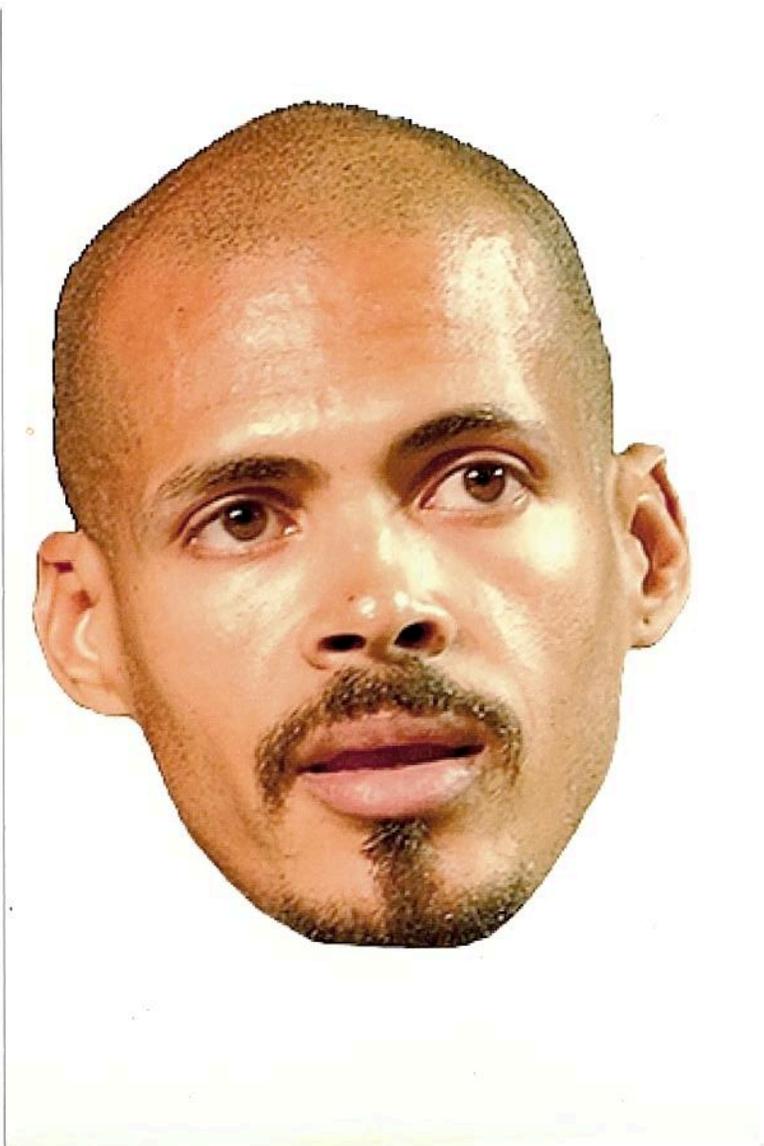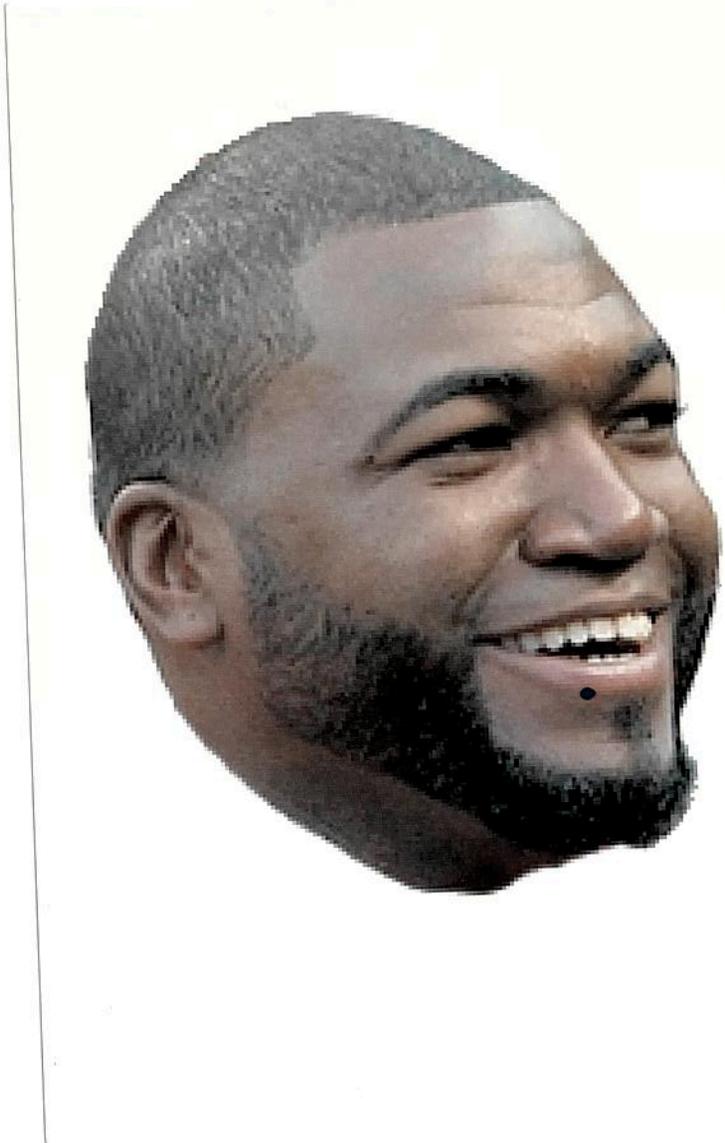
Image 5

