

CULTURAL MODELS OF FOOD IN CUBAN MIAMI:

ROOTS, YUCAS, AND MOROS

by

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ABSTRACT

Roots, Yucas, and Moros are all foods that Cubans commonly eat, and these foods are also imbued with symbolic meaning. Roots are one of the few vegetables present in the typical Cuban diet. And roots represent the powerful first generation Cubans who arrived in the 1960s after Castro first came into power. Cuban Americans say they have blossomed in the US but that their roots are still in Cuba. The Cuban version of Yuppy is a *Yuca*, a young upwardly-mobile Cuban American, and these are the children of the wealthy exiles. *Moros* is a shortened form of “*moros y christianos*” (which literally means “Moores and Christians”), and is the name of the Cuban staple of black beans and white rice. The intermingling of European and African traditions are appreciated in Cuban culture, however there is also a tremendous degree of racism in Miami. The powerful and wealthy exiles are mainly light-skinned. Newer arrivals are more ethnically mixed, they come from a wider variety of socioeconomic backgrounds, and have lived perhaps their entire lives under communist rule.

The purpose of this research is to examine Miami Cubans’ cultural knowledge about food, aiming to identify cultural factors that contribute to variation in this knowledge. There is increasing heterogeneity within the Miami Cuban enclave in terms of social class, ethnicity, and political values, and this research strives to identify how polarizing beliefs about US-Cuba politics may be manifested in the way people talk about and think of food. It explores how diverse foodway experiences may spawn differential knowledge structures within the domain of

food. Finally, it explores how cultural knowledge constructs may influence food intake and body size. It was predicted that:

1. More than one model in the cultural domain of food and foodways will exist among the diverse groups of Miami Cubans.
- 2a. Degree of experience with alternative foodways will be associated with cultural knowledge in the model of food, and
- 2b. Difference in knowledge will be specifically reflected in the health belief dimension of the food model.
3. Political values will contribute to the distribution of cultural knowledge about food.
4. Degree of alternative foodway experience will have a positive relationship with fruit and vegetable intake.
5. Knowledge variation in the domain of food will have a positive relationship with BMI.

Four Cuban neighborhoods were selected for sampling which represent diverse socioeconomic statuses and immigration waves: Little Havana, Hialeah, Kendall and Coral Gables. Research took place from September 2009 to March 2011. One hundred forty-three Miami Cubans were interviewed using structured and semi-structured techniques as well as participant observation in the Cuban communities.

Results indicate that Cubans in Miami highly share knowledge in the domain of food. However, variation does exist and appears along the dimension of healthfulness of food. Experience in diverse foodways appears to influence food knowledge.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

<i>AIDS</i>	Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
<i>BMI</i>	Body Mass Index
<i>CCA</i>	Cultural consensus analysis
<i>CDC</i>	Centers for Disease Control
<i>CSA</i>	Community Supported Agriculture
<i>CUC</i>	Cuban convertible peso
<i>CUP</i>	Cuban Peso
<i>df</i>	Degrees of freedom: number of values free to vary after certain restrictions have been placed on the data
<i>F</i>	Fisher's <i>F</i> ratio: A ration of two variances
<i>HIV</i>	Human immunodeficiency virus
<i>M</i>	Mean: the sum of a set of measurements divided by the number of measurements in the set
<i>MDS</i>	Multidimensional scaling analysis
<i>N, n</i>	Number
<i>NET</i>	Neighborhood Enhancement Team
<i>p</i>	Probability associated with the occurrence under the null hypothesis of a value as extreme as or more extreme than the observed value

r Pearson product-moment correlation

R^2 Multiple correlation coefficient

sd Standard deviation

t Computed value of *t* test

USDA United States Department of Agriculture

WHO World Health Organization

YUCA Young upwardly mobile Cuban American

< Less than

> Greater than

= Equal to

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CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

Though Little Havana represents only a fraction of Miami-Dade County, the eighth most populous county in the US (United States Census Bureau 2007), it is the epicenter of the vibrant Cuban diaspora. Over the past five decades of immigration to the US, Cubans have spread out well beyond Little Havana; today Cubans outnumber Anglos (White, non-Hispanics) in Miami (United States Census Bureau 2007). Cuban Americans have greatly influenced the culture and politics of South Florida (Bishin et al. 2009; Castro Mariño 2002; de la Torre 2003; Eckstein 2009b; García 1997; Grenier 1992; Grenier and Pérez 2003; Grenier et al. 2007; Henken 2005; Hill 1996; Levine and Asís 2000; Pérez, 1992; Perez-Firmat 1994; Reiff 1987; 1993; Stepick et al. 2003). Cuban traditions flavor South Florida's cuisine (Levine and Asís 2000), as well as other cultural components including kinship practices (Arenas 1994; Gonzalez 1996; Mirandé 1997; Reiff 1987; Robaina 1996), religion (Hearn 2008; Kirk 1989; Wedel 2004), music, and art (Daniels 1995;).

Aside from similar climate and terrain, very little of Cuban Miami resembles the homeland (Levine and Asís 2000). Although the degree to which successive immigration waves suffered political injustice and communist austerity differs, the vast majority of Cuban emigres came to Miami to escape political and economic conditions (Eckstein 2009b; Grenier and Pérez 2003; Grenier et al. 2007). Accordingly, the Cuban diaspora is shaped in opposition to post-revolutionary Cuba. Perhaps the first difference that one notices when arriving in Havana are the

streets lined with 1950s era American cars instead of the luxury, European automobiles so valued in ostentatious Miami. The next most striking difference is certainly the method of food production and distribution in Havana and Miami. Havana has many small agricultural projects within the city limits. This local production supplements the rations (beans, flour, rice, coffee, sugar, chicken/fish, eggs) which alone could not provide adequate caloric intake (Alvarez 2004; Cooper, Kennelly, and Orduñez-Garcia 2006; Franco et al. 2007; Hernandez-Reguant 2009; Rosset and Bourque 2002). Comparatively, local food projects in Miami are few and far between. While the rest of the US has seen a boom in local food projects like community gardens, farmers markets, and small-scale production, Miami is curiously out of the loop despite having an environment conducive to such projects (Yanez 2010). One of the endeavors of this research is to identify how Cuban emigres' political sentiments may influence the development of alternative foodways in Miami.

The purpose of this research is to examine Miami Cubans' cultural knowledge about food, aiming to identify cultural factors that contribute to variation in this knowledge. There is increasing heterogeneity within the Miami Cuban enclave in terms of social class, ethnicity, and political values (Bishin et al. 2009; Eckstein 2009b; Eckstein and Barberia 2002; Grenier et al. 2007; Haney and Vanderbush 2005; Miller 2009; Perez-lopez 2004), and this research strives to identify how polarizing beliefs about US-Cuba politics may be manifested in the way people talk about and think of food.

The research is an investigation of conventional and alternative foodways. *Conventional foodways* refers to the dominant, globalized foodways which distribute foods produced from industrialized agriculture that are often highly processed with additives and preservatives (Bonnano et al. 1994; Cone, Abbot, and Myhre 2000). *Alternative foodways* refers to locally

produced, small-scale, and/or chemical-free, sustainable foodways (Feagan 2007; Feenstra 1997; 2002; DeLind 2002; Hinrichs 2003). Both types of foodways are present in Cuba and Miami, and this research explores how differing experiences with each type of foodway contribute to variation in cultural cognitive models of food. It explores how diverse foodway experiences may spawn differential knowledge structures within the domain of food. Finally, it explores how cultural knowledge constructs may influence food intake and body size.

Background and Significance

A biocultural framework is used throughout this research on Miami Cubans' cultural values of food and foodways, eating behaviors, and body size. Because human nutrition involves practically equal parts biology and culture, the biocultural approach is well-suited for investigations of food (Pelto et al. 2000). Culture is understood to be first and foremost a cognitive construct, and this research analyzes intracultural variation of cultural knowledge about food among the diverse Miami Cuban enclave. Though the cultural domain of food exists as shared cognition, one of the ways that it becomes manifested is in consumption patterns. These consumption patterns, including eating behaviors, food choice, and foodways, are influenced by culture, while in turn act upon the cultural domain of food itself.

While culture is richly captured using deep description and ethnographic experience, it cannot be quantified using this method alone. A cognitive definition of culture, along with the method and statistical tool of cultural consensus analysis allows culture to be a quantifiable variable. In this case, cultural knowledge about food is used to test how culture is distributed among diverse groups and how it may influence food intake and play a role in body size.

The cultural consensus approach, developed by Romney et al. (1986), combines qualitative and quantitative methods to determine the shared, and therefore cultural, components of individual cognitive models.

Urban agriculture is an alternative foodway that involves the growing of crops within city limits. Urban agriculture contributes to more than half of Havana's food supply (Alvarez 2004; Bourque et al. 2002; Cooper, Kennelly, and Orduñez-Garcia 2006; Franco et al. 2007; Hernandez-Reguant 2009; Rosset and Bourque 2002). The development of urban agriculture in Cuba reflected the rapid movement towards decentralization set off in Cuba as a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union (Companiononi 2002). With shrinking resources at its command, Cuba's government found itself unable to guarantee basic necessities for the population at large and had to devolve many of its previous service-provisioning functions to the non-state sector. Included here was primary food production and, within it, urban agriculture (Bourque et al. 2002).

