



# Close Encounters of Empire

Writing the Cultural History

of U.S.-Latin American Relations

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*With a Foreword by Fernando Coronil*

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Exteriores (Mexico City), expediente 3-1626-3. See also Fein, "Devolution of the Golden Age," 119-24.

129. "Semi-annual Evaluation Report of USIE Activities in Mexico," 15 Mar. 1951, 29, NARG 59, 511.12/3-1551.

130. Francis H. Styles (U.S. consul, Tampico) to George Messersmith, 25 Jan. 1946, NARG 84, MCEGR 842-Information Program, box 717.

131. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1991).

132. The most compelling explication of this theme, particularly for its analysis of the relationship between political economy and international culture, is David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1990).

133. Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought since the Revolution* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1955), 284-309. (This chapter's opening epigraph is from p. 305.)

Lauren Derby

## Gringo Chickens with Worms

### Food and Nationalism in the Dominican Republic

El costo de la vida sube otra vez  
el peso que baja ya ni se ve  
y las habichuelas no se pueden comer  
ni una libra de arroz ni una cuarta  
de café  
a nadie le importa qué piensa usted  
será porque aquí no hablamos  
inglés  
ah ah es verdad  
do you understand?  
do you, do you?

Somos un agujero en medio  
del mar y el cielo  
500 años después  
una raza encendida  
negra, blanca y taína  
pero, quién descubrió a quién?

JUAN LUIS GUERRA and 4:40, song titled "El costo de la vida" [The cost of living], from *Areito* (1992)

¡Oh Nueva York mi dolor descamado!  
¡Oh Nueva York Humanidad sub-yacente!  
por ti entendí que la primera  
definición de Patria es la nostalgia.

CHIKI VICIOSO, from "Nueva York, 1992"

The cost of living goes up again  
the peso is so low it can't even be seen,  
and beans, you can't eat them  
nor a pound of rice or a quarter  
of coffee,  
no one cares what you think  
could it be because we don't speak  
English?  
It's true  
do you understand?  
do you? do you?

We are a hole in the middle  
of the sea and sky  
500 years later  
a race in flames  
black, white, and Taino  
but, who discovered whom?

Oh, New York, my immeasurable pain!  
Oh, New York, subjugated humanity!  
you taught me that the first  
definition of the Nation is nostalgia.

In June 1992 an uproar broke out in the capital of the Dominican Republic, Santo Domingo. Stories erupted that "gringo" chickens, the local term for those grown in high-yield poultry factories, were riddled with worms. The public response to these rumors was unanimous and overwhelming. The

consumption of gringo chickens stopped abruptly as Dominicans shunned fast-food chicken chains like Pica Pollo and Victorina, venues normally packed at noon. These are the lunchtime favorite for the urban middle classes employed in the service sector and government on tight budgets, who live too far to return home for lunch as is customary. Because they are cheap, clean, and respectable, these are also places where the aspiring poor from the barrios can take their girlfriends in the evening. In one week, the poultry industry lost over 50 million pesos, and sent an urgent call to President Joaquín Balaguer to intervene to address their plight.<sup>1</sup> Pica Pollo and the hundreds of other fast-food chains serving chicken and chips in the capital were abandoned virtually overnight, and many poultry farmers were forced into bankruptcy.

Theories abounded over the origin of these rumors. Some conjecture focused on the economic rationality of the reports, alleging that there was a conspiracy afoot on the part of a competing food giant to gain market share.<sup>2</sup> For example, poultry farmers accused beef producers of fueling a campaign aimed at raising beef consumption, just as Dominican chicken producers accused importers of initiating the campaign so as to augment their trade. To elites, the scare simply reinforced their predisposition to see the masses as irrational and inclined toward claptrap. Others condemned this affront to the hygiene of national foodstuffs and the soothsayers who lacked faith in Dominican products.<sup>3</sup>

What caused this flurry of uneasiness over poultry? And why did gringo chicken become the scapegoat in this national scourge? This was not the first time that poultry had become the eye of a national scandal in the Dominican Republic. In previous years, gringo chicken had been accused of causing AIDS, infertility in women, and impotency and homosexuality in men. This hearsay first arose when stories that U.S. chicken feed was spiked with hormones began to circulate in Santo Domingo. And high-yield poultry varieties in the Dominican Republic are fed primarily with U.S. feed, which is cheaper for producers.<sup>4</sup> The gringo chicken, I suggest, was a magnet for controversy because it symbolized the ambivalence of national identity in the Caribbean, as the mediating nexus between foreign and homegrown (*lo extranjero* vs. *lo criollo*), cash and food crops, money and morality, market and family, and the United States and the Dominican Republic.<sup>5</sup> The gringo chicken (which is of North American origin, is white, and eats imported feed, but lives in the Caribbean and is grown by Dominican producers) raises a key issue every Dominican today must contend with: that is, what defines nationality in the U.S.-directed world system? What is "Dominican" in a context in which the external and the

internal have for centuries been thoroughly interpenetrated and have rendered ambiguous the boundaries separating the foreign and the national?<sup>6</sup> Where does national identity reside when U.S. firms own and control great expanses of land, beach, and property on the island and, moreover, when almost as many Dominicans live in New York City as in their own capital?

This essay explores how food can provide a lexicon for debates over nationhood.<sup>7</sup> It examines how a small Caribbean nation, formed in the shadow of the Northern Colossus, expresses its ambivalence vis-à-vis the United States through the idiom of consumption. Recently scholars have focused on the hybrid and multivocal semiology of nationness as experienced in the postcolonial world. Dominicans today to be sure inhabit a fragmentary and transnational social universe.<sup>8</sup> As a result of high emigration rates since the 1970s, Dominicans have now become the largest Latin American migrant stream to the United States, and the largest source of recent immigrants to New York City, with one in seven nationals residing in *Nueva York*, second city of the Dominican Republic and metonym for the greater *yanqui* world.<sup>9</sup>

Paradoxically this experience of quotidian fragmentation has produced a desire for the concrete, one of translating disjointed worlds into mimetic fetishes that can be invoked, appropriated, and conjured. The experience of deterritorialization and powerlessness characteristic of diasporas, combined with what Richard Sennet has termed "the spectre of uselessness" under modern global capitalism, may be encouraging a particular form of fetishism in which one gains control over transnational forces by portraying them as artifacts, icons, and even foods.<sup>10</sup> Such fetishes may serve as alibis for place in an increasingly homeless world. Through substitution, one controls not only the representation, but that which is being represented, since some of the essence of the original is embodied in its copy. As Michael Taussig has written, "the mimetic faculty" is the process of mastering the other through its replication.<sup>11</sup> As Paul Stoller says, "Sympathetic magic consists of copy and contact. Sorcerers make a copy of that which they want to affect. Through its magical power the copy acquires the properties of the original, which, in turn, implies the sorcerer's mastery and power over the object."<sup>12</sup> During the gringo chickens episode, Dominicans rendered their relationship with the United States into a language of the body, striving to take charge of the great "shark" of the Caribbean through its absorption into idioms of daily life. And there is nothing more quotidian in the Antilles than food.<sup>13</sup>

This essay examines how discourses of food have articulated the boundaries of nationhood in the Dominican Republic. I examine two key mo-

ments when the relationship between the Dominican Republic and the United States was encoded as a contest between two moral economies of consumption. One system was socially regulated by the family; the other was a market economy of consumption controlled by Wall Street—the tantalizing, dangerous, and fundamentally asocial economy of the U.S. dollar. These two imaginary logics draw on the dialectical imagery that pits home, as symbolized by indigenous food crops cultivated in the garden plot, or *conuco*—the essence of the indigenous, earthen, nourishing, lo criollo—against the wild, destructive, erratic, uncontained, enticing but ultimately barren cash crops associated with a global market economy governed by the United States, of which sugar is considered the epitome. Not coincidentally, the two moments I will discuss were both moments of intense globalization: first, the late nineteenth century, when U.S. sugar farms were entering the country en masse, establishing corporate enclaves of U.S.-administered plantations, and hiring servile labor from Haiti and Jamaica to cut cane. The foreign sugar invasion and the creation of an enclave economy raised deep questions about citizenship and national identity that came to be understood through the key symbol of sugar, which stood in for the debilitating transnational force of U.S. capital, as contrasted with Dominican food crops such as the humble and homely plantain. I examine how the onslaught of the U.S.-owned sugar economy created anxieties about the loss of sovereignty that forged an image of sugar as a national nemesis and malevolent sign of commodity value. I explore the destruction wrought by sugar in the Dominican imagination as portrayed in two novels: Ramón Marrero Arísty's classic *Over*, and Francisco Eugenio Moscoso Puello's *Cañas y bueyes* [Sugar and oxen].<sup>14</sup> Here global capital, encoded as American and embodied in sugar, was perceived as a corrosive force that ripped apart community and razed social hierarchy. Money and morality were perceived as antithetical logics. Cash was a solvent of society, in sharp contrast to the morality of a traditional social order based on hierarchy and difference.

I also discuss sugar's foil, that quintessential emblem of creole identity, the plantain, through the writings of its greatest muse, essayist, and social critic, José Ramón López. López wrote the influential 1896 treatise on food, race, and the Dominican nation titled "La Alimentación y las Razas" [Food and the races], in which he argued that the staple food of the peasantry, the starchy plantain, was the reason behind the lack of progress of the poor—not their racial mixture.<sup>15</sup> López was answering European racial theorists such as Joseph Arthur de Gobineau, who in penning theo-

ries of racial determinism consigned thoroughly mulatto societies such as Brazil and the Dominican Republic to national degeneration.

Second, I analyze another moment when a rhetoric of consumption provided the lexicon for Dominicans' complex and ambivalent sentiments toward the United States: the Christopher Columbus Quincentenary celebrations in 1992, when politically the Dominican Republic was seeking to position itself at the center of the Americas, as the first site of contact and then settlement for Columbus and his entourage. The boundaries of the Dominican nation were simultaneously challenged by riots in Washington Heights, New York City, as Dominicans there (*dominicanos ausentes*) protested police brutality and U.S. ethnic stereotypes of Dominicans as drug traffickers, piquing ambivalence on the island over whether the community overseas was sufficiently "respectable" to be considered extended kin of the nation. Economically, this was a period of intense discussion over *neoliberalismo*, the market-driven global order—the late 1980s vision articulated by Margaret Thatcher, Ronald Reagan, and George Bush, which culminated in free-trade agreements in Latin America such as NAFTA. It was also the culmination of a long-term economic recession, a result of plummeting prices for exports such as sugar, tobacco, and coffee, and the shift toward export free-trade zones and tourism, enclave industries which have failed to ameliorate the deepening unemployment crisis and increasingly have skewed the distribution of income. The scandal over gringo poultry erupted in the midst of this debate over states versus markets, one that translated locally into the relative virtues and vices of control by the nation-state versus transnational capitalism. I probe the cultural logic behind these images of decay, and why gringo chickens became the "epistemological category" through which Dominicans resisted the challenge they perceived to their nationhood.<sup>16</sup> In sum, I demonstrate how, first, sugar and plantain, and later, gringo versus creole chicken, have provided key oppositions for framing the dialectics of national identity in the Dominican Republic, and the tensions surrounding being creole in the global arena of the Americas. An underlying theme is the story of how lo criollo has shifted from being a pejorative term, signifying a lack of European civilization in the nineteenth century, to its positive evocations today of hearth and home in an increasingly transnational world. I suggest that consumption has become a key arena in which anxieties over the dissolution of place in the transnational condition are expressed, and boundaries redrawn.

## Food and Identity

Why should food metaphors become the medium of choice for communicating popular sentiments toward the United States? Perhaps because ingestion provides a graphically compelling image of power relations, and one that speaks to people because it derives from everyday life.<sup>17</sup> Eating is also an activity that makes sense across the class divide. Moreover, it concerns the body, particularly the boundary between corporal interiors and exteriors, which often becomes charged when anxieties surround the body politic.<sup>18</sup> The Dominican Republic, however, is not alone in its penchant for understanding relations of power in terms of eating. Johannes Fabian has shown that the Luba of Zaire conceive of power through the image of ingestion, a vision that conveys power not as a function but as a property.<sup>19</sup> This conception is quite different from postmodern theories that stress power's dispersion, its indeterminacy, and its ineffable nature in the postcolonial era. The image of power as eating is an effective means of expression, because it displays the violence behind modern techniques of domination, which often conceal hidden brutalities.<sup>20</sup> This notion of power also assumes agency. The image of consumption thus puts teeth back into the notion of power.

