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인류학석사학위논문

After Sugar Town :

Landscape, Memory and Nostalgia
in Reshaping Locality in Cuba

쿠바 제당촌의 형성과 재편

2012년 8월

서울대학교 대학원

인류학과 인류학 전공

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Abstract

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'Locality' is not merely a static geographical boundary, but more importantly a mutable composite of material structures and social features of a local community along with the shared feelings about the community held by its members. The locality of a community is influenced and shaped by numerous external factors (world political economy, national policy, globalization and etc.). By exploring both the external factors of locality and the inner views and interpretations of the people in a Cuban town, this study attempts to examine how a locality is socially and historically formed and transformed. In so doing, I closely attend to the perspective of the community members.

The research was carried out in a former sugar mill town in Cuba, named Camilo Cienfuego (Hershey). Like many other sugar mill towns across Cuba, the town has been spatialized by major Cuban modern historical events since its foundation in 1916: the American intervention into the Cuban economy in the early 20th century; the Cuban Revolution in 1959; the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991; and finally, the resultant economy of shortage in the post-Soviet era. In the face of the national sugar agro-industry restructuring program in 2002, the nature of the town's locality was brought into question among its people.

The cultural process of making claims on local identity is observed and described as follows. Firstly, the landscape from the pre-revolutionary era gives people material evidence to support their related memories regarding the landscape. By narrating their memories of the past in comparison to the present conditions of the town, they show a deep sense of attachment to the yester-years of the town. Secondly, selective naming of places is also notable among the townspeople. The townspeople use the old, Hershey era names of places rather than the new ones

following the revolution, which requires prerequisite knowledge in the local history. Lastly, they see themselves as "family-oriented," "cultured," and "gossipy," which they themselves attribute to the original characteristics of the town in the pre-revolutionary era. These cultural practices are strongly associated with the pre-revolutionary period and become the main source from which to valorize their collectivity as a former sugar town.

This active involvement in the past is related to: 1) a crisis in the communal economic structure in the current situation of the town and 2) the fact that the town's pre-revolutionary era characteristics represent the social desire of the people in the present time. The fact that the pre-revolutionary era represented "material abundance" and the "connection to the world" reflects the desire of the townspeople in their daily struggles to survive under the constant material shortage and sense of isolation —regionally and internationally— from the outside world.

[Key words: locality, local identity, nostalgia, mnemonic landscape, naming practices, production of local image, collective memories, economic transition, sugar town, post-Soviet Cuba, *azucarero*, *batey*, *central*]

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List of Spanish Terms and Abbreviations

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| <i>Azucarero</i> | Workers in the Sugar Mill |
| <i>Barracon</i> | Barracks, Accommodation for the Seasonal Workers |
| <i>Bodega</i> | Ration Store |
| <i>Libreta</i> | Ration Booklet |
| <i>Macheteros</i> | Cane Cutters in the Cane Fields |
| <i>Tiempo Muerto</i> | Out of the Harvest and Milling Season |
| <i>Trabajo Particular</i> | Secondary Job or Freelancing Job |
| <i>Zafra</i> | Cane Harvest and Milling Season |
| COMECON | Council for Mutual Economic Assistance |
| FMC | Federation of Cuban Women |
| MINAZ | Ministry of Sugar of Cuba |
| MINAG | Ministry of Agriculture of Cuba |
| UBPC | Basic Units for Cooperative Production |

1. Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

“There was a young guy in the neighborhood who used to come to our house to use the internet. One night, he came with one of his friends and asked us if they could use the internet for a few minutes... I said yes, because it would just be only a few minutes. A couple of days later, we heard that he was arrested by the marine police during his escape to Miami. We later saw them passed to their parents by the police. He was soaked and dirty... And we realized that, what they wanted to check with our internet was if the weather would be good enough for them to cross the sea between Cuba and Miami...” (a foreign student in Havana, Cuba / Jan 25th, 2011)

I was told this story by a foreigner who was a resident as a student in Havana. This is a simple episode that can be summarized as follows: a boy left home and came back. Attempts to escape Cuba by crossing the ocean toward the territory of the U.S.A. are common and still commonly happen in Cuban society. That this continues to happen reveals many things about the reality people of Cuba are facing. In particular, the limited mobility in Cuban society made me reflect about the relationship between a territory and the people which inhabit it. Considering the political economic background which caused Cuban society to appear at odds with the ideals of the contemporary world scene — combined with the increasing mobility of people — a question can be raised about the process of the established relationship between a territory and its inhabitants under certain social circumstances. The example above helps to illustrate the importance of socio-economic circumstances when it comes to understanding the relationship between a territory and its people. Further, if the social structure confines the mobility of the people, how people make sense of being somewhere and how an individual projects the 'self' into their physical surroundings could be the specific questions to be raised.

To explore this cultural process, this study aims to focus on the case of a former sugar town, named 'Camilo Cienfuego', which was installed with a sugar mill by an American investor. I studied the process of shaping the town in the historical perspective and the changes that the town has experienced during different political economic phases in Cuba in the 20th century.

In 2002, Cuba made one of its most important economic decisions. It was the sugar agro-industry restructuring program which was named after one of Cuban's leading sugar experts, Alvaro Reynoso. The main points of the program were to downsize the current sugar agro-industry and to alter the sugar cane fields and labor into a more domestic consumption oriented section such as agriculture, energy and etc. Several studies have been made concerning the history and situation regarding the Cuban sugar agro-industry which outlined the process of the restructuring program and the economic consequences of the program. In those studies, important implications and processes were examined, such as the obvious fall of the Cuban sugar agro-industry and the overall sketch of relocating the displaced sugar workers from the sugar industry in the perspective of economy and state policy. (Alvarez 2004, Pollit 2002, 2004, Peters 2003)

This study is not concerned with the process of the restructuring program and its relation to the global political economy. Rather, it focuses on the locality of Camilo Cienfuego, which was once a sugar town, and the consequences of the stated restructuring program on this particular community. Instead of directly arguing for or against this authoritative action and the reaction of the sugar workers, I examined the historical context and spatial ordering of the former sugar town which, I believe, can reveal the complexity of the transformation it faced. This problem will be looked upon by applying the concept of 'locality.' In this conceptual frame, by tracing the origin and oral history of the town, the historical context of the locality will be presented. The process of ordering the spatial installations by the dominant entity is understood as an external force which lays the foundation and also transforms the frame of the locality. Through the dynamics of the internal view of the local history and the external forces which affected it, the aim of the study is to demonstrate what constituted the locality in

the past, and how the transformations in global political economy contributed to changing the conception of the community. Finally what maintains the sense of locality in the present for the members of the community will be examined.

When considered alongside the number of sugar towns that faced the same destiny as Camilo Cienfuego —estimated to be more than eighty sugar towns— due to the national policy, the significance of this study is to help offer a better understanding of the local identity problems that might possibly have arisen in similar communities around the country.

1.2. Literature Review

From a classical anthropological perspective, the place or terrain of a community has generally been understood to be a 'given factor' where the culture of a certain tribe 'exists' within the boundaries of a territory. Many anthropological texts in recent decades, however, have focused on increased mobility across borders between nations and regions. This has further stimulated debate on the meaning of the terrain, or the place, in the methodology in writing about ethnography. This milieu of the de-territorialization has raised the possibilities for new forms of ethnography such as 'multi-sited' ethnography and Auge's (1995) ethnography in the 'elsewhere', to name a couple. Not only in writing about ethnography, but also in anthropological theories, to see 'place' or 'site' as a given fact was often disregarded. Culture isn't a static entity in time and place, nor a location can be seen as a 'vessel of a culture'.

The political economy also agrees with the perspective that the anthropological place is not fixed, rather it is permeable, connecting the 'isolated site' to the global political economy. As Mintz (1966) once claimed that the region of the Caribbean is a 'societal area', sharing socio-structural features rather than a 'cultural area', by pointing out that the region consisted of immigrants sharing different customs from their origins, while it is a social system which combines them as a group. His study thus shone a light on the world system and its history which provide a firm foundation for the structural features of the research site.

This approach shared a view with the cultural ecology pioneered by Julian Steward in the 1960s, specifically on the effects of external factors on a research site. The cultural ecology school of thought stressed that the natural environment determines the mode of human adaptation for living in a particular environment, this mode of living can be defined as 'culture.'¹⁾ What these two approaches have

1) For example, Steward (1995) conducted comparative studies in different regions which entailed similar environments, and argued that the natural environment brings similar technology into the society and the it develops similar cultural systems. Steward insisted that the arid region in China, Egypt, and Mesopotamia brought the irrigation system which in turn formed the similar

in common is a recognition of the external forces that form and develop the culture of a society. As Ortner pointed out, “where as for sixties cultural ecology, often studying relatively "primitive" societies, the important external forces were those of the natural environment, for the seventies political economists, generally studying "peasants," the important external forces were those of the state and the capitalist world system.” (Ortner 1984: 141-142) The political economic approach that took into account the 'world capitalist system' certainly broke apart the immutable notion of 'cultures,' emphasizing its unavoidable impact at the level of the local culture. Further, it contributed to the historical perspective of the research site, revealing that it has always interacted with the external world, such as in the work of Wolf (1982). This approach not only gives perspective on how permeable the research site is, but also confirms the power of political economy to cause a social transformation.

This, however, is limited in its focus to the 'world system' rather than the dynamics of the research site. By only making an emphasis on the political economic perspective, it exposes a risk of overlooking micro-processes of social transformation at the local level. Another problem is the view on the local people. It is our location "on the ground" that puts us in a position to see people not simply as passive reactors, to and enactors of, some "system" but as active agents and subjects in their own history. (Ortner 1984:143) Thus, it seems that place in anthropology has been opened to numerous external vectors, but also needs to be based on the discussion of dynamics inside the community, which develops its social life in the territory in which it exists.

'...the larger point is not simply the claim that cultures are no longer (were they ever?) fixed in place. Rather, the point, well acknowledged but worth restating, is that all associations of place, people, and culture are social and historical creations to be explained, not given natural facts.' (Gupta & Ferguson 1997 : 4)

The place and territory of a group can be the subject itself, something to be

types of political and social structures of those respective societies.

considered as one of multiple cultural processes woven into the fabric of numerous social activities. To study 'locality' is significant in two ways. One is to admit the permeability of the site by looking at the relationship of the local with the external world. The other, based on the premise of Harvey (1989), that space is an expression of social relations, is to gain understanding of the social process of a community by looking at its historical and spatial dimensions. In the research site of this study, the concept of locality appears to reveal various aspects of a community in terms of spatial and historical perspectives. The concept of locality is, however, arbitrary. Based on imposing boundaries on the territory, it continuously needs to be maintained within a certain boundary that are exposed to all the external vectors.

It is necessary to explore the conceptual framework of this study, and analysis 'locality' and 'local identity' within the literature. The term, local or locality are still very problematic terms in anthropology. Locality, which derives from *localis* means 'belonging to a place.'²⁾ The place, however, is also variable according to the will of power and social relations (Harvey, 1989), so to, does the concept of locality need to be constantly maintained within a territory, involving the variable factors, both external or internal.

According to Appadurai (1995), locality is the property of social life and constituted with its 'materiality' (houses, roads, public constructions and other infrastructure) and a 'structure of feeling'³⁾. He also explains locality as 'primarily relational and contextual rather than as scalar or spatial; as a complex phenomenological quality constituted by a series of links between the sense of social immediacy, the technologies of interactivity; and the relativity of contexts' (Appadurai 1995:204). Locality has included other important social elements that are also affected. Appadurai used the terms 1) neighborhood and 2) knowledge. 'Neighborhood' refers to social forms in which locality is realized. Neighborhood

2) Source:

http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=locality&searchmode=none

3) There is no clear connection between the term 'structure of feeling' and that of William Raymond in '*Marxism and Literature* (1977).' The usage of this term in Appadurai's argument is limited in the discourse of locality.

produces the context in which the local subjects can make 'meaningful' social action and the social action can be subject to interpretation. 'Local knowledge' here refers to the knowledge which is produced by local subjects by practicing and transmitting shared knowledge to ensuing generations. By defining these three elements 'local knowledge, local subject, and neighborhood' in locality, Appadurai creates an instrumental framework for understanding the nature of locality by expressing the dynamics of these three elements.

Even if the elements are defined as constituents of locality and it is possible to perceive the actuality of locality, locality is a fragile social achievement. According to Appadurai, it is fragile in two senses: 1) The first is that the material reproduction of actual neighborhoods is invariably up against the corrosion of context, if nothing else in the tendency of the material world to resist the default designs of human agency. 2) The second is that neighborhoods are subject to the context— producing drives of more complex hierarchial organizations in the 'modern-nation state'. (Appadurai 1995: 221) Stressing the fragility of locality, Appadurai emphasizes that locality is an 'articulated value of particular neighborhoods.' not a 'transcendent standard' to all communities. The actual social form, the community, can be maintained through the practices of local subjects in specific neighborhoods.

The process of maintaining the social form, however, is not discussed in his argument, and needs to be explored more explicitly. How the community maintains its locality against all the variables and the material or immaterial reproduction for community is shaped and reshaped through the course of the transformation. This is underlined in the work of Lovell (1988) through the concept of landscape and memory of a particular community. The 'fragility' of locality is also well illustrated by Lovell (1988). Analyzing a series of anthropological studies on locality and belonging, Lovell revealed one of the communal aspects of locality, which can be understood as 'attachment to the territory', or a sense of belonging. The sense of belonging here seems to parallel the concept of a 'structure of feeling' in Appadurai's discussion. Appadurai delineates 'structure of feeling' as sort of 'feeling of connectedness' and presented

it with examples of 'rites of passages' and 'rituals' as actual forms of 'structure of feeling' in locality. This, however, is an abstract idea and needs to be explored in a more explicit form in this study: how sense of belonging, or being connected in a particular community, can be expressed.

In terms of the actual forms that constitute locality, Lovell uses the concept of 'belonging', 'landscape' and 'memory', ideas which are interconnected in the representation of the locality of a particular community. In the various essays of this volume, landscape and memory are the physical and mental form of the community and, on occasion, become the grounds for identity contestation due to the changing environment of the politics, economy, or the effects of globalization. In Lovell's argument, the term 'belonging' is the key to the continuity of locality and become realized through landscape and memory. Lovell shares the same point as Appadurai in term of the vulnerability of locality, yet through the practice in the sense of belonging and interpretations on the changed texts of locality (landscape and collective memory). Belonging to a particular locality evokes the notion of loyalty to a place, a loyalty that may be expressed through oral or written histories, narratives of origins and in similar fashions. Locality, then, is the articulation of a community that can be expressed through the materiality of a territory and the abstract sense of territorial experience of a particular community.

Similarly, the concept of identity also involves the articulation of one's self, and is also the concept that is exposed to the variable affecting factors. Rather than following straightforwardly from sharing the "same" culture, community, or place, identity emerges as a continually contested domain (Gupta & Ferguson 1997: 14). Bauman's (1997) claim regarding identity can also be considered instrumental here.

"One thinks of identity whenever one is not sure of where one belongs; that is, one is not sure how to place oneself among the evident variety of behavioral styles and patterns, and how to make sure that people around would accept this placement as right and proper, so that both sides would know how to go on in each other's presence. 'Identity' is a name given to the escape sought from that uncertainty." (Bauman 1997: 19)

From Bauman and Gupta & Ferguson's understanding, local identity requires the

emergence of 'difference', 'contestation' and 'uncertainty.' If identity is a relationship of differences and conflicts, local identity, can be understood as 'identity of a group in a contested domain in the process of transformation.' Locality is the concept maintained by the actual form of 'community' as a social form, whether it is blurred or clearly drawn, according to the changing contexts. Similar to the concept of locality, the contextual conditions which keep the boundary clearly defined are exposed to the external threats rather than internal consolidations. Also, in the formation of both concepts, taking into account the fact it is formed based on alterity, I see local identity as the protrusion of locality which becomes subject to stress when contestation rises in either temporal or spatial matters.

In which frameworks can this concept, 'locality', be explored? Locality requires 'temporal' and 'spatial' frameworks which reveal the materiality, and 'sense of belonging' of the people that is historically accumulated within a community. In this study, while keeping the political economy as an external factor affecting the community, the relationship of the spatial arrangement and the sense of belonging would be focused in the conceptual framework of 'locality', exposing its fragility to the external factors. Local identity becomes a problem for a particular community when a transformation occurs and maximized the confusion and change in the former structure.

Amongst a plethora of studies on the concept of 'locality' and 'local identity' which tie in with this study, that of Sezneva (2002) can be offered as a good reference point, due to its similarities in the ideological background and the process of transformation of a particular town. Sezneva (2002) explores the Russian city Kaliningrad, which once used to be inhabited by German people and named Königsberg. The emergence of Königsberg, later named Kaliningrad, both shared the political context in which the city acquires a new image as a socialist city. Under the Soviet state, the construction of a new collective framework for identity was mediated by the spatial and historical reordering of the authorities. It was shifted to the periphery when compared to its former image as a 'unique' German city. The practice of gathering the people to historicize the city against

the prerogative historical construction of the authorities, made salient when given the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

This study begins with a similar problem on the matter of local identity; yet can be differentiated, as I focus more on presenting the practice of the daily life of the local inhabitants rather than the contested historicization between the regime and the people.

A former sugar town in Cuba, Camilo Cienfuego (Hershey), has also undergone similar transformations as Kaliningrad under the socialist regime, though the process and the consequences took different routes. Thus, I would like to add aspects of the daily practice in locality making and its relation with the past. Besides the different contexts in the historical and political situation of Cuba and the former U.S.S.R., the two studies share aspects of analytic frameworks, the local identity problem. The case of Camilo Cienfuego can be considered as being more complex than it first appears, due to its impact on the transformation of the political economy on the community.

1.3. Research Methods and Fieldwork

This research took into consideration both the spatial and the temporal aspects of the locality. In order to keep these bifocal points, I collected the data in the spatial arrangement regarding the historical context and with an emic view toward the spatial experience and the history of the town.

The primary source for the spatial ordering were maps and photographs obtained from local residents. Based on the information and explanations from local citizens, I developed questions to ask in interviews to better understand the historical context. The historical context was hardly possible to obtain through a written history of the town, which forced me to reconstruct through interviewing senior townspeople. In this limited environment, I tried to reconstruct a sense locality that was absent in any written history of the post revolutionary era through collecting the memories of the people who have lived there before since the revolution. According to Chun (2011: 110-126), social memory plays a significant role in completing meanings that couldn't be attained by analysing the official history of a region. Thus, collecting oral histories by the senior residents and analysing the current interpretations regarding the spatial arrangements make up the main part of the collected data.

The primary research methods of data collection were via interviews and close observation of the daily life of the townspeople. The interviews can be classified according to the types of the questions which were posed upon: 1) questions structured to ask about the personal life and the memories that came to mind when conjuring up the sense of locality; 2) questions that are factually based, such as wages, hours, and uniforms. The first interviews include in-depth interviews which were conducted up to a period of several hours spanning one or sometimes two days. The second type of questions were asked in the context of short conversations.

The in-depth interviewees were conducted with the people who currently reside in the town. The number of in-depth interviewees was 14. Among them, six people have lived there since the pre-revolutionary era, five of them were sugar

workers who had started working in the post-revolutionary era, and three were with people who came after the closing of the sugar mill. Among the in-depth interviews, three of the interviews almost amount to the form of a life history. The personal history that coincided with the history of the town proved to be valuable assets in examining the impact of locality on the individual life. Also, short interviews were conducted mainly concerned with the facts on the sugar mills were made as well during the field research. The short interviews include several former sugar workers who still reside in the town.

Due to the limited time of my field work, a limited number of interviews were conducted, and thus, the interviews were centered to the perspective of a small number of the people in the town. Daily observation was also proved to be a main method of data collection during my field work.

Observation took place inside of the town, in the context where the people maintain their ordinary life. Among them there were public places, such as in front of the kiosk, the *bodega*, the plaza where the ordinary life of the townspeople are involved and the private homes for informal meetings.

The spatial aspect was studied by my visits to certain sites which has significance to the local identity. The visits were personal and I sometimes was accompanied by a local person. The symbolic places, such as the sugar mill, the sugar cane fields, and the differing styles of houses were viewed to observe the structures and their differentiating styles. When accompanied by a local person, an explanation was added during the course of the visit. Field trips to neighboring towns as well while participating the travelling process of the local people provided additional information on the neighboring communities.

Through this research, the collected data are as follows: 1) recordings of the in-depth interviews with the key informants in the town and informal meetings with numerous local people 2) three life histories of local people 3) photographs, documents, some videos, an essay of a local person, and a book that has been written by a local historian are collected 4) maps and official publications such as flyers and postcards were also gathered while doing the fieldwork.

Apart from the data during the fieldwork, the data and information concerning

the Cuban sugar industry was collected partially by obtaining flyers or annual reports published by the Cuban sugar ministry, MINAZ. Most of the data, however, was obtained through books, articles and internet sources following the fieldwork.

A limiting factor in collecting the data was that my Spanish was not completely fluent. The interviewees couldn't speak as fast nor as freely as they do in conversation with the native Spanish speaker. I think this factor might have affected the effectiveness of their story telling. Also, being a foreigner, sometimes, there might have been a selective story telling due to because of the political considerations.

The fieldwork was conducted in Camilo Cienfuego, Santacruz del Norte, Province Mayabeque, Cuba. I arrived in Cuba January on 16th in 2011 and the decision regarded the location of the fieldwork was made two weeks earlier than my first visit to the field. My first trip to the field was made on February 7th in 2011. Following, I visited the town a couple of times a week using the public transportation from Havana. Even though there was some public transportation and through hitchhiking which is a common means of transportation among Cubans, the frequency of the visits to the town was at first infrequent. For a month, I became familiar with the geography and the adverse means of transportation in Cuba, while trying to build a rapport with the local people. Through asking around the people I had met in town I found some key informants who were mostly senior citizens of the town. In addition, the collection of photographs and information regarding the main places were gained during this time. This first stage of the fieldwork finished on March 2nd in order to make a trip to Mexico to gather online information due to the difficulties I encountered in obtaining online information while in Cuba, and to reflect upon some perspective regarding the fieldwork.

My second stage of fieldwork started from March 4th, 2011 and ended May

28th, 2011. During this period, I was able to contact more people due to earlier established rapport with the local people. In this stage, I became acquainted with more local people and began to observe the daily life of the town more closely. The key informants had helped me in finding an appropriate person for the questions by using the social networks that I had not yet built up in the town. I realized that to have a friend '*amigo*' plays a very important role in gaining access to interviewees. I saw a very clear difference between when I approached potential interviewees without a Cuban mediator as opposed to when approaching them alone. Thus, most of the in-depth interviews were conducted during the second stage of my field work, and as a consequence, most of my data was collected at that time.

In order to maintain the anonymity of my sources still residing in Camilo Cienfuego, I will only refer to my sources by one initial, followed by their age. As an example, X (99).

Also, I will refer to the community as Hershey when referring to it from the period of its founding in 1916 until it was renamed as Camilo Cienfuego in 1962 when it was taken over by the authorities. Later, when referring to Camilo Cienfuego, I will simply use the abbreviation CC.

1.4. Survey of Chapters

Chapter 2 sketches the political economic background concerning with the Cuban sugar agro-industry built sugar towns across the country and defines the terms that are relevant in shaping the locality of the sugar town. In the early 20th century, due to the political situation of Cuba, American investors started becoming interested in the Cuban sugar agro-industry because the strong U.S. political involvement in Cuba produced an economic environment which favored the American businesses. Along with capital investment, the mode of modern sugar production emerged. Including the sugar town, Camilo Cienfuego, many of the modern sugar towns were built in the early 20th century, which is considered to be the dawn of the famed Cuban sugar production era.

Also in this chapter, the terms that refer to the place of sugar milling will be explored. '*ingenio*', '*central*', '*batey*', which are used interchangeably, yet have slightly different meanings will be examined. Here, the focus will be made on tracing the origin of the meaning of '*batey*' and the current meaning with which it is broadly used in the Cuban society. As one of the *bateys*, Camilo Cienfuego (Hershey) was built by Milton S. Hershey, who was the owner of the chocolate company in the U.S. Due to its unique spatial ordering and the working environment in the town, the town earned the fame as a 'modern town' at the regional and national level. The spatial and social characteristics of the town will be presented in detail in this chapter with the hope that this historical overview will provide a clearer understanding about 'the meaning of the past' which will be further discussed about 'the meaning of the past' in the chapter 5.

Chapter 3 focuses on the process of forming the locality under the socialist regime beginning in 1959. This monumental moment in Cuban history also affected the morphology of the town. In both the spatial arrangement and social system, both the continuity and the change were made by the socialist regime. The continuity lies in the fact that the sugar industry survived as the main local economic system, whereas the notable change was in the spatial modifications which were highly inscribed with the ideological values of the new regime.

Owing to the political and economic system of cooperation among socialist countries, from 1959 when Cuba joined the Soviet Bloc until the collapse of the U.S.S.R., the peak of the sugar production consolidated the locality of the town as the core of the national economic guardian. This unique economic circumstance shaped the locality of CC to have a special intimacy between the authorities and the town people. The process of this consolidation is the main point of this chapter.

Chapter 4 draws on the new phase of the locality of CC. If the earlier chapters laid the foundation for the historical and spatial matters of the locality of Camilo Cienfuego, this chapter will build the foundation for analysing the transformation process which has led to the situation of the town. The sudden decision by the state regarding sugar production drastically altered the local economy. To replace the sugar mill, other alternative economic installations were brought to survive in the adverse global economic environment in Cuba began to experience in the post-Soviet era. The objective of this chapter is to define the external factors that made the transformation of the town possible and to analyse the impacts on the locality. The change in the material aspect of the town and the general attitude and opinion of the townspeople on the new economic installations are to be covered.

Chapter 5 analyses the locality in transformation in depth in regards to the social and spatial degradation in the locality that was presented in chapter 4. Through analysing cultural practices such as naming the places and memories of the people, how the current locality is being maintained is questioned. Amid the loss of the traditional economic system of the town, the *central*, this chapter served to present the cultural practice and their own interpretation on the local identity. It is seen that the people perceive their local knowledge to be closely connected to the past. Further exploration on this connectedness to the glorious past of the town and the nostalgia will be described in this chapter.

2. The Origin of Camilo Cienfuego (Hershey), Cuba

Camilo Ceinfuego (Hershey) is a former sugar town (*batey*) that was built in 1916 by an American Investor, Milton S. Hershey⁴). It is located halfway between Havana, the capital, and Matanza and is linked with a railway which also was founded with the construction of the research site, Camilo Cienfuego (Hershey). It is inhabited by 2683 people (March 20, 2010) (Miranda 2010), and belongs to the municipal Santa Cruz del Norte, Province Mayabeque, Cuba.



Map 2.1> Province of Mayabeque
Source:http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Mayabeque_in_Cuba.svg



Map 2.2> Location of the research site, Camilo Cienfuego(Hershey). Source:
<http://www.cubamapa.com/province-map-havana-map.htm/> marked by the author

Since being founded by Mr. Hershey, the main characteristic of the town is that it has been exposed to historical moments of the sugar production of Cuba and its development as a local town in the region reflects the history of the sugar production of Cuba. For the history of the town parallels that of the nation, the background of the town requires the historical perspective of sugar production at the national level. In the following chapter, a brief history of Cuban sugar production will reveal the historical context of spatialization at the local level and illustrate the characteristics of the materiality of the town.

2.1. Political Economic Background

4) Milton Snavely Hershey (September 13, 1857 – October 13, 1945) an American businessman, was born in Derry Township, Pennsylvania, United States. He is the founder of Hershey Chocolate Company and the company town Hershey in his home state, Pa.

Many studies have contributed to the realization that the sugar production in the Caribbean countries is a product of the imperialism of the European countries dating from the 16th century. Along with this huge impact on countries in the Caribbean region, many studies concerning the region have focused on the political economy which has been accumulated. Among them, the famous work of Sidney Mintz (1959) especially revealed the cultural importance that influenced and was influenced by the European Empires in the history. Analysing the sugar production culture as a result in and from the system of capitalism in the European society (Mintz 1959, Ortiz 1949), these works have contributed to the realization that the anthropological sites are no longer 'enclosed', or 'complete in itself.' The case study of this town, Camilo Cienfuego, also needs this contextual reference, the work of world political economy.

2.1.1. Modern Sugar Production and American Intervention into Cuban Economy

The dominance of sugar in key aspects of Cuba's economic life —its share in national exports, arable land use, industrial processing and both urban and rural employment— was a theme of persistent controversy throughout the twentieth century. (Pollitt 2004:320). The modern sugar production, as Pollitte (2004) argues, begins with the contestation of two other countries, Spain and the U.S. in the early 20th century. For Spain, the former colonizer, the main purpose of the Spanish colonists in the 16th century was to find resources for the Spanish empire, although none of any significant wealth was gained through colonizing Cuba. For the next two centuries, Cuba was a port for the colonists to ship their treasures off to Europe and vice versa. With the arrival of African slaves in Cuba beginning in the late 18th century and lasting until the late 19th century, sugar became one of the major crops in Cuba alongside tobacco. As discussed in many other academic researches, the Cuban sugar industry was the product of political economy that was functioned by numerous European powers. Among the foreign

influences in the Cuban sugar economy, the political and economical relationship with the U.S. in the early 20th century was the key factor for its implementation of modernizing the technology used in sugar production.