The urban agriculture sites that sprang up in Cuba during the economic crisis that began in 1989 have, from their inception, been imbued with strong political connotations derived from their embeddedness in the already ideologically charged terrain of food and food production in socialist Cuba (Companiononi 2002). The political connotations of Havana's urban gardens are by no means tacit. Many of the urban gardens in Havana have a publicized political pedigree. For example, one of the first community gardens in Havana was named “the godson” of Raúl Castro (Cruz and Sanchez 2001). Indeed, Castro has been described as the driving force behind the national urban agriculture movement (Companiononi 2002). It is also true that without the economic crisis brought about the break-up of the Soviet Union, urban agriculture would not have been chosen as an area of development by the government.

Conversely, US alternative foodways arose not out of necessity, but as function of progressive social movements including conservationism (Berry 1977; Campbell and Liepins 2001; Carson 1962; Cone, Abbot, and Myhre 2000), “health” consciousness (to increase quality fruit and vegetable intake) (Baer 2001; Carson 1962; Durham, King, and Roheim 2009; Pollan 2008b), and food justice (Allen 2003; Anderson and Cook 1999; Cummins and Macintyre 2002; Grey 2000; Hinrichs 2003; Nestle 2002; Pollan 2008a). Alternative foodway activists posit that that involvement with alternative foodways fundamentally changes the way one thinks about food (Allen 2003; Trubeck 2005, 2008; Winter 2003), builds community bonds (Hinrichs 2003), gives a greater sense of identity (Wilk 2006; Winter 2003), eases the ills of modern life (Cone and Myhre 2000; Ferguson 1994), and contributes to better eating habits, safer food, and a cleaner environment (Allen 2003; Pollan 2008a; 2008b; Powell et al. 2007; Raja, Ma, and Pavan 2008; Walker, Kenae and Burke 2004). This ideology reflects only the US version of alternative foodways—a movement that is a choice, not a survival technique.

No matter the political, social, and economic connotations associated with alternative foodways, eating fruits and vegetables is widely recognized as essential to good health (Cummins and Macintyre 2002). In the US today, 64 percent of US residents are either overweight or obese which places more than half of the population at increased risk for life-threatening metabolic diseases (World Health Organization 2010). Alternative foodways in the US provide consumers with more choices of purportedly healthier fruits and vegetables. Local food projects could thus aid in the battle against overweight and obesity in the US. However, no investigations have empirically examined if being involved with local food movements contributes to consumption of more fruits and vegetables or normal (as opposed to over) weight.

Research Hypotheses

1. It is predicted that more than one model in the cultural domain of food and foodways will exist among the diverse groups of Miami Cubans.
- 2a. Degree of experience with alternative foodways will be associated with cultural knowledge in the model of food, and
- 2b. difference in knowledge will be specifically reflected in the health belief dimension of the food model.
3. Political values will contribute to the distribution of cultural knowledge about food.
4. Degree of alternative foodway experience will have a positive relationship with fruit and vegetable intake.
5. Knowledge variation in the domain of food will have a positive relationship with BMI.

Research Design

Miami is highly stratified along social class, political, and racial lines—even among the Cuban cohorts themselves. Therefore, four Cuban neighborhoods were selected for sampling which represent diverse socioeconomic statuses and immigration waves: Little Havana, Hialeah, Kendall and Coral Gables. Research took place from September 2009 to March 2011. One hundred forty-three Miami Cubans were interviewed as well as 79 Non-Cuban Miamians. Along with ethnographic interviewing, I spent time eating, socializing, and searching for food in these communities. I attempted to discover all the foodways available to residents.

I presented participants with cognitive tasks that urged them to access their cultural models in order to answer. These cognitive methods allow for the investigation of the contents and structure of model(s) of food and foodways. Cultural consensus analysis is a method used to ascertain the degree of agreement between respondents on a specific domain of knowledge and

the competence each informant has in the domain (Romney, Weller, and Batchelder 1987). Consensus analysis has been found to be successful with a small number of informants when there is a high degree of sharing within the group (Romney, Weller and Batchelder 1986).

Asking participants questions based on underlying knowledge structures enables the ethnographer to ascertain the level of consensus about the model(s) and the degree of variation between informants concerning the specific domain (i.e., food and foodways). The cognitive anthropological methods employed ensure the emic validity of the final consensus statements by including participants' own words in the final interview schedule.

Chapter Organization

The theoretical orientations and literature which frame this research are presented in Chapters Two through Four. Chapter Two presents the theoretical orientations that structure the investigation, Chapter Three describes the Cuban Miami culture, and Chapter Four covers the topic of food and foodways in anthropology.

The biocultural approach is described in Chapter Two, as well as the theoretical origins of the cognitive definition of culture. The theory and method of cultural consensus analysis, which is based on cognitive theory, is then presented. The chapter then turns attention to the subject of food. First, anthropological understandings of global and local foodways are then discussed, followed by a review of literature regarding the socio-cultural meanings of food with close attention to the exploration of food, meaning, and social class.

Chapter Three gives an in-depth description of Cuban culture in Miami, beginning with basic sociocultural elements that structure *cubanidad* (Cuban-ness) in Miami, including political and economic organization, gender roles, marriage, and kinship. The historical roots of Cuba are traced, including the Spanish conquest, the colonial era, independence from Spain and

subsequent dependence on the US, Castro's revolution, the Cold War era, the post-Soviet collapse, and finally the current state of the Cuban nation. The focus then shifts to the *cubanidad* in Miami and the building of the diaspora. The three immigration waves are described in detail. The diversity among the enclave is discussed, along with Miami Cubans' relations with other ethnic groups in South Florida. Despite a shared history, Cubans from different sectors of society have had different experiences. This chapter closes with an exploration of these varied experiences of *cubanidad* for diverse Cuban groups living in Miami.

Chapter Four concerns literature related to food and foodways in anthropology, beginning with a discussion of seminal works. The second section pulls together three areas of study which are the underpinnings of this research: 1) the evolving human diet; 2) foodways in the modern world; and, 3) food and identity.

Chapter Five presents two preliminary studies about Cuban foodways. The first describes preliminary fieldwork in Havana during September 2008. The second is a study of the Miami foodways during October 2010. The purpose of this chapter is to give contextual details of Cubans' experiences of foodways in Havana versus Miami. Foodway experience will become a central variable in later Results Chapters (8-10). The findings from these two studies further flesh out the diverse experiences of eating and food getting that Miami Cubans have potentially encountered and the cultural values associated with food and foodways in Havana and Miami.

The following chapters (6-10) concern the research carried out in Miami between September 2009 and March 2011. Chapter Six describes the setting where data collection was carried out. The chapter illustrates the four sampled Cuban neighborhoods using demographic data, participant observation of foodways, and ethnographic description.

Chapter Seven presents the methodology of the research, including participant recruitment and sampling strata, structured interviewing, key informant narrative analysis, and data analysis. Methods from cognitive anthropology are used to investigate the cultural model.

Chapter Eight examines the cultural knowledge that Cubans in Miami have about food and foodways. The focus of this chapter is on the elements of the cultural domain of food among Cubans. First, demographic data are presented, followed by results of freelisting. Model development data are discussed. Freelisting and model development culminate in emically-generated and informant-validated agree/disagree statements that were later used in consensus analysis.

Chapter Nine presents the results of consensus analysis. The agree/disagree statements presented in Chapter Eight represent the underlying knowledge which structures cultural models of food and foodways. This chapter explores the variation in knowledge within the domain of food and foodways among Cubans, specifically, how factors that contribute to the purported heterogeneity of the Cuban diaspora (immigration wave, generation, political values) may also contribute to the distribution of cultural knowledge. The chapter explores how involvement with alternative foodways in Cuba and Miami influence the meaning of food. The hypotheses tested using consensus analysis are: 1) Cubans will draw from more than one model in the cultural domain of food; 2a) involvement with alternative foodways will contribute to the distribution of knowledge; 2b) difference in knowledge will be specifically reflected in the health belief dimension of the food model. Bivariate correlations and regression analyses are used to test the hypothesis that 3) political values will contribute to the distribution of cultural knowledge about food.

Even though knowledge is not the same as behavior, different knowledge constructs contribute to food choices and the places that people go to procure food (such as, supermarkets, farmers markets, or home gardens). Chapter Ten deals with relationships between knowledge, behavior, and body size. New variables are introduced which represent eating behaviors: fruit/vegetable intake and physical activity. The Body Mass Index (BMI) is used to estimate the degree to which participants fall within healthy weight ranges. Bivariate correlations and regression analyses are used to test the following hypotheses: 4) alternative foodway experience will have an inverse relationship with BMI; 5) knowledge variation in the domain of food will be reflected as variation in BMI.

Finally, Chapter Eleven synthesizes the findings and explores the anthropological and applied implications of the study. Limitations to the research are discussed, as well as future directions for the topic of food within Cuban culture.