Foodstuffs provide a key idiom for several genres of identity in the Dominican Republic. Typically, food tropes are powerful as well as popular because they play on several tensions, one being the fact that they hover on the borderline between metaphor and metonymy, between being a tool for understanding and being an agent of mimetic subversion.<sup>21</sup> That is, foods are good to think with, but, given the right circumstances, they can also stand in for the thing itself.<sup>22</sup> In the Afro-Caribbean religion of Dominican *vodú*, an offering of the gods' foods can signify their presence or can induce their arrival. In a parallel vein, nostalgia for one's *patria chica*, or region of origin, can be summoned up by those foods that are signs of the province. Regional identities are often marked by food, most commonly important regional products. For example, the symbol of the southwestern town of Barahona is the plantain, which is said to be tastier as well as bigger than plantains from other regions—even though since the 1920s the primary product of Barahona has been sugar. But sugar until recently has been produced by foreign firms, hence augmenting the valence of nostalgic creole authenticity for the Barahona plantain. Here, sugar is the foil against which the plantain is defined.

In Dominican popular culture, foodstuffs are frequently deployed as sexual symbols and are often gendered. At times, erotic sparring in the

street can take advantage of confluences between taxonomies of food, gender, and region. For example, a young man from Barahona might gesture his elbow, indicating just indeed how long plantains from his town are (i.e., bigger than a man's hand and forearm together), and glossing this as a felicitous comment on his sexual potency, as a good *barahonero*. The gendering of fruits in particular leads to certain taxonomic taboos: menstruating women, for example, may not eat certain fruits evocative of masculinity, particularly the phallic banana and the white milky flesh of the *guanábana* or uglifruit, which invokes semen. Pregnant and lactating women are prohibited from foods evocative of fertility, like avocados, because of their large seed.<sup>23</sup> Eggs are considered aphrodisiacs, particularly those of the tiny quail or large duck. Ambulant street vendors of produce (who are generally male) often play on the erotics of their cargo in their catcalls to the maids, housewives, and children who buy their goods, using particularly the "male" vegetables and fruits as props for flirtation and raucous joking.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, they will let the vegetables "say" things that would be disrespectful for them to utter to steady customers.

But if gender counts in the vegetable world, it matters even more in the animal kingdom. And poultry provides the basis for a cluster of central metaphors in Dominican culture. First, hens and cocks are said to have different nutritional qualities. Hens evoke fertility. Even chicken soup is classified by gender, as *caldo de gallina* (chicken soup made from the hen) is required for strengthening women on the verge of childbirth, whereas offering soup from the cock at that time would be an act of malice.<sup>25</sup> Roosters are also considered a poor man's food, and undercapitalized petty entrepreneurs will often buy up the refuse from cockfighting establishments for use in their *friquitín* (street fried-food stand).<sup>26</sup> Moreover, the chicken provides the paradigmatic template of femininity and masculinity, albeit in exaggerated, idealized form. For example, a favorite carnival costume in Santo Domingo is called *roba la gallina* (steal the hen), and consists of a man dressed up to look like a pregnant woman, with a huge pillowed stomach, bust, and butt. Although he typically wears a wig, an apron, and exaggerated facial makeup, and walks in a fashion that calls attention to his cushioned protrusions, he must let his male identity show through, often by sporting high sneakers and allowing his legs to remain hirsute. Unlike a true transvestite who would shave his legs and wear heels, this is patent dissimulation—a spectacle, not mimesis. As he passes, people chant repeatedly, "*Roba la gallina, baila con ella*" (steal the hen, dance with her). This character plays on the theme of multiple identities and their transformation, slipping from male to female, and from

mother to father to embryonic child. This protean character offers commentary on several aspects of femininity: on the female social role of the housewife, the *gallina* or nesting female spouse, the ideal wife who maintains the homestead; as well as on the beckoning sexuality of the female body; and, finally, on female procreative power. These multiple meanings ascribed to femininity are mocked through their simultaneous conjuring since they are mutually exclusive: the señora or middle-class housewife, the whore, and the mother. Of course, this image also invokes the horror of blurred gender boundaries, and, fears of homosexuality.

Even more than the hen, the cock provides a key code of masculinity that reverberates in many areas of daily life. If foods gendered as female are associated with taboos, with social and personal order, those associated with men most often involve rule breaking. For example, the quintessential men, that is to say, the patriotic, honorable, and brave men who have helped make the nation through taking up arms and fighting for their ideals—"men of great political prestige . . . and great ideals"—are called *gallos*, or cocks.<sup>27</sup> Certain *caudillos* and statesmen have earned nicknames that resonate with this hard-earned title of male prestige, such as President Ramón Cáceres (1906–1911), who earned the name "Gallo Colorao," or piebald creole cock, which is said to be particularly fierce. The term *gallo* clearly plays on a phallic reference, and this can be seen in the stories about *gallos*, which often include sexual innuendo and invocations of male power and virility.<sup>28</sup> The heroic *gallo* emerges most clearly in relation to an oppressive force, be it another political party, a gang, a local villain, or the United States; a rhetoric of aggression is used as symbolic armor, and sociopolitical penetration is transcoded as "male sexual violation," as José Limón has demonstrated for Mexico.<sup>29</sup> The urban barrio variant of the *gallo* in Santo Domingo is called the tiger-cock, *el tiguere gallo*, who must be valient, ready to use force when necessary, the epitome of bodily control, a good drinker, and athletic.<sup>30</sup>

In this predominantly mulatto society, *comida típica*, or authentic Dominican food, often glosses the racial mixing that in the popular imagination is characteristically Dominican. *Sancocho*, a soup containing several varieties of meat and tubers, is a key sign of Dominican society, as is the triad of beans, rice, and meat, nicknamed the *bandera dominicana* (the Dominican flag).<sup>31</sup> The most evident racial metaphor is *moros con cristianos*, or Moors and Christians, the nickname for the black beans and rice mixture that is so dear to the Dominican heart. *Moros con cristianos* as the *comida criolla* par excellence exemplifies how Dominicans perceive their own brand of racial mixing: blacks and whites retaining their own iden-

tity but clearly intimately bound up together, a variant on the Brazilian mythic "racial democracy."<sup>32</sup>

Dominican food is such a powerful conveyor of nationality that one could almost say that to eat Dominican is to be Dominican. Invariably the first query foreigners are faced with in the Dominican Republic is whether one has eaten *comida criolla*, and even more important, whether one enjoys it or not. This became the stock theme in a series of local rum advertisements in 1992 that were exceedingly popular, featuring a blond gringa woman whose first encounter with things Dominican occurs in a New York cab. In the first installment, her Dominican cab driver happens upon a merengue street band when letting her off, and looks dreamily into space, signaling his imaginary transport to the Dominican Republic. When she inquires ignorantly what that music is, he quips, "Americana, tú no sabes nada" (American, you don't know anything). In the second installment, she visits the Dominican Republic, and on the airline home (of course, Air Dominicana, the national airline) she asks for *concon*. Dominicans cook their rice very slowly in a heavy iron pot, so as to encourage the formation of a crunchy layer along the pot's lining. This browned, crispy rice is called "concon" and is savored, and served separately. To Dominicans, the fact that the gringa asks for *concon* indicates her dominicanization, her symbolic assimilation into the Dominican cultural universe. The *americana* is enlightened through her initiation into the lexicon of Dominican nationality.

### Sugar and the Evils of Excess

C. L. R. James, the great West Indian social critic, has said that the Caribbean has a peculiar sense of nationness that stems from the ontological status of islands.<sup>33</sup> The fact that these are countries without borders accounts for the fact that foreigners are encountered as strangers—as exotic, fascinating, and somewhat threatening. While this may be true, the sharp ambivalence Dominicans feel toward the United States is a product of the nation's having come of age in the epoch of U.S. imperialism. In the nineteenth century, when the rest of Latin America had achieved independence, the Hispanic Caribbean was still split over the relative advantages and disadvantages of autonomy. Ultimately in Cuba, the late-nineteenth-century jewel of the Spanish colonial empire, a popular independence war took shape; however, Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic, which had failed to realize Cuba's highly successful sugar bonanza, were forced



to bargain from a position of weakness and sought annexation to the United States as a pragmatic trade-off between political goals and the economic realities of micronationhood in the North American backyard. Furthermore, Dominicans at mid-century were still fearful of neighboring Haiti, which had made several military incursions into Dominican terrain around the time of the Haitian revolution (1804) and later occupied its Spanish-speaking neighbor (1822–1844). In fact, in 1861, when the Dominican Republic was reannexed to Spain, Dominican president Buenaventura Báez went so far as to argue that annexation to the United States signified salvation, because it would force Haiti to respect Dominican rights.<sup>34</sup> Decades after the rest of Latin America had moved beyond colonialism, the Dominican Republic was taken once again by Spain, as elites sought a bulwark against Haiti's powerful army. Then, just after the Dominican Republic finally became independent in 1865, the country once again narrowly missed annexation in a deal that would have swapped U.S. protectorate status for use of the northern bay of Samaná, where the United States was interested in building a naval base. In sum, all Dominican governments after 1821 sought foreign stewardship, protection, or aid of one kind or another.<sup>35</sup>

Caribbean nationhood has been at best partial, contested, and fractured due to the realities of geopolitics in the U.S. backyard. After the debate over trusteeship died, the United States felt no qualms about direct interference in other arenas. As the national debt grew unwieldy by the 1890s and the Dominican Republic fell behind in repayments, a New York firm became de facto treasurer; then, in 1907, the U.S. government took over customs in an effort to collect revenue, exercising fiscal control until 1941. Later, the United States occupied the Dominican Republic twice to quell political instability: from 1916–1924, and again in 1965 to end civil war over the contested presidency of reformist Juan Bosch.

Although Dominican autonomy has been delimited in myriad ways by foreign intervention, concerns over transnationalism and the impact of global markets on the nation first became articulated in the Caribbean over sugar. Around the turn of the twentieth century, sugar became the key motif of global capitalism because of the way this one crop single-handedly transformed the Dominican economy. At first sugar loomed distantly on the horizon like a mirage. Similar to the phantasmagoric visions of grandeur spawned by gold, guano, bananas, or petroleum elsewhere in Latin America, some saw sugar as the ultimate answer to the ailing economy and a guarantee of national development. Apart from the Panama Canal, which inspired comparisons with the colonial Bolivian mining cen-

ter of Potosí regarding its potential to reroute global markets toward Latin America, in the Caribbean nothing became a numen for potential future enrichment quite like sugar. In fact, Cuban poet Nicolás Guillén went so far as to declare, "without sugar there is no country."<sup>36</sup> Certainly sugar had its naysayers, yet even its critics perceived it, in Catherine LeGrand's words, as virtually "synonymous with contact with the outside world, with capitalism, and with modernity."<sup>37</sup> Sugar, and the cluster of meanings it came to represent, became a key "metaphorical construct" through which the turn-of-the-century transformation of the Dominican economy and society was understood and explained.<sup>38</sup>

Why would sugar be singled out as the master trope in the Dominican Republic representing both the positive and negative aspects of global capital? Certainly, first and foremost, due to the scale of the transformations it engendered. The sugar industry ushered in a new wave of urban development, railroad construction, local ancillary manufactures from rum to cigars, and cosmopolitan culture. Overnight, provincial hamlets such as La Romana and San Pedro de Macorís became cities; a transnational polyglot public culture was forged as a result of the immigration of West Indians, Haitians, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and Americans; a proletarian workforce was created; and consumption patterns were revolutionized as U.S. goods became more readily available to a larger portion of the population. Sugar came to stand in for a host of changes associated with the market and commodity culture: from proletarianization to urbanism, from conspicuous consumption to alienation. At a time when most of the Dominican economy lay outside the sphere of market exchange, sugar came to represent both the magic and the terror of the marketplace: the seduction of self-transformation through the acquisition of commodities, as well as the resultant fears of dissimulation, as the familiar suddenly became strange. Commodification created problems of misrecognition as established social identities were subject to change.<sup>39</sup>

Several features helped sugar acquire a unique status both as a commodity and as a substance. Sugar itself was used as a form of currency in the colonial West Indies.<sup>40</sup> And while Dominicans had cultivated sugar since the early colonial period, the new sugar boom was almost entirely a foreign affair. By 1930 almost all the local *ingenios*, or plantations, were foreign owned. The sugar industry was also the most technologically sophisticated industry in the country. Another property rendering sugar distinctive was that it was not locally consumed until the U.S. occupation, when it became a marker of elite status. The local appetite for sweets had been quenched until the turn of the century by rough-hewn *melao* or un-



processed molasses or honey, not refined sugar; these were the preferred sweeteners in desserts and drinks. Indeed, in the 1890s esteemed Cuban traveler José Martí recorded the local Dominican saying that honey was "better than sugar, [and] made for coffee."<sup>41</sup> Yet this notwithstanding, by 1910 sugar was the country's largest export crop. Sugar was the sole commodity that was produced by foreign companies, primarily through foreign labor, and yielded a crop that was sold largely in overseas markets. This rendered it a particularly appropriate prism through which to ponder the status of national identity in the wake of transnational capital flows.<sup>42</sup>