Before describing the historical aspects of modern sugar making in Cuba, it needs to be pointed out that it is quite recently that Cuba gained fame as a sugar producer. In the Spanish colonial era, Cuba only kept a pretty low profile since it was not a destination of European countries for the purpose of resource exploitation. As merely a stopover point for Spain's returning treasure fleets (Henken, 2008:49), Cuba was not of interest to Spain as a 'sugar-factory.' The brief occupation of the British (1762-1763) had more influence on bringing the sugar industry to Cuba with the importation of African slaves brought to tap Cuba's formidable economic potential. After the Spanish regained control over Cuba (1763) and its relaxation in Spanish mercantilism, African slaves continued to be introduced in large numbers up until the late 19th century and the end of the modern slavery specifically to be utilized as workers in the sugar and tobacco industries. Emphasis on sugar began in earnest in the 18th century, and by 1860, Cuba was producing nearly a third (500,000 tons) of the world's entire sugar supply. Slavery itself lasted until 1886, longer than anywhere else in the Americas, save Brazil. (Skidmore et al. 2010(1984):122)

With the decline of Spanish control over Cuba, and the Ten Years' War (1868-1878), Cuba revolted against Spain for independence in 1895 and even though it failed, Spanish influence in Cuba began to weaken over the ensuing years up until the Spanish-American War⁵⁾ broke out in 1898. In 1898, as a result of the victory of America over Spain, the American congress passed the *Teller Amendment* (1898)⁶⁾ which restricted the intention over 'annexation' but only

5) The conflict between Spain and the U.S.A in 1898. It was caused by American intervention on the Cuban independence movements after the Ten Year War (Cuban independence Movements). The main incident that had led to direct American intervention is known to be the explosion and sinking of the battleship, USS Maine on 15th February in 1898.

6) The Teller Amendment was an amendment to a joint resolution of the United States Congress, enacted on April 20, 1898, in reply to President William McKinley's War Message. It placed a condition of the United States military in Cuba. According to the clause, the U.S. could not annex Cuba but only leave "control of the island to its people". (Source:

left control of the island to its people, unlike other countries that were annexed by the U.S. such as the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico.

Remaining in the sphere of the U.S. influence, Cuban industries were modernized with the aim of increased production by the American investors who were protected by the U.S. government thus guaranteed favorable economic status. Between 1903 and 1925 when domestic sugar consumption doubled in the U.S. (Pollitt 2004: 321), many of the sugar complexes – known as '*bateys*' – were built by or sold to American investors across the country. According to Peters (2003) it has been reported that sugar complexes were built in every province in Cuba except on the western tip and on the Island of Youth, *Isla de Youth*. American owned mills produced only 15 percent of Cuba's sugar in 1906, but by 1928 their share reached about 75 percent; by 1950 it had decreased to 47 percent. (Skidmore et al. 2010(1984):125)

It was a beneficial economic environment for the American investors, supported by the US banks and the government control over Cuba. Many large US sugar companies in Cuba were vertically integrated with their continental processing industries, giving them direct low-cost access to a US market denied to many of their Cuban rivals. (Pollitt 2004:321) During that time, while numerous sugar production complexes were emerging around the country, the mode of modern production was introduced by the Americans. Due to the arrival of the American capital, the level of the skill of production became more modern due to the machines that the Americans brought to the sugar industry. This general modernization in the milling system contributed not only to increase the production level, but also to the spatial layout of the sugar complexes. The term '*batey*,' thus, is the place which proves that this historical aspect of the sugar production in Cuba was realized, and is also the form of the modern sugar production was spatialized. The following chapter will describe more closely the term *batey*, including other relevant terms referring to 'the place for sugar production.'

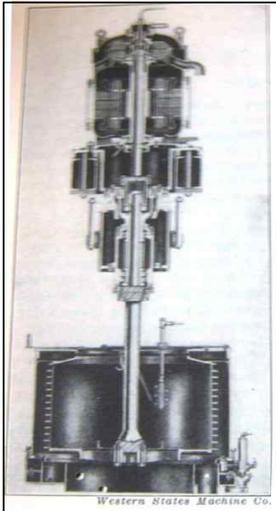
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Teller_Amendment

2.1.2. Terms: *Ingenio*, *Central* and *Batey*

In this study, it is instrumental to introduce the three Spanish terms that refer to the 'place for the sugar production.' to illustrate the historical perspective concerning the sugar agro-industry in Cuba. These terms are commonly used in Cuba and also will be used throughout this study. Although the three terms, *ingenio*, *central* and *batey*, are used interchangeably sometimes, each has a different meaning and origin. Especially the term, '*batey*' into which the town in this study can be categorized, can be explored further to offer an enhanced understanding of the characteristics of the town.

'*Ingenio*' which literally means 'inventiveness', or 'talent', in Spanish was used to describe the sugar milling device. *Ingenio*, thus, refers more specifically to the tools used in sugar production. It was a place where the system of the production was laid in the traditional way, where there was only an iron mill under a roof. Before modern technology arrived in the sugar production, this term was used more broadly and referred to the specific place for milling. Presently, it is used as the mode of production of sugar. It can be found as the name of the subject in school which refers to 'engineering at the sugar mill', or simply 'milling' or 'mill.'

'*Central*' refers to 'center' in Spanish, and has been used to specifically refer to the sugar mill factory. There are two kinds of explanations of the origin of the term '*central*.' One is to find its origin of the word which was transformed from the original word that referred to the modern technology in sugar production. The other is more related to the morphology of the relation between a sugar making town and its neighboring villages. The term which appeared in the literature on sugar in 1803 when a spinning machine '*centrifuga*' replaced the old style of manufacturing with big vacuum evaporators. This new type of manufacturing. The *centrifuga* system made heavy industry possible, which ruined small producers and thus absorbed the surrounding cane fields. It operates the process of concentration which began in the middle of the century and accelerated from the 1880s with the application of railroads to transport the sugar cane. This new industry is



Picture 2.1> *Centrifuga* Machine. Source: Spence et al. (1964: 323) *A Handbook for Cane-sugar Manufacturers and their Chemists*

called, from early in its history, *central* mill. By the end of the century, they were simply called '*central*'. (Fraginals, 2001: 618) Thus, compared to the term '*ingenio*', '*central*' is the place for the 'factory' with the '*centrifuga*' system. It is certainly a term which arrived with the capital and technology that was thereafter poured into the sugar industry.

The emergence of the term '*batey*' is deeply connected to the advent of the modern technology system and the residential structure of the sugar workers as well. In general, in Cuba at least, *batey* refers to a place where there is a sugar mill and a residential area for the workers. Thus, compared to the term *central*, *bateys* include the residential areas and is officially used to refer to a sugar town in Cuba. *Bateys* are also found across Cuba, and Puerto Rico, where the natal economy was dominated by sugar production. As sugar is the product of the compound of two kinds of production modes, -agriculture and industry- the surrounding environment of *batey* also includes the surrounding sugar cane fields. Thus, having had more than 150 *bateys* across the country, the impact of the *batey* on the emergence of neighboring regional economic activities was broad and enormous.

The word '*batey*' does not have a clear origin in being used in this context although there was another usage found in another context. According to Siegel (1999), *batey* was used to refer to the place where the indigenous *taíno* population used to hold their traditional sport and ceremony in Puerto Rico. In this place, plaza was situated at the center of the settlements, which now resembles the current *batey*. The link between the two different places, however, remains unclear. But it can be assumed that the name, *batey* for sugar mill might have been originated from this plaza in a *taíno* settlement, considering its resemblance in structure and social importance. In the development of the *batey* also, commercial structures, family housing warehouses, public offices and

religious centers were built around the *bateys*, making them the hub of community life. (Alvarez and Pérez-López 2006: 51)

The differences among these three terms are highly relevant to the development of sugar production, yet the differences can be made clear: *Ingenio* had been traditionally used to refer to the old milling place and the technology that deals with the sugar milling process in general. Whereas *central* has deep connection to the modern process of milling technology and specifically referred to the machine '*centrifuga*.' *Batey* should be seen to have a social and regional contextual importance with the arrival of the '*centrifuga*' system. Even if there might be some differences among the countries, in Cuba at least, *batey* reveals the deep ties in usage among the Caribbean industry, its people, their family and the neighboring communities due to its social impact as a living sphere.

2.2. Beginning as a Company Town (*batey*)

The origin of the research site, Camilo Cienfuego (Hershey) dates back to the era of the rush of the American investors for sugar. It was built in 1916 by an American investor, Milton S. Hershey, who needed a stable sugar supply for his chocolate business. He chose the location and built the town, modelling it after the style and system of Hershey, Pennsylvania, which he had previously built. Hershey Pa. follows the basic traits of other American company towns, which were built in the same era, though it provided the workers with a larger variety of social services and a 'nature-friendly' atmosphere in order to enhance labor efficiency. As a model for another company town Hershey in Cuba, the basic structure and business philosophy of the town, Hershey Pa. was also applied to the sugar town in Cuba. The brief story of Hershey, Pa. will be described in chapter 2.2.1. and the traits that the Cuban version, Hershey, took after will be further presented in chapters 2.2.2 and 2.2.3.

2.2.1. American company town comes to Cuba

a. An American Company Town, Hershey, Pa.

A company town⁷⁾ can be defined as a settlement completely owned, built and operated by an individual or corporate entrepreneur. As one of the American company towns established in the early 20th century, Hershey Pa. was a very typical, yet unique, company town or model town in its representation. Built in 1905 by the owner, Milton S. Hershey in his hometown, Derry Township, Pennsylvania, United States, its landscape, architecture and the up-to-datedness of the facilities of the town surpassed other common company towns in that era, which differentiated it from any other villages around. In addition to these

7) According to Porteous(1997), as for the main features of the company town, it was pointed that they commonly share 1) company estates, 2) tied labor 3) the former often alien to the locality, 4) more or less paternalistic attitude on the part of the group controlling the means of production, 5) a feeling on the part of the employees of social isolation.

materialistic common features of a company town (tied labor and the company states), it represented the owner, Milton S. Hershey's personal ideas on labor and living conditions.

Mainly because of the belief that Milton S. Hershey had in productivity and labor conditions, Hershey, Pa. was furnished with better facilities, and a more 'nature friendly atmosphere' than other company towns in the U.S. His ideas concerning working conditions is well documented as below.

... He looked down and saw the little town set against the blue Atlantic...this was the place, he decided... There was good water on the plateau, four hundred feet above the sea, and good cane lands. Here he would build central Hershey. Experienced sugar men warned him against the venture. Why carry cane up the hill, they asked, and make it into sugar that would have to be carried down again? Better establish a mill somewhere in the bottom lands...He had noticed that there was a miasma in those lowlands as late as ten o'clock in the mornin g..."Natives come out with scarves covering their noses. Why, you would have twenty or thirty layoffs every day from malaria if you built down there. I'd rather see my men in good health and working every day than save a little money on carting materials up and down the hill. If I have people working for me I'm going to have them comfortable." ... (p.33 1954, Milton Hershey, Hershey Publishing, underlined by the author)

Although this recording was written in laudation of him, it shows that as an experienced business owner, he had recognized that better working conditions bring increased productivity. The physical condition of his employees was important as he cared about his business. What differentiated his company town from others was that he was also willing to be actively involved with the social activities of the workers by offering structural support for them.

"We shall soon see the actuality of his intention...improved conditions which work to the good, socially, physically and morally, of all concerned...there is no provision for a police department, nor for a jail. Here there will be no unhappiness, then why any crime." (Joseph Solomon, *The Business World*, June 1903)

Beside all the modern facilities that the town could offer with its well



Picture 2.2> The railways in Hershey, Pa. (left) / Picture 2.3.> Convention Hall (right) The photographs courtesy of a local source.

organized structure, well paved roads, and modern infrastructure, other facilities for entertainment, education and social activities were the keys to understand the values that he wanted to promote while building his company town. He installed other facilities for the workers such as a theater, a church, a sports club and similar structures for the purpose of enhancing the social and entertainment activities to be enjoyed by the workers.

Various social activities were established for the workers –for example, as a baseball fan, he made the 'Hershey Sports Club' which played baseball and offered potential careers to athletes possessing extraordinary talent– and established an orphanage in his own name. The higher standard of living coupled with an image of a dream town was well advertised alongside his business success. To make matters easier, the company product, chocolate, made a huge attribute to form a perceptual symbolization by connecting sweetness and happiness. This created environment played the image projector for the company.

Hershey Pa. seems to have had interactively participated in both chocolate production and 'happiness showcase' which contributed to promoting the image of the company. As Porteous (1997) pointed out, the company towns played roles both in offering the workers residential and social facilities and boosting the corporate image through organized social activities provided by the corporation with the aim of enhancing and showcasing the well-being of the workers to the outside world.⁸⁾ Going through the expansion of the business of Milton S.

8) Analysing one of the American company towns, Porteous (1997) argued that the employees, (or

Hershey, the same type of company town was introduced in Cuba in 1916. Considering that company towns were one of the ways meant to maximize production efficiency, its construction for sugar production was warmly received in Cuba. The following chapter will cover the history and characteristics inside of the Cuban version of Hershey.

b. Hershey in Cuba

As a newly independent nation, Cuba was one of the nations undergoing economic development in the early 20th century. Capital influx from the U.S. into the Cuban economy had a major economic impact on Cuba. As a certain manufacturing mode, company towns were one of the evidences of influxes of foreign capital. It was Milton S. Hershey, as an experienced founder of a company town, who brought this establishment with his investment in the Cuban sugar industry.

When he first visited Cuba in 1916, he was fascinated by her exotic scenery and ambience. Like other visitors to Cuba, he was also immersed in so called 'tropical lyricism⁹⁾' that was as described below.

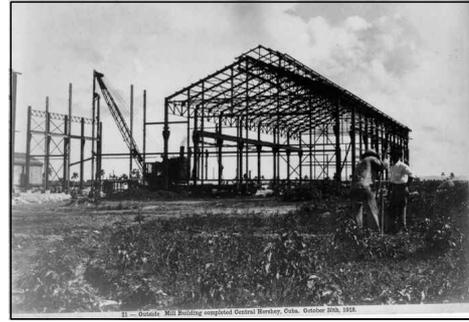
(Milton) Hershey was completely captivated by Cuba: the old fortifications of Havana Harbor... He motored out into the country, and saw the houses built all of palm, the frames of palm wood, the walls of palm bark, and the roof ...

(Milton Hershey published by Hershey Publishing, 1954, p.32)

More than anything, experiencing a shortage of sugar supply due to its skyrocketing price during the outbreak of World War I (1914), he was convinced of the need to build his own sugar factory. A favorable investment environment

the residents) in the company town were not actively participating in making the 'locality', rather remained as the receiver or partially participating.

9) Rathbone(2009) described this state of the feeling toward Cuba by the westerners as 'tripical lyricism'. He described it as 'vehement sunsets, palm trees, a romantic colonial past' and 'the beauty of the mornings before the heat burnt away their color, and the unforgettable smell of guavas rotting in the sun that always draws one back to the Caribbean'
(<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/13/books/exerpt-sugar-king-of-havana.html?pagewanted=all>)



Picture 2.4> Railway construction, 1916 (left) / Picture 2.5> Outside Mill Building Hershey, Cuba, taken October 30th in 1918' (right). The photographs courtesy of a local source.

for Americans also helped in his decision making process. The political situation between the U.S. and Cuba in the early part of the 20th century brought many American investors to Cuba, including Milton S. Hershey. For example, the Platt Amendment (1901)¹⁰⁾ following the American-Spanish War (1889) changed the tariff system in trade between the U.S. and Cuba and allured many American investors. ¹¹⁾

Hershey bought five sugar mills in the province of Havana and vast lands for sugar cane. It was said by the time he sold everything he owned in Cuba to the Cuban Atlantic Sugar Company, that his property was estimated to be five sugar mills, 60,000 acres of land, 5 raw sugar mills, a peanut oil plant, a henequen plant, 4 electric plants, and 251 miles of railroad track with sufficient locomotives and cars. Hershey, Cuba was one of the sugar mill towns he owned and it was specially built after his name with the complete form as a company town. Surrounded with other villages around, the town was situated at higher altitude.¹²⁾

Once the location was decided upon, construction soon followed. The railway was built in 1916, even before the town was completed. It was meant to transport the materials and workers for the factory. It was to be used only for the cane

10) Followed by Teller Amendment (1898), it was an amendment made in 1903 allowing the US government's control over Cuban economic and political decision. It included the permission to the US government to take over the naval station in Guantanamo, and also other commercial benefits especially in tariffs for the U.S. investors.

11) For details, see from pp.15-20 in *1974 Agricultural Economic Report No. 382, < A History of Sugar Marketing Through 1974>*, Economics, Statistics, and Cooperatives Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture

12) But, according to some of the interviewees I've met, it was told that there was an antiquated and small-scaled, *ingenio 'echevarria'*. Not many people remember or can confirm it, but some senior people in the village had been told that there was a ruin of the old *ingenio*.

from the places around the town, but it extended both east and west of Hershey, to Havana and Matanza respectively, stretching about 100km. Once used as a short rail connecting the sugarcane fields, it developed into a public transportation system for the workers and common passengers from Havana to Matanza. Other constructions soon followed. In the process of the construction, building the railway first played a key role in moving construction materials. Once the railway was completed, the sugar mill, and then the influx of workers soon followed.

Begun in 1916, the town took almost three years to be completed. The sugar mill was completed in 1918 and ground its first cane in January, 1919. By 1920 it had ground 149,000 tons of cane which produced 31,669,900 pounds of sugar, and this record was surpassed every year. (Hershey Publishing, 1954:34) In 1919, people started moving into the town, which brought division and hierarchy to the town as well.

The construction of Hershey, Cuba was more than just building a labor town. At the national level, it brought the first electric railway in Cuba and also the concept of 'American philanthropy' in an industrial town. People specifically remembered all the benefits that they could have by working for the Hershey Company and living in its model town where the utmost conditions for labor were materialized. Even if Hershey Pa. and Hershey, Cuba were different from each other in structure, size and architectural style, they shared a very basic idea as Hershey model towns, namely an underlying philanthropy.

The common characteristics of these two towns are several: both are company towns, boast higher standards of living compared to other company towns, and are aesthetically well-designed. In the case of Hershey Pa, by being set aside from the very beginning, it projected a good image of the town as having a 'nature-friendly' ambience. The Hershey Press noted that Milton Hershey considered 'nature' as a vital influence for (man's) well-being. (Cassidy and Harrison, 1988) This nature-friendly ambience of the town made these two towns distinguishable in comparison to other industrial towns. But the one in Cuba differed in size, architectural style, and more importantly in the product. The next two chapters will deal with these characteristics in relation to its landscape and life in the town

in the pre-revolutionary era.

2.2.2. Spatial Arrangement of Camilo Cienfuego (Hershey)

a. Sugar Mill

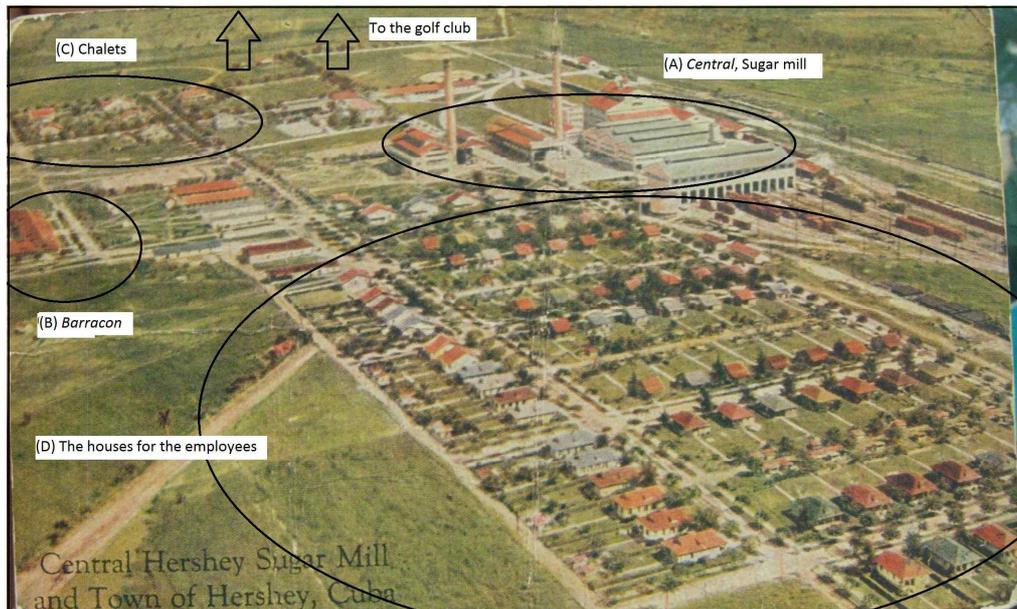
The main layout of the town involves, as described in chapter 2.2.1, the mill in the center and the residential areas around the mill. The map shows the overview from the air. Even if it is not clear if it is a picture or a photograph, it indicates what the initial layout of the town looked like. The most important part of the town was the mill that is situated in the center of the town. Nearby the mill, the most important public places, such as schools, the company office, commercial buildings and parks; are situated in front of the mill. Surrounding this social zone, on both sides were the residential zones which were separately inhabited according to the hierarchy and ethnicity of the employees of the *central*.



Picture 2.6> *Central*. Source: Cuban Railroad, Division of Santa Cruz del Norte located in CC. The photographs are courtesy of a local source.

b. Residential Area

Upon visiting the town, one immediately recognizes that the style of buildings and houses buildings do not resemble those of typical 'industrial' towns that one might imagine. This small chapter will deal with the values and purposes that were implanted by the town founder, Milton S. Hershey in the early 20th century. The main characteristics of the town's landscape will be examined to paint a picture of the original form and show what kind of social values, or purpose, were intended with its construction. Before going into detailed description, let me explain the annual rhythm of sugar making.



Map 2.3> Map of Hershey, Cuba. This post card that one of the residents who was age of 84 owned is assumed to be a picture rather than a photograph. Even if it is a picture, it offers an accurate rendition and shows the numbers of houses in the early foundation.

The harvest season of the sugar cane in Cuba spans a mere three to four months each year, which begins in February and ends in May. The time of these two processes: cane harvest and milling season, is called '*zafra*' in Spanish. Thus the temporary working force for the sugar milling was recruited each year. There was no permanent labor in milling and cutting the sugar cane. This rhythm is closely connected to some of the constructions in the *batey*. Even though the ensuing months will be spent for maintenance and cleaning of the machines, the job of the engineers and administrators decreased drastically. This period is called '*tiempo muerto*' (dead time). So, even if Milton S. Hershey built other factories for *heneken* (hemp) and oil, whether or not the administration and engineers worked in those industries during *tiempo muerto*, they were certain to have comparatively more free time during *tiempo muerto*.

One of the main constructions regarding the rhythm of sugar production is the *barracon*. *Barracon* served as a hostel for seasonal workers, the single men who stayed only for a *zafra*. At average, the male workers stayed for three months,

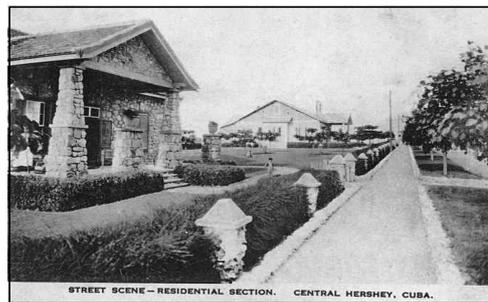
but sometimes up to five months at maximum. The barracks contained roughly 40 rooms, —it is hard to determine the exact number of rooms because the rear part is almost destroyed— in which a single bed and a small toilet were equipped. The single male workers were provided with daily linen, laundry service and regular meals from the factory. One old man who was residing in one of the barracks following his divorce proudly told me during my fieldwork that he has a small kitchen inside in which it was possible to cook for himself. This shows that the purpose of the barracks has changed from being used by seasonal workers in the past to being a residence of last resort in the present.

The house style of the *batey* can be divided into three different styles. The most luxurious style is called a *chalet*. The *chalet*, which is a term for a vacation home,¹³⁾ was inhabited by the Americans.¹⁴⁾ The main characteristic of this type, besides its 'fake chimney,' was its size. This made the chalet easily distinguishable from the other houses. The administrators were sent from the U.S., including the directors, and they were provided with the houses which were located to the right side of the factory. Surrounded by big gardens, the typical structure comprised three bedrooms, one or two bathrooms, a living room connected to the entrance, a dining room further inside and a kitchen set off to the end of the wall.

The second kind was for key employees such as the departmental heads and engineers. These houses were called simply 'house for employees *casa de empleadores*' and built along the main street of the town, which starts from the factory on the eastern side of the town. They differ from the *Chalets* in their smaller size and simpler design. The main structure of the house comprised the entrance, living room, dining room, kitchen, and the rooms. Significantly this area has been numbered by street, thus on one street, the houses are facing each other,

13) With the emergence of the Alpine travel business, chalets were transformed into vacation houses used by ski and hiking enthusiasts. Over the years the term chalet transformed to its modern general meaning of **a vacation house** built in an Alpine style (bold check by the author/ source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chalet>)

14) This term was used even by the current residents who do not have anything to do with the early Hershey's experience. In addition it shows that the American workers who came to Cuba for work, came with an attitude, more inclined to 'vacation' rather than 'work.'



(Clockwise) Picture 2.7> Barracks *barracon* / Picture 2.8> *Casa de Empleados* /Picture 2.9> Chalet /Picture 2.10> Chalet Source: 2.7-9 were provided by the office of the Cuban Railroad, *Santa Curuze del Norte* Division located in Camilo Cienfuego. and 2.10 in courtesy of a local source.

while on the next street, their back yards are facing each other.

The last type are the houses on thirteenth street, *Calle trece*. These houses were built along the street facing each other, and were inhabited by Jamaican workers' families. Thus, this street had two names: one is by the street number, *calle trece*, and the other is by their nationality, *Jamaiqueño*. The Jamaicans who came for work were all of African-origin, hence blacks. The main characteristic of houses on *Calle Trace* is that two families lived in one house, making them duplexes. Thus, it has two entrances to one building with a dividing wall in the middle of the house. Consisting of two bedrooms, a living room, kitchen and a toilet in each apartment, it was still adequate for a family. Though due to the house structure, privacy was interrupted constantly. V (82), a former engineer and second generation immigrant among the Jamaican workers, remembered that they could hear everything from the next compartment.

The housing was offered to the workers in the administration and engineering departments which were both the first to be called upon when an emergency occurred. The resident workers, thus, were key employees, even if there was a difference in the hierarchial level and task. Importantly, an equal amount of house upkeep was provided by the company such as painting, roof repair or replacement following storms, gardening supplies and other special provisions. They could live in the house paying 'very affordable' rent and could move to another place when they quit or retired. Owned by the corporation, the workers shared a working and living sphere which fostered the establishment of very close relationships within the community. Regardless, the relationship between neighbors could not have permanent form due to the nature of the company town – mainly that they had to leave their residence when quitting or retiring from the *central*.

c. Public Area

Public constructions were important to workers' social lives. Built in the central area of the town, these official buildings were important in its social role for the workers in the town. In addition to the administration building for the factory, the buildings for commercial use were places at the core of the townspeople's social life supplying materials and social needs to the workers because they were the main places where people could meet their neighbors and participate in social activities. These constructions include Glorieta, a movie theater (1920), a commercial building (built in 1921), an elementary school (1922), a baseball playing field (1926), and finally a medical post (1927). Being situated at the central zone of the town, the function of these places were necessary for the basic living needs of the workers, offering basic necessities such as food, education, health care and social activities to the workers.

The distinctive feature of the town was not in fulfillment of the basic needs, but in realization of utmost facility that a company town could provide. The Hershey Hotel (1920) was built in stone and reportedly had thirty rooms in it. This was one of only three buildings than one story tall. On the first floor were



(Clockwise) Picture 2.11> Shopping Center/ Picture 2.12>A scene in the Park / Picture 2.13> Hershey Hotel / Picture 2.14> Herhshey Golf Club. Photographs in courtesy of a local source.

a bar-cafeteria and a restaurant and on the second floor were guest rooms. In the same year (1920) a nine hole golf course was opened with shower rooms and lockers. Also, the Hershey Garden (1920) was arranged around the river which led down to a fishing village, Santa Cruz del Norte. Most of the corporate social events took place in this garden and it was said that it was well known and loved not only by the townspeople but also by many American visitors. All these places were enjoyed by the residents and American tourists who visited Cuba. Looking at the map (map 3.1 in chapter 3), it is seen that the hotel is located right next to the factory. The golf course was right behind the train station, and approximately 200 meters down the hill, there is the Hershey Garden.

This abnormal mixture of a noisy factory and leisure facilities was one of the most distinctive characteristics in comparison to other *bateys* around. It can be pointed out that the existing leisure facilities indicate the town was built not only for the workers who lived there but also for the visitors. Based on what I mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the production rhythm of sugar

provided the administrators with the *tiempo muerto* each year, a time in which they had plentiful spare time to spend in the leisure facilities. Thus, it is assumed that the construction had functioned to serve to 'another' purpose of the American administrators.