CHAPTER 2:

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

A biocultural framework is used throughout this research on Miami Cubans' cultural values of food and foodways, eating behaviors, and body size. Culture is understood to be first and foremost a cognitive construct, and this research analyzes intracultural variation of cultural knowledge about food among the diverse Miami Cuban enclave. Though the cultural domain of food exists as shared cognition, it becomes manifested in consumption patterns. These consumption patterns, which include eating behaviors and food/foodway choices, are both influenced by culture and act upon the cultural domain of food itself. Thus, this research explores consumption as both what foods are eaten in Cuban Miami and what foodways provide that food. The theoretical underpinnings of this research are discussed in this chapter.

Biocultural Medical Anthropology

A biocultural perspective is one that explores the relationship between human biology and cultures in which humans live. Biocultural research is broadly defined as a “comprehensive view of humans as biological, social, and cultural beings” (McElroy 1990). Defining culture as individuals' shared knowledge, culture is intrinsically “linked to the individual, which in turn is linked to the biological” (Dressler 2003: 334). Because the roots of the biocultural paradigm are situated within medical anthropology (Wiley 1992), many studies have demonstrated links between culture, biology, and health (Cassel, Patrick, and Jenkins 1960; Dressler 1990; 1994; 1999; 2003; Dressler and Oths 1997; Oths 1999; Scotch 1963). Furthermore, because human

nutrition involves practically equal parts biology and culture, the biocultural approach is well-suited for investigations of food (Pelto et al. 2000).

The biocultural approach is more than doing a “little ethnography as a supplement to collecting biological data” (McElroy 1990:244). According to Dressler, “the cultural in the biocultural is a process by which shared and distributed knowledge defines a cultural space in which that knowledge is acted on by individuals” (2005:41). In this dissertation, both the biology and the socio-cultural aspects of food and foodways in Miami are addressed.

Ethnographic data were collected, not to merely supplement the biological data on food intake and anthropometrics, but to juxtapose the results of participation with a specific foodway, cultural knowledge about food, and political values about Cuba and the US.

Cognitive Anthropology and Cultural Consensus Analysis

Culture, anthropology's central concept, has wide-ranging definitions within the discipline as a whole. Following this, the analytical components of cultural anthropology research have been equally broad. Some anthropologists focus on cultural materials, others on culture as public practice and social exchange (Shore 1996; Tyler 1969). Cognitive anthropology negotiates the contributions of the materialist and idealist positions in anthropology, and combines elements of mental and practice-oriented views of culture (D'Andrade 1995; 2001). The cognitive approach to culture does not investigate material phenomena, but rather cognitive organizations of material phenomena (Tyler 1969), emphasizing the rules of behavior rather than behavior itself (Applebaum 1987). The primary theoretical underpinning of the cognitive approach is that culture exists in community members' minds as cognitive constructs (Applebaum 1987; D'Andrade 1995; Shore 1996), though it is often manifested as material artifacts (Shore 1996). Cognitive anthropologists bridge the gap between the public and the individual through the

concept of cultural models, which exist in the individual mind but are shared by members of a cultural group (Barnard and Spencer 2003). Culture is theorized as both learned and shared systems of knowledge (Goodenough 1981). Cultural consensus analysis is based on cognitive theory and provides the methodologies and analytical tools to uncover specifics about individuals' shared knowledge constructs. A cognitive approach and consensus analysis method and theory are utilized throughout this research on Cubans' cultural knowledge about food and foodways in Miami. This section discusses the background of cognitive anthropology and cultural consensus analysis.

Cognitive studies can be traced back to Boas (Boas 1938; Colby 1996), who realized that different peoples had different conceptions and perceptions of the world around them (Shore 1996). In the mid 20th century as more ethnographers entered the field, it became evident that different anthropologists were finding conflicting results on cultural groups (Colby 1996). Ethnographic validity became a central issue in cultural anthropology. Ethnographers' descriptive observations alone were no longer sufficient to explain culture. The new purpose of ethnography was to find the underlying structure behind a culture group's construction and perception of the world around them. Early cognitive anthropological approaches to culture exhibit the influence of linguistics both in theory and in methods (for examples, see: Conklin 1955 and 1969 on color categories and folk taxonomies; Goodenough 1951, 1964, and 1969 on kinship; and Frake 1969). The principal research goal identified by early cognitive anthropologists was to determine the content and organization of culture as knowledge (D'Andrade 1995). Calling for a methodologically rigorous, emically valid approach to ethnographic inquiry, Goodenough (1956) laid out the basic premises for cognitive anthropology. He states that “culture is a conceptual mode underlying human behavior” (Goodenough 1956:3).

Culture is the basis for defining elements of the world (material and ideal), for deciding how to feel and think about these elements, and for determining how to take action (Goodenough 1964). Goodenough (1964) posited that successful navigation of the social world requires individuals to possess a certain level of cultural knowledge.

There is a difference between technical knowledge and cultural knowledge. Cultural knowledge is tacit, and most informants take this type of knowledge to be a “given” or common sense. Cultural knowledge structures, or models, exist so that people do not have to constantly think about what to do when they encounter normal day-to-day events. Take for example a nutritional epidemiologist who has just moved to Cuban Miami. She has a lot of technical or scientific knowledge about food. However, she has very little cultural knowledge of food, since she does not know that a *caja china* (an apparatus for roasting a whole pig) is the most important element of a Christmas dinner, and that *moros* (black beans) are always served with rice. This is not to say that cultural knowledge cannot also be based on technical or scientific knowledge. One qualification for cultural knowledge is that it is shared by the aggregate to be true. Subsequent chapters will discuss how Cubans agree that “fruits and vegetables are healthy”—an example of cultural knowledge that would match the scientific knowledge of the nutritional epidemiologist.

Though knowledge must be shared to be termed cultural, it is shared invariably across a population. Intracultural diversity (Pelto and Pelto 1975) is of central importance in the cognitive definition and investigation of culture. Because it is this sharing of models, or consensus, that provides the aggregate properties of culture (D'Andrade 1984; Dressler et al. 2005), much of cognitive anthropology is concerned with questions of cultural knowledge distribution among a particular population. Cognitive investigations likely address one or more

of the following queries: whether or not cultural knowledge on a particular cultural realm (i.e., food) is in fact shared, to what extent knowledge is shared, and the distribution of knowledge across persons (D'Andrade 1995). This research explores the domains of food in Miami among Cubans. It identifies whether or not Cubans share cultural knowledge in the domain of food, and how the knowledge is distributed across the diverse immigration waves, generations, social classes, and ethnicities. The research examines how involvement with alternative foodways is related to cultural knowledge in the domain of food.

Cultural Consensus Analysis

Testing for variation in knowledge or expertise in a particular domain is made possible by cultural consensus analysis (Romney, Weller, and Batchelder 1986). Cultural consensus analysis (or consensus analysis) is both a method and an analysis which determines the degree of consensus among informants on specific cultural domains. The methodology and statistical techniques of consensus analysis are discussed in Chapter Seven (Methods). Here, the theoretical underpinnings of consensus analysis are presented. Consensus analysis operationalizes the degree to which individuals in a sample share knowledge within a domain, while also measuring each informant's cultural competence within said domain (Dressler et al. 2005; Romney, Weller, and Batchelder 1986). A cultural domain is comprised of a set of related ideas or items that form a larger category (Weller and Romney 1988). The individual items within a domain partially achieve their meaning from their relationship to other items in a “mutually interdependent system reflecting the way in which a given language or culture classifies the relevant conceptual sphere” (Weller and Romney 1988: 9). Consensus analysis identifies the central elements of a cultural domain, assesses how those elements are organized, and provides a culturally “correct” answer key. Three central assumptions of consensus analysis

are: (1) that there is a single, shared conglomerate of answers that constitute a coherent domain; (2) each respondent's answers are given independently and the correlation between respondents is known only after data collection; and (3) items are relatively homogeneously known by all respondents (Romney 1999). Consensus analysis demands that the domain is defined in the respondents' own words. Having respondents define the domain is the emic power of consensus analysis.

Consensus analysis has been criticized for the central presumption of cultural knowledge sharing. Handwerker (2002) and Caulkins and Hyatt (1999) have argued that culture, particularly in contemporary global contexts, is fluid, contested, and multidimensional—not the single, unified construct proposed by formal consensus analysis. They insist that rich cultural diversity around a domain can exist within a culture group. The culture group itself is difficult to define since elements of cultural models may extend across groups. Additionally, individuals likely draw on multiple cultural models in different contexts and social interactions. Handwerker (2002) proposes that weak consensus, elevated alternate factors, differentially distributed factor loadings, and negative factor loadings can all be useful data, and that cultural models should not be dismissed if they do not meet the criteria of such based on formal consensus analysis theory. Non-coherent domains (those that do not reach consensus) can signal cultural contestation and subcultural groups (Caulkins and Hyatt 1999). Non-coherent domains can be interpreted in a more general fashion, and can reveal important information about the distribution and integration of cultural information. This research investigates Cubans' cultural knowledge about food in Miami. Preliminary studies indicate that food may be a particularly non-coherent domain due to the diversity of the Cuban enclave in Miami (see Chapter Five).