Just as sugar for some became the focal point for utopian dreams of progress, it was equally vilified as representing the quintessence of global capitalism and the vagaries of the dollar. Sugar came to symbolize the mercurial and ultimately transitory nature of value in the money economy. Like a fine confection, it was alluring yet ultimately ephemeral. The problem with sugar lay in its hyperindustrial character: the way in which the mechanical nature of the boiling and grinding process disguised the labor involved in its production; the fact that ultimately it was men, not machines, that cut the cane and thus actually created the fine white powder. Partly it was the highly technical nature of this new production form that rendered sugar suspect in all of its manifestations. Many Dominican observers were averse to technology that challenged the skill and craftsmanship of artisanal methods of manufacture. Take the newly redesigned U.S.-made tobacco-rolling machines that began to attract attention in 1903. As they began to replace Cuban cigar hand-rolling, they were chastised as a product of "American cupidity, the desire to produce as much as possible in a short time with as little effort as possible."<sup>43</sup> (Cuban resistance to the machines, however, was equally chided for its atavism and backwardness by Dominicans.) By contrast, when late-nineteenth-century Dominican writers described indigenous cane producers, they sought to endow the firms with a human face, downplaying their technical wizardry and highlighting their paternalism. They described each ingenio in terms of the family history and identity of the men who founded it, and named the kind acts of generosity bestowed on their cane farmers (*colonos*) and workers.<sup>44</sup>

Indeed, Dominican disgust with U.S. efforts to tamper with nature to increase productivity date from this period, a time when efforts to improve the genetic stock of various comestible plant and animal species became vogue worldwide. Some Dominicans went as far as to urge local municipal councils to ban the importation of adulterated foodstuffs, calling them fraudulent and a public health hazard. Dominicans railed at efforts to alter the natural attributes of such products, labeling them "gross and criminal

adulterations." Imported, genetically engineered milk was considered particularly suspect and was said to have an inordinately high water content and scarce nutritive value.<sup>45</sup> Of course, sugar was indirectly implicated in this charge, since it was the sugar economy that had opened up the domestic food market to U.S. imports. Moreover, refined sugar became a symbol of the Frankenstein-like pretensions of a country that saw no limits to its ability to tamper with nature's secrets.

Above and beyond the hideous artifice of the form of its production, sugar did more than provide a key image revealing the true nature of U.S. commodity culture: it was seen as embodying it. Nor was this the only alimentary arena in which beliefs concerning national and racial character were applied directly to foodstuffs. One critic praised the efforts of a public works minister who had imported Italian queen bees, claiming that Italian bees were more gentle, strong, and hard-working than Spanish or creole bees, and capable of one hundred times their production.<sup>46</sup> Indeed, this experiment included the early introduction of high-yield chickens (*gallinas ponedoras*), advocates for which claimed they had ten times the value and productivity of local breeds, and which were heralded as the answer to the local poultry industry's deficiencies.<sup>47</sup> Some even went so far as to contend that the introduction of U.S. products and production methods would encourage the Dominican peasantry to take on certain U.S. virtues, such as industry and frugality, through the adoption of sedentary agriculture. As one essayist wrote, the industrial production of sugar could be a means to demonstrate to the rural *gavillero* or bandit "the prodigiousness of this land; its machines would demonstrate the power of intelligence of the settled man; and the smoke of its chimneys, dispersing in the atmosphere, would represent the vagaries and inconsistency of the future of his little-understood politics. The guerrilla, regenerating himself with time, would exchange the gun, with which he killed his brothers, for the hoe."<sup>48</sup>

Yet sugar certainly had its critics as well. Some Dominican intellectuals, such as Pedro Bonó, issued tirades against sugar—now a potent symbol of the United States, and one associated with the new monied economy and the culture of the marketplace, a corrosive force that appeared to dissolve social unity. All this, of course, was opposed to the traditional crop, tobacco, which came to symbolize "dominicanity" and the old order.<sup>49</sup>

The harshest indictments against sugar, however, were made through the language of literature. Indeed, the novels *Cañas y bueyes* by F. E. Moscoso Puello and *Over* by Ramón Marrero Arísty blame sugar for virtually every national flaw: from landgrabbing to corruption, from indolence to violence. The difference in the two treatments lies not in the severity of

the charges, but rather in their perception of which groups proved most sharply victimized by sugar monoculture—cane farmers or merchants—and precisely how sugar ruined them.<sup>50</sup>

In the naturalist perspective of Moscoso's *Cañas y bueyes*, sugar destroyed the nation by razing the lush, green undergrowth of the *monte*, or backwoods, without which Dominicans could not survive. Similar to Thomas Hardy's anthropomorphic vision of the heath in his literary masterpiece *Return of the Native*, the *monte* was portrayed here as the moral and spiritual sustenance of the pueblo, the cradle and hearth of true *dominicanidad*, "their milieu, tradition, and fortune."<sup>51</sup> People cried when the forests, venerated and adored, which had sustained Dominicans from their days as rebel *cimarrones* (runaway slaves) and *monteros* (woods hunters), were slashed in order to plant cane. The *monte* was where the peasantry grew its garden vegetables, hunted for wild boars, and ranged unfenced cattle; thus it represented the security of an assured food supply outside the sphere of market exchange. The cutting of the *monte* was the closing of the Dominican frontier, and it left no alternative to becoming a vendor in a plantation bodega, a *colmado* (corner grocer), or a *colono*. In Moscoso's treatment, everyone is degraded by the onslaught of sugar: the wealthy landowner José Contreras loses his land and cattle, just as the country's "lack of progress, backwardness, disorganization, and, above all, its racial inferiority" is blamed on sugar. As one character declares in a moment of exasperation, "In no part of the world are people more exploited than here. Peons, workers, grocers—we are all enslaved." Moscoso presents a complex vision of the sugar plantation as an alien environment that pollutes all those who enter its domain, with no particular individual to blame. Sugar is a force that sucks everyone into its vortex, forcing them into complicity with its rules and terms.<sup>52</sup>

While turn-of-the-century portrayals of sugar's impact were more nuanced in their view that at times the owner of a particular sugar mill could humanize the impact of the crop and the fates of those who cultivated it, these later depictions positively vilify sugar. Here sugar is a form of social arsenic, one that dissolves the former standards of value—land and cattle—on which the previous social order had been grounded, and in the process ruins individuals, couples, families, and even the extended family of the nation.<sup>53</sup> Social prestige had accrued to clans in proportion to the quantity of skilled professionals, landed property, and stock they possessed; indeed, such families were said to hold more "worth." Cattle, land, and honor were the key "inalienable possessions" defining personhood in the old order. Drawing on Annette Weiner's formulation,

these were goods to be kept outside the sphere of exchange due to their indisputable singularity; they were "transcendent treasures . . . symbolic repositories of genealogies and historical events."<sup>54</sup>

Indeed, there were many sayings indicating that land and cattle were forms of symbolic currency. For example, it was said that "he who has cattle earns by night and by day."<sup>55</sup> According to another maxim, if land was the "only fortune," oxen was "capital" itself.<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, land, which in the former communal system had been held collectively, was now calculated through a system of shares called *pesos*, thus explicitly invoking a form of currency, yet one that was nearly impossible to divide into individual ownership, thereby hindering land sales.<sup>58</sup> Before the advent of sugar, cattle and land had been only partially commodified, perhaps due in part to their incalculable value in the popular imagination. As if to mark their inalienable identity, plots as well as oxen were known not by their owners, but rather by their nicknames (such as *Malas Mujeres*—Bad Women—or Rosita), as if they, like people, were inviolable.

By stark contrast, sugar was the commodity form par excellence, its value ultimately void. This idea was reinforced through the popular perception that all those who gained cash by working in the sugar industry seemed to lose it in the end, either through women, gambling, exaction, drinking, or spending sprees. If land and cattle were the quintessence of value, in the sense that they should not be sold, sugar money was precisely its opposite—fast money with no staying power that failed to result in the accrual of wealth to its owner. As one day laborer in Moscoso's novel comments, "the money of the plantation stays there; it just dissolves like salt in water."<sup>59</sup>

Ramón Marrero Arísty's novel *Over* reinforces this vision of the venal and illusory nature of sugar profit by focusing on the fiscal subculture of the sugar plantation. Whereas Marrero portrays a system that dehumanizes all, from the upper echelons of the Dominican managerial staff to the lowliest Haitian cane cutter, this text focuses on the culture of profit making, the system of extortion by which the sugar firm exacted an informal "tax" on all transactions within the domain of the mill, popularly termed "over." From cane weighing by the ton to rice sales by the ounce, the ingenio demanded an off-the-books profit, one rendered all the more onerous for company *bodegueros* in particular, due to the fact that their inventory never quite measured up to its purported weight, leaving them squeezed on both ends. The author's focus on "over" seems to imply not only that, in accord with Marx's dictum, all capitalism is theft, but, moreover, that capitalism is an entirely foreign affair—made in the United

States with the collaboration of Syrian itinerant traders, Haitian and Jamaican cane cutters, and U.S. and Cuban know-how.

Unlike *Cañas y bueyes*, which focuses on the interstitial Dominican cane farmers who, as producers for the sugar mill, mediated between the foreign-owned plantation and local constituencies, there is no room in *Over* for ambiguity in the relationship between local and foreign actors. Here the story is told in black and white. The sole indication of a blurring of boundaries is the sprinkling of English words throughout the text (i.e., *over*, *payroll*, *mlster*), which have made their way into Dominican Spanish, indexing the involuntary insinuation of aspects of an originally exotic sugar culture into Dominican soil. Even though the protagonist is repelled by the systematic injustice exacted by the system of "over," he is nonetheless drawn into its logic against his will, becoming in the end the prototypical alienated and inhumane figure he so abhorred on his arrival.<sup>60</sup> This stark portrait depicts the firm as a total institution crushing the very spirit of local society: here the ingenio is, indeed, "another republic," with its own laws, structure of political authority, and even money, since it was ingenio *vales*, or tokens, that were accepted at the plantation bodegas, not cash.<sup>61</sup> If Dominicans saw the plantation system as fundamentally usurious, as one producing an "unlawful surplus" or an "illegitimate excess," this novel explains why.<sup>62</sup>

If the portrayal of U.S. corporate capitalism as a rapacious force quite literally devouring Dominicans and their humanity seems overblown, keep in mind that the U.S. enterprises formed overseas at the turn of the century were often quite explicit about establishing correspondences between monetary and human value. If Dominicans resented feeling dehumanized by their transformation into objects or factors of production, it was not entirely in their imaginations. Michael O'Malley has charted the correspondences between the languages of race and money in the nineteenth-century United States, arguing that free-market economic thought was deployed to essentialize notions of racial difference.<sup>63</sup> The most explicit case of race being put into the service of corporate profit making overseas was perhaps the Panama Canal Zone, where the labor force was segmented into "gold" and "silver" tiers based on race and citizenship, with distinct salaries, housing, and commissaries.<sup>64</sup> Another example is the U.S. firms' importation of migrants—Haitians and West Indians—as contract workers to serve as cheap labor for the cane and banana harvests throughout Central America and the Caribbean.<sup>65</sup> While defiled as the lowliest in the ethnically stratified labor force, they were nonetheless marked as different, as a kind of commodified caste, since they were paid

in U.S. currency. This augmented an association between blackness and money that had originated during slavery, when slaves were the foundational commodities defining the social order.<sup>66</sup> Thus sugar came to embody a chain of signification linking the United States, money, whiteness (and blackness)—all associated as elements foreign to Dominican creole essence and seen as privileged in certain ways, yet simultaneously mistrusted as alien, threatening, and socially dangerous. In the words of the author of *Cañas y bueyes*, "money inspires respect and fear."<sup>67</sup>

As Arjun Appadurai claims, a particular style of fetishism develops in enclave economies in which locals observe only a small portion of the trajectory of the commodity and as a result tend to project onto it extraordinary attributes.<sup>68</sup> It is the consumption side of the equation that was missing in this case: Dominicans produced sugar for a market that remained invisible to them. Ironically, however, sugar became an emblem of consumption pathology: the expression of a system that appeared ravenously to devour the labor on which it depended, as well as the essence of nationhood, the nation's citizenry and borders. Thus, in *Over*, it is sugar that appears to be swallowing Dominicans, as is powerfully expressed in the graphic image of a mill worker chewed up and spit out by a sugar processing machine, reduced from personhood to a heap of unidentifiable flesh. The narrator's wife exclaims, "Over has swallowed your life! It owns you!" As in Andean fat-stealing narratives, modernity is harnessed to serve a logic common to witchcraft narratives, in which the values of fertility and life itself are turned inside out, and in which the production of value is transformed into its very destruction.<sup>69</sup>