Another purpose of the leisure facilities was set for the American visitors and tourists during the era. Considering the historical context of Cuba in the early 20th century, this town was a destination for the American tourists who would come visit to see the sugar mill factory and cane cutting areas around the town. Together with the success of Hershey Pa. the Cuban version also attracted some American tourists who, during this era, frequently came to Cuba searching for exotic tropical scenery. The American visitors were attracted by the exotic sugar cane field and the 'American dream town' that was realized in tropical Cuba. As seen above, the corporation-issued postcards show that they were made to be distributed to outsiders. The scenery in the postcards also reflects tropical exoticism represented by the unique architecture of the town and exotic natural scenery such as palm trees.

In 1946, Milton Hershey sold all the property he had in Cuba to Julio Lobo¹⁵). As an American-friendly businessman in Cuba, Mr. Lobo made very few changes to the basic organization of the town. He himself was very fond of Hershey as well, and wanted to preserve it as his main *batey*. He even gave his daughter, Maria Lobo, a *chalet* with an extra garden. Thus from its foundation in 1905 the town had not only prospered with the growth of sugar agro-industry, but also enjoyed the fame of being a 'modern paradise' to insiders and outsiders as well up until the Cuban revolution in 1959.

2.2.3. Inside the 'Modern Town'

15) Julio Lobo (1898–1983) was a Cuban businessman who successfully expanded his business into many fields, including numerous sugar mills across the country in the early 20th century. He had held ownership of Hershey from 1946 until it was taken over by the revolutionary regime in 1960. He went into exile to New York, after all his property became nationalized by the new regime in 1962 and died in Madrid in 1982.

As a whole, the town was consistent in style both in the public and residential areas and displayed the latest architectural style when compared to other Cuban villages. According to the town experience, modernity as experienced by the Cuban people was expressed in the material abundance of the town and overall design and landscape of the town. The life of the workers was also considered as 'ideal' to the eyes of those living outside of the town due to the comparatively high income and the 'credit system¹⁶⁾' that the Hershey corporation offered to the resident workers. As described, Hershey shared the main characteristics of the model company towns of the 1910s, boasting advanced technology, rationality in structure, and the promotion of human well-being by providing an ideal labor environment.

The modern structure of the house and the public facilities were not only enjoyed by the workers, but also attracted other Cubans to the town. For example, the senior people in the town still remember that people from Havana used to come and visit the town to see the most recent American movies that were played in the town theater. The resident workers proudly say that the town was the Cuban vanguard for receiving so-called 'American culture' as an American company town. As a planned model town in Cuba, the material condition of the town and the loyalty that the people felt toward their living territory was incomparable to other Cuban *bateys*. Its uniqueness and the quality of life was reportedly greater than that realized in ordinary sugar towns.

Inside the town, however, there was still clear division according to the hierarchy of the workers in the *central* and race. As mentioned in chapter 2.2.1 in the residential areas, the residential segregation in residence was clear when looked at more closely. Segregation in the residence here should be considered to be another characteristic of the modern town, or 'modernity' that a Cuban sugar town experienced.

The insider group can be divided again by the standard of residence into these

16) It can be compared to the current ration system in Cuba. In the Hershey era, the corporation offered the workers a certain amount of credit which they could use in the town stores to purchase living necessities.

three categories. The first group were the American workers who were generally managerial. The second group were Cubans who were generally engineers. And the last group were highly skilled 'black' engineers from Jamaica.¹⁷⁾

The first group, the Americans, were the Hershey Corporation employees living in the town during that time. Even though it was impossible to interview any of them, or their descendents, because of the historical discontinuity which occurred in 1959, the privilege they enjoyed could be found in photographs and interviews with the senior residents. According to a former caddy during this early time of Hershey (1916-1959), golf could be played only by 'important' people. Most distinguishable is the style of the house. As partly described in the earlier chapter, the Americans were accommodated in big *chalets*. Not only the main traits of the house such as large surrounding gardens and 'fake chimneys', but also the name of the houses could hint at the perception of the Americans in the town.

By referring to their own houses as 'vacation homes' one can see how the Americans perceived the town. For the Americans, regardless of the town and their purpose of being in the town, the town was seen as a vacation home in a tropical climate country which they would leave after their temporary work-related stay. Similar with the sensation that Milton Hershey had when he first visited Cuba (see Chapter 2.2.1.), 'tropical lyricism —being fascinated by the beauty of Cuban nature, an exotic feeling and the tropical climate'— must have been the general attitude felt by the Americans while being resident workers in the town.

“We couldn't even pass the streets of the chalet area... There were barricades which separated them from other streets.” (N, 82, retired)

Despite their fascination with the exoticism of Cuba and the privileged working and living conditions, the American group kept a certain distance from other town members. The privilege was given by the corporation and encouraged by setting the spatial rules inside the town as well. One of these spatial rules was that they

17) It is said that the Jamaican engineers were recruited by the company. Considering the political environment during the era when the Panama Canal was constructed in 1914, it seems that the engineers who completed the mission in Panama were recruited for sugar towns in Cuba.

blocked access to their streets from Cubans and Jamaicans, keeping the whole chalet area only for themselves. Based on the fact that the golf clubs were enjoyed by the Americans exclusively, the privileged condition they enjoyed while working in the *central* helped to shape their attitude about the town.

Contrary to the privilege of the American groups, racial discrimination was experienced by Jamaicans living in another separate sector of the town, Thirteenth Street *Calle Trece*. How these Jamaican immigrant groups arrived in the *batey* involves another part of U.S. intervention on the Latin American continent, the Panama Canal.¹⁸⁾ One Jamaican descendant said,

“My father used to work in Panama working on a Canal at that time. He was a very good engineer...” (V, 81)

Naming the street as *Lo Jamaiqueño* or *Calle Trece*, the workers in the town maintained distinctions that were implemented by the company. Mostly working as engineers, however, the Jamaicans were skilled workers, unlike seasonal laborers who used to stay in the barrack. As an immigrant group, they had a very clear notion in regards to their identity as Jamaican and held onto their ethnic identity by speaking only English to each other. V (81, retired) continued,

“My mom always told my brother and me to use English only. She did not like us to speak Spanish, because we are Jamaicans... She even hit us when we spoke Spanish.” (V, 81)

By speaking English, they separated themselves from the Cuban families. Amid of segregation in the residential area imposed by the corporation, they maintained their ethnic identity and cultural practices showing that they were culturally proud of their origin and considered themselves to be 'successful Jamaicans'.

18) Beginning in 1880, the construction completed in 1914. Completion of the Panama Canal only strengthened U.S. determination to convert the Caribbean into an “American lake.” (Skidmore et al. 2004:85)

"My father worked here and raised us. They paid good money and that's why we (he and his brother) could get educated... " (V, 81)

V(81, retired) was born and raised in the town, and he became a sugar worker just as his father was before him. To him, as a Jamaican, the town holds a lot of positive memories about his life and family. As a place where they could realize their 'decent' life with economic abundance and the well-being of the family in social circumstances, to work in the *central* was considered as a chance to alleviate their social status in Cuban society as an immigrant family.

The last group, making up the majority were the Cubans. As in Cuban society itself, the Cubans in the town were of European descent¹⁹). Especially, the Cuban 'white' group here also clearly viewed themselves as descendants of European countries. For sure this group was of a higher social class. C (68, retired) said,

"The people who lived in this town had more important jobs. For example, when the factory had a problem at anytime, even at midnight, someone should be able to come to the factory. So high skilled workers were living here." (C, 68)

C, who was born in Hersehy, explained the difference in social status between the seasonal workers and the engineer group who were the resident workers of the town. The engineer group was the major population among the resident workers due to their importance in position and also the most active group for the social activities. Living in *casa de los empleadores*, the living area took up the most part of the residential zone. Socially speaking, this group enjoyed and actively organized the social activities. As the pioneers of modernity during that time, they were living in a privileged town compared to other Cubans, or earlier immigrants.

"Here, we could watch the most recent American films. Those arrived here earlier even than in Havana" said, A(88, retired), holding her old post card with the poster image of <Gone with the Wind.> The admiration they had for 'the

19) The father of P(88, retired), who was a head of a department at the sugar-mill, was the first generation of a Dutch immigrant group, and M (68, retired) still holds her Spanish passport.

American style' of living and the process of it being realized in their daily lives gave them a dose of civic pride in the locality.

To the members of each group in the town, there is no doubt that material abundance was the best value that was realized, even to the Jamaicans. But each member was highly separated from other group members and confined to one's ethnic or hierarchial group. The most confined group seems to be the Americans, who clearly established the group division as it was initially realized in the spatial dimension. As for the other two groups, both who expected to realize socially and economically elevated life styles as immigrants to Cuba, the town seemed to have a great life opportunity to realize those expectations and also to have a taste of the 'successful life' by the constant influx of American material and cultural imports.

Harvey(1989) defines modernism as the consequence of the new condition of production, circulation (the new systems of transport and communications) and consumption (the rise of mass markets, advertising, mass fashion). (Harvey 1989: 23) According to Harvey's definition of modernism, the town is a good example of being one of the places where modernism was spatialized when matching the three elements accordingly: the new condition of production— the sugar mill; circulation — the immigrants workers and the tropical lyricism as the result of the circulation; and consumption — the mass sugar markets and the mass consumption of the American cultural and material products. Due to the characteristics that were affected by the contemporary values, the town reflected and enjoyed so-called 'modern life' as a whole to the outsiders and to themselves as well. Inside, however, the modern town was highly divided according to the hierarchy and race when each zone is looked at more closely.

3. Local Development until the Closing of the Sugar Mill, 1959–2002

As in many parts of the country, the Socialist Revolution led by Fidel Castro in 1959 brought a series of changes to the town Camilo Cienfuego (Hershey). Perhaps the most obvious change being the renaming of the town from Hershey (named after an American 'imperialist') to Camilo Cienfuego (a revolutionary hero). When the enemy of the revolution was ousted, demographic and social changes followed. Beginning with the change in ownership, from the 'capitalist' owner of Hershey, Julio Lobo, to the Cuban socialist regime, numerous changes followed in demographic figures and landscape. By intentionally altering the landscape features and the purpose of some of the main structures, the new regime inscribed its main ideological values to the *batey*. In this chapter, the process of the spatial changes of the *batey* will be described with the historical and oral data that I collected. Secondly, by looking at the relation of sugar production and the Cuban role in the COMECON²⁰), how the *central* workers gave legitimacy to their rigorous labor until the factory closing will also be examined.

3.1. Beginning Sugar Industry under Socialist Regime: Trans-domination

Like most Cubans, my mother and her family hated the Batista regime. Although she lived a privileged life, she viewed the revolution with excitement. She wrote in her diaries. "The whole country seemed to be behind Fidel. Cuba was free of Batista and all that he represented, we were on our way to true democracy...." (Rathbone 2010:16)

The victory over Batista²¹) thrilled most Cubans including those in the *batey*

20) Abbreviation for 'Council for Mutual Economic Assistance'. Established in 1949, it was an economic organization under the Soviet Union. Cuba joined it in 1973, and made alliances with communist countries for trading.

21) Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar (January 16, 1901 - August 6, 1973) was a Cuban president from 1940 to 1944 and from 1952 to 1959. He was considered as a dictator and as a U.S.-aligned president due to his supportive attitude to the U.S. economic intervention to the Cuban

CC (Camilo Cienfuego)²²⁾ and Castro's regime was broadly welcomed by all classes of people. The year 1960, however, was a more decisive year for Cuba than the year 1959. Land reform and egalitarian socioeconomic policies followed which also put CC on the table for negotiation, like all other private businesses in Cuba. The owner of 'Hershey *central*', Julio Lobo was called to a meeting with Che Guevara.

"Lobo is offered the sugar industry in Cuba. And he's offered the chance to nationalize it and make it hum and become efficient, in the way that Lobo had often agitated for in the past," (Rathbone 2010: 27)²³⁾

This scene implies the Castro regime's ambivalent attitude toward the sugar industry. The first year of the revolution (1959), the economic strategy was against single crop exportation which had long been a tradition of Cuba. The fundamental economic plans were as followed: 1) To reduce dependence on a single product: sugar 2) To replace the importance on food products that produce lower profitability 3) Diversification of the export products. (Gonzalez 2004 : 5)

This economic plan, however, was far from reality. In Cuba, who was highly dependent on imported food, there was no managerial or operational skills for either agricultural or industrial projects. Moreover, after the Castro regime started land reform, huge proportions of the middle class went into exile to the U.S. or to European countries. Cuba began experiencing labor shortage in many fields, including the sugar industry, and found it difficult to replace the skilled workers who had fled the country. This labor shortage is assumed to be one of the reasons that Cuba could not restructure the economy. To make matters worse, in the year of 1960 when Cuba declared the revolution to be socialist, her largest

economy.

22) CC will be used to refer to the abbreviation of Camilo Cienfuego in the following texts.

23) He detailed the scene of Lobo meeting Che Guevara who was the president of National Industrial Bank at that time. "Guevara leaned forward in his chair, still formally polite, firm, and clear. In so many words, he told Lobo that the time had come for him to make a decision: the revolution was communist, and he, as a capitalist could not remain as he was. Lobo could either stay and be a part of it, or go" (Rathbone 2010: 27)

| Year | U.S. | U.S.S. R | Eastern Europe | China | Japan | Canada | other countrie s | Total (in thousand tons) |
|------|------|-------------|-------------------|-------|-------|--------|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1960 | 1949 | 1578 | 227 | 477 | 205 | 75 | 1601 | 6112 |
| 1961 | — | 3302 | 490 | 1032 | 423 | 16 | 1151 | 6412 |
| 1962 | | 2112 | 669 | 938 | 431 | 20 | 961 | 5416 |
| 1970 | | 3105 | 961 | 530 | 1221 | 65 | 1024 | 6906 |
| 1979 | | 3842 | 731 | 486 | 297 | 316 | 1597 | 7269 |
| 1980 | | 2726 | 704 | 512 | 267 | 264 | 1718 | 6191 |
| 1984 | | 3650 | 1173 | 705 | 231 | 241 | 1017 | 7017 |
| 1988 | | 3308 | 1040 | 1399 | 372 | 112 | 747 | 6978 |
| 1989 | | 3469 | 1190 | 889 | 205 | 180 | 1190 | 7123 |
| 1990 | | 3576 | 616 | 892 | 162 | 291 | 1635 | 7172 |
| 1991 | | 3835 | 68 | 796 | 412 | 332 | 1324 | 6767 |
| 1992 | | 3397 | 163 | 825 | 187 | 487 | 1026 | 6085 |
| 1993 | | 2304 | 129 | 315 | 75 | 166 | 673 | 3662 |
| 1994 | | 1109 | 191 | 475 | 118 | 151 | 1144 | 3188 |

Table.3.1> Cuban Principal Sugar Market Indicator (Years selected by the author) (unit : 1,000 tones) Source: Sugar Year Book ISO 1989, 1993,1994. Anuario Estadístico de Cuba 1989. Sweetener Analisis 1997 USA, Redimensionamiento Y Diversificación de La Agroindustria Azucarera Cubana, by Armando Nova González. Universidad de La Havana, 2004.

trading partner, the U.S., imposed an embargo on Cuban sugar. However, the swing to the Soviet bloc in 1960 and the ensuing immediate economic assistance left Cuba with no choice but to stick to her original economic structural framework. In February 1960, well before the full economic break with the United States, the Soviets signed a trade agreement with Cuba, granting \$100 million credit to buy equipment and promising to purchase 4 million tons of sugar in each of the coming four years. (Skidmore et al. 2010: 134)

Thus, the Cuban sugar industry was forced to be more reliant on the benevolence of her communist partners, rather than to seeking to establish economic independence. From 1985 to 1989, more than two-thirds of all Cuba's sugar exports, amounting to some 4.7 million tons per annum, went to the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe, and in 1989, COMECON premiums lifted the average unit value of sugar exports to all socialist countries (including China) to 642 *pesos* a ton. (Poliitt 2004 : 324) Especially since the 1970's, the Soviet

Union purchased Cuban sugar at prices that were far above market value. In some years, Cuba could even afford to re-export some of the oil that its sugar earned. “Nothing was more favourable than sugar production.” a Cuban economist says, “it was reality but it was virtual reality.” (Peters 2003: 2)

Being unable to make the path for the first draft of the new economic policy—to decrease reliance on a single crop, and to diversify agricultural products—the Cuban sugar industry experienced “trans-domination.”²⁴⁾ The concept of trans-domination can be explained where most revolutionary projects have led to new domination systems (trans-domination). Mainly because of the lack of expected effects of the revolution, the “liberation projects” became void. Thus, the old dominating party, a private company owned by Lobo, was replaced by the governmental institution named MINAZ —*Ministerio del Azúcar*— Ministry of Sugar of Cuba, which had the same economic objective and also served the function of taking care of the production and the town facilities.

Due to the lack of realistic alternatives facing the newly nationalized economy which had a self-imposed duty of providing 'full employment', it was necessary to set out communist institutions maintaining the function of already existing places. As the concentration of sugar production was considered as an efficient way to establish stable production without requiring further investment, Cuba decided to utilize the largest sugar mills (comprising 161 *centrales* in 1959) that were private sugar companies like Lobo's *central*. By doing this, the time required to adapt to rearrange industrial and agricultural facilities could be minimized even if some skilled workers had departed. This problem was resolved to a degree by promoting additional unskilled former workers (when higher ranked employees went into exile) and bringing in more labor, which was also a part of the mission of the new regime—providing full employment. In the case of CC, in the beginning stages of the socialist regime, many people got promoted and numerous

24) See Samsonov (2011) for further argument. He argues that the Haitian revolution was led to another facet of oppression, explaining the process of “revolutionary” or “liberation project” followed after the Haiti independence in 1792. He defines 'domination' as an asymmetric exercise of social power following Castoriadis, and liberation as creating symmetric, reciprocal social relations with autonomous decision-making and execution.

others were hired. N (84, retired) who was an assistant engineer in the sugar mill in the Hershey era, was promoted to a higher position and started attending an engineering class everyday in the morning to bolster the engineering workforce to the *central*. He, who was rewarded by the government with promotion and better payment, spoke about how passionate he was and how he even volunteered to teach the class.

"The name of the class was "*propio taller* (the workshop)". I also worked for 2 *turno* (spells). I got paid only for one turn, but the other turn was voluntary. At that time the factory needed skilled workers and needed to train new workers to learn the skills." (N, 84)

In the case of the Cuban sugar industry, the overall experience that CC went through was trans-domination, in which the same economic system was maintained and even expanded to a larger quantity in terms of workforce and productivity. In terms of functional features the *batey* took on a more important role in guarding the national economy than ever.

As mentioned above, maintaining the role of being a single crop exporting nation made the sugar industry the 'vanguard of communism', a topic which will be discussed in detail in the following chapters. The sugar industry remained the economic core and its hegemonic ideology was realized in the spatial reordering of the town, preserving the function yet altering the meaning of it. Also, the expansion of the Cuban sugar industry and the differences implemented in managing the residential areas for the workers combined to change the characteristics of CC.

3.2. To be Reborn as a Socialist Sugar Town

Not only did the revolution (1959) change the dominant agent of the factory, but it also altered demographic and spatial features of CC. When the new socialist government took over the factory, most of the administrators of the factory who lived in *chalet* left for other countries, and 'new' employees moved into the town as engineers, administrators, and laborers. Along with this demographic change to the town, the landscape was modified according to its new social system, projecting the ideological values of the socialist government. This chapter will discuss how the socialist regime implanted its social values into 'the most capitalistic' town in Cuba by presenting major changes of the utility in the public areas and new residential zone.

3.2.1. From 'Hershey' To 'Camilo Cienfuego'

Among the various authoritative decisions imposed upon the town, the most visible and confusing change that the town was subjected to was the changing of its name. The process of naming objects or people involves careful consideration regarding the object. The name change, as discussed in this chapter, refers to the process that was made by the authorities who strategically changed the name in order to inscribe a socialist meaning upon the town. The name changing was a necessary process in the eyes of MINAZ, when considering most of the town continued its form that was once under the capitalist system. Thus, renaming the town had one simple reason – imposing a new meaning on the locality of CC.

The new name that was given to Hershey was the name of a famous national revolutionary hero, Camilo Cienfuego. Camilo Cienfuego was born in Havana in 1932 and disappeared on a flight from Camaguey to Havana in 1959. As one of the key figures of the revolution, he viewed as more of a 'commoner' than Fidel Castro or Che Guevara due to his ordinary background. People in the village often say he was a true revolutionary, not to mention a better public speaker than Fidel Castro. “When he heated up the audience with his passionate speech, Fidel

took the mic and finished the speech.” (C, 38) MINAZ changed the name board at the entrance of the town and put 'Camilo Cienfuego' in everything official,

| Sugar-mills in Havana Province | Location |
|--|-----------------------------|
| Andorra → Abraham Lincoln | Artemisa |
| El Pilar → Eduardo Garcia | Aartemisa |
| Mercedita → Lavandero, Augusto Cesar Sandino | Mariel |
| San Ramon → Orlando Nodarse | Mariel |
| Amistad → Amistad con los <i>pueblos</i> | Guines |
| Fajardo → Cdte. Manuel Fajardo | Quivicán |
| Gómez Mena → Héctor Molina Riaño | San Nicolás |
| Habana → Habana Libre | Caimito |
| <u>Hershey → Camilo Cienfuego</u> | <u>Santa Cruz del Norte</u> |
| Josefita → Manuel Isla | Nueva Paz |
| Mercedita → Gregorio Arleé Mañalich | Melena del Sur |
| Occidente → Pablo Noriega | Quivicán |
| Rosario → Rubén Martínez Villena | Guines |
| San Antonio → Boris Luis de Santa Coloma | Madruga |

Table 3.2. > Sugar Mill Name Change after the Revolution 1959. Elaborated by the author and source from p.5 'The Current Restructuring of Cuba's Sugar agro-industry by Jose Alvarez', 2004, University of Florida

including signs and documents.

Naming the place means more than just administrative busy work. The town needed to reflect that the socialist value was necessary and happened to other sugar towns across the country as seen in the table above. These changes in the names of the *bateys* reflect the expressions of revolutionary values. When the new name contains such ideological meaning, it was truly intended to alter the perception of the people, whether they be insider or outsider of the town, so the town can be viewed as being linked to the newly fermented socialist values. 'Camilo Cienfuego' is thus intended to evoke the memory of the revolution in 1959 for not only town people but the visitors to the town.

As symbols, place names are part of the process of attaching meaning to one's surroundings; they act as sources of information, facilitate communication, help us to 'know our surroundings', and serve as repositories of values. (Cohen and Kliot 1997: 665) With recognition of the importance in place naming, it is notable that

the socialist regime changed every name of the *bateys* in the country. It can be understood as the act of symbolizing the place by connecting the 'nationalism' and 'sugar production' which was necessary to guard its ideology. Making a link between the sugar mill towns and the socialist values also showed the intention of the government to transit the meaning of sugar production: from sugar as a sign of the exploitation of the 'imperialists' to that of sugar as a guardian of the national economy. In the following chapter, this will be examined in more detail with a special emphasis on the spatial reordering that places ideological values upon the town.

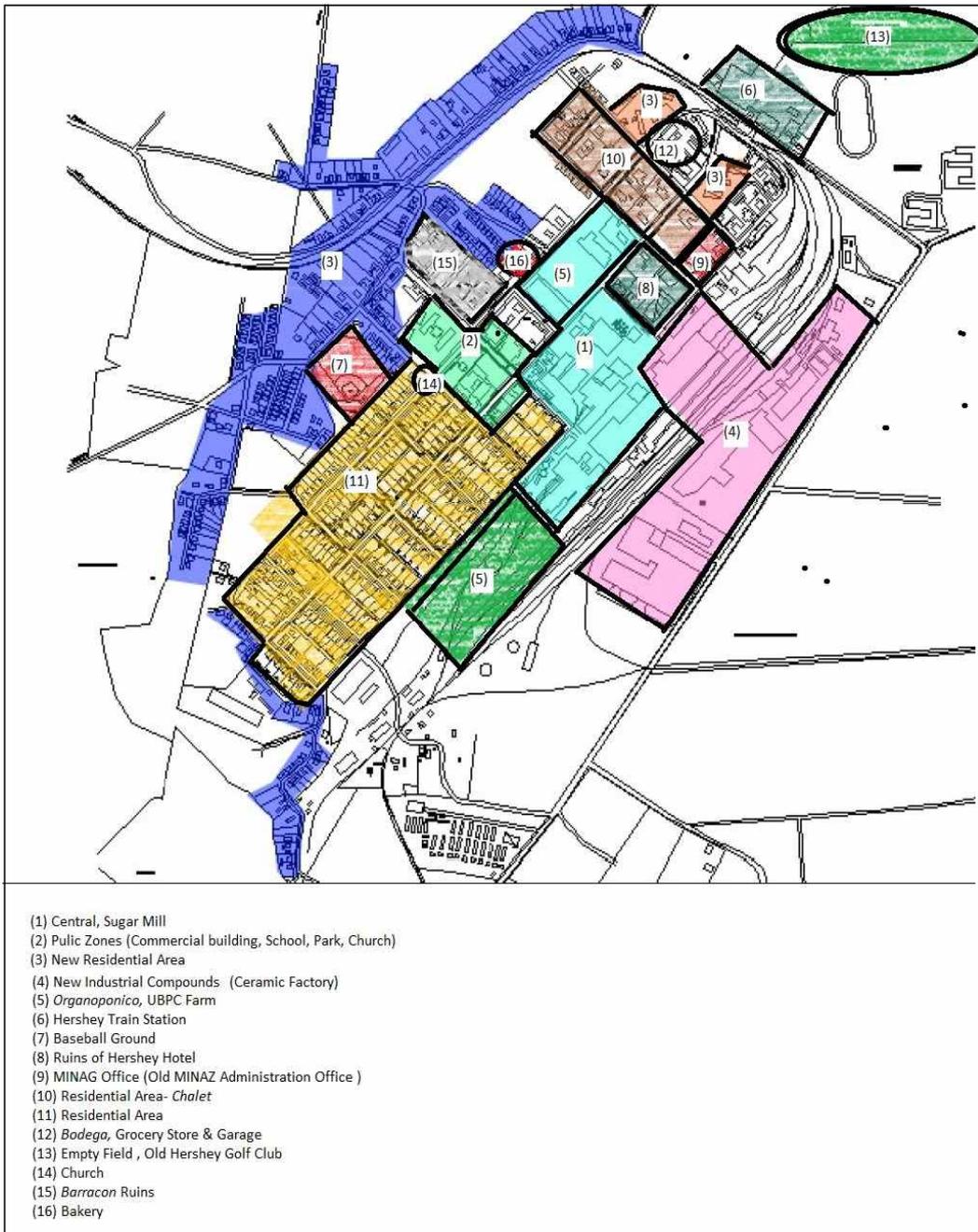
3.2.2. Expanding and Establishing the Neighborhood

In the residential area, expansion and normalization can be found as developmental characteristics. The expansion was highly influenced by the new regime's economic strategy with a focused concentration on the sugar agro-industry and a goal of full employment for the people. Under these political circumstances, the town was expanded and the habitation of the people became stabilized, which later reinforced the sense of locality in the town.

“Many people started moving in. Before there were only 500 workers for *central*, but after the revolution almost three times as many workers started working. I thought it was unnecessary.” (M, 82)

“...the reason that they started to hire many people was because the government wanted to improve working conditions. Like, to decrease the work that was allocated to one man. In the post-revolutionary era, everyone worked. Before, after the *zafra*, the laborers went home (who were staying in the *barracon*). But after the revolution they increased the men who worked in the *central*. Normally, every department had like 5 men, but after the revolution they put like 2 or 3 more men... The laborers too... instead of working 3 months, you could work more than 5, 6, 7 months. This of course meant more money.” (P, 72)

Providing full employment and offering improved working conditions were two major goals of the new regime. The increase in the workforce naturally was



Map 3.1> Map of Camilo Cienfuego. The background map was attained from a local resident and elaborated by the author.

followed with an increase in the number of the inhabitants of the town. They

brought their families with them and gradually more homes had to be built. With this influx, the community had to undergo a housing shortage. For example, a hotel had to turn into a temporary home for many workers. P (88) who was married in 1969, was offered a room in the hotel. Her husband was working for the *central*, and they had been living in the neighboring town, La sierra. After they got married they could not get a house because all the houses in CC was already full, so the town administration -MINAZ- put them in a hotel room. Another case was H (28), who was born in the hotel. His father was a worker in the *central* and was also offered a room in the hotel.

“I remember that we were living in a room like an apartment with one toilet. Downstairs, there was a cafeteria *comedor* where we could cook and eat. It used to be a restaurant in the era of capitalism *capitalismo*.” (A, 88)

This shortage was due to the fact that even if many of the previous workers fled from Cuba to another country, the number of new employees outnumbered those in the past. During the first twenty years following the revolution in 1959, the local housing developments had taken place to solve the housing problems for the workers. For example, the parts checked as number (3) in map 3.1 were built from the 1970s to the 1990s along with the introduction of an 'apartment complex' into the town. This apartment complex was built for the tablet workers '*tableros*' who were working in the factory for the wooden tablets. These tablets were made from the bagasse, one of the residues from the sugar cane processed after the milling. For maximizing the efficiency of the cane usage, a factory for the tablet was built in the area (4) along with the apartment complex which was built to accommodate the workers in the 1970s. As seen in the map, the below the old residential area —the area numbered as (3)— was expanded almost to the boundary of the sugar field. The construction of the apartment complex and the newly developed area (3), were attributed to two factors: enforced national sugar production and the authoritative goal of full employment of the socialist regime.