Image 6

Image 7

Image 8

Image 10

Credits for the images in Appendix B

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edited by me, to remove all elements from the image except the depicted person's head from the

chin up.

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	Color term	Responses
Black	Negro	1
Dark	moreno	1
Mixture	mulato	7
	mestizo	4
"Indio"	Indio	8
	Indio claro	3
White	Blanco	10
	Blanco-blanco	1
Other colors	Amarillo	1
Origin	latino	1
	SUM	37

Appendix C: All D.R. and U.S. survey responses by image

D.R. <u>Imagen 1: Danilo Medina</u>

Note: The responses to the left indicate how the participants responded to the question, "What is the skin color of this person?" When more than one participant responded with the same response, or when one participant offered more than one response, I placed the two or more responses all in the data table.

The responses below show how the participants responded to the questions in the first row: they include the number of each type of response and the percentage.

¿Estuvo reconocido por el participante? % #	¿Viene de una buena familia? % #	¿Es trabajador? % #	¿Qué nivel de educación tiene él? % #	¿Es honesto? % #	¿Gana mucho dinero? % #
100% 29/29 Sí	0% 0 no resp.*	0% 0 no resp.	0% 0 no resp.	0% 0 no resp.	7% 2 no resp.
	83% 24 buena	97% 28 trabajador	3% 1 máxima	79% 23 honesto	3% 1 demasiado
	3% 1 media	3% 1 más o menos	10% 3 superior	7% 2 hasta ahora	3% 1 mucho bastante
	7% 2 humilde		3% 1 post-grado	3% 1 más o menos	62% 18 mucho
	3% 1 pobre		28% 8 alto	3% 1 es político	3% 1 bien
	3% 1 mal		3% 1 ingeniero químico	7% 2 deshonesto	3% 1 hay otros quien gana más
			3% 1 ingeniero, economista, y abogado		3% 1 medio
			3% 1 licensiado		3% 1 normal
			24% 7 universidad		3% 1 poco para lo que hace
			3% 1 bien preparado		3% 1 no hay tanto
			7% 2 medio-alto		3% 1 poco
			10% 3 bajo		

*no respuesta/no response

	Color term	Responses
Black	Negro	5
Dark	moreno	2
	morenito	1
Mixture	mulato	5
	mestizo	4
"Indio"	Indio	16
White	Blanco	1
Other colors	Amarillo	3
Origin	latino	1
	SUM	38