There is apparently something particularly heinous for Dominicans about the profit logic of the plantation making its way into the subculture of the colmado or bodega, the corner grocer's, the key site of *Over*. Perhaps this is because of the way the colmado corresponds to food, and the nurturing and nourishing of the family to relations of kin and trust. The colmado is closely tied to the domestic sphere, "the only space where people breath, curse and dream as they like."<sup>70</sup> During the day, it is an extension of the kitchen, where women buy the daily meal ingredients before lunch or dinner, often staying to chat with the attendants who know and ask about family matters; the colmado thus invokes maternal care, sustenance, and bounty. The frequency of daily visits and resultant intimacy of the colmado injects something of the spirit of the gift into transactions, as exemplified by loyal customers being rewarded with *ñapa*, or a little extra, as an investment on their return, or by the custom of buying on credit. In this view, the colmado belongs to another "regime of value": it should re-

main distinct from the omnivorous sugar, the ultimate sign of commodity exchange. This opposition between cash and food may well date originally to slavery, when what Sidney Mintz calls the "provision ground marketing complex," the conuco or garden plot, was the basis of family subsistence and autonomy from the harsh world of the cane fields.<sup>71</sup> Even today, sugar workers struggle to grow food crops on every available bit of soil around their living quarters, representing a tiny modicum of self-determination in otherwise abject circumstances. The symbolism of food as an emblem of the hearth is sufficiently charged that various Dominican regimes have sought to harness this powerful populist sign of home and nation and affix it to the state. For example, the Trujillo regime in the 1930s conducted a nationalist campaign to encourage Dominicans to eat locally grown (as opposed to imported) rice, and advertisements cast Dominican rice consumption as a patriotic act that would help combat national dependency. Creole rice water was even touted as a panacea for weak or sick children.<sup>72</sup>

### Food, Race, and Nation

While U.S. commodities such as sugar had become imperial signs by the 1920s, traditional food crops have not always been innocent harbingers of dominicanidad and signs of a glorious and pristine nation. Indeed, what might arguably be termed the national foodstuff, the plantain, was in the 1890s subject to intense scrutiny and a barrage of criticism. José Ramón López, essayist and social reformer, wrote "La alimentación y las razas" in 1896, an essay that defined an epoch of Dominican social thought, even though López's disparaging view of the Dominican nation has caused him to be remembered with some ambivalence in the history of Dominican letters.<sup>73</sup> The text is a riposte to social Darwinism and the determinist theories of de Gobineau and Oswald Spengler that conceived of race as the embodiment of national culture, and thus the prime index of a country's potential for development. This conflation of race and nation was particularly pernicious for countries with a predominance of racial mixture, which in this view had no future but one of degeneration. To his credit, López sought to decouple the nineteenth-century link between race and nation, reframing the issue from one of nature to one of culture. The explanation for the Dominican Republic's lack of progress was to be found not in the genetic composition of *la raza* but in diet. Unfortunately, however, in his drive to de-essentialize nation, López re-essentialized class.

López's argument provides a new twist to the old adage that you are

what you eat—that identity is constituted through food. After a survey of the globe's dietary routines, he concluded that eating poorly and not enough had produced the malfesance emanating from Italy and the Middle East; and that nations like Turkey, India, and China would remain stuck in the past until the masses were fed a more regular and balanced diet. Here he took issue with the racist theories of Cesare Lombroso, the Italian criminologist who contended that certain races (Italians and Jews) were inherently prone to recidivism and criminality.<sup>74</sup> The Spanish colonizers had waged a war of attrition against the swarthy Indian and African, successively reducing their rations, degenerating the races, and compromising them physically and mentally. The Dominican Republic needed a "food apostle" to teach the people how to eat; the middle class preferred their rancid but imported margarine, the poor their anemic plantain, and everyone's nutritional deficit was demonstrated by Dominicans' propensity for coffee and alcohol. For lack of consumption, Dominicans were consumed by vices.

As liberal reformers such as López invested their faith in state formation and urban development, the countryside became the criterion of alterity against which progress was gauged.<sup>75</sup> And the peasant and his plantain became the distillation of rural barbarism. Avid for progress and civilization, Dominican liberals blamed the lack of national development on the peasantry, who, as a result of their hunger and nutritional deficiency, were plagued by a "lack of foresight, violence, and duplicity," as well as hopeless indolence.<sup>76</sup> Poor diet had produced the amorality of the countryside, an ethic of lies, dissimulation, intrigue, and excessive sensuality. The gravest problem, according to López, was the irregularity of the meal, a factor which had reduced the nation to a state of animality. The peasants, most notably the monteros, or mountain dwellers, who engaged in shifting cultivation and who ate great quantities of wild pork, were among some of the most afflicted. For them, the problem "hasn't been limited to the physical and mental degeneration of the race, or the abundance of cretins and peabrains; it has also rendered epidemic the most repugnant of diseases," such that there are entire towns in the interior rotten with contagion.<sup>77</sup> Under a tutelary regime, the state would instruct the peasantry in matters of culture, teaching them to keep their metaphorical house in order, especially at table.<sup>78</sup> Small property holding would be enforced, both to tie the peasantry into the monetary economy and to promote their civilization.

This discussion of the work of José Ramón López was intended to help clarify why the plantain continues to provide such a powerful symbol of Dominican national identity. The fact that the plantain symbolizes the

peasantry explains why plantain is said to *embrutecer*, to make stupid, and why *platanizar* (literally, "to platanize") is such a derogatory term.<sup>79</sup> The multivalence of the *plátano* is its national-cum-class resonance; since the eighteenth century the plantain, roasted, boiled, or mashed, has been the quintessential rural Dominican food. Depending on the context, the plantain can either index national nostalgia or it can be a term of denigration for either the urban or rural poor. In a brawl, it might be used to gloss the Dominican nation positively in terms of its masculine virtues, such as virility, courage, honor, and readiness to fight. The plantain today, however, is often paired with the cornflake—held to be the American national starch—as positively and negatively valued national parameters: if the United States has brains, the Dominican Republic has other virtues, such as capacity for love, valience, and most of all, respect.

### Trouble on the Other Island

If sugar became a symbol of a new level of globalization of the Dominican economy in the 1890s because of the establishment of foreign-owned and staffed enclaves driven by the cash nexus, the twentieth century would prove the harbinger of an even greater transnationalization of the country. By 1955, dictator Rafael Trujillo (1930–1961) had in effect nationalized the sugar industry by buying out the majority of the U.S. and Canadian concerns.<sup>80</sup> However, the move toward tourism and the establishment of export free-trade zones on the island, combined with a new Dominican migration stream to the United States since 1961, resulted in a qualitatively distinct level of globalization of the economy. The principal sources of foreign exchange today, tourism and export subcontracting in free-trade zones, are far more impermeable enclaves than sugar ever was, given the total absence of linkages with the larger economy. They have not even spawned the despised *ingenio bodega*. Both the tourist hotels and the free-trade zones are maintained like fortresses: built like military camps, the *zonas francas* require identification to enter, and the swank hotels frequently prohibit local residents from even using their beaches. More extensive foreign investment has increased land values and helped push Dominicans out of traditional agricultural enterprises, and combined with structural adjustment measures, has contributed to spiraling unemployment rates reaching some 20 to 50 percent of the male labor force today.<sup>81</sup> NAFTA's passage in 1994 provided a strong incentive for manufacturers, capital, and jobs to flee the Caribbean for a far more profitable Mexico.<sup>82</sup>

The net effect has been extensive emigration, particularly since the 1970s. In 1990 estimates of the total Dominican population in the United States ranged from 500,000 to 1.5 million persons, rendering the Dominican Republic New York City's largest source of immigration.<sup>83</sup> As a result, the Dominican community has now achieved the status of a thoroughly binational "ethnoscape," one for which national identity is no longer coincident with national terrain.<sup>84</sup>

Yet the fact of an increasingly deterritorialized society has created an increasing sense of unease among local elites. While Dominican migrants tend to be drawn from the most educated segment of the local population, local elites nonetheless insist on their lower-class status (a prejudice which in part stems from the fact that most migrants take lower-working-class jobs in the United States).<sup>85</sup> This bias is a result of the sense of displacement caused by the frequent visits paid by *Dominicanyorks* to the island as tourists flaunting their access to dollars. Emigrés contributed nearly one-third of the total revenues gleaned from tourism, for example, in 1985. Additionally, return migrants form an increasingly significant portion of "foreign" investment in the Dominican Republic, particularly in industries like construction, in which it is estimated that some 60 percent of housing is now purchased by Dominicans overseas. Today remittances have far surpassed sugar and other traditional export commodities, becoming by the late 1980s the nation's second largest foreign exchange earner. Luis Guarnizo goes as far as asserting that migrants are the "single most important social group contributing to the local economy."<sup>86</sup> As a result, *Dominicanyorks* are increasingly perceived as a threat to the local power structure, a fact that placed Dominicans on the island in a dilemma when riots broke out in Washington Heights, New York City, in July 1992.

The riots forced Dominicans on the island to come to terms for the first time with their compatriots overseas through the eyes of the United States. Just weeks after the Los Angeles riots, which erupted in response to the verdict in the Rodney King police brutality case, violence broke out in Washington Heights, the heart of the Dominican community in Queens, in upper Manhattan. A young Dominican man, José García, was shot by police during a scuffle, setting off a week of street riots, looting, and protests over a forty-square-block area. Demonstrators carrying Dominican flags and chanting "*policías, asesinos*" (police, assassins) rushed the 34th Police Precinct, where the offending officer was based. In response, the police mobilized more than two thousand reinforcements who, wearing their riot gear and wielding batons, were sent in to break up the protesters and compose the crowds. With the King incident fresh on everyone's

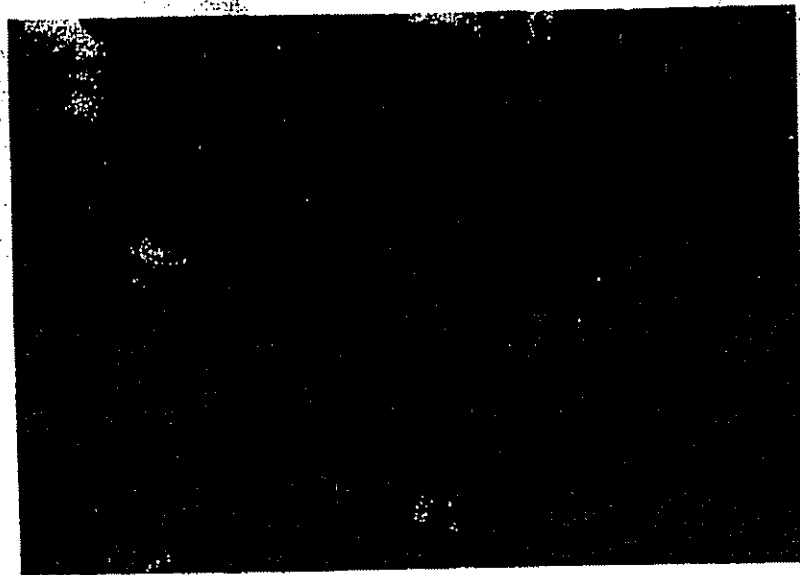


Figure 1. Demonstrators marching through the streets of Washington Heights, 7 July 1992. The Chief of Police, David Scott, is in the background. Photographer: Adam Fernandez.

mind, Mayor David Dinkins visited the area frequently and pleaded for calm. In the aftermath, the neighborhood was a shambles, awash in broken glass, overturned cars, smoldering trash bins, shattered storefronts, and garbage strewn in every direction—ardent testimony to community rage. All told, some twenty people were injured (of whom ten were police officers), twenty-four people were taken into custody, and two abandoned buildings were set on fire.<sup>87</sup> The greatest tragedy was the death of a twenty-two-year-old father of two who fell five flights during a rooftop police chase. The eruption took everyone by surprise, since New York had escaped the popular conflagrations of Los Angeles and Chicago in the wake of the King episode.

