



A • M • E • R • I • C • A • N
A N T H R O P O L O G I C A L
A S S O C I A T I O N

"Real Belizean Food": Building Local Identity in the Transnational Caribbean

Author(s): Richard R. Wilk

Source: *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 101, No. 2 (Jun., 1999), pp. 244-255

Published by: Blackwell Publishing on behalf of the American Anthropological Association

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/683199>

Accessed: 24/03/2010 14:30

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/action/showPublisher?publisherCode=black>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Blackwell Publishing and American Anthropological Association are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *American Anthropologist*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

RICHARD R. WILK
Department of Anthropology
Indiana University
Bloomington, IN 47405

“Real Belizean Food”: Building Local Identity in the Transnational Caribbean

Food and cooking can be an avenue toward understanding complex issues of cultural change and transnational cultural flow. Using examples from Belize, I discuss the transformation from late colonial times to the present in terms of hierarchies of cuisine and changes in taste. In recent Belizean history, food has been used in personal and political contexts to create a sense of the nation at the same time that increased political and economic dependency has undercut national autonomy. I suggest several possible ways to conceptualize the complex and contradictory relationship between local and global culture. [*consumption, cuisine, foodways, Belize, colonialism*]

It is an anthropological truism that food is both substance and symbol, providing physical nourishment and a key mode of communication that carries many kinds of meaning (Counihan and Van Esterik 1997). Many studies have demonstrated that food is a particularly potent symbol of personal and group identity, forming one of the foundations of both individuality and a sense of common membership in a larger, bounded group. What is much less well understood is how such a stable pillar of identity can also be so fluid and changeable, how the seemingly insurmountable boundaries between each group's unique dietary practices and habits can be maintained, while diets, recipes, and cuisines are in a constant state of flux (Warde 1997:57–77).

In a world of constant cultural contact, international media, and marketing, the process of change in diets seems to have accelerated, but the boundaries that separate cultures have not disappeared. The difficult conundrum of stability and change, of borrowing and diffusion, without growing similarity or loss of identity, which we find in the world's food consumption, appears in many other realms of culture too (Appadurai 1996; Friedman 1994). It is clear that older modernization and acculturation theories that predicted a growing homogenization and Westernization of the world's cultures are inadequate in a world that seems to constantly generate new diversities, new political and social divisions, and a host of new fundamentalisms.

Many social scientists have pointed to the resurgence of nationalism and ethnicity in the last two decades, and some argue that strengthened local identities are a direct challenge to globalizing diffusion of consumer culture (Jenkins 1994; Tobin 1992). Popular discourse also opposes the authentic local or national culture or cuisine with an

anonymous artificial mass-marketed global culture of McDonalds and Disney. These arguments reproduce a diffusionary model of history as Westernization or cultural imperialism. In this paper I continue to build an alternative approach, recognizing that the strengthening of local and national identities and global mass-market capitalism are not contradictory trends but are in fact two aspects of the same process (Beckett 1996; Miller 1997). I will further this argument through an analysis of recent changes in the cuisine of a tiny and marginal place, a mere dot on the globe, which may in some ways be unique, but which is in other ways typical of many tiny and unique places that are increasingly integrated into the world market for consumer goods.

I have worked in the Central American and Caribbean nation of Belize since 1973. Belize is a wonderful place to study the relationship between food and national identity because nationhood is such a recent construct there. Belize only attained independence in 1981, and until that time nationhood was primarily a matter of political rhetoric, government commissions, and debate among the educated elite. Since that time foreign media, tourism, and migration have spread a broad awareness that Belize needs a national culture, cuisine, and identity to flesh out the bare institutional bones of nationhood provided by the British. Belizeans know their flag, anthem, capital, and great founding father, and they now know they should have a culture to go with them.¹

Belizean nationalism contends with a variety of other forms of identification, including regional, familial, class, language, and ethnicity. Many, but not all, Belizeans identify with a language or ethnic group, what are usually called “races” or “cultures.” The “Creole” category was

once applied to local Europeans, then was extended to those of mixed European and African ancestry, and now it has become a general term for people with multiple or overlapping ethnic backgrounds (see Stone 1994). Diverse groups of migrants from neighboring Spanish-speaking countries are usually labeled "Spanish," though many are of Amerindian origins. In addition there are relatively bounded ethnic groups defined by language, residence, and livelihood, including Mopan, Kekchi, East Indians, Mennonites, Chinese, and Garifuna. Of course, in a country of only 200,000 people, all "ethnic" boundaries are crosscut by multiple personal and familial relationships.

Most of the puzzles and problems of uniqueness and sameness, of boundaries and open flows, of imperialism and resistance, which we find in other parts of the developing world, are also found in Belize. While it does not always occupy center stage, food and cooking are an important and sometimes dramatic entry into understanding this uneven process. To show how rapidly Belize has been transformed, and to argue for the crucial importance of foreign influence in the growth of local culture, I begin with a contrast between two meals, separated by 17 years.

Eating Culture: A Tale of Two Meals

Meal One: Tea with the Gentles. May 1973, Orange Walk Town (a predominantly Hispanic community in the northern sugar zone).

Henry and Alva Gentle, both schoolteachers in the Creole lower middle class, invited a 19-year-old archaeology student to their home for a meal. I showed up one evening about 5 p.m., just as the family sat down to the evening meal. "Dinner" at midday was the main meal of the day in Belize; evening "Tea" was usually leftovers from dinner, with some bread or buns and coffee or tea.

Everyone was excited about having a foreign visitor in the house and stopped eating when I entered. I was ushered into the uninhabited and unused front "parlor" for a few minutes while furious activity took place in the kitchen, and children were sent running out of the back door to the local shops. Then we all went back to the kitchen table to finish tea. Everyone sat before small plates of fish and plantain dumplings simmered in coconut milk, with homemade coconut bread, and either fresh fruit juice or tea.

After six weeks on archaeological camp food (most of which had been sent out in a large crate from England), my mouth watered at the prospect of tasting something authentically Belizean. Instead, as an honored guest I was treated to the best food the house could afford, food they thought I would be comfortable with: a plate of greasy fried canned corned beef (packed, as I later found out, in Zimbabwe), accompanied by six slices of stale Mexican "Pan Bimbo" white bread, a small tin of sardines in tomato sauce, and a cool Seven-up with a straw. When this was presented, the whole family paused in their own meal to smile shyly and

expectantly, waiting for my pleased reaction. I did as well as I could, given that I dislike both sardines and canned meat.

Despite the food, the meal was relaxed and fun, with a lot of joking between family members. There was no formal beginning or end to the meal; late arrivals were seated and served. People got up and went to the kitchen to fill their plates when they wanted more food. Gradually people drifted out to the verandah to sit and discuss the day, and see who was walking by on the street.

