

CAYES, CORAL, TOURISM AND ETHNICITY IN BELIZE

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The development of tourism and more importantly eco-tourism has emerged as a primary objective for the government of Belize, Central America. This study examines two villages Seine Bight and Placencia located on a peninsula occupied by separate ethnic groups (Garifuna and Creole) that is located on a peninsula in Southern Belize. Seine Bight and Placencia are undergoing a change in economic activity to tourism. The study attempts to understand the role of ethnicity, socio-economic status, amount of contact with tourists, and the environment in regard to attitudes towards tourism utilizing quantitative and qualitative methods. The study also attempts to understand the organization and disorganization of productive activity on the peninsula and ethnicity over space and time. The point of diffusion and contact of different groups is reflected archeologically and historically in the marine landscape. The peninsula served not only as a natural harbor for those sailing up and down the coastline over time but also served as a point of diffusion of different groups reflected in changing place names, such as Placencia, Point Patient, and Pasciencia.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Throughout history people have traveled for trade, war, migration, and religious rituals. In the Roman era aristocrats and government officials visited seaside resorts located in Pompei and Herculaneum in order to escape the heat of Rome in the summer. Travel has continued to grow except in the period of the dark ages when travel was in the form of pilgrimages. The growth of international tourism has been phenomenal over the last forty years "as a result of a higher standard of living in the North and improvements in the speed and carrying capacity of air transport over the last forty years" (Harrison, 1991 p. 3). According to the World Tourism Organization (WTO), a tourist is a temporary visitor staying at least twenty-four hours in any country that is not their normal place of residence. This definition includes business visitors and people visiting for leisure activities. The definition is somewhat non-specific in its typology nevertheless the traveler even on a business trip may accept several roles as that of tourist.

Tourism as a form of cultural hegemony has gained attention in the social science disciplines. Today tourism is seen as one of the most powerful components of internationalization (Lanfant, 1980) and presented by cultural theories of globalization.

The tourism industry is a structure of economic institutions that strive for increasing control over space on a global scale, providing flexibility to adjust to seasonal and other variations in such increasingly valuable resources as climate, environmental conditions and labor costs (Borocz, 1996).

These characteristics are not unique to the tourism industry but are a manifest function of global capital accumulation under late capitalism. International tourism has increased and by 1990 there were 425,000,000 international tourist arrivals (See Table 1).

Unlike previous periods in history the twentieth century has seen unprecedented growth in the tourist industry. After World War II, the creation of the commercial airline industry and the development of jet aircraft travel to unique and exotic destinations made air transportation available to a growing middle class. The rise in international tourism reached all corners of the world and led to many less developed countries pursuing the market of tourism as a means of earning foreign exchange. Tourists opted for the convenience of pre-paid package vacations on cruise ships and at beach resorts. The promotion of mass tourism became synonymous with sun, sea, sand and sex.

Many governments at first embraced mass tourism as a nonpolluting industry that could increase employment and raise the gross national product (GNP). In order to earn foreign exchange, DeKadt (1979), and to increase national income and employment many governments of less developed countries emphasized tourism plans and policies that would increase revenues by increasing more visitors through mass tourism. "Less attention has been given to maximizing net returns, let alone ensuring that those returns are distributed in a fashion which corresponds to stated objectives regarding income distribution" (DeKadt, 1979 p. 21). Mass tourism created low wage service sector positions such as maids, cooks, waiters and drivers. Evidence quickly grew that the benefits were minimal and the social and environmental costs were high. The wealth created did not flow through evenly in the local communities.

Mass tourism brought development in some areas in a nation and uneven

development in other regions of the host country. Mass tourism was often culturally insensitive and economically disruptive. As a result of mass tourism and the mounting criticisms, social scientists and developers began to rethink tourism as a form of sustainable development that would include the environment and the population involved in the tourist industry. The concept of sustainable development began approximately 25 years ago beginning in 1972 with Danella and Dennis Meadow's book *Limits to Growth*. The Meadows argued that the earth's resources were not finite. This later resulted in the publication of the *World Conservation Strategy* by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN, 1980) in one of the first reports to introduce the concept of sustainable development. Later the *World Commission on Environment and Development Report* (1987), titled *Our Common Future* (WCED, 1987) placed the concept of sustainable development at center stage. The report emphasized the priority on maintaining ecological diversity in developing regions with increased community control. "Sustainable development (in tourism) is premised on the notion that the economy and the environment are but two sides of the same coin; in other words, the two are intimately linked" (Slater, 1992). Because tourism is one of the largest industries with estimated revenue of U.S. 3.5 trillion dollars (World Travel and Tourism Council, 1996) and hiring one worker in nine worldwide in 1995, it is one industry that should be involved in sustainable development.

The notion of sustainable development needs to engage the involvement of host communities and the population's attitudes toward tourism. Consequently the focus towards sustainable tourism is linked to the sustainable tourism debate. Tourism community research can be of significance in order to have a clear picture of the

development of tourism. Several researchers have addressed the issue of the importance of the community in regard to the development of tourism. Community focused research has identified issues that are linked to social and community impacts of tourism such as addressing resident-responsive tourism, argued for tourism planning that involves residents and communities in terms of their priorities, and perceptions and preferences for the planning of tourism and development (Hawkins, 1993, Ritchie, 1993, Krippendorf, 1987 and Murphy, 1981). Thus in order for tourism to be successful and sustainable, it must be concerned with the well being of the communities involved.

The study of tourism in developing countries has had a preponderance of ethnographic case studies, emphasizing the negative impacts of tourism. Several stage models have also added to the conceptual research. Doxey (1975) Forestall and Kaufman (1995) drawing from stage models, assert that as tourism development increases host communities have a variety of negative attitudes and may become hostile to tourists. Social survey work has attempted and examined the host's attitudes toward tourism and its impacts. However there has been little investigation as to what constitutes a community. Burr (1991) found little standardization in regard to the concept of community. The concept in many instances refers to place while other times the concept referred to power, decision-making or dependency. Another problem in survey studies has been describing the host's perceived impacts of tourism. Very few studies have developed lists of the impacts of tourism from respondents. Thus as Cohen (1979) suggests good tourism research should be emic in it's design, and consider the perspectives of the populations being studied. Very few studies have attempted to assess the importance of the perceptions in the individuals in the communities being studied.

Thus it is the community's views we need to understand development. An emic approach is instrumental in understanding the views of the social actors. Very few research endeavors have used both qualitative and quantitative methods.

Belize's eco-tourism industry has not come without costs to the local populations. Many of the tourists who visit Belize stay at luxury hotels along the coastline. Nancy Lundgren (1993) states approximately 70% to 90% of the country's freehold land are owned by foreigners, along with 65% of the members of the Belize Tourism Association (McMinn and Carter, 1998). Tourism in Belize has created low-paying employment in hotels (McClaurin, 1996).

Even though existing literature has emphasized the importance of the host's attitudes, research in general has ignored the role of ethnic identities within communities. The pervasive assumption that communities are organized, cohesive, socially organized units has not been empirically evaluated. Given the social cohesion assumption tourism attitudes are assumed to be similar across ethnic divides within communities.

In sum research on tourism attitudes contributes to community planning, and community research. People's perception on the advantages and disadvantages of tourism is important for planning strategies for community involvement in local development through tourism. In particular, knowledge of attitudes toward tourism provides information on strategies adaptable for tourism development. At the theoretical level, several explanations of tourism attitudes have been proposed. Current research on tourism attitudes has evaluated the empirical validity of these explanations but has not paid attention toward identifying the relative validity of these explanations in terms of predicting tourism attitudes. Furthermore, the role of demographic/structural factors such,

as ethnicity has not been adequately investigated. This study has four objectives. First, is to test a few of the current explanations of tourism attitudes in a developing country setting. Second, is to assess the relative value of these explanations, that is rank order the explanations in terms of the ability to predict tourism attitudes. The third objective is to propose and address the role of ethnicity on tourism attitudes. The fourth and final objective is to utilize qualitative methods of investigation on tourism attitudes.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Central American governments are beginning to undertake new forms of economic development in order to integrate and diversify their economies. One of these forms of development is the promotion of international tourism that has grown drastically since 1980. The understanding of tourism as a form of development requires an appreciation of the historical forces that are responsible for the common characteristics of less developed country's economies. When developing countries participate in international tourism they have to accept practices that inevitably have their origins in more developed countries. Stephen Britton asserts

A poor country seeking to promote tourism as a means of generating foreign exchange, increasing employment opportunities, enhancing economic independence or promoting commercial involvement of poor sections of the community is likely to find the attainment of such goals impeded by this organization of the tourist industry (Britton, 1996 p. 156).

Since tourism markets are located in the developed countries and have direct contact with tourists they have the control over the flow of tourists. This relationship puts the tourist industry intermediaries between the tourist and the destination countries. Because the tourist industry arose out of the affluent middle classes of the rich countries metropolitan companies have been able to dominate the control on tourist movements. A developing country seeking to secure foreign exchange, increasing employment opportunities and enhancing economic independence or trying to promote tourist involvement in poor communities may find their goals impeded.

The organizational structure of international tourism can be seen as a three tiered hierarchy (Britton, 1996). At the top are the developed market countries that control the transport, airlines, tour, hotel and tourism supplying companies. In the middle of this stratified system are the branch offices of the developed countries firms operating with the local tourism counterpart. This distinct type of social formation includes the capitalist “modern” enclave sector that is composed of monopolistic firms and linked to non-capitalist “traditional” subsistence sectors. And at the base are the small-scale tourist enterprises of the destination country. The characteristics of peripheral social formations have a large impact on the way an industry such as tourism is integrated into the local community. The countries that make up the core and the periphery can not be seen as independent economies. The lesser-developed countries or periphery has its origins in a common historical experience of colonialism. The colonial empires imposed forms of production, social organization and trading patterns on peripheral economies (Amin, 1976). The economic organizations and political institutions of underdeveloped countries formation were designed to meet the needs of the colonial powers. It cannot be argued that developing countries are not dependent upon developed countries in the tourism industry.

Tourism inflicts tremendous changes on the local populations who eventually must adapt to feed, house and entertain the tourists. Belize’s economic performance is highly susceptible to external market changes. Although moderate growth has been achieved in recent years, the achievements are vulnerable to world commodity price fluctuations and continuation of preferential trading agreements especially with the U.S (cane sugar) and U.K (bananas). Belize continues to rely on foreign trade with the

United States as its number one trading partner. Total imports in 1999 amounted to \$370 million while total exports were only \$183 million. In 1999, the U.S. accounted for 43% of Belize's total exports and provided 50% of all Belizean imports. Other major trading partners included the U.K. European Union, Canada, Mexico and Caribbean Common Market (CARICOM) member states. The United States is the largest provider of economic assistance to Belize contributing \$1.1 million in various bilateral economic and military aid programs to Belize in 1999. The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) closed its Belize office in August 1996 after a 13 year program during which USAID provided \$110 million worth of development assistance to Belize. Private American investors who are responsible for some \$250 million total investments in Belize continue to play a key role in Belize's economy particularly in the tourism sector. Tourism attracts the most foreign direct investment although significant U.S investment also is found in energy, telecommunication and agriculture. The combinations of several natural factors such as climate, the longest barrier reef in the Western Hemisphere, numerous islands, excellent fishing, safe water for boating, jungle wildlife and Mayan ruins support the thriving tourist industry. The development costs are high but the Government of Belize has designated tourism as its second development priority after agriculture (See Table 2.)

The impact of tourism development on local communities has been characterized in several models. As tourism takes hold in a community residents begin to feel the effects of the tourism industry. The interpersonal relationships between the residents and the visitors whether real or illusory become a matter of contention in the minds of the residents. Differential access to tourism profits changes power relations. Those who

have a vested financial interest in the tourism industry will be more favorable to tourism whereas those who are not able to profit from the tourist industry will be more likely to not endorse the industry.

Adjustment to tourism can be rapid and creative. It is important to note that not all inhabitants of a tourist destination profit equally from the new industry (Brougham and Butler, 1981, Dogan, 1989). Usually residents of seaside communities and historic centers gain more from tourism than do inland villages. In Belize water-based interests were more popular among visitors. Over 60% of the visitors visited the Cayes and over 44% visited the Barrier Reef, 24% visited Hol Chan and 23% visited Shark –Ray Alley (Belize Tourism Board, 1998). The most popular inland site was the Belize Zoo attracting over 18% of the visitors and the Maya sites of Altun Ha and Xunantunich accounted for 18% and 16% of visitors respectively.

Communities are many times eager to seize the economic opportunities that is presented with tourism. The seasonal nature of coastal tourism changes the cycle of leisure and work. Since many in coastal communities must make most of their annual income in a few months during the high season they have little time to pursue traditional leisure activities thus inverting the time of celebrations, family visits, partying and community festivities. Thus the inhabitants of communities are swift in many instances to adapt to tourism. Tourists definitely affect the way of life in communities yet it would be misleading to assume that residents passively submit to the influence of tourism, rather they adopt coping strategies to protect themselves.

Tourists and the industry of tourism threaten Many times the residents' values, rights and customs. In order to cope with the changes tourism brings into the community,

strategies of covert resistance emerge. This enables the weak to be actively engaged against the powerful and requires little coordination in planning and usually are at the individual level (Scott, 1985). Examples of this covert resistance include sulking, grumbling, obstruction, gossip, ridicule and surreptitious insults by the weak directed at the more powerful. There are other forms of adapting to tourism. For example a community may have festivals or celebrations at times or in locations where they can avoid tourists. Another way of avoiding tourists is to fence off private areas and events. In other instances local citizens may organize and protest against those who are marketing their back regions without their consent. Finally in some circumstances people may resort to violence to defend themselves against insensitive and intrusive tourists.

The tourist-host “encounter” can be transitory and in social circumstances the ability to create a bond of mutual trust is negated. It is the non-repetitive nature of the relationship which can lead to deceit and exploitation and a general feeling of mistrust (van de Berghe, 1980). According to Sutton (1967) the relationship between hosts and guests is unequal in that the visitors are on the move looking for enjoyment while the hosts are stationary catering to the needs and desires of the guests. However other asymmetries may also exist between local groups and their access to the revenues tourism generates thus creating misunderstandings and conflict. The economic benefits may not be distributed equally across ethnic groups that may cause hostility. The competition for resources between ethnic groups can become a source of contention. While cultural conflicts may be imbedded in a complex series of historical events within a modern arena of political struggle, tourism can surely enhance or reinforce the prevailing dominant subordinate position of the different ethnic groups.

Tourist development affects local communities that are characterized in a model by Doxey (1975). He argues that the reactions of a host community to the growth of tourism vary over time in relation to developmental stages. The initial stage in tourism development is one of euphoria when visitors and investors are welcomed. At this stage there has been little planning or control mechanisms in regard to the tourism industry. The second stage involves less personal contacts between the residents and the visitors and the relationships become more formalized. Most of the planning for tourism will be concerned with marketing. As saturation points are approached in the third stage residents begin to show misgivings or are annoyed about the tourist industry, while policy makers tend to see solutions in increasing infra-structure rather than setting limits to growth. The fourth stage is one of antagonism. This stage is reached when irritations are expressed overtly and physically. The outsider at this point is seen as the cause of all problems, personal and societal. Thus any planning at this point is remedial such as increasing promotion to offset the deteriorating reputation of the destination. Eventually a stage of acceptance and or adaptation to the changes by tourism is reached. Forestell and Kaufman (1995) also provided an analysis of the developmental stages of tourism. Their work suggests early on in the development of tourism residents experience phases of discovery, competition as the industry of tourism develops, confrontation as regulatory agencies become involved and eventually stability when the industry matures.

Stage models have addressed the reaction of communities with the advent of tourism but little research has been done on how communities deal with maintaining their integrity and sense of community. Jeremy Boissevan (1996) argues that the negative social impacts of tourism are often overstated as if the local communities were without

social or political resources to cope with the changes brought about by tourism. He describes five coping strategies. The strategies are covert resistance, hiding, fencing, organized protest and aggression. In sum, tourism is temporal in that the developmental stages of the tourism industry affect local communities while coping strategies in communities enhance or alter conditions for maintaining a sense of balance in the tourist host encounter.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORY OF SEINE BIGHT AND PLACENCIA

Belize is bordered in the north by Mexico to the west and south by Guatemala and to the east by the Caribbean Sea and is a land that has been virtually unnoticed until the early 1990's as a tourist destination (see Figure 2). In the southern Stann Creek district lays a peninsula jutting into the Caribbean and braced by a mangrove lined brackish lagoon. The peninsula is a reminder of the point of diffusion from east to west, north to south, the divides in human spatial organization. Placencia and Seine Bight become vivid when examined in the spatial geography of the political economy. Within this context of the arrangement of space, disorganizing and organizing, utilizing the lay of the land and sea, the extraction of resources brings clarity to the historical aspects of the peninsula's activity. The Maya at the time of the arrival of the colonizers had dispersed into small settlements in what is today called Belize. This Caribbean peninsula has a shared history of resource extraction and settlement patterns among different groups with the organization of economic activity changing form over time and space. The first people to engage in economic activity on the peninsula were the Maya (MacKinnon, 1989).

After the collapse of the large settlements the Maya began to migrate into new regions that were less populated. While the large ceremonial centers diminished, the Maya continued to be a diverse and thriving population group in Central America. The

Maya have not disappeared but are relegated to a subordinate position in present day Central America.

The Maya had small settlements in the southern region of Belize. The peninsula served as an area of temporary and permanent small settlements set up for the extraction of resources. Maya coastal activity but not coastal settlement began in the Early Classic period on the coast of Belize. Throughout the Classic and Early Post-classic periods coastal traffic in small canoes remained close to the mainland but in the Late Post-classic, long distance trade moved further from the mainland to the outer edge of the barrier reef in central and southern Belize. The major focus of coastal activity was the procurement of resources without evidence of permanent habitation on Placencia Caye and the Rum Point Airstrip Site, where lagoon conch and oyster shells were processed into lime in the Classic period (MacKinnon, 1989). There is evidence during the Early Classic period of the nearest and most likely home base to be at Chacben Kax for the Maya working on Placencia lagoon and participating in sea trade at Placencia Caye. Saltmaking sites have been found on Placencia and other nearby lagoons and Terminal Classic shards have been found on False and Placencia Cayes.

By the Early Post-Classic Era the lagoon salt making sites cease to function and all activity moves to the cayes previously mentioned. Both of the cayes lay adjacent to the peninsula. There is evidence for the first permanent coastal habitation on the shore facing the ocean on the lower quarter of the peninsula. As Placencia Caye shows a decrease in activity, a new large permanent settlement was established opposite the cayes at the southern tip of Point Placencia where modern Placencia village is today. Thus the

peninsula and its surrounding lagoons and cayes were utilized for resource extraction by the Maya long before European contact.

MacKinnon (1989) suggests coastal activity and later coastal settlement followed rather than preceded inland developments. Coastal settlement indicates that salt, lime and clay were extracted from coastal sites but not ritual items or basic marine food resources. However workers at coastal production sites supplemented their diet with fish and shellfish. The Maya were the first to utilize the peninsula for trade and resource extraction and today clay pottery shards can still be found due to building, soil erosion and the constant human contact that continues on the peninsula as a reminder of the dynamic and fluid changes in space and organization.