The particular forms of protest were meaningful, drawing on traditional Dominican idioms of popular religiosity marking mourning, loss, and bereavement. A portion of West 162nd Street was transformed into a memorial for García, with hundreds of white candles sketching García's nickname, Kiko, on the ground, and forming two large crosses outside the building where he died.<sup>88</sup> The use of García's nickname (*apodo*) sent a message, since names are considered an extension of one's person in the Dominican Republic and can be jealously guarded. Residents challenged

the official persona the police had defined for García through the use of Kiko, a nickname that signaled his community identity, the persona he was to friends and family. The *apodo* also embodies the collective identities of kin and *barrio* (neighborhood), since it is a gift one receives from the group while a child.<sup>89</sup> It is thus an especially important resource to a group living in a marginal subculture, one that is impugned, reviled, and persecuted by the larger society. Certainly, the politics of official personhood has an especially charged valence in a community containing many illegal immigrants lacking proper visas, some of whom adopt false public identities to camouflage their involvement in illegal drug commerce.<sup>90</sup> The Catholic imagery of the candles and the crosses underscored García's innocence and his martyrdom, as residents sought to transform his image from the rough, armed drug dealer that police invoked, to a victim of ethnic prejudice. Of course, the white candles also invoked the Barón del Cementario, guardian of the cemetery and keeper of the keys to the afterworld in Dominican *vodú*. The Barón is particularly popular among Dominicanyorks who beseech his assistance, for example, when applying for U.S. visas.<sup>91</sup> As one Dominican teenager, Clara Cruz, poignantly exclaimed, "They shot him like a dog, but worse than a dog, because Americans, they respect their dogs, but they don't respect their Dominicans."<sup>92</sup>

Washington Heights is a community of two realities. It is an axis of poor but hard-working Dominican immigrants with tremendous pressure to provide for their families in both New York and Santo Domingo. The majority have fought to succeed within the system. The area has hundreds of small *colmados* owned by struggling Dominicans, and many men from the area work in New Jersey factories. Washington Heights even campaigned for redistricting to elect its own city councilman. Yet the zone is also called the "cocaine capital of New York," with a brisk trade in drugs over the George Washington Bridge.<sup>93</sup> Dominican gangsters are credited with pioneering the mass marketing of crack cocaine in the United States. "Yayo" Polanco-Rodríguez masterminded a drug marketing empire modeled on the Medellín cartel protected by hit squads in the 1980s. Hand in hand with the rise in illicit commerce has been a surge in violent crime: the 34th Precinct now leads the city in yearly homicides.<sup>94</sup> The rift between residents and the police, though, is only exacerbated by the involvement of some Dominicans in drugs; the problem starts with the illegality of many who overstay their visas. The nest egg they hope to secure, however, often recedes like a mirage on the horizon. Nevertheless, in parts of the city, drugs have become synonymous with Dominicans, especially those from the eastern town of San Francisco de Macorís, the purported



Sicily of the Dominican Republic. In large part, the violence exploded as a result of this contest of images, the tension between residents' and the police's versions of who García was, and thus what the community was. The police contended that García was armed, and that Officer O'Keefe shot him in self-defense. García's family and witnesses claim that García was unarmed and resisting physical abuse when he was shot.<sup>95</sup>

The incident presented an interpretive challenge for Dominicans on the island, many of whom harbored strongly equivocal feelings about the "dominicanos ausentes," who are viewed with a mixture of envy and disdain. The official response was outrage, and the mayor of Santo Domingo and the Dominican ambassador in New York swiftly protested. A group from San Francisco de Macorís, the province the *New York Times* had dubbed the seat of the Dominican narcotraffic mafia, demonstrated outside the U.S. embassy in Santo Domingo. Curiously, however, the condemnations focused not so much on police brutality, but on the image of the Dominican community in New York, the stereotype that being Dominican was synonymous with being a drug dealer, with being a "delinquent." The protesters decried this claim as a hunt for scapegoats that violated "honest and hard-working Dominican citizens"; they countered that Dominicans were imbued with good Christian and democratic values.<sup>96</sup> However, these protests begged the question of exactly whose honor was at stake—that of the Dominicans overseas, or perhaps that of the nation being defended from its purported representatives in New York.

### The Value of Nations and the Crisis of Values

Part of the problem was that the Washington Heights riots occurred during a moment of profound crisis in Santo Domingo, one for which the Dominicanyork became a potent symbol. The Columbus Quincentenary in 1992 became the eye of a maelstrom of controversy over how best to represent Dominican national identity. On one level, the debate raged over the meaning of the "discovery," and the putative importance historically of Indian and African ethnic input in this thoroughly mixed, creole society. Tensions ran high because of the government's desire to present a unified national image coinciding with Pope John Paul II's visit to officiate a mass in this birthplace of New World Christianity, and the violent protests challenging the official deployment of resources for the multi-million-dollar Columbus lighthouse in the teeth of the economic recession. Some estimated that the government spent \$40 million per month

for five years to build this exorbitant monument.<sup>97</sup> A second controversy swelled over proposals to create a Latin American free-trade zone. But under the surface raged another set of issues: how to define the boundaries of *lo criollo* in a thoroughly transnational context.<sup>98</sup>

As Roy Porter has demonstrated, corporal images often float from models of society to models of economy. In this case, the debate over neoliberal economic policies set off a range of associated fears of boundless runaway inflation. Indeed, inflation became a trope for the loss of national value and boundaries, glossed as values, morals, and honor. Complaints surged over the devaluation of the icons of citizenship through their proliferation: everything from the Dominican peso, identity cards, public sector paychecks, and U.S. dollars to university diplomas.<sup>99</sup> The culture of corruption was causing the "decomposition, . . . putrefaction and annihilation" of the nation, and "corroding the entrails of the country."<sup>100</sup>

The expressive language employed reveals the organic root metaphor at work, as the weak Dominican peso was said to be "hemorrhaging" against the dollar.<sup>101</sup> If money was the blood of nationhood, symbolizing the circulation of national value, promiscuous spending created "inflationary orgies."<sup>102</sup> Fears raged that the American dollar was becoming the very lifeblood of this tiny island nation. Indeed, one prominent economist, much to his compatriots' horror and dismay, even went so far as arguing for the disbanding of the national currency, the suppression of the Central Bank, and the adoption of the U.S. dollar as the national currency. Although the proposal was initially suggested as a drastic means of enforcing responsible banking practices, the response was singular: "the government would lose its moral credibility."<sup>103</sup> Parallel to this proposal was one seen as equally nefarious, and somehow linked: that of allowing dual citizenship for Dominicanyorks.<sup>104</sup> Compromising on issues of currency and nationality, rendering them ambiguous, would foment the current process of "denationalization," crippling the moral fiber of national essence. This perception of runaway inflation, though, was patently not merely economic, even though high unemployment and inflation did particularly affect the middle class during this period.<sup>105</sup> This was a symbolic inflation of nationhood, the perception of a decline in national value due to its transnational dispersion.

Elias Canetti has written of the metaphorical slippage between notions of money and of identity in inflationary moments. Inflation cheapens the worth of citizens in homological relation to the loss of real value previously backing currency. In other words, inflation can cause a crisis of national signification, as the signs of nationhood suddenly depreciate. In



the Dominican case, inflation also deflated the system of class distinction.<sup>106</sup> The very signs of professional identity undergirding middle-class respectability came to be seen as "counterfeit signifiers" creating a wave of anxiety as the signs of class identity became unmoored. The difference between the *tiguere* (lit. tiger) and the *doctor* faded into obscurity, just as the rift between "organic" and "inorganic" currency widened.<sup>107</sup> Without these anchors of *profesionalismo*, the defining parameters of the middle class were blurred.

The Dominicanyork, the ultimate *tiguere*, the figure of the quintessential Dominican trickster, came to symbolize the anxieties of social mobility for a declining middle class.<sup>108</sup> Partly this vision resulted from a shift from a largely middle-class migrant stream to the United States in the 1970s to a predominantly lower socioeconomic group in the late 1980s, one that bourgeois Dominicans on the island were less inclined to feel proud of as national emissaries. This ambivalence was glossed linguistically on the island by the growing use of the more distant term *Dominicanyork* by the late 1980s, in contrast with the more inclusive earlier category of *dominicano ausente*. Another contradiction, of course, was the way in which some of these so-called lower-class Dominicans actually appeared to be wealthier than the local middle class. Dominicanyorks had surplus prestige due to the accoutrements of consumer spending in the United States; the bourgeoisie on the island had only the distinction of being thoroughly criollo. Another key symbol of bourgeois decline was the fact that due to the deepening economic crisis, the Dominican middle class was having trouble ensuring that their midday dinner included meat at all (even the relatively cheap pollo gringo), the food category that separated them from their class inferiors who ate only beans and rice.

The social crisis of Dominican society was articulated not only as a loss of national values, but as a world rotting from within. Anxiety over the blurred boundaries of nationhood was expressed in an idiom of defilement, as *corruption* became the keyword in the debate over the state of the nation, expressed as the perversion of traditional values of honor, propriety, respect, and family.<sup>109</sup> Materialist values, embodied in the culture of consumption, were polluting the nation, penetrating its borders through the Dominicanyork. A dual symbol, the Dominicanyorks have come to be synonymous with middle-class identity; yet they are simultaneously perceived as venal agents of "transculturation," bringing foreign customs, language, and habits into the national body. The image of the typical Dominicanyork is "one who returns after being away only a short time, his

tion, and cars that here one only sees a handful of very rich driving. . . . [He is one] with huge, extravagant houses and every kind of gadget: electric garage doors, alarms, doberman dogs, with the shirt open to the navel and terrifying pistols at the waist."<sup>110</sup>

Trafficking in drugs and money, Dominicanyorks are self-serving individualists antithetical to the "essential values" of family and morality in the eyes of the local middle class—values such as "honesty, dignity, honor and shame."<sup>111</sup> They are dangerous because they are perceived as more affluent than the bourgeoisie, but lack the *buenas costumbres* that are an essential part of middle-class respectability and comportment.<sup>112</sup> They are also accursed due to their involvement in illicit business transactions shrouded in secrecy, through which they appear to make money out of magic.<sup>113</sup>

The notion of family indexes the "respectable" bourgeoisie on the island, an identity defined against the Dominicanyork, who appears to act alone. The decay of the nation is evidenced in the putrefaction of the family through its Americanization, as society is "converted into a type of serialized machine, where each one puts his or her efforts into making money quickly." An "ambivalent, aggressive and competitive" world has been formed in which one only survives through deceit (*engaño*). Survival of the nation-family will only be achieved through the "solidification of a moral base," through rectitude over terpidity. This discourse carried gendered undertones as well: *la corrupción* was a temptation with a feminine resonance, and it took a good upright father figure to resist.<sup>114</sup>

An example of this slippage between the symbolic domains of currency and identity, of economic and personal value, was the soaring popularity of *curanderismo*, or popular healing, in 1992. Just as the nation, the peso, and the state lost legitimacy, so did the medical establishment. One particular *curandero*, Dany, sparked national controversy in large part due to President Balaguer's efforts to repress him.<sup>115</sup> Dany quickly became extraordinarily popular, drawing pilgrims from a wide range of social backgrounds. At first his fame derived from his claim that Magic Johnson had been referred to him due to his expertise with terminal diseases such as AIDS.<sup>116</sup> Yet there were multiple, class-specific ways in which the concept of inflation was understood and applied in this case. Some critics called his remarkable popularity a result of the crisis in health care—the lack of affordable, quality health care for the poor.<sup>117</sup> To the marginalized themselves, Dany's popularity stemmed from their disgust and disenchantment with the pedigreed doctors who overcharged and treated them like dirt. Yet to the middle class, the figure of the *curandero* conjured up visions of

illegitimate wealth. In this discourse, curanderos were money-grubbing shysters, "false prophets" stealing money from the irrational masses, the gullible peasant innocents.<sup>118</sup> Nonetheless, Dany persevered, receiving cross-class support and even becoming a popular antihero, particularly after the campaign began for his suppression.<sup>119</sup>

What was uppermost on everyone's minds in 1992, however, was the U.S. proposal of making the whole of Latin America into one gigantic free-trade zone.<sup>120</sup> A new global vision was being formulated by the United States—that of a world order driven by markets, not states—a proposal that did not go unchallenged in Latin America. Critics decried the opportunism of the larger economies, which supported open economic borders when it served their interests, and created trade barriers when they deemed fit. Most of all, the tyranny of the dollar was perceived as the definitive death knell of the Dominican national project.<sup>121</sup>

### Gringo Chickens with Worms

This brings us back to where we began, the use of food taxonomies in marking regional, class, or national identities. *Lo criollo* is a relational term, one that invokes home and its associations, such as authenticity, warmth, and family. *Lo criollo* today is very much associated with wholesome Dominican foodstuffs, as opposed to the vacuous "dessert crops" of tobacco, coffee, and sugar—cash crops grown for international markets, and often by foreign firms, for money not for love.<sup>122</sup> Another set of associations is the contrast between the gift economy of family and friends, of blood kin, as opposed to the monetized economy of others. Finally, associated with sustenance, *lo criollo* is nutritious, grown with loving care in the *patio* for the family, as opposed to cash crops produced for the world of commerce, strangers, and the cold calculations of the market. In the nineteenth century, before the Dominican Republic was fully integrated into the global economy, it was the peasant who stood out as the confidence man, the trickster who seemed to dissimulate in the face of liberal elites bent on "capturing" his labor for burgeoning national economic markets. By the 1920s, however, the perspective had changed. The *flâneur* then came to be represented, first, by the figure of the U.S. sugar company man, and finally by the Dominican figures eliciting jealousy and desire, but who ultimately are seen as counterfeit Dominicans. *Lo criollo* had a negative valence in the nineteenth century, since it was the product of a Europhile elite that looked at the nation through the deprecating

lens of racial determinism. By 1992, however, *lo criollo* had been revalorized due to its appropriation by the popular rumor mill, which viewed the nation from below.