Meal Two: Dinner with the Lambeyes. August 1990, Belmopan (a small town of about 3,000, also the nation's capital, with a mixed population).

Lisbeth and Mike Lambey lived across the street from us in a nice part of town, populated mostly by middle-rank civil servants. Mike worked in the refugee office, and Lisbeth was an assistant to a permanent secretary. A bit more educated than the Gentles and better paid, they still belonged to the same salaried middle class. Lisbeth was born into an old Creole family in Belize City, while Mike's family included Creole and East Indians from the southern part of Belize. All of Mike's family live in various parts of Belize, but all of Lisbeth's seven siblings have emigrated to the United States.

When Mike invited us to dinner, over the front wall of his yard one morning, he said, "I want you to taste some good local food." By 1990, many younger Belizeans, especially those with both spouses working for wages, had shifted to what was seen as an "American" practice of eating a light lunch and the main family meal in the evening.

When my wife and I arrived, we were seated in front of the TV, handed large glasses of rum & Coke (made with local rum and "local" Coke), and were shown a videotape about the refugee situation in Belize, produced by the United Nations. Then we sat down to a formal set table; all the food was laid out on platters, and it was passed from hand to hand. Everything we ate, both Mike and Lisbeth said, was produced in Belize and cooked to Belizean recipes. We had tortillas (from the Guatemalan-owned factory down the road), stewed beans (which I later found were imported from the United States, but sold without labeling), stewed chicken (from nearby Mennonite farms), salad (some of the lettuce was from Mexico) with bottled French dressing (Kraft from England), and an avocado with sliced white cheese (made locally by Salvadoran refugees). We drank an "old-fashioned" homemade pineapple wine.

The meal was formal, with a single common conversation about local politics to which each of us contributed. When everyone was finished, Lisbeth circulated a small dish of imported chocolate candies, and we all rose together and went back to the TV. Mike proudly produced a videocassette on which a friend had taped Eddie Murphy's "Coming to America" from a satellite broadcast. Both Lisbeth and Mike found the film hilarious and especially liked

the parts where the two unsophisticated bumbling Africans show their ignorance of New York and American ways. We had seen the film before, and pleading the need to put our daughter to bed, went home before it was over.

That same week Radio Belize carried advertisements for the grand opening of the first self-proclaimed "Belizean Restaurant."² Owned by a Belize-born couple who had recently returned from a 20-year sojourn in the United States, the advertisement asked customers to "Treat yourself to a Belizean Feast. Authentic Belizean dishes—Garnachas, Tamales, Rice and Beans, Stew Chicken, Fried Chicken." All these foods were already served in numerous restaurants all over the country; the only other kind of food available in most places is Chinese. But this was the first time they had been granted the public distinction of being the national cuisine.³

In the next two years the notion of Belizean restaurants and Belizean cuisine became commonplace, and most people accepted that there was indeed a national and traditional lexicon of recipes. In fact, as an anthropologist running around the country asking questions about Belizean food, I often found that my very efforts loaned legitimacy to the idea of a national cuisine. How is it that British and Mexican dishes, and global standards like stewed and fried chicken, emerged so quickly as an emblematic Belizean cuisine? This is a clear example of nation building, as a contextualized and nonreflective set of practices was codified and labeled as characteristic of the nation as a whole (Lofgren 1993).

In Belize, cuisine has been nationalized in a process quite distinct from that described by Appadurai in India (1988). There, cookbooks were crucial instruments, and regional diversity has been the main theme. National cuisine explicitly incorporates and crosscuts local traditions, which are simultaneously codified as each local group finds a significant contrastive "other" in neighboring areas and in the superordinate national melange. In Belizean cuisine the internal contention over how different ethnic and regional groups will be incorporated in the national has been quite muted. Instead, Belizean cooking has emerged through an explicit contrast with an externalized "other." The crucible of Belizean national cooking has been the *transnational* arena: the flow of migrants, sojourners, tourists, and media that increasingly links the Caribbean with the United States. Caribbean nationalism and identity is now problematized and contested, debated and asserted, in this shifting transnational terrain (Basch et al. 1994; Olwig 1993).

Belizean National Culture

The emergence of Belizean cuisine is just a small part of a general process, which has unevenly and imperfectly established and legitimized Belizean national culture (Everitt 1987; Medina 1997; Wilk 1993b). Just twenty years ago,

the concept of "Belizean Culture" was no more than politicians' rhetoric and a project for a small group of foreign-trained intellectuals. Official national dance troupes, endless patriotic speeches, history textbooks, and border disputes with neighboring Guatemala have helped establish the existence of a category of "Belizean Culture," but they have not filled it with meaning. It does not take a social scientist to define or observe the ways Belizeans contest the meaning of the category of local culture; this is the stuff of daily conversation and debate. The process is contrastive, defining the self through defining difference. Belizeans speak of "floods" and "invasions" of foreign goods, television, preachers, tourists, money, entrepreneurs, music, language, drugs, gangs, tastes, and ideas (Wilk 1993a). Contrasts between the local and the foreign are on everyone's lips, though there are many shades of opinion about which is good or bad, and about where it will all end up. People constantly talk about authenticity and tradition, contrasting the old "befo' time" with everything new, foreign, and "modan."

Popular ideas about how the foreign is affecting "little Belize" are dramatized in jokes and stories about Belizeans who mimic or affect foreign ways. The traveler who returns after a few weeks in the States with an American accent is a common figure of fun. So is the returned cook who no longer recognizes a catfish, and the shopper who buys pepper sauce from an American supermarket to bring home, and pays a hefty import duty before looking at the label and seeing that it was made in Belize.

Opportunities for drawing contrasts appear often. Estimates of the number of Belizeans living in the United States range widely, but 60,000 seems a reasonable low estimate, or 30% of the total living in Belize (Vernon 1990). Los Angeles is the second-largest Belizean settlement. There is constant flow of people, goods, and money between domestic and foreign communities (Wilk and Miller 1997). At the same time, more than 140,000 foreign tourists visit Belize every year. Belize is flooded with American media, from books and magazines to a barrage of cable and satellite television.

Elsewhere I have argued that one effect of the increasing prominence of the foreign in Belize has been the objectification of the local (Wilk 1993a, 1995). Many issues that were once seen as localized, ethnic, and even familial are now interpreted in a global context. The problems of youth, social welfare, ethnicity, and gender roles, for example, are now placed in a global contrast of "our way" or "our Belizean traditions" with "those in the States." This has led to the emergence of a political and cultural discourse about otherness and sameness. During colonial times, foreign culture was received indirectly, with the expatriate and local colonial elite acting as selective agents and gatekeepers. Now all classes have direct access to foreign culture, and the foreign is no longer as closely associated with wealth and power (Wilk 1990).