¿Estuvo reconocido por el participante?			¿Viene de una buena familia?			¿Es trabajador?			¿Qué nivel de educación tiene él?			¿Es honesto?			¿Gana mucho dinero?		
%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#	
93%	27/29	Sí	14%	4	no resp.	7%	2	no resp.	7%	2	no resp.	14%	4	no resp.	7%	2	no resp.
			76%	22	buena	93%	27	trabajador	7%	2	alto	86%	25	honesto	62%	18	mucho
			3%	1	media				3%	1	universidad U.S.				3%	1	mucho para lo que hace
			3%	1	pobre				17%	5	universidad				3%	1	bien
			3%	1	mal				3%	1	profesional				3%	1	ganó mucho
									7%	2	medio-alto				7%	2	más o menos
									31%	9	medio				3%	1	medio
									3%	1	normal				3%	1	normal
									3%	1	secundario/ bachillero				7%	2	poco
									3%	1	alguno						
									3%	1	tiene educación						
									7%	2	bajo						
									3%	1	mal						

	Color term	Responses
Black	Negro	6
	Negro claro	1
Dark	moreno	4
Mixture	mulato	4
	mestizo	1
"Indio"	Indio oscuro	1
	Indio	13
White	Blanco	2
Other colors	trigueño	1
	marrón	1
Origin	latino	2
	SUM	36

¿Estuvo reconocido por el participante?	¿Viene de una buena familia?	¿Es trabajador?	¿Qué nivel de educación tiene ella?	¿Es honesto?	¿Gana mucho dinero?
% #	% #	% #	% #	% #	% #
7% 2/29 Sí	52% 15 no resp.	45% 13 no resp.	34% 10 no resp.	41% 12 no resp.	38% 11 no resp.
	41% 12 buena	55% 16 trabajador	10% 3 alto	55% 16 honesto	52% 15 mucho
	3% 1 media		3% 1 licensiado/diplomática	3% 1 deshonesto	7% 2 normal
	3% 1 mal		17% 5 universidad		3% 1 medio
			3% 1 estudiando		
			14% 4 medio		
			3% 1 promedio		
			3% 1 alguno		
			10% 3 bajo		

	Color term	Responses
Black	Negro-Negro	1
	Negro oscuro	2
	Negro	17
	"Negrocito"	1
Dark	bien moreno	1
	moreno	7
Mixture	mulato	1
"Indio"	Indio	1
Origin	latino	1
	africano	1
	SUM	33

¿Estuvo reconocido por el participante?			¿Viene de una buena familia?			¿Es trabajador?			¿Qué nivel de educación tiene él?			¿Es honesto?			¿Gana mucho dinero?		
%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#	
96%	27/28	Sí	4%	1	no resp.	0%	0	no resp.	4%	1	no resp.	4%	1	no resp.	0%	0	no resp.
			57%	16	buena	96%	27	trabajador	7%	2	alto	89%	25	honesto	7%	2	muchísimo
			4%	1	media	4%	1	perezoso	4%	1	mucho	4%	1	más o menos	82%	23	mucho
			4%	1	normal				32%	9	medio	4%	1	deshonesto	4%	1	más o menos
			4%	1	humilde				4%	1	promedio				7%	2	medio
			7%	2	pobre				7%	2	medio-bajo						
			21%	6	mal				11%	3	secundario/ bachillero						
									4%	1	tiene educación						
									14%	4	primaria						
									14%	4	bajo						

	Color term	Responses
Black	Negro	3
Dark	moreno	1
Mixture	mulato	7
	mestizo	4
"Indio"	Indio oscuro	1
	Indio	11
	Indio claro	2
White	Blanco	4
Other colors	Amarillo	2
Origin	latino	1
	SUM	36