Health Studies and Cultural Consensus Analysis

Consensus analysis renders the nebulosity of culture more accessible and quantifiable, thus enabling researchers to use culture itself as a variable. Consensus analysis has been used with great success in medical and biocultural anthropology investigations (e.g., Chavez et al. 2001 on cervical cancer screening among Latinas; Garro 1988 on explanatory models of high blood pressure among Ojibwa) including illness categories (Weller, Ruebush, and Klein 1991), explanatory models (Garro 1988), kinship terms (Romney, Weller, and Batchelder 1986), knowledge and process in organizations and social movements (Caulkins and Hyatt 1999), everyday practices and identities (Caulkins 2001), and elementary education culture (Handwerker 2002). Consensus analysis identifies what community members hold to be the cultural “standard” or “expectation” of a specific domain. Thus, researchers interested in the relationship of class and ethnicity on health have been particularly apt to use consensus analysis (Dressler 1999; 2001; Dressler and Bindon 2000).

In areas of high status inequality, a diversity of health indicators (e.g., diabetes, heart disease, and mental health) follow a social gradient termed the status syndrome (Kumari, Head, and Marmot 2004; Marmot 2004). Cultural models give contextual meaning to experiences and help us predict what to expect and how to behave in daily life. They are at once mundane and powerful. Cultural models are tacit in daily life, and rarely emerge from an informant's unconscious. Yet, they are also powerful. The inability to enact cultural models in daily lives has been shown to be a chronic stressor that impacts health, and ethnic minorities are especially challenged in achieving the dominant group's cultural models (due to structural constraints of social class and discrimination) (Dressler 1990; Dressler and Bindon 2000; Dressler et al. 1997; 1998; Gravlee and Dressler 2005; Janes 1990).

Much research in the US on ethnicity and health disparities explores the social stigma and health consequences associated with darker skin color. An African American man in Harlem is less likely than a man in Bangladesh to survive to the age of 65 (McCord and Freeman 1990). Nationally, African Americans have an all-cause mortality rate that is one and a half times that of Whites (Keppel, Percy and Wagner 2002) in cardiovascular disease, diabetes, and hypertension (Mensah et al. 2005). Implicated in these mortality and morbidity rates are the stressors of economic disadvantage, psychosocial distress, and discrimination, which inflict African Americans incongruently to the Caucasian majority (Brondolo et al. 2003; Shapiro 2004; Troxel et al. 2003). Furthermore, these challenges can promote unhealthy lifestyles (i.e., inability to eat a balanced diet) (Dressler and Bindon 2000).

Though Caribbean and Latin American concepts of skin color and ethnicity are arguably not as “black and white” as US constructs (Chomsky 2003; Gravlee 2005), de la Fuente (2001a, 2001b) posits that discrimination against blackness in Cuba may be simply more tacit than the well-publicized US version. Despite the “colorblind” rhetoric of post-revolutionary Cuba, when Afro-Cubans immigrate they become subject to US racism (Greenbaum 1985; 2002). In the US they are most likely perceived as African American, even if they identify as Hispanic, Cuban, or Afro-Cuban (Stepick et al. 2003; Woltman and Newbold 2009). Miami has had a particularly tense racial relations since the 1960s. Afro-Cubans remain virtually invisible in the Miami power structure—there are few Black Cuban-American elected officials, few leaders of major exile groups, and few major academic studies documenting their migration—even though they are more representative of an island where half or more of the population is now estimated to be Black and mulatto (de la Fuente 2001a; 2001b; Greenbaum 1985; 2002; Navarro 1997; Portes and Stepick 1993; Waters 1999).

The topic of ethnicity in Miami will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three.

Cultural factors influence health; however, if cultural dimensions are to be studied with respect to biological and health outcomes, then they must be quantifiable. Consensus analysis provides the tools to do this. In this research, Miami Cubans' cultural knowledge of food and foodways is explored. Using a cognitive approach, it is assumed that some of Cubans' knowledge about food is shared and cultural. The technique of cultural consensus analysis (along with a host of other ethnographic techniques discussed in Chapter Five) is used to identify some of the most salient elements within in the domain of food. Consensus analysis is used to quantify the degree to which Cubans share cultural knowledge. Much of the heterogeneity of the Cuban enclave is based on social class and ethnic differences, which stem from diverse immigration experiences, political affiliation, and values and beliefs associated with Cuba, Castro, and communism. This research investigates how cultural knowledge about food is shared across these subgroups of Cubans. Furthermore, food behaviors (diet) and health outcomes (body size) are assessed in order to link the cognitive to the corporeal.

Anthropological Understandings of Global and Local Foodways

Foodways, the production, distribution, and consumption of food (Anderson 2005), have increasingly shifted from local and autonomous to become part of global, corporate agribusiness, which has created a disconnect between people, food, and place (Feagan 2007; Feenstra 2002; Pollan 2006; 2008a; 2008b) and has wreaked havoc on our nutritional balance (Nestle 1999; 2002; 2006). The evolutionary advantage of human subsistence strategies is that they are innovative and adaptive. Thus, there has always been some degree of change within foodways. For most of human history, foodways were self-sufficient and independently provided the proper balance of nutrients and minerals (Eaton and Konner 1985). The past five centuries of European

exploration, colonization and global expansion has resulted in a globalized cuisine and delocalized foodway (Fieldhouse 1995; Franke 1987; Pelto and Pelto 2000). Colonialism brought previously isolated cultures into contact with each other. Industrialized agriculture and global transportation have been widely recognized by anthropologists as the developments that have most contributed to today's delocalized, global foodways (Bonnano et al. 1994; Bryant et al. 1985; Mintz 2006; Pilcher 1998; Wilk 2006). Delocalization is the process “in which food varieties, production methods, and consumption patterns are disseminated throughout the world in an ever-increasing and intensifying network of socioeconomic and political interdependency” (Pelto and Pelto 2000:269). With less autonomy over foodways and less access to food products, developing nations suffer more nutritional deficits than developed nations, who have exponentially more control over the global market of food (Anderson and Cook 1999). Nonetheless, those of limited monetary resources within developed nations suffer much nutritional hardship as well (Popkin 2001; Sobal 2001; Tillotson 2004).

Since the global foodway is ruled by the market rather than human nutritional needs, the foods that increase profits are those that are available in the most abundance (Belasco 1999). These agricultural products include corn, soy, and wheat, which are added to processed foods in myriad ways (Nestle 2002). Continual consumption of these processed foods contribute to an increased prevalence of overweight, especially among middle-to-low-income populations. Before industrialization of agriculture and globalized food, the poorest populations were more often thin than large-bodied. Popkin (2001) refers to this process as the “nutrition transition.” Omran (1971) proposed the “epidemiological transition” to describe the post-developmental mortality shift from acute to chronic diseases. (See also Corruccini and Kaul 1983 for an anthropological perspective on the epidemiological transition.) The nutrition transition, which

occurs concurrently with the epidemiological transition, refers to malnutrition resulting from from not only the need for food, but the need for high-quality nourishment. Foods rich in vitamins, minerals, and micronutrients, such as fruits, vegetables, and whole grains, have been substituted by foods heavy in added sugar, saturated fat, and sodium. This trend, which began in developed, industrialized countries, has spread to developing countries. Malnutrition, once identified by emaciated bodies, is now also associated with obesity (Popkin 2001; 2004).

The American diet is imbalanced towards refined, processed foods with inadequate fruit and vegetable consumption (Patterson et al. 1990). The department of agriculture recommends two and a half cups of vegetables and two cups of fruit per day; however, household consumption of fruits and vegetables has been reported to be as low a quarter cup per day (Brewis and Gartin 2006). Adequate fruit and vegetable consumption is heralded as preventive of chronic metabolic diseases (i.e., obesity, diabetes, cardiovascular disease, cancer) that plague post-nutrition transition US (Heimendinger, Stables, and Foerster 2001; Nestle 1999).

Defining Conventional and Alternative Foodways

The globalizing process has resulted in the industrial food system, a system that now produces the bulk of the world's food in a highly efficient manner. Because it is the preeminent foodway, it is referred to as the "conventional" foodway within academic and lay literature (Bonnano et al. 1994; Cone, Abbot, and Myhre 2000) and will be referred to as such throughout this research. The conventional foodway is energy and capital intensive, globally integrated, and economically consolidated (Kloppenburg et al. 2000). The conventional foodway emphasizes convenience and choice over transparency of growing and processing procedures and safety (Kloppenburg et al. 2000). It has resulted in environmental degradation and economic disaster for self-sufficient farmers and small businesses related to local food production, distribution, and

consumption (Jarosz 2000). Feenstra (2002) suggests that becoming distant physically and socially from the land where our food is grown and from the people who grow it has disintegrated critical social and spiritual bonds within the communities.