This suggests an important way of reading the differences between the two meals I discussed above. While class differences between my two hosts account for some of the variation, the most dramatic differences between the Gentles and the Lambeyes have little to do with changes in the content of Belizean culture or identity. Instead, they result from changing knowledge about foreigners and increased consciousness of culture itself. The Gentles, despite (or maybe even because of) their education, really knew very little about Americans or American culture. Travelers were rare; personal contact with foreigners was sought for the very purpose of learning. The Gentles wanted to please me—they just did not know how Americans were different from the British. They could not know that young Americans wanted something “local,” “cultural,” and “authentic”—the very things they knew educated and rich people looked down upon. No wonder that our relationship did not flourish; I felt like I was a disappointment to them, and they probably felt the same way about me. My zeal to teach them to value their indigenous culture probably sounded false and condescending, if not just incoherent and weird.

Seventeen years later, the Lambeyes know how to play this game properly. They are Belizean nationalists who know that they are supposed to have something authentic and local to offer. They have been abroad and have learned to perceive and categorize differences as “national” and “cultural.” They have learned that foreigners expect them to be Belizean, and they know how to do the job. They are as busy creating traditions and national culture as the itinerant Belizean woodcarvers who now tell tourists that their craft was handed down from their African ancestors (rather than taught by Peace Corps volunteers). Serving an authentic Belizean meal, for the Lambeyes, is a performance of modernity and sophistication. The emotion it evokes for them is closer to pride or defiance than to nostalgia, the warmth of memory, or the comfort of repeated family habits. On the contrary, the meal expresses a sense of distance. A Belizean student, home for the summer from Jamaica, expressed this distanced, critical stance when, discussing his feeling about Belizean nationalism and ethnic identity, he told me “you can respect something without believing in it.” Belizeans often express a similar sophisticated tolerance toward the stereotypes of their country that appear constantly in travel guides and tourist magazines—“Belize the unspoiled wilderness,” etc. (Munt and Higino 1993).

To sneer at this accomplishment, at the Lambeyes’ dinner, by laughing at its shallowness or inauthenticity, is to miss its point (Friedman 1992). Mastering the performance and the role asserts a claim to categorical equality, to knowledge and power. I did not really understand how important a step this was until I talked with older Belizeans about their first trips to America.

A newspaper editor told me that as a child he and his friends looked at the names of cities on the labels of American products, at the goods advertised on the pages of magazines plastered on their house walls, and fantasized about what the United States was like. He thought the advertisements depicted a real world. So on his first trip to the United States, he was excited about going to the places where the products came from. And it was a shock to find how ignorant he had been—and that so many of the things people ate and used in the United States actually came from Japan and other countries. He felt humiliated and foolish for having confused fantasy with reality.

He related that even recently Belizeans were relatively unsophisticated consumers and were “easy marks” for advertising—bad loans and credit terms and shoddy goods—because they lacked the experience and sophistication of Americans. As an ardent and radical nationalist, he decried the effects of television on local culture, but in the same breath praised the way TV has “raised Belizeans’ consciousness,” making them knowledgeable and aware of the rest of the world. No longer were they blinded by surface appearances. He, and other Belizeans I spoke with, expressed an optimistic hope that in seeing more clearly the problems of the rest of the world, Belizeans would learn to value what they had at home (Salzman [1996] finds this same effect on the island of Sardinia).⁴

The invasion of foreign media and goods and increased knowledge and sophistication are two sides of the same coin, two elements of the same process.⁵ Outsiders tend to focus attention on the former, on the ways that certain meanings, messages, and practices are imparted and forced on powerless consumers of media and advertising (e.g., Lundgren 1988). We may see this as seduction or as a transformation of consciousness. But at the same time, it leads to an accumulation of knowledge about the world. By putting this knowledge into play in their everyday consuming lives, by performing and enacting and using unfamiliar goods, Belizean consumers transform abstract images, words, and names into the familiar appliances of life in Belize. Through consumption the foreign is made part of local existence, and it therefore comes under the same sorts of (albeit limited) control.

Belizeans are becoming sophisticated consumers, and in the process they are gaining a form of power that was previously denied, or was rationed and controlled by the local elite. Now Belizeans can penetrate deceit and “comparison shop,” by playing one message off against another, and break away from the “brand loyalty” of the colonial consumer who had limited information. Furthermore, Belizeans have become more aware that they use and manipulate goods to their own social ends; they have acquired the distance necessary to view goods as tools to be manipulated rather than signs to be accepted or rejected. This sort of distance, of course, does not necessarily diminish desire

or emotional longing for the foreign. For example, when in my 1990 survey I asked 1,136 high school students what they would buy with \$50, 28% chose imported tennis shoes, usually by brand, color, and type of lacing.

When I first went to Belize I was asked many strange questions about the United States—was it true that people in California had sex in public? Did Indians still attack travelers in the West? Today I am more likely to be engaged in debate about Los Angeles street gangs or Bill Clinton's troubles with his cabinet. Through media, Belizeans tap more levels of American discourse—they get the “official” word on CNN news, and the gossip from the *National Enquirer*, *Life-Styles of the Rich and Famous* (which has featured a Belizean resort twice), and *A Current Affair*.

Belize has always had a lively network of gossip and rumor about local politics and goings-on, but for England and America there was only the official word. While Belizeans do not usually feel equal to Americans in most political and material ways, they now know more of the dimensions of their perceived inferiority. This is very different from the more pervasive, generalized, and threatening inferiority that people felt during colonial times. Their new depth of knowledge of the world does not in and of itself create tastes for foreign things. Knowledge “of” the world is not the same as knowledge of how it works, but it lends new textures of significance to foreign things and imparts a much richer field of meaning to them. The taste for foreign goods over local equivalents so often observed in developing countries (e.g., Orlove 1997) can then be seen as a consequence of the desire to know more about the world, to become more sophisticated, to acquire new forms of knowledge, and to make that knowledge material.

I am not arguing that having access to the American tabloid press has been a great boon to Belize and has changed the global balance of culture and power. But this access does indicate a series of shifts in the relationship between Belize and the rest of the world, which transforms Belizeans as consumers. In the process, a colonial-era hierarchical discourse that opposed the backward local against the modern and foreign has begun to crumble. One way to describe this process is through the metaphor of drama.

The Drama of Local vs. Global

The many manifestations of the “global ecumene” in different places often appear to be chaotic, a pastiche of shreds and patches (Foster 1991:251). One place to seek structure in the flow of goods and meanings is to look for an underlying power and interest groups, focusing for example on the interests of the state, or of multinational corporations (see critique in Miller 1994). A complementary approach can instead seek an emerging structure in the form of a narrative or story, played over and over in differ-

ent settings with new characters and variations—a repetitious drama instead of a social or spatial order.