¿Estuvo reconocido por el participante?			¿Viene de una buena familia?			¿Es trabajador?			¿Qué nivel de educación tiene él?			¿Es honesto?			¿Gana mucho dinero?		
%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#	
43%	12/28	Sí	18%	5	no resp.	14%	4	no resp.	21%	6	no resp.	25%	7	no resp.	21%	6	no resp.
			68%	19	buena	86%	24	trabajador	11%	3	alto	61%	17	honesto	50%	14	mucho
			7%	2	media				4%	1	liberal educación	14%	4	deshonesto	7%	2	ganó mucho antes
			4%	1	pobre				4%	1	licensiado				4%	1	más o menos
			4%	1	mal				14%	4	universidad				4%	1	normal
									4%	1	varias profesiones				7%	2	poco
									4%	1	U.S. educación				4%	1	poquito
									18%	5	medio				4%	1	no mucho
									7%	2	secundario/ bachillero						
									4%	1	no mucho						
									4%	1	primaria						
									7%	2	bajo						

	Color term	Responses
Dark	moreno	1
	morenito	3
Mixture	mulato	3
	mestizo	3
"Indio"	Indio	6
	Indio claro	3
Light	claro	1
White	Blanquito	1
	Blanco	13
Other colors	trigueño	1
	Amarillo	1
Origin	dominicano	1
	americano	1
	SUM	38

¿Estuvo reconocido por el participante?			¿Viene de una buena familia?			¿Es trabajador?			¿Qué nivel de educación tiene ella?			¿Es honesto?			¿Gana mucho dinero?		
%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#	
54%	15/28	Sí	25%	7	no resp.	21%	6	no resp.	14%	4	no resp.	32%	9	no resp.	18%	5	no resp.
			61%	17	buena	79%	22	trabajador	21%	6	alto	64%	18	honesto	64%	18	mucho
			4%	1	pobre				18%	5	universidad	4%	1	deshonesto	4%	1	más o menos
			11%	3	mal				4%	1	bien preparada				4%	1	ni mucho ni poco
									4%	1	medio-alto				4%	1	depende
									18%	5	medio				7%	2	poco
									4%	1	secundario/ bachillero						
									18%	5	bajo						

	Color term	Responses
Black	Negro	6
	casi Negro	1
Dark	moreno	8
Mixture	mulato	5
	mestizo	2
"Indio"	Indio	10
	Indio claro	2
	Indiocito	1
Other colors	trigueño	1
	marrón	1
Origin	americano	1
	SUM	38

¿Estuvo reconocido por el participante?			¿Viene de una buena familia?			¿Es trabajador?			¿Qué nivel de educación tiene ella?			¿Es honesto?			¿Gana mucho dinero?		
%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#	
75%	21/28	Sí	11%	3	no resp.	0%	0	no resp.	0%	0	no resp.	11%	3	no resp.	0%	0	no resp.
			82%	23	buena	96%	27	trabajador	4%	1	superior	86%	24	honesto	93%	26	mucho
			4%	1	media	4%	1	perezoso	39%	11	alto	4%	1	deshonesto	4%	1	medio
			4%	1	mal				4%	1	licensiado/ingeniero				4%	1	poco
									21%	6	universidad						
									4%	1	bien preparada						
									4%	1	medio-alto						
									11%	3	medio						
									14%	4	bajo						

	Color term	Responses
Black	Negro-Negro	3
	Negro	20
Dark	moreno	6
Other colors	rojo	1
Origin	americano	1
	SUM	31

¿Estuvo reconocido por el participante?			¿Viene de una buena familia?			¿Es trabajador?			¿Qué nivel de educación tiene él?			¿Es honesto?			¿Gana mucho dinero?		
%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#	
67%	18/27	Sí	19%	5	no resp.	0%	0	no resp.	11%	3	no resp.	19%	5	no resp.	0%	0	no resp.
			56%	15	buena	93%	25	trabajador	26%	7	alto	81%	22	honesto	86%	24	mucho
			4%	1	medio	4%	1	un poco perezoso	4%	1	liberal universidad				4%	1	bien
			4%	1	humilde	4%	1	perezoso	11%	3	universidad				7%	2	poco
			4%	1	pobre				7%	2	profesional						
			15%	4	mal				4%	1	buena educación						
									15%	4	medio						
									4%	1	preparado						
									4%	1	secundario/bachillero						
									4%	1	primaria						
									7%	2	bajo						
									4%	1	no tiene educación						