Another important factor that affected the community's process of establishing the neighborhood was the change in the housing system for the sugar workers.

“They gave us a piece of land and building materials. You had to pay but it was more or less affordable. That was the benefit of the revolution. Before, people used to live in houses of straw and wood, but after the revolution you could build your own houses. You had to pay something like 5 *pesos* per month for rent... And you live here as long as you want” J (52, retired)

From his statement, we can see the main difference between the pre and post-revolutionary eras was the fact that the houses became permanent homes for the resident workers regardless of their incumbency in the *central*. They were offered with a permanent house or could build their homes with the support of MINAZ. By subsequently providing this change, stability in the local population began a sense of solidarity to the local populace. This stability of the housing in CC contributed to solidifying relationships among neighbors, the people, and the territory which promoted the sense of belonging amongst them.

The relationship among the neighbors likewise began to change. Unlike the previous separation by ethnicity, the town became molded to enhance solidarity among the neighbors. P (88) recalled,

“...the new comers 'adapted' to our custom... We were like family... Nowadays, there are quite many people I *do not* know. But before, we all knew each other.” (P, 88/ underlined by the author)

Through the senior residents of the town who have lived there since the pre-revolutionary era, the new comers could also become acknowledged with the unique town history and the background of the unique appearance of the town.

The expansion and the stability of the population in the town gave the foundation for the consolidated form of the locality. In the background, it is seen that national policy, to keep the continuous economic function of the town and to expand its role to the national level, played as an external factor for CC under the political economic circumstance of the Cuban economy.

3.2.3. Normalization and Standardization

Many of the places in the town, such as old residential areas or public places, namely schools, commercial buildings, parks, offices and the *central* remained unchanged. Where the standardization process took place was in the newly developed areas. First of all, the standardization in the houses that were built in the post-revolutionary era was remarkable in style and size. The structure is similar to the old styled houses in terms of the exterior structure, the front patio and the back yard. The interior of the newly constructed homes also resembled the main structure of the houses that were built in the pre-revolutionary era. This structural similarity derived from the homogeneous design when they were built. Because these houses were built under the auspices of MINAZ who controlled the administration of the town and the materials that they offered were standardized for every house. Thus, many house features such as roofs, fences, the size of patios, backyards, flooring and other features became predictable when designed and built by MINAZ. Compared to the old houses that were built prior to the revolution, housing in the town also experienced the standardization under MINAZ. As Yurchak (2006) observed in the authoritative discourse in the Soviet regime, the authoritative representation in housing and further in space was becoming 'highly normalized, fixed and citational at all levels of structural organization.' (Yurchak 2006 : 37) ²⁵⁾

The normalization that was brought to the places in the town started with the section of 'leisure.' The leisure parts —Hershey Golf Club, Hershey Garden, and Hershey Hotel— were the first places to be targeted for modification. Among them, two places ceased to function: the golf club and the garden. The hotel subsequently turned into an apartment building served appropriate authoritative decisions, later becoming a restaurant for the workers.

These leisure places were discontinued or altered mainly because they went

25) He introduces an episode of a drunk guy whose home is in Moscow but ended up being in Leningrad. Handing the paper with his home address to the taxidriver in Leningrad, thinking he is in Moscow, the taxidriver took him 'his home' and there really existed the same name of the streets, apartments complexes, and even inside, the furnitures styled same. See pp. 36-37 Yurchak (2006)

against the idea of the new regime, representing “bourgeois ideals.” In the practical aspect, amidst the shortage of housing and in the purpose of erasing the legacy of capitalism, turning the hotel into a complex of dwelling was a rational choice for the ideological and utilitarian view. The normalization of the town places, were meant not only to efface the trace of the former owners but also to implant the bureaucratic space into the town. Along with the leisure areas, chalets were turned into a place for the bureaucracy.

The big mansion styled houses, *chalets*, were taken by the administrators of the sugar mill. The biggest chalet—the area numbered as (10) in map 3.1 — where the daughter of Julio Lobo, Maria Luisa Lobo used to live until her exile in 1960, was taken by the military office. This house, currently named as 'the view house (*la casa de la vista*)' was more symbolic than all other houses. What made this house symbolic was not only the aesthetic value of the house—surrounded by a neatly arranged garden with a giant tree at the corner, but also the owner, Maria Luisa Lobo. She, the second daughter of Julio Lobo, was revered by the townspeople due to her doing good deeds like her father, and the original founder Milton S. Hershey.

Due to the residential tradition of the house, this particular house was symbolic of 'ownership.' The size, twice big as the other chalets, and the location—the house was located around the entrance to the town from the Hershey train station, (6) in map 3.1—seemed from the vintage point of the military as the ideal location for the military office. Equally symbolic, the building next to her house, the office of the *central*, (9) in map 3.1, was taken by MINAZ. The main principle of the changes above were in ownership, which was the transformation from private ownership to a bureaucracy.

This spatialization of the authorities into the town under the socialist regime shows that the rise of the new regime effaced any trace of the former authorities. This effacement, however, is not the total erasement, but the replacement of one form representing private capitalists with that of another namely the bureaucratic members or institutions representing the new regime. The spatial reordering of the town was that the disappearance of the old property owners went hand in hand

with the extension of the bureaucracy of the new socialist regime.

The normalization thus, not only contains ideological effacement but also illustrates the notion that the bureaucracy represents the new hegemony of society. The series of the spatial reordering in the town reflected the idea of the new authorities and intentionally changed the meaning of the town. The life of the townspeople also came under the constant control and intervention of the authorities, MINAZ, in their living and working space. The community was set with a material setting and forced adherence to the ideological discourse of sugar production under the political circumstances of Cuba in the post-revolutionary era until the *central* closing.

3.3. Local Identity as the Guardian of the National Economy

Emerging from the historical rupture of the country in 1959, the new administration, MINAZ, had modified the landscape and altered the function of some of the public places according to the new socialist ideological values. Despite the spatial reordering, the town had continued with its original function and continued to maintain its status among the surrounding regions as an economic center connecting the region to the larger global economy and geopolitical intrigues.

Especially owing to the beneficial trade agreement with COMECON, the importance of the local economic system was emphasized by the national economic policy. Among the various factors that were attributed to consolidate the local identity in the post-revolutionary era, two important factors can be pointed out as decisive elements in identifying the locality under the socialist regime: 1) remaining as the economic source of the surrounding communities, and 2) a place of patriotic sugar workers, *azucareros*.

3.3.1. As the Economic Source of Neighboring Towns

As national economic policy focused on the sugar industry, massive sugar production brought regional developments to neighboring villages as well. This regional development was highly related to the nature of sugar industry which induced many kinds of by-products in the course of production. From cane harvest and processing, it is possible to obtain eight products and by-products which are potential raw materials for the extractive, chemical and biochemical industries. The various sugar producing countries currently produce more than fifty commercial products. (Almazan et al. 1998:14) In the case of the *central* in CC, the local characteristics of the neighboring villages arose with the following by-products of sugar cane: bagasse, molasses, and crop residues. Bagasse, which is composed of fiber, was the main source of making paper board. The industrial complex —(4) in the map 3.1— was dedicated to making paper board and is still



Map 3.2> Camilo Cienfuego and the neighboring communities. Local source photographed by the author.

in operation. This board factory brought laborers from the neighboring towns to the *central*. Another advantage of using bagasse as an industrial material was that it could be obtained from the *central* directly and it did not require another processing step. Thus, it was easy to transport simply using the already installed railway next to the factory.

Another usage of bagasse was agricultural. It could be used as animal feed. Rio Blanco was one of the neighboring villages whose economy was dependent on bagasse. Even if most of the rural area surrounding CC dedicated their fields to sugar cane, Rio Blanco seems to have a stronger identity as a cow town, *vaqueria* or as a village for the cane cutters, *machetero*. Considering its rundown landscape amid the vast cane fields, one can easily assume that the area can be identified as rural.

For example, L (92, former *machetero*²⁶⁾ and *vaqueria*²⁷⁾ in Rio Blanco) started

26) Cane-cutter, originated from 'machete', the cane cutting knife that has long tradition across in Latin American countries.

cutting cane when he was seven years old. He has worked not only as *machetero* but in every relevant field to the sugar industry available in the rural sector. He also raised cows in his teen age years in a *vaqueria* in La Sierra, and planted various vegetable for their own alimentation during the *tiempo muerto*.

“Before the revolution, I worked a little bit. There was not much work. But after the revolution, I worked a lot..... the good thing about working as a *machetero* was that they offered us very good meals. Everyday we could eat pork and rice... Also, the duration of *zafra* expanded from two or three months to four or five months. So, before the revolution, there were about seventy *macheteros* working here, but after the revolution it became almost two hundred people.” (L, 92, former *machetero*)

According to his statement, two relevant factors influenced Rio Blanco's local identity: one is to offer the field for canes and the other is to offer the labor for cutting them. Especially in the post-revolutionary era, the national concentration on sugar production brought the expansion of cane fields. Not only cutting the cane but also to raise cows for transportation and agricultural products was an assigned part to Rio Blanco in the process of sugar production. The bagasse, a by product of sugar, was circulated back to the field after the squeezing process, and it was served as animal feed, especially to the cattle in Rio Blanco.

Like CC, Rio Blanco also increased in population. In this period, it is said that people from the eastern provinces '*orientes*' started moving into Rio Blanco as well. As more and more *orientes* (the people from the east side of the country) settled in Rio Blanco, as *machetero* or workers in the agricultural fields, the local image of Rio Blanco was formed according to the prejudgement and vague image of *macheteros* and the people from the east. The image for the people was drawn as 'brutal', or 'rural' which still prevails when locals are asked of it. For example, T (92) recalled, “In Rio Blanco, there is always severe hunger *mucha hambre*.” Also, the people from the eastern provinces were called 'black and deceitful.' A (64, former school teacher) recalled,

27) Originated from *vaca*, cow in Spanish.

“Once I rented out one of my rooms to a couple from *oriente*. And what they did was robbed me of my stuffs in the house and sold them away. After that, I never gave a room to any people from the east side.” (A, 64)

The image of being 'harsh' and 'rural' still remained, which was contrasted by CC's urban and organized image.

Another community that takes a similar form with Rio Blanco is San Antonio de Rio Blanco, or 'San Antonio' in short, which is connected to the sugar cane fields in between CC and Jaruco. It has traditionally been inhabited by the cane cutters and agriculture workers. The enlargement of the town was also due to the expansion of sugar production which was not only to provide laborers for CC but also other *centrales* in the province.

Another important by-product was 'molasses' or '*miel*' in Spanish. This material is residue from the sugar syrup which then became a resource in the process of distilling and producing rum. The molasses from the *central* was sent to the distillery in the old fishing town Santa Cruze del Norte. This distillery was built around the 1920s, right next to the port in Santa Cruze del Norte. Santa Cruz del Norte, a former fishing village and famous as an onion farming area, turned into a rum factory town which required new housing for the workers as well.

Officially named as '*Compañía Cubana de Alcohol Industrial Refinado*,' it has continuously produced rum for the rum company, '*Rueda y Legendario*' and '*Havana Club*' in the post-revolutionary era. As the rum industry arrived, the fishing and onion farming economies slowly faded away. The growing rum business with a stable supply of molasses from the *central*, Santa Cruz kept very close ties with CC. In the 1980s, several apartment complexes were constructed to accommodate the workers for the rum factory and for the people who commuted to Havana as well, for it also played a role as a juncture for road transportation



Picture 3.1> Rundown house in Rio Blanco. The iron construction is the lift for the sugar canes harvested. Photograph taken by the author

from Havana to Matanza, and *vice versa*.



Picture 3.2> Street in Santa Cruz del Norte (left) / Picture 3.3> The rum factory in Santa Cruz del Norte (right). Photographs taken by the author.

Jaruco is also a major town neighboring CC, which is a very old town that has traditionally been inhabited by the sugar workers, cane cutters, and the other workers in agricultural fields. Due to its central location in the province Mayabeque, the people in Jaruco commuted to the nearby *centrals* like Boris Luis de Santa Coloma and Rubén Martínez Villena in Madruga located in the same province, Mayabeque. Like the relationship with Santa Cruz del Norte, the *central* in CC was supplied with workers from this old colonial town to which it was connected by the railway.

Another community that had been involved in this sugar industrial region was Jibacoa which had been installed with bungalows for the sugar workers in front of its extensive beach. Even if it was not involved in the sugar production industry, its original fame as a vacation destination for Cubans nowadays is due to its proximity to Santa Cruz del Norte and CC. The bungalows that were offered to the workers in the vacation season still remain.

"The villages around the central, all is affected. San Antonio, Rio Blanco for canes and Santa Cruz for making rum (with the cane syrup) ... Santa Cruz was just a fishing village, but now it has become a city." (P. 72/ underlined by the author)

In sum, the development of CC in the post-revolutionary era was not limited to

only CC, but impacted on the neighboring communities in their growth and

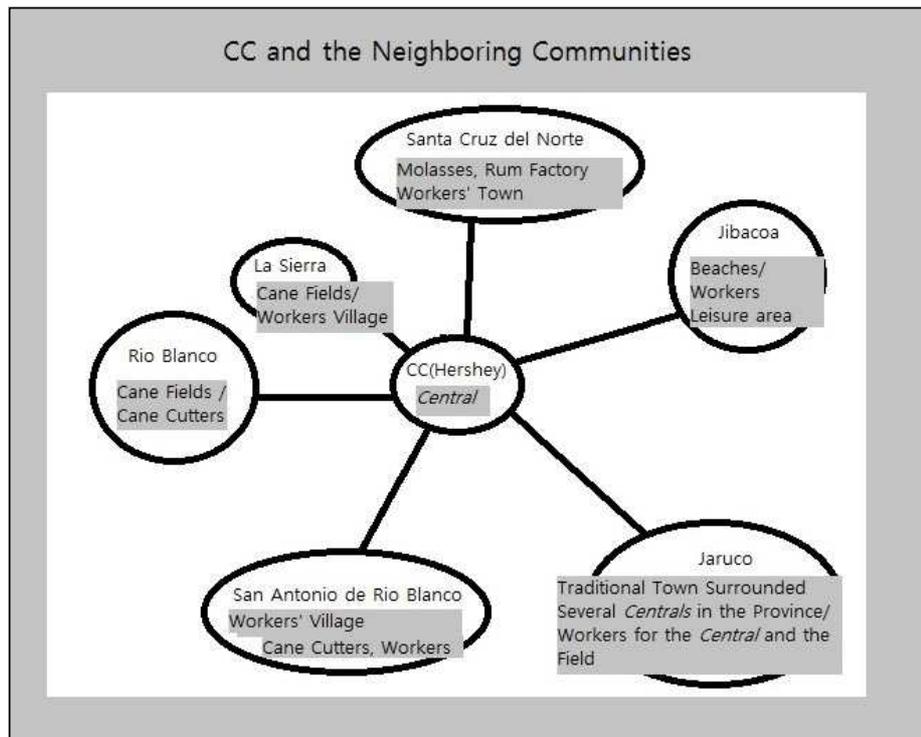


Chart 3.1> CC as the core of the economic resources for the neighboring communities. Drawn by the author. Note: There is no connection between the size of the circle and the size of the community.

shaping their own sense of locality. Due to the various usages of the sugar cane, the by-products turned the old fishing village Santa Cruz del Norte into an industrial town to produce rum. The neighboring towns, thus, were all connected in the realm of the sugar industry in the post-revolutionary era. Referring to P's statement above, it is possible to see how the people living in CC viewed the development of the neighboring communities: 'their growth came from the *central*.' Being the source of the economic activities of the region, this expansion of the sugar industry formed the characteristics of the local specializations of each community, and what determined the different functions of each surrounding communities was the *central* of CC.

3.3.2. Sense of Patriotism amongst Sugar Mill Workers

"For more than two centuries, sugar is the backbone of the economic life of Cuba. Amid the sound of the reeds and the scent of honey, during the harvest and downtime, whether fat or thin cows following the biblical metaphor sweet quotes generated in the market, Cubans lived and created the culture that identifies them."

(Oscar Zanetti Lecuona,(2011) Espacio, Laical 2011/ Jan p.97)

To turn empty lands into farms or into industrial places is linked to human economic activities and consequently alters the natural environment, which is ultimately a cultural process whereby applying the cultural values or ideology are applied when making economic decisions. Sugar making, not only as an economic activity but also as a cultural process, has been ascribed to the Cuban national identity. For a long period of time, Cubans earned their fame and identified themselves with being 'sugar workers *azucareros*.' As many Cubans fondly say, 'Cubans all became *azucareros* once they stepped onto this island.' Sugar industry, thus, is often connected to the discourse of the Cuban national identity as seen in the above writing of Lecuona (2011).

This deep foundation of the identity and sugar making on the island of Cuba was not in a stable form but varied according to social circumstances. In the period of the post-revolutionary era, as examined earlier, the sugar agro-industry guarded the national economy, protecting the national economy by providing a tangible and profitable trading commodity to Cuba's new socialist allies. Under this national circumstance, to safeguard the sugar industry was to safeguard the socialist regime.

a. Economic Encouragement

To keep the labor efficient in sugar production, like in any other field, was one of the major concerns in maintaining high productivity. It has been well

documented that one of the main problems facing workers in socialist countries was a 'lack of incentives.' Many analysts, though, have pointed out that economically and socially speaking, the lack of incentives typically felt by workers in socialist countries was largely overcome in the Cuban sugar sector, at least until the collapse of the U.S.S.R. The better treatment for the higher pay system and other material benefits such as housing and occasional awards (clothes and shoes) can be pointed out as incentives for the workers. The social activities that were specially formed by MINAZ were social incentives enjoyed only by the workers in the Cuban sugar sector (see subsequent section b). Those incentives for the sugar workers and the process of tying the sugar workers to Cuban nationalism can be pointed out as very important factors that consolidated the community in CC.

F (72, retired.) "I was an engineer at the electronic company. I moved into this village in the 70s, and when I came into the town I was trying to get a position in *central*, but I couldn't because there was no vacancy at that time..... To work in *central* is better than working in the electric company."

P (70, retired) added, "The good thing about working in *central* was, for me, the work was very close. It was very convenient to go to work and back home. But more than anything, *central* paid more than any other factory."

M (52, construction worker) "If you worked in a rum factory, you could get about 120 *pesos* a month...in *central*, it was more than 200 *pesos* for a position with the same qualifications. Also, they gave you clothes sometimes."

The payment differed depending on the educational level and years of experience. It seems the range of the payment was from 270 *pesos* to 420 *pesos* in the 1990s, depending on the positions. Although there were differences among the different ranked workers, all the statements above prove that there was an incentive for the sugar workers and better treatment in the payment system. The incentive system was not only in the payment, but also in the living standards such as housing. The housing in the *batey* was fixed and regular maintenance courtesy of MINAZ was provided twice a year. The housing fee was also lower than in other areas, which was 5 *pesos* a month and electricity was offered free

of charge.

Nevertheless, to work in *central* wasn't a comfortable job. Like other factory workers, the working environment was harsh and tough. Among the harsh conditions, the most frequent complaints were about the noise and smell.

“To work in the *central* required very hard labor. The most difficult part was the humidity and the noise inside *central*. Actually, lots of workers had hearing problems. Also the villagers, like the family of the workers had to suffer from the noise.” (J, 52, instructor in a college)

Because of the smell of the boiling cane syrup and the heat inside of the mill, the environment was more harsh compared to other factory jobs. Despite these negative elements, working in the *central* was a coveted job due to its economic benefits and the socially constructed meaning of '*azucareros*' in Cuba.

“I worked in *central* for 40 years. I was in the transportation department and I was a carrier of the sugar product to the train. I was paid about 300 *pesos* a month. Every morning, I encountered the coffee vendors who would come around 5 o'clock in the morning. I started working at 7 o'clock to 11 o'clock and would have lunch till 12 o'clock. After lunch, I worked till 4 o'clock... I liked Friday especially because I could see this small market in front of the factory entrance... Also, we would all go out to a bar with colleagues at night to have rum and dance *bang bang* and *charanga*. It was a very good time... I liked working in *central*... I was married and have three children.” (R, 82, retired)

Even though workers had to work in three 8 hour shifts in lots of noise and unpleasant smell, most of the sugar workers that were interviewed cherished the moments working in *central*. As seen in R's statement, not only were they well paid but also there was a certain 'active social mood' that they cherished. Along with its economic stability of the members, the town saw the prosperous time enjoyed by its members. This active social mood was created by the constant social activities among the resident workers and their families in the town, which was made possible by the general benefits offered by the administration of the *batey*, MINAZ.

b. Making the Image of *Azucareros* as the Guardians of the National Economy

Besides the economic benefits for the sugar workers, constant efforts were made by the state to develop patriotism amongst the *azucareros*. For this, MINAZ boasted many activities for the sugar workers and also tried visualizing the state slogans for the workers' motivation. One of the examples found in the town was that of murals. The murals under the socialist regime were painted on the surrounding factory walls which one would see when entering or passing by the *central*. If read carefully, the texts were highly propagandizing to the workers as 'the guard of the national economy.' Here are examples of the phrases that were written on the walls of the *central*.

| Original Texts | Translated |
|---|--|
| 1) Azucareros a La vanguardia | Azucareros to the Forefront |
| 2) En esta Primera Zafra Del Milenio Nuestros Objectivos son Producir : En crudo : 30,554.1 TM En Refino _ 50, 000 TM. Con dismuncion de Los Costos | In this First Zafra, from the Millenium, Our Objectives are To Produce : in Crude: 30, 554.1 tons In Refined: 50,000 tons With Decreasing the cost |
| 3) Estamos Segros del Triunfo Tu Esfuerzo es Decisivo | We are sure of the victory. Your effort is decisive. |
| 4) No hay Fuerza Ni en la Mente Ni en el Brazo del Imperio para Aplastar Esta Revolucion | There is No Strength in Neither Mind Nor the arm of the Empire to crush the revolution. |
| 5) El Bloqueo en su Conjunto , Debe Cesar | The block as a whole , Must Stop |

These phrases in the table above illustrate the inherent meaning of sugar making by the authorities very clearly. Starting with 3), can be interpreted as 'to ensure the victory of the revolution, sugar is the key' which reveals the economic situation of the Cuban economy that was highly dependent on the U.S.S.R. Thus, like in 1), using a word such as 'vanguard' was intended to raise the morale of

the workers. For some people this intention was always in mind and caused many to formulate a very strong sense of patriotism.

The connection between the 'nation' and 'sugar' grows tight also in the form of condemning the enemy, the U.S. The phrases 4) and 5) show this animosity toward the U.S, by criticizing their economic blockade on Cuba. In 4) by criticizing the 'mentality' of the U.S. which opposes socialist values, it is interpreted as showing confidence in the moral values of the system of the socialist regime. In 2) practical objectives are also found with very specific numbers stating production goals.



Picture 3.4> Series of the Phrases on the *Central Walls*. Photographs by the author

The national emphasis on the sugar industry and its popularity is also shown in social events such as '*Dia de los Azucareros*', which means 'Day of the Sugarworkers'. '*Dia de los Azucareros*' was celebrated by MINAZ annually on the 13th of October. The day was designated by the government in 1960 in commemoration of the nationalization of the sugar mills. This commemoration and the corresponding social activities were organized by the state to alleviate

collective activities and to encourage labor motivation. Below is a good example of how sugar workers identified themselves as being tightly connected to the country.

“To me, the happiest time of my life was when I was working in the central. I worked from 7 p.m. to 3 a.m. which was the last shift of the day... I was born and raised in Cuba and I will die here... Many people left Cuba after the revolution, but I will never leave my country. My country is me, myself.” (C, 78, retired/ underlined by the author)

Her statement shows a strong sense of loyalty to the country, and the assimilation between oneself and country. According to her, as an *azucarero*, her rigorous labor could be legitimized by very vague sense of patriotism. In a sense, the fact that she cherished her memory of working as an *azucarero* might have been what made the connection in her mind between working in the *central* and 'being Cuban.' Even if it was an unavoidable economic decision and realized in a practical dimension, these types of authoritative encouragements regarding sugar labor are assumed to have a certain effect among the workers helping them a strong sense of loyalty not only to their own personal territory, i.e. CC, but also to the country as well.

c. Sugar Workers' Baseball League

The motivation or encouragement could also be found in the social events and official texts (newspapers, murals, etc.). One prominent social event, '*liga de azucarero*,' which means 'Sugar Workers' League,' was hosted by MINAZ and received nationwide attention.

J (71, retired) recalled the time when he used to play baseball.

“At that time, *Liga de Azucareros* was almost to the semi-pro level. It happened every year after *zafra* when the factory was out of the busy season. Lots of workers loved to play baseball. Because the level was pretty high, there were even some workers who joined the professional league... We used to play afterwork

at 4 o'clock. The league opened around May or July. Our team name was '*Camilo Cienfuego*'. Even if it was not for league competition, we enjoyed baseball very much in town. Sometimes, in town, we would make teams by department, and play in tournaments... *Liga de Azucareros* were the most competitive and active among the semi-pro leagues in the country.”

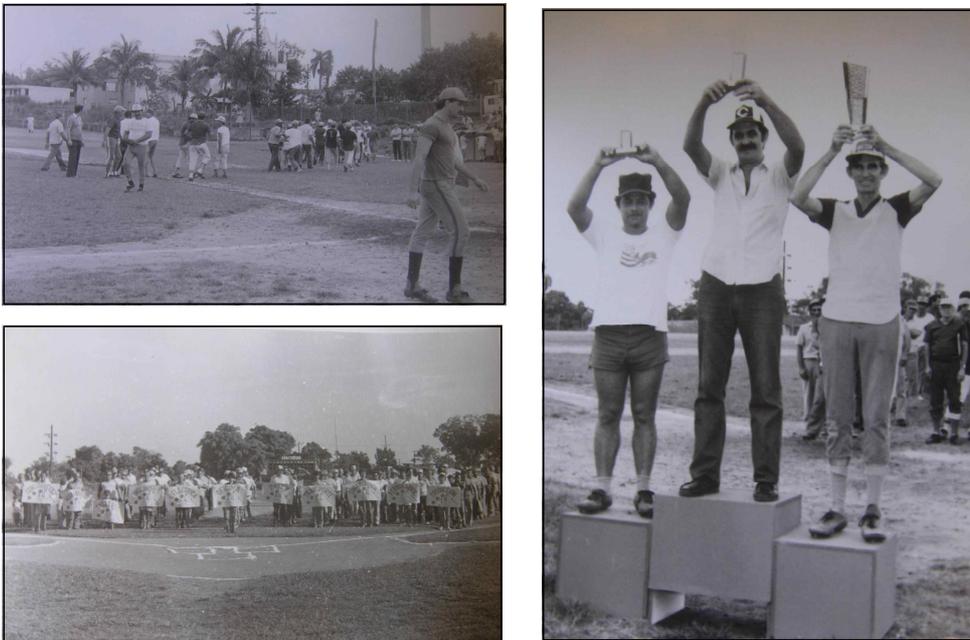
As seen in the statement of J, playing baseball was one of the most popular activities amongst the workers. Whether or not it was in an official league game, baseball was always enjoyed by the workers and the townspeople. When not playing in the officially sanctioned *Liga de Azucarero*, they would create informal teams formed by department.

To have an official baseball field in the town seemed to help popularity. According to historian Louis Perez (2003), the Sugar League, which consisted of mill teams, produced some of the fiercest rivalries in Cuban baseball such as *Delicias* versus *Chaparra* and *Senado* versus *Lugareños*. (Perez Jr 2003: 258) Even if CC's baseball team, named 'Camilo Cienfuego,' was not ranked high in the league, it had a long tradition dating back even to the pre-revolutionary era by Milton S. Hershey. Games were routinely played at the baseball field in the town, sometimes inviting teams from other mill towns or even between coworkers by forming teams according to departments.

When there was a game in the town or in another one, it was not just a sporting event. This social activity became meaningful not only to the sugar workers who were playing, but also to their families and the neighborhood—essentially the whole town. As seen in the photographs below, many town people came to see the game and cheered for their town's team. After finishing the games, people would often gather with their family and neighbors and have some lunch or at least something to drink. They talked about the game and their rank in the league, took pictures, and exchange them. The routine activities connected the workers to each other, and as the most popular sport in the country, baseball games were the constant subject of discussion between people.

To have a baseball team named in accordance with the name of the town impacted on the sense of belonging the people felt to their territory, ensuring that

the town is at the forefront of every Cuban's sense of national identity. The process of sharing social activities with the neighbors, and having a town team, made living in CC different than living in other neighboring towns in the region, which strengthened the local pride among the townspeople. Collective activity such as the significance of baseball is one of the numerous examples of social gatherings in the town, and by far the most official and the one most actively participated in.



Picture 3.5> Sugar workers league in the 80s. Photographs in courtesy of a local source.

3.3.3. Place of 'Unity'

The town, built for and lived in by *azucareros* surviving the change in the administration in 1959, required it be consolidated by external force under the socialist regime until the *central* was closed in 2002. Internally also, it formed a strong social linkage amongst neighbors, who were at the same time, colleagues.