Observers of global cultural process find tendencies toward both homogenization and heterogeneity (Arizpe 1996; Friedman 1990; Hannerz 1987; Howes 1996; Lofgren 1993; Tobin 1992). If we think of the global culture as constituted by drama, we can perhaps locate the homogeneity in a common dramatic structure of encounter, while the local actors, symbols, and performances of the drama proliferate in splendid diversity. In this way, the global ecumene becomes a unifying drama, rather than a uniform culture, a constant array of goods or a constellation of meanings.

One unifying dramatic theme is a struggle that reads as “the local against the foreign,” or *our* culture vs. the powerful and dangerous *other*. This drama is played out in many permutations, at many different levels, often nested within each other. What is universal is the drama itself, not its outcome. And this is in itself a significant opening for both cross-cultural communication and misunderstanding, for example, in the trade disputes between the United States and Japan, or the long-standing cultural ambivalence of the French toward Americans (Kuisel 1993).

If we follow this argument in Belize, we see that participation in the global ecumene is not so much a matter of acquiring goods or building a nation. Instead, there is a process of learning to share and participate in a core drama, in which national identity is essential costume. Social scientists studying consumption have been actors—sometimes scriptwriters—for this performance. We tend to force debate into two positions—hegemony and resistance. On one hand there is capitalism's need for expansion of markets, the breakdown of community and local economies, and the capacity of advertising to create envy, social composition, and new needs. Consumer goods are essential components of new market-oriented systems of ranking and hierarchy.

On the other hand, we can emphasize the ways objects are used to resist capitalism, to maintain local systems, to forge links with an authentic past, to build identities defined by local systems of meaning and nonmarket social relationships. The moral of this story is that the technological apparatus of capitalism, including television and other media, has been turned to very local and anti-hegemonic purposes. New gardens of cultural diversity will continue to spring up from the leveled and furrowed fields of international capitalism; even corporate icons of homogeneity like McDonalds can become local institutions (Watson 1997).

This contrast of seductive globalism and authentic localism is an extremely potent drama because it has no solution—it is an eternal struggle, where each pole defines its opposite, where every value carries its own negation. The players in the drama are always taking positions as advocates for one pole or the other, but they are actually locked in a dance—dependent on each other for the support of op-

position. Anthropologists and folklorists tend to embrace this drama, attached to both its tragedy (ethnocide) and its comedic moments (bumbling development bureaucrats outwitted by canny natives). The key development in the last 20 years is that the drama has escaped from academic confinement and is no longer the province of the educated. Everyone in Belize is now concerned with foreign influence, local authenticity, and the interpretation of various kinds of domination and resistance (Wilk 1993a).

Colonial to Global Drama: An Example

To bring the discussion back to earth in Belize, we need to begin with the colonial regime of consumption and describe the way it set the stage and provided scenery for the drama of local vs. global. To stretch my metaphor, this section is a brief look “backstage” at local political economic reality. My data come from extensive archival work with newspapers and documents and from numerous personal histories. For contemporary consumption practices and tastes I draw on a survey of 1,136 high school students from four diverse institutions (Babcock and Wilk 1998) and a door-to-door survey of 389 people in Belize City, Belmopan, and a large village in the Belize District, both conducted in 1990. The latter survey replicated parts of Bourdieu’s French work that was the basis of *Distinction* (1984), with a focus on likes and dislikes for a wide variety of foods, music, television, and reading material.⁶ These data and my interviews were focused on peoples’ likes and dislikes for particular dishes. I have much less material on the presentation, serving, and context of consumption of foods, though this topic is also very important.

The Colonial Taste for Imports

During the nineteenth century Belize was a logging colony, the source of famous “Honduras mahogany” that was used to build European railway cars and furniture. The colony was dependent on imported foods of all kinds. While scattered rural subsistence farmers produced most of their own food, the standard diet of mahogany cutters and working-class urban dwellers was imported flour and salt meat. A weekly ration for workers was four pounds of pork and seven of flour, eaten as dishes like “pork and doughboys.”⁷ The managerial and mercantile European and Creole middle and upper classes consumed a wide variety of imported foods and drink and limited amounts of a few local vegetables, fish, poultry, and game. Given the very uneven quality of imported goods, consumers who could afford packaged and branded foodstuffs became highly “brand loyal” to established lines and companies. Brands were ranked according to both price and quality, with the highest ranks from Britain and lower ranks from the United States and Latin America. Access to the best brands was tightly controlled both through price and a strict system of exclusive

distributorships that kept them in only the “best” shops. Branding was a key element of cultural capital, and it came to connote quality (see Burke 1996 on soap in Zimbabwe). The poor bought generic goods, often dipped out of barrels, and had little choice when compelled to purchase in company stores through various forms of debt-servitude and payments of wages in goods.

Diet was highly class stratified. A single scale of values placed local products at the bottom and increasingly expensive and rare imports at the top. Imports were available to anyone who had the money, but in practice people did not usually consume above their class, whatever their economic resources. These strictures were only relaxed during the Christmas season, when the most exclusive products circulated at every kind of festivity. At this time the elite placed special emphasis on rare delicacies obtained directly from England through private networks of friends and relatives. Among the laboring class, almost any kind of store-bought food was considered superior to the rural diet based on root crops, rice, game, fruits, and vegetables.

This relatively simple hierarchy put the greatest pressure on the thin middle class of local petty merchants, low-level officials, tradespeople, and clerical workers. They did not have the resources for an exclusively imported diet but had to work hard to distance themselves from the kind of cheap and local foods that were the rural and working-class staple. One consequence was that they shunned local foods like fresh fish and game meat. These were common fare for the rural poor (for whom they were part of a subsistence lifestyle) and the upper elite (for whom selected varieties were considered exotic delicacies as long as they were prepared according to European recipes and smothered with imported sauces).

While the middle class depended most heavily on imports, menus from elite ceremonial meals included local snapper fillets in fish courses, garnished with oysters imported fresh from New Orleans. Venison, duck, and a few other local game animals with European analogs also appeared on the tables of the local gentry. Lobster is a good example of a stratified taste “sandwich”: eaten by the poor because it was cheap, by the elite because it was prized in Europe, but shunned by the middle class as a “trash fish.” Older Belizeans from middle-class backgrounds say that their mothers would not allow a lobster in the house; some of these people never ate lobster until it became a major export commodity in the 1970s, and then they had to stop when the price skyrocketed in the 80s.