Local food systems have re-emerged, in part, as counterpoints to the homogenous conventional foodway (Feagan 2007; Feenstra 2002; 1997; DeLind 2002; Hinrichs 2003). These alternatives include small farms, organic and sustainable production, urban agriculture, road-side stands, community supported agriculture, community gardens, and farmers markets. Some farmers markets have local produce or producer-vendors. Other farmers markets may be little more than outdoor, wholesale produce vending. Because farmers markets are not a part of the conventional food buying experience (i.e., going to the grocery), they are considered to be an alternative foodway. Alternative foodway activists are largely motivated to revive local food in order to improve health and nutrition, conserve the environment, and/or strengthen local community bonds (Feagan, Morris, and Krug 2004; Hinrichs 2003; Tansey and Worsley 1995). There has been a tremendous increase in public awareness of local food system movements in the last few years (Smith and MacKinnon 2007; Pollan 2008; Kenner 2009). Pollen (2008) suggests one of the most powerful things an individual can do is to eat food produced locally. Most national, regional, and local newspapers regularly feature articles and stories on alternative foodways, and haute couture dining has capitalized on featuring local, organic products (Durham, King, and Roheim 2009). Striking a popular nerve in the consumer driven US society, alternative foodways have become an appealing novelty (Hinrichs 2003).

Social and Cultural Meanings of Food

An important premise to this research is that a community can legitimize or resist an ideology by manipulating specific symbols conveyed through everyday practices. I have focused

on the Cuban community of Miami to test the validity of this premise. In this section I consider two categories of relevant literature: food as it defines and structures collective identities (and contributes to continuity), and food as a vector of culture change.

Bourdieu's theories of everyday practice and aesthetic taste figure heavily into this research. The dominant question in Bourdieu's (1977, 1984) research is how stratified social hierarchies and domination exist and persist over time seemingly beyond the consciousness of the group's members (Swartz 1997). He proposes that we answer this question by exploring the cultural resources, processes, and institutions that create and maintain hierarchies of domination between individuals. According to Bourdieu, all cultural symbols and practices function to enhance social distinctions (Swartz 1997). Food preferences are one of many everyday practice patterns that Bourdieu attempts to decode (other patterns include the rhythms of work, sleeping, leisure, and companionship). These patterns, in turn, encode the divisions, distinctions and hierarchies of society as a whole (Ortner 1994; Swartz 1997).

All people employ strategies and maneuvers as they seek social distinction (Bourdieu 1977). Jockeying for position then becomes a fundamental aspect of social life (Swartz 1997). Everyday practices embody the power relations among individuals, groups, and institutions, while at the same time, reproduce the social hierarchy of which they are a part. Rather than relying on overt coercion, forms of symbolic manipulation have become the principle mode of domination particularly among technologically advanced societies (Bourdieu 1990). For industrial societies, Bourdieu focuses on the role that cultural process and institutions play in producing and maintaining social inequality. Therefore, art, science, religion, educational systems, and language are all symbolic systems that should be scrutinized in the context of modern society (Bourdieu 1984). By observing everyday practices (work, eating, sleeping,

leisure) Bourdieu decodes the cultural forms that structure people's lives, thus revealing the patterns and rhythms that codify social divisions, distinctions, and inequalities.

Bourdieu (1984) suggests that aesthetic taste (i.e., the appreciation for consuming certain foods) marks and maintains social boundaries between class structures. His classic example is his analysis of the eating practices and food choices of the working class and the elite. Bourdieu used the phrase "taste of luxury", which included purchasing fresh fruits and vegetables and a preference for tasty, health giving foods, to represent the aesthetics of pleasure associated with the freedom of choice that went along with being a member of the elite. Conversely, the working class was concerned with basic survival and focused on foods that were cheap and nutritional, what Bourdieu coined the "taste of necessity". Though Bourdieu's work concerned French society, the theoretical underpinnings are universal. In Miami, social class within the Cuban diaspora ranges from those below the poverty line to the wealthy, powerful, and politically well-connected. This research explores how cultural knowledge of food is distributed across the diverse Cuban community.

Groups are bound together not only through their belief systems and economic relationships, but also by their everyday practices. People who practice everyday activities in a way similar to that of their neighbors are more likely to consider themselves and those neighbors as part of the same group or community (Bourdieu 1990). Thus, everyday practice becomes a mechanism that binds people together and promotes group cohesion. As Bentley (2002) points out in relation to American meals and rationing during WWII, eating structures are sometimes reinforced and seem more rigid in times of upheaval and can thus act to reinforce broader social structures. This research demonstrates how the importance of eating Cuban food may be regimented among certain subgroups to reinforce the continuity of Cuban identity in Miami.

Food habits can play an important role in creating (and sometimes challenging) national identities (Appadurai 1981, 1987; Pilcher 1998). Nations with colonial pasts (like Cuba), lasting ethnic divisions, and corresponding distinctions in food habits are also challenged in the process of building common ground through food.

Bourdieu's notion of power seems to include little regard for practices of resistance that occur daily in face-to-face interaction. Dirks et al. (1994) claim that everyday practices are teeming with discontent, defiance, and refusal to buckle under, and that we need a model that allows us to address these aspects of social interaction. A model for social interaction should include not only the processes which shape the individual, but also allows for the individual to act outside of the cultural rules and norms that shape the members of society. Filling the gap left by Bourdieu, de Certeau (1984) focuses on the ability of a group or individual to manipulate power relations despite powerful institutions. The result of generating a little resistance against the hegemonic system is coined, *microfreedoms* (de Certeau 1984). In this way, the hold of political and social powers over people is circumvented at least to a degree.

If a focus on food habits sheds light on some of the processes that assure sociocultural continuities, it also illuminates processes of change. A number of anthropologists have focused on commoditization, globalization, and mass consumption as key vectors of change leading people to contradict, realign, or re-evaluate the structures of identity which shape their everyday practices (Appadurai 1981; James 1994; Tobin 1992; Wu and Cheung 2002). The interplay of global and local is shown to create new meanings and new spaces and structures of identification (Appadurai 1986; Trubeck 2005, 2008). Following Bourdieu, Trubeck (2005) investigates North Americans' use of food as a means to communicate identity. Food and the discourse surrounding it are so important that speaking specifically of local food traditions, Trubeck (2005, 2008) posits

that food and foodways are central to individuals' constructions of local environment and identity.

It is my view that the everyday practice of food consumption, production, and/or preparation among Cubans in Miami can provide insights about the preservation of community and attempts to distinguish oneself. Further, food practices can represent forces of change. This is particularly the case with the local food movement in the US. By eating “locally,” or sustainably produced food, one is purportedly acting as a socially and environmentally conscious consumer in the US. In Cuba, local and sustainable food represents something quite different. No matter if the food grown in this manner is healthier or better for the environment, local/sustainable food in Cuba is associated with communism. Thus, eating from the alternative foodways in Miami may not mean the same thing for Cubans as it does for mainstream Americans. This research shows how the Cuban diaspora's diversity may become reflected in the cultural domain of food.

Conclusion

This research explores how sociocultural (i.e., social class and ethnicity), historical (i.e., immigration wave and experience of Castro's rule), and political (i.e., positions toward US-Cuba relations) factors contribute to Cuban cultural values about food and foodways. In exploring the cultural domain of food, it is necessary to identify which foods and foodways are available in Miami. Thus, the conventional and alternative foodways available in each sampled Cuban neighborhood are investigated. The dictum offered by alternative foodway activists is that becoming involved with alternative foodways fundamentally changes the way we think about food. The intimacy of knowing where and how food is grown and who grows it is overwhelmingly portrayed as being positive (Allen 2003; Trubeck 2005, 2008; Winter 2003). Being involved with local food projects purportedly builds community bonds (Hinrichs 2003),

gives a greater sense of identity (Wilk 2006; Winter 2003), eases the pains of modernity (Cone Abbot, and Myhre 2000; Ferguson 1994), and, most importantly, contributes to better eating habits, safer food, and a cleaner environment (Allen 2003; Pollan 2008a; 2008b; Powell et al. 2007; Raja, Ma, and Pavan 2008; Walker, Kenae and Burke 2004). This ideology reflects only the US version of returning to and embracing the earth—a movement that is a choice, not a survival technique.

Cubans living in Miami have likely experienced alternative foodways in various forms in Cuba and Miami. For example, the first agrarian reform in the early years of Castro's government involved redistribution of large private landholdings into smaller cooperatives which required agricultural labor from all sectors of society. Later, in the 1990s, organic and sustainable methods of growing were revived to combat food scarcity after the Soviet collapse. Community gardens, urban agriculture, and home gardens became emblematic of the Cuban foodway. The experience of Cuban alternative foodways has been discussed in vastly opposing representations: on the one side it is described as a horrific struggle to survive (Benjamin, Collins, and Scott 1986; Hernandez-Reguant 2009; Franco et al. 2007), on the other it has been heralded as ingenious and proof that the populations can be sustained more healthfully on local foodways instead of the global, conventional foodway (Altieri et al. 1999; Rosset and Bourque 2002). This research is an attempt to more accurately depict Cuban cultural values in the domain of food, especially their sentiments towards alternative foodways. Though Miami is primely situated to have a thriving alternative foodway, interest from the general population is only just becoming piqued. This research sheds light on cultural values that may ultimately boost or discourage involvement with alternative foodways in Miami.