The space was shared in a residential and professional realm, which made people form strong connections to each other like 'family.' When they say they are like 'family', it is meant to show that they have lived together for a long time in the same town, that they know their ascendants and each other's family income because they were colleagues at the same time. To know another's family history and current situation is very common in the town. Comprising most of the people who had worked for the *central*, at least one of the family members was an '*azucarero*'. To have worked for the *central* for two generations is also a common case in the town. The loyalty to the *central* was also generational. One of the senior people who had worked in *central* for 30 years, says,

“My father was working for *central*. Even if I went to the aviation school to be a pilot, at the end of my years, I came back home to be an *azucarero*.” (M, 52)

Amarilys, a historian who had an *azucarero* father and at the same time was a resident herself in CC also confessed in her book, Hershey (2004), that her dream was to work in the *central*. Thus, the *central* consolidated the people in a lateral but also in a vertical way.

The locality of CC was woven together out of numerous elements. To begin, by directly participating in the sugar-making process, the town not only served as the social and economic hub of the surrounding communities, but the workers were also told they metaphorically defined what it means to be Cuban. Reinforcing this patriotic feeling is the fact that the authorities gave incentives to the sugar workers and encouraged them through various media such as murals and social activities that elevated their social status to the level of 'the vanguards of socialism' or agents in the defense of Cuba and the revolution.

4. Locality in Rupture: Crisis as a Consolidated Community

Bateys are the places where Cuban national history and political economy and her specific sugar intersect and the interaction of these two is represented in the spatial and historical form of the locality. This chapter deals with the transformation it went through due to a specific global historical event, the collapse of the U.S.S.R.

Since the locality was built upon the national economic agenda, which was highly dependent on the U.S.S.R. and COMECON, this collapse had a catastrophic impact on the nation, and later, on the sugar agro-industry sector. The crisis, in 1991, forced Cuba to restructure her most important – economically, socially and symbolically – sector in the country, the sugar agro-industry. In the process of restructuring the sugar sector, the Cuban government selectively closed existing sugar mills, and fostered a policy focusing on sustainable agriculture and self-sufficient industry which had been the regime's original intentions in 1960. Based on this background, this chapter rises a question on the transformation process brought by the political economic change, and thus will focus on examining the political and economic background, authoritative decisions and discourse on the new alternative economic policy for CC and its spatialization.

4.1. Closing of the Sugar Mill (2002)

4.1.1. Technical Background of the Production in the 1970s and the 1980s

“When I heard that the central would be closed, I was thinking the factory should have closed a long time ago. They have no way of analyzing. I never wanted it to stop, because many things were influenced, but it had to stop.” (V, 82, former engineer)

The closing of the sugar mill was a sudden process, but it had been foreseen by the workers and the related people in the sugar industry. During the post-revolutionary era, workers and the town people had discussed the poor

management skills both in the industrial and agricultural sectors. Due to the beneficial trading agreement with COMECON, the sugar industry continuously expanded, but it also experienced certain failures in terms of technological and operational skills. The main changes in operation were made during the 1970s and the 1980s, which can be summarized as: control by the *central* government (MINAZ), the introduction of mechanization in the fields, and minor changes in agricultural practices. These were specifically modified to maximize the productivity which was necessary due to the trading agreement with COMECON, and yet the sugar industry started faltering when the trading agreement collapsed due to the fall of the Soviet Union. Not only because it lost its biggest and most beneficial markets, but there was also a gradual decrease in the productivity in sugar, which can be seen as being caused by the internal problems of the Cuban sugar industry.

When questions about the *central* were asked, the former workers openly spoke of the problems in management and sugar cane agriculture and when there happened to be more than two people, the issue easily comes up as a topic of discussion. Through sporadic conversations and interviews, the main problems could be easily identified. The first change, which later became a problem, was the negative effect of the central planning and bureaucracy. V (82, retired) remembered,

“I was working in a *central* as an engineer for about 20 years before the revolution. People came out from the university, and became bosses. They really did not know what to do. In Havana, they are supposed to know what to do, how to fix things. (For example), if the last molasses (*miel final*) are too high, they're supposed to know why it is too high... I can't remember whole things... But, they did not know how to work in the factory. I worked with many of them. They did not know many things... Before the revolution, I remembered that there was a problem in the factory, so the milling machine stopped that night. The next morning Julio Lobo held a meeting and was very angry... Because to stop is to lose money... after the revolution, there were many times that the milling stopped. But the young boss did not know what to do.” (V, 82, retired / underlined by the author)

Showing his handbook when he studied for the mechanics of milling, he

complained how inefficient it was to work under a young graduate from Havana. At the decisive moment of the milling operation, decisions were not made early enough, which wasted milling time, and, in turn, the yield. Even if his case can't be generalized in all the sugar mills, it seemed that in the *central* there existed a pattern of inefficiency. It is possible to imagine that the bureaucratic system delayed meeting the expected amount of production, and this in turn contributed to the gradual decrease in productivity.

To maximize the productivity, mechanization was necessary and this in turn was facilitated with an abundant oil supply from the Soviet bloc. In the process of mechanization, though, some important factors were not considered thoroughly enough.

“Before the revolution, they did not use machines. There was a workers' union who strongly opposed to the use of machinery. After the revolution, they started using machines. But the machines that were imported from Australia did not fit the system of the sugar mill here. Because, in Australia they used 'pool' in the cane field before the cut canes were carried to the mill. But in Cuba, we did not have a pool system that can rinse the dirt away from the cane. So, the dirt that came together with the cane, which required an additional task to eliminate the dirt off the cane.” (V, 82 / underlined by the author)

The machine, he explained to me, was the Australian Massey-Ferguson 201 which was brought to the cane fields in the early 1970s. Due to this problem, the required labor essentially doubled because of the need to remove the dirt from the cane. This caused subsequent inefficiency in transporting and inserting the cane into the milling system. About 5 years later, the machine was replaced by the Cuban—Soviet design called 'KPT'. (See Pollitt 2004, p. 325 for further details in machines.) It was better in conducting the cutting thus solving the problems that the Australian machines had caused. Gradually, the machine evolved with improved technology, the latest one being called 'KP3'.

“... the government brought the new cutting machine called 'KP3,' which cuts 2000 arroba²⁸⁾ of cane in an hour. One good *machetero* can cut 300 arroba a day,

28) Arroba was unit of weight for the canes. One arroba was equal to 11.5 kg.

requiring 8 hours of labor.” (V, 82)

The mechanization helped to maximize the productivity in the fields by reducing the time and cutting the cost of labor, replacing many professional *macheteros* with imported machines. The downside of the mechanization, however, was it could not cut the best part of the cane with the most sucrose. The part in the sugar cane which contains the most sucrose is from the very bottom to the middle of the cane. 'Good' *macheteros* were the ones who can cut from the very bottom, which is thicker and harder than the upper parts. It required better skills and more strength. The machine, however, could not cut from the very bottom, leaving some of the best part of the cane in the field.

The mechanization, on the other hand, replaced the *macheteros*, forcing them to leave the fields in search of other occupations. This side effect proved problematic when the oil supply from the Soviet Bloc was cut. Basically, there were no longer any good *macheteros* left who could cut the cane while, at the same time, there was no more oil to fuel the machines.

There were also minor changes in the cane field that could be pointed out as contributing to the decrease in productivity. One was the government's beginning to use an inferior cane species in the 1970s which contained lower sucrose even if it was bigger in size. The second was the burning of the cane fields after *zafra* — which did not occur in the pre-revolutionary era— this proved to exhaust the soil and after several decades of post-*zafra* burning, the soil was found to have lost vast amounts of valuable nutrition. Ironically, these long-term problems originated from the political economic situation which motivated the sugar industry itself. Highly dependent on the sugary industry, the Cuban government's hasty decisions to maximize the productivity brought about a severe crisis with no visible solution when the COMECON fuel supplies were no longer there to fuel the machines.

4.1.2. Causes: Political Economy of Cuban Sugar Industry Restructuring

a. Liquidation in Mechanized Production

Activating many trials and strategies to maximize productivity during the period of trading with COMECON, the regime was left with no choice but to watch helplessly as the decline began happening. The first problem that was encountered in the cane fields was the 'mechanization system.' Since it was made possible mainly because of the stable oil supply from U.S.S.R., it severely protracted the weeding and cutting process in the fields. By the time the government finally tried to find *macheteros*, none existed as they had already gone on to other jobs.

As many analysts pointed out (Peters 2003, Pollitt 2004, Alvarez 2004), the Cuban sugar industry experienced huge losses as did many other sectors. This left Cuba with a large, mechanized sugar industry designed to fit a customer that no longer existed, and at the same time dependent on sources of tractors, fuel, fertilizers and other supplies that also ceased to exist. (Peters 2003: 2)

| Crop year | Sugar produced (10 ³ t, 96° basis) | Exports (10 ³ t, 96° basis) | Agricultural yield (tones of cane per hectare harvested) | Industrial yield (Sugar, basis 96°, per cent cane) |
|------------------|---|--|--|--|
| 1990/1991 | 7,729 | 6,596 | 49.1 | 10.59 |
| 1991/1992 | 7,104 | 6,439 | 44.7 | 10.57 |
| 1992/1993 | 4,365 | 3,968 | 35.3 | 9.85 |
| 1993/1994 | 4,024 | 3,264 | 33.5 | 9.26 |
| 1994/1995 | 3,419 | 2,778 | 28.2 | 9.92 |
| 1995/1996 | 4,504 | 3,798 | 32.5 | 10.73 |
| 1996/1997 | 4,316 | 3,622 | 32.0 | 10.0 |
| 1997/1998 | 3,285 | 2,569 | 30.0 | 9.9 |
| 1998/1999 | 3,851 | 3,121 | 35.0 | 11.13 |
| 1999/00 | 4,134 | 3,431 | 37.7 | 11.1 |

Table 4.1. > Selected Cuban Sugar Industry Performance Indicators, 1991-2000/ The indicator in 1992/93 was emphasized by the author.

Source: Pollitt 2004: 329 <*The Rise and Fall of the Cuban Sugar Economy*> cited in Sugar production and exports for crop year 1 September –31 August, F.O. Licht; agricultural and industrial yields, MINAZ, cited in Granma and Trabajadores, various issues.

Due to the scarcity of oil for mechanization in the field, the quantity of the sugar cane harvested naturally decreased. Almost over a decade after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the agricultural yield has decreased gradually since 1991 while the industrial yield continued at a more or less equivalent percentage (See the table above). This reduced the average maturity and yield of harvested cane and increased cultivation costs with the result that any short-run gain in production in one year was more than offset by reduced output and higher unit costs in the season that followed. (Pollitt 2004: 329)

b. Negative Outlook of the Global Sugar Price

Another factor that affected the Cuban sugar industry was the negative outlook of global sugar prices. As shown in the table below, prices in the late 20th century seemed to help the decision of the government. Without the support of the Soviet Union, it couldn't keep the beneficial position it had enjoyed while trading with COMECON.

| Year | Jan | Feb | Mar | Apr | May | Jun | Jul | Agu | Sep | Oct | Nov | Dec | Year* |
|-------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------------|
| 1990 | 14.38 | 14.63 | 15.39 | 15.24 | 14.62 | 12.99 | 11.92 | 10.92 | 11.00 | 9.77 | 10.00 | 9.72 | 12.55 |
| 1991 | 8.88 | 8.57 | 9.22 | 8.55 | 7.88 | 9.37 | 10.26 | 9.45 | 9.39 | 9.10 | 8.79 | 9.03 | 9.04 |
| 1992 | 8.43 | 8.06 | 8.22 | 9.53 | 9.62 | 10.52 | 10.30 | 9.78 | 9.28 | 8.66 | 8.54 | 8.15 | 9.09 |
| 1993 | 8.27 | 8.61 | 10.75 | 11.30 | 11.87 | 10.35 | 9.60 | 9.30 | 9.52 | 10.27 | 10.10 | 10.47 | 10.03 |
| 1994 | 10.29 | 10.80 | 11.71 | 11.10 | 11.79 | 12.04 | 11.73 | 12.05 | 12.62 | 12.75 | 13.88 | 14.76 | 12.13 |
| 1995 | 14.87 | 14.43 | 14.58 | 13.63 | 13.49 | 13.99 | 13.46 | 13.75 | 12.72 | 11.94 | 11.96 | 12.40 | 13.44 |
| 1996 | 12.57 | 12.97 | 13.07 | 12.43 | 11.94 | 12.54 | 12.83 | 12.33 | 11.87 | 11.65 | 11.29 | 11.38 | 12.24 |
| 1997 | 11.13 | 11.06 | 11.17 | 11.50 | 11.54 | 12.02 | 12.13 | 12.54 | 12.65 | 12.86 | 13.19 | 12.90 | 12.06 |
| 1998 | 11.71 | 11.06 | 10.66 | 10.27 | 10.17 | 9.33 | 9.70 | 9.50 | 8.21 | 8.24 | 8.73 | 8.59 | 9.68 |
| 1999 | 8.40 | 7.05 | 6.11 | 5.44 | 5.83 | 6.67 | 6.11 | 6.39 | 6.98 | 6.90 | 6.54 | 6.00 | 6.54 |
| 2000 | 5.64 | 5.51 | 5.54 | 6.48 | 7.33 | 8.72 | 10.18 | 11.14 | 10.35 | 10.96 | 10.02 | 10.23 | 8.51 |
| 2001 | 10.63 | 10.26 | 9.64 | 9.27 | 9.96 | 9.80 | 9.48 | 8.77 | 8.60 | 7.15 | 7.80 | 8.02 | 9.12 |
| 2002 | 7.96 | 6.81 | 7.27 | 7.12 | 7.33 | 7.07 | 8.02 | 7.90 | 8.54 | 8.84 | 8.90 | 9.00 | 8.00 |

Table 4.2> The World Market Price of Crude Sugar. Source: Sugar and Sweetener Situation and Outlook yearbook, USDA ERS, June—November 2002. FAS June 2003. (Redimensionamiento Y diversificación de La Agroindustria Azucarera Cubana, González , 2004 : 36 Measurement: USD/Libra (pound)

*Average

c. Lost Motivation

The collapse of COMECON trading in 1991 brought about a catastrophic economic crisis to the country. As many analysts pointed out already, the impact of the collapse of the Soviet bloc to Cuban society was as great as that of the success of the revolution in 1959. Fidel Castro named this fatal economic crisis 'Special Period in the Peaceful time' *Periodó Especial* that started from 1991. The beneficial trade with the Soviet bloc, and COMECON could no longer support the Cuban economy, which in turn brought enormous influences on the Cuban national economy and at the very bottom, the ordinary life of people.

“In the special period, we raised a chicken in a room. That room over there was full of chickens and smelled so bad... In the cafeteria *comdedor*, they started giving us very little meals. Only rice and some kind of vegetable *verdura*.” (J, 52)

E (52), who stayed in Miami with her mother, who had left Cuba in the 1980s during the special period recalled,

“Everyday on TV, I could see huge groups of Cuban people who were trying to get on the boat to Miami. It was crazy.”

Recalling the harsh life during that time, some people jokingly called this period, '*periodó de mucha hambre* (period of starvation.)' The harsh living conditions that Cuban people had to endure are well documented in their statements. Even the formerly privileged members of the sugar industry were in no way exempt from this 'starvation.' The lost benefit of trading with socialist countries was personally realized in the ordinary life of many, which brought widespread depression and a hopeless mind-set. By working double time yet still experiencing material shortage brought about a realization of what it meant to remain as a member of a socialist country in the post-Soviet era. Obviously lost was the feeling of patriotism that held them together and gave them a sense of pride about being a part of the vanguard of socialism. This 'depressing atmosphere' was very strong among the people and made worse with the advice

of the government that people, 'find their own ways to survive' which added to their languidness as well. Thus, depression and languidness in the *central* became a practical problem.

“Sometimes it was annoying when one of my colleagues slept or played during work time. I was working hard but they were going out to play baseball or to drink rum.... In the end, we all got paid the same.” (P, 74, retired)

P, who started — *trabajo particular*²⁹⁾ — in the 1990s, recalled that he could get more money from a second job rather than working at the *central*. To him, working in the *central* meant to maintain an official occupation, but to bring in actual income he took a second job. Since he'd been working for a long time in the *central*, he put professional affection in the *central*. But later, in the 1990s, the atmosphere was not as good as before the special period. This languidness caused by many working two jobs when already undernourished in the period of shortage also affected productivity, retarding the production in milling.

4.1.3. Decision to Close the Sugar Mill (2002)

The international situation of the sugar industry and the political economic situation with COMECON trading had been the key external factor for the locality of CC (see Chapter 3). This external factor brings another local linkage between the political economy and CC. This chapter will examine the authoritative decision in relation to the international political economy and how it was spatialized in CC. Especially, the drastic change that arose in 2002 affected the morphology of CC geographically, economically and socially. As the spatialization of the authorities contains the strategy for being able to survive in the adverse international economic situation, the examination of the spatializing process of the

29) After experiencing the starving age, the Cuban government allowed people to have a second job '*trabajo particular*' which can be equivalent to freelancing. After the Special Period, the majority of the people who were heads of the family started having a second job to support their living expenses.

authoritative decision and the discourse of the resident workers is expected to serve as the foundation of the transformation of the locality. The main factors that had most affected in the change of the morphology were these two: it was decided that the *central* in CC was to be closed, and the other factor was that the government brought up new local economic structures which were to be a part of the restructuring program.

“We had to act or face ruin.” Fidel Castro told a gathering of sugar workers in May 2002, pointing out that \$200 million would be saved in the first year of downsizing. (Peters 2003: 4) As the sugar agro-industry continued to falter between 2000 and 2002, and the global sugar prices continued to decline, the restructuring program was an inevitable decision necessary for saving the national economy. This program, which included downsizing the sugar industry and also, relocating the sugar workers, was called the Alvaro Reynoso Task, *Taller Alvaro Reynoso* (1829-1888) in honor of a famous Cuban scientist who wrote a book of sugar cane recommendations. The objectives of the program were 1) to achieve efficiency and competitiveness in sugarcane and sugar production 2) to increase food production through agricultural and industrial diversification 3) to develop sustainable agriculture, supported by knowledge and human capital. (Alvarez 2004: 1) To satisfy the objectives, downsizing the present mills and removing the surplus in labor and cost was the first objective. Secondly, through the Special Period which gave a lesson on the importance of independence in supplying essential goods, especially food, the task of the government focused on downsizing the current sugar production facility and altering land usage to farming for the domestic food supply. The actual tasks that were taken by the government are as follows.

According to Rosales del Toro (2002: 4-5 cited in Alvarez 2004:1), the tasks comprised:

1) From the existing 156 sugar mills, 71 will produce raw sugar; 14 will produce raw sugar and molasses intended for animal feed; and the remaining 71

will be deactivated, whereby 5 will be converted into museums, 5 will remain idle, and 61 will be dismantled.

2) Sugar production from sugarcane will occupy 700,000 hectares of the best soils, with the goal of achieving crop yields of 54 metric tons per hectare from harvests lasting only 90-100 days.

3) Molasses production from sugarcane will occupy 127,344 hectares.

4) Sugar production will be geared towards satisfying a domestic need of 700,000 tons, fulfilling trade agreements, and accessing the market when prices are favorable.

5) Extensive soil testing will be conducted on lands taken out of sugarcane production (1,378,000 hectares) to determine what areas will be devoted to mixed crops, livestock, fruit trees, and forestry.

This outline of the Albaro Reynoso Task made more sense domestically and internationally for the Cuban national economy. Especially the plan to alter the sugar cane field to farming land seemed more realistic, considering the severe shortage in food and the high price associated with importing goods in the post-Soviet era. Thus, the governmental decision was accepted with general consensus. Since there had been numerous complaints to the government about poor management and the huge waste caused by it, which was more easily recognized more widely soon after the collapse of U.S.S.R., the decision was even welcomed by the Cuban people. For many people in CC, even if they had different reasons for their acceptance, the common opinion was, 'it is sad, but necessary.'

“Sometimes we heard rumors that the *central* would be shut down. But the official news of shutting down was... like two months before it was shut down. Many people were in shock, and it was really bad (*era muy mal*)” (J, 52, retired)

In 2002, CC entered the most difficult time in its history. Due to the decision of the government, which was based on many years of speculation about the sugar industry, it was decided that the CC *central* should be dismantled.

Another important factor of the program was the relocation plan for the sugar workers.

“I was hired to work on dismantling the factory for 8 years. I was working here for more than 20 years, and I had to dismantle it with my own hands” (J, 52, retired)

The dismantling process was handled by the former workers, who were contracted for another 8 years, which was the period that the government projected the restructuring would require, with a projected finish date of 2010. J's case was a remained workforce recruited for dismantling process among the former workers. The dismantling process was taken on by the former sugar workers, but most of the workers had to be relocated to another factory or even to school. At the local level, to replace the capability of the labor and determine the best usage for the land of the town was an additional task. These two aspects of the program, replacing the economic function of the town and relocating the former workers, or the local subjects will be described in the following chapters.

4.2. Alternative Local Economy : Arrival of Organic Farms and the Ceramic Factory

4.2.1. Arrival of Organic Farms and Ceramic Factory

In the restructuring program, to replace the places formerly occupied by the sugar industry with the new planned economic places was one of the goals of the Alvaro Reynoso Task. Cuban minister Rosales del Toro had stated that having more than 1 million hectares available for organic farms *organoponicos*³⁰⁾ and intensive gardens, mixed crops, beef and livestock development, and fruits is an enviable goal in today's world. (Varela Perez, 2003 cited in Alvarez 2004: 3) The introduction of the new places into the town well reflected the state's decision, which focused on 'agriculture' — *organoponicos* — and 'goods for domestic use' — the ceramic factory—. Thus, CC once again underwent spatial reordering by the authorities, which was the most influential of all in the town's history since its initial founding.

The process was conducted in the form of replacement and new installations. In the case of replacement, the office building ((9) in map 3.1) for the *central* was taken over by the office for UBPC. UBPC — the abbreviation of the '*Unidades Basicas de Produccion Cooperative*' translated as Basic Units for Cooperative Production — was the state owned organization which was founded in 1993 for the purpose of improving the working efficiency of farmers by giving them incentives. Even if it enjoyed autonomy in management, it is highly influenced by the authorities in policy direction, technology, information and market support. In this sense, the introduction of these farming areas were highly dependent on authoritative decision making as a part of the restructuring program.

The newly formed places were the *organoponicos* and the ceramic factory which took up the largest parts of undeveloped area in town. *Organoponico*, the

30) These consisted of constructed beds filled with soil and stones for drainage, and then with 40-50 per cent organic material. This raised-bed design was necessary due to the poor quality of the underlying urban terrain. Seeds were generally transplanted from nursery beds. In 1997, there were 400 organoponicos in Havana City alone. (Wright 2009: 84)

type of farming using earth-worms for fertilizing instead of chemicals, received lots of attention worldwide due to its efficiency and practice in urban areas, such as Havana. Due to the severe food shortage during the Special Period, this non-chemical using method of agriculture can be categorized into a few different methods. Among them, the type '*organoponicos*' became successful in its efficiency and served the authorities's purpose of feeding the urban population. Organic farming in Cuba later created many small farming areas in the urban space, which was differently categorized: '*huertos*.' In CC, applied with the type of '*organoponicos*' the geographical morphology gradually became transformed to a place with more 'green' or borrowing the people's term, '*pueblo* (small village)—like' (*como un pueblo*). Unlike the urban styled small-scaled farming, which can be defined as '*huerto*' type according to Wright (2009), the one in CC was a type of state operated farming area, which differed from those in Havana City in size and the degree of organization. The state farms run by UBPC comprised of two farming areas: one is located in front of the closed *central*, and the other next to it. These two farms ((5) in map 3.1) are located at the entrance of the town.

Let me describe what kind of relationship the people and these two state farms developed, and also about the meaning of this place to the people. Due to the experience of near starvation in the Special Period, the domestic food supply became one of the primary considerations for the national economy. The people in CC also experienced this, and the introduction of the *organoponicos* brought positive contributions to the amount of available food. The operating hours were from 7 a.m. to 11 a.m. and from 1 p.m. to 4 p.m. Normally there is nothing left in the afternoon operating hours, and it closes as soon as the products run out. As one of the vegetable supply systems in town, the *organoponicos* function as an alternative food supply when there is shortage in the *bodega* and the state owned vegetable stand. Since there has continuously been instability in food distribution, the *organoponico* was welcome among the people, viewing it as an extra food supply source.

Me: They did not bring tomato again. When will it come?

A: Who knows? Maybe go check in *Organoponico*.

The price of vegetables is more or less the same in the state stalls and *organoponicos*, even if there are some differences in the kinds of vegetables offered for sale. In the state stalls, the vegetables were supplied by another region which had more extensive farming, thus a wider variety of products. The *organoponicos*, however, supply vegetables that are grown up just enough to be harvested, and thus it has a reputation for the freshness of its produce. Since farming comprises of many different kinds of vegetables, no one can expect a specific kind at a certain moment. Sometimes the workers in the field would tell you of a harvest plan for tomorrow, or even a week later if you would ask further. But this kind of harvest plan happens only in the short-term, which means people do not really know what they are going to get.

"Now it is much better that you have *organoponicos*. Before, like in the Special Period, we couldn't have anything, but now, even if it is not sufficient for everyone but we can still have more than before." (A, 62)

Another installation by the authorities was the 'ceramic factory' which was built in 2006. Located right up the street from the closed *central*, the factory occupies a quite sizable space in the upper area of the old *central*. This factory was installed to supply ceramic tiles for domestic use when the state decided to improve the diversity in national production and self-sufficiency.

The goods were made of earth and clay that were carried from Pinar Del Rio, a western province of the country. The fact that the material should be moved from a different province increased the visits of the big trucks needed for carrying the material. Also the commute for the workers from the other villages signaled the mobility of the town. These trucks that were officially operated for the ceramic factory, unofficially functioned as a helpful device to the local people in the age of 'immobility.'

"I've been offered a ride by a truck of the ceramic factory to go to Pinar Del Rio ... Every Sunday, the truck leaves at 7 a.m... If you want to go to Pinar Del Rio, I can ask one of the truck drivers if he can give you a ride." (U, 32)

As seen in the statement of U, the local people frequently used trucks as a sort of commuting bus for getting out of the town. It was not officially approved by the factory, although it was admitted depending on the driver's decision. Also, the ceramic factory hired some of the former workers of the *central* after they took training courses, which means it replaced some of the economic functions of the *central*.

Due to its practical reason to be — surviving the adverse economic situation in the post-Soviet era — the two *organoponicos*, even if not used very often due to their limitation in supply, showed the 'good' intention of the state and functioned as secondary source of food supply. In conjunction, the ceramic factory played a local economic role by hiring the former workers from the *central*. In the framework of the national economic plan, the town succeeded in reshaping its economic systems according to the national benefit, namely filling up the loss of the *central*.

4.2.2. The Meaning of the New Places

The spatialization of the national economic plan made practical sense to most of the townspeople in the post-Soviet era as described in the earlier chapter. The perception of these places as part of the locality of CC was another problem. As partly described earlier, the relationship of the people with the *organoponicos* was plainly practical, which does not produce any further social meaning produced by the collective participancy of the townspeople, as they had for the *central*. The opinion the people had about the farming grounds was based on their notion of 'agriculture.'

Me: So, why did not you think of working in the *organoponicos*? I heard in Cuba you can make a higher income working in the field rather than in the factory.

J: Cuban people do not like to work in the field. Because of the sun. The sun is very strong. (*mucho sol*)... and you *do not* make much money working in the

organoponicos. It is the same as other labor but much harder because of the sun.
(J, 52)

"Now we have become something like a countryside, *pueblo*." (C, 38)

As seen in the statement of C, the people grumble that the existence of the farms makes the town 'look like a countryside.' Also the common notion about agriculture remained 'negative' for the town people. For the industrial workers like J, who have worked inside the factory as engineers, working in the agricultural field was something alien to them. Whether the technology of the farming was inventive and internationally acknowledged, this spatial reordering, at least to the people, also projects an image of 'backwardness' by claiming their own town resembles a '*pueblo*.' C's statement proves the comparative views about the past and present of the town. Connecting 'now' and '*pueblo*' has the inherent logic that it was not a *pueblo* before, and that it was a successful industrial, or sugar town. Due to the fact that they had once lived in a 'modern' town, now to become a town of '*organoponicos*' does not render much value, following the notion of J's that 'Cubans do not like to work under the sun.'

It can also be pointed out that the social relationship between the people and this authoritative place remains mainly a one-way relationship, which can be elaborated as: the people buy the food and the UBPC sells the food. The lack in mutuality and the low rate of participancy of the town people makes the place isolated from all the social relationships in the town. For example, the farmers who are working in the UBPC farms are, except for the two people who were selling in the stall, from out of town or had just recently moved into CC (around 2 or 3 years prior). At the time of this research, 10 paid farmers were working in total, of which there were four were working in the one on the downside of the town as paid farmers, the rest in the upper side and one seller was working in the selling kiosk. Thus only 10 people who are participating in the *organoponicos* as producers can be contrasted to the large number of people who were participating in the *central*. This big contrast in participancy as producers,

and also occupiers of a certain space reduced the social attachment between the people and the place.



Picture 4.1> *Organoponicos* in CC. Photographs by the author.

"..The *organoponicos* here supply food to the town people and the neighboring cities (*ciudades*). Especially the vegetables that are harvested in these two farms are carried to Santa Cruze del Norte." (the manager of the organic farm)

In his statement, it is clear that the *organoponicos* are directly linked to the people of CC neither as producers nor consumers. The fact that the benefit of holding the *organoponicos* in town does not link into something that the town people can have direct benefit of, people do not give any special meaning, but rather gaze at it as something that the state does. Thus the townspeople remain highly detached from the place.