The middle class built dietary diversity by borrowing foods from the Hispanic mercantile and managerial elites in the northern part of the country. “Spanish” food, especially festive dishes like tamales, relleno (a stuffed chicken stew), and tacos, entered the middle-class diet as a safely exotic option—associated neither with the class below nor the class above. “Spanish” food quickly became natural-

ized as part of the middle-class Creole diet. In this case, the "foreign" quickly became "local" and authentic.

There was some local resistance to or evasion of colonial food hierarchy. Foreign dishes were often localized or made affordable by substituting ingredients, renaming, and recombination. Kin ties cut across class and ethnic boundaries, and local produce therefore circulated between classes through networks of extended kin. Certain kinds of rare "country foods," especially wild game, honey, hearts of palm and the like, came to carry a connotation of familism and embeddedness, of belonging to place, even for the urban middle class. Some rustic dishes were enjoyed only in privacy, or on special occasions or during visits to country relatives. Festivals and celebrations also provided sites for the legitimate consumption of local products as holiday foods, especially fruit wines and snacks like cashew and pumpkin seed. But while neighboring countries like Mexico had a substantial indigenous population whose dishes could be adapted and co-opted by an educated elite, Mayan cooking entered Belize only indirectly, mainly through the influence of the refugees from Yucatan's caste war in the 1850s.

The colonial regime of consumption in Belize, therefore, was similar to that seen by Bourdieu in modern France (1984). A relatively stable social hierarchy was defined by differential access to economic and cultural capital, which takes the form of "taste" and thoroughly naturalized predisposition and preference. Goods were positional markers within the hierarchy, both the means by which culture is internalized as taste and an external symbolic field through which groups identify boundaries and define differences among classes. There was a slow flow downward, as lower ranks emulated the elite and the elite found new markers. There was also a stable degree of resistance, as some local products and practices were regenerated and adopted upwards through kin ties.

Of course, in France the hierarchy is much more elaborate, with a clear division between economic and cultural elites and a dynamic and innovative upper middle class. In Belize the fashion system was more firmly controlled by an elite that tended to combine political, economic, and cultural power through the media, government, schools, and shops. They managed and censored the flow of goods and information into and around the colony and enforced quite uniform standards within the elite class through many of the same exclusive social practices used in London at the time (Mennell 1984:200–228). Boundaries with lower classes were policed through many forms of class and racial discrimination. Up until the 1970s there were racially exclusive clubs, and working-class people were not welcome and subject to humiliation in the few shops that catered to the elite (Conroy 1997).

Elite power was embodied in practices of consumption, and through roles as cultural gatekeepers, the elite were arbiters of taste in everything. The choices of the middle and

working classes were limited to accepting or rejecting what was offered. They could not find alternative sources of goods, information, or taste, except in the immediately neighboring Hispanic republics.

Pupsi and Crana; The Beginning of the End

This hierarchy of taste remained remarkably stable until the early 1960s. An incident, where food entered national political debate, illustrates one of the ways the colonial order began to unravel. In 1963 the British finally granted Belize limited local self-government. The anticolonial Peoples United Party was promptly elected, led by George Price, who had been imprisoned for nationalist activity in the 1950s (Shoman 1985). With limited legislative power, Price began to make symbolic changes in flags, official dress, and the names of towns and landmarks. He chose to de-emphasize some colonial holidays and changed the name of the country from British Honduras to Belize. There was a lot of popular support for most of these measures.

Then he gave a speech about the local economy, which exposed the country's ambivalence about the depth of the decolonizing project. In the speech he suggested that it was time to stop aping the food standards of the colonial masters. Belizeans would have to become self-sufficient in food and value the "traditional" local foods instead of copying foreign models and continuing to depend on imported foodstuff. He told his audience they should eat less imported wheat bread and more of their own products, drinking fever-grass tea and sweet potato wine, and eating pupsi and crana (abundant local river fish) instead of imported sardines. Like a number of colonial agricultural officers, he argued that it was unreasonable for a country rich in fertile soil, surrounded by abundant sea life, to import grain and fish from Europe.

The pro-British opposition, which had unsuccessfully fought Price's other cultural initiatives, now found an issue that aroused popular support that threatened Price's whole nationalist project.

When the PUP started they promised you ham and eggs, etc., if you put them in power. They also promised you self government. But today when they get Self Government, they tell you to boil fever grass and eat pupsi and other river fishes. What will they tell you to eat when they get independence? [Belize Billboard, January 5, 1964]

The human body is like a machine, and it must have fuel to keep it running. And the fuel of the human machine is food, protective and sustaining foods such as milk and other dairy products, eggs, vegetables, fruits, whole grain and enriched bread and other cereals, just to name a few. Food must supply the vitamins needed, along with other essential nutrients such as proteins to keep the body running in high gear. . . . It is obvious that pupsi and crana, which live mostly in polluted swamps[,] cannot replace, as our premier advises, our sources

of vitamin rich food and proteins, the most important ingredients in our diet. Conditions such as pellagra and ariboflavinosis (disease dues [sic] to lack of vitamin B) occur in people who live continuously on restricted diets such as corn and salt pork only. [Belize Billboard, January 11, 1964]

While the PUP's previous nationalist program challenged British political authority, the suggestion about diet turned the entire edifice of colonial cultural values and hierarchy literally upside-down. The words *pupsi* and *crana* became a rallying point for the formation of an opposition party. Price's suggestion was also unpopular among working- and middle-class people, who felt that they were being told to be satisfied with poverty instead of "improving" their lot. Many who had supported Price had seen his goal in terms of equity—a society where everyone would eat "high table" imported foods, sardines, and wine, not one where even the elite would be eating "bush food." Surprised by the reaction, Price moderated his position to one of import substitution, particularly supporting local rice and bean production, and he never publicly again called for a change in the national diet.⁸ The violent reaction to his speech shows just how resistant to change the cultural order of colonial taste had become. It brought home to Belizeans the realization that the end of colonialism would mean more than a new flag and new street names. The "Pupsi and Crana" speech was the point where the colonial regime of taste was no longer part of the taken-for-granted of everyday life.

The Royal Rat

Queen Elizabeth's 1985 visit to Belize marked a major symbolic recognition of Belize's independence, at a time when Belizeans were increasingly worried about the veracity of British defense guarantees against Guatemalan aggression (the result of a long-standing border dispute). A major event during the visit, the first by a reigning Monarch, was a state banquet at the residence of the British High Commissioner in Belmopan, the new capital city built by the British. A selection of Belizean delicacies was prepared for the royal party by the best local cooks.