	Color term	Responses
Black	Negro	16
	Negro claro	1
Dark	oscuro	1
	moreno	4
	moreno claro	1
	morenito	1
Mixture	mulato	3
	mestizo	5
"Indio"	Indio	4
	Indio claro	1
Other colors	Amarillo	1
Origin	americano	1
	SUM	39

¿Estuvo reconocido por el participante?			¿Viene de una buena familia?			¿Es trabajador?			¿Qué nivel de educación tiene él?			¿Es honesto?			¿Gana mucho dinero?		
%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#	
100%	27/27	Sí	4%	1	no resp.	0%	0	no resp.	0%	0	no resp.	15%	4	no resp.	0%	0	no resp.
			85%	23	buena	100%	27	trabajador	4%	1	muy preparado	78%	21	honesto	4%	1	muchísimo
			4%	1	humilde				48%	13	alto	4%	1	es político	89%	24	mucho
			4%	1	pobre				4%	1	licensiado/ ingeniero	4%	1	deshonesto	4%	1	bien
			4%	1	mal				15%	4	universidad				4%	1	poco para lo que hace
									15%	4	profesional						
									4%	1	varias profesiones						
									4%	1	medio-alto						
									7%	2	bajo						

D.R. <u>Imagen 10: Alex Rodríguez</u>

	Color term	Responses
Mixture	mulato	4
	mestizo	1
"Indio"	Indio	3
	Indio claro	1
Tan	bronceado	1
Light	rubio	1
White	Blanco	22
Other colors	Amarillo	3
Origin	latino	1
	americano	1
	SUM	38

¿Estuvo reconocido por el participante?			¿Viene de una buena familia?			¿Es trabajador?			¿Qué nivel de educación tiene él?			¿Es honesto?			¿Gana mucho dinero?		
%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#	
96%	26/27	Sí	7%	2	no resp.	0%	0	no resp.	7%	2	no resp.	19%	5	no resp.	0%	0	no resp.
			67%	18	buena	96%	26	trabajador	26%	7	alto	59%	16	honesto	4%	1	demasiado
			4%	1	típica dominicana	4%	1	perezoso	7%	2	universidad	4%	1	ambos	4%	1	muchísimo
			4%	1	normal				11%	3	profesional	19%	5	deshonesto	4%	1	mucho bastante
			4%	1	más o menos				4%	1	buen nivel				85%	23	mucho
			4%	1	humilde				4%	1	medio-alto				4%	1	normal
			11%	3	mal				22%	6	medio						
									4%	1	normal						
									7%	2	secundario/ bachillero						
									4%	1	una educación						
									4%	1	bajo						

Color term		Responses
Mixture	mixed	2
Tan	tan	2
	not too tan, not too pale	1
Light	light-skinned	5
White	dark-white	1
	white-ish	1
Other	White	13
colors	olive	1
Origin	normal	1
	Latin American	1

U.S. <u>Image 1: Danilo Medina</u>

Note: The responses to the left indicate how the participants responded to the question, "What is the skin color of this person?" When more than one participant responded with the same response, or when one participant offered more than one response, I placed the two or more responses all in the data table.

The responses below show how the participants responded to the questions in the first row: they include the number of each type of response and the percentage.

Was he recognized by the participant? % #	Does he come from a good family? % #	Is he hardworking? % #	What level of education does he have? % #	Is he honest? % #	Does he make a lot of money? % #
0% 0/28 Yes	18% 5 no resp.*	14% 4 no resp.	11% 3 no resp.	21% 6 no resp.	18% 5 no resp.
	4% 1 affluent	82% 23 hardworking	36% 10 high	4% 1 definitely honest	14% 4 a lot
	68% 19 good	4% 1 not like a construction worker—he has an office job	11% 3 college	50% 14 honest	14% 4 medium
	4% 1 middle-class		4% 1 trade school	4% 1 more or less	4% 1 middle-class
	4% 1 decent		14% 4 middle	7% 2 average	4% 1 middle-low
	4% 1 bad		4% 1 average	11% 3 dishonest	7% 2 reasonable
			4% 1 educated	4% 1 sneaky	4% 1 decent
			4% 1 high school/G.E.D.		4% 1 enough
			14% 4 low		32% 9 not a lot