The peninsula today consists of the Garifuna, the Creole and expatriates from the United States. The Garifuna and the Creole are located in separate villages located seven miles apart. The census of 1890 indicates the population of Belize to be about 30,000 with approximately 12,000 residing in the Belize District and Belize City. Of this population there were 3000 Black Caribs (Garifuna) who inhabited the southern coastal towns of Punta Gorda and Stann Creek (Dangriga). During this period the Creole population were the dominant group in Belize but were comprised of only 3000 laborers who participated exclusively in the forest industry. The forest industry began in the 17th century by British buccaneers who previously raided Spanish logwood ships in various parts of the Yucatan Peninsula. Buccaneering was suppressed after the Treaty of Madrid in 1667 and this in turn encouraged the shift to logwood extraction and settlement of Belize. The British originally extracted logwood from the Gulf of Campeche (Dobson, 1973) but were eventually expelled by the Spanish in 1717 therefore turning to the Bay of

Honduras for the important resource of logwood. Logwood or (dyewood) was used in the dying of colors such as blacks, blues and purples for the woolen industry in England. Declining prices due to the surplus of logwood and the innovation of synthetic dyes all but stopped the extraction of this resource in Belize. In the early 1800's the settlers had already begun cutting mahogany with the growth of the English luxury furniture industry and soon it became the most important export. By the middle of the 18th century the price of logwood had declined making its extraction less profitable and the European demand for quality furniture all but superseded the extraction of logwood.

The resource extraction was instrumental in the space and land use of the forest industry. Logwood grew in small stands in the many estuarine creeks and swamps that were abundant. Since logwood was abundant and the woodcutters relatively few, territorial division was never a problem. On the other hand mahogany, unlike logwood does not grow in stands but was extensively dispersed in the bush making the distribution of the resource encompassing larger territories. In each of these extraction practices the division of cutting areas became imperative and location laws were enacted allocating boundary demarcations.

In consequence some division of cutting areas became imperative and in 1765-66 a series of resolutions passed by the public meeting, a legislature of the settler's creation, laid down that a prospective cutter could claim a "location" or "work" by building a riverside hut which then gave him claim to 2,000 yard frontage along a river (Ashdown, 1981 p. 36).

In 1787 another resolution of the Public Meeting defined a mahogany work as demarcated by a three-mile riverside frontage which would stretch to the first navigable river or if no such river existed then a distance of eight miles. The territorial limitations were exacerbated in the extraction of mahogany due to the commodity being scattered

over larger territories. From the beginning Spain ignored the presence of the British in her territory but in 1763 however under the Treaty of Paris, she acknowledged the settlers right of cutting, loading and the carrying away of logwood in the Bay of Honduras (Ashdown, 1981). Eventually the area over which this logwood could be cut was defined in 1783 in the treaty of Versailles. The northern area of British Honduras was allocated as the area over which the foresters were allowed to extract logwood but in the London Convention the area was expanded to the Sibun River. Most of the loggers ignored the legal areas for extraction of logwood and began expanding their operations elsewhere frustrating the home government to enforce the Spanish treaty terms. Because most of the timber in the north had been exhausted the Baymen moved south by sea and then inland up the Monkey, the Rio Grande, the Moho and the Sarstoon rivers. At this time the only transportation systems were the waterways, therefore mahogany production was pursued close to rivers where the logs could be floated towards the ocean for export.

In sum the southern region of Belize became open for the extraction of forest products and this in turn facilitated pull factors for the migration of wage labor into the southern region of Belize. Slavery was abolished in the former British Honduras in 1833 but two acts were established in favor of the slave owners. These acts included “a system of apprenticeship calculated to extend their control over the former slaves who were to continue to work for the same masters without pay, and compensation for the former slave owners for their loss of property” (Bolland, 1986 p. 18). Apprenticeship was abolished in 1838 but also Crown land could not be granted. This in turn made it impossible for ex-slaves to acquire land and enhanced the masters of Belize availability to a work force. In 1802 the Black Caribs began migrating to British Honduras from the

Bay Islands in the Gulf of Honduras settling in the Stann Creek District. Eventually more Black Caribs migrated to Belize after Civil War erupted in Honduras. The Caribs were soon employed along with ex-slaves as mahogany cutters.

Those who comprised the forest labor force were not only Caribs and ex-slaves but were the direct descendants of the original slave population and the white Baymen who had entered Belize. The Creole saw themselves and their role in society as employers rather than employed.

This group, which I have elsewhere dubbed for want of a better phrase a Creole aristocracy, appear to have been the senior legitimate branches of the old Baymen families which once creolized, retained their social status by virtue of their occupations as employers and their predilection for stressing their white and British ancestry (Ashdown, 1981 p. 34).

Some of the names of this Creole aristocracy include Hyde, Fariweather, Usher Haylock, Wood, Hulse, Bowen, Burn, Vernon, Goff, Meighan, Price and Ottley (Ashdown, 1981) (See Figure 1.). The ownership and organization of land had changed from the old settler families to representatives of metropolitan interests. Mahogany exploitation in the 1770's required a greater concentration of capital of land and logwood cutters were forced to sell out while some consolidated their holdings with others. This accelerated land holdings in fewer and fewer hands. One of the major consolidated private landholdings was that of the Belize Estate and Produce Company (B.E.C.). In 1886 the company owned 270 miles of river-vine, in 1890 they owned 275 and by 1892, 278 were in the hands of the B.E.C.

The greatest boom in the mahogany trade was between the years of 1835 and 1847 right after emancipation (Bolland, 1988). The rise in production resulted in the cutting of the most accessible trees thus the procurement of very young trees accelerated

an over-exploitation of resources leading to a depletion of mahogany. With the depletion of mahogany resources and the concentration of land in fewer hands many of the old settler families along with the Garifuna sought out new settlement spaces.

With the decline of the timber trade after the mid-nineteenth century another product became established in Belize for export and one of these was the “green gold” (bananas) of Central America. “Banana production for export rapidly expanded in the region in the late 1800’s, the United Fruit Company at first marketing the crops of local producers and establishing a 12,5000 acre estate in Middlesex in Stann Creek valley” (Ashcraft, 1973 p. 58). What began as a promising export product collapsed after 1913 from Panama disease that destroyed the United Fruit’s production of bananas. Small scale producers were unscathed by the disease but with the demise of the United Fruit Company in 1927 the producers were left with no outlet for their crops. Coconuts were also planted in the region but were a volatile crop due to the changing level of metropolitan consumption and also to disease and storms.

The Caribs or Garifuna who had assisted in mahogany production and worked as laborers on plantations settled in the Stann Creek district and began to migrate to their present location of Seine Bight during the second half of the late 19th century. “During the slow decline suffered in the mahogany industry since the late nineteenth century many of these workers left their inland camps to settle a number of very small coastal villages where they became subsistence farmers-fishermen, largely self-sufficient and contributing relatively little to the general economy” (Craig, 1966 p. 62.). This movement to the coastline also coincided with another movement of Black Carib fishermen out of Honduras into the coastal area of southern Belize.

The Island Caribs it is thought came into being after moving from their Amazonian River valleys to trade with the Arawak speaking groups who were living in the Lesser Antilles. Africans slaves that either formed maroon communities or survived shipwrecks eventually came into contact with the Island Caribs on the island of Saint Vincent. During the eighteenth century the population grew rapidly due to runaway slaves from sugar producing islands. In anthropological literature they are know as the Black Caribs however over time a syncretic culture emerged known as the Garifuna. Resistant to European efforts of production on the island, the Garifuna were deported in 1795 to the island of Roatan off the coast of Honduras. Eventually they migrated along the coastline of Central America where they established small settlements. The Garifuna entered Belize at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Today Garifuna communities are found between Dangriga in the Stann Creek district and central Nicaragua, with the majority being located along the coast of Honduras (Davidson, 1976).

Caribs began journeying to Belize as early as 1802 for work in the British woodworks and to bring back goods for sale in Honduras (Burdon, 1933 p. 57). In 1807 England abolished the slave trade from Africa but slavery in Belize and woodcutters found that labor became impossible to attain. Since the labor force was not enlarging the Caribs were quickly hired for woodcutters in Deep River and in Stann Creek (now Dangriga). Methodist missionaries found the Garifuna well established in Stann Creek and Punta Gorda by 1830. In the 1800's the Garifuna had settlements in Middle River, Commerce Bight and Redcliff (Barranco) (Gonzalez, 1988). Today the Garifuna inhabit five villages in Belize. According to oral history the village of Seine Bight received its name by the French having settlements for fishing where they would set their nets

(seines) in (bights) along the coast. According to Robinson, 1988, one of the first European groups in Belize was a colony of Frenchmen who fled from Santa Domingue (Haiti) after hostilities emerged in the 1790's. The Frenchmen who entered Belize had spent some 15 years in Jamaica prior to settling in Belize in 1810 and asserted that Belize offered better chances for success than did Jamaica. The community was not a poor one. "Competition for certain public offices and involvement in money lending also suggest economic success, a success which attracted further French migration to their own village of New Orleans" (Everitt, 1986 p. 39). While it is only speculation at present the French were in Belize and it is not unlikely that they traveled up and down the coastline in search of a permanent settlement. Although the French may have set up camp for fishing there is no evidence to date that suggests the French had a permanent settlement on the peninsula. Two villages today exist in northern Belize with the French names of New Orleans and Louisville.

According to informants the village of Seine Bight was established in 1869. The Garifuna grew bananas for export in the Stann Creek area but on a limited scale as a cash crop (Ashdown, 1981). Other Garifuna engaged in hired labor in the southern banana plantations or could be found as seamen on coastal craft. Marcelino Augustine one of the first inhabitants bought the property where Seine Bight is located today and named it Augustine village. Imanuel Moreira and his brother-in-law settled south of Seine Bight in an area called Santuario. The name of Augustine is listed in Nancie Gonzalez list of present-day Garifuna names and Moreira is listed in her names of Garifuna who in 1982 lived in Trujillo, Honduras. While names may not indicate the migration of individuals to a new area they can at least display a form of Garifuna continuity through the

establishment of family names. The Garifuna migrated from Honduras and Stann Creek Town (Dangriga) and settled in Augustine village (present day Seine Bight). The first inhabitants of Seine Bight fished and performed agriculture on the opposite side of the lagoon because the peninsula soil is not conducive for agriculture. In order to access fertile land the Garifuna would cross the lagoon by dugout canoe to Jenkins Creek and walked nine miles to grow crops. The site was called Kalifornia and today is near Georgetown (named after George Price the Prime Minister) a Garifuna village established by George Price the Prime Minister, after Hurricane Haiti destroyed many coastal settlements in 1961.

Many of the Garifuna of Seine Bight had large farms and grew bananas, corn, plantain, coco (a vegetable used in soup), sweet potatoes and yams. In the 1920's and 1930's people fished and performed agriculture. The men would carry heavy loads on their backs and would stay for approximately three days in Kalifornia. Women in the village at times would accompany their husbands to the fields but many stayed home to take care of the children and fish. Fishing in Seine Bight has not been commercial as it was in Placencia. The first church built in this community was a high thatch building made of palmetto palms. During this period Seine Bight was the larger of the two villages, and had the only church, store and school on the peninsula.

On September 10, 1931 a hurricane arrived on the peninsula all but destroying the village with 90% of the homes and building structures demolished. At this time homes were constructed of thatch roofs, palmettos sides with dirt floors. In 1961 Hurricane Haiti destroyed much of Belize including Seine Bight. George Price offered people farmland, schools for their children and health care to people of Seine Bight if they would

settle in Georgetown. Between 1963 and 1964 about 45 families moved inland to Georgetown.

The shared history of the peninsula through environmental forces takes on different meanings across space. The semiotics of stories serves as a means to the discovery of conflict and the antagonism between groups and within groups. Interpretations of events display more than just differences in oral tradition but encourage the spatial distinctiveness of groups. A devastating event occurred in Seine Bight after Hurricane Haiti in the 1960's. Drifting in the sea, a barrel of benzene rolled up and became stationary on the beach. One individual found the keg and took it to his father. The father thought the liquid to be whiskey and announced to friends and the people of the village of the prize he had found. People gathered to enjoy the whiskey on the beach wherein approximately 80 people came together for the festivities. About 20-30 people drank the so-called whiskey. All of a sudden people became ill and about 10 of the drinkers died in the same hour. When it was recognized that people were dying from the drink, Dangriga was radioed for assistance and transportation. At this time there was not a road on the peninsula and all transportation was by boat. The people moved to the pier where they waited for the boat to take them to the hospital. The boat arrived from Dangriga with medical personnel, a doctor and a nurse to assist patients. Before the boat arrived in Seine Bight people were asked if they had drank any of the liquid and many people replied "no." Many of the drinkers stayed behind and when the boat arrived at False Caye which lays adjacent to Seine Bight on the ocean side those who stayed behind on the peninsula began to die as soon as the boat reached the cay. Only 8 people who drank the benzene lived through the poisonous event but were left with physical defects.

The interpretations of this incident are manifested in the different interpretations given by Creole's and Garifuna. For example an informant from the village of Seine Bight stated the government fed them poison bread after the hurricane. Whereas an informant in Placencia stated that two Garifuna found the barrel of benzene on False Caye and attempted to keep their find secret from others in the village. The interpretation of the incident from Placencia is in direct opposition to the practice of fidelity in which the Garifuna employ among each other. In the past the fidelity system acted as a form of reciprocity in that if one had needed a hectare of land cleared and another helped then this favor would be reciprocated in the same or another form. Today the fidelity system takes on a new form coincident with the economic system. An informant stated "There are valid favors and invalid favors. For example let's say you want to breakdown a house for one thousand dollars. You ask around for someone who can do it for eight hundred dollars then you come back and say eight hundred dollars, and he says one hundred fifty dollars." This statement on the surface does not seem like a form of reciprocity however when examined under the rubric of Garifuna culture and their marginalized experience the passage has meaning. The history of the Garifuna people has been one of conquest and colonialization. Forced to migrate from St. Vincent to the island of Roatan because of their resistance to productive forces the Garifuna have yielded many practical forms of self-awareness and acknowledgement of their value. One of these is the fidelity system.

The fidelity system is a system of reciprocity that enables the group to survive. The system acts as a reinforcement of the Garifuna's economic value outside the village. For example the bid goes out at the standard rate for (Belizeans) the deconstruction of the home yet the standard rate for home deconstruction is much more than the typical

Garifuna can afford. The allegiance to the group becomes salient in the fidelity system that not only provides services but also acts as a mechanism to enhance group cohesion and implies allegiance, fealty, loyalty and devotion to the group rather than the individual. The Garifuna is a new ethnic group composed of marooned slaves and Carib Indians. Each group was subjected to new productive practices with the onslaught of the colonialization process but never fully incorporated into the system of plantation labor and exploitation. For example the Garifuna proudly state "that they were never slaves." While marginalized from the beginning of the emergence of their syncretic culture the fidelity system is not only a way for group cohesion but is incorporated in their world-view. Modern forces continue to penetrate village life however some basic modern features are well received in the village.

The Seine Bight water reservoir was built in 1994 whereas previously the water was supplied by wells. In the past most supplies came from England and the United States. According to the elderly people Seine Bight was only 150 meters wide and the sea and lagoon met. In 1984 the first telephone entered the village and the first road was built in 1986 on the peninsula. Before the road all supplies were brought by boat. In the late 1990's electricity arrived in the village and gone is the sound of generators that provided the only current for several business establishments in the village.

One of the earliest Creole villages in Belize, Placencia is located in the Stann Creek District. This village lies at the tip of a peninsula that juts into the Caribbean Sea surrounded by water from both sides. With the Caribbean sun rising on the side of the ocean the mornings are an awakening at the moment of daybreak. The sun in the Caribbean rises with such voracity villagers awake early to begin their day. Today

Placencia is a village based on tourism and adjusting to the dynamic economic and political arenas. Descendants of African and Anglo heritage, they form a distinct ethnic group. The population ranges in color anywhere from dark to light skin, yet interact as a bordered status group. Rather it is the political and economic struggle over time and space that bond the people of Placencia. Ethnicity identity form has and is bound to the very changing dynamics with the change of the mode of production. Isolated from the declining logwood industry some of the Creole moved to the interior. Other Creole's moved to regions that were less occupied and where the land could be utilized for their own consumption. This change of space was not a voluntary act but a change in the distribution of land through governmental policies that were implemented. Changing landscape, through the encroachment of an expanding and contracting political and economic system shifted cultural boundary demarcations over space and time.

Placencia and Seine Bight while occupying the same physical environment performed separate tasks for resource extraction. The separate methods of resource extraction and procurement allowed the distinct cultural and ethnic configurations to emerge. According to Bolland 1988, evidence exists of maroon communities in Belize during the time of slavery however the evidence is based on a reference in 1816 that a maroon community existed near the Sibun River. Today a tributary of the Sibun River flows northeast out of the Maya Mountains is still called Runaway Creek. The exact location of these maroon communities has never been documented. Most of the Creole villages were established late in the 19th century. Due to the lack of roads until the 1930's, the Creole villages were mostly located on the coast (such as Placencia) or near a river (Bolland, 1988). Placencia has had several names over the years including Punta.

Pasiencia, Patience Point (de Cotilla, 1753) and Placentia. While names are not a reliable indicator of settlement patterns, we could assert that different groups used this peninsula as a refuge during times of bad weather. Placencia lies adjacent to Placencia Caye and this small mangrove island acts as natural protection from rough seas during times of turbulent weather. This natural harbor is still utilized today by boats sailing up and down the Central American coastline. During periods of rough seas and bad weather it is not unusual to see as many as fifteen sailboats or more anchored snugly between Placencia Caye and the peninsula.

Winzerling (1946) suggests that the Puritans of the Providence Company who occupied the island of Providence off the coast of Honduras may have settled Placencia. The Puritans first established themselves on the island of Providence, but they found the soil worthless for agriculture. In 1631 they moved to the island of Tortuga and found it was too exposed for an attack from the Spanish. Eventually they established themselves on the Cockscomb Coast, now the Stann Creek District of Belize, where they were safe from attack by the Spanish and the soil was fertile. Little evidence supports his claim at present, however archaeological evidence indicates that permanent settlement was established in the early 1800's (MacKinnon, 1989). Archaeological evidence does not suggest that Placencia was a Puritan settlement however because of the name of Point Patience we could infer that the Puritans were aware of this peninsula and the availability of its natural harbor in times of bad weather.

Because little documented evidence for the origin of Placencia exists, I interviewed older members of the village to learn the village history (See Figure 1). According to one of the oldest members of the village, the physical appearance was once

very different. In the early 1900's Placencia had many large trees which had to be cut down. When the first people came to Placencia the environment looked very different in that paths had to be cut because of the abundant vegetation. At this time there were four or five families in the village.

The homes were constructed of thatch and wood and were much smaller than the ones they have today. With the specialization of fishing, incomes increased which enabled the villagers to construct homes of wood with tin roofs. At this time, there was not a church, school, tavern, or store. They had to go to the Garifuna village of Siene Bight to shop and to attend school. Since the completion of the road to Placencia in the late 1980's, concrete blocks can be transported via truck into the village. With the improvement of the road, several villagers have used concrete blocks in the construction of their homes.

The early villager's raised pigs, fished, grew coconut palms, and captured turtles. Today, most families still fish for their own consumption and participate in minimal animal husbandry. Sometimes chicken and pork is purchased outside the market channels. As explained by an informant, "People in the village buy fish from the cooperative but usually someone in their family fishes."

The economy once was more general, and there were several ways in which members of a family could support themselves. They would get kerosene cans from the lighthouse and wash them out in order to store coconut oil. Then they would take this oil to market either in Belize City or Punta Gorda. One could sail to Punta Gorda in four to six hours, depending on the wind. They used boats with one mast, a jib, and a triangular main sail.