Returning to the mystery of the gringo chickens with worms, things should now make a bit more sense. There is something deeply scandalous about gringo chickens. They are animals produced like machines. They are born to die, in enormous coops, and are never allowed to roam. Gringo chickens by homology also represent how Dominicans see life in the United States—confined in high-rises and trapped by the tentacles of the state. By contrast, the patio chicken represents the family because it is grown in the public extension of the house. It is typically Dominican because it is allowed free range. It represents the neighborhood because it is considered public property within the *barrio*; a neighbor has the right to kill one for an evening *sancocho*, a soup for *los muchachos del barrio*, the neighborhood guys.<sup>123</sup> Industrially produced poultry originally derived from U.S. methods, although since the mid-1970s they have been adopted by Dominican firms. The gringo chicken is cheaper and more beautiful (pure white, as opposed to the motley piebald—i.e., mulatto—Dominican bird), but lacks nourishment. It fills you up, but in an empty way. Most importantly, the gringo chicken, plain and simple, lacks *sabor*, or taste.

The *huevo criollo* (the creole egg) has certain properties the gringo egg does not. Quality, for one; and of course, fertility. Moreover, the *huevo criollo* has magical powers. It can be used, for example, in ritual purification (*despojo*), to absorb the malevolent spirits in a house by placing a raw egg in a red soda and leaving it in the corner. Danballe Uedo, a "cool" force in Dominican vodú, has a proclivity for eggs, which reflect his even-tempered, transcendental perfection.<sup>124</sup> The "hot" gods also appreciate boiled *huevos criollos* as gifts in the "dry plate" (*plato seco*) ritual offering. In San Juan de la Maguana, there is even a recipe for making a *bacá* that uses a creole egg. A *bacá* is a devilish spirit that can augment wealth and luck, and that is reknowned for its capacity to transmogrify into different beings, human and animal. You cross a black and a white chicken, and sleep with the resultant egg under your arm for some time, reciting prayers. The *bacá* will then hatch from the egg. Prototypically feminine, the gallina criolla, or creole hen, thus, is ripe, fecund, and unspoiled, as opposed to the masculine pollo gringo, which is barren. Indeed, *comer gallina* (to eat chicken) is a gloss on necking, smooching, or respectably making out (everything short of the sinful act of intercourse).

The biggest year yet of legal Dominican immigration to the United States was 1992.<sup>125</sup> In a way, the gringo chicken became an "incarnated

sign" in the idiom of commodity resistance, a key symbol of the changing relationship between the Dominican Republic and the United States.<sup>126</sup> Cheaper than homegrown patio chickens, the gringo chicken has rendered criollo poultry a luxury by effectively pushing it out of the mass market since its introduction in the 1960s. This logic parallels what has happened to the Dominican economy during the same period. While U.S. firms used to engage in direct investment on the island, in sugar or fruit plantations, today the only growth sectors of the Dominican economy are tourism and export free-trade zones—industries based on circulation, not production. These are industries perceived as parasitical, using local labor but not producing "Dominican" products. In a way, the gringo chicken, like the Dominican *York*, is a poignant reminder that the nation itself, like the pollo criollo, has become superfluous, a luxury product, highly valued but largely irrelevant in the contemporary economy. This is especially the case when so many families subsist largely through remittances from relatives in Nueva York. The gringo chicken, then, represents the national displacement many Dominicans feel, particularly around Christmastime, when relatives from *el Norte* come home to show off their fancy cars, and fashion themselves the chic bourgeois they wish they were in upper Manhattan. The very image of gringo chickens with worms, furthermore, uses the language of defilement to debase a new status economy defined on Madison Avenue, not El Conde, the main shopping thoroughfare in Santo Domingo. It is also a language of pollution that Dominicans learned first from the U.S. Marines.

The gringo chicken scandal established an extended degustatory commentary on consumer capitalism. Gringo chickens expressed the contradictions of Caribbean nationhood in a sea of American commodity flows. Operating through the magic of what Taussig calls "mimetic excess," Dominicans conjured and then exorcised the evils of imperialism by re-making it into something tangible, as well as noxious, and then expelling it.<sup>127</sup> As Achille Mbembe has argued, it is the "banality of power" in the postcolony (and the not-so-postcolony) that encourages resistance through a language as quotidian as lunch food, one that calls particular attention to the arbitrary and perishable character of power.<sup>128</sup> And rendering the magnificent American eagle—the imperial bird of that classic icon of value, the dollar bill—into rotten chicken was great fodder for the popular laughter mill. Yet registering anxieties over state sovereignty through food in the era of transnational flows is not a phenomenon limited to the Third World. During the "mad-cow disease" scare, Britons articulated

their loss of trust in government by refusing to consume that great symbol of Englishness, roast beef. And in Australia, biscuits were at the center of debates over the potential loss of national identity when Campbell's Soup, a U.S. company, bought the firm that produces the beloved Iced Vo-Vo, a marshmallow-coconut cookie that is synonymous with childhood there.<sup>129</sup> Perhaps the loss of place under transnationalism has created a proclivity for grounding identity in the body, where boundaries are defined by what we eat.

The rumors that gringo poultry had worms exhorted Dominicans to stop consuming that which they felt was consuming them—the United States. Draconian as it was, this prescription was perhaps the only means to arrest even temporarily the insatiable desire for U.S. products, the cycle of hunger and emptiness that we in the United States take so much for granted.<sup>130</sup> The rumors also created a comforting boundary between things Dominican and things American if only in one tiny sphere, while simultaneously railing against both the Dominican middle class and the Dominican *York* for trying to be American by eating gringo. It was much better to eat pollo criollo in a sancocho at home, than to consume gringo chicken in a fast-food Pica Pollo. But most of all, the gringo chicken scandal expressed the ambivalent sentiments Dominicans feel toward a transnational modernity that comes embossed with the U.S. logo, even if, like Eddie Bauer trousers, it was assembled in the Dominican Republic.

## Notes

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1. Geraldino González, "Se recupera consumo 'Pica Pollo': Granjeros apelan," *Listín Diario*, 13 July 1992. In the first epigraph, the song's title, "The Cost of Living," puns on the sense that commodities were expensive and people were

cheap (i.e., commodities). The remainder of the song links inflation, national identity, and corruption with the impotence of professional medicine, a theme treated below. The Tainos were the largest group of autochthonous Indians found on the island when Columbus arrived.

2. Sara Pérez, "El pobre pollo: Si tiene quien le escriba," *Hoy*, 6 July 1992.

3. "Editoriales: Los pollos," *Hoy*, 1 July 1992.

4. Pérez, "El pobre pollo."

5. On ambivalence and the nation form, see Homi K. Bhabha, "Introduction: Narrating the Nation," in *Nation and Narration*, ed. H. K. Bhabha (New York: Routledge, 1990), 1-8. Thus the gringo chicken parallels the role of the UFO, which, Luise White argues, encodes anxieties about racial transgression; see her "Alien Nation," *Transition* 63 (1994): 24-33.

6. I am following William Roseberry's call to examine the "internalization of the external in Latin America," in his "Americanization in the Americas," *Anthropologies and Histories: Essays in Culture, History, and Political Economy* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1994), 80-124.

7. Some of the classic anthropological studies of food include Mary Douglas, "Deciphering a Meal," in her *Implicit Meanings: Essays in Anthropology* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), 249-75; Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods* (New York: Basic Books, 1979); Marshall Sahlins, "Food Preference and Taboo," in his *Culture and Practical Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976); and Jack Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine, and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982). An excellent contemporary treatment of consumption is the collection edited by John Brewer and Roy Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods* (New York: Routledge, 1993). On the fashioning of a national identity through cuisine, see Arjun Appadurai, "How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30, no. 1 (Jan. 1988): 3-24.

8. From the Dominican Republic, situated between Cuba and Puerto Rico in the Greater Antilles; not from Dominica, near Granada in the Lesser Antilles.

9. Larry Rohter, "New York-Raised Lawyer to Lead Dominican Republic," *New York Times*, 2 July 1996. For more on Dominican migration to the United States, see Patricia Pessar, *Visa for a Dream: Dominicans in the United States* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1995); Sherri Grasmuck and Patricia Pessar, *Between Two Islands: Dominican International Migration* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991); Eugenia Georges, *The Making of a Transnational Community: Migration, Development, and Cultural Change in the Dominican Republic* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990); and Luis E. Guarnizo, "Los Dominicanyorks: The Making of a Binational Society," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, May 1994, 70-86. On the formation of transnational communities in New York and elsewhere, see Constance R. Sutton and Elsa M. Chaney, eds., *Caribbean Life in New York City: Sociocultural Dimen-*

sions (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1987); and Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Christina Blanc-Szanton, eds., "Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, vol. 645 (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1992).

10. Richard Sennet, "Something in the City: The Spectre of Uselessness and the Search for a Place in the World," *Times Literary Supplement*, 22 Sept. 1995, 13-15.

11. Michael Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

12. As Paul Stoller describes Taussig's argument in *Embodying Colonial Memories: Spirit Possession, Power, and the Hauka in West Africa* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 41.

13. Evidence of this is the centrality of the rural *pulpería*, or corner food store, in the *costumbrista* novel; see R. Emilio Jiménez, "La pulpería rural," in his *Al amor del bohío* (1927; reprint, Barcelona: I. G. Manuel Pareja, 1975), 296-99. On fetishism and power, see Taussig, *Mimesis*; and Achille Mbembe, "The Banality of Power and the Aesthetics of Vulgarly in the Postcolony," *Public Culture* 4, no. 2 (spring 1992): 1-30.

14. Ramón Marrero Arísty, *Over* (1940; reprint, Santo Domingo: Taller, 1989); and Francisco Eugenio Moscoso Puella, *Cañes y bueyes* (1936; reprint, Santo Domingo: Asociación Serie 23, 1975).

15. José Ramón López, "La alimentación y las razas," in his *Ensayos y artículos* (1896; reprint, Santo Domingo: Ediciones de la Fundación Corripio, 1991).

16. Luise White, "Cars out of Place: Vampires, Technology, and Labor in East and Central Africa," *Representations* 43 (summer 1993): 27-50, esp. 29.

17. Mbembe, "The Banality of Power," 8-9, discusses the use of corporal images in popular notions of power.

18. Several key examples of this growing literature are Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (1966; reprint, New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984); George Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985); Andrew Parker et al., eds., *Nationalisms and Sexualities* (New York: Routledge, 1992); and Lynn Hunt, ed., *Eroticism and the Body Politic* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).

19. Johannes Fabian, *Power and Performance: Ethnographic Explorations through Proverbial Wisdom and Theater in Shaba, Zaire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 24. Haitians also frequently express relations of power in terms of eating. In response to the prospect of an imminent U.S. intervention, Haitians said they would "eat the blancs" if the United States intervened (Rick Bragg, "Haiti's New Militia Drills with Sticks," *New York Times*, 11 Aug. 1994).

20. I am following part of Geertz's argument about the Balinese cockfight; see Clifford Geertz, "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight," in his *Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 412-53, esp. 443-44.