*no response/no respuesta

	Color term	Responses
Black	Black	8
Brown	brown	3
	light golden-brown	1
	light brown	1
Mixture	mixed	1
	bi-racial	1
Tan	tan	5
	light tan	1
Light-skinned	light-skinned	4
White	dark-white	1

Other colors	macchiato	1
Origin	African	1
	African-American	2
	Latin American	1
	latino	2
	Hispanic	2
	Spanish	1
	Caucasian	1
	Asian	1
	SUM	38

(continued at right)

Was he recognized by the participant?			Does he come from a good family?			Is he hardworking?			What level of education does he have?			Is he honest?			Does he make a lot of money?		
%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#	
4%	1/28	Yes	14%	4	no resp.	14%	4	no resp.	14%	4	no resp.	14%	4	no resp.	11%	3	no resp.
			46%	13	good	61%	17	hardworking	11%	3	high	50%	14	honest	18%	5	a lot
			4%	1	middle-class	4%	1	enough to make a living	4%	1	well-educ.	4%	1	average	4%	1	good living
			7%	2	less well-off	4%	1	50/50	4%	1	medium-hi	32%	9	dishonest	4%	1	middle-class
			4%	1	not a great neighborhood	18%	5	lazy	4%	1	associate's				11%	3	medium
			25%	7	bad				4%	1	college				4%	1	middle-low
									11%	3	middle				4%	1	lower middle-class
									4%	1	average				4%	1	average
									4%	1	50/50				4%	1	some
									7%	2	high school/G.E.D.				39%	11	not a lot
									4%	1	some education						
									4%	1	not high						
									29%	8	low						

	Color term	Responses
Black	Black	4
Brown	brown	2
	light brown	4
Mixture	mixed	3
	medium	1
Tan	tan	4
Other colors		
	Yellow	1
	caramel	1
	vanilla latte	1
Origin	African-American	2
	Latin American	1
	latino	5
	Hispanic	2
	Spanish	2
	SUM	33

Was she recognized by the participant?			Does she come from a good family?			Is she hardworking?			What level of education does she have?			Is she honest?			Does she make a lot of money?		
%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#	
7%	2/28	Yes	14%	4	no resp.	14%	4	no resp.	11%	3	no resp.	14%	4	no resp.	7%	2	no resp.
			75%	21	good	75%	21	hardworking	32%	9	high	61%	17	honest	4%	1	upper-class
			4%	1	pretty nice	4%	1	she has a job, got her life together	14%	4	middle	4%	1	mostly	64%	18	a lot
			4%	1	low-status	7%	2	lazy	11%	3	college	4%	1	middle	4%	1	successful
			4%	1	poor				4%	1	average	18%	5	dishonest	4%	1	middle-high
									4%	1	decent				7%	2	good living
									4%	1	high school/G.E.D.				4%	1	average
									4%	1	some education				7%	2	not a lot
									4%	1	not high						
									14%	4	low						

	Color term	Responses
Black	Black	13
Dark	darker	1
	dark	6
	medium-dark	1
Brown	brown	1
Other colors	mocha	1
Origin	African	1
	African-American	4
	Dominican	1
	Hispanic	3
	Pacific Islander	1
	SUM	33

Was he recognized by the participant?			Does he come from a good family?			Is he hardworking?			What level of education does he have?			Is he honest?			Does he make a lot of money?		
%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#	
32%	9/28	Yes	18%	5	no resp.	4%	1	no resp.	7%	2	no resp.	11%	3	no resp.	7%	2	no resp.
			57%	16	good	86%	24	hardworking	11%	3	high	82%	23	honest	4%	1	tons
			4%	1	pretty good	7%	2	yes for what he does	4%	1	university	7%	2	dishonest	68%	19	a lot
			4%	1	medium	4%	1	he's got a job	14%	4	college				4%	1	nice for his profession
			4%	1	not ideal				14%	4	middle				4%	1	middle
			14%	4	bad				4%	1	average				4%	1	reasonable
									4%	1	not formal				4%	1	average
									4%	1	baseball acad.				7%	2	not a lot
									4%	1	high school/G.E.D.						
									4%	1	some education						
									32%	9	low						