In the beginning of the village history men would go out to the cayes for several weeks, set up camp and fish. The fish was salted and dried in the sun for preservation and then sold in Punta Gorda, Stann Creek Town and Sittee River. The Placencians did not make their own salt but bought it for 75 cents a sack. They would go to Punta Gorda to sell the fish and buy supplies. Most of the time the owners of the stores would not pay the total amount in cash but only half and the other half in exchange for goods such as flour, sugar, and clothe. As an elderly villager said, "It was okay because we had to buy goods anyway." This transaction, of course, gave the owners of the stores a guaranteed supply of fish.

One informant planted coconut trees from which he could get 1000 coconuts but Hurricane Hattie (October, 1961) destroyed all of them. The gentleman had a dory boat about 28 feet long, 7 feet deep and 7 feet wide in which about 6000 coconuts could be carried. Many times he would put his coconuts in the dory and freight other villagers' coconuts to Belize City to sell them. It would take him around twelve hours to sail to Belize City. According to an informant, "in 1936 Placencia was really a fishing village."

In sum, the people of Placencia always fished for their own consumption and a limited local market. But Placencia did not totally depend on fishing. Through animal husbandry, small-scale agriculture, and fishing, the villagers were able to combine income-producing activities.

The women of Placencia have also been instrumental in the economic and historical development of the village. In an interview, a woman spoke of her mother and said, "Mom made cashew wine and guava jelly to sell, and also made coconut oil to sell." Other women contributed to the family income by making bread and light cake. Several

of the elderly women of the village told me that on occasion they used to fish with their husbands. Today it is a rare exception for women to do this.

With the change from fishing to tourism, women are now entering the formal work place. As stated by an informant, "difference is now women have to work. When Coop dropped off, women took to working." Some of the women work in restaurants waiting tables or perform domestic work in one of the small hotels. Others work as cooks and bartenders. Women also participate in an informal economy by washing clothes and preparing meals for tourists outside of restaurants or the formalized channels.

Fishing in Placencia

On June 20, 1962, the fishermen of Placencia registered their cooperative with the government, but this endeavor was short lived and a permanent organization was not developed until 1967. Once the cooperative and its facilities were established in the village, most of the money made in fishing circulated in the village. According to villagers, this led to an increase in the standard of living and has provided some of the capital to build facilities for tourists. In 1965, small freezing facilities were installed which enabled the fishermen to produce for a wider market. Booth Fisheries financed and built a modern freezing plant in Placencia that was operated by the Placencia Cooperative. This company owned freezer ships that served the shrimp operations in Nicaragua. The ships picked up lobster in Placencia and delivered it to a distribution center in Brownsville, Texas.

The Cooperative became a legal entity in October 1970. With the official registration of the association, the fishermen were in a better position to implement

policies that were in their interest. According to the 1973 Annual Report of Placencia's Cooperative, some of the achievements were:

1. Obtained government and army action to clear the Emily Pact.
2. Obtained government action to cancel the the exclusive license of Mr. A. Smith to export shrimp from Belize and to have it granted to local fishermen instead.
3. Secure the right to fish for and export fish, conch, lobster and turtle for nationals of this country.
4. At the Advisory Board level, obtained verbal approval from the Minister of Natural Resources to set lobster traps 14 days before the date the season is to open until the proper legislation is passed.
5. Fought against a conch quota of 550,000 pounds. The case was presented and dropped.

The fishermen of Placencia, through the formation of the Cooperative, were now able to take complete control of fishing in the village. It is also important to note that the fishermen's political activity began as early as the 1940's with the rise of nationalism, which hoped to secure a better life for all people of Belize. These actions are important because they represent a movement in class solidarity through the formation of the cooperative. Thus, with the industry in the fishermen's hands they were able to fight against quotas and extend seasonal limits for the high valued items . The high valued products of lobster, conch, and shrimp all show a negative percentage rate of change in pounds caught. While the control was in the hands of the fishermen the Cooperative was not able to control over-fishing nor poaching.

In the beginning of the Cooperative's operation, interest-free advances were made by the Cooperative board to its members. These advances ranged from \$5.00 to \$200.00 in the form of store credits, motors, or dories. This practice was discontinued in 1971. The committee would consider an interest-bearing loan if an item such as a dory, motor boat, or other fishing equipment was needed but advances were no longer given. The

local technologies were, or tended to be, labor intensive rather than capital intensive and provided employment not only for fishermen, but for boat craftsmen, net makers, and family members. Today boats, motors, and nets are imported from the United States and Mexico. In the past family members were involved in the catching and salting of the fish, whereas today family members are involved in several income-producing activities. Fishing, since the formation of the cooperative, is mainly a male activity.

Placencia, with the aid of outside donors such as Canada and the United States, has been successful in exporting its products, mainly to the United States. Production has increased due to new technologies introduced by outside agencies. Gillnets and motors enabled fishermen to expand their territory. The improvement in technology, though initially beneficial in production, has led to the decline of marine resources by improving harvest efficiency. The lowest percentage change is in lobster price per pound over a fifteen-year period. The conch catch shows the highest percentage increase in price per pound and also the highest percentage decrease in pounds caught in a fourteen year period. Shrimp production, though only recorded for a nine-year period, also shows a decrease of 22% in pounds caught. Fish filet in a twelve-year period shows a 51% decrease in pounds caught. The only product that does not show a decrease in pounds is whole fish with the largest percentage of increase in pounds and sales over a thirteen-year period. Whole fish continues to show an increase in percentage of pounds caught but this trend may not last indefinitely for as other marine products continue to show decreases, whole fish will most likely become the next product to be overexploited. The price paid for whole fish is less than other marine products.

To increase lobster production, the Cooperative decided to emphasize lobster traps in deeper water. As a Cooperative member shared at the annual meeting, "the younger members will have to adapt to new, more efficient methods as skin-diving has too many disadvantages to make it a reliable means of increasing production" (Placencia Producers Cooperative Annual Report, 1981).

For the fishermen to exploit the waters of Belize, they must keep their boats, motors, and nets in good repair. The government gives the cooperatives duty exemption on fishing boats, motors, and plant equipment. However, many times boats or motors need repair and the necessary parts are unavailable. Malfunctions in equipment, motors, or the ice machine can lead to a loss of production. For example, one gentleman complained about not being able to get a crankshaft even though he had paid a percentage of the cost in advance. Since there were none available in Belize City, he had to wait until the next shipment arrived from abroad. In the fiscal year 1970-71, mistakes made during the installation of an ice-machine and the repairs incurred hurt the cooperative considerably because of having to purchase ice while the machine was out of order. Malfunctions in equipment affected cooperative production in 1978, when shrimp showed a reduction due to engine failure and the lack of available parts. This resulted in a 40% loss in shrimp production, which amounted to \$97,000.00. Again in 1990 the Cooperative was not able to produce ice due to a malfunction in the ice machine.

Production levels are not only affected by the lack of a national diversified economy but also by fishermen entering into illegal trade. Production levels for the fiscal year of 1980-1981 declined. Many of the villagers blame this on local fishermen entering into illegal trade and alien poachers. Fears abound that Belize will be "fished out," as has

already occurred in many Caribbean countries. According to several informants, the "overfishing reality" of the reefs has facilitated the change of economic structure toward one of tourism. These fears are not unwarranted. As one informant explained, "the depletion of the fish is the biggest social change in Placencia."

In 1987 a serious decline in production began and, according to the 1987 Annual Report, attention needed to be brought to

1. The serious decline in production especially your two main products - lobster, conch. A positive reason for this is that your Cooperative has too many part-time producers.
2. Some of your badly needed members are engaged in other types of businesses other than producing for the Society (Placencia Producers Cooperative Annual Report, 1987).

Many of the fishermen have turned to part-time fishing. The rate of change for part-time cooperative producers in twelve years is 105 percent, whereas the rate of change for full-time producers in twelve years is just 14 percent. Cooperative membership also shows a substantial increase of 63 percent. The Placencia Fishermen Cooperative also has members which are active participants but do not produce. This category has an increase of 88 percent in twelve years.

On December 24, 1993 the Placencia Fishermen's Cooperative closed for lack of available funds to pay the electricity bill. In 1993 electricity was brought in from the mainland, whereas before 1993 two diesel generators run by the Cooperative supplied all the electricity in the village. Because the Cooperative makes ice not only for the fishermen but for all the businesses in the village, most restaurants and bars were crippled during the busiest tourist week. On January 7, 1994 the Cooperative held a public meeting and decided to close the processing plant. The cost of the electricity to run the

plant had become unprofitable. Because the Cooperative makes ice for most of the village, it was decided to continue this service. Furthermore the fishermen are allowed to purchase ice for 10 cents a bag whereas other patrons are charged 25 cents a bag.

Placencia has experienced changes due to external forces and a dependence on external technological inputs. This dependence thus ties the village to an international seafood market that in turn dictates the patterns of exploitation.

The change of technology has led to Placencia's dependence to an even greater extent on the core, and the dependence is leading to the depletion of natural resources. As Cockcroft and Frank (1972 p. 23) state, "The technological invention of better means of transportation, more efficient productive processes or bigger mills and factories; all these have generated sudden export booms" which after exhausting natural resources, "no longer permit any sustained development" (Cockcroft and Frank, 1972 p. 24). Thus Placencia, with the introduction of motorized boats and refrigeration, has been able to exploit the marine life with more efficiency, therefore exhausting marine products such as lobster, conch, and shrimp. In Placencia, the villagers are turning to tourism as an alternate form of development and beginning to depend even more heavily on the core due to the depletion of the fishing grounds.

The people of Placencia are not idle bystanders in this transformation. Class relations in Placencia, like those all over the world, are not static but dynamic and constantly changing from one given set of relations to another. The people of Placencia are not blind to this encroachment but are constantly acting on their world by the choices they are making. The history of fishing in Belize has been productive and simultaneously tied the village of Placencia to an international seafood market. The fishing cooperatives

of Belize were successful in the extraction of resources and allowed the accumulation of capital so villagers were able to enter the tourism industry.

In sum, the peninsula has been used over time by many groups either traveling along the coast in securing temporary shelter and or settlement. In search of conquest or riches the peninsula was a point of diffusion and changing settlement space. With access to a harbor many travelers along the coast of Central America sought refuge. The changing mode of production and the over exploitation of mahogany in the north of Belize pushed and pulled different groups into the southern region. Thus the southern spatial arrangement of Belize can be seen as dynamic and fluctuating as different groups procured resources. With the decline of forestry and rising metropolitan interests many of the early settlers were pushed to marginal lands. Here they were able to fish, hunt and perform animal husbandry in order to support their families. The Garifuna and the Creole while living only seven miles apart on the peninsula were able to maintain boundaries not only culturally but also in their mode of production. The Garifuna grew staple products for their own consumption and a limited local market and periodically would work hourly wage positions on the near-by plantations. The Creole fished for a limited market and grew coconut palms for the oil to be sold in Punta Gorda or Belize City. The fishing cooperative in Placencia has aided the Creole population in the tourism industry. As I will discuss later tourism has become the main industry on the peninsula today bringing the tourist dollar to Seine Bight and Placencia.

CHAPTER 4

THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENT AND HYPOTHESES

In order to understand the tourist activity in Belize is to acknowledge the spatial aspects of development and that this space not only contains actions but also meaningful objects to which individuals orient their actions. Space constitutes a part of social relations and people alter space while simultaneously constructing new environments in order to meet their needs. The settlement spaces are linked to the global system of capitalism. Economic and political decisions are made at the metropolitan, national and international levels and influence the well being of local areas. With this in mind, settlement spaces are meaningful in that everyday life is organized according to cultural symbols and material objects in the environment. Attitudes toward tourism are shaped by the social structures that constrain or enhance interactions between tourists and destination communities. At the micro level however, the interaction between the tourist and host can be seen as relationship based on conflict. Conflict theory posits that individuals and groups compete with each other for scarce resources. Marx identified two classes engaged in struggle over control over resources. However Weber elaborated this classic Marxian notion to involve a multiple dimension model of class. Weber suggests that formation of multiple classes is conditional on inter-organizational communication. In addition, the state consistently holds the potential for coercion. Thus, the individual's experience of conflict is molded by his/her perception of the power of state, the symbolic meaning of belongingness to social organizations such as class and

ethnicity, and one's own vested interest in either protecting valuable assets / wealth or accumulating essential goods and services. The arrival of tourists increases the likelihood of contact between the host population and tourists. The tourists compete for available resources in the host locality. In order to make the system work groups have to accept the legitimate use of power. The negotiation of power between the tourists and the host population then forms the basis of attitudes toward tourism. In sum, then, conflict theory suggests that host attitudes are likely to be influenced by the perception of use value in local resources such as the environment, the extent of contact with tourists, recognition of ethnic identities, and class affiliations.

There are some features of tourism that affect all destination communities in one way or the other. These include the transient nature of tourism and the unequal relationship between tourists and residents in the host community. Because tourists can afford to buy services in which the local community is dependent tourists sometimes think they can denigrate the resident population. On the other hand because the residents have the local knowledge and services, it is easy for them to exploit the tourists.

One of the most salient features of the tourist-host encounter is the desire of the tourists for a temporary change. They seek to escape their daily routines from the constraint of time and place. The process of escape is facilitated by anonymity and if only temporarily they can shed their everyday status. Strange dress and weakening inhibitions are many times accompanied by behavior that would not be tolerated at home. Sometimes tourists can become drunken, loud, lecherous and downright rude. The contact between the tourists and residents provides a social context to realize the differences in values, morals and expectations. The perceptions of the differences

however are grounded in the real as opposed to imagined contacts and relations. The opportunity of knowing tourists increases with an increase in tourist contacts. As contact increases resident's experiences are either negative or positive depending on the nature of contact and level of mutually satisfying and reciprocal relationships. The residents negative experiences often are carried through inter organizational channels, either social or political, and are often resolved. Thus, the possibilities for negative characterization of tourists is likely to be grounded on unsubstantiated reports and myths about tourists

Because their very livelihoods depend on tourism residents in the community must come to terms with tourist's difficult behavior. While tourism may cause conflict or resistance (Key, 1994) it can also act as a catalyst for promoting self-awareness, pride, self-confidence and solidarity among those being visited (Bossevain, 1992 and Sofield 1991). As noted by Smith (1989) the Kotzebue Eskimo upon noticing the horrified reactions of tourists to their fish-drying and butchering practices that some tourists come to confirm their own superiority. This negative reaction from outsiders in turn helps the communities to reaffirm themselves through the preservation of their crafts and rituals. The tourist attention alongside the rising revenues has given communities the confidence and leverage to bargain for more rights from superior authorities. Thus it is likely that with an increase in contact, residents are more likely to develop a positive attitude toward tourists.

a) Hypothesis: As tourist contacts increase resident's attitudes are more likely to be positive.

Classes are economic groups determined by the productive forces in societies that operate consciously to optimize their economic interests. Individuals may use multiple

identities in order to enhance their life chances. It is within this triad of social relations that ethnicity, culture and or class are given allegiance by an individual. An individual while maintaining several allegiances will seek to balance or reconcile the varying interests of the separate allegiances. Thus individuals will want the various allegiances to harmonize with one another wherever possible, however, when faced with a conflict between allegiances they will operate in one of several ways. The choice of allegiance will be based on the allegiance that has the least conflict, the allegiance that optimizes the individual's interests in material and social gains.

Modern tourism is a complex global, ecological, economic and political system. The system is centrifugal that is expanding outward from developed countries and is expanding into new areas and pristine environments. The center of the global tourism system is located in the developed countries that are the tourist generating centers (Williams and Zelinsky, 1970). The system is penetrating into the most remote inaccessible regions in least developed countries and in Polar Regions (Leach, 1973, Cohen 1979a, Reich, 1980). The socio-economics of the system rests on a group of national and increasingly transnational corporate actors, governmental and intergovernmental agencies such as travel companies, travel agencies, airlines, tour operators, hotel chains and international travel organizations such as the international Association of Travel Agents. Studies of the major corporate actors on the global scene indicate metropolitan domination of the tourist industry (Matthews, 1978). The tourist industry is becoming more and more internationalized. Thus the structure of the tourist industry on the global level has important consequences at the national and local levels in the destination countries.

The study of tourism on the local and regional level revealed the dynamics of the tourist system. Tourism began to be seen as an industry when introduced into local communities that followed certain stages. The nature of tourism is a process in that tourism “creates a type of cumulative causation and ultimately a new economic base” (Forster, 1964 p. 218). Noronha (1977) developed a model of the development of tourism that consists of three stages: I. discovery; II. local response and initiative; and III. the institutionalization of tourism. The model is based on the assumption that tourism in a new area develops spontaneously and is based on local initiatives. As time passes local resources are insufficient to support further growth until the larger political and economic authorities intercede when the control passes into the hands of outsiders. Eventually facilities become bigger and standards upgraded. The local community begins to lose control and their relative share in the benefits tourism brings.

The local communities under the tourism industry become increasingly involved in the wider national and international systems. The community begins to depend more and more on external factors over which it has no control. Tourism’s impact on the social organization in remote areas can be tremendous. Economic gain among the residents can take on a prominent place in the resident attitudes and relationships among themselves. Tourism promotes a change in the stratification system by placing a greater emphasis on the economic sphere of life rather than on traditional spheres of life such as a person’s origin or status.

The use of local resources because of the new uses as promoted by the tourist industry may produce economic changes in some individuals including local elites and land may begin to acquire considerable value. The most salient feature of tourism is its

association with the local stratification system. Hence it facilitates the social disparities and widens the span of the local stratification system.

b) Hypothesis: Attitudes toward tourism will vary with the socio-economic status of the residents. Members of high socio economic status are more likely to have more positive attitudes toward tourism than members of low socio-economic status.

During the last several decades a number of studies have examined the impact of tourism development on the environment including biodiversity, erosion, pollution, and degradation of other natural resources (Stonich, 1998). Environmental degradation may emanate from erosion, sediment discharge due to site clearing, the lack of solid waste and treatment facilities, coastal zone destruction such as mangrove removal, beach deterioration and coral reef damage (Vega et al, 1993). These studies suggest that adverse environmental deterioration have negative consequences to all regardless of class, gender and ethnic affinities. Environmental degradation is identified with tourism. In countries such as Fiji, scarce resources such as water and land are utilized to provide the tourists with recreational facilities thus exhausting the water table. For example in Placencia and Seine Bight in Belize, increases in tourist arrivals have resulted in an increase in the number of lodging facilities for tourists. The changing landscape caused by lodging facilities, land clearing, erosion, overextended septic systems, mangrove destruction has altered the appearance of the peninsula.

Eco-tourism is by definition travelling to an undisturbed and pristine natural environment with the objective of studying, admiring and enjoying the scenery with its wild plants and animals. Eventually this definition of eco-tourism changed because of the lack of concern about the host country's needs, leading to an addition of conserving

natural environments and the well-being of local people through responsible travel.

Belize has pursued development through eco-tourism. A large number of groups have a stake in the protection of environment.

In Belize tourism expanded at a fast rate. Belize became synonymous with eco-tourism in the 1980's (Patullo, 1996) thus the environment became objectified as a product for sale. The commodification of the environment has led to both good and bad eco-practices. With the arrival of more tourists increasing pressure has been put on the coral reefs and has led to a series of environmental problems. This has led to an increase in the awareness of the use value of local environmental resources. As a result a large number of stake-holders who are conscious and aware of the consequences of environmental degradation are likely to perceive the long and short term costs of tourism.

c) Hypothesis: Those who have high levels of information on the local environment are more likely to have high levels of negative attitudes toward tourism than those who have low levels of information on the local environment.