21. George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 36–37.
22. John Brewer and Roy Porter, introduction to Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 5.
23. Avocados can be eaten, but must be eaten in combination with something else. Prepubescent girls in their *período de desarrollo* may not eat raw fruit either, until they menstruate.
24. Ambulant street vendors of raw fruits, legumes, and vegetables are typically male, while street sellers of cooked items, such as candies, *friquitín* (fried meat), plantains, and *batata* (sweet potato), are always female. For more on the *friquitín*, see Rafael Damirón, *Estampas* (1938; Santo Domingo: Ed. Alfa Y Omega, 1984), 67–72.
25. During the forty-one days after childbirth, chicken soup is also used as a barometer of the mother's health: if she sweats when drinking it, she is weak. See Pérez, "El pobre pollo."
26. Damirón, *Estampas*, 69.
27. Arturo Bueno, *Santiago: Quién te vió y quién te ve*, vol. 1 (Santiago: Impresora Comercial, 1961), 336.
28. Ibid., 336–38. Bueno writes that Cáceres challenged his political opponent Juan Isidro Jiménez by saying, "Apriétose bien los pantalones, que ya voy para ésa" (Hold on to your pants, I'm coming to take care of it). The sense of masculine entitlement is well expressed in popular sayings about gallos, such as the mother's mocking refrain, "yo tengo gallos, quien tenga gallinas que las cuide" (I have cocks, those who have hens better take care of them) (Gema García Hernández, "Hombre/mujer," *Listín Diario*, 2 Mar. 1992).
29. José E. Limón, "Carne, Carnales, and the Carnavalesque," *Dancing with the Devil: Society and Cultural Poetics in Mexican-American South Texas* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994).
30. Lipe Collado, *El tiguere dominicano* (Santo Domingo: El Mundo, 1992), 94–96.
31. See "Platos Nacionales" and "Los Sancochos Nocturnos" in Jiménez, *Al amor*, 310–14, 92–98. Interestingly, Cuba claims the sancocho (called there *ajiaco*) as a national metaphor as well; see Fernando Ortiz, "Los factores humanos de la cubanidad," in his *Estudios etnosociológicos* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1991), 10–30, 15.
32. Jiménez even calls the sancocho "el aliado de nuestra democracia," referring to a cross-class cultural populism—i.e., all Dominicans, from the working man to the flaming aristocrat, love to eat their sancocho (*Al amor*, 89). For an example of the Dominican ideology of racial democracy, see Rafael Damirón, *Nosotros* (Ciudad Trujillo: Impresora Dominicana, 1955), 83–87, 113–15.
33. C. L. R. James, personal communication, June 1984.
34. Detlev Julio K. Peukert, "Anhelos de dependencia: Las ofertas de anexión de la República Dominicana a los Estados Unidos en el siglo XIX," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Stat., Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 23 (1986): 315. See also Mu-Kien Adriana Sang, *Buenaventura Báez: El caudillo del sur (1844–1878)* (Santo Domingo: INTEC, 1991), 113–46; and William Javier Nelson, *Almost a Territory: America's Attempt to Annex the Dominican Republic* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1990).
35. Peukert, "Anhelos de dependencia," 311, 314–15.
36. Nicolás Guillén, *El diario que a diario*, quoted in Vera M. Kutzinski, *Sugar's Secrets: Race and the Erotics of Cuban Nationalism* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), frontispiece.
37. Catherine C. LeGrand, "Informal Resistance on a Dominican Sugar Plantation during the Trujillo Dictatorship," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 75, no. 4 (Nov. 1995): 555–96, esp. 559.
38. Fernando Coronil, introduction to Fernando Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1995), xxvii.
39. I have been inspired by the treatment of commodity culture in Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994).
40. Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, ed. Edwin Cannan (1904; reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 27.
41. José Martí, *Apuntes de un viaje (Mi visita a Santo Domingo)* (Santo Domingo: Editora Universitaria, 1992), 47. I wish to thank Neici Zeller for bringing this citation to my attention.
42. For more on the Dominican sugar industry, see José del Castillo, "The Formation of the Dominican Sugar Industry," in *Between Slavery and Free Labor: The Spanish Speaking Caribbean in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Manuel Moreno Fraginals, Frank Moya Pons, and Stanley L. Engerman (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 215–35. For a treatment of sugar as a transnational cultural force, see Sidney W. Mintz, *Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom: Excursions into Eating, Culture, and the Past* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), and his *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1985). On turn-of-the-century technological advances in the sugar industry, see Manuel Moreno Fraginals, "Plantation Economies and Societies in the Spanish Caribbean, 1860–1930," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 187–232.
43. "Sobre la industria tabacalera," *Listín Diario*, 15 Oct. 1903. For more on Dominican ambivalence regarding U.S. technology, see LeGrand, "Informal Resistance."
44. Juan J. Sánchez, *La caña en Santo Domingo* (1893; Santo Domingo: Taller, 1976), 43–57.
45. "Urgente," *Listín Diario*, 9 Oct. 1903. During this period, the Ministry of

Public Works began introducing high-yield varieties of many products, including American poultry (although British pigs had been imported in the nineteenth century).

46. "Agricultura," *Listín Diario*, 10 Oct. 1903.

47. "Gallinas ponedoras," *Listín Diario*, 8 Oct. 1903.

48. Sánchez, *La caña*, 64.

49. Bonó's work predates Fernando Ortiz's classic text *Cuban Counterpoint*, which draws on the same symbolism of tobacco and sugar to express a contemporaneous process in Cuba. For more on Bonó, see Raymundo González, "Notas sobre el pensamiento socio-político dominicano," *Estudios Sociales* 20, no. 67 (Jan.-Mar. 1987).

50. Julie Franks argues in her dissertation that actually many Dominican landowners (particularly cane farmers) in the eastern provinces used the cover of the foreign sugar invasion as a means of extending their landed properties and regional control during a moment when local criticism was focused on foreign sugar corporations and their abuses. She asserts that while there had been political struggles before the late nineteenth century, sugar added an economic dimension to the conflicts. Thus, while these novels tend to portray Dominicans as innocent victims of alien corporate greed, the picture was far more complex. See Franks, "Transforming Property: Landholding and Political Rights in the Dominican Sugar Region, 1880-1930" (Ph.D. diss., SUNY Stony Brook, 1997).

51. Moscoso, *Cañas*, 9.

52. *Ibid.*, 36, 178.

53. This argument about nationalist allegory is developed in Doris Sommer, *One Master for Another: Populism as Patriarchal Rhetoric in Dominican Novels* (New York: University Press of America, 1983), and her *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991). Interestingly, sugar was condemned by some European consumers as well; see Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), 165. On cattle-based regimes of value, see Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, "Goodly Beasts, Beastly Goods," in their *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1992), 127-54.

54. Moscoso, *Cañas*, 156.

55. Annette B. Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Giving-while-Keeping* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), 33. I am grateful to Claudio Lomnitz for bringing this point to my attention.

56. Moscoso, *Cañas*, 18.

57. *Ibid.*, 80, 92.

58. For more on the system of *terrenos comuneros*, see Franks, "Transforming Property."

59. It was also said that "once they leave the cane, the Devil carries them off" (Moscoso, *Cañas*, 206). Thus, sugar money in the Dominican case corroborates

Michael Taussig's findings regarding the perception of profits from Bolivian mines and Colombian sugar as negatively charged and even diabolical; see his *Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

60. I am indebted to Doris Sommer's analysis regarding the use of English in Dominican Spanish. Additionally, I agree with her argument that in the novel the crushing horrors of the sugar industrial monopoly stand in for the tyranny of the Trujillo dictatorship (which lay outside the bounds of permitted political discourse); see *One Master*, 125-60. I would add that portraying the protagonist as a victim also serves to rationalize his collusion with the *trujillato* as part of the logic of a regime based on drawing political subjects into positions of complicity against their will.

61. Moscoso, *Cañas*, 250.

62. Jacques Le Goff, *Your Money or Your Life: Economy and Religion in the Middle Ages* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 26.

63. Michael O'Malley, "Specie and Species: Race and the Money Question in Nineteenth-Century America," *American Historical Review* 99, no. 2 (Apr. 1994): 369-95.

64. Michael L. Conniff, "Afro-West Indians on the Central American Isthmus: The Case of Panama," in *Slavery and Beyond: The African Impact on Latin America and the Caribbean*, ed. Darién J. Davis (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1995), 147-72; and Conniff, "Black Labor on a White Canal: West Indians in Panama, 1904-1980" (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, Latin American Institute, Research Paper Series No. 11, 1983).

65. For more on Haitian migration to the Dominican sugar sector and Haitian-Dominican labor and social relations, see Samuel Martínez, *Peripheral Migrants: Haitians and Dominican Republic Sugar Plantations* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995); Martin Francis Murphy, *Dominican Sugar Plantations: Production and Foreign Labor Integration* (New York: Praeger, 1991); and Frank Moya Pons et al., *El batey: Estudio socioeconómico de los bateyes del Consejo Estatal del Azúcar* (Santo Domingo: Fondo para el Avance de las Ciencias Sociales, 1986). On the atrocious treatment faced by Haitians on Dominican sugar estates, see Maurice Lemoine, *Bitter Sugar: Slaves Today in the Caribbean* (London: Banner Press, 1985). For more on banana migration, see Philippe Bourgois, "West Indians and the Banana Industry: Panama, Costa Rica," *Cimarrón* 2, nos. 1-2 (spring/summer 1989): 58-86.

66. For more on the association between Haitians and money in the Dominican Republic outside the sugar sector, see Lauren Derby, "Haitians, Magic, and Money: Race and Society in the Haitian-Dominican Borderlands, 1900-1937," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 36, no. 3 (1994): 488-526.

67. F. E. Moscoso Puello, *Cartas a Evelina* (1941; Santo Domingo: Editora Cosmos, 1974), 100.

68. Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value,"



in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. A. Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 54.

69. Marrero, *Over*, 210. For more on Andean fat-stealing mythology, see Nathan Wachtel, *Gods and Vampires: Return to Chipaya*, trans. Carol Volk (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

70. Marrero, *Over*, 172.

71. Sidney Mintz, "Slavery and the Rise of Peasantries," *Historical Reflections* 6, no. 1 (1979): 213-53.

72. The domestic rice campaign was part of Trujillo's plan of import substitution industrialization (Richard Turits, personal communication, 15 Aug. 1996); see Orlando Inoa, *Estado y campesinos al inicio de la era de Trujillo* (Santo Domingo: Librería La Trinitaria, 1994). I appreciate Catherine LeGrand's first having brought this point to my attention.

73. López, *Ensayos y artículos*. For contextualization and critical commentary, see Michiel Baud, "Ideología y campesinado: El pensamiento social de José Ramón López," *Estudios Sociales* 19, no. 64 (Apr.-June 1986): 63-81; Raymundo González, "Notas sobre el pensamiento socio-político dominicano"; and *idem*, "Ideología del progreso y campesinado en el siglo XIX," *Ecos* 1, no. 2 (1993): 25-44. See also *El gran pesimismo dominicano: José Ramón López* (Santiago: UCMM, 1975); and Fernando I. Ferrán B., "Figuras de lo dominicano," *Ciencia y Sociedad*, 10, no. 1 (Jan.-Mar. 1985): 5-20.

74. Gina Lombroso-Ferrero, *Criminal Man, According to the Classification of Cesare Lombroso* (New York: Putnam, 1911).

75. See González, "Ideología del progreso"; and William Roseberry, "Images of the Peasant in the Consciousness of the Venezuelan Proletariat," in *Proletarians and Protest: The Roots of Class Formation in an Industrializing World*, ed. Michael Hanagan and Charles Stephenson (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 149-69.

76. González, "Ideología del progreso," 33. I am indebted here to González, who argues that the discourse of the lazy peasant arose during the 1780s Bourbon Reforms, and was the obverse and complement to the liberal ideology of progress; see González, "Ideología del progreso." *Indolence* referred to a peasantry that subsisted through shifting agriculture and hunting, and resisted settlement—the bane of liberal reformers bent on incorporating the peasantry into the market economy.

77. *Ibid.*, 20.

78. *Ibid.*, 36, 46. Concretely, López called for the creation of schools of practical agronomy in the provinces, where the peasantry would be taught, quite simply, "to live": to eat well and at regular intervals, to dress properly, to wear shoes, to live in clean houses, and to follow the rules of hygiene.

79. Plantains are also called *embrutina*, literally, stupid food (the antithesis of our carrots, i.e., brain food). Martha Ellen Davis found that these terms are used in the Canary Islands as well, thus indicating that the denigration of the plantain may well be of Spanish colonial precedence (personal communication). The term

*aplatanados* also is used to designate the process of creolization in Cuba (see Ortiz, "Cubanidad," 13).

80. LeGrand, "Informal Resistance," 560.

81. Kathy McAfee, *Storm Signals: Structural Adjustment and Development Alternatives in the Caribbean* (Boston: South End Press, 1991), 4.

82. Larry Rohter, "Impact of NAFTA Pounds Economies of the Caribbean," *New York Times*, 30 Jan. 1997.

83. These figures include both legal and illegal Dominican immigrants, as well as individuals of Dominican ancestry, in the United States (Patricia Pessar, personal communication, Dec. 1996). For more on New York City immigration patterns, see "Immigrant Influence Rises in New York City in 1990s," *New York Times*, 9 Jan. 1997.