	Color term	Responses
Black	Black	1
Brown	light brown	1
Mixture	mixed	1
	multi-racial	1
Tan	darker tan	1
	tan	6
	not too tan, not too pale	1
Light	light with a little dark	1
	light-skinned	1
White	White	1

(continued at right)

Other colors	Yellow	1
	caramel latte	1
Origin	Puerto Rican	1
	Latin American	1
	latino	4
	Hispanic	5
	Spanish	1
	SUM	29

Was he recognized by the participant?			Does he come from a good family?			Is he hardworking?			What level of education does he have?			Is he honest?			Does he make a lot of money?		
%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#	
0%	0/28	Yes	11%	3	no resp.	7%	2	no resp.	11%	3	no resp.	11%	3	no resp.	14%	4	no resp.
			50%	14	good	86%	24	hardworking	14%	4	high	43%	12	honest	43%	12	a lot
			4%	1	pretty good	7%	2	lazy	4%	1	medium-high	4%	1	a little honest	43%	12	not a lot
			4%	1	worse-off				4%	1	middle	7%	2	middle			
			32%	9	bad				7%	2	average	36%	10	dishonest			
									4%	1	not too high						
									14%	4	high school/G.E.D.						
									7%	2	some education						
									4%	1	not high						
									32%	9	low						

	Color term	Responses
Black	Black	1
Dark	dark	1
Brown	brown	2
	light brown	2
Mixture	mixed	2
Tan	tan	6
Light	light-skinned	2
White	dark-white	1
	White	3

(continued at right)

Other colors	olive	2
	Yellow	1
	caramel	1
	caramel latte	1
Origin	Latin American	1
	latino	2
	Hispanic	5
	Spanish	2
	SUM	35

Was she recognized by the participant?			Does she come from a good family?			Is she hardworking?			What level of education does she have?			Is she honest?			Does she make a lot of money?		
%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#	
43%	12/28	Yes	18%	5	no resp.	11%	3	no resp.	11%	3	no resp.	11%	3	no resp.	11%	3	no resp.
			71%	20	good	82%	23	hardworking	25%	7	high	64%	18	honest	68%	19	a lot
			11%	3	bad	4%	1	average	18%	5	middle	4%	1	pretty honest	4%	1	middle
						4%	1	lazy	4%	1	college	4%	1	middle	4%	1	middle-low
									4%	1	working thru college	14%	4	dishonest	4%	1	enough
									4%	1	average	4%	1	sneaky	11%	3	not a lot
									7%	2	high school/G.E.D.						
									4%	1	some education						
									4%	1	not high						
									21%	6	low						

	Color term	Responses
Black	Black	7
	black-ish	1
Brown	brown	2
	golden brown	1
	light brown	2
	very light brown	1
Mixture	mixed	3
	bi-racial	1
Tan	tan	2
Light	light-skinned	4
White	White	3

(continued at right)

Other colors	caramel latte	1
Origin	African	1
	African-American	4
	Dominican	1
	Spanish	1
	Caucasian	1
	SUM	36

Was she recognized by the participant?			Does she come from a good family?			Is she hardworking?			What level of education does she have?			Is she honest?			Does she make a lot of money?		
%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#	
50%	14/28	Yes	14%	4	no resp.	11%	3	no resp.	11%	3	no resp.	11%	3	no resp.	4%	1	no resp.
			64%	18	good	79%	22	hardworking	43%	12	high	68%	19	honest	89%	25	a lot
			4%	1	pretty good	4%	1	average	14%	4	middle	4%	1	middle	4%	1	above average
			4%	1	medium	7%	2	lazy	4%	1	bachelor's	4%	1	honest, pretending to be shady	4%	1	enough
			14%	4	bad				7%	2	college	14%	4	dishonest			
									7%	2	high school/G.E.D.						
									4%	1	some education						
									11%	3	low						