Tourism may also have an impact on ethnic balance and relations in a community. For example in Nepal, the Sherpa were preferred guides in mountain climbing and the favoritism exhibited by tourists served to alter relations between the Sherpa and other ethnic groups in the region. The impact of tourism on local ethnic structures can be less direct. In Kenya for example Isaac Sindiga (1996) found that one ethnic group became increasingly marginal within its regional economy refusing to participate in the tourism industry. Tourism can also lead to the removal of both ecological and psychological constraints among ethnic groups. For example, Gamper (1981) found that two separate

ethnic groups in Austria are cooperating and competing within the same ecological niche of tourism.

In order to understand ethnic group's attitudes toward tourism, it is important to understand the role of ethnic stratification in tourist – host relationships. We can assume that humans have a variety of group allegiances and sometimes these allegiances overlap, coincide and conflict with each other as humans seek to maximize their survival chances in the societies where they live. One of the group allegiances can be categorized as ethnicity. Rather than concentrating on cultural objects the focus will be on the fact that a given ethnic attribute can change depending on the circumstances. According to Patterson we can define ethnicity as follows:

the condition where in certain members of a society, in a given social context choose to emphasize as their most meaningful basis a primary, extra-familial identity certain assumed cultural, national or somatic traits (Patterson, 1975 p. 308).

The members of an ethnic group may reside in a single nation or cut across several national boundaries. An ethnic group can only exist where members choose to be part of that group and have a conscious sense of belonging.

It is important to differentiate a cultural group from an ethnic group. A group in a society that consciously or unconsciously share identifiable matrix of meanings, symbols, values and norms may be considered a cultural group. Cultural groups differ from ethnic groups in that there does not need to be a conscious awareness of belonging to the group. Cultural groups can also be observed and are a verifiable social phenomenon. A cultural group then can become an ethnic group or at least segments of it, only when the conditions of ethnicity are met.

Several studies on ethnic relations suggest that the process of societal conflict is influenced by ethnic stratification systems. In order to understand ethnic stratification systems it is important to consider the simple distinctions between ranked and unranked ethnic groups. The distinction between ranked and unranked is based in the former on a hierarchical ordering and the later on a parallel ordering. Depending on the ordering of the ethnic groups, conflict will take different courses. For example in stratified ranked systems mobility such as in political, economic and social status tend to be cumulative so that members in one group are subordinated and in the other group superordinate.. Max Weber addressed the distinction between ranked and unranked systems. It must be noted here that Weber uses the term caste structure to refer to hierarchical ordered groups and ethnic coexistence to refer to parallel groups. As stated by Weber,

the caste structure transforms the horizontal and unconnected coexistences of ethnically segregated groups into vertical social system of super- and subordination. Correctly formulated: a comprehensive societalization integrates the ethnically divided communities into specific political and communal action. In their consequences they differ precisely in this way: ethnic coexistences condition a mutual repulsion and disdain but allow ethnic community to consider its own honor as the highest one; the caste structure brings about a social subordination and an acknowledgement of “more honor” in favor of the privileged caste and status groups (Weber, 1958 p. 189).

For Weber then the distribution of honor or prestige is a key difference. In ranked systems the distribution of honor and prestige is unequal and reinforced by prescriptions and prohibitions. On the other hand in unranked systems a group’s honor and prestige is always uncertain. In unranked systems or parallel systems, ethnic groups co-exist and within each group there is internal stratification. The groups are not necessarily ranked in relation to one another. Thus from one domain to another the ethnic groups exist without

one being subordinate or super-ordinate. These differences play a crucial role in moderating the conflict between tourists and residents. Consequently, ethnicity is a theoretically crucial variable in explaining attitudes toward tourism among residents.

d) Hypothesis: There will be a difference in attitudes towards tourism based on ethnicity.

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

The research in Belize, Central America in the village of Placencia began in December 1991 and has continued periodically over the course of 11 years into the year of 2001. The research site is in the seaside villages of Seine Bight and Placencia. Belize the only English speaking country in Central America is bordered to the north by Mexico to the west and south by Guatemala and to the east by the Caribbean Sea. Belize gained its independence from England in 1981 and has pursued several forms of development. Tourism has been a high priority for the government of Belize and has emerged as the second leading revenue producer in the country. The southern region receives approximately 163 inches of rain a year. Ten to fifteen miles from the shore lay a coral ridge that extends all along the coastline. These coral islands along this inner reef are known as cayes. A few miles seaward of this chain is another coral reef, the barrier reef the largest live reef in the world. The barrier reef, bays, lagoons and offshore islands comprise the features of the environment in which the people of Seine Bight and Placencia live.

While occupying the same physical environment the village of Seine Bight and Placencia consist of different ethnic groups. Placencia's population consists of Creole the descendants of Scottish and English buccaneers (pirates) and African slaves. The village of Seine Bight consists of the descendents of Carib Indians and runaway (marooned) or shipwrecked African slaves known as the Garifuna.

Operationalization of the Variables

The dependent variable is tourism attitudes: It is defined as the attitudes of residents in Placencia and Seine Bight towards tourists. According to the Belize Tourism Board a tourist is defined as non-residents visiting for at least an overnight stay and not more than twelve months, for legitimate non-immigrant reasons such as vacation, recreation, sports, health, study, conferences, meetings, family matters and religious missions. It also includes person with a transit permit staying for at least an overnight stay in Belize as well as Belizean nationals who reside abroad and are visiting for any of the reasons mentioned above

Independent variables

- a.) Socioeconomic status: It is measured as an index comprised of years of education, income per month and occupational ranking.
 - b.) Environmental awareness: In order to measure environmental awareness I have developed a scale. The scale will contain a number of questions measuring the level of awareness about selected environmental issues in Placencia and Seine Bight.
 - c.) Intensity of contact is measured in terms of how often the respondents have come into contact with tourists during the last six months prior to this survey. I will also ask a number of questions to explore the intensity of friendship the respondents have with tourists.
- Ethnicity: It is the resident's response to a question related to ethnic identification.

Sampling

According to Belize census 2000, Placencia has 178 households and Seine Bight has 221 households. However, the Seine Bight area also includes the Maya Beach area that is heavily populated by expatriates from countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom. The Seine Bight Village proper, settled by the Garifuna has fewer households than Placencia. A larger number of households are drawn from Placencia because of its larger population size compared to Seine Bight.

A random sample of households, consisting of one third of the number of households from Placencia and Seine Bight will consist of nearly 60 households from Placencia and about 50 households from Seine Bight. Accordingly, every third household in each of the two areas will be contacted and requested participation in the study. However, even if every third household is not included in the survey; extraction of a large sample, about 33 percent of the total population of the households in the two areas, is likely to ensure a representative sample. In accordance with this sampling plan, 110 households were contacted. Of the 110 households contacted, 107 households agreed to participate in this study.

Data Generation

A questionnaire was given to a total of 107 households in Placencia and Seine Bight. A copy of the questionnaire is presented in Appendix C. The questionnaire was designed as a self-administered questionnaire in English because English is the official language of Belize. Those who needed assistance with the questionnaire were aided by this researcher and helped in completing the questionnaire in full. The questionnaire consisted of both closed ended and open-ended questions.

A number of qualitative methods were used to investigate the role of ethnicity on tourist attitudes. In addition to obtaining responses on the open ended questions, conducted four in-depth interviews; two from each of the two villages. Of the two case studies from each village, one will be a case study of a person involved in the tourism industry and one will be a person not involved in the tourism industry.

During the research for this dissertation in the summer of 2001 I also performed participant observation. Since I have conducted research since 1991 in the village of Placencia rapport was already established and had it not been for my previous trips to the villages of Placencia and Seine Bight my presence especially utilizing a survey instrument would have been quite difficult. The very fact that I had been to Placencia and Seine Bight over a period of years rapidly opened doors to people's homes.

Epistemology of Methodology

There are many facets of the researcher – respondent relationships which influence the process as well as the outcome of research. An understanding of the dynamic relationships that are negotiated and formed during the process of research is important in placing the outcome of the research process in the very social context and situations that generate information and lead to meaningfully negotiated process of analysis.

Historical research on gender relationships is most often reflected by colonial accounts during the period of colonial domination and imperialism. The tropics have long provided visions of sexual license, promiscuity, gynecological aberrations, and general perversion marking the “otherness” of the colonized for metropolitan

consumption. (Loutfi, 1971; Gilman 1985). One's sexuality and gender in the research process has maintained the "gendered order" of power relations between men and women.

The expansion and contraction of the capitalist system has been and is instrumental in many changes in gender relationships yet has never been fully explored in academic research. Conquests and the ensuing colonialization process in the fifteenth century forever altered both men's and women's positions through social, economic and political domination. Overtime formation of the world system has allowed changes in gender relationships that had been forbidden five hundred years ago. The changing world-system through political and economic policies has also changed gender relationships. It is clear that gender relations are not static but exhibit different forms coincident with the complexity of societal organization. Just being a woman is not enough to bring solidarity but rather the social construction of gender and the multiplicity of cultural, social and economic positions that inherently exhibit variations, differences and conflicts. As posited by Block (1993 p. 90),

Sensitivity to difference leads to an endless fragmentation of social groups, to a focus on groups defined only partly by gender, and to an understanding that gender itself is variously constructed by other social characteristics. Every woman's situation is virtually unique, defined by particularities of economic organization, political structure, and national or minority groups.

Most researchers have placed their methods on a strictly intellectual basis. As stated "They fail to note that the researcher, like his informants, is a social animal" (Whyte, 1943 p. 279). Whether one is in the field for small periods of time or extended periods of time his personal life is intertwined with his research. Thus while

methodology is important on an intellectual level, it is also important to describe the research process.

This section attempts to bring forth several important aspects in the understanding of the research process. The first item of analysis will be the juxtaposition of subjectivity and objectivity in the research process. Second is an analysis of the intersection of gender in the accumulation of knowledge. Historically the research process has maintained the stance of objectivity and negated the notion of self-awareness or one's own subjectivity in the scientific process. It has been as if the researcher was a non-social, non-emotional, non-sexual human while participating in the research process. Many times your position in the research process must be attuned to the needs of the people you are studying. The objective stance in the field loses its validity when faced with the life course in which the researcher is seen as an instrument of data collection methodically absorbing all the information that is observed while simultaneously dismissing the participation of her own actions and behaviors. In sum people everywhere experience the same basic emotions of anger, fear, disgust, happiness surprise and sadness. The experiencing of these emotions with others brings together a bond that many times can not be attributed to an objective stance. While emotions are a common feature of all people what initiates a particular emotion is dependent on culture.

One's denial of subjectivity (Frier, 1970) in the process of the world and history is not only denial of reality yet the very essence of oppression. The sad reality is that the conflict lies in the choice of identifying with the oppressor or the ability to reject the dominant ideology and become an active agent that can be a real choice of action. The problem lies not in the ability to act but rather the choices that are reproduced

historically. Oppression tends to absorb those within it and penetrate the consciousness of those least able to fight the dominant ideology. It is within this context that knowledge is formed and distributed, and objectivity becomes a tool for the so-called scientific rational production of knowledge. The dichotomous distinction of the objective/subjective position is a mental construct based on polarities. The dichotomous distinction especially loses validity when face to face with another human being. "Encountering the body of another human being is qualitatively different from the experience of inert bodies, bodies as things" (Schutz, 1962 p. XXXII).

Research in the social sciences requires dialogue not only with the participant and the observer but self-reflection between the objective and the subjective production of knowledge. As stated by Mills,

The confusion in the social sciences is moral as well as scientific, political as well as intellectual. Attempts to ignore this fact are among the reasons for the continuing confusion. In order to judge the problems and methods of various schools of social science, we must make up our minds about a great many political values (Mills, 1959 p. 76).

Anthropologists and sociologists have long embraced the idea of objectivity in the field where the social interactions are asexual and non-emotional. For example Rose Jones while studying in St. Lucia found that distance between her sex and sexuality and the sex and sexuality of those she studied became a learning process in gender roles. Many of the village women thought it strange for Rose's husband to return to the United States and proceeded to find her a male lover in her husband's absence. "In Lucian society, women and men often generate and secure social and economic resources through a tripartite scheme in which sex, reproduction and economics converge " (Jones, 1999 p. 30). The women in St. Lucia were concerned that Rose had failed to establish a

sexual and reproductive alliance with a male lover in accordance with their sense of gender roles. When the women of the village failed to have Rose begin a relationship with a male villager, they initiated a homosexual encounter for Rose. As can be understood from this encounter in the field, sex and sexuality of the researcher and the sex and sexuality of the group being observed may not be easily dismissed. The negation of self and the embracing of asexuality through objective moral stances not only may mystify the research process but gives the reader a sublime message of not being human and totally subsumes the contradictions of colonialism. Removing the humanistic aspect out of the researcher allowed him (and usually secondarily her) to avoid many political and moral confrontations. The notion of the value-neutral stance of science, that emphasizes the equivalence of all humans, supports the researcher's stance of being an empty vessel waiting to be filled with the culture under investigation. (Goldweisser, 1937). "Every field work role is at once a social interaction device for securing information for scientific purposes and a set of behaviors in which an observer's self is involved" (Gold, 1958 p. 218). Thus while performing fieldwork the very essence of one's presence in the so-called objective stance is fraught with contradictions through the researcher's gender and sexual identity.

Women have long been known as nurturers, caretakers, and emotional laborers. "It is almost a truism of interview research for example that in most situations women will be able to achieve more rapport with respondents because of their less threatening quality and better communication skills" (Warren, 1988 p. 44). Interviewees male and female are more apt to allow female researchers into their world of emotions. Not only is

sex identity and gender identity played out in the world of participant observation but skin color is also a significant marker of one's position in the world system.

Skin color is a crucial issue for anthropological fieldworkers, whose race or ethnicity is often different from that of their respondents. In a world where colonialism has left its mark on so many cultures, a fair skin and Caucasian physical characteristics set the anthropologist off not only as a foreigner, but also as someone of a higher status than the "natives." Fair skin is both attractive and distancing in the double status and relational systems within which postcolonial peoples live (Warren, 1988 p. 25).

As a researcher from a developed country with fair skin the interaction between the researched and the researcher always yields positions of power. The research process then, becomes objectified through the "commodification of relations." In Georg Simmel's *The Stranger* (1971), the notion of subjective/objective spatial differentiation may give a more meaningful understanding to the ubiquitous nature of the objective and subjective stance. The research process constitutes social interaction wherein the main elements contain those of remoteness and nearness or subordination and domination. As Simmel makes clear, "the union of closeness and remoteness involved in every human relationship is patterned in a way that may be succinctly formulated as follows: the distance within the relation indicates the one who is remote is near" (Simmel, 1971 p. 143). Individual interactions objective (remoteness) and nearness (subjective) are juxtaposed in space enhancing the oppositions. Moving along a continuum from a traditional society to one of modernity Simmel asserts one's very objectivity "can be defined as freedom" (Simmel, 1971 p. 146). Thus for Simmel a money economy along with the differentiation of labor in the modern period transforms cultural forms into external, autonomous objects and the objectification of social relationships. Modernization releases people from the constraints of family and ethnic ties and the

solidarity exhibited through a shared world-view. Yet in this analysis the very notion of modernity brings forth objectivity negating historical relationships and transnational interactions.

In the process of participant observation the researcher may take on the attributes of what Simmel postulates as the "Adventurer." Whether examining local sub-cultures, countercultures or cultures that are foreign the adventurer is typically split from the interconnectedness of the world. Simmel states, "Adventure has the gesture of the conqueror, the quick seizure of opportunity, regardless of whether the portion one carves out is harmonious or disharmonious with us, with the world or with the relation between us and the world" (Simmel, 1971 p. 193). The very act of adventure leads to an individual's conscious attempt to destroy the defense mechanisms of his solitary externalized life brought about by modernity. Yet it is these very mechanisms that have allowed individuals to be able to maintain self in tumultuous times and painful moments. Social change is not necessarily linear but may be cyclical and an ongoing and dynamic process. Modernity and the ongoing change of culture in form and content within the individual may encompass a dualistic nature between internalization and externalization or objectivity and subjectivity. Typically in the social sciences men and women are seen as inherently different based on their sex identity of being either male or female, whereas the social construction of gender is seen as secondary. How one perceives of them as masculine or feminine emanates from ones own cultural constructs. Thus observation of any phenomenon is genderized and sexualized based on the internalization process of life experiences. Again the polarity of what it means to be male and what it means to be female takes on different meanings not only between groups yet also within groups.

The analysis of the organization of society based on mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity by Durkheim (1984) is of importance in tourism research not only as a form of leisure emerging from developed countries but to understand the nature of the researchers capital and the affects in the research process. Durkheim asserted that the transition from a traditional society to one of modernity was positive. The differentiation of labor along with the movement away from traditions (mechanical solidarity) would bring individual freedom and mobility. Thus modern society held together by the interdependency of organic solidarity would transport the individual beyond the ties of traditional society. According to Sadri and Stinchcombe (2000) Durkheim's notion of plasticity or organization and complexity of function in advanced societies allows individuals to move more freely. Ascribed statuses such as race, gender and age are more salient in less complex societies and one's ascriptive attributes can be manipulated in more complex societies in that gender can be made either more salient or vague depending on the agents motivations. The complex division of labor in complex societies "augments achieved categories while elasticizing the salience of ascribed categories" (Sadri and Stinchcombe, 2000 p. 438). Thus modern society allows an individual to move more freely by manipulating both achieved and ascribed statuses. Gender and sexual identity therefore can become more manifest in the research process. Both Durkheim and Simmel view modernity as positive, yet it is Simmel who addresses the notion that an individual's so-called objective stance denotes freedom through the differentiation of labor along with the money economy. Thus all cultural forms and social relationships are externalized and seen as commodities. Therefore the objective stance in the research process is one of externalization and objectification. In sum the

construction of knowledge under the objective stance is one of domination through space and time. In understanding the construction of knowledge the concept of space although abstract and the concept of domination yield several insights.

Levebvre (1984) posits that we know several things about abstract space, it is a product of violence and war, it is political, emerging from and reinforced by a state and is institutionalized. Space therefore acts as the hegemonic apparatus annihilating everything in its path. “The notion of the instrumental homogeneity of space, however is illusory – though empirical descriptions of space reinforce that illusion – because it uncritically takes the instrumental as a given” (Levebvre, 1984 p. 285). According to Levebvre critical analysis is able to distinguish three elements that have been overlooked in the analysis of the research process. He borrows the term “formants” from music to understand the prevailing aspects of the objective and subjective discourse. As stated by Levebvre

These formants are unusual (though not unique) in the following respect: they imply one another and conceal one another. This is not true of bipartite contrasts, the opposing terms of which, by reflecting each other in a simple mirror effect, illuminate each other, so to speak, so that each becomes a signifier instead of remaining obscure and hidden (Levebvre, 1984 p. 285).