One of the tastiest wild mammals of the Belizean rain forest is a large rodent called a *gibnut* or *paca* (*Agouti paca*). Highly prized in the rural diet, it was never widely eaten by the urban middle class. At the suggestion of local cooks and officials, but with the approval of the High Commissioner, roast gibnut was given the place of national honor as a main meat course at the Queen's banquet. She did not eat very much of it, but as a graceful veteran of hundreds of inedible feasts of local specialties, she still praised it to the cook. There the story would have ended, but for the British tabloid press. The Sun and other British newspapers produced a slew of outraged headlines, variations on the theme of "Queen Served Rat by Wogs." An-

gry letters were printed in the British press by citizens who were enraged by this assault on HRH's dignity.

The press reports were quickly transmitted back to Belize, where they provoked outrage and widespread anger, even among those who had never eaten gibnut. A few conciliatory conservative writers tried to explain to the British that the gibnut was *not* a rat and suggested that the incident was merely a misunderstanding. But most Belizeans saw this as an example of British arrogance and racism. For the first time, a Belizean dish became a matter of public pride. Nationalist chefs and nutritionists defended the Belizean gibnut as tasty, healthful, and nutritious. Reinterpreted as a national delicacy, today it often appears on restaurant menus as "Royal Rat," and its high price and legitimacy in national cuisine place heavy hunting pressure on remaining populations.

The incident of the royal rat came at a crucial time, just after political independence was granted in 1981. A legitimate category of Belizean food was beginning to emerge. The government, interested in cutting down food imports, had halfheartedly sponsored several campaigns through the Ministry of Education aimed at promoting production and consumption of local foods with help from CARE and the Peace Corps. During the 1970s the thrust was one of substituting local products for imports in familiar recipes: making bread with plantain flour, jams with local fruits. During the eighties the emphasis shifted to rediscovering (or reinventing) traditional foods; eating pupsi and crana was no longer unthinkable.

Belizean restaurants in the United States, cookbooks, public festivities where food is served, and the expensive dining rooms of foreign-owned luxury hotels were all crucial stages where ideas about Belizean food were tried out. By 1990, many dishes that were once markers of rural poverty had been converted into national cuisine. Others had quietly disappeared. Foreigners, expatriates, tourists, and emigrants were crucial agents in formulating and valuing the local.

Taste and Hierarchy Today

Colonial Belize had a clear hierarchy of social and economic strata, marked by their food practices and preferences. As Bourdieu points out (1984), these class tastes are bound together into systems, with internal logic and structure, by sentiments and dispositions rooted in childhood and a lifetime of learning. He focuses on schools as crucial institutions where these tastes are transmitted and ordered.

The social and economic stratification of Belize has not changed drastically since the 1950s. There are still quite exclusive and cosmopolitan mercantile economic and bureaucrat-technocrat elites, a diverse petit-bourgeoisie and functionary middle class, and a large and partially destitute working class. This hierarchy is crosscut in complex ways

by ethnicity, family ties, political alliances, regional loyalties, and rural/urban differences.

Under the colonial regime, diversity was managed and regulated through the flows of fashion and taste, which entered through the gatekeepers at the top who were legitimate models for emulation or resistance. Today this hierarchy has been drastically undercut by new flows of information and goods. Travel, once the province of the privileged elite, is now practical for most Belizeans. My survey shows that 73% of Belizean adults have traveled out of their country, while 34% have lived abroad for three months or more. Variation by class is not high. For example, 45% of skilled manual workers have lived abroad, compared to 54% of business managers. The average Belizean has 2.6 immediate consanguineal relatives living abroad, again with little difference broken down by class, education, or wealth.

The worlds these travelers encounter are quite diverse; some end up in middle-class suburbs, others in urban ghettos. Some bring back luxury cars, high fashion clothing, and silverware, some display diplomas and stereos, others bring the latest rap tunes, BK basketball shoes, Gumby haircuts, and dread belts.

Similarly, tourists who once concentrated in a few oceanside resorts are now diffusing through the countryside and cities as ecotourists in search of unspoiled nature, ancient ruins, and authentic folk culture. A growing portion of the population has direct contact with foreigners; Belizeans now make sophisticated distinctions between different kinds of foreigners, and see them as representing diverse cultural backgrounds.

Finally, greater access to electronic and print media has vastly broadened the images that Belizeans have of the world and has destroyed much of the gatekeeping role of the elite. Satellite-fed cable television had reached 35% of the urban population by 1990, and broadcast stations served almost all of the rest. Forty-six percent of high school students reported that they watched TV every day. Belizeans now have a diversity of models, fantasies, and dramas to choose from, in a kind of "global menu" (Petch 1987; Wilk 1993a, 1995). People are now faced with the need to contrast, weigh, and choose. What seems to be emerging is both a clearer definition of the national and local, and a less hierarchical diversification of lifestyles.

In one survey I asked 389 Belizeans to rate 21 main course dishes on a four-point scale from love to hate (Wilk 1997). Eight were clearly Belizean Creole food, and the other 13 were foreign in varying ways (Hispanic, Chinese, and Indian dishes represented Belizean minority ethnic groups, while dishes like macaroni and cheese or pizza have no local constituency). The responses were striking in their lack of clear order or hierarchy; tastes did not cluster together, nor did they help disaggregate the population by class or education.

In a correlation matrix of preferences for each dish with various socioeconomic measures, differences in gender and age were as strongly correlated with food preferences (r^2 ranging from .08 to .12) as were differences in wealth, job status, and education. Ethnicity was a surprisingly weak variable in explaining differences in taste, especially so among the young. All ethnic, age, and income groups showed a high degree of agreement in their preferences for basic nationalized dishes like rice and beans or tamales. 41% of high school students, for example, volunteered rice and beans with stewed chicken as their favorite dish on an open-ended question. Most important, there was little difference between ethnic/language categories.

The neat orderings of taste that Bourdieu found in France are absent from the Belizean data on food or other kinds of preferences for art, clothing, and music. I tried numerous measures of cultural and economic capital, but could not make simple directional patterns out of taste. There was no consensus on "highbrow," "middlebrow," and "lowbrow" that was more pronounced than the differences based on basic demographic categories like age and gender. Belize is a mosaic when it comes to consumer preferences, not a simple hierarchy. Recent investigation in developed countries also finds the connection between taste and class to be attenuated (Land 1998; Warde 1997; though also see Featherstone 1990).