	Color term	Responses
Black	Black	14
Dark	dark	7
Brown	dark brown	1
	brown	1
Other colors	espresso	1
Origin	African-American	7
	SUM	31

Was he recognized by the participant?			Does he come from a good family?			Is he hardworking?			What level of education does he have?			Is he honest?			Does he make a lot of money?		
%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#	
79%	22/28	Yes	11%	3	no resp.	0%	0	no resp.	7%	2	no resp.	7%	2	no resp.	4%	1	no resp.
			68%	19	good	4%	1	absolutely	4%	1	very high	64%	18	honest	4%	1	definitely a lot
				1	medium	4%	1	very	29%	8	high	4%	1	pretty H	82%	23	a lot
				1	less well-off	75%	21	hardworking	4%	1	kind of high	4%	1	somewhat H	4%	1	he did
				4	bad	11%	3	yes, when he was playing	11%	3	middle	4%	1	both	4%	1	good living
						4%	1	middle-ground	14%	4	college	18%	5	dishonest	4%	1	medium
						4%	1	lazy	4%	1	average						
									4%	1	middle-low						
									4%	1	some education						
									7%	2	high school/G.E.D.						
									14%	4	lower						

	Color term	Responses
Black	Black	8
Brown	brown	1
	light brown	4
	very light brown	1
Mixture	mixed	4
Tan	tan	2
Light	light-skinned	4
White	White	6
Other colors	olive	1
	mocha	1
Origin	African	1
	African-American	5
	Caucasian	3
	SUM	41

Was he recognized by the participant?			Does he come from a good family?			Is he hardworking?			What level of education does he have?			Is he honest?			Does he make a lot of money?		
%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#	
100%	28/28	Y	4%	1	no resp.	0%	0	no resp.	0%	0	no resp.	4%	1	no resp.	7%	2	no resp.
			64%	18	good	7%	2	without question	7%	2	Ph.D.	57%	16	honest	79%	22	a lot
			4%	1	good-ish	86%	24	hardworking	4%	2	master's	4%	1	somewhat	4%	1	upper middle-class
			4%	1	lower-medium, hardworking	4%	1	right now, yes	71%	1	very high	7%	2	both	4%	1	more than most people
			4%	1	mother struggled	4%	1	lazy	4%	20	high	4%	1	middle	4%	1	middle
			4%	1	bad family, good grandparents				4%	1	university	4%	1	politician	4%	1	reasonable
			14%	4	bad				4%	1	college	21%	6	dishonest			
			4%	1	tumultuous				0%	1	lower						

	Color term	Responses
Brown	brown	2
	light brown	1
	very light brown	1
Mixture	mixed	3
Tan	tan	5
	tan-ish	1
Light	light-skinned	4
White	White	5
Other colors	olive	1
	vanilla latte	1
Origin	African	1
	latino	3
	Hispanic	6
	Italian	1
	Caucasian	1
	SUM	36

Was he recognized by the participant?			Does he come from a good family?			Is he hardworking?			What level of education does he have?			Is he honest?			Does he make a lot of money?		
%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#		%	#	
54%	15/28	Yes	18%	5	no resp.	4%	1	no resp.	7%	2	no resp.	11%	3	no resp.	7%	2	no resp.
			68%	19	good	68%	19	hardworking	14%	4	high	21%	6	honest	4%	1	absurd
			4%	1	slightly good	4%	1	not anymore	4%	1	well-educated	4%	1	pretty honest	71%	20	a lot
			4%	1	kind of bad	25%	7	lazy	4%	1	business degree	4%	1	somewhat honest	4%	1	middle-class
			7%	2	bad				4%	1	good education	61%	17	dishonest	4%	1	decent
									14%	4	middle				11%	3	not a lot
									7%	2	college						
									4%	1	middle-low						
									4%	1	not high						
									11%	3	hi school/G.E.D.						
									29%	8	low						