The elements include the geometric formant, the optical or visual formant and the phallic formant. The geometric formant derives from Euclidean space as absolute defined by its homogeneity. Thus with the reduction of space as homogenous, we negate nature’s space, all other social space in this context of lineal thought. The reduction of multiple dimensions to only two dimensions asserts a form of power either as a visual representation or projection. The optical or visual formant in the practice of objectivism

as discussed by Levebvre, 1984, is dependent on the metaphoric (the act of writing) and the metonymic (the eye, the gaze) and everything else is incorporated into the visual superceding all other senses such as taste, smell, touch and hearing. In other words all that is perceived of social life is from the visual and connected by the written word. Therefore anything thing perceived such as tactile stimulation is negated by the object perceived by sight. The visual cortex tends to gather objects at a distance where they become mental images and stored for further use such that the act of seeing and what is seen become confused. The space cannot be totally used with just representative images or objects. The demand for space to be occupied is symbolic of force, penetration and masculinity. This discussion is not new in that according to Camille Paglia (1991) we would not have beautiful tall erect buildings had it not be for men. Paglia states if it were not for men, women would still be living in grass huts. Thus space is relegated to that which is visual, or that which is protruding or that which takes up space literally air space. It is not necessarily a gender issue that is an abstraction of reality that many feminists grab onto to placate their lack of multi-dimensional reasoning but rather an issue of moving beyond the geometric, lineal and phallic representations of space. The polarity again is brought forth under the two dimensional form of the visual and the linear path to knowledge. Once the rational via abstraction is put into motion the violence begins, it cuts, it dices, it chops, it separates until the purpose of the aggression is achieved. According to Levebvre, 1984 one way to go beyond the lineal, phallic and visual is through the median of poetry. Although poetry is dependent on the act of writing it allows for other senses such as taste, sound, and touch to be an active part of the research process.

A researcher's position in the field may yield various forms of power, although historically the researcher has been seen as a blank slate without any previous concepts or abstractions used as instruments in the structuring of the research process. In order to make an argument for the researcher's position in participant observation and the notion of multidimensional awareness in the accumulation of knowledge I will begin by examining Pierre Bourdieu. In the philosophy of the social sciences the objectivist and subjectivist debate continues in the production of knowledge. Bourdieu's theoretical discourse is critical of the philosophical adherents in regard to objectivism and subjectivism and is examined as dialectical moments in the history of the development of social scientific theory. Subjectivism can be seen as the social reality of the individual actors, in opposition while objectivism concentrates on "social facts" or the observable regularities of social action which stands outside the everyday experience "making agents mere performers of pre-ordained scores or bearers of the structure" (Garnham and Williams, 1980 p. 210). According to Bourdieu subjectivists fail to recognize the social determinants of social action whereas objectivists have a tendency to ignore the social condition of their own practice as the wielders of "symbolic power." It is the enmeshed and intertwined discourses of sociology and history, that Bourdieu's *Theory of Practice* attempts to overcome the opposition of subjectivism and objectivism by examining the relationship between the structures of social interaction and the experiential reality of human actors. As stated by Bourdieu "Rarely are the two positions expressed and above all realized in scientific practice in such a radical and contrasted manner" (Bourdieu, 1989 p. 14). For Bourdieu in order to overcome the dichotomy of objectivism and subjectivism or the predictable structural organization of social action and the

spontaneous dynamic of experiences in the reasoning of human actors, it is important to understand the temporal element under which the social structures are reproduced. All human actors are involved in strategies that are opposed to the strategies of other actors. To understand this process or mechanism of regulation for the continuation of opposition, Bourdieu (1977) posits that the habitus consists of the internalization of the external structures. The habitus is a strategy enabling an actor to cope with dynamic and unpredictable situations and forms a system that includes past experiences, perceptions and actions enabling the actor to perform many tasks. This assumption of Bourdieu's model is known as the "logic of practice" and is shaped in early childhood and is achieved through the internalization of objective material conditions filtered through the habitus. Since the logic of practice operates unconsciously, the social distinctions that are made must be simple and be applicable to a wide variety of circumstances. The logic of practice operates with such simple dichotomous distinctions that can be applied in many fields and are unconscious mental constructs that facilitate an agent's ability to act. These oppositions are structured and provide a utilitarian view of the social world. It is within these simple dichotomous distinctions that an agent's position in the social world is manifested through the production of knowledge. Pierre Bourdieu represents the social world as multi-dimensional space where power relationships reside. Individuals (agents) are defined by their position in this social space. Each agent occupies a position in space that is an aggregate of the positions one occupies in the different social fields. Some individuals possess advantages, which Bourdieu calls "capital." They include cultural, economic, social and symbolic capital.

The position of a given agent within the social space can thus be defined by the positions he occupies in different fields, that is, in the distribution of powers that are active within each of them. These are, principally, economic capital (in its different kinds), cultural capital, and social capital, as well as symbolic capital, commonly called prestige, reputation etc., which is the form in which different forms of capital are perceived and recognized as legitimate (Bourdieu, 1985 p. 724).

Bourdieu's model captures individual positions but negates any discourse on gender. As has been discussed previously gender or that which is manifested as feminine or masculine may become more elastic in modern society. Researchers at any moment may enhance or attenuate typical gender behaviors. Male and female behaviors are not typical dichotomous pairings such as good/bad, black/white but are positions that are negotiated allowing for the active positioning of agents in the field. As stated by Bourdieu,

It is known that the whole set of socially constituted differences between the sexes tends to weaken as one moves up the social hierarchy and especially towards the dominated fractions of the dominant class, where women tend to share the most typically male prerogatives such as the reading of serious newspapers and interest in politics, while the men do not hesitate to express interests and dispositions, in matter of taste, for example, which elsewhere would be regarded as effeminate. (Bourdieu, 1984 p. 382-383).

Bourdieu's examination of the internalization of the external structures, which also includes an agent's world position as a major facilitator of the reproduction of social relationships must include gender as a form of capital. Thus the varying forms of capital including gender capital in the research process are utilized. Gender capital, social capital economic in the acquisition of knowledge can be made more salient even in the research process.

In sum, the research process is a dynamic continuum of oppositions whether male/female, dominant/oppressed, remote/near, traditional/modern, visual/sensual achievement/ascribed, or possessor of capital or non-possessor of capital. It is within these oppositions that social change in the accumulation of knowledge can be augmented in the social sciences. While post-modernity embraces the notion of self-reflectivity it is only within these oppositions that the social experience can be integrated into the data-collecting process.

CHAPTER 6

QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

The analysis is performed in three stages. In the first I investigate the descriptive characteristics of all the variables in the model. This is accomplished by obtaining the measures of central tendencies and measures of dispersion. In addition, I examine the distributional properties of all the variables by obtaining the skewness and kurtosis of all the variables. In the second stage, I examine the gross relationships between each one of the independent variables and the dependent variables, attitude toward tourism. This approach provides an overall assessment of the validity of the hypothesized relationships. In the third stage, I perform multiple regression. The results from the multiple regression analysis will be used to evaluate the validity of the four hypothesis presented in this study. The four hypotheses of this study relate to four independent dimension/ variables. They are socio economic status, environmental awareness, intensity of contact and ethnicity.

Three variables, income, education and occupation indicate the dimension, socio economic status. The variable, occupation of the respondent, was constructed by categorizing the occupations of the respondents into four categories. These categories were arranged in an ascending order with the least status occupation coded one, and the highest status occupation coded four. The four categories are a) manual such labor, domestic, fishermen and cook b) service occupations such as tour guide, diver, shop clerk, security and bar tender, c) more administrative occupations such as bank employee,

post master and secretary. d) Professionals such as teacher, manager, tourist ship captain and physicians. The variable, income has four categories. Those who earned income between 1 and 1000 Belizean Dollars per month were coded 1; those who earned income between 1001 and 2000 Belizean Dollars per month were coded 2; those who earned income between 2001 and 3000 Belizean Dollars per month were coded 3; and those who earned income between 3001 and 4000 Belizean Dollars per month were coded 4. The variable education was coded as follows. Those who did not have any education were coded 1, those with less than high school were coded 2, those with high school or less than college degree were coded 3, and those with either college degree or more were coded 4. The socio-economic status (SES) dimension is created by the addition of the three variables, occupation, income and education. The variable, SES has a range from 3 to 12.

The variable environmental awareness is a composite scale made up of six variables. Some of the questions used for constructing this composite scale are a) Because of tourists, we use more gas and oil and this increases the amount of bad air.

b) In Belize people now use the beaches more than they used to. The responses to these questions were measured by a five point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The responses to the six questions were added to arrive at a composite scale for environmental awareness. The scale ranges from six to thirty.

The variable 'intensity of contact' is a composite scale made up of six variables. Some of the questions used for constructing this composite scale are a) how often in the last six months have you come in contact with tourists at work b) How often have tourist friends come to your home in the last six months. A five-point scale ranging from none

to every day measured the responses to these questions. . The responses to the six questions were added to arrive at a composite scale for intensity of contact. The scale ranges from six to thirty.

The variable 'ethnicity' is a dichotomous variable. The three dichotomous variables are created. The first dichotomous variable (GARY) includes respondents who belong to the 'Garifuna' ethnic group. The second dichotomous variable (CREOLE) includes respondents who belong to the 'Creole ' ethnic group. The third dichotomous variable includes all those who are neither 'Garifuna' nor 'Creole'.

The dependent variable 'attitude toward tourism' is a composite scale made up of twelve variables. Some of the questions used for constructing this composite scale are a) I like tourists to come to the village b) I enjoy sharing my views with tourists. The responses to these questions were measured by a five strongly disagree to strongly agree. The responses to the twelve questions were added to arrive at a composite scale for attitude toward tourism. The scale ranges from twelve to seventy two.

The descriptive statistics for the four independent variables, SES, Environmental awareness, intensity of contact, and ethnicity and the dependent variable, 'attitude toward tourism' is presented in Table 3.

The mean of the dependent variable is 49.16 and the standard deviation is 4.52. The mean of the variable 'intensity of contact' is 17.95 and the standard deviation is 5.03. The mean of the variable ' environmental awareness' is 20.51 and the standard deviation is 3.18. The mean of the variable SES is 15.98 and the standard deviation is 28.44. The standard deviations of all the four variables are small. The percentage of 'Garifuna' in the sample is 43.93 and the percentage of 'Creole' in the sample is 39.25.

The histograms of the four variables SES, Environmental awareness, intensity of contact, and the dependent variable, 'attitude toward tourism' are presented in figures 1 through 4. The histograms of the variables in the model of 'tourism attitude' suggest that the variables be normally distributed. All the distributions appear to have uni-modal distribution (See Figure 1, 2 and 3).

The distribution properties of all the independent and dependent variables are presented in table 4. Table 4. presents the skewness and kurtosis of all the variables.

The four independent variables have low levels of skewness and kurtosis suggesting that the variables be normally distributed.

In the second stage I examine the gross relationships between each one of the independent variables and the dependent variables, 'attitude toward tourism'. The results of the simple linear regression are presented in table 5.

The effect of environmental awareness on tourism attitude is not significant. The standardized regression coefficient is 0.064. The effect of intensity of contact on tourism attitudes is significant. The standardized regression coefficient is 0.174. The effect of SES on tourism attitude is not significant. The standardized regression coefficient is 0.325. The two dichotomous variables, GARY and CREOLE are also insignificant. The reference category is 'the rest: other than the Garifuna and the Creole'. The initial evaluation of the hypotheses did not provide support for all the hypothesized relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable, 'attitude toward tourism'. However, the relationship between 'intensity of contact' and 'attitude toward tourism' is significant and in the hypothesized direction. The final stage of analysis involves multiple regression. The results of multiple regression are presented in table 6.

The net effect of environmental awareness on tourism attitude is not significant. The standardized regression coefficient is 0.068. The net effect of intensity of contact on tourism attitude is significant. The standardized regression coefficient is 0.198. The net effect of SES on tourism attitude is not significant. The standardized regression coefficient is 0.088. The two dichotomous variables, GARY and CREOLE are also insignificant. The reference category is 'the rest: other than the Garifuna and the Creole'. The standardized regression coefficient of GARY is 0.149. The standardized regression coefficient of CREOLE is 0.032. The final evaluation of the hypotheses did not provide support for all the hypothesized relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable, 'attitude toward tourism'. However, the relationship between 'intensity of contact' and 'attitude toward tourism' is significant and in the hypothesized direction.

Qualitative Analysis

In order to understand the transition of tourism and its effect on the villages of Placencia and Seine Bight, open-ended questions were asked in addition to the survey. This section will attempt to understand the full dimensions, in the context of the villager's reality in regard to tourism. As will become apparent in the following, the villages differed in their views on the environment, opportunities for changes, and the changes tourism brings to each village on values and to their ways of life.

Placencia, has been hosting tourists since the early 1980's (Key, 1994). The first tourists to the village were the hippie back-pack type, but with the national push for tourism as a form of development, tourists of middle and upper incomes began to visit the

village. It has only been in the last decade that marine activities have been the focus of tourist attractions. As stated previously, in the history chapter, Placencia has a natural harbor due to the protection of a caye lying adjacent to the shoreline that has allowed throughout time visitors by sea. Nonetheless, settlement of Placencia is a recent phenomenon where the sea has been the main source of subsistence for its inhabitants along with the cultivation of coconut palms for oil and minimal animal husbandry (Key, 1994). In the 1970's the Placencia Fishing Cooperative was formed, which enabled the men of Placencia to secure loans for boats and fishing equipment. The Cooperative was extremely important for the village of Placencia in the transition of an economy based on fishing to one of tourism. The fishing cooperative facilitated the transition of Placencia to tourism in that boats and motors were already purchased enabling the fishermen of Placencia to take advantage of the tourist industry especially in regard to marine activities.

The Garifuna of Seine Bight had performed agriculture inland in Kalifornia and fished for their own consumption but never for a local market. Some of these crops such as plantains and bananas were grown for export whereas many of the crops were for their own consumption. The Garifuna also performed wage labor on the various banana plantations in southern Belize and thus migrated during certain seasons of the year. As tourism became a viable alternative to other forms of production the Garifuna did not have the necessary capital to enter the tourist industry. I would also like to interject that in the 1970's it was found that Seine Bight had an unequal age distribution in the village. Many people of Seine Bight migrated to areas in Belize where they could perform wage labor or moved to the United States where they were able to send remittances to their

families in the village. This in turn left an unequal age set distribution in the village of the elderly and the young (Joseph Palacio, 1982). Tourism has created employment opportunities for the residents of Seine Bight thus for a normal age distribution in the village. Young adult males and females find that it is possible to find seasonal employment due to the nature of tourism the tourism industry.

In order to describe the differences between the two ethnic groups, the Garifuna in Seine Bight and the Creole in Placencia, three open-ended questions related to tourism attitudes are analyzed. The three questions are a) Have your views about the environment changed: if yes, how they changed b) If you had one opportunity a change with regard to tourism, what will it be c) How have your values influenced your views on tourists in general: Do they threaten your own way of life; in what ways do they positively contribute to your way of life; in what ways do they negatively contribute to your way of life. The responses to these questions were recorded separately for the Garifuna in Seine bight and the Creole in Placencia. In order to explore the differences in tourism attitudes as suggested by their responses, a content analysis of the responses was undertaken. This is done by obtaining the frequencies of the words used predominantly by the two ethnic groups in response to the same set of questions. Table 7 provides the frequencies of the words used by respondents from Placencia and seine bight for the question; Have your views about the environment changed: if yes, how have they changed. In Placencia, out of the 56 respondents, 31 responded to this question. In Seine Bight, out of the 51 respondents, 33 responded to this question.

Belize is promoting eco-tourism as a form of sustainable development and as a result the villages of Placencia and Seine Bight are experiencing changes in the

environment at a more accelerated rate as tourists are becoming more numerous. As can be seen from table 7. a total of 13 respondents from Placencia and 11 from Seine Bight asserted their views have changed about the environment. In Placencia three themes become salient in regard to respondents' views in regard to the environment, construction on the peninsula, denigration of the marine, plant and animal life, on the peninsula and the importance of the environment to their future. The first of these concerns is the amount of development that the village is experiencing due to construction and the availability of land space. Many residents express concerns over construction of homes, bars, restaurants and hotels in the village. For example one respondent states, "Yes, the environment has changed because of land space. Everyone is building businesses and there is a lack of land so there is a lot of land filling." Respondents state "The peninsula is developing to fast" and "Yes there is more building, restaurants, bars, discos than as a child.

The second of these concerns is related to the natural habitat and the depletion of the natural resources. For example a respondent asserted, "Yes, because cut down the trees parrots who feed go away". Another concern of the villagers is the poaching of marine resources and is apparent in this statement from a respondent. "Killing the fish and lobster is the biggest thing that needs to be dealt with. This has nothing to do with tourism. Need more control in the oceans by the government to patrol the waters. Keep the Hondurans and Guatemalans out of Belizean waters that sell the stuff all year round." An older respondent remembered the wildlife he came into contact with when he was a child.

As a young man I remember people raised pigs and jaguars would come into the village to steal them. There were two ways to walk to Seine Bight. Would walk and see Ocelots. Parrots lived in flocks of all kinds. Hunted in Maya Beach, and Riversdale for deer. Gibnut could get on peninsula peccary from Riversdale. Riversdale was where the shipped bananas. All that is left is sand foxes (delicate gray with red underbelly) and raccoons. The red and brown foxes are gone and they were called the Pine Ridge foxes.

The third feature that emerges from the qualitative data is the importance of maintaining the environment for the success of the village and their pursuit of tourism as an industry. For example a respondent asserts “Tourism has placed many ideas into people especially the recognition of how much the environment should or should not be saved”. Other respondents because of tourism have become more knowledgeable and have gained an appreciation of the environment. For example, “Before tourism I did not care about the environment but after tourism I became more educated about protecting and preserving the environment.” Another important response is stated clearly by a respondent.

My views about the environment have definitely changed since I began working in the tourism industry. I am far more aware of how important it is to preserve our natural resources considering how quickly it can be destroyed without proper management as we share our environment with the tourists. As much as tourists claim that we should protect our environment, it seems that they do not think twice about standing on the coral, chopping down mangroves or dumping their garbage from the boats. In order for us to continue to benefit from the tourist industry, our environment must be subjected to sustainable development.

One informant asserts that tourism as promotes the rise of non-governmental organizations in order to hasten the education of those who are “ignorant to the fact that Mother Nature does play a very important role.”

While Seine Bight is only seven miles north of Placencia, their views on the environment display differences. There are four themes that emerge in Seine Bight compared to only three in Placencia. The themes include infrastructure, garbage, the physical and fauna environmental landscape and the emergence of class-consciousness displayed in statements and overt displays of resistance.

Seventeen of the respondents of Seine Bight stated that their views of the environment had changed. Garbage in the village is a concern for many in the village as can be seen by the word count above. However the difference in the reality of garbage is that in Seine Bight it is within the village while Placencia concern is garbage in the ocean. As stated by a respondent, “Big problem is the garbage. The village council does not push for clean up. We have a big need for tourists so it has to be clean.” Other informants feel “when people clean up the Seine Bight that this will influence their global perspective.” During the interview he pointed across the street to a dirty mess. He said “I need to talk to people about this. To ask them to clean it up.” One theme in Seine Bight was the development of infrastructure such as electricity, water and phones, which most residents see as positive. One respondent stated “When I was brought up here, no lights, no water, no phone, everything was natural. Now there is water, cable, electricity, these are the differences.” Many are happy to see the construction of a new school, the paving of a road while others in the village see the need of preserving the environment. As stated by a villager “I have to learn to appreciate the trees, birds, landscape and my environment more because it has a lot to do with the preservation of eco-tourism.” Others see a significant change in the environment because of tourism. “In some places lands are no longer available. So the mangrove forest is cut down in order to dredge and

fill to provide lots and land for building hotels, resorts and to provide waterways for boats.” While others see tourism as hope for the future success of the village. “My opinion here in Seine Bight has changed a lot because tourism offers job opportunities.” Others are concerned about the depletion of the mangrove even though laws exist to protect them. “Yes, cutting down trees to make space for housing. The mangroves get destroyed this is the most damage right now, the people become less friendly, cannot pass through a yard.” One of the more significant answers to emerge in this open-ended question was the outward hostility expressed by this respondent. Seine Bight is located near several up-scale resorts owned by North Americans. There is growing animosity toward these resorts that is made clear in the following statement.