Conclusion: Cultural Capital Revisited

When Bourdieu uses the metaphor of capital he implies something stored up, acquired, and kept. The stability of high culture is perhaps this kind of capital—knowledge of Shakespeare remains a class signifier for a whole lifetime. But in Belize this kind of stable regime of taste is literally a thing of the past, either in the form of indigenous cultures that are increasingly marginalized as "traditional," or as an imperfectly translated and assimilated colonial high culture. What remains is fluid and changeable; this year's imported high culture (e.g., Lambada) is next year's street music. In such a small population, where kin ties crosscut wealth and class, exclusivity is very difficult to maintain. Belize may simply not be big enough for the exclusive economic and cultural elites or the challenging and mobile middle class that maintain the fashion system in France. The constant drain of emigration, the flow of media, and arrival of expatriates and returned migrants do not eliminate local tastes or fashions, but do prevent these tastes from crystallizing and forming a fashion system of their own.

If consumption and taste are reflections of and constitutive of power, what are the sources of power in Belize? First and foremost is economic capital in the form of ownership of business, next is ownership of land (though this has been very uneven historically). Another important source of power is education, both schooling and the

knowledge and practices of a class. In Belize these knowledges and practices have usually been of two kinds: access to foreign goods, objects, styles, and knowledge; and family connections.

But now these are far from the only sources of power in Belize. Today knowledge of the foreign is no longer the monopoly of either the economic or cultural elite; it is accessible to many people directly through travel and indirectly through television and the movement of relatives back and forth. The knowledge of things foreign can be seen as a kind of cultural capital, but its source lies only partially within the family or the educational systems, and it has no legitimizing institution like a university or a social register. It can be obtained in many ways, and so loses some of its power to make social distinctions.

Bourdieu's analysis concentrates on the cultural means that reflect, constitute, and enforce the power of dominant classes. In his scheme, the rest of society belongs to the dominated classes. "It must never be forgotten that the working-class 'aesthetic' is a dominated 'aesthetic' which is constantly obliged to define itself in terms of the dominant aesthetic" (1984:41). In colonial Belize this dominance was complete among the small Bourgeoisie, but the scheme excluded the working classes to a degree that prevented them from completely accepting its dominance. Alternative systems of power grew in the working-class majority milieu that have been seen in other parts of the Caribbean as "reputation" or "the transient mode" (Austin 1983; Miller 1990; Wilson 1973). Power in this working-class context emerges from personal ability, personal knowledge, and a personal history. There are many arenas in which this kind of power can be gained through particular forms of competence: in verbal play, sexual prowess, violence, dancing, making music, having babies (Abrahams 1983). These forms of cultural capital are obtained through shared and lived experience, informal education, and social and economic commitment. Forms of consumption that legitimize and reflect this kind of power are not the simple opposites of the dominant forms. They include: foreign kinds of music (dub, rap); forms of dress (today derived from U.S. street-gang fashion), drinks, and foods; and local speech styles, vocabulary, and music.

Is this kind of capital totally antithetical to the "dominant" mode? In the past colonial society, perhaps. Today, however, it is possible to blend and meld the two in new and creative ways. For example, the educated middle class have now adopted local, "Caribbean" or pan-African styles and practices that are self-consciously similar to working-class fashions (though not dangerously similar). They can eat "roots food," listen to Caribbean music, and wear dreadlocks, but they are neat and clean dreadlocks. The hierarchy of power and capital is not gone, but it is no longer mirrored by simple hierarchies of taste.

Tastes and preferences are therefore always polysemic in Belize; there is no overwhelming order imposed by a strict hierarchy of capital. Fashion exists not in Bourdieu's two-dimensional space, linked to underlying variation in class, but in a multidimensional space tied to a series of different sources of power inside and outside of Belizean society. These other kinds of power include access to foreign culture through relatives, visits, tourism, or temporary emigration. As Basch et al. (1994) point out, transnational migration is now at least partially motivated by what the emigrant can *bring* and *send home*. Foreign goods create local identity on a global stage.

The paradoxical result is that in an increasingly open, global society like Belize, tastes and preferences are now more deeply localized than ever before. Local knowledge of history, people, personalities, and politics determine taste, much more than they ever did under the protective boundaries of the British empire.

Notes

Acknowledgments. An early version of this paper was presented at the conference "Defining the National," organized by Ulf Hannerz and Orvar Lofgren, in Lund, Sweden during April of 1992. I thank the participants in that conference for their comments. I also thank James Carrier, Beverly Stoeltje, Danny Miller, Anne Pyburn, and four excellent anonymous reviewers for comments that have improved this paper in many ways. Small portions of this paper previously appeared in *Ethnos* (Wilk 1993b). The research for this paper was supported by a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation and a Fulbright research fellowship. Special thanks to Inez Sanchez and Gloria Crawford who taught me most of what I know and appreciate about Belizean cuisine.

1. The national flag and symbols were chosen in 1973 through a public contest; the struggle over them is a good story in itself. Medina (1997) and Judd (1989) provide excellent material on the historical emergence of ethnic categories in Belize, while Bolland (1988) defines the broader political economic context of ethnicity and class in the country.

2. Belizean restaurants appeared first in New York, then Los Angeles; Belizean cuisine is a concept invented almost entirely outside of Belize. Under a national label it submerges ethnic distinctions between what Belizeans call "Spanish" food (tamales, garnachas, chirmole), Garifuna dishes like cas-sava bread and fish stew (sere), and Creole foods like boil-up and rice-and-beans.

3. There was, at this time, a "Belizean dish of the day" on the menu at the most expensive and exclusive hotel in town; but this was clearly a performance for tourists, since few Belizeans could afford to eat there.

4. To illustrate we have the following quotes from the 1990 Miss Universe Belize, over nationwide radio at the opening of the annual agricultural show. "While foreigners rush to take advantage of our resources, exhibited here today, fellow Belizeans, the prosperity you seek is right before your eyes." The columnist "Smokey Joe," in the *Amandala* newspaper, Feb. 23, 1990, says, "I wonder why it is that everyone who comes

to this country can see the beauty, but we who live here can't. They see the same garbage that we lovingly put all over the place. They see the beauty that we refuse to see. They bless us; we curse ourselves. They praise us; we condemn ourselves. Is this a better land for them, and a plague to us?"

5. Many Belizeans tell jokes and stories about ignorant bumpkins who went to the States full of wild dreams. But in 30 interviews and discussions with high school students in 1990, I never found such innocence, though Lundgren (1988) did find many naive fantasies among Belizean elementary school children.

6. The full presentation of the data from my national and high school surveys would require far more space than is available here. Extensive correlation, partial correlation, and multivariate analysis was done on this large data set; full results will be reported elsewhere.

7. This diet of flour and salt meat was common among nonagricultural hand laborers in many parts of the world in the nineteenth century. Like sugar and dried codfish, these were cheap commodities produced by relatively standardized means, which could be shipped long distances and provided cheaply by employers where there was no ready local source of foodstuff (see Mennell 1984). The early cuisine of Belize is clearly derived from the preserved rations served to sailors on board ships, whereas more agricultural parts of the Caribbean developed dishes based on local products (Mintz 1996).