The ceramic factory, also, is alienated from the local consciousness and is only limited in its practical use. Even from the entrance, there is a very strict restriction about entering or taking pictures. Like in the *organoponicos*, the majority of the laborers were from different neighboring towns. In conjunction with the *organoponicos*, the ceramic company also remained aloof from the townspeople. It did not give any incentive to the former *azucareros* either. Even if it offered some positions to the former workers, the local participation in the industry seems much lower than as it was in the *central*. The fact that the factory is not run at the local level, but at the company level, also represents a certain distance between these two entities, the ceramic factory and the townspeople.

The spatial reordering in CC highly reflects the state strategy brought about by the economy of shortage. The decision of the authorities created an alternative for the local economy, which earned a consensus of sort from many of the local people simply for its practical benefit to the national economy. Nevertheless, the meaning of these two places remained in the realm of the authorities of the town due to its detachment from local participation. Compared to the *central*, the partial participant and one-way relationship of the place and the people — in the way that they remain only as consumers — affected to construct the place meaning among the townspeople. Considering place identity, which needs the interpretation of the insiders (Relph 2005(1976)³¹), the new economic installations in the town have value in their official economic frame, and its practical function for the people. As place meaning is created through human experiences (Relph 2005 (1976)), the experience that the townspeople have with these new places is limited, owing to their lack of social and symbolic meaning in comparison to those of the *central*. Thus, the alternative local economy for CC existed for its role in 'completing' the national restructuring program, making room for the creation of different meaning by the local people such as the 'degradation' and 'isolation' of the town. This different meaning by the local people and the general impact on the locality will be dealt with in the subsequent chapter.

31) He explains that place can be defined by the experience of the collective or individual experience over a place or its function. See Relph 2005 (1979) 103p.

4.3. Weakened Identity as an Economically Consolidated Community

“We all lamented for that moment. It was just catastrophic.” (J, 52)

Many people in CC could not finish their sentence when asked about the factory closing. There was no more to say than 'catastrophic', 'horrible' and 'very bad.' Even if their emotional state could not express the objective situation that CC encountered, it is not difficult to imagine its impact on the people's lives. In the drastic transformation, if the spatial reordering in the town is examined in the earlier chapter, this chapter poses a question about the internal dynamics in this new phase of the locality. How did the decisions make an impact on the local population and what are the changes?

one expert said, "the cultural damage is much greater than the economic damage of an inefficient industry, people preferred poverty with sugar to potential wealth by another route even if they were wrong" (Miranda 2010: 42 / translated by the author)

As Miranda (2010) pointed out, the closing of the central is not merely economic damage, but damage to the symbolic value of community life. Based on this point, this chapter will focus on the impacts of the restructuring program on the social aspect of the town which came with the change in their occupations, and the perceived local status relative to the neighboring communities.

4.3.1. Relocating the Sugar Workers and Emergence of Disparities

a. Relocating Process

According to Peters (2003), the relocation of the *azucareros* were as following by numbers:

Number of the Displaced workers: 213,000

Remaining in the ministry's enterprises: 23,540 / 8%

Full Time Students: 42,600 / 20%

Moved to non-sugar agricultural production: 21,300 / 10%
Retired or gone into some other type of business: 17,040 / 8%
Working full-time dismantling the inactive sugar mills: 8,520 / 4%

As shown in the statistics above, about 4% of the employees had remained, and 8% of the administration workers kept working in MINAZ. But the rest of the people, which comprises more than 80%, had to be relocated to another field or re-trained for another job. The replacement of the workers was one of the biggest tasks of the restructuring program, for the government had to not only ensure the economic security of the former workers, but also to relocate them for the new alternative economic plans, such as sustainable agriculture. The options that the policy offered to the former workers were to go back to school, to move to another industry or to get into agriculture. Even if the numbers at the local level are unknown, the relocation process in CC was carried out and most of the former workers continued to earn the same amount of income. For example, J, who had worked for the *central* for more than 20 years, was paid 300 *pesos* as an engineer and when he relocated to a provincial university as a teacher in '*ingenio*' department, he received the exact same salary. Many engineers also could move to another factory like the one in Santa Cruz del Norte for soda manufacture, or to the gas plant in the neighboring town. Some of them even received better conditions in terms of payment and incentives, especially the people who became employed in the gas plant. As seen in the numbers above, however, the major relocation falls into the category of student.

Me: So, what did you do after the *central* closed?

M(60): We did not have many choices. They said "study or go farming, *Estudiar or Ir al Campo*" I did not want to go back to school nor to go to the farm. I was almost 50 years-old already, so I just retired.

The majority of the replaced workers chose to go back to school as students for a few reasons. Unless they happened to be a highly skilled worker, to be relocated to another field directly was not a viable option. To change their speciality, taking a retraining program was needed, and the school of '*Albaro*

Reynoso played the role of a 'retraining' center for the former workers. Of all the social benefits that they could attain, the ensured 'full salary' while studying was the most lucrative. Some studied as full-time students, and others as part-time students. Sometimes they would go to school only one or two days, while working in a new field and they could still receive part of their salary from the government. Whether they studied part-time or full-time, the same amount of salary was paid as during their employment in the *central*. This program was applauded by the local people and perceived as a helpful and efficient state project for most of the former workers. Thus, the complaints and discontent toward the authoritative decision on the relocation was somehow compensated through this almost charity-like program. A teacher in the Alvaro Reynoso program who used to teach Spanish literature recalled,

“... the former workers from the *central*. Those I remember are assistant mechanics, electrical engineers, sugar elaborators, and a mechanic. The students now work in another factory. L who lives in Santa Cruz now works in the soda factory in Santa Cruz... Y who used to be an assistant mechanic now works in the ceramic factory as a mechanic.” (A, 60)

This program served as a training center, a consultant place for the former workers, and at the same time, also as a 'social' program for the former workers to ponder over their future career. Even if they did not have any special interest or clear career objectives, they could spend a long enough time to think about their future while getting paid the same as before and also upgrading their comparatively low education level if needed. People who used to have only finished lower grades in their education—for example, some only finished the 9th grade (middle school grade) or 12th grade from *Polytecnico*, the specialized high school for technology and industrial engineering— could upgrade their education level, and if one already had a certain qualification or skill, one could choose to get another qualification, if needed. The offered subjects consisted of Spanish literature, autography, mathematics, physics, chemistry, culinary (*elaboración elemento*), agriculture, English, and veterinary sciences.

To the former workers this program was a chance to upgrade one's skill, or

alter it, with economic security during the education and as a result, at the level of locality, it played a key role in keeping the local economy in shape.

"People who were taking the classes were in kind of a happy mood. How great is it to study rather than working all day?" (A, 62)

Even if the depression emerged at the moment of the *central* closing, it seemed it was partially alleviated by this national policy that comforted the workers during their initial period of despondency. The school started the program in 2002 when the *central* closed and it finished in June 2011. The long term supporting program also shows that the government, even if it was severely affected by the collapse of the U.S.S.R., still held the socialist ideals to maintain a 'juster' and more 'equal' society.

b. Emergence of Disparities

The policy to survive the 'hard time' and sustain the socialist system after the collapse of the U.S.S.R., also brought the new economic policy injection which was to allow people to be 'self-employed'³²⁾ or to have a 'special job *trabajo particular*.' This policy, however, paradoxically accelerated economic inequality among the people. Even if the CC people were the employees of the sugar mill, economic inequality in professions already was indicated in the middle of the 1990s due to some people who got an extra job outside of the sugar mill. According to P, who started *trabajo particular* in the 90s, he recalled that he would work more for the extra job rather than in the sugar mill because in his extra job, there were incentives according to the amount of the work he would have done. The new comers to the town for agricultural activities and the

32) Self-employment in Cuba has legalized in September 1993 as a part of a series of liberalizations that the Cuban government has adopted in response to the collapse of the Soviet Union. Self-employment was just one of several reforms that Cuba embarked upon in the post-Soviet "Special Period in Time of Peace" in order to resuscitate its practically moribund economy. Perhaps the most important reform was the legalization of the holding of dollars, which enabled Cubans to purchase goods that had previously been available only on the black market. (Smith 1999: 49)

emergent new class who ran personal business, whether legal or illegal, grew more visible and became powerful neighbors compared to the old residents. One of the farmers who moved to CC about 10 years ago, officially working as a farmer, but un-officially sold meat and agricultural products. His house is newly painted and possesses a well managed garden and a parking lot for an old American car.

"The people who has 'possibility' *posibilidad*, paint their houses every five years. Look at that house. (pointing at a newly painted house in the street) Those people have '*posibilidad*'." (A, 62)

This visualization of disparities promoted hostility rather than hospitality towards each other. Together with the arrival of jealousy and hostility amongst the town people, the loosening linkage between neighbors or former colleagues brought anonymousness into the town. This appeared in the form of 'fear' among people which sometimes was maximized when there was a 'criminal' in town. Among several crimes, there was a marked increase in larceny cases. Having heard of robberies twice during my research, it was sensed that the anonymousness between people and the fear they felt toward each other has been increasing after the sugar mill shut down. It is rare to see any house with wide open doors, even in the hottest temperatures of the day.

"You know, before when I was working in the *central*, I came home at 3 am. And there was no street light at that time. At that time I was never afraid. It was totally ok even if I couldn't see the people who were walking behind me. But now, I even get scared when I come home at 7 p.m. It is not like before... We were all like family, because we knew each other for a long time. But now there are lots of people I do not really know." (M, 38/ underlined by the author)

"Before, we did not have the fences (*reja*) in the houses. Now we all have them... I always lock the door when I'm alone." (A, 62)

The statements of M and A both show prevailing fear and anonymousness among the neighbors. Especially that of M indicates that these happened recently

after the closing of the central. Along with the degraded landscape grows the atmosphere of silence and darkness in the streets at night. Also, having been relocated to different jobs and positions meant not being connected to each other any more. This gradual alienation among neighbors was not only because of the differentiation in profession but also of the decrease in communal activities.

"Before we used to do lots of things (in FMC³³). Going to the kindergarten for collective caring for the children and visiting homes for cleaning. The activity of FMC is now a lot less." (A, 62)

FMC, an organization for Cuban Women, organized various activities that required social participancy of the women in the town. Collective activities such as sewing and voluntary cleaning were often held. But the FMC, even as an organization historically connected to the socialist revolution in 1959, does not now represent any collective ideas in the town. Furthermore, the decrease in social activities such as baseball games, and the frequency of being in close contact with neighbors should be pointed out as the cause of bringing an atmosphere of anonymousness into this small town.

Compared to the past, the disintegration which emerged among the neighbors became more visible and is felt by most of the townspeople. Economically speaking, they now have different incomes and some became better-off by having gotten involved in illegal activities. Socially, the communal activities such as FMC decreased and there are not many collective activities remaining in the town. The collapse of the Soviet Union, which in turn brought economic crisis in Cuba, forced the people to become engaged with unofficial economic activities such as buying or selling on the black market. Also, harsh living conditions experienced

33) The Federation of Cuban Women, or the FMC (La Federacion de Mujeres Cubanas), has been essential in advancing both gender equalization and health improvement for women. The FMC was established in 1960 by Fidel Castro, with Vilma Espin, a close friend of his, as president. Today, it is recognized as both an NGO and a national mechanism for women, because while its membership includes the vast majority of Cuban women (85.2% of all eligible women over 14), it is not government supported or financed. The organization has a pyramidal structure in which there are local, municipal, provincial, and national levels of representation and leadership. http://www.stanford.edu/group/womenscourage/communitybasedsolutions/the_federation_of_cuban_women.html

under the economy of shortage caused people to become involved in criminal scenes such as larceny. The people say that the fear and distrust now prevalent among the town people appeared only recently, specifically after the *central* closed and new people who are not colleagues but just relatively unknown neighbors entered the town. Accumulated over a decade, the inequality problem was a social phenomenon in Cuba at large, which developed as people tried to survive the 'Special Period'. This overall social change was also shown partly in CC and the fact that the *central* closed is seen as a factor that reinforced the social disintegration by distributing the townspeople into different job categories. The abrupt closing of the *central* and the relocation program that was run for eight years wasn't the only variable but it constitutes one of the layers of the multi-layered societal transformation.

4.3.2. Experience in Isolation and Degradation

After walking through the town and talking with its old-timers, who boast of having been sugar workers all their lives, a powerful sadness is seen in their eyes when they look at the sugar mill (or any other place in town) as day by day it slowly transforms into a scrap-heap.

(Fernandez , Havana Times, 2010 Aug 13)

a. Degradation in the Materiality

The core function of the *central* in relation to the surrounding regions also entered a new phase. If the former chapter described the transition in internal relationships, this chapter examines the one with the surrounding regions. The current situation will be compared to the one in the past, which was mostly described in chapter 3.3.1. Especially in the symbolic perspective, the status that CC had among the neighboring communities was by far the most 'central' place. This metaphor of being 'center' along with the economic change of the neighboring communities transformed CC into part of the periphery just like any other surrounding rural areas, such as Rio Blanco. These are shown mainly in degraded facilities in housing and public places.

The dismantling that spanned from 2002 to 2010 turned the factory area, including the related facilities (internal railways and water containers), into an 'abandoned' area. This spatial reordering affected the landscape of the town in a very negative way. As more time passed, the more the space projected the image of being 'abandoned.' Even if it would be awkward to define the usage of 'the abandoned' place, it was used somehow, not officially, but unofficially by the children of the town. Especially in the place where the factory contained the water for milling, the water kept running and some of the water that drained to another part of the factory became a puddle which some unknown small fish inhabited. This place functioned as a playground for the boys who started 'fishing' in the puddle. Also, some of the cows and the goats from the farming ground from the downside area linger on the grassy parts and graze themselves during the daytime.

The problem of this abandoned space was the fact that it was located in the core of the town and its size also takes up the huge *central* space. The local identity as a 'sugar town' which played the economic center at a regional and national level, grows dissolved due to the disjuncture of the core economic function. The dismantled *central* projects the image of the town as 'hollow at the core.' Even if the decision was driven by economic decisions, the visualization of 'being hollow at the core' affected CC on an emotional level rather than an economic level.

"I just hope they just remove all the remains of the *central*. Imagine, I have to pass this factory everyday. I used to work here all my life... I *do not* want to pass this building." (C, 42)

The existence of the dismantled factory transmitted complex feelings in the people. The visuality and the location meant something more than just an 'ugly' pile of old materials. This place made the people remember the glorious past which contrasted to the locality they are facing in the present.

b. Regional Isolation



Picture 4.2> A boy fishing in the ruin of the *central* (left) / Picture 4.3> The *central* dismantled. There are cows lingering around in the *central*. Photographs by the author

The degradation in the materiality of CC wasn't only in the public places. For the well-being of the workers, MINAZ used to provide the benefit of residences for workers, which was discontinued after the closing of *central*. Since the official restructuring program finished in 2010, the administration of the *bateys*, which used to belong to MINAZ, became cut off from many beneficial services such as free electricity³⁴), gas, and housing care. Now the electricity company, that is controlled by Santa Cruz del Norte administration, started installing metering machines at each home to integrate the electricity service into the municipal management.

J: We did not have this machine before. I've paid about one peso each month... At that time, it depended on what kind of electric devices you have at home.

Me: How did they measure the amount you used?

J: The inspector visited the home and checked the kinds and the amount of the electricity they use. Now this machine is working, we pay the amount of the electricity that we use.

Me: Which system do you prefer?

J: Before it was better.

34) The free electricity was possible inside the *batey* due to the electricity generated in the *central*. By using cane residue , *bagasso* as fuel for harnessing the electricity plant, the generated electricity was distributed to the homes and facility in the *batey*.

Not only the removal of the benefits, but also the lack in public transportation affected the mobility of the population, making the town seen 'isolated.' Even if there are a few means of public transportation, the railway³⁵⁾ and bus, the routes of these two transportation systems grew far from offering convenience in mobility. The second type of transportation, not public, were the commuter buses for the hotel to nearby regions, which stop twice a day in the town. Normally, this bus is packed, and if it is too packed, the rare chance to have a ride has also gone. The last option to get out of town is a type of truck converted to be used for passengers which charges a fee of three Cuban *pesos* to Santa Cruz. The three types of available transportation, thus, fall short in providing civil mobility.

"Before, there were many commuter buses that were offered by the *central*. We could use it to Santa Cruz or Jaruco because it came a lot. There was even a direct bus to go to Havana." (U, 32)

The perceived isolation of the town started with this inconvenience of mobility in and out of town, which soon brought changes to the status of the town. The decrease in mobility not only affected people but also the availability of goods. Now less materials come into the town than in the past.

"To find something, we always go to Jaruco or Santa Cruz... There is not enough food in the kiosk here. I've waited for vegetable oil for about three weeks and it did not come. So I just went to Jaruco to buy it... To find something, it is better in Jaruco or Santa Cruz." (E, 52)

As seen from E's statement, the materials that were brought into the town were also limited and it was hard to find basic necessities inside the town. When the *central* was running, the flow of goods and mobility was much higher and one could find living amenities in the town without the difficulty they are

35) The railway connects Havana City and Matanza, which runs three times a day back and forth. Even if it can be convenient who travels to Havana and Matanza, the railway is famous for poor operation and delay in schedule. The price, however, is much cheaper (1 Cuban Peso per ride) to a bus or private collective taxi (which can be over 50 Cuban *pesos* including exchange of the taxi), it still function for the Cubans who *do not* have many choices.

currently facing. The problem of the lessened material and population influx to the town has raised the sense of being isolated, meanwhile the need to go to other towns increased for acquiring basic necessities. This was an inversion compared to the past when there were enough routes for goods and people to come into and go out of town and when they enjoyed the role of being the regional center.

4.3.3. Loss of the Communality

The transformation that took place in the town was examined to see how meticulously the national policy over the sugar industry was spatialized and impacted on the life of the town people. First, it can be pointed out that the political economic background was well understood by the local people, even if it was catastrophic to the locality of CC.

Despite the new local economy, the locality of CC has slid downhill, which can be summarized into: social disintegration, degradation in materiality, and sense of isolation. The disjuncture of the economic system for CC made the people undergo the disintegration in economic and social terms. The economic disparity, which had already started with the arrival of the Special Period, was accelerated by the relocation program of the former sugar workers in town. Social disintegration among the people has been observed which is connected to the economic disparity. Thus, the disjuncture of the economic system induced many more problems than the economic one itself. In term of the locality of CC, the most remarkable change is the shift of the communal aspect that was supported by the authorities. The alternative—in the eyes of the authorities—for the local economy, the organic farms and the ceramic factory in the town do not represent the communality of the town, but rather are used only for practical purposes. It is surely destructive to the former local economic framework that had been sustained for roughly one century and at the same time generative to the new one.

The shift in the framework of the local identity can be analysed in comparison to Yurchak's (2006) study on the last Soviet generation.³⁶⁾ Even if he approached

it from a linguistic framework to analyse the discourse of the late Soviet authorities, his conceptual framework 'the constative' and 'the performative' for the authoritative discourse helps to overcome the binary socialism³⁷⁾ that was a prevailed understanding of the socialist countries in the west. Yurchak states that authoritative discourse is not taken literally. Soviet people engaged with authoritative language at the level of the performative dimension. Repeating precise language forms, participating in rituals, voting in favor, and so forth, does not mean were meaningful and important because they produced important 'effects' in making their daily lives to live as a member of a legitimate society. For example, they would march on a national parade with people, holding the banners written with one of Stalin's saying. They do it not because they strongly believe in what he says, but because they enjoy the parade with their friends and make themselves believe that what they belong to has a strong legitimacy in its existence. Further, he argues that the explanation of Soviet society within the binary metaphors cannot fully explain the interactive part of reality making between the authoritative language and the people's performance on it to produce their 'reality' through it.

The key to understand the performative dimension of the authoritative discourse, such as rituals, participation in the political activities and anything that is held by the state, is in its "effects" to produce meanings and formulates in a more tangible, visible, and grounded "reality" in their daily lives. Its constative meaning of the discourse, thus, can be interpreted differently from what it was designed to be.

36) The late Soviet life, as he explains, the authoritative system becomes, borrowing Deleuze and Guattari (1972)'s term, 'de-territorialized'. The production of new meanings, publics, temporalities, and spatialities of Soviet life were centered around the principle of the performative shift. How the system signified was meticulously reproduced, but what it signified was un-anchored and open to new interpretations. The late socialist system became de-territorialized, (Yurchak 2006: 124) which opens a new possibility of the creation and interpretations of the input constative meanings of the authoritative discourse.

37) The binary metaphors that were shown in the study of soviet socialism were: official - unofficial; censored - uncensored; critical - uncritical on socialism ideology; public - secret. See Yurchak(2006) p. 6.

To keep the form of the local economy, according to the policy reform in 2002, was necessary in order to avoid any loss in functioning of the socialist economy and also to produce a tangible framework for the town. People somehow agreed with the decision and participated in the place as a consumer, or sometimes as a producer. Nevertheless, it does not mean that the designed meaning was delivered as it was intended to be understood by the people. They participate —or agree to— in the new economic installations, but they produce different meanings from the places than those were installed by the authorities. Despite the intention of the authorities to make the town an agricultural area, or another common industrial town, local people interpreted the place negatively, or only in its usage that was not the intended purpose of the place. What we see here is the rupture between the function and the meaning of the town; whereas these were once unified in the past: The function that was 'given' by the authorities and the meaning that they 'produced' from it. The function of the locality, though, fails to go along with the meaning as perceived by the local people.

5. Belonging and Longing: Meanings of the Past in Locality

Considering the fact that the transformation process, as described in chapter 4, left the town feeling a sense of degradation and isolation which greatly contrasted their glorious past, both in the pre- and post-revolutionary era, a couple of questions can be raised: 'how does the community make sense of itself within the territory?'; 'if there is no longer a communal economic structure for the local people, do the members of the community still feel as if they are members of a consolidated community?; if not, what brings them to feel a sense of belonging to each other?' The disjuncture of the *central* left the town with a sense of a deficit as a 'complete community.' As the meaning of sugar production had been imposed under the background of the political economy of Cuba ever since the founding of the town, the weight of the past was overwhelming in constructing the local identity of the town.

Due to the degradation of the town in facility and lack of care on behalf of the administration, the landscape of the town functions as a mnemonic tool for the community, conjuring up the narratives and collective memory of the 'glorious past'. The cultural practices anchored in the features, dating back to the origin of the town, also prevails amongst the people. This local knowledge, and the townspeople's self-images of their own town, can be seen as the social practice of making a cultural association with each other. It is also found that they have a certain nostalgia for particular moments of the town, which can be understood as 'longing' for the loss of such a symbolic figure, the '*central*.' The longing for the recovery of the 'loss' over the course of the dismantled *central*, will be analysed as the prevailing sentiment that the people of the town share in the era of great loss.

5.1. Landscape as Mnemonic Tool

Landscape, as a cultural process that is visualized on the surface, enables

human beings to perceive not only the spatiality, but also the temporality, of the surroundings of one's existence. As long as we live in the surrounding of a certain set of environments, we find ourselves being within material surroundings, and we perceive where we are and even 'when.' Thus the process of perceiving one's surrounding, according to Ingold (1994), needs to be considered as cultural knowledge that affects human actions and reactions to the environment. Since landscape is constituted as a result of the human social process (Cosgrove 1998), as time goes on, it also records human activities (Strathern 2003). When there is any change to the landscape that was affected by political or social relations, the landscape reveals historical changes in the social and political relationships of human beings. The reaction to the landscape of CC, that faced an externally imposed transformation, is the main concern of this chapter. Landscape, as cultural knowledge of the townspeople, has been modified which offered them the chance to reflect upon the territory in which their lives have passed. The materiality of the locality is no longer set or interpreted as it was intended, but assumes an active role in affecting the perception of the townspeople.

The degraded landscape is the visual form of the degradation and isolation of the town (chapter 4.3.3) and constitutes the main characteristics of the landscape of CC in the present time. The spatial reordering, brought by the closing of the *central*, had a generative aspect on the town —the arrival of the ceramic factory and *organoponicos*— yet the degradation is the key player in the production of the mnemonic landscapes. Among them, a few are notable in that their degraded effect in visualization, such as the *central*, trees in the streets, or cane fields that surround the town.

During my research, I encountered a few people in blue uniforms in front of a tree on the main street of town. They were cutting down the trees on every street of town, and some of the townspeople came out to watch the work process. Later, I met one of the informants for an interview, and asked why they were cutting down the trees.

"I do not understand why they cut the trees down. Of course for the cyclone season, it would be better because then they won't fall to the ground. But, those

trees were here for more than 50 years and they are beautiful... The trees in '*la casa de vista*³⁸, you saw it? It is the biggest tree in our town. It is marvellous. Before, Mr. Hershey wouldn't cut it. He always took care of the trees, trimming them every year... he loved nature. He planted all the trees here and it was beautiful. Cuba, they say 'plant trees for nature' and look what they do now. They could just trim them (not cut them down)." (A, 64)

"There would be no one who would like to see the trees cut down." (E, 45)

This decision was made by the municipal administration and it represents the fact that the era of being taken care of by MINAZ had finished with the end of the restructuring program in 2010. In the interview with one of the administrators of the town, he explained,

"Before, MINAZ was in charge of this town, and then they took care of everything. But now, we (the municipal of Santa Cruz del Norte) have to take care of this town... The trees are dangerous when cyclones come and we can't take care of the trees every season..." (One of the Administrators in Town, 28/ underlined by the author)

Afterwards, with several more people's reaction to this incident, a sort of consensus among people was agreed upon concerning the trees: 1) the trees are the symbol of the Hershey era and it hurts to see them cut down, 2) cutting down the trees shows the 'incompetence of the current administration.' There were also some people who answered apathetically. They accepted the decision of the municipal and they did not really care about the trees because they (the trees) do not affect their life in practical matters. But, for the people who have a strong bond with the town, mostly people who have grown up in the town, it was agreed that the trees gave a sort of 'feeling of' and image of 'walking easy' type of life. Saying things like, 'how beautiful it was' and 'we could sit under the trees when there is strong sunshine (*mucho sol*)' proves that they make reflections on the life of the past. This generous and park—like feeling which projected the image of 'abundance' in the pre-revolutionary era is now being removed by the

38) the former house of Maria Luisa Lobo, one of the daughters of Julio Lobo who once owned the town and the *central* in Camilo Cienfuego from 1945-1959 . See chapter 2 for details.

hands of the government. This episode shows that the modification on the landscape brings people memories of the past which contrast with those of the



Picture 5.1> Cutting down the trees (left) / Picture 5.2> Degradation in the houses (right)
/ The photographs taken by the author

present. Thus, the principle of this mnemonic process lies in the transformation, or 'absence' of some constructions, which gave them the chance to reflect on the past time.

Besides this, the process of degeneration took place in other public places as well. The public places such as the parks, school gardens, streets and plaza that were taken care of by MINAZ are now unattended and this projects the image of being 'abandoned' or 'neglected.' When darkness falls, these places often become a playground for teenagers coming out from their houses and having a chat or listening to music on old stereos. They also serve as a place for secret rendezvous, where young couples would spend some private time. Among these places, the abandoned *central* was the most symbolic and mnemonic. The obsolete *central* became a mnemonic landscape which reminded people of the glorious past.

"I wish that they just take down the *central*, or take it away from my eyes..."

Imagine yourself, that I have to see it everytime I go out from my house. It makes me sad." (M, 38)

The visualization of the dismantled *central* transmitted the image of their cherished place as 'being abandoned'. This transmission process also relates to them on a personal level as shown in the statement of M. To M, the visualized degradation of the *central* evokes a feeling of deprivation of personally cherished moments. Degradation is a highly sentimental matter to the people. A similar sense of nostalgic storytelling was also expressed in the 'cane fields.' The vast empty cane fields which are now no longer used, nor even replaced by the alternative local economy, farming areas, thus giving them a feeling of 'emptiness'.

"It used to be full of canes here. A lot of them... It was very pretty, but now there is nothing... Before, we would go out to the field with our friends. We would go into the cane field secretly and eat the cane... Have you tasted the cane yet? — No, not yet. You should try, it is so delicious." (C, 42 / underlined by the author)

The cane fields which once surrounded the town, are now left empty. They sense the change owing to the changed visual aspect of the landscape that they grew up with. By remembering the cane field as something once 'pretty' implies that the past remains something 'positive' in their memories. It is also evident that the landscape evokes cherished memories of their youth, which is embedded in the landscape.

There is something dormant in recent years, yet still breathes in the existence of each corner; in every ally; in every shelter of secret lovers; in each patio; and in all streets flat or steep, wherever they lead us to... The people of Hershey have desires and pains like everyone else in the world. One of the desires is to live in a place that is 'quiet', 'friendly'. A site where everything you want surrounds you, a river or a tree, the ambience where neighbors see each other in the streets because we used to go out to see each other. One of the pains is to see the glories erased because it is not right that a panorama once recognized as among the best has become reduced to only memories. (Ribot 2004: 45-46 / translated by the author)

Written by a historian and a resident of CC, the above is from a book about

her own town. The book named 'Hershey' reveals her own memories of her town, neighborhood, and the history of the pre-revolutionary era. According to the preceding excerpt taken from the book, the desire that the author has for her hometown is to recover the old images or ambience of the town, which in earlier times could be conjured simply by walking through the streets, by the river, or amongst the trees. As she was born and bred in CC, the excerpt shows how the social life and the landscape worked together to create a certain mood and image and its present condition causes the subsequent emotional trauma that she felt after seeing them reduced to only memories.