Most people in the village cooperate. After awhile the resorts hire managers and they spoil the business and insult the workers. The manager’s wages go up but not the workers. They do not care about the workers. Robert’s Grove sends vehicles for office workers but not the laundry workers. Discrimination is started. The ladies have to walk.

Another incident occurred between the people of Seine Bight and an ex-patriot from the United States. The American built a large cement home next to the village. One day he was angry and cut the cable lines in the village. As stated by a respondent “he tried to control the electricity, the cable and the paved road. This peninsula is not his to control. He thinks he can just because he has money. He pays the government money to get what he wants. This causes people not to be heard”. After the ex-patriot cut the cable line the villagers walked to his home in protest threatening to run him off if he did not repair the damage.

Table 8 provides the frequencies of the words used by respondents from Placencia and Seine Bight for the question: If you had one opportunity to implement a change with

regard to tourism, what will it be? In Placencia, out of the 56 respondents, 29 responded to this question. In Seine Bight, out of the 51 respondents, 40 responded to this question.

The people of Placencia have been hosting tourists longer than Seine Bight. Beginning in the 1980's tourists began traveling to southern Belize in search of authentic experiences. Placencia and Seine Bight were isolated at the tip of the peninsula and the only transportation to the villages was by boat. The villagers of Placencia are understanding the consequences of development and the fragile existence that lies between them and tourists. In order to be successful in the tourism industry the village of Placencia is emerging in the political arena to secure laws and policies for their future in the tourism industry. Many of the concerns in the village have to do with outsiders from other regions of Belize entering the village to take advantage of tourists. There are several points of interest in addressing changes within the village. First is the issue of addressing hustlers in the village. For example one respondent states, "Some of the changes that I would try to make are the unwanted people who like to hustle and beg the tourist. Some who steal from them, some who try to sell them drugs. Most of the people who do these things do not belong to the village and they do not contribute to our society. All they do is create problems for us. So I think we should get rid of them." Another respondent states, "If I had one opportunity to make a change in this village in regard to tourism it would be the implementation of more tourist police. The reason is that there are to many guys (idlers) on the street trying to make money off the tourist. The tourists are here on vacation not to pay for worries." Another concern in the village is drugs especially crack cocaine as stated by a respondent, "Drugs destroy the village. We need a better police force. Drugs create stealing form tourists.

Doxey (1975), Forestall and Kaufman (1995) assert that as tourism development increases host communities may begin to have negative attitudes toward tourists. As can be seen from the statements below negative attitudes are beginning to emerge in several of the respondents.

If I had one opportunity to implement a change in this village with regard to tourism it would be to prevent tourist from intruding too far in the lives of the locals. It is one thing to make them feel at home in order to enjoy their stay. It is quite another to have them walk into your home uninvited or unannounced and expect you to entertain their questions and their concerns and their advice as to how our village should be managed, especially when they have only been here for a week.

Several respondents speak to the concern of foreigners purchasing land and land becoming scarce. Gentrification of the land began in the early 1990's (Key, 1990). Before 1991 it was still possible for Belizeans to purchase property in the village however by 1994 the price for land had risen beyond what a Belizean could afford. An example of the growing hostility of outsiders purchasing property is apparent in the several statements. "There should be a complete moratorium on the sale of land to foreigners and limit the growth of businesses until impact on infrastructure and culture are assessed." "Stop the foreigner from buying out land and let the people have the opportunities to buy with loans. Going to get worse."

There is also a growing concern for small businesses in the community. "Market the smaller business. Bigger businesses take out the smaller businesses." According to one informant in Placencia there is a service tax of 8% collected from customers to use for tips but used to pay wages. "Development in tourism is great but Belizeans not getting share of tourism industry, people work in deplorable positions. These are the things that cause revolution".

For the village of Seine Bight the implementation for changes is reflected in different responses. As indicated by the qualitative count 19 residents assert that cleaning the village is one of the top priorities. The responses to clean the environment are numerous. "Keep the garbage in check. Placencia has that tourist look not the village look. Flies and mosquitoes are attracted to garbage." There are many statements from respondents about cleaning up the village. For example "Get the village clean. Village council needs to help with a cleaner environment. The filth and dirt need to be clean. The sewer needs to be better." Another locus of concern for the villagers is the need for more tourist establishments in the village such as hotels, restaurants and gift shops. "Would like to see the people build hotels, restaurants and arts and crafts. Keep up the culture for example drumming. What we have the village of Placencia does not have. Every person is a flower. We blossom into our own bud. We are different colors and heights but we still are a flower." "We need to get along with tourists. Show them places and make friends with tourists. Teach them to cook different, Belizean food and Garifuna dishes. The village needs to provide more resorts for tourists and hotels. The tourists have come to see our culture. More gift shops to entertain them and take them out to the cayes."

Another concern in Seine Bight is to promotion of their culture through drumming and dancing. According to a respondent, "If I had one opportunity to implement a change in this village in regard to tourism, I would recommend hotels, guesthouses and cabanas be built to encourage tourists to stay in the village. Instead of our dancers and drummers going out of the village to perform cultural dances, the tourists would just move over to the cultural house to view performances." Several of the residents of Seine

Bight have tour guide licenses however they lack the equipment such as boats with motors to take tourists out to the cayes. A respondent states, "Tour guide have nothing and are low class. They have no machine, no boat, they go to resort and ask for equipment." It is important to understand that while many residents of Seine bight have the education and licenses to be tour guide they lack the capital to secure the means of production. Another states, "Most of us need help to have fishing boats to go out there with tourists. We need more equipment for tourists."

Table 9 provides the frequencies of the words used by respondents from Placencia and Seine Bight for the question, How have your values influenced your views on tourists in general? Do they threaten your own way of life? I mean, in what ways do they positively contribute to your way of life? In what ways do they negatively contribute to your way of life? In Placencia, out of the 56 respondents, 32 responded to this question. In Seine Bight, out of the 51 respondents, 39 responded to this question.

As can be seen from the results above many of the respondents view tourism as positive and enjoy the income and employment that they derive from this industry

I think tourism is good for this country. It makes everybody's life a little easier than the past years. I do not think that tourists just on vacation threaten our way of life, but foreigners that come to live they want to change a lot of things. They come with a lot of money buy a lot of land to make big business and act grumpy. Especially the foreigners that buys the land on the beach. Put up a lot of signs like stay off property. We can not go pick grapes in the summer like before. They should understand that this is what kids and adults do for fun in the summer and have done for generations.

In Placencia, while tourism is seen as positive on the most part, concerns about foreigners are beginning to emerge. For an example a respondent discusses the

immorality of some tourists while another states that tourism has affected family life in the village. She criticizes the female tourists for breaking up families in the village

As moral as I am, I am not in any way threatened by the tourist. Yes I do have opinions about them. Their way of expressing themselves is sometimes immoral and offensive to me as an individual. But then again, I find them interesting but at times they are just weird. But tourist in no way have influenced me negatively or positively. I feel if I allow them to do that it makes me less of a person. I want to identify my true self not “feel” like I am what I am not.

Tourism has wrecked the values of family life in Placencia. The family structure as a unit is destroyed with the inflow of foreign women wanting to be laid by the family father or head of family. Free sex is practiced by tourist women and this has destroyed the family as a unit.

Many tourists are seen as immoral without respect for the local values and norms.

The sun and surf beach boys have also become a common sight in Placencia. The beach boys are young men usually courting “rasta dreds” hoping to assist an unaccompanied female tourist. He usually begins by educating her about the area and is more than ready to escort and show her the sights in the village. The goal of the beach boy is not only to assist the female tourist about the possible activities in the village but in return she will buy his meals and drinks as they peruse the village nightlife. Sometimes the encounters lead to sexual relations or the acquisition of drugs. While tourism is seen as an instigator of illicit behavior another latent manifestation of tourism is occurring. For example, some visitors come as tourists and end up buying property in the village others stay and open restaurants or other tourist facilities. One respondent states “They ask to buy your land and heritage because they have money they are able to use bribery for their own benefit.” Stories in the village are abundant about certain North American’s ability to buy their citizenship. One respondent is responsible for renting a few of the ex-pats

homes during the year. However many of the tourist behavior she finds nauseating in that they drink heavily becoming obnoxious and will smoke “weed” right in front of her home and the police station.

Other respondents are upset that tourism has become the main industry and that the “fishermen take tourists out rather than fish.” Others see tourism as bringing positive attributes to their life. For example “ They provide more income to increase your own lifestyle”, “ I enjoy meeting and talking to tourists because I meet people from different countries. They tell me about their countries and it makes me want to travel and from the tourist I am able to understand others better.”

From my previous research in Placencia outsiders who threaten the village life were eventually run out either of the village or the country (Key, 1994). Today the informants expressed their concerns about how the foreigners and the riff raff of Belize have become too numerous and that they have solidarity among them making it impossible for the village to get rid of them. During my research in the summer of 2001 an incident occurred at an American’s vacation home that he built in Placencia. The home is a large white imposing concrete structure on the beach. The village has nicknamed it the “Sandcastle”. When the Americans returned to their home over the summer they found that the home had been vandalized and the intruders broke a steal door and snapped the dead bolt for entry. The intruders only took food, alcohol, Tupperware, water pictures and dishtowels. The items stolen were inexpensive but the graffiti on the wall may be of more significance and an example of resistance. On one wall it was written “Please Leave Belize” and on another wall in the maintenance closet was “Please Live, Foc (Fuck) PUP (Peoples United Party)”. Some of the villagers

attributed this to the intruders being on drugs however in light of the extensive display of wealth it would not be out of the realm of possibility that this was an act of resistance to the homes dominating presence. On one occasion the owner of the home expressed to me that his beach was private and he did not like Belizeans or strangers walking on his beach. I informed him that all beaches in the country of Belize are considered the “Queen’s Land” making it accessible to all Belizeans. He then proceeded to state “My beach is not the Queen’s Land.” Private property in Placencia or Seine Bight was never an issue until recently and is encouraged by the rising land costs and immigration. Since property values have extrapolated the residents of Placencia and Seine Bight have a growing concern for property lines.

Most of the residents of Seine Bight assert that the industry of tourism contributes positively to their life, however with the rise of tourism Seine Bight was not in the same financial position to enter the industry. As stated by a respondent “Not many tourists in Seine Bight, most in Placencia and up the road”. Many of the residents in Seine Bight do not own or manage tourist establishments however they work for the surrounding resort that are owned by Americans. The people of Seine Bight are open in their condemnation of several resorts where they are employed. They are never paid time and a half for overtime nor is the tip money that is collected from service charges distributed. If an employee speaks up he or she is fired. Many of the women who work at night are not offered a ride and must walk several miles in rain rutted roads to get home. “The people of Seine Bight who work for resorts do not have rides home. This can be dangerous for people at night even more so when it is payday.” Their safety is a major concern. A respondent states “The employees are not allowed to mingle with tourists”. It appears

that the people of Seine Bight are more concerned with the management of the resorts affecting their value system rather than tourists. An example of the oppression felt by many in Seine Bight from the resorts is expressed in the following response.

The tourist build up the standard. The resorts keep us down. They do not give us jobs. How do we bed without jobs? Tourists come and get everything but the mass get nothing. They are too greedy. They want to keep the tourists. They resorts do not want us. The tourists come to be with the people of Seine bight but the resort owners keep them away.

Other respondents view tourists and the knowledge they bring enlightening.

“They bring a lot of stuff such as technology and ideas. Get to learn a lot from them.”

Seine Bight village understands that tourists are instrumental to their survival, “Tourism provides the food and jobs, get to know a lot of people, get to meet strangers, it is great for people to come to our village.” Most of the responses in Seine Bight reflect their positive attitudes towards tourists and tourism. “Tourism generates more jobs on the peninsula, helps to support homes, better quality of life” and one of the most poignant “Tourism allows my brother to go to work and earn money and send me to school. It also allows for him to contribute to my family and others.” As can be seen the village of Seine Bight is grateful for tourists and the industry of tourism, however their response to several foreign owned resorts is not without disdain and conflict.

Case Studies

Case Study 1

Thomas is an educated man who only recently entered the tourism industry. He was born in Dangriga Town where he attended primary school and eventually relocated to Seine Bight where he completed his elementary education. After attending primary

school he moved to Belize City where he completed second form (high school). After high school he moved to Punta Gorda and received a degree in biology at the college level. His first position in teaching was in Belize City at Grace Primary then he was transferred to Sittee River, Dangriga, Pomona and to Gales Point. In Gales Point he requested a transfer to teach in Placencia where he taught for four and a half years. In the summer he worked periodically in San Pedro the largest tourist destination in Belize and eventually assisted the oldest ex-patriot run tourist establishment on the peninsula. He expressed gratitude to the owner of this resort for paying his college educational expenses. A couple owns the particular resort from North and South America is not only held in esteem from this respondent but from many in Placencia and Seine Bight because they have contributed in many ways to both villages.

Due to his experience in San Pedro and Placencia, Joseph decided to enter the tourist industry. The transient nature of teaching had left him exhausted and from the stress of never knowing where he would be teaching from year to year. He also stated his like of socializing with people from different areas of the world and the opportunity to be his own boss.

Joseph's life has not been easy but at times difficult and trying. However he stated without hesitation that the happiest moment of his life was the day he was married. Joseph and his wife have two children and work side by side from dawn to dusk trying to make their tourists business a success. One of the saddest moments of his life was the death of his favorite uncle. As children Joseph and his uncle attended the same school and fished together whenever the opportunity was forthcoming. His uncle joined the Belizean army and served his country with dignity and pride. One day the uncle became

very ill and reported to his superior officer and during this meeting he dropped to the ground and was extremely ill. The officers rushed him to Merida, Mexico at which time he was diagnosed with prostate cancer. He died a short time after diagnosis. But for Joseph the day of his death was also filled with joy, because with his uncle's passing a new life was born. On February 14th the day of his uncle death Joseph first born son arrived to greet his grieving father. Joseph states "it still hurts today".

In the winter of 19 December, 2000 Joseph opened his tourist establishment that includes 4 cabanas and a bar-restaurant sitting almost directly on top of the Caribbean Sea. Each cabana consists of beds and shower-toilet facilities where in the morning children scurrying off to school against the azure blue Caribbean locked shoreline would greet guests. Joseph did most of the building for the tourist establishment with the initial work beginning in May of 2000. After completion in December of the year 2000 business was steady until May and he ran out of rooms over the Easter holiday and December. Most of the visitors during the Easter holiday are Belizeans. Joseph plans for the future are to sell his property from the road to the lagoon so that he may buy a vehicle and a boat to help in the movement and transportation of tourists to and from the village. The vehicle would also help him to procure the never-ending lists of supplies needed to feed the over night stays in his cabanas. As can be seen form Joseph the entrepreneurial spirit is alive and well in a developing country. In Belize educators are given the utmost respect however Joseph along with his family wanted a sense of community, stability and autonomy thus he found entering the tourism industry a way of fulfilling his desires.

Case Study 2

Anthony is no stranger to Belize and has recently moved back to retire in the village after a successful career in the United States. In the 1970's he went to the United States to better his situation. At this time he worked in the sugar industry and moved to New York City. Later he worked in middle management at an international advertising company and was transferred to Los Angeles. He spent 27 years in the United States and returned to Belize in 1997 on Thanksgiving Day.

For Anthony everything is about planning as he states "life is not easy" and the major part of one's life needs to be planned. One has to work and stay with it for the plan to come to fruition. Before he left the United States to return to Belize he had thought of several ventures to pursue in Belize. His first plan was to build cabanas and rent them to tourist but eventually decided to have a grocery store. The grocery store began operation in August 1999. Before leaving for the United States Anthony wanted to be a policeman but was too small. He was a teacher for awhile but realized his dreams and plans could not be met in education profession.

During my conversation with Anthony he thought of his childhood evoking memories of the past. The land in front on the beach was high. At this time there was not a road just a path to pass from home to home. A boat named the Heron H. brought all supplies to the village. It was a motor boat accommodating Belizeans for over night stays and dining rooms. The boat would travel from southern Belize departing from the town of Punta Gorda around 12:00 p.m. first traveling north to Monkey River, Placencia, Blair Atoll, Dangriga and eventually arriving in Belize City at 4:00a.m. The Heron H. then

would repeat its trip southward leaving Belize City around 5:00 p.m. and arrive in Punta Gorda at 10:30 a.m. traveling to Barrios in Guatemala.

The fishing in Seine Bight was never commercial like in Placencia, rather fishing was a subsistence activity. Most of the supplies came from Belize by barge to Mango Creek. The Belize Estate and Produce Company was instrumental in the development of Mango Creek. The Belize Estate and Produce Company opened up the area by starting a logging industry. According to Anthony a man from Scotland named John Robinson instrumental in this development but treated his workers with disdain and eventually was killed. Robinson although disliked was instrumental through the logging industry in the opening of roads going north. The industry bloomed and people from many areas migrated to this area for employment. With the arrival of workers to the area another town began called Big Creek. Several years later Big Creek was named Independence by George Price the Prime Minister. Belize Estate and Produce Company left but was replaced by a company named Hercules whose headquarter were located in Bloomington, Delaware. The company extracted stumps from fallen trees and created resin which was converted into turpentine. Eventually the plant closed and moved to Bluefield, Nicaragua.

Anthony loved growing up in Seine Bight and looked forward to the summer break so that he could accompany his father and grandfather to Kalifornia where there were large farms. They grew bananas, corn, plantains, coco-plant, dasheen, sweet potatoes and yams. Anthony attended primary school in Seine Bight but went to Dangriga for his secondary education.

Today Anthony's store is welcomed not only by the residents of Seine Bight but for residents of Maya Beach and Riversdale. The government of Belize is encouraging retirement in Belize by offering would be retirees duty free entrance into the country. This program is facilitating the return of Belizeans who previously have worked outside the country. I met with Anthony on a typical tropical rainy day. He welcomed me at the front entrance of the grocery store where he led me back through the storage area moving rapidly past cans of vegetables, packages of rice, beans, sugar, shelves full of ripe plantains, cabbage and carrots. At the rear of the storage room I entered into a large kitchen where his wife had prepared fresh banana bread, orange juice and hot coffee. Anthony expressed his joy of being able to return to his childhood home and begin again.