CHAPTER 3:

CUBAN CULTURE IN MIAMI

Cubanidad is a term used to capture all that is Cuban relating to identity and culture (Perez-Firmat 1994). Fernando Ortiz (1947), a celebrated polymath of Cuban culture, used the indigenous stew, *ajiaco*—which includes European and African ingredients—to be the culinary emblem of Cuba. The metaphor was intended to signify Cuba not as a melting pot of acculturation, but a stew of Amerindian, European, African, and even Asian cultures. Miami, which represents the largest Cuban population outside of Cuba (United States Census Bureau 2007), is another multi-cultural locale; however, a culinary metaphor would be too neutral to represent the discord and segregation between the ethnic groups of Miami. This chapter reviews *cubanidad* from an anthropological perspective. The history of the Cuban cultural *ajiaco* is traced over the past 500 years. The basic sociocultural elements that structure *cubanidad* in Miami are discussed as well. Despite a shared history, Cubans in Miami from different sectors of society have had different experiences. This chapter closes with an exploration of these varied experiences of *cubanidad* for diverse Cuban groups living in Miami.

Cultural Elements of the Cuban *Ajiaco*

Rather than assimilating to US culture completely, Cubans have held on to much of their heritage, and can thus be termed a diaspora (Reiff 1987; 1993). Though acculturating to some of US culture at large, the diaspora has been able to retain a distinctive Cuban-ness. Cultural

elements of the Miami Cubans today are discussed in this section, including political and economic organization, marriage, kinship practices, and gender roles.

Political and Economic Organization

Miami and Cuba exist on two opposite ends of modern, state-level society organization. Cubans in the US are part of a capitalist democracy, while Cuba is a communist dictatorship. The former enjoys a greater degree of class mobility with the trade-off of social inequalities, the latter lacks major wealth as well as the cruelties of dramatic social class stratification (Brundenius 2002; García 1997; Eckstein 2003a). Social status in the Cuban diaspora, like the rest of the US, is largely achieved, though certain characteristics are ascribed. Social status is achieved through control over resources (ownership, wealth, material assets) and through political power (Arenas 1994; Reiff 1993; Stepick et al. 2003). Miami Cubans are very active politically and often hold the majority of elected offices in the city (Dunn 1997; Portes and Stepick 1993). The wealth and political clout of early arrivals (immigration waves are discussed in greater detail later) are inherited by younger, light-skinned, American-born Cubans. As the acronym nickname suggests, YUCA, young upwardly-mobile Cuban Americans, have a sort of ascribed status being born with ethnic, political and economic advantages (Hill 1996).

According to world systems theory (Wallerstein 1974), the US is a core society. The powerful elites of the Cuban diaspora are able to afford the capital investment required to own the means of production. They are able to pay for (and exploit) labor in the industrial mode of production and market exchange economy. Thus, the powerful elites of the diaspora are directly involved in the subjugation of Cuba, a semi-periphery nation. However, not all Cubans in the diaspora enjoy such power and prestige (Dunn 1997; Eitle and Taylor 2008; Greenbaum 1985;

2002; Grenier et al. 2007). The concluding section of this chapter discusses the diverse social and economic conditions of Cuban subgroups in Miami.

Miamians, and Miami Cubans in particular, are champions of conspicuous consumption. Perhaps in an attempt to symbolize opposition to their dystopian homeland, (elite or elite-acting) Miami Cubans are rarely lacking in outward expressions of wealth. Luxury cars, gated communities, couture clothing, and jewelry are the stepping stones to acceptance into the exclusive clubs (real and figurative) of Miami. In a form of conspicuous giving, Miami's most elegant galas are charity balls with heavily Cuban guest lists (Levine and Asís 2000; Mohl 1990; Pérez 1992).

Gender Roles, Marriage, and Kinship

Cuban gender roles are a product of a patriarchal system that evolved out of a fusion of Spanish, Catholic, and African cultural values and traditions and has been modified over time in changing contexts (Robaina 1996). Sexual values, specifically the value placed on male sexual dominance and machismo, reflect the predominance of Spanish culture and Catholicism in Cuba (Robaina 1996).

It is ideal for wives to tend to the domestic chores (which, among the very rich, involve purchasing home décor and scheduling maintenance rather than actually doing the household labor themselves), while the husband is the bread-winner. Professional achievement is a masculine endeavor, while marriage and family-building is the women's realm. I found this to be true based on participants' reactions to me as a researcher. Men and women were skeptical of my claim to be a professional anthropologist; certainly I must be coming to Miami to find a husband. The Western dichotomy of male public politico-economic versus female domestic/private realms

applies to the Cuban-American context (Gonzalez 1996; Mirandé 1997). However, as exiles arrived in the US, it became necessary for women to work outside of the home (Arenas 1994; Reiff 1987). Post-revolution Cuba is also touted for its high proportion of women in higher education compared to other Latin American countries (Farber 1983).

Following a traditional Spanish model, the idealized Cuban household is headed by a patriarch who ideally has ultimate authority in governing the nuclear family (Gonzalez 1996). The North American nuclear family model is that the role of the wife as a “partner” in household earnings and authority. The wife as partner status is somewhat diminished in favor of the husband as the ultimate authority in the Cuban model family. Many Miami Cuban men, while enjoying the benefits of a dual income household, resent the notion that their wives must work outside the home (Robaina 1996). A working wife may symbolize the husband's inability to be the primary provider for his family.

As in North American marriages, and contrary to most other Spanish and Latin American cases, a woman usually drops her own surname, replacing it with her husband's. While she often maintains close ties with her parents and relatives, the act of replacing her own name with her husband's indicates that she has left her family and joined his. This is reinforced by the tradition of having one or more of her husband's parents eventually living either full- or part-time within the family home, if not fully dependent upon him as provider. For this reason many homes built in traditionally Cuban neighborhoods in Miami have two master bedrooms, a separate attached apartment, or what is popularly referred to in real estate advertisements as “in-law quarters” (Hill 1996). This is not to imply that this is a universal practice; many Cuban households in Miami do not include grandparents, and in many that do, the wife's parents are present rather than the

husband's. The presence of retired grandparents also provides “built-in day care” for small children, allowing both women and men to work outside the home. In many instances, this is viewed as an ideal situation, wherein traditional culture and language is passed down to the newer generation (Hill 1996). This pattern appears to reflect urban, middle-class society of Cuba, and contrasts with the traditional patriarchal system of rural Cuba where sons are often forced to leave their parents' home to start their own families (Arenas 1994).

Cubans in Miami are serial monogamists. Though one marriage during a lifetime is considered ideal, divorce is common (Hill 1996). The strongly Catholic background forbids divorce, however, and many couples may stay married in name but not in deed. Because machismo encourages lustfulness and sexual prowess in men, it is common for husbands to have at least one extramarital affair (Gonzalez 1996). As I heard among informants, specific roles are assigned for the mistress and the wife: “Men love their girlfriends and ignore their wives;” “Wives have the honor without the love, mistresses have the love but lose the honor.”

Kinship is bilateral, and surnames reflect both the mother's maiden name and father's surname. However, following US customs, younger Cubans usually only use their father's last name. Cuban kinship may be bilateral, but it is undeniably matrifocal (Robaina 1996). Elder females in the family unit are typically seen as the holders of familial lore and the Cuban cultural legacy. Grandmother-prepared meals are an integral part of Cuban identity and social cohesion.

A Brief History of Cuba: *La Lucha*

Throughout Cuban history, a David and Goliath struggle, *la lucha*, has been a recurrent theme. It started with the *Taino* against the Spanish conquistadors and includes the Cubans against Spanish rule, Cubans against American imperialism, Cuban communist dictatorship

versus US capitalist democracy, and finally (perhaps more of a Cain versus Abel allegory) conflict within the increasingly diverse Cuban American diaspora. No matter the outcome of these struggles, this resistance ideology has instilled a sense of pride among Cuban nationals and exiles alike.

Cubans are often referred to, in jest, as the “Argentinians of the Caribbean” because of their perceived bravado about their supposed superiority over other Caribbean countries. This pride is not completely unfounded. Cuba's unique political and economic structure since 1959, despite its numerous pitfalls, has been, at least partially, to thank for many of Cuba's successes, including a low infant mortality rate and a high literacy rate compared to other Latin American nations (Bolet and Suarez 2007; CIA 2011; Zanetti 2006). Cubans in Miami have defied the conventional Hispanic immigration experience of acculturating and occupying lower sectors of society. Miami Cubans have instead been tremendously successful, arguably more powerful than the Anglo majority in South Florida (Nelson and Tienda 1985). Even after nearly six decades of exile, many Cuban Americans continue *la lucha* against what they consider to be the villainous Castro regime by influencing US policies with Cuba and hardlining the embargo (Castro Mariño 2002, Stepick et al. 2003).

More controversially, the Argentinian reference also concerns ethnicity. There is a perception that Cubans are “whiter” than the rest of the Caribbean (Chomsky 2003; Cluster and Hernández 2008; Ferrer 1999; Romeu 2005) and thus more European like the Argentinian stock. Though *cubanidad* is heralded as a multicultural “color blind” identity, much scholarship has explored the less visible Afro-Cuban experience, and the tacit racism present on the island and in the diaspora (De la Fuente 2001a; 2001b; 2008b). Exploring the different eras of struggle (*la*

lucha) in Cuba's history reveals how these two contradictory ideologies (that Cuba is multicultural *and* that it is proudly European) of *cubanidad* can coexist.