The landscape here is not only the evidence that connects the people and the past, but it also implies how strongly they perceive their identity through the shared landscape of the town. The examples above reflect a sense of belonging to the community of individual members. To belong to the town implies that one belongs to a myriad of things that physically surround the community such as *central*, houses, streets and trees. Any change to them, engineered by the administrators, or outsiders, causes the members of the town to reflect the visualization of the past and ponder over their personal memories that are strongly interwoven with the community's history. By personifying and relating themselves to the town's landscape, they become a member of the community, sharing and apprehending the inner historical values inscribed in the landscape.

To perceive the landscape is to carry out an act of remembrance, and remembering is not so much a matter of calling up an internal image, stored in the mind, as of engaging perceptually with an environment that is itself pregnant with the past. (Ingold 1994:189) The given examples consistently bring the connection of the present status of the town related to the pre-revolutionary period. The landscape here tells of a unique history of the town and records the communal life experience of the community. In the case of CC, the landscape that originated from the pre-revolutionary era becomes interpreted as physical evidence that reinforces the memory of a glorious past, and provides stable structural elements for their memories, or the mnemonic process. This mnemonic process necessarily negotiates between their current degradation and the long-gone

glory of the past. By far, the landscape is the clearest distinction they can provide themselves with when comparing themselves to others, and the material evidence that supports their sense of belonging to their living space.

5.2. Production of Local Knowledge³⁹⁾

This chapter describes and analyses the participance of the production of local knowledge. The community is seen to be active in memory telling and keeping of customs. This chapter deals with cultural practice that is expressed through the production and reproduction of local knowledge of the townspeople. As the locality is always in the state where it had to be maintained against various external factors, the cultural knowledge involved in the territorial matters such as how to perceive the places in town and themselves within the town is the result of the social practice of the local subjects. It argues that which features the people take and present it as the particular characteristics associated with living in CC and the implication of this practice in regards to maintaining the local identity as a member of the community.

5.2.1. Naming of Places

On the entrance of the town, there is a sign says "Welcome to *batey* Camilo Cienfuego/ *Biennvenidos a batey Camilo Cienfuego*" and a little bit further along, approximately 100 meters away from this sign, there is another sign in an old train station which says 'Hershey.' Reference to the town is dependent on in which context the reference is being made. Hence, the term 'Hershey' is used more when speaking of a more personal internal relationship, whereas the use of 'Camilo Cienfuego' is used in the context where official and public matters occur. I've come across two different cases through a long period of contact with one of

39) 'Local knowledge' here does not refer to the one by Geertz (1985) which he used for his title but was not specifically defined in the volume. Rather, it refers to 'the knowledge which is produced by local subjects by practicing and transmitting shared knowledge to ensuing generations', according to Appadurai (1995) as I discussed in chapter 1.2.

the ladies in town who is about 60 years of age. To list the cases where the name of the town came up is as below:

- 1) ...In Hershey, there are always lots of rumors (chismosa). (to me)
...Here in Hershey? (among neighbors in the street after hearing some news)
People in 'Hershey' *son diferente*. (we are different) (to me)
- 2) I'm calling from Camilo Cienfuego. (to the administration office)
I heard somebody coming to the hospital... a young guy from Camilo Cienfuego.
(to a municipal hospital)
Taxi driver : Where are you going?
A : To Camilo Cienfuego, please. (in the taxi)

The statements 1) and 2) which were conducted in two different contexts can be categorized into 1):personal, internal 2):public, official uses. These two naming practices are divided in everyday life of the people and indicate more than just a 'habit'. When asked of the different usages, she answered,

"We call it Hershey, because it is a habit. To change names is very difficult. We've called it this name for a long time and it is hard to change it suddenly." (A, 60, former teacher in town)



Picture 5.3> Flyer for an event in the Church in CC. Photograph taken by the author.

As seen in the photograph, Hershey was used instead of CC in the flyer for a church anniversary which was held in 1998. It is a town church which was founded in 1948, and was the only construction for religious activities in the town. Keeping the old name, which reminds people of the glorious moments of the town, shares more communal value than the official name —Camilo Cienfuego— which was given without any factual connection to the origin nor any specific characteristics of the town.

The two different naming practices—Camilo Cienfuego and Hershey— are

context-bound. The old name 'Hershey' tends to be limited in its usage among the town people or for the internal affairs of the town. The difference between these two contexts — one internal and the other external — proves that the usage of 'Hershey' is highly limited in the internal affairs, presupposing that the town history is contextual knowledge. The insiders are aware of the history and the origin of the town, and therefore, it becomes a social practice for the insiders to call the town 'Hershey.' The name 'CC' (Camilo Cienfuego), however, does not require prerequisite historical knowledge of the town, and can be used when articulating themselves to outsiders for official matters. One could conclude that this is purely a practice of 'local knowledge' on a superficial level, but this naming practice indicates more than a mere claim about the comprehension of local information.

To begin the profound characteristics of this practice, how the outsiders, or 'otherness' needs to be clarified. As shown in the examples above, the officer in the municipal hospital and the taxi driver, both of whom are operating in neighboring regions, are the outsiders, yet are assumed to be aware of the history of the town due to the vicinity of the town to their locations. Considering the fact that the history of the town is well-known among the neighboring communities, the usage for these two people, the officer and the taxi driver, is not due to the lady's assumption of their unawareness of the historical knowledge, but due to the act of drawing the line between the insiders and outsiders of the town. Calling the town 'Hershey' is a social practice that binds the community members to each other. Among the insiders, the accumulated intimacy makes it possible to call the town by its old name, whereas when dealing with outsiders, using the official name, CC, is considered to be more proper behavior to the townspeople.

Another example is the names of the streets and the types of the houses. In pointing out the houses, the houses for the American employees were called by the old names, 'chalet.' Chalet, which is the style of vacation homes that were built and enjoyed by the American people, has contextual meaning to the old

owners but not to the current owners. Nevertheless, considering the fact that the administrators in the post-revolutionary era occupied the *chalets*, the houses used to maintain a certain meaning regarding the social classes of the people who resided in them. This isn't necessarily linked to the current residents though. The name is being used without the implication of the meaning behind and people do not even search for another name to call them.

Maintaining the old street names is another example. Even if the streets are numbered differently from the pre-revolutionary era, some streets are still referred to as they were before. However, it is not common for the people to refer to the number of the streets, and among the streets it will be hard to consider it as cultural practice because the names of the streets are sometimes even unknown. As an example, thirteenth street, *calle trece* nicknamed as '*Lo Jamaiqueño*,' which is located at the end of the residential area, was perceived separately due to its strong characteristics in history and the style of the houses on that street. As already explained in chapter 2.2.2 this street was inhabited by Jamaican immigrants in the pre-revolutionary era. This racial difference in the street no longer exists. There are fourteen houses presently located there with no descendants from Jamaica currently residing. Nevertheless, people continue referring to the street by calling it '*calle trece*,' which is the original number of the street. Despite the fact that it is now officially named Avenue 23 '*avenidad 23*', the older name continues to prevail in the local vernacular.

One day, I was sitting with one of my friends on *calle trece*, and a girl passed by whose skin color was dark. My friend stopped her and told me, "she is the model of *calle trece*", and giggled. Then the girl, who was a teenager, smiled at me and posed like somebody was taking a photo of her. This episode serves as an example of past-driven preference in the naming of the territory and even inferring the meaning of the name. Even though she is not a Jamaican immigrant, as Jamaican immigrants were dark-colored skin, the girl could be nicknamed as 'the model of *calle trece*.' To refer to the street by its old name, and to play a joke with the historical meaning, is shown in this daily interaction of the neighbors. The rule in racial division which existed in the pre-revolutionary



Picture 5.4> The sign of the town named 'Camilo Cienfuego' (above)/ Picture 5.5> The house 'chalet' (right top) / Picture 5.6> The houses in the thirteenth street (right bottom), photographs taken by the author

era seems to be a commonsense even to the people who moved in following the closing of the *central*. These daily jokes between neighbors are made with a mutual understanding of socio-historical knowledge that has been transmitted to ensuing generations within the town. It appears that this socio-historical knowledge does not necessarily require actual experience since this knowledge has been learned and realized in their daily lives.

Similar examples also exist in other anthropological literature, one of them could be the Hopi's maintaining of name significance. According to Ryme (1996), Hopi adults address their children with traditional Hopi names even though the children use English names in school. This keeping of the 'traditional,' or 'old,' name is to maintain the identity of the Hopi. Hopi names are meant to refer to individual traits, and to describe an individual poetically; but these individual references only have meaning when used in conjunction with appropriate cultural background knowledge. (Ryme 1996: 242) Thus, identity can be represented through the practice of naming when this shared cultural knowledge is agreed to amongst the members of the group. Even if it is not the case of an individual name, the case of CC can also be applied to this naming practice as an act of

sharing cultural knowledge within a territory. Keeping in contact with this shared cultural knowledge is to admit oneself as one of the members of the local community, and at the same time it somehow is linked to the representation that they'd like to have for their local identity. This does not express any overt intention to avoid the official names or the bureaucratic matters, but simply to remain in the internal code of cultural knowledge.

5.2.2. Production of Self-images

Unlike other Cuban towns or streets, the streets of CC and the overall ambience of the town can be categorized by "calmness", which sometimes can be mistakenly perceived as if CC is a 'ghost town.' During the day and at night, it is uncommon to see people gathering out in the streets, although most of the people are seen in front of the *bodega*⁴⁰⁾ in the morning time for rations. This street scene was the beginning of the questions that I had and asked to the people in the town which led me to understand some of the self-images that the townspeople have of themselves. According to various statements on the community made by the local people, they are: <Family Oriented, Cultured, Gossipy>

Here, I raised the question of what they think of themselves as a community and some of the answers were classified into the categories of expressive forms. To see 'what we believe we are' rather than asking 'what we are' which always risks becoming a mere self-proclamation, I tried to analyse the responses by emphasizing the link with certain traits and the origins of the corresponding created self-images. The three main self-images pointed out here were supported by the historical background which dated back to the pre-revolutionary era. At the end of this chapter, the connection between these self-images and the original settings from the pre-revolutionary era will be analysed.

40) Distributing store for rationed food to each home. It opens at 7 am and closes at 11 am for lunch for 2 hours and starts again at 1 pm and remains open until 4 p.m.

a. Family-oriented

1) C's husband was working in the *central* even before the revolution. She teaches in the elementary school in Hershey. She was living in a small village around Hershey and moved into Hershey with her parents. She met her husband at a school party and they went out together for 3 years before marriage. Having three children, two of them live in Hershey, and the other one lives in Santa Cruz. She remembers that in the pre-revolutionary era, there were lots of social activities in the 'Jardin' (Hershey Garden). Now she has most of her family members living in Hershey, each of them has their own family now. When asked of the town, she says, "people preferred to be 'inside (*adentro*) the house.'" "It is the 'tradition' of Hershey.", she added. (C, 81, a resident who was born in Hershey)

2) "The house itself is made for family. We normally spend lots of time in the house. After work, we would come home and spend time with family." (J, 52, former sugar worker)

3) "I like to live here in this town because it is very calm unlike other villages... We just spend our time with family." (C, 42)

When a question about the town is asked, the most frequent answer was 'we are more inside of the house *adentro de casa*,' which is analogous to the expression 'we like 'quietness' too.' The reasoning process people employ when explaining about town culture is linked to the 'family' oriented culture which can be seen in every case. In Cuba, the neighbors are open to each other and extend their social area to the alleys and streets whereas the people of CC do not seek much contact with neighbors in the street. Sometimes I pointed out the 'quietness' compared to other villages in Cuba and asked why. Statement 3) does not make a clear link between this 'family oriented culture' but simply clarifies one person's preference. In statement 2), the link was produced between the claim on the inclination on family and the style of the house structure. This person moved into the town in the post-revolutionary era and was very knowledgeable with the town history. The style of the house structure, which was built in the pre-revolutionary era, was pointed out as a main factor that keeps people 'inside the house.' Because the house was constructed to own space without being seen, the people perceived this structure, the backyard, helps keep the family home private.

Statement 1) was from a senior citizen who has lived in the town since the pre-revolutionary era. Statement 1) proves that even if the collective social activities of the town were more frequent than now, the town was settled to be 'family-oriented.' This in part owes to the structural setting, in architecture and in the working rhythm of the *central*. Sharing the working sphere and the living sphere, most of the workers remembered that they are family oriented people because they could go home right after they finished work, which was within 5 minutes walking distance.

b. 'Cultured'

1) "We do not use slang words like '*Que Bola, hacere?*' (What's up, dude?)" (C, 51)

2) "Here is very different from other villages... Here it is more traditional." (B, 28)

3) About 'Hammer Park' *Parque de Martillo* — There used to be an old lady who had a daughter. The mother wanted to keep from marrying as long as she could. One day, she found out that her daughter was with her boyfriend on a chair in the park. The mother was so mad and she hit the boy with a hammer *martillo*. The Spanish word "*martillar*" means 'hammer' in English. That's why the park is called "hammer park." (A, 62)

4) In the district, *barrio de machete*, there are not many houses with telephones (unlike CC). The people who have telephones do favors for their neighbors for communication with telephones. Lots of people here do commercial business '*negocio*' (a practice frowned upon in Cuba). You can find almost everything in the Barrio de Machete. Also it is known as a dangerous district in Santa Cruz. "Here, when a couple gets married, they cheat on one another all the times." (A, 62 explaining to me the differences between CC and Barrio de Machete to me while we were visiting Barrio de Machete together.)

5) "Here (in Hershey), people are more educated..." (D, 28)

6) "In the meeting for the popular culture in the municipal, one of the guys in CC was very angry at me. He told me, 'I can't do this with that woman.' And I asked him why, and he said she only graduated from middle school and he does not want to have this kind of meeting with her. " (E, 38)

Another common self-image of CC was that the people share the idea of the 'uniqueness' of the town. This uniqueness is realized not only by being 'different' from other villages, but there is a sense of pride in it. Statement 4) would be a good one to show the comparison that a resident made with the neighboring community, Barrio de Machete located in Santa Cruz del Norte. This district has earned the reputation for being 'morally corrupt' due to the frequent involvement in illegal activities by the residents, such as selling and buying without authorization. A lady in CC describes the district as 'morally corrupt.' Even if she does not show what is 'morally right', when compared to statement 3) which was stated by the same person, she clearly shows that the people in CC watch even 'unmarried' young people. It makes a contrast to the case about the 'bad' district, Barrio de Machete. The notion of pride can be also seen in statement 1), in the similar perspective as statements 3) and 4), by claiming 'we do not use slang as other Cubans do.' '*Que bola, hacere?*' as the most popular informal greeting among friends, and one more frequently used by males rather than females, which can be translated as 'what's up, dude' in English. In statement 1), he derided this common slang expression by saying he does not use it, or 'we (in CC) do not use it,' even though this can't be generalized to every person in CC. Like in statements of 3) and 4), this can also be understood as the practice of one's making image of being 'cultured'. Statement 2) is a case when I asked someone to introduce the town to me, and statements 5) and 6) are examples where the people of CC believe themselves people who are more 'highly educated.' In fact, the people who were assigned a house in the *batey* needed a higher skill level in order to work in the *central* at an important position. Otherwise, one could only work at the lower skilled positions which did not require one to stay right next to the *central*. Thus, this background is closely linked to the employing and housing system of the *central*, which is also perceived as 'traditional,' like in statement 2).

c. Gossipy (*Chismosa*)

1) "Do you remember Juan who got kicked out of his girlfriend's house? she is the girl. She lives right at the end of this street." (Pointing at a girl passing by in the street.) (U, 31)

2) Comparing CC with another town district called 'barrio de machete' in Santa Cruz "This town is not like CC. These people are living in reality. They *do not* care about what other people do. People here *do not* really care." (U, 31)

3) "The people here, they know everything. Everyone knows you here... " (E, 50)

4) "Here is like a small village. It is not like the 'city'... People are very '*chismosa*.' *La gente muy chismosa*. (P, 72)

5) We are like family... We know everything about each other... (M, 82)

This is the third self-image that people have of themselves. Statements 5) and 4) are general descriptions of the town. Among them, statement 5) shows that the long period of the time staying in the town and working in the *central* caused people to develop strong relationships. Statement 4) is the case where size becomes the matter and the isolated geographical location of CC also plays an extra role to make the town more 'countryside like' as opposed to other big cities such as Santa Cruz del Norte. Statement 2) is an optimized version of this '*chismosa*' feature of the town, which takes the form of a personal complaint. She used to live in Havana and has moved into the town only recently. She complains how '*chismosa*' the people are in the town, which made her feel as if she is always being watched. This strongly proves that the town has more tightly woven relationships than other neighboring communities. Noting that each home has a phone (unlike other neighboring communities), people communicate through the house phones constantly telling recent news to each other— especially about the food distribution of the day— and make comments about each other's family. Through personal contacts and telephones, exchanging news among the neighbors functions to build tighter social ties than those found in other neighboring communities. This self-image, that they see themselves as 'gossipy people, *la gente chismosa*' can be assumed to be another claim that 'we are tightly interconnected'

which differentiates themselves from other communities.

In conclusion, these three self-images that they have in the community show the process of 'differentiation' when compared to neighboring communities. The local identity, which can be defined at certain contexts goes through the process of 'comparison' by reflecting oneself in comparison to the others. Thus, these claims on the self-images function to build the form of collective cultural habit. The origin of this self-image comes from the historicity of the town, which in the case of CC has uniqueness from its origin. The uniqueness appears to drive from the original setting of the town in the pre-revolutionary era. The first characteristic, being 'family-oriented', as explained partially earlier, owes much to the house structure that provides a sense of seclusion from the neighbors. The townspeople themselves claim that the American-styled houses kept them inside of the house, making the family houses privacy oriented. To have a backyard made possible various private family activities such as gardening and restoring personal gadgets for one's hobby.

The second image, 'cultured' also explains the connection with the original town setting as a *batey*. As noted earlier in chapter 2 and 3, the main resident workers in the town were entitled to be responsible when any emergency happens in the *central*. The resident workers at the beginning of the town possessed a higher rank than other seasonal laborers from other neighboring communities, which gave them economic and social privileges. Not only in the housing system, in the social infrastructure, the resident workers enjoyed better chances to improve the quality of living which carried over to their children's education level. The fact that many families here had a higher income, along with privileged social infrastructures composed the solid foundation upon which to construct a strong sense of civic pride. When compared to other neighboring communities, then, the townspeople felt a sense of specialness.

The third one, 'gossipy' has similar explanation as the second self-image. Due to the higher quality of living most of the houses have private phones, which was not common in other neighborhoods, such as Barrio de Machete. As a company

town, the houses in the town were equipped with electricity and telephone lines in the pre-revolutionary era. The facility created by the Hershey company, and later maintained by MINAZ, is the most commonly used tool for communication within the community which strengthens the internal network. The second characteristic, civic pride, which was consolidated by local conservatism, could be exercised through this constant watch on and instant communication with each other.

5.3. Memories and Nostalgia

The material setting of the town has been used as a mnemonic tool for the local people to maintain the local knowledge and self-image of the town as detailed in chapter 5.2. To make further exploration and analysis on which aspects the memories are situated, and why, the collective memories of the people were gathered. We are free to choose from the past the period into which we wish to immerse ourselves. Since the kinds of people we have known at different times either were not the same, or presented varying aspects of themselves, it is up to us to choose the society in the midst of which we wish to find ourselves. (Halbwachs 1992(1941):50) The memories and the nostalgia toward certain features are as decisive as the communal foundation in forming the local identity in the era where there is no more communal economic structure. On the premise of Halbwachs, it is certain that the collective memories and longing for a certain period reflect the presentness of the community.

5.3.1. Memories about 'Modern Values'

"I am surprised that older people in Santa Cruz del Norte never say anything negative about the old American capitalist, founder of the town (Hershey) that will always carry his name. "

(D, 38, from Santa Cruz del Norte)

In 2007, a short documentary film was released about the town CC, which was titled <Model Town> by the director Laimir Fano Villaescusa. This film comprised interviews with three senior community members and recorded the memories of the pre-revolutionary era. This documentary film contrasts these two moments —the pre-revolutionary time and the present— which provokes the memory of the people who have lived in the town for their entire life. In the climax of the movie, there is a scene where the director presents them with a chocolate bar and on it there were big letters saying 'HERSHEY.' Soon the three senior citizens started shedding tears. This very familiar name on the chocolate

bar, 'Hershey', and the chocolate have now become something that they couldn't find in their country anymore. The dramatization of this film is an invented scene by a director, but it is the optimization of nostalgia. Even if it was provoked by the chocolate and the editing style, this strong nostalgia can be imagined among the town people. Nostalgia means, by the definition of Collins English Dictionary 2009, 1) a yearning for the return of past circumstances, events, etc 2) the evocation of this emotion, as in a book, film, etc 3) longing for home or family. Among these three definitions, 1) and 2) will be suitable to refer to the nostalgia among the people in the town.

The collective memories among the people is about a certain time in their history. Considering the fact that the population of CC now has multiple origins, it can't be applied to every resident, but it is meaningful to point out that even the new comers are well aware of the history of the *central* regardless of their ages; in fact they are sometimes active participants of the 'self-image' making themselves. (See chapter 5.2.2) Here, the data was collected from senior citizens who are over 60 years of age through interviews, and the observed daily life of the people regardless of age.

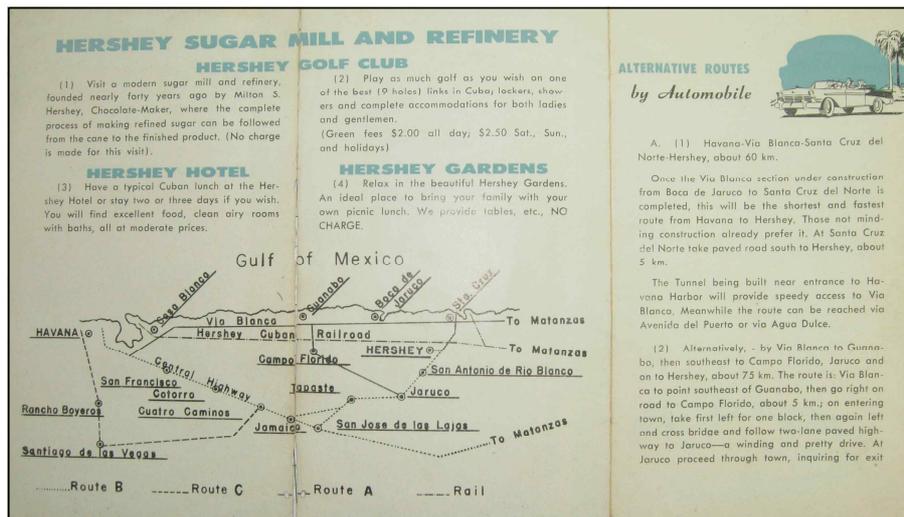
The most common features that they remember and 'desire', when compared to the current economic situation of Cuba, was 'material abundance'. As partly described in chapter 2.2.3, the abundance that they enjoyed was far more than the rationed food in the post-revolutionary era. Even if they experienced a sort of division inside the town by racial and social discrimination, where the communal nostalgia is situated, from the present point of view, the main memory is about 'material abundance' whether one experienced it or not.

"Before, in the *bodega*, there was lots of food. You could get everything you wanted... They would give you 'credits'. Like 8 credits a week, we could get pretty much what we need from the credit store (the current *bodega*)." (V, 82)

"A sandwich at the Hershey hotel was just 9 cents. With ham, lettuce, tomato, queso... very thick... only 9 cents." (A, 88)

"At that time, sugar cost 7 cents per pound. The best sugar of the world. Now

we have to pay 2.5 dollars per pound... It is the best if you put sugar in orange juice. Very fresh, very national..." (M, 79)



Picture 5.7> Flyer for the Tourists to the town. Source from the office of Cuban Railroad, in the Division of Santa Cruz del Norte located in CC.

A couple of seniors who still keep photos with their extravagant dress at a party, cherish the period of material abundance and plentiful social activities which is in stark contrast to the present atmosphere of the town.

The main visitors, except for the seasonal workers, were tourists from the U.S. These leisure facilities, along with the purpose of 'experiencing the sugar cane country and workers' became the primary attractions for foreign visitors. According to a flyer that was published around the late 50's, the golf club could be used at 2.00 USD all day (2.50 USD for weekends and holidays), and the Hershey Garden could be visited free of charge. As the most 'modern' town in Cuba, not only American tourists, but also Cuban people visited the town to experience the most advanced town layout and commodities that had been imported from the U.S.

The town soon became a symbol of 'modernity.' The experience that the Cuban workers had, through living and working in Hershey, constituted the perception of modernity. Above and beyond all else, what the people fondly remembered was this 'material abundance.'

To start with the residences, they gave 'almost' free residence to the workers. When they paid a fixed monthly fee, the company offered general home care services. These services included painting, fixing the roof when cyclones (*ciclón*) came, and offering gardening materials. The workers could stay until they quit or retired. When there was a retirement or layoff, the house was given to the new employees. Along with this benefit of working for the sugar mill, they were also paid better than at other mills and occupations in the same classification of job. V (82, former engineer) recalled he was paid 25 *pesos* per week and given 8 *pesos* of credit⁴¹) for fifteen days. One pound of rice was 25 cents. Cooking oil was about 1.60 peso per bottle. This price range was much lower than in other areas of Cuba, so that resident workers in the town bought surplus products and sold them back in Havana city to make a profit.

“Even the people from Havana visited our town on the weekends. We used to have the most recent American movies in the movie theater 'Glorieta'. And I remembered that we could eat this big sandwiches with ham, cheese, tomato, lettuce at less than only one peso!” (P, 88)

The second source of nostalgia concerns the social activities that were hosted by the Hershey Corporation. As briefly mentioned earlier, numerous social activities were hosted by the corporation, such as the Hershey Club for socializing, the Hershey Sports Club for sporting events, and occasional parties that were held by both the company and the people. The social activities hosted for the workers were attended by most of the townspeople. As the seniors remembered, it was like 'a paradise.' The photographs above show the examples of the well-organized town social activities and the jovial atmosphere of that era. These social activities, even if many of the current town people had never even attended, were imagined through the photographs and the transmitted stories told by the oldest residents of the town.

41) This credit system was equivalent to the current *libreta* (ration book) system in Cuba. Each worker was given certain credits according to their position, so they could exchange this credit for living goods in the 'shopping center.' J (88, retired) recalled, “hu, that place was full of everything. You can't compare it to what it is now. Each shelve was filled with goods and never went empty.”



Picture 5.8> Scene of the wedding before the revolution(left) / Picture 5.9 > Scene from a town party (right) , photographs by the local residents

"There were many parties before... We had a very active social life before... The women would gather around to make the clothes for the children together..." (A, 62)

These activities were held in public places such as the Hershey Garden and the Glorieta, the movie theater. One of the characteristics in these memories is that the memorialization is strongly fostered by the remains of the old places (see chapter 5.1 for details). For example, one of them was 'La Glorieta', which was the official theater that held official parties. The still standing ruins, such as this theater, authenticate the older townspeople's testimony about their glorious past, and even the younger generation is able to witness the town's historicity by passing by these structures or listening to stories from their parents.

Photographs also became an important medium for this collective memory. For example, a man aged 35 who moved into the town in 2002, which was the year *central* closed, possessed photographs of the Hershey era and told me when I asked him how he got them, "I like the history of the town... I got these photographs from the train station." Through the possession of the photographs, he could see the extravagance of the era and match them with the stories he had heard.

The third was the 'aesthetic value' of the town. The overall atmosphere was carefully planned by planting trees and colorful plants in the private garden of

each home. This gave the visitors and the residents a feeling of 'relaxation' and even further, of oddness when one sees the factory as the center of this 'relaxed' landscape architecture.

This friendly town that was built beside the mill. Few *bateys* have been seen in our long walk with this serene beauty. Under the poplars and laurels, rise the wooden, spacious, fresh, comfortable houses. And other constructions of irregular stones are exceptional in any classical style. Here, my words are not well employed, because the housing of the workers is undoubtedly the most beautiful thing we've seen ever. (excerpt from 1959, October, *Caña y Azúcar*, cited by Ribot 2004: 37 / translated by the author)

As seen above, the visual qualities that the town possessed seems to play a major role in the evocation of this nostalgia. Particularly, the exceptional style of the houses, streets, and trees must have been very influential in giving the town its 'uniqueness.' This particular aspect of the town landscape not only nourished their nostalgia about the 'comfort' and 'refreshment' of the past, but also in the sentiment where one can feel an aesthetically perfected form of the place.

"Hershey is so beautiful. I do not know why the government shut down the *central* there." (L, 72, from a neighboring community, Canasi)

The aesthetic value of CC was well appreciated even by the people of the neighboring communities as well. L, who lives in a neighboring community, speaks highly of the aesthetic quality of CC. Unlike other communities, CC was a planned town that was designed specifically to provide this atmosphere of 'tropical lyricism' to the workers, which I explained in chapter 2.2.3.

These are good examples that show the reputation of CC for its aesthetic value. Being one of many *bateys* in Cuba, its quality seemed to surpass any of the others. The insiders, and outsiders, unanimously agreed on the perfection of its landscape, which gave a sense of local pride to the townspeople.