Case Study 3

As I entered the bakery mid-morning on a Sunday in July the air was already thick with the smell of bread as the ocean breeze wafted gently on my forehead. Close to the main road sat the bakery. People were up and sitting under their homes hoping to catch whatever breeze floated in their direction. As I entered the bakery I noticed daylight penetrating the crevices in the walls, as the wheat dust danced in the light. Suddenly I heard footsteps on the stairs moving in my direction. Looking up I saw the strong stature of the smiling Bakerman and thought how similar his smile was to the sunlight pouring into the room. You could hear sizzling and cracking from above as the sun began to beat upon the tin roof. I could only imagine how hot the room must be at mid-day and was grateful that he would meet me in the morning before the heat of the day. Immediately Jon confided that today was Sunday and he liked to spend it with his

children at the beach to escape the hot summer day. Looking at me for a moment Jon said his son had fallen down the stairs in 1998 and was losing his ability to walk and see. I could see that he was uncomfortable with the explanation of his son's health. Sitting quietly and looking out the door he began explaining that his son suffers from a genetic disorder that runs in his family. By the time the child is 4 or 5 years of age their brain begins to deteriorate and eventually the brain shuts down and the child dies. We stared briefly into each other's eyes as his pain flowed through his body catching him off guard for one brief moment. Rather than waste a minute of his time with his family I began to ask him about his bakery.

The bakery is a 15' by 10' room that is connected to the back of his home. The home is about 25' feet from the main road and approximately 200 feet from the Caribbean Sea. There are 6-8 oven shelves, a roller and a grinder. One large table takes up much of the space and lays alongside shelves for the finished product. The Baker man began the bakery in 1991. Before working in the village John received his education in Belize City. While going to school he worked in a bakery and also trapped lobster in Belize City. His family, in the village was concerned that Belize City was not an appropriate place for him because of his medical condition. John suffers from epilepsy and periodically has seizures. As stated by his father "baking bread is a life long job." In 1989 he received a call from the village telling him the bakery that had been operating in Placencia was closed because of the owner had kidney disease and went to the United States for treatment. Jon only visited the village on holidays but decided to check out the equipment in Placencia in order to start the bakery. When he first arrived and began the business he worked 7 days a week but now due to the ill health of his son he bakes 6 days

a week, Monday through Saturday and has Sundays free so that he may spend time with his family. He eventually built added room on his home for his bakery and purchased new equipment in 1991. Jon sells to several groceries in Placencia and also to several of the resort on the peninsula. He used to sell bread in Maya Beach but trucks coming in with groceries from Guatemala are now selling to the resorts north of village. Jon bakes white bread, whole wheat bread, hamburger and hot dog buns, French bread, dinner rolls and he is famous in the village for his cinnamon rolls. He has one employee in his business that works alongside him. Many of the resorts wanted whole wheat thus he began to purchase whole-wheat flour and yeast from Belize City. Now one of the local markets in the village purchases his supplies so that he is able to not travel. When he first began baking bread he used lard but today he uses shortening. The dynamic public for which Jon bakes is instrumental in the production process. Belizeans were not accustomed to whole wheat bread but in order to satisfy tourist tastes and dieting endeavors whole wheat bread and shortening have become a commodity for tourist consumption. The bakery is very important to several resorts and the village. In the early 1990's it was not unusual to not be able to find a loaf of bread during the Christmas holiday season. Today bread is baked daily and distributed throughout the village thanks to the Baker man.

Case Study 4

Christmas in Belize is not spent busily purchasing gifts but is a time of family togetherness and the comradely negotiation of friendship. As you walk in the village the sound of laughter bounces off the hard edge of the ocean's surface and children of all

ages tumble in the sand to the reggae rhythm hand in hand. I met Molly during my stay in Belize while working an archeological project in the village. It was Christmas Eve when I realized I needed a birthday cake for my husband whose birthday was the day after Christmas. Not having an oven nor the essentials for baking I began to inquire as to the necessity of finding a cake for the celebration. Through word of mouth I discovered Molly. Molly is a round Creole woman whose smile and laughter is a guarantee for any blues one may incur over the holidays. Telling her my dilemma she agreed to bake the cake and have it ready for dinner the day after Christmas. This was my introduction to Molly.

When I first met Molly she baked cakes in the village and periodically washed clothes for the tropic bug eaten hippie adventurer traveling by back-pack with sunburned nose and tousled hair. Molly dabbled in the tourism industry and then decided to work at a local restaurant that was owned by a family in the village but run by an Irishman from the United States. Her main responsibility was to cook for the restaurant and occasionally wait tables. Patrick was not a generous or kind man to his employees and after several months he fired Molly. He stated that “Molly you opened the door with me and I want you to close them with me.” He thought the workers even when the restaurant was empty should be working. During our conversation her eyes filled up with tears never quite understanding that this incident was the nature of conflict and the hegemonic relationship of a dominating individual from a developed country at imposing his values onto a lesser-developed country. Molly has never really healed from this experience of the embarrassment of being fired. But as destiny has it Patrick’s way of running a business did not work well with the local residents and he was eventually relieved of his

duties. So as quick as he came he was gone and back to the states. After this experience she went back to washing clothes and baking cakes and was able to collect enough capital to invest in a small two table and kitchen restaurant.

To begin an adventure one needs to believe in the possibility, the first step. While feeble at the onset the path is illuminated from the beginning. Bright rose the day beating down on the night's dim presence. The birds chattering in the low swinging frond of the coconut day. The hard sun beats on the night's end. Early bright begins the day, the tasks are many, preparation of Johnny cakes, eggs, plump mangoes, the tropical sweet.

Molly's breakfasts are one of the best in the village and she was the first to have drip coffee rather than instant. The small little restaurant was able to supply her with enough income to build a second floor with a room for tourist to rent. Today Molly's restaurant has undergone another transition of enlargement accommodating at least 6 table and a larger room for rent above the restaurant. Since the room is larger she can charge more rent to tourists enabling her to gain more capital. Molly does not wash clothes however she still bakes cakes and the resorts are calling her for orders constantly during the tourist season. During the tourist season she is able to hire one or two workers to help in the restaurant or to assist in the many basic duties that are required to run a restaurant and boarding room. Molly is shy, warm and intelligent and today is successful in the tourism industry.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

In this study, one of the factors, I attempted to examine is the relationship between ethnic identities and attitudes toward tourism. Several cultural forces shape ethnic identities over time. Ethnic identity is not a static property but dynamic negotiating the political and social landscape. Ethnic identities of groups can only be understood in terms of their relationships with other groups. Social constructions of ethnic identities are therefore influenced by day-to-day social interactions with others. Initially, host communities see tourists as strangers. The opportunity for benefiting from the “tourist gaze” Urry (1990) and from exhibiting the cultural and material aspects of ethnic life among host communities in Belize gave rise to various forms of social interactions between the tourists and ethnic groups. The contacts between the hosts and tourists also lead to changes in perception and self-definitions of ethnic identities (Cornell, 1987). The formation of attitudes towards tourism in general results from ongoing interaction between tourists and ethnic groups as members of the ethnic groups not only share a history but also cast opinions about the quality and scope of their own feelings of shared history in a public forum

This study has presented the ethnicity variable as a crucial variable in understanding tourism attitudes. Even as anthropologists and sociologists have focused on the local variables that shape ethnic identities, the process of globalization has generated several factors that shape ethnic identity. The growth of tourism is one such

factor. Ethnic identities can no longer be understood in terms of the local and this study has strongly emphasized the role of strangers in the formation of ethnic identities by examining tourism attitudes across ethnic groups. Tourists are also changed by their experiences of encounters with members of ethnic groups. To the extent that numerous tourist and ethnic member's encounters are satisfying to the tourists, the demand for tourism is likely to increase as tourists see themselves positively through the eyes of the members of the ethnic groups.

The relationship between ethnic identities and tourism attitudes is also influenced by several political and structural variables. In this study, I investigated attitudes of host community members in terms of their perceptions of factors such as impact on environment and intensity of contact. If ethnic groups vary significantly from each other in terms of their attitudes towards tourism, this might be due to a number of social, economic and political factors that have not been adequately captured in this study. Ethnic identities and modernization forces collide. The emergence of the global village, mass production, development of fast and efficient technologies tend to bring people together where they are able to communicate with each other and develop a sense of apportionment. The focus of modern forces is to create similarity and homogeneous material and non-material cultures that can easily be produced and transacted in markets. Tourism as a social phenomenon exists because, a large number of people want to get away from the modern and experience the strange, the unknown, and the unfamiliar. The preservation of ethnicity and therefore the ability of ethnic groups to provide a variety of tourist experiences across ethnic groups remains a strong counter force to the process of globalization and reveal the importance of the local.

In this study I used a variety of methods to examine the role of ethnicity in terms of the attitudes toward tourism. In the main, I used both qualitative and quantitative methods to examine the effect of ethnicity on tourism attitudes. The expectations were that significant differences should be found. However, results from qualitative data shows that there are several ways in which attitudes differ across ethnic groups.

The results of qualitative analysis point to the presence of social issues that are associated with attitudes towards tourism. One of the local resources that local tourists consume is the environment. In Placencia, three themes become salient in regard to respondent's views in regard to the environment, construction on the peninsula, depletion of marine resources, plant and animal life on the peninsula and the importance of the environment to their future. In Seine Bight also, environmental quality is an issue. There are four themes that emerge in Seine Bight compared to only three in Placencia. The environmental issues are associated with garbage and physical landscape and fauna. Two social issues emerge in the case of Seine Bight. These are related to the class conscious and quality of physical infrastructure development. At a broad level, there emerges considerable focus on the issues of environmental degradation in the communities, Placencia and Seine Bight. There is also evolving disillusionment over social economic differences between the two communities. In particular, responses from Seine Bight had explicit references to unequal treatment, class differences and sentiments in favor of resistance. One of the respondents asserted "Most people on the village cooperate. After a while, the resorts hire managers and they spoil the business and insult the workers. They do not care about the workers. Roberts Grove sends vehicles for the office workers but not the laundry workers. Discrimination is started. The ladies have to walk."

The response to the last question, How have your values influenced your views on tourists in general? The response to this question did not yield large variation. In general there appears to be broad based support for tourism as an economic activity to the extent that tourists were not contributing to the growth of immigrants who have visible contributed to the social inequalities.

There are differences in the social manifestations to tourism in the two villages. In Placencia, respondents see a need to regulate the tourism activity in the area through political and legal means. This reaction to control and regulate the industry is a response to inflow of not only tourists but also immigrants. This reaction has two components. One is targeted at the immigrants and the other is targeted at the some of the less desirable consequences generated by tourism activity.

There is a significant inflow of migrants from other countries, especially the United States. They have bought beach properties and recently have built huge mansions. The wealth gap between the immigrants and Belizeans is becoming more and more noticeable. The socio-economic class differences between the Belizeans and the immigrants contribute to the definition of ethnic identities. The immigrants fall into one of three categories. Belizeans migrating to the peninsula, immigrants from North America and Europe migrate to Belize to start business and immigrants who build homes. The immigrants along with the tourists are objectified as they even though, the attitudes towards tourists now remain supportive and positive.

The less desirable consequences of tourism are many. The responses in this study with regard to the less desirable consequences are related to crime, drugs, and hustling and begging. These are perceived as more problematic in Placencia than in Seine Bight.

Those who mention these social problems are more in favor of organizing the local mechanism of social control such as the police.

The socio-economic differential between Placencia and Seine Bight has inevitable implications. The development of tourism in Placencia was founded on the growth and decline of the fishing industry in Placencia. During the growth phase of the fishing industry, a number of cooperatives were founded throughout the country. This cooperative movement provided the impetus for the organization of the labor markets while generating capital for the transition to the tourism industry. The development of local infrastructure for tourism continues to enhance the growth of tourists in Placencia. In Seine Bight, however, the growth of tourism industry was a response to the tourist demand for sun and sand. The capital necessary for the growth of the tourist industry in Seine Bight is minimal but easily provided by entrepreneurs outside the Seine Bight community. The residents from Seine Bight continue to meet the demand for labor. Thus, the two communities differ in terms of their contributions to the tourist economy. The two communities, taken together provide a glimpse of the evolution of a ranked system shaped in a large measure by the growth of the tourism industry.

The ranked system has implications for tourism attitudes. The quantitative data supported the hypothesis that intensity of contact and attitudes towards tourism are positively related. However, the qualitative data indicate that the nature of this relationship may be qualified in several regards. First, Placencia residents have a longer history of tourism contact than residents of Seine Bight. Since Placencia has hosted tourists longer than Seine Bight and also received a larger influx of immigrants, the concerns and conflicts are more diverse

Second the roles of these two communities in the tourism industry also differ. Communities in Placencia were well prepared for the transition to a tourism economy while a large proportion of Seine Bight residents participate in the tourism economy by providing cheap labor to the industry and therefore lack the ability to control the growth of the industry. However, the growth of the tourism industry has also brought about a general consensus about the need to effectively address the depletion of environmental quality. The tourism industry in effect now presents unprecedented opportunities for the two communities to build alliances. The socio-economic difference between the two communities has emerged as an issue. The impact of tourism in the coastal communities in Seine Bight and Placencia has created conflict, but not between the villages. Emergence of class-consciousness as reflected by several statements of resistance only point to the role of tourism as an agent of social change in these communities. (See Figure 5)

Figure 5 presents the symbolic relationships among tourists, immigrants and residents of the two communities, Seine Bight and Placencia. The two ethnic groups hold similar perceptions towards the immigrants. At the symbolic level, the two ethnic groups appear to have alliances in terms of their perception of immigrants contributing to the unequal distribution of wealth. Both the tourists and immigrants are outside a shared identity between Placencia and Seine Bight. The tourists are external to the system but they contribute to the ongoing political as well as the social relationships among Placencia residents, Seine Bight residents and the immigrants.

This study attempted to examine the role of ethnicity and tourism. The results from the quantitative data utilized in the study did not reveal significant differences

between the two communities in terms of tourism attitudes. However, the qualitative data revealed that the two communities were similar in terms of their attitudes towards certain issues yet different with respect to others. As indicated earlier, the two communities saw the immigrants as a source of threat. They also saw social inequality as an emerging issue, a point of conflict. These findings suggest that future studies should focus more on a qualitative research design for studying the role of ethnicity in tourism. This is perhaps even more relevant given that very little is known about the role of ethnicity in tourism.

There are also a few limitations. Implementing a random sampling approach proved difficult. Maps of the two areas were not readily available. A few that were available were old and outdated. I also found that it is very important to pay attention to the wording of the questions. Even though the questionnaire was pilot tested, while the survey was being done, it was found that a number of residents did not understand the term values.

In conclusion, the forces of globalization are entrenched in the villages of Seine Bight and Placencia. Through the ever-expanding tourist industry, a larger worldview is shared through the tourist-host encounter. It is apparent from this research that conflict is emerging in both villages however while globalization has a homogenizing effect in attitudes in both villages it simultaneously is instrumental in the rise of conflict between the villages and the outsiders. Belize is a new nation gaining its independence in 1981 and developing political and economic institutions. As indicated in the history chapter each village pursued different modes of production while inhabiting the same environment. Historically the village of Placencia aligned itself with the UDP (United

Democratic Party) while Seine Bight was aligned with the PUP (People's United Party). Each village also had different religious affiliation. Seine Bight's religious participation was in the Catholic Church whereas Placencia's religious participation was in the Anglican Church. The villages' participation in different social institutions also facilitated the villages' separation. However with the rise of tourism residents of both Placencia and Seine Bight have been brought together under the same economic system.

The villages of Placencia and Seine Bight are each represented by a village council. The village councils are responsible for raising funds to assist in village activities that are in the public forum. Placencia establish the Placencia Tourist Association to assist businesses and to gain political strength within the Belize Tourist Association. Thus Placencia has been able to secure a political arena through the participation of residents in the private sphere of the economy.

As indicated from the qualitative data the villages are similar in their attitudes towards certain issues involving tourism. The only way to enhance the political and economic strength in both villages would be to establish a township. This would enable both villages to partake in a political forum at the national level and secure public funds that are not available at the village council level. Nonetheless, it is within the polarity of hosts and guests and the emerging conflict that could secure the villages of Placencia and Seine Bight's political and economic future.

APPENDIX A
TABLES AND CHART

Table 1. International tourist arrivals, 1950-1990 Excluding Excursionists.

Date	Tourists Arrivals	Date	Tourists Arrivals
1950	25,282,000	1984	312,434,000
1960	69,296,000	1985	322,723,000
1970	159,690,000	1986	330,527,000
1980	284,841,000	1987	356,787,000
1981	288,848,000	1988	381,946,000
1982	285,780,000	1989	414,223,000
1983	284,173,900	1990	425,000,000

Source: WTO, 1991a, p.11

Table 2. Belize tourist's expenditures 1988-1998.

Year	Belize \$ (in millions)
1988	44.2
1989	58.8
1990	88.9
1991	89.5
1992	119.3
1993	138.5
1994	142.7
1995	154.1
1996	177.2
1997	176.0
1998	198.0

Source: Travel and Tourism Statistics, Belize Tourism Board, 1998.

*\$1.00 Belize equals 0.50 US.

Table 3. Descriptive statistics for the four independent variables and the dependent variable.

Variable	N	Range	Min.	Max.	Mean	STD
Attitudes Towards Tourism	102	23	37	60	49.16	4.52
Socio-Economic Status	99	103	3	106	15.98	28.44
Intensity of Contact	104	22	6	28	17.95	5.03
Environmental Awareness	98	16	12	28	20.51	3.18
Garifuna	107	1	0.0	1.0	0.439	0.498
Creole	107	1	0.0	1.0	0.392	0.491

Table 4. Skewness and kurtosis of the independent variables and dependent variable.

Variable	Skewness	Kurtosis
Socio-economic status	0.451	-0.263
Intensity of contact	-0.203	-0.482
Environmental awareness	-0.412	-0.084
Attitudes towards tourism	0.105	-0.262

Table 5. Simple linear regression of attitudes towards on the four independent variables.

Variable	Constant	Unstandardized β	Standardized β
Socio-economic status	47.42	0.258	0.107
Intensity of contact	46.36	0.157*	0.174*
Environmental awareness	47.23	0.093	0.064
Garifuna	48.68	0.632	0.070
Creole	48.68	0.492	0.053

* $p < 0.01$

Table 6. Multiple regression of attitudes toward tourism on the four independent variables.

Variable	Constant	Unstandardized β	Standardized β
Socio-economic status	42.882	0.127	0.088
Intensity of contact	42.882	0.182	0.198*
Environmental awareness	42.882	0.098	0.068
Garifuna	42.882	1.367	0.149
Creole	42.882	0.298	0.198

*p < 0.01

Table 7. Word count for the responses on the question ‘environmental change’.

Words	Frequencies	
	Placencia	Seine Bight
Yes	13	17
Information	21	17
Change	10	12
Environment	8	9
Tourism	8	5
House	-	7
Build	6	2
Beach	-	2
Village	4	2
Garbage	3	3
Need	3	-
Views	3	-
Clean	-	2
Care	2	-
Conch	2	-
Cut	2	-
Development	2	2
Honduras	2	-
Jobs	-	2
Kids	2	-
Land	2	-
Lobster	2	-
Place	2	-
Protect	2	-
Rivers	2	-
Trees	2	2
Water	-	2

Table 8. Word count for the responses on the question ‘change in the village’.

Words	Frequencies	
	Placencia	Seine Bight
Cleanup	-	19
Hotels	-	8
Tourism	17	17
Village	-	15
Need	-	10
Change	9	4
Good	9	8
Beach	-	6
Hotel	-	6
Restaurants	-	5
Garbage	-	3
Business	3	-
Drugs	3	-
Foreigner	3	-
Land	3	-
Law	3	-
Opportunity	3	-
Activities	2	-
Equal	2	-
Implement	2	-
Price	2	-
Limit	2	-
Resorts	-	2
Boat	-	2
Sell	2	-

Table 9. Word count for the responses on the question ‘values influencing your views’.