Spanish Conquest

Though the indigenous were depleted within 50 years of Spanish conquest, the Taíno left important cultural legacies. In some areas, there are communities that still identify ethnically with their indigenous past. Everywhere in Cuba, stories of indigenous resistance to Spanish rule (no matter how futile) are much a part of commonsense knowledge of their country's history (Barreiro 1989). However, unlike in other Spanish colonies, no indigenous language survived. Since the conquest, Spanish has been the national language of Cuba (Romeu 2005).

The conquest set the stage for Cuba's incorporation into the Atlantic economy (Sulchilicki 2002), characterized by the importation of slaves and the production of sugar and tobacco (Stubbs 1985). During the first two centuries of Spanish colonization (1500-1700) Cuba was more of a strategic settlement than a sugar producer. Cuba, and specifically Havana, was strategically located to control Caribbean waterways, the gateway to new world silver, and sugar and tobacco exports (de la Fuente 2001b). (See Figure 3.1)



Figure 3.1: Map of the Caribbean (Google Maps, Accessed June 2, 2011)

Colonialism

The mid 1700s saw Cuba become a major producer of sugar. The expansion prompted an increase in immigrants (both voluntary and non-voluntary). As Cuba became established as a sugar producer, its population increased exponentially as slaves and laborers poured into the country. Figure 3.2 illustrates the population of Cuba broken down by ethnicity in 1791 and 1869. During this span of time, non-Whites nearly outnumbered European Cubans, even as the population quadrupled (Pichardo 1973). With the tardy abolition of slavery in 1884 (the only later abolition was Brazil in 1888) (Scott 1985), Caribbean sugar planters sought new sources of cheap labor (Cepero 1971). Planters brought in indentured laborers from China (Baltar 1997), further diversifying Cuba's ethnic *ajiaco*. Although slavery was outlawed, the abolition did little to improve the working conditions, which remained despicable for agricultural laborers (Bergad 1990; Casanovas 1998; Knight 1970; Schmidt-Nowara 1999; Scott 2005).

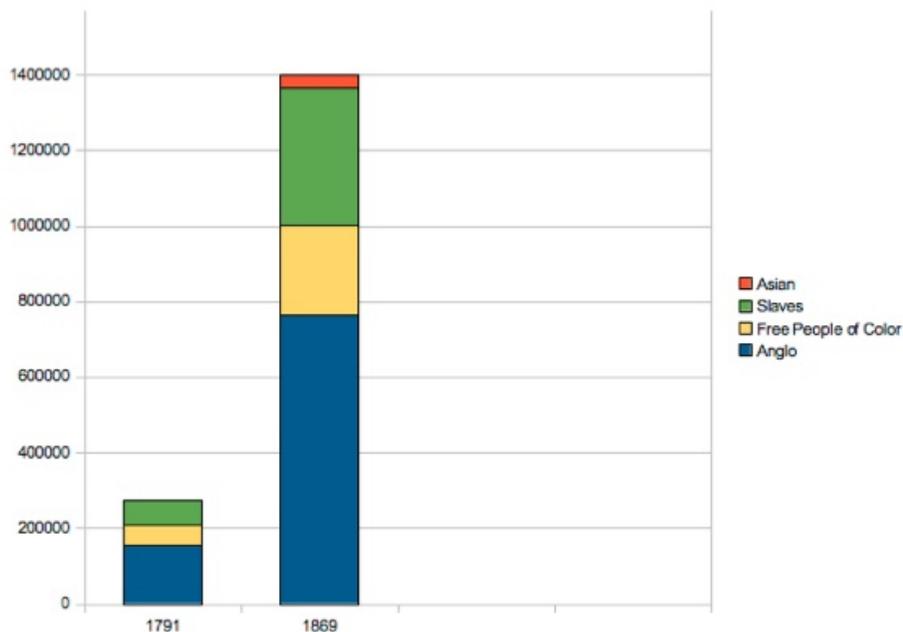


Figure 3.2: Cuban population by ethnicity in 1791 and 1869 (data from Pichardo 1973)

Independence from Spain and Dependence on the United States

Of all of Spain's holdings in the Americas, Cuba was the last to gain its independence from Spanish rule. Throughout the 19th century, Cubans fought for independence from Spain. Many of these operations were organized in New York City or Tampa by Cuban intellectuals such as poet Jose Martí, who is considered to be the father of Cuban independence. The final war of independence began in 1885 and lasted until 1898 when the US military defeated Spain in the Spanish-American War and Cuba was liberated. US military ruled the island for three years until its official status an independent republic was established (Ruiz 1968: 18-39).

Led by the Cuban-born creole elite, the Cuban War of Independence (1895-1898) was the last of three liberation wars that Cuba fought against Spain (the first two being the Ten Years War: 1868-1878 and the Little War 1879-1880). The war was a reformist movement which resulted in autonomy from Spain and annexation to the US (Cluster and Hernández 2008). The Cuban nationalist ideal was radical compared to its neighbors' (i.e., the US and Haiti). US nationalism was White and elite, and Haiti's nationalist model was poor and Black (Basch, Glick-Schiller, and Blanc-Szanton 1994; Segal 1995). Jose Martí, the foremost spokesperson and visionary of Cuban nationalism, explicitly celebrated the country's multicultural heritage, insisting that it should be a nation of Blacks and Whites together (Shnookal and Múniz 1999).

The Cuban Republic was inaugurated on May 20, 1902, but the independence was fragile. The US military interrupted their autonomy with a series of military interventions (Suchilicki 2002). Cuban independence was further undermined by economic dependence on the US. A succession of treaties and agreements with the US constrained economic initiatives and consolidated Cuba's sugar monoculture (Cluster and Hernández 2008). The Platt amendment in

effect between 1901 and 1934 represented US authority in Cuban affairs, and the establishment of a US military base in Cuban territory (Guantánomo Bay) (Suchilicki 2002). Even though Cuba had independence from Spain, US occupiers and Cuban elites remained in power and drastic social inequalities continued to abound (Pérez-Stable 1999). The tourist industry brought the rich, especially those seeking alcohol and gambling during the prohibition, to “America's Playground” (Sánchez 2008; Schwartz 1997). Along with tourism, Cuban and foreign land holders profited from sugar and tobacco cultivation (Basch, Glick-Schiller, and Blanc-Szanton 1994). For the elite, this era was the “Golden Age” of Cuba (Farber 2006; Pérez-Stable 1999).

Pre-Revolution Afro-Cuban Revival

After Independence from Spain, Euro-Cuban elites consolidated their hold on political and economic power, using language of equality to cover up the continuity of disparities (Font and Quiroz 2005). Education and property qualifications for jobs and public offices limited opportunities for Afro-Cubans (Moore 1988; Segal 1995). Race-based organizing (which might have combated the inherent racism) was condemned as a threat to national unity (Moore 1988). However, in the 30s and 40s, as anti-imperialism grew, so did an interest in Afro-Cuban heritage (Moore 1988). The protagonists of this movement were students, veterans of the independence struggle, laborers, and a middle class frustrated by the limited economic opportunities and subordination of the island to the US, and they turned to the island's African syncretism as a new identity (Ayorinde 2006; Moore 1988). The African-inspired elements were vividly re-embraced in the celebration of music, dance—Rumba (Daniel 1995), and religion—Santería (Ayorinde 2006). Afro-Cubanism was also a selling point for “America's Playground.” The African element was used as a marketing ploy to highlight the exoticness of vacationing in Cuba

(Schwartz 1997). (See Figure 3.3) Sexually uninhibited *mulattas* (a female of African and European ancestry) dancing rumba became somewhat emblematic for a celebration of African heritage (Schwartz 1997), yet this characterization relegated Afro-Cubanism as an inferior element of *cubanidad*.



Figure 3.3: Poster from 1950s Cuban tourism campaign featuring Afro-Cuban exoticism

Revolution Ideology: Sugar-Free Equality

The tourist industry and sugar profits were thriving, and predominantly in the pockets of elite Cubans and foreign-owned stake/landholders. As dividends increased for a few, so did the misery of the Cuban working class (Scarpaci, Segre, and Coyula 2002). Visionaries of a truly independent Cuba realized that hardworking, independent, small farmers were far better suited to constitute the independent nation than export-based monocropping (Font and Quiroz 2005; Ortiz 1947). Fidel Castro eloquently described the state of the nation, and crystallized the vision of the

communist party during his trial after an assault on the existing government military barracks (which represented the beginning of the revolution in 1953):

500,000 farm laborers live in miserable shacks, working for 4 months and starving the rest... 400,000 families in the countryside and in the cities live cramped in huts without even the minimum sanitary requirements... Only death can liberate one from so much misery. In this respect, however, the state is most helpful--in providing early death for people. Ninety percent of the children in the countryside are consumed by parasites that filter through their bare feet from the ground they walk on. Society is moved to compassion when it hears of a kidnapping or murder of one child, but it is criminally indifferent to the mass murder of so many thousands of children who die every year from lack of facilities, agonizing with pain... (Fidel Castro, translated by Harnecker 1987:34)

The persuasive speech convinced many to join in his crusade to solve the problems of monoculture, lack of industry, lack of housing, unemployment, lack of education, and poor health (Harnecker 1987). Despite success and economic growth in the tourist, sugar-producing, and cigar manufacturing sectors, the country still had an undeniable poverty issue. In 1958 only fifteen percent of rural homes had running water; 25 percent of the total population was illiterate; over 40 percent of the Cuban workforce was either underemployed or unemployed (Pérez-Stable 1999). The Afro-Cubans, so celebrated for their exotic contribution to *cubanidad*, had the worst living conditions, held the lowest paying jobs, and had vastly inferior schools compared to those for Whites (de la Fuente 2001a).