8. It is interesting that today most government appeals for people to consume local foods are couched in the language of health once again. Now Belizean foods are touted as fresh and natural, as opposed to preserved and processed imports.

References Cited

- Abrahams, Roger
1983 *The Man-of-Words in the West Indies*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Appadurai, Arjun
1988 *How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India*. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30(1):3–24.
1996 *Modernity at Large*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Arizpe, Lourdes, ed.
1996 *The Cultural Dimensions of Global Change: An Anthropological Approach*. Vendôme, France: UNESCO.
- Austin, Diane
1983 *Culture and Ideology in the English-Speaking Caribbean: A View from Jamaica*. *American Ethnologist* 10(2): 223–240.
- Babcock, Elizabeth, and Richard Wilk
1998 *International Travel and Consumer Preferences among Secondary School Students in Belize, Central America*. *Caribbean Geography* 8(1):32–45.
- Basch, Linda, Nina Schiller, and Cristina Blanc
1994 *Nations Unbound*. Langhorne, PA: Gordon & Breach.
- Beckett, Jeremy
1996 *Contested Images: Perspectives on the Indigenous Terrain in the Late 20th Century*. *Identities* 3(1–2):1–13.
- Bolland, Nigel
1988 *Colonialism and Resistance in Belize*. Belize City: Cubola Productions.
- Bourdieu, P.
1984 *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Burke, Timothy
1996 *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Conroy, Richard
1997 *Our Man in Belize: A Memoir*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Counihan, C., and P. Van Esterik
1997 Introduction. In *Food and Culture: A Reader*. C. Counihan and P. Van Esterik, eds. Pp. 1–7. New York: Routledge.
- Everitt, J. C.
1987 *The Torch Is Passed: Neocolonialism in Belize*. *Caribbean Quarterly* 33(3&4):42–59.
- Featherstone, M.
1990 *Perspectives on Consumer Culture*. *Sociology* 24(1): 5–22.
- Foster, Robert J.
1991 *Making National Cultures in the Global Ecumene*. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 20:235–260.
- Friedman, Jonathan
1990 *Being in the World: Globalization and Localization*. *Theory, Culture and Society* 7:311–328.
1992 *The Past in the Future: History and the Politics of Identity*. *American Anthropologist* 94(4):837–859.
1994 *Cultural Identity and Global Process*. London: Sage.
- Hannerz, Ulf
1987 *The World in Creolization*. *Africa* 57(4):546–559.
- Howes, David
1996 Introduction: *Commodities and Cultural Borders*. In *Cross Cultural Consumption: Global Markets, Local Realities*. David Howes, ed. Pp. 1–16. London: Routledge.
- Jenkins, Richard
1994 *Rethinking Ethnicity: Identity, Categorization and Power*. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 17(2):197–223.
- Judd, Karen
1989 *Cultural Synthesis or Ethnic Struggle? Creolization in Belize*. *Cimarron* 1–2:103–118.
- Kuisel, Richard
1993 *Seducing the French: The Dilemma of Americanization*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Land, Birgit
1998 *Consumer's Dietary Patterns and Desires for Change*. Working Paper 31, Center for Market Surveillance, Research and Strategy for the Food Sector, Aarhus, Denmark.
- Lofgren, Orvar
1993 *Materializing the Nation in Sweden and America*. *Ethnos* 58(3–4):161–196.
- Lundgren, Nancy
1988 *When I Grow Up I Want a Trans Am: Children in Belize Talk about Themselves and the Impact of the World Capitalist System*. *Dialectical Anthropology* 13:269–276.

- Medina, Laurie
1997 Defining Difference, Forging Unity: The Construction of Race, Ethnicity and Nation in Belize. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 20(4):757–780.
- Mennell, S.
1984 All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Miller, Daniel
1990 Fashion and Ontology in Trinidad. *Culture and History* 7:49–78.
1994 Modernity: An Ethnographic Approach. London: Berg Publishers.
1997 Capitalism: An Ethnographic Approach. Oxford: Berg Publishers.
- Mintz, Sidney
1996 Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Munt, Ian, and Egbert Higinio
1993 Eco-Tourism Waves in Belize. In *Globalization and Development: Challenges and Prospects for Belize*. Speareports 9, Society for the Promotion of Education and Research, Belize City. Pp. 34–48.
- Olwig, Karen
1993 Defining the National in the Transnational: Cultural Identity in the Afro-Caribbean Diaspora. *Ethnos* 58(3–4): 361–376.
- Orlove, Benjamin, ed.
1997 The Allure of the Foreign: Imported Goods in Post-Colonial Latin America. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Petch, T.
1987 Television and Video Ownership in Belize. *Belizean Studies* 15(1):12–14.
- Salzman, Philip
1996 The Electronic Trojan Horse: Television in the Globalization of Paramodern Cultures. In *The Cultural Dimensions of Global Change: An Anthropological Approach*. Lourdes Arizpe, ed. Pp. 197–216. Vendôme, France: UNESCO.
- Shoman, Assad
1985 Party Politics in Belize. Benque Viejo, Belize: Cubola.
- Stone, Michael
1994 Caribbean Nation, Central American State: Ethnicity, Race, and National Formation in Belize, 1798–1990. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, Austin.
- Tobin, Joseph
1992 Introduction: Domesticating the West. In *Re-Made in Japan: Everyday Life and Consumer Taste in a Changing Society*. James Tobin, ed. Pp. 1–41. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Vernon, Dylan
1990 Belizean Exodus to the United States: For Better or Worse. In *Speareport 4, Society for the Promotion of Education and Research*, Belize City. Pp. 6–28.
- Warde, Alan
1997 Consumption, Food and Taste. London: Sage Publications.
- Watson, James, ed.
1997 Golden Arches East: McDonalds in East Asia. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Wilk, Richard
1990 Consumer Goods as Dialogue about Development: Research in Progress in Belize. *Culture and History* 7: 79–100.
1993a “It’s Destroying a Whole Generation”: Television and Moral Discourse in Belize. *Visual Anthropology* 5:229–244.
1993b Beauty and the Feast: Official and Visceral Nationalism in Belize. *Ethnos* 53(3–4):1–25.
1995 Colonial Time and TV Time: Television and Temporality in Belize. *Visual Anthropology Review* 10(1): 94–102.
1997 A Critique of Desire: Distaste and Dislike in Consumer Behavior. *Consumption, Markets and Culture* 1(2):175–196.
- Wilk, Richard, and Stephen Miller
1997 Some Methodological Issues in Counting Communities and Households. *Human Organization* 56(1):64–71.
- Wilson, Peter
1973 Crab Antics. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.