84. Arjun Appadurai, "Global Ethnoscapes: Notes and Queries for a Transnational Anthropology," *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 48-65.

85. Guarnizo, "Los Dominicanyorks," 75.

86. *Ibid.*, 77-79.

87. Virginia Byrne, "Protestan muerte dominicano Nueva York," *Listín Diario*, 8 July 1992; and James Dao, "Tension in Washington Heights: Amid Dinkins Calls for Peace, Protesters Skirmish with Police," *New York Times*, 8 July 1992. See also the graphic coverage: "Disturbios en Manhattan," *Hoy*, 9 July 1992; and "Manifestantes," *Hoy*, 8 July 1992.

88. James Dao, "Angered by Police Killing, A Neighborhood Erupts," *New York Times*, 7 July 1992.

89. In contrast to the pseudonym, which is self-chosen. See Octavio Amiana de Castro, "Ensayusculos a vuela pluma: Seudónimos y sobrenombres," *Listín Diario*, 15 Aug. 1992.

90. Another layer of significance to naming in the Dominican Republic is that the practice of using only the nickname (*apodo*, or *sobrenombre*) among friends became entrenched under the daily repression of the Trujillo dictatorship (1930-1961), in order to conceal public identities from the secret police. The use of a nickname is a marker of intimacy and friendship. Also, in Dominican vodú, the name is considered part of the body and can be used in charms and amulets as a sign of personhood, as can nails and hair.

91. I am indebted to Carlos Andújar for this information. Andújar has made a film about the worship of the Barón among Dominicans seeking U.S. visas.

92. Dao, "Tension in Washington Heights."

93. James Bennet, "A Neighborhood Bonded by Turmoil," *New York Times*, 7 July 1992.

94. *Ibid.* See also Clifford Krauss, "Wealthy, Wanted, and Untouchable: Notorious Drug Suspect Lives Good Life, Beyond Reach of U.S.," *New York Times*, 14 Nov. 1996.

95. James Dao, "Tension in Washington Heights." There were also conflicting



versions of the story behind the man who died during the rooftop chase; see James Bennet, "Stories Differ on Fatal Fall from Rooftop," *New York Times*, 7 July 1992.

96. Saúl Pimentel, "Ariza protesta a The New York Times por editorial ofende dominicanos EU," *Listín Diario*, 11 July 1992; "Defiende honestidad colonia criolla en EU," *Hoy*, 11 July 1992; O. Mata Vargas, "Corporán comunica a Dinkins preocupación por muerte," *Listín Diario*, 10 July 1992; and Domingo Pérez, "Protestan por muerte de dominicanos en NY," *Hoy*, 11 July 1992.

97. Mark Kurlansky, *A Continent of Islands: Searching for the Caribbean Destiny* (New York: Addison-Wesley, 1992), 3. Balaguer completed the lighthouse that Trujillo commenced; for more on this, see Roorda, this volume.

98. The link between the Columbus celebrations and the challenge to national identity is explicit in Luchy Placencia, "Dice pretenden destruir identidad nacional," *Hoy*, 7 Sept. 1992. This line of argument was associated with those critical of Balaguer, such as affiliates of popular organizations like the Christian Base Communities.

99. "Circulan billetes de RD \$100 falsos," *Listín Diario*, 18 Feb. 1992; "Fraude gigantesco y rutinario," *Listín Diario*, 26 May 1992; "Policía evita pongan circular U.S.\$ falsos," *Listín Diario*, 26 May 1992; and Pilar Moreno, "Falscan títulos 5 universidades," *Hoy*, 1 Feb. 1992.

100. Arturo Uslar Pietri, "Una cultura de la corrupción," *Listín Diario*, 11 May 1992.

101. "Fraude gigantesco."

102. José Luis Alemán, "Bernardo, Banco Central y Gobierno," *Listín Diario*, 5 Mar. 1992. On the interpenetration of notions of blood and money in another context, see Fernando Coronil, "The Black El Dorado: Money Fetishism, Democracy, and Capitalism in Venezuela" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1987).

103. Máximo M. Pérez, "Veга pide eliminar Banco Central," *Listín Diario*, 16 June 1992; Alemán, "Bernardo, Banco Central."

104. Most dominicanos ausentes do not naturalize as Americans for reasons of pride, even after as many as thirty years in the United States (Chiqui Vicioso, "Nueva York: Luces y sombras," *Listín Diario*, 3 Sept. 1992). For samples of the debate over dual citizenship, see Pelegrín Castillo Seman, "Propuesta peligrosa," *Hoy*, 31 July 1992; Servio Tulio Almanzar Frías, "Doble nacionalidad," *Hoy*, 5 June 1992; Héctor Luzón, "Proponen forma preservar la ciudadanía dominicana," *Listín Diario*, 30 Aug. 1992; and "Doble nacionalidad debe ser producto reforma a Carta," *Hoy*, 29 May 1992. Dual citizenship was finally legalized in 1995.

105. Frank Romero Alvarez, "Desarrollo sin inflación," *Hoy*, 16 Nov. 1992. Nonetheless, the loss of value of Dominican money was a constant complaint, one author arguing that the Dominican peso had become "a pygmy or a figure from the imaginary island of Lilliput from *Gulliver's Travels*, where everyone only measures six inches in height" (Jacinto Gimbernard Pellerano, "¿Cuánto es en dinero de verdad?" *Listín Diario*, 6 May 1992).

106. See the section titled "Inflation and the Crowd," in Elias Canetti, *Crowds*

and Power (1962; New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1988), 183–88. The "crisis of values" also revived a traditional discourse that money causes the loss of respect and honor due to the loss of individual agency; see Jaime A. Viñas-Román, "Opinión pública y el poder corruptor del dinero," *Listín Diario*, 29 Sept. 1992.

107. In Spanish, currency is termed *emisiones orgánicas* or *no orgánicas* (organic and inorganic emissions) as a means of distinguishing inflationary from noninflationary money. Thus, they are perceived as more than different forms of spending, but actually as different forms of money. However, as Coronil demonstrates, this is more than just a figure of speech—it indexes an epistemology of money. The notion of a counterfeit signifier is from Jean-Joseph Goux, *Symbolic Economies: After Marx and Freud*, trans. Jennifer Curtiss Gage (1973; Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990), 102. Evidence of the fascination with *tigeraje* is found in the series of articles in *Hoy* on the subject by Lipe Collado in June 1994, which were reprinted in his book *El tiguere dominicano*.

108. As Karen Halttunen has argued in another context; see her *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830–1870* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1982). For more on the figure of the tiguere, see Christian Krohn-Hansen, "Masculinity and the Political among Dominicans: 'The Dominican Tiger,'" in *Machos, Mistresses, Madonnas: Contesting the Power of Latin American Gender Imagery*, ed. Marit Melhuus and Kristi Anne Stolen (London: Verso, 1996), 108–33.

109. Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 124.

110. Ubi Rivas, "¿Son iguales todos los dominican-yorks?" *Hoy*, 8 Feb. 1992.

111. María Elena Marqués-Portela de Viñas, "Reflexiones sobre la corrupción y la crisis de valores," *Listín Diario*, 3 June 1992; and R. A. Font Bernard, "Sabatinas: Nuestra vocación extranjerizante," *Hoy*, 1 Aug. 1992. On the positive, middle-class valence of Dominican-york identity, see Grasmuck and Pessar, *Between Two Islands*, 201. For more on Dominican migration, see Georges, *Transnational Community*.

112. Marqués-Portela de Viñas, "Reflexiones sobre la corrupción." On the decline of the Dominican middle class, see P. R. Thompson, "¿Se nos muere la clase media?" *Hoy*, 25 June 1992.

113. Apart from drugs, the most highly publicized illicit financial activity is the illegal Lotto. See "Juego ilegal basado en Lotería RD genera US\$ millones en barrio NY," *Listín Diario*, 28 Apr. 1992.

114. Quotes are from Marqués-Portela de Viñas, "Reflexiones sobre la corrupción." On the gendering of *la corrupción* as female, to be countered by the male virtues of "decisión, valor y firmeza," see Jaime A. Viñas-Román, "El despeñadero de la corrupción," *Listín Diario*, 30 Aug. 1992. See also Juan A. Arias F., "Drogas," *Hoy*, 26 June 1992; Roque N. Muñoz P., "Corrupción," *Hoy*, 19 Mar. 1992; Arturo Uslar Pietri, "Una cultura de la corrupción," *Listín Diario*, 11 May 1992; and Jaime A. Viñas-Román, "Temo ser tragado," *Listín Diario*, 7 June 1992. Part of the concern over corruption during this period had to do with a speech by

Balaguer (27 Feb. 1992), which appeared to justify or even condone bribery on the part of public sector employees. The president argued that "corruption came hand in hand with abundance and progress"; see Rafael G. Santana, "Ejecución vincula actos corrupción a la abundancia," *Listín Diario*, 28 Feb. 1992. Corruption during this period was a major topic all over Latin America due to scandals in Venezuela and Brazil.

115. As a result of Balaguer's repression, Dany became a political issue, and members of the leftist PLD party came out in his support; see Pedro Germoso, "Afirma es torpe tratamiento a curandero," *Hoy*, 21 May 1992.

116. D. Saint Hilaire, "Curandero espera devolverle salud a Magic Johnson sin recompensa," *Listín Diario*, 14 May 1992.

117. Rafael Kasse Acta, "Curanderismo y medicina," *Hoy*, 27 May 1992.

118. There was an avalanche in the press against Dany, "el brujo de Maisal," whose real name was Humberto Grullón Denis (and to his detractors, Humberto Ortiz Mercado—with an accent on *mercado*, or market). For example, see Teófilo Bonillo, "Pide aplicar medidas contra curanderos," *Hoy*, 22 May 1992; and Emilio Reyes Ledesma, "El brujo de Maisal," *Hoy*, 21 May 1992. Although his critics maligned him for representing the barbarism and backwardness of the country, in fact Dany specialized in "modern" ailments such as cancer and AIDS, not exorcisms or witchcraft; see Sergio Sarita Valdez, "Hechicería y curanderismo," *Hoy*, 21 May 1992.

119. In the end, after being banned by the public prosecutor of Mao and the secretary of health, Dany personally appealed to Balaguer, and after intervention by Emma Balaguer de Vallejo, the president's sister, who herself was a practitioner of *santería* (priestess of the Afro-Cuban popular religion *Santería*) until her untimely death in 1992, he was allowed to resume his practice after relocating to Maimón Esperanza. See Osiris Gómez, "Curandero reabre 'consultorio' pese prohibición de autoridades," *Listín Diario*, 22 May 1992; and Ubi Rivas, "Curanderos en moda," *Hoy*, 27 May 1992.

120. José Serulle Ramia and Jacqueline Boin, "Tratado de Libre Comercio: Expectativas y temores," *Hoy*, 26 Sept. 1992.

121. Mario Arvelo Caamaño, "Una receta envenenada," *Hoy*, 21 June 1992.

122. For example, in 1992, the Supermercado Nacional of Santo Domingo staged a display for Independence Day titled "Arriba República Dominicana" (Up with the Dominican Republic). Employees dressed in folkloric hand-woven straw hats played bachata and perico ripiao (rural music) over the loudspeakers, and most of all, promoted national products, particularly food. The slogan was "Consumo lo nuestro! Gran festival Dominicano Gastronómico-Cultural."

123. Jiménez, *Al amor*, 90, asserts that the sancocho actually requires a chicken stolen from the barrio.

124. Martha Ellen Davis, *La otra ciencia: El vodú dominicano como religión y medicina populares* (Santo Domingo: Editora Universitaria UASD, 1987), 242.

125. "Editoriales: Discurso esclarecedor," *Listín Diario*, 26 Mar. 1992.

126. Appadurai, "Introduction," 30, 38.

127. Michael Taussig, "Sympathetic Magic in a Post-Colonial Age," in his *Mimesis*, 250–55.

128. Mbembe, "The Banality of Power."

129. John Darnton, "The Logic of the 'Mad Cow' Scare," *New York Times*, 31 Mar. 1996; and Thomas L. Friedman, "Politics in the Age of NAFTA," *New York Times*, 7 Apr. 1996.

130. For a harsh critique of U.S. consumerism, see Jaime A. Viñas-Román, "Temo ser tragado." In contrast, Georges describes the positive valuation of consumer goods induced by return migrants (*Transnational Community*, 209). For European reactions to U.S. consumerism, see Victoria de Grazia, "The Arts of Purchase: How American Publicity Subverted the European Poster, 1920–1940," in *Remaking History: Discussions in Contemporary Culture*, ed. Barbara Kruger and Phil Mariani (Seattle: Bay Press, 1989), 221–58.