The Mirror has Two Faces: Castro and the Revolution

Amidst roaring crowds in a January 5th speech in Havana, just days after Cuban President Fulgencio Batista had fled the country, Castro declared the aims of the new leadership while white doves were released. Two went to sit on his shoulders. Today many Cubans recall this as a highly symbolic, mythic event (Rosendahl 1997). The Cuban Revolution has become one of the

the most profound in Latin American history. After Castro and his revolutionaries removed Batista from power in 1959, the face of Cuba changed forever. The revolution became a firm demarcation in most Cubans' minds that separated “then” from “now.”

Cuban exiles in Miami describe the revolution as a bloody ravaging of a country on the brink of becoming a world power, only to be frozen in time while the rest of the world moves forward (Stepick et al. 2003). Many of the Cuban elite, who lived comfortably in the old order of Cuba, fled to Miami. These first two waves of immigration (1960-1980) were characterized as political exiles, while later arrivals (1990's -present) are considered to be economic refugees (Blue 2005; Grenier and Pérez 2003; Grenier et al. 2007). This distinction has become a particularly polarizing distinction in the Miami diaspora (Grenier et al. 2007).

For many Cuban nationals, the revolution saved Cuba from US domination and freed them from the prison of inescapable poverty. While the formerly upper classes saw the profound redistribution of their society with horror, the marginalized and dispossessed had a completely different experience (Chomsky 2003). Measures such as price freezing, arbitrary reductions in rents and utilities, forced wage increases, forced maintenance of employment, agrarian reform, and pressures on foreign companies led to an increased standard of living for the dispossessed (Brundenius 1984; Cluster and Hernández 2003; Eckstein 2003b; Harnecker 1987).

Trading with the Enemy: Cuba, the Embargo, and the Soviet Union

Due to the strong anti-imperialist element, a clash between Castro's government and the US was inevitable. As relations with the US soured in the 1960s, relations with the Soviet Union grew warmer (Dominguez 1997; Paterson 1994). Two failed attempts by the US to overthrow Castro's regime, several botched assassination plots, and Cuba's alliance with the Soviet Union

(culminating in the Cuban Missile Crisis) solidified hostility between the two countries (Brenner 1990; Leogrande 1997; Weldes 1999). The US embargo against Cuba has lasted for almost five decades and, at present, limits American businesses from conducting business with Cuban interests and restricts travel between the two nations (Central Intelligence Agency 2011). It was enacted at the beginning of the revolution in retaliation for US investments and properties being nationalized by the new government (Pérez 1992). Pro-embargo Cuban exiles in Florida, whose votes are crucial in the state, have swayed many politicians to adopt similar views (Leogrande 1997).

Post-Soviet Collapse: Feast and Famine

Trading with the Soviets initially proved successful, as it provided the possibility of more rapid development on the island than in the rest of Latin America and the Caribbean (Pérez-Stable 1999). Cuba was able to achieve a more complete and rapid modernization than most other developing countries. In the 1980s it ranked number one in the region for industrialization, and it had a more mechanized agricultural sector than any other Latin American country (Rosset and Bourque 2002). Nevertheless, Cuba's development model was ultimately dependent on the Soviet Union. Agriculture was defined by extensive monocrop production of export crops and a heavy dependence on imported agrochemicals, hybrid seeds, machinery, and petroleum (Rosset and Bourque 2002). Cuba's economy as a whole was thus characterized by the contradiction between its relative modernity and its function in the Soviet Union's division of labor as a supplier of raw agricultural commodities and minerals and an importer of both manufactured goods and foodstuffs (Benjamin, Collins and Scott 1986; Brundenius 1984). Prior to the collapse of the socialist bloc, Cuba had achieved high marks for per capita GNP, nutrition, life expectancy,

and women in higher education, and was ranked first in Latin America for the availability of doctors, low infant mortality, housing, secondary school enrollment, and attendance by the population at cultural events (Eckstein 2003b; Farber 2006; Saney 2004).

When trade relations with the Soviets crumbled in late 1990, the situation turned desperate. In 1991, the government put the economy on a war-time-like austerity program known as the “Special Period in Peacetime,” (*Periodo Especial*) (Hernandez-Reguant 2009). Cuba fell into severe food shortages and economic catastrophe, which, for anti-Castro exiles, was proof of the government's ineptitude and a harbinger of the revolutionary government's vaporization (Hernandez-Reguant 2009a). Due to the drastic decrease in oil imports, fuel was unavailable for automobiles or for the highly mechanized agricultural fields (Altieri et al. 1999). Imports of foodstuffs also dropped precipitously (Altieri et al. 1999), and by the early 1990s, average daily caloric and protein intake by the Cuban population may have been as much as 30 percent below levels in the 1980s (Cooper, Kennelly, and Pedro Orduñez-Garcia 2006; Franco et al. 2007).

The Special Period marked the third massive exodus of Cubans to the US. Those who stayed behind consumed their time and energy in a search for food and basic necessities. Stories of people raising pigs in their bathtubs, eating papaya skin “steaks”, and bartering everything imaginable is a common theme of discourse regarding the Special Period (Benjamin, Collins, and Scott 1986; Hernandez-Reguant 2009; Franco et al. 2007). Utility blackouts of many hours a day made basic tasks such as cooking and cleaning an ordeal (Rosendahl 1997). Those who left during this time period marked the transition in definition of the Cuban immigrant: from political exile to economic refugee (Grenier and Pérez 2003; Grenier et al. 2007).

Cuba Re-Enters the Global Economy

Despite the extreme motto, “*Socialismo o muerte*” (socialism or death), after the economic collapse the government had no choice but to generate hard currency and rejoin international trade networks. To that end, the country's socialist constitution was reformed to permit new forms of private and corporate property, regulate foreign investment, turn state companies into for-profit enterprises, and decriminalize the circulation of the US dollar (Ritter 2004; Zanetti 2006). The growing influx of remittances, as well as income generated by foreign visitors, stimulated an informal economy that rapidly improved the living standards of strategically situated professionals (Sweig 2002). Access to foreign currency (particularly American dollars) became the defining element of increasing social stratification (Gonzalez-Corzo 2007; Sawyer 2005). Some people got richer, while many others got poorer (Blue 2005; Eckstien 2009a)—especially Afro-Cubans who were less likely to have access to remittances since many of the first wave exiles were White (de la Fuente 2008b). Due to racism in the US, dark-skinned Cubans in the US have also been socially and economically disadvantaged, meaning Afro-Cuban exiles are less likely to send (substantial) remittances (de la Fuente 2008b). Similar to pre-revolution economics, European-oriented tourism benefits wealthier Cubans who own property or a vehicle. An owner is able to apply for government permission to use his house as a bed and breakfast (*casa particular*) or use his car as a taxi (Ritter 2004; Rosendahl 1997). Unable to participate in the formal tourist industry, Afro-Cubans are restricted to working on the fringes of the tourist industry, providing sex services and other forms of itinerant “hustling.” Afro-Cubans then become doubly disadvantaged, as they are blamed for participating in these activities and are also further denied access to formal industries (Sawyer 2005).

In order to circumvent dollarization of the Cuban economy, the government withdrew the dollar from circulation in 2004 and accepted only the Cuban peso (the currency Cuban citizens are paid in and use for staples and non-luxury items) and the convertible peso (CUC), which is used for for tourism and luxury items (Eckstein 2009a). At present, family members can legally travel with unlimited access to Cuba (United States Department of Treasury 2011), and there is no restriction on the amount of remittances that Cuban family members in the US can send to Nationals (United States Department of the Treasury 2011). Thus, American goods pour into Cuba—embargo or no. These remittances have had a tremendous impact on the Cuban economy and social structure (Eckstein 2009a; Gonzalez-Corzo 2007). Those who receive remittances achieve a much higher standard of living than those without, resulting in a widening gap between the wealthy and the poor (Blue 2005; Eckstein 2003a; de la Fuente 2001b).

Immigration to the US: Creating the Miami Diaspora

Between 1959 and the early 2000s, one million Cubans emigrated to the US (United States Census Bureau 2007). Eighty-nine percent of these Cubans live in the South Florida diaspora, namely Miami-Dade County. There have been three basic waves of Cubans coming to the US. These groups tend to differ from one another in their opinions and values and have had different reception experiences depending on when and why they emigrated from