5.3.2. Nostalgia for Connection to the World

The era of the *central* features the collective activities of the community, namely sugar making. As making sugar is the historical collective activity that was performed (or even forced in a certain period of time) since the very beginning of the town, which was after all built for making sugar, certain social values have arisen in the process of forming the collective identity.

In examining the values of the sugar production, seeing this collective activity as a value making process rather than seeing it in a merely strict economic framework would be more suitable, because the latter only defines sugar workers as the producers, and furthermore mindless subjects, or suppliers for guarding the social ideology. The 'subjectification'⁴²⁾ on the sugar production of the resident workers is common and at the same time the key to understanding the process of their self-realization in a given territory. As the agents of action by their own choice, the sugar workers projected themselves into the material they were producing. These collective activities are the medium for the formulation of the values of the locality of CC. Furthermore, sugar, as an export good, functioned as the representative good of themselves, which travels further out of the boundary of the town and even out of the country. Sugar, therefore, was also a medium which connected the town people and the 'world' through the exchange with the trading partners of Cuba, regardless of who those trading partners might be, as they changed according to Cuba's national ideology.

1) —"The sugar from here was used to make the Hershey chocolate." (L, 42)

—"Before the revolution, the sugar that was produced here was specifically sold to Coca-Cola... after the harvest season, the employees of Coca-Cola came here to help clean the mill." (A, 88)

—"The sugar that was made here was of very good quality... the crystal-like white sugar... The *central* in our town was famous because our *central* had a good refinery." (A, 88)

42) I use 'subjectification', not by Faucauldian sense in relation to the power, but by the definition to 'interpret in terms of subjective experience' and their narration in a way that the expression of the abstract feeling in a personal and emotional way.

2) —"After the revolution, Russia bought sugar from us." (J, 52)

—"Japan liked to buy the *rapadura* (unrefined sugar), because it had more benefit. They had miel, which they could use for another thing." (M, 74)

—"I started working as an engineer from 1974. While *central* was running, the town was much more vibrant. We used to have a special school for *ingenio*, people from the Soviet bloc would come to our town and got trained. Especially I remember that people from Poland, Russia, and Czechoslovakia trained here." (P, 72)

I arranged the statements of the people of CC into two categories: 1) the global connection in the pre-revolutionary era, and 2) in the post-revolutionary era. As pointed out in 4.3.2, the closing of the *central* isolated the town by restricted mobility, and this feeling of isolation was the source of another process of the contrast between the past and the present. In the past CC, regardless of the division by the revolution, saw global influx into the town through sugar exports. Some of the community members had actual connection with a sense of global connectedness such as seen in the examples of 'Coca-Cola' and the skill exchange with the Soviet bloc in the post-revolutionary era. We can see the political economy (see chapters 2.1 and 3.1 for the political economic background of the town) influenced the town locality not only in its economy, but also in affecting the cultural experience of the townspeople as mediated by the sugar production. The actual connection with the foreigners who would reside in, or periodically visit, the town gave another sense of being connected to the outside world. It took form through the realism that the sugar they made was being consumed by the American people, or people on the other side of the globe by the frequent contacts with the foreign partners and stories heard in the news. The exporting destinations such as the U.S., Japan, and the U.S.S.R. connotes CC's global connection to the so-called 'big countries.'

Regarding their individual statements, the workers gave legitimacy to their labor not only by the economic benefits they enjoyed, but also by the symbolic values that the sugar making brought. Thus, the claims on the global connection by the people aren't merely interpreted as a side affect of the economic prosperity

of the town, but rather as a value transformation of sugar making — from mere economic good to the medium of establishing global relationships —. Sugar making also afforded the people of CC attention from the world during its prosperous time in the pre-revolutionary era. Below is a snippet about the 'Yacht Club' during that time.

The first race and the first low of the hook which is nowadays celebrated in Barlovento y Varadero, was celebrated under the sponsorship of the workers of the Hershey. The water (the ocean) welcomed the competitors from Mexico and the United States who came to measure their skill with the Cubans... This water which went out May 3rd, was decorated with flowers, lights, and banners, taking our boats on the bay Cross, celebrating '*la Fiesta Patronal*⁴³⁾.' (Ribot 2004 : 49 / translated by the author)

This record gives a better idea regarding the connection between the local people of CC and the outside world. As mentioned earlier, sugar making was the important medium of global attention. As Munn (1997) argues, values emerge in action. The close linkage of being oneself, and making things, needs to be explored to reveal one's forming the world and being in the world, hence one's existence. In the study of Gawa by Munn (1997), the fame of the Gawan community comes from the spatio-temporal transformation of the value of the actor's self⁴⁴⁾. For example, in the gardening of Gawa, harvested food travels in circle from the affinal relationship of the person to the inner island cycle in which the filial consociates become bound up in the more expansive circulation

43) The '*Fiestas patronales*' are yearly celebrations held in countries influenced by Spanish culture. A *fiesta patronal* is usually dedicated to a saint or virgin, who is the patron of whichever city holds the fiesta. Usually, town members adorn the town streets with colorful decorations and other things. In big cities, there are particular fiestas for each neighborhood, usually about the patron saint for the local parish. Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiesta_patronal

44) Munn explains this value transformation of the self using the concept of the 'self' of Heidegger (1982), citing "the self 'reflects itself to itself from out of that to which it has given itself over.'" This point that the objective product becomes subjective to the actors, made it possible to analyse the values that derived from the action. Like in the case of food transmission in the circle, which can be explained as 'objective gift into subjective remembering' (Munn 1986: 65), the action of producing and transacting the products contributes to the spatio-temporal extension beyond the self. Further, the name of Gawa as a community achieves this circulation and eminence through the actions of its members. (Munn 1986: 15)

structure of *kula*. In this way, 'gardening' for the Gawan people produces the symbolic value of the action. Through the food harvested, when it travels beyond the boundary of the Gawan community, Gawan people produce the symbolic value of themselves which can be interpreted as self-expansion, in the spatial dimension. In the temporal dimension, she explains the expansion of the self through the action of the 'remembering' of the receiver. The food here is just a medium of the action of the people, the value, however, rises from the action, the gardening of the people. At the highest level of this spatio-temporal expansion is, as she argued, 'fame.'

This concept can be deployed to interpret how the value arose in producing social value in sugar making in CC. The main point in the value making in gardening, and also in sugar making, is the process of subjectification, which involves the interpretation of the actors. According to the data presented, sugar, as a medium of establishing a relationship with the world, was considered to be the medium to expand the selfness of the workers, and at the same time, to elevate the local pride on which the communal value of the locality was formed. The spatial transformation is in the transformation of the actor's self into the material to which they gave themselves over, sugar, and, significantly, its travelling beyond the spatial boundary. The temporal expansion was achieved through the act of the remembrance of the receiver, and in this expansion, the visitors and traders of the sugar in CC, are interpreted as the agents of the remembrance. As the producers, the resident workers subjectify their action of sugar making as the participation of the global connection, which was with the U.S. and later with the COMECON members. The past, the one in which the townspeople participated in a sort of global connectedness, and the fact that the materiality of the town records these historical moments of these sugar workers, become the main sources of the collective memories.

5.4. Local Longing for the Future

The memories and the landscape of the town are crucial in building the sense of belonging of the people, even if one has not personally experienced the so-called 'glorious' moment of the town. The community, as an effort to hold their communal values, had struggled to fit their identity into something 'historical' and 'important in meaning' in Cuban history. Recent projects, meant to weave the 'glorious past', the reality of the present, and the longed for future, such as the reinvigoration of tourism in CC, have been considered and, while still yet unrealized, the local townspeople persist in their desire that CC might once again be a global participant.

The recent proposals that strove to revitalize the local meanings dissolved into mere trials, without actual consequences. According to Miranda (2010), it was reported that there was a national company, *Empresa Agropecuaria*, that created a department of recreation in 2000, although it ceased functioning in 2006, without any actual influence on the local people. Even if there is no detailed information about it, according to the data of Miranda (2010), it seems that the company created a 'tourist' package, highlighting the old railways and the Hershey Gardens.

During that time, the revitalization proposal at the local level also expressed themselves in the artistic values of the town. Some of the seniors, who had experience playing in musical bands, created a band to interpret the songs from the pre-revolutionary era. It is notable that they named the band as, 'Hershey Son.' This band played in the Hershey Gardens for sporadic tourists. Also during this time, a book on the town was published by Amariyls Ribot, who is 'born and bred' in the town, and currently a historian in Cuba. Her book was published in 2004, and the book was written with factual data about the sugar mill and the personal memories of herself and her neighbors.

This unique history, and the spatial layout of the town, intrigued outsiders who had interest in publicizing the local history or even trying to turn it, CC, into a tourist destination. Perhaps one of the most influential to shed the light on the uniqueness of the town was the documentary film which was mentioned earlier in

chapter 5.3.1. The director Fano Villaescusa, 27, did not know the history of the place and came to Hershey looking for a subject that could serve as his first film as a student of 'the International School of Film and Television of San Antonio de los Banos in Havana.'⁴⁵⁾ The film <Model Town>, 2007 was applauded by Cuban critics, and as a result the community also became known to the people in urban areas who had a chance to watch it. In the film, many local seniors, appeared as interviewees. Some of the main interviewees still possess the video CDs that were distributed by the film maker.

Another outsider was a foreign group from Switzerland that created an actual project proposal that could also have possibly transformed the local economic structure. They proposed the restoration and transformation of Hershey –within the respect of the old structures– with the idea of turning the town, in its current situation, into an industrial theme park. The actual plans were well elaborated, including the projected number of tourists and the potential economic benefit the local people could achieve by establishing restaurants, lodges, and souvenir shops. The people of CC heard of this plan in 2008, and are still waiting for it to fruit.

"There was a group of Swiss people who came here. They are going to revitalize the town, I heard. But nothing was done..."
(P, 82)

The manager of this project, Cuba Real Tours,⁴⁶⁾ stated that this project is now on hold due to the fact that the officials gave other projects higher priority. Thus, once again, the institutional framework for the local revitalization considering the local memory and history is foggy. All these institutional efforts that were based on the premise of 'tourism' seemed to agree with the values that the community claims, and what the townspeople perceive to be the local identity.

Everything happened here in Hershey, the community characterized with the stones, this *batey* full of the tradition who waits for a movement to be recovered so the stars between the trees can keep shining. (Ribot 2004: 48 / translated by the

45) <http://www.cubanet.org/CNews/y07/nov07/25o9.htm>

46) http://www.transhershey.com/site/index.cfm/id_art/48375/vsprache/EN

author)

As seen in the excerpt from Ribot's book, the hope for the local identity seems to mesh more with tourism rather than the current alternative economic installations. Even if they couldn't work as sugar workers anymore, tourism was a suitable way for them to maintain the landscape they adored, and hopefully the social activities from the Hershey era could be reborn under the economic subsidy from the potential tourists. Also, the long-gone luxurious constructions, such as Hershey Hotel and Hershey Golf Club, could potentially be restored. But the current government's installation of the office of MINAG, UBPC, and the ceramic factory do not seem to be in accordance with what the local people long for.



Picture 5.10> Hershey Garden entrance, Photograph taken by the author.

At the time of this research, some of the locals were concerned about revitalizing the town's traditions, bringing in foreign investment or organizing social activities taking advantage of the unique landscape and the history. This local desire can be potentially realized, considering the current positive feelings towards tourism held by the government.

In the current situation of the town, self expansion outside of oneself can be understood as not only a nostalgia for the past, but also the main factor in the local longing for future change. Thus, it is instructive that local exposition to the media, the public and to tourists through the different media, does not simply erode or weaken the old basis of the local community, rather it offers the potential to provide the new ground to preserve that about which they are most proud of in their locality.

5.5. Meaning of the Pre-revolutionary Era in Locality

In chapter 5.3, the nostalgia among the people existed for both significant historical periods of the town, the pre-and post-revolutionary periods until the closing of the *central*. In the active forwarding of the past into the future of the locality, however, we see a clear selection of the past, which focuses on the pre-revolutionary era. As seen in the earlier section, many local people were hopeful that at least some of the past could be revisited. Whether it is sugar or tourism, the expectation on the future development shares a common view: 'the town as it was in the pre-revolutionary era.' As described earlier in chapter 5.3.2, the past of the town, that is commonly recalled by the local people, is condensed into the 'glorious moments' when the town was connected to the world by sugar export.

The 'glorious moments', however, may be defined differently according to the different periods of the town: one in the pre-revolutionary era and the other in the post-revolutionary era until the closing of the *central*. The nostalgia for the pre-revolutionary era, as the main source of the local expectation, reflects the current concept of 'being idealistic' to the townspeople. In post-Soviet Cuba, the pre-revolutionary past of the town represents the characteristics that the people are longing for in the present time: the material abundance and attention from the outside world. Without any actual structure that they can hold onto for their 'glorious moments', the ensuing economic situation, and the desire to be connected to the world, materially and physically, developed into a strong longing among the townspeople.

Even if the attention from the outside world was partially achieved in the post revolutionary period in the town during the era of COMECON trade, the main local theme that was given to the town was that of being the 'vanguard of the socialist idea' which was limited to existing within the national framework. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the ensuing severe economic crisis, which led to the suffering that the Cuban people had to endure, seemed to play a role of the people's realization of the clumsy economic management by the authorities. Many

Cuban people blame the government for the poor economic planning and reinterpret the meaning of their 40 years' professional effort made for the nation. Affected by the fact that the rigorous job of the resident workers in the past years were all for vain and the subsequent depression experienced by the resident workers, the alternative economic framework for the locality failed to ever be fully embraced by the people. Thus, the production of the meaning in regards to the current alternative economic framework for CC illustrates that the alienation of the town people from the state, and at the same time shows the distrust in regards to the national economic plan felt by the people.

Going back to the local depression and social disintegration which was discussed in chapter 4, it should also be pointed out that ironically the socialist system in the town can hardly support the 'communal life' that had been built into the town through its history. The paradoxical reality that the regime had to dissolve the communal framework to maintain her ideological value —socialism in the current world political scene— was sensed by the people. Among the economic disparities and social disintegration, the townspeople still hope to hold communality that can be shown to visitors and the so-called 'outside', yet deeply understand that there is nothing in common with the neighbors anymore other than transcendent memories and a unique landscape that records the historical glorious moments of themselves. This communal aspect, contrasted with the current local situation, should reflect appropriately the positive qualities of locality.

6. Conclusion

This study began with the aim of revealing the historical process of the locality of a former sugar mill town, *Camilo Cienfuego* (Hershey), and the local identity confronting the transformations brought upon by the world political economy. The case of CC is wrapped up in issues on local voice and cultural practice that continue to invoke the pre-revolutionary era in staking claim on their local identity. Cuba, which has been going through a process of transformation in the post-Soviet era, provides a vantage point to perceive the gap between the authoritative plan for transformation, mainly on economy, and the people who strive to maintain their sense of belonging in a given territory.

This study unpacks how 'pastness' in claiming the local identity is deeply related to the 'presentness' of the town which can be characterized as 'uncertainty', and consequently, to the reflection of current local desires. This conclusion attempts to make these two points in the following, summarizing and analyzing the earlier chapters at large.

Concerning 'Uncertainty'

Referring to chapter 4, the new economic places were intended to replace the old economic entity as an alternative to the demise of sugar production. This authoritative decision satisfied the national needs for economic diversity such as agriculture and production for domestic consumption. These local changes were implanted with the aim of self-sufficiency of the national economy amidst the adverse global economic environment of Cuba.

The reality of the transformation, however, was not favored by the locality of CC. The local subjects who maintained a loyalty to their territory and also to the authorities understand the reasoning of the government, yet they are no longer eagerly associated with national policy in their daily lives. No framework existed to meet the desires of the both entities, the authorities and the local people, thus

local identity entered into the realm of uncertainty. Let me detail the problem of uncertainty a little further.

The source of uncertainty in the local identity takes the form of 'loss' and 'detachment'. The loss derives from the symbolic aspect of the local economy, the *central*. In 1991, the collapse of the Soviet Union endangered the national economy and the local structure as well. After losing the most beneficial market for sugar, the sugar industry began to be gradually downsized, dispersing national economic interests over other various fields for domestic consumption as a means of surviving in the adverse conditions of the global trading environment which Cuba found itself in, such as the economic blockade imposed by the U.S.A. This unavoidable economic situation was inscribed on the town, starting with the shutdown of the *central*. The loss of the *central* was not merely an economic change. It had a huge impact on the feelings of the townspeople who had once enjoyed the 'glorious past' when working in the *central*.

The sense of detachment to the authorities was part of a chain reaction caused by this loss, which can be interpreted by the general attitude toward the new economic installations and their production of place meaning. Along with the national policy of diversifying the economic sectors in Cuba, the new economic installations, such as organic farms, *organopónico*, and a ceramic factory were installed. These places played practical roles in the town, yet were far from the desirable locality dreamt of by the townspeople. First, partially owing to the deeply engrained negative view of agriculture in Cuban society — considered as something 'backward', and 'under-developed', — participation in the organic farm stayed low. Secondly, participation in the place was performed only by consumption, which did not bring about direct communal activities. Along with the ceramic factory, the economic development of the town looked 'haphazard' and 'alienated' to the people. Due to the lack of communal participation and the feelings wrought about by the loss of the *central*, what forms 'uncertainty' is a sense of absence in the symbolic and communal meaning exerted on their territory.

This uncertainty in the locality lays the foundation for the townspeople to seek

a communal economic framework through which they can claim connectivity to the territory with its unique historicity. Then, which aspects in the history of the town contribute to a firm and distinctive framework for the locality?

The memories in both periods strongly rely on the collective activity of sugar production. Sugar production, a past local collective activity, was interpreted as more than merely an economic activity, rather as the medium by which the townspeople could become connected with the outside world. This propensity to look to the past is related to the failure of the official framework for the locality: the trial made by the state, of transforming CC into a simple farming area or just another industrial town. The people of CC find the past more convincing than the current 'official' image of the town that was created and imposed upon them by the authorities.

This local claim, however, is too weak to build a corresponding form of local economy such as through tourism. As pointed out in chapter 5.4, several attempts were made to revitalize cultural movements in the remaining landscape, but could not be accomplished without the active support of the government. Some private foreign entities are contemplating the creation of a tourist industry in CC, yet have not initiated any actions due to authoritative restrictions on the local project.

Nevertheless, the act and narration of remembrance should not be mistaken as an act of 'resistance' toward the authorities. As Yurchak (2003) pointed out in the late Soviet generation, the system signified was meticulously reproduced, but what it signified was un-anchored and open to new interpretations. According to him, the late socialist system became 'deterritorialized,' (Yurchak 2003:124) and it seems that the current situation of CC projects the image of this deterritorialization, where the power of the authorities is far from being grounded. The observed relationship made with the pre-revolutionary era is the act of claiming oneself in a certain territory and making sense of one's being somewhere, making their own cultural framework with which to understand and reproduce local identity.

The Past as a Reflection of Current Desires

Along with the uncertainty that arose due to this alternative economic structure, the current social disintegration and the disparities among the townspeople should be noted as the main factors that cause the people to share 'nostalgia' in the pre-revolutionary era of the town. The loss of the values of the socialist system in town —wage differences, suffering from a lack of material supply, and the increase of criminality in the town— provoked this nostalgia. After the revolution, the main theme of the town was wrapped up and represented in the 'vanguard of socialism' within the national framework, rather than 'material abundance' itself or the newness of materiality of the town. More than anything, the impact of the collapse of the Soviet Union was catastrophic to the nation and the people. It was realized economically and socially inside the town that everything that the socialist regime planned and projected had been in vain. What was left after the Soviet Union's collapse was the cruel reality that Cuba had to survive all by herself. Here, it will be helpful to review chapter 2 to make these points clearer.

Built by an American investor, Milton S. Hershey, under the political economic circumstances of early 20th century in Cuba, the spatial ordering of the town followed that of Hershey Pa. in the U.S. This spatial ordering and the layout of the town projected the values of an American company town: higher wages, (almost) free housing, good food, and extravagant social events inside the town. Even if they were all living 'their own realities' in sectored neighborhoods (see chapter 2.2. for details) there was a shared value, which was that of 'material abundance', the 'social activities among the sectored people', and the aesthetic value which still provides the physical setting of the town. Despite the townspeople's differing realities, the perception of the locality as a 'privileged' and 'modern' town was maintained in comparison to neighboring communities.

The two elements that the 'Hershey era' represents to the townspeople are material abundance and contemporaneity. Contemporaneity can be represented in two dimensions: the temporal and the spatial. The temporal aspect is that the Hershey era projected an up-to-date quality in materiality and spatial ordering compared to other older villages. Spatial quality is the fact that the Hershey era

was connected to the world due to sugar production and tourism in the town. This clash between 'past connectedness' and 'present isolation' can be expanded as one of the characteristics of contemporary Cuban society. Nostalgia amongst the people who lived in the pre-revolutionary era is constituted of a longing for material abundance, splendor in the streets, connection to so-called 'world culture', and a return to the glorious past.

The conclusion of this study illustrates that the nostalgia for a return to pre-revolutionary 'Hershey' is directly related to the present ideals or desires of the townspeople of contemporary CC. Those ideals are a desire for a return to the 'glorious past' in which the people of the town enjoyed material abundance, a sense of pride in their direct participation in sugar making – which related to being Cuban, and possessing a sense of connectedness with the outside world through the distribution of sugar and the influx of tourists who came specifically to see the 'model town' of Hershey.

This, of course, directly contrasts with the present reality of CC, and Cuba in general. People feel they need to participate in 'illegal activities' to acquire the basic daily necessities, coupled with a feeling of degradation, which in CC directly relates to the demise of the *central*, and a feeling of being disconnected. This feeling of detachment manifests itself in two ways. First there is no longer any sugar being exported from the *central* connecting the people to the outside world or tourists coming to admire the setting of CC. Also, the people of CC do not feel directly connected to the alternative industries imposed upon them by the authorities.

According to Bauman (1997), the identity problem does not come from explicit inner characteristics, but rather from present uncertainty. As the selection of memories reflects the present condition, the constant recollection of the pre-revolutionary era and several attempts to revitalize it hint that this cultural practice does not only nourish the communal frame of the townspeople, but also represents what the current community idealizes to fulfill their present desires.

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[국문초록]

'지역성(locality)'이란 고정되어있는 지리적 실체에만 의존하지 않는다. 본 연구에서는 지리적 표면위의 물리적 구조물들과 지역공동체의 사회적 과정들의 혼합으로, 지역민들 공유하는 심적 측면 -소속감등—까지 아우르는 개념으로 본다. 또한 지역성은 외부 (세계 정치경제, 국가 정책, 지구촌화 등)의 변수들에 노출된 지역공동체의 변화와 궤를 함께하기에 가변적이다. 위의 개념적 정의를 토대로 하여, 한 장소의 지역성이 형성되는 과정과 그 변동을 고찰하는 것을 목적으로 한다. 또한 지역변동에 구조적 영향을 미치는 외적요인의 분석과 내부적 시각이라고 할 수 있는 지역민들의 해석을 통하여, 기존 지역연구에 대한 정치경제학적 접근의 한계를 극복하고자 하였다.

연구지인 '카밀로 씨엔푸에고 (허쉬) Camilo Cienfuego (Hershey),' 는 2002년 제당공장이 폐쇄된 옛 제당촌 (製糖村)으로서, 쿠바의 수많은 제당촌과 더불어 쿠바의 근대 역사가 공간적으로 표출된 장소이다. 1916년 건립부터 현재에 이르기까지 20세기 초의 미국의 경제 간섭, 쿠바 사회주의 혁명 (1959), 구 소련의 붕괴 (1991), 그 이후의 쿠바 경제위기를 겪으며, 해당 지역공동체는 생성, 확장, 쇠퇴의 과정을 거친다. 쇠퇴의 과정에 바로 2002년 지역의 경제구조 재편 - 제당공장의 폐쇄와 새로운 지역경제의 도입—이 있다. 본 연구는 특히 2002년의 변동과정에 초점을 맞추고, 정부의 지역경제 개편 조치와 이에 대응하는 지역민들의 내부적 시각이라는 두 축이 현재의 지역성을 어떻게 재구성하는지 살펴보고자 하였다.

연구의 주된 내용은 마을의 생성 배경과 그 변동과정으로 구성되어있고, 변동을 이끈 외부 요인—설탕과 관련한 세계경제 및 국가정책— 과 이에 대한 지역민들의 반응 및 해석을 담고 있다. 2장과 3장은 본 제당촌의 생성과 사회주의 혁명 (1959) 이후 제당공장이 폐쇄되기 이전까지의 지역의 발전과정을, 4장은 정부에 의한 지역경제구조의 재편과 이에 따른 지역적 변화를, 마지막으로 5장은 현재 지역공동체의 내부 시각을 그들의 문화적 실천들을 통해 보여준다.

현재의 지역 정체성에 있어서, 지역민들은 혁명 이전의 과거에 많은 의미를 부여하는 것으로 나타났다. 첫째, 마을의 경관이 혁명 이전의 모습을 간직하여, 지역민들의 과거에 대한 기억을 불러일으키는 물리적 도구로 기능 하고 있다.

경관에 대한 해석을 통하여, '영광스러운 과거'를 기억하고, 낙후된 현재와 비교함으로써 지역의 정통성을 확보하고자 한다. 두 번째, 지역민들은 마을의 이름 뿐만 아니라, 마을 내의 장소를 명명함에 있어서도 혁명 이전의 관습을 유지하고 있다. 마지막으로 지역민들이 주장하는 지역 공동체의 특징들 -가족중심주의, 교양 있는 허쉬사람들, 말 많은 이웃들- 을 해석함에 있어서 혁명이전의 구조적 특징들에 기원을 두고자하며, 인근 마을사람들과 자신들을 구분 해 주는 근원적이며 바람직한 것으로 평가 한다.

이러한 일련의 문화적 과정들은 지역이 당면한 현실에 대한 반작용이라고 할 수 있다. 지역민들은 새로운 지역경제구조에 대하여 '정부가 하는 일,' '때때로 나에게 유용하지만 크게 의미 없는' 장소들로 해석하곤 하는데, 이는 새로이 재편된 지역 경제 구조물들 -유기농 농장과 세라믹 공장-의 장소성에 공동체적 가치가 배제되어 있기 때문이라고 할 수 있다. 따라서 과거의 제당활동에 대한 '기억'이 현재 재편된 지역 경제구조에서는 배제된 '공동체성'을 유지하는 유일한 매개로 작용한다. 두 번째, 혁명 이전 시기와의 연결을 통하여 지역의 정통성을 지키고자하는 지역의 기대 역시 현실에 대한 반작용으로 볼 수 있다. 구소련의 붕괴와 이에 대한 연쇄 작용으로서 쿠바 경제위기는 제당공장의 폐쇄를 불러왔다. 이에 대응하는 지역 내부의 변화로서 지역민들 사이의 경제적 격차, 이웃간의 불안감 증가, 마지막으로 지역적인 고립을 들 수 있다. 이러한 현실 속에서, 지역민들의 욕망 -'물질적 풍요'와 '세계와의 연결'등 - 이 바로 '혁명이전의 과거'에 위치하게 된다. 즉, 과거의 영광으로부터 멀어져 가는 지역적 현실 속에서, 혁명이전의 경관과 기억, 그리고 이에 대한 향수는 지역적 자존감과 지역공동체의 상징적 가치가 재현되는 주요한 기반으로 역할하고 있다.

[키워드: 쿠바 제당촌, 지역성, 지역 정체성, 쿠바 설탕산업 구조조정, 경관, 기억, 향수]

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[감사의 글]

본 연구는 많은 분들의 도움 없이는 불가능했습니다. 우선, 인류학이라는 공부를 대학원에서 처음 시작한 저에게 쿠바라는 연구 지역에 관심을 갖게 해 주시고, 진행과정에서 지속적인 응원과 격려를 해 주신 지도교수이신 전경수 선생님께 경의와 감사를 표합니다.

심사과정에서 꼼꼼하게 논문의 문제점에 대해서 지적 해 주시고, 수정 방향에 대해서 값진 충고를 해 주신, 위원장 정향진 선생님에게도 감사의 말씀을 드립니다. 연구자의 과욕으로 인하여 영문으로 작성된 논문 때문에 수정 할 사항도 많아 심사과정에서 본의 아니게 성가시게 해 드렸음에도 불구하고, 소중한 조언들과 방향을 제시해 주신 점에 대해서 깊이 감사드립니다.

부위원장이신 이성형 선생님께는 투병 중이심에도 불구하고, 심사를 해 주신 점에 대해서 이루 말할 수 없이 죄송하고, 또한 감사드립니다. 항상 저의 연구에 관심을 가져 주시고, 쿠바에 대한 조언을 아껴주지 않으시던 선생님께서 현재 투병중이라는 사실에 너무나도 가슴이 아픕니다. 부디 예전처럼 건강을 회복하시길 진심으로 기원합니다.

대학원 생활에서 동학들의 지적인 자극과 교류가 없었다면 대학원 생활에서의 큰 의미를 찾지 못했을 것입니다. 논문을 쓰는 동안 동학들의 고마운 존재에 대해서도 새삼 깨닫게 되었습니다. 저의 연구에 조언을 아끼지 않아주신 재학기간 함께해준 동기들과 선배 후배님들에게 깊은 감사의 말씀을 전합니다.

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