Words	Frequencies	
	Placencia	Seine Bight
Positive	3	27
Tourism	23	15
Job	-	7
Negative	3	6
Contribute	5	5
Life	7	5
Value	6	-
Job	5	-
Live	4	4
Good	9	3
Income	3	-
Money	3	3
Resort	-	3
Threat	3	3
Village	-	3
Buy	2	-
Enjoy	2	-
Family	2	-
Company	2	-
Country	2	-
Depend	2	-
Ask	-	2
Children	-	2
Cultural	-	2
Develop	-	2
Help	-	2
Provides	-	2
Stuff	-	2
Work	-	2

Chart 1

Property in Placencia and Seine Bight in 1881-1906

South of Point Placencia

W. N. Gill 18 1/2 acres

W. Garbutt 5 acres

F. Garbutt 15 acres

Exons of W. Garbutt 5 acres (this property lays right on the point)

North of Point Placencia

J. Garbutt purchase 5 acres

J. Martinez purchase 5 acres

Ellen Garbutt purchase 5 acres

Noel M. Vernon Grant # 21 of 1881 no acreage stated

N. M. Vernon 10 acres Grant of 1906

Stephen Woods 20 acres of 1893

S. Woods 50 acres

F. A. Fisher 50 acres

C. McNab

W. Young and W. Garbutt 30 acres

G. W. Richardson 15 acres

North of Seine Bight Village

C. Moradel 16 acres Grant 25 purchase 1892

Bentura 10 acres Grant 14

J. Stephens Purchase Grant 5 acres

Manuel Siege Purchase 40 acres Grant 13 1892

M. Transito Purchase 10 acres Grant 16 1892

M. Augustino 10 acres

Andre Gonzalez 10 acres

Source: Belmopan, Belize, Governmental Headquarters, Map Department

APPENDIX B
MAP AND FIGURES

Map 1. Road map of Belize.

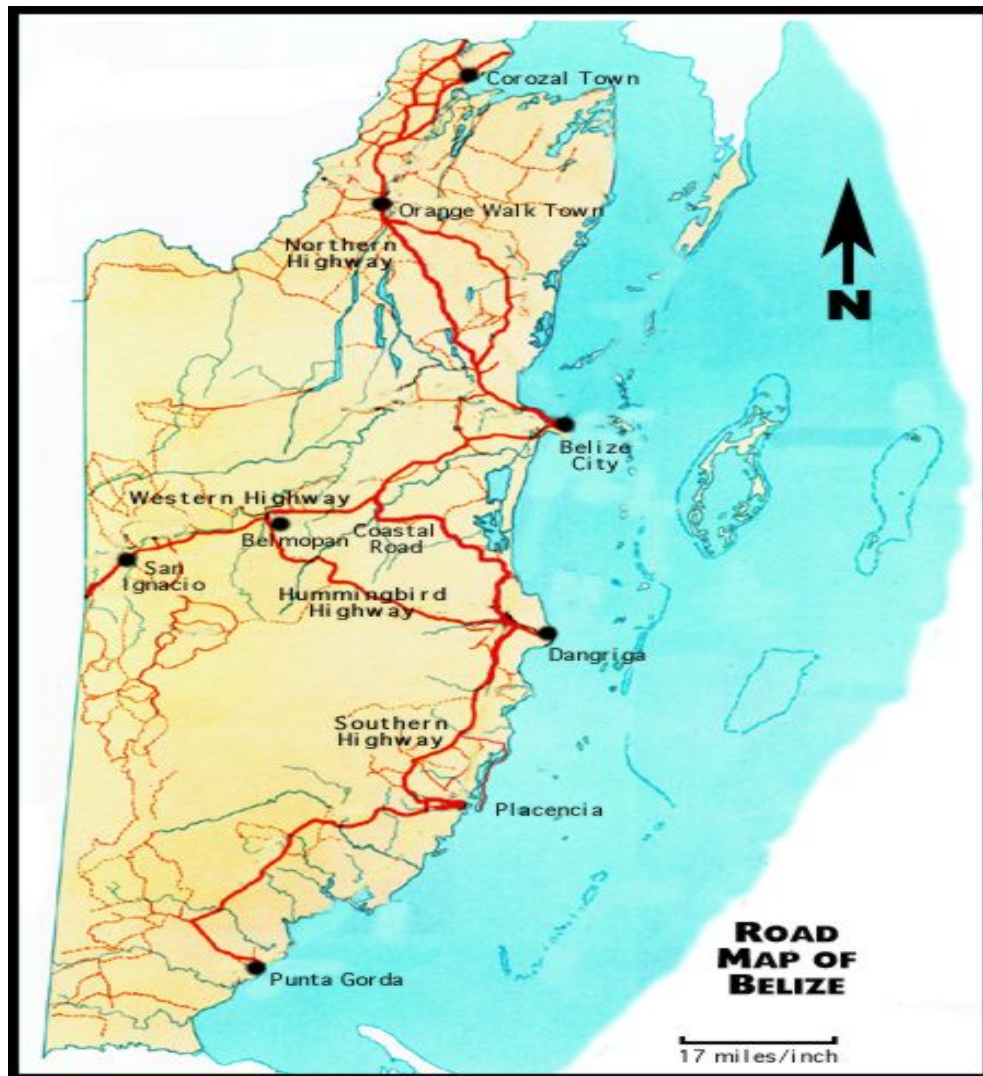


Figure 1. Histogram for tourism attitudes.

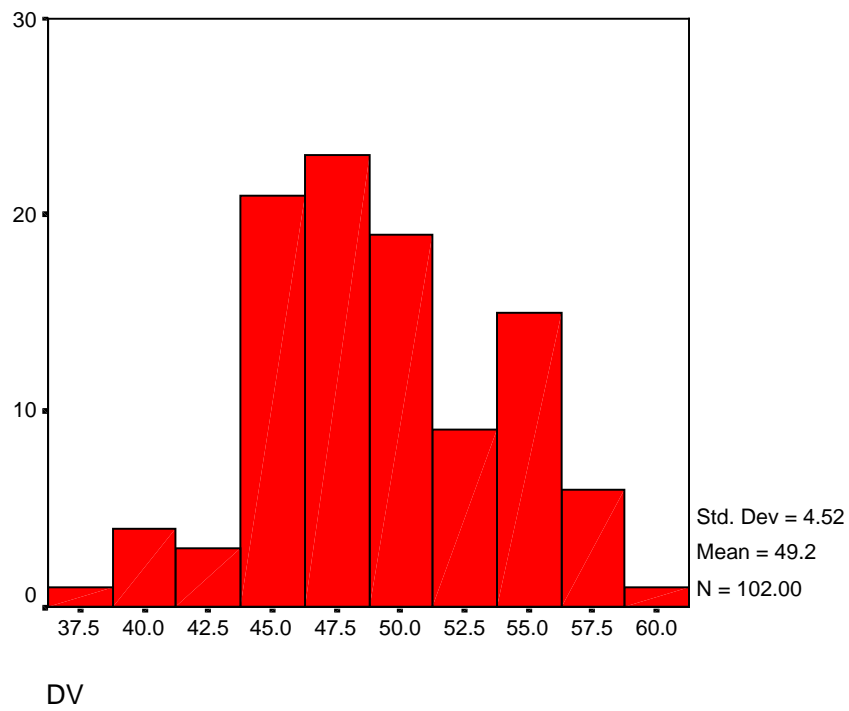


Figure 2. Histogram for 'intensity of contacts'

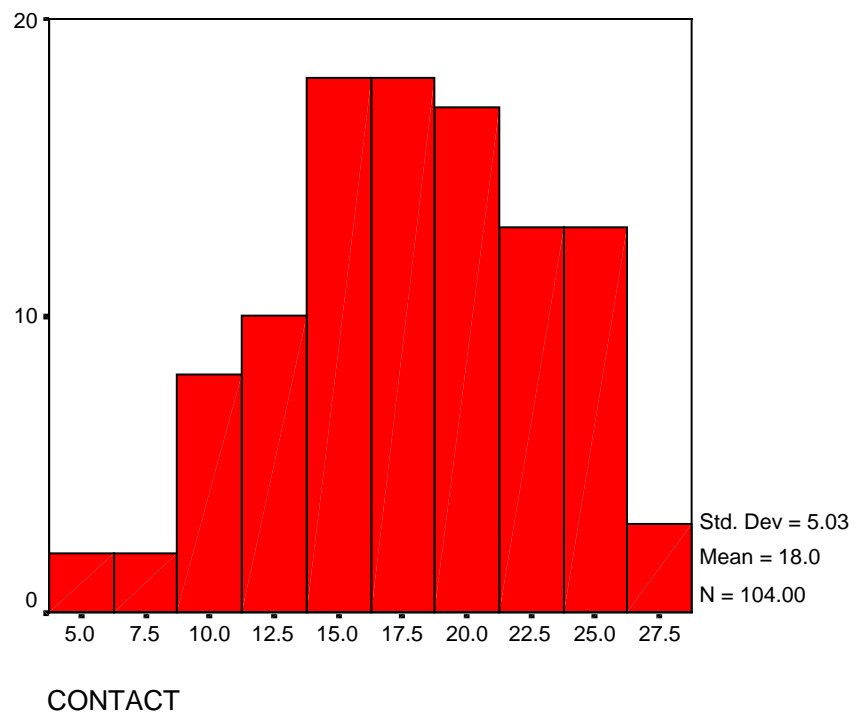


Figure 3. Histogram for 'environmental awareness'.

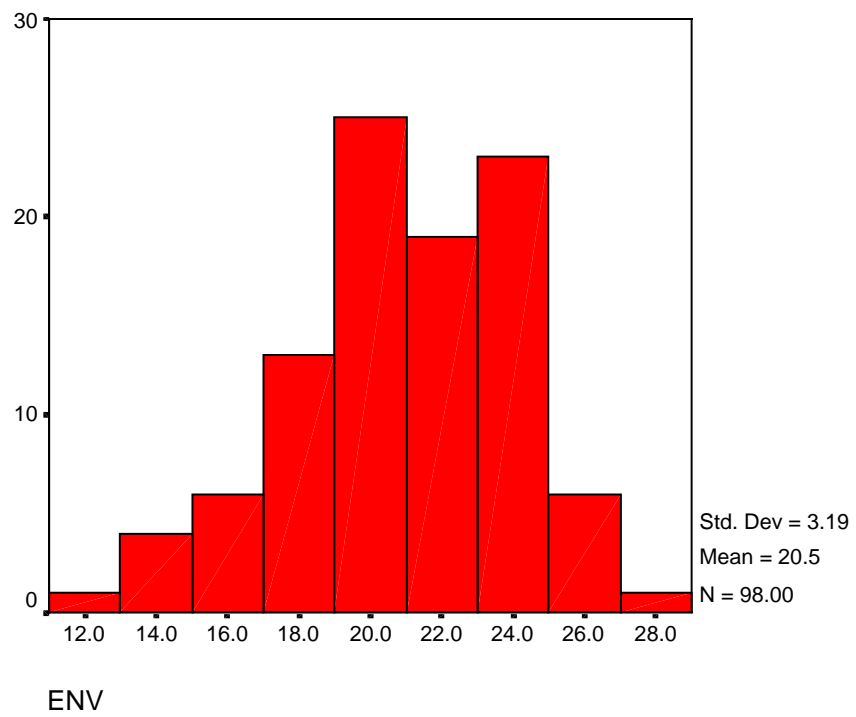


Figure 4. Histogram for 'socio-economic status'.

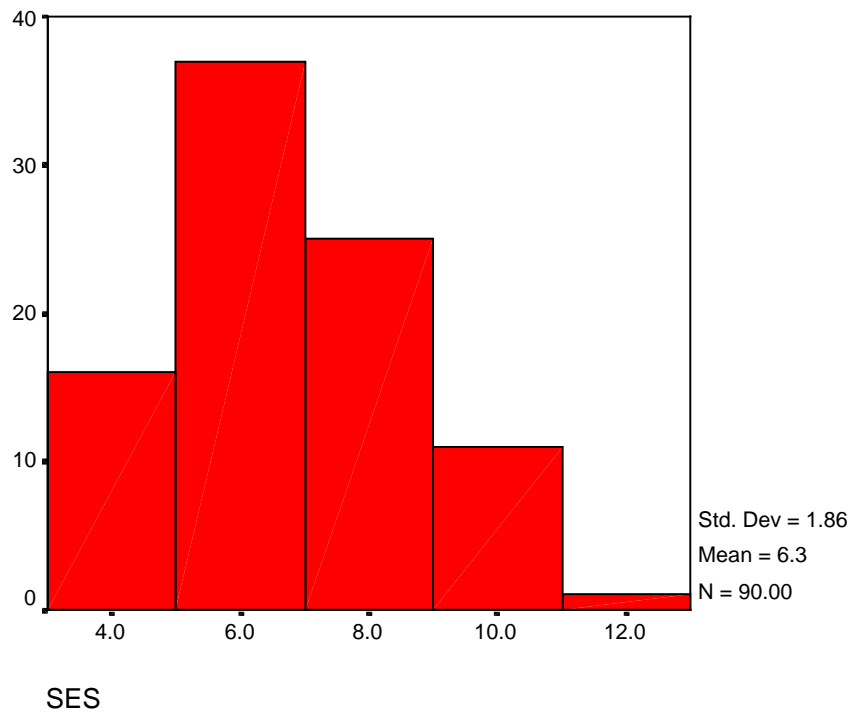
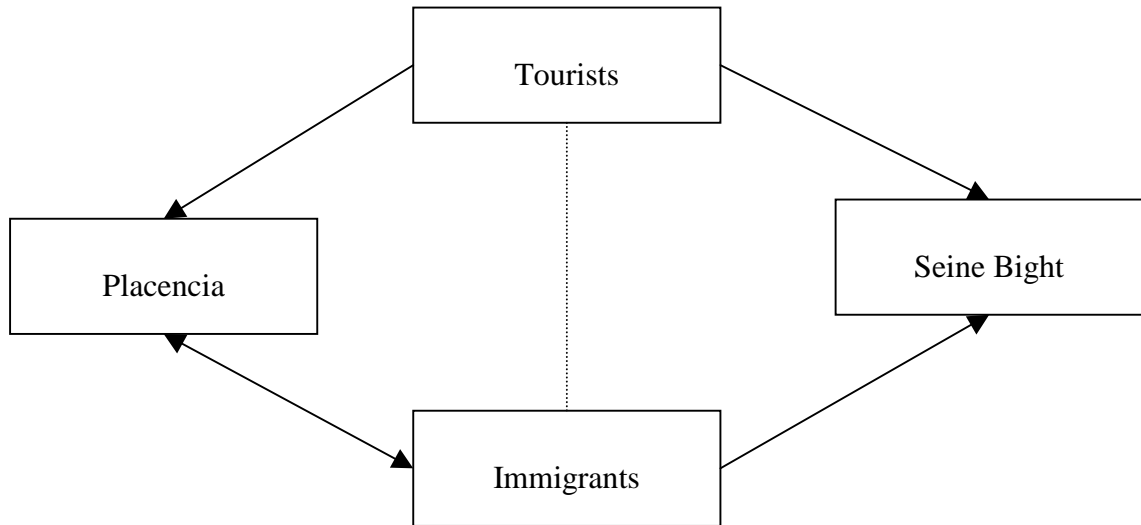


Figure 5. Schematic diagram of relationship among tourists, immigrants and residents of the two communities.



APPENDIX C
QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Age: 18-35 _____ 36+ _____

2. Sex: Male _____ Female _____

3. Marital Status

Single: _____

Married: _____

Divorced: _____

Consensual union: _____

Widowed: _____

4. Years of schooling _____

5. Ethnicity:

Creole _____

Garifuna _____

Mestizo _____

Maya _____

Non-Hispanic White _____

Other, Specify _____

6. (Optional) Income per month _____

7. Occupation _____

8. How often in the last 6 months have you come in contact with tourists?

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
every day	several times a week	several times a month	very little	none

9. How often in the last 6 months have you come in contact with tourists at work?

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
every day	several times a week	several times a month	very little	none

10. How often in the last six months have you come in contact with tourists at church?

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
every day	several times a week	several times a month	very little	none

11. How often have tourist friends come to you home in the last 6 months?

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
every day	several times a week	several times a month	very little	none

12. How often in the last 6 months have you come into contact with tourists at festivals, celebrations and parties?

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
every day	several times a week	several times a month	very little	none

13. How often in the last 6 months have you come into contact with tourists at sporting events, such as soccer and baseball?

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
every day	several times a week	several times a month	very little	none

14. How often in the last 6 months have you come into contact with tourists at a restaurant?

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
every day	several times a week	several times a month	very little	none

15. I like tourists to come to the village.

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

16. I see tourists as potential friends.

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

17. I enjoy sharing my views with tourists.

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

18. I enjoy providing information to tourists.

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

19. I like to make tourists feel at home.

<u>Strongly</u> Agree	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Neither Agree</u> or <u>Disagree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly</u> Disagree
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20. If I have a chance I like to invite tourists to my home.

<u>Strongly</u> Agree	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Neither Agree</u> or <u>Disagree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly</u> Disagree
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21. I feel like a stranger in the company of tourists.

<u>Strongly</u> Agree	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Neither Agree</u> or <u>Disagree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly</u> Disagree
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22. I like to keep in contact with tourists I have met.

<u>Strongly</u> Agree	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Neither Agree</u> or <u>Disagree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly</u> Disagree
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23. I like to socialize with tourists as friends.

<u>Strongly</u> Agree	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Neither Agree</u> or <u>Disagree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly</u> Disagree
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24. I see tourists as my equals.

<u>Strongly</u> Agree	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Neither Agree</u> or <u>Disagree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly</u> Disagree
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25. I believe tourism has some negative effects on the village.

<u>Strongly</u> Agree	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Neither Agree</u> or <u>Disagree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly</u> Disagree
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26. I believe tourism has brought more crime to the village.

<u>Strongly</u> Agree	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Neither Agree</u> or Disagree	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly</u> Disagree
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27. I believe tourism creates job opportunities.

<u>Strongly</u> Agree	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Neither Agree</u> or Disagree	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly</u> Disagree
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28. I believe tourism promotes more knowledge about the world.

<u>Strongly</u> Agree	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Neither Agree</u> or Disagree	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly</u> Disagree
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29. Because of tourists, we use more gas and oil. This increases the amount of bad air.

<u>Strongly</u> Agree	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Neither Agree</u> or Disagree	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly</u> Disagree
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30. In Belize the people now use the beaches a lot more than they used to. This increases the amount of garbage in the ocean.

<u>Strongly</u> Agree	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Neither Agree</u> or Disagree	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly</u> Disagree
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31. I believe our lagoons have become damaged because of over-use by the tourist and their guides.

<u>Strongly</u> Agree	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Neither Agree</u> or Disagree	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly</u> Disagree
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32. I believe we are killing our fish, conch and lobster faster than in the past.

<u>Strongly</u> Agree	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Neither Agree</u> or Disagree	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly</u> Disagree
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33. There is less wildlife on the peninsula because of tourism.

Strongly
Agree

Agree

Neither Agree
or
Disagree

Disagree

Strongly
Disagree

34. Have your views about the environment changed? If yes, how have they changed?

35. If you had one opportunity to implement a change in this village with regard to tourism, what will it be?

36. How have your values influenced your views on tourists in general? Do they threaten your own way of life? I mean, in what ways do they positively contribute to your quality of life? In what ways do they negatively contribute to your way of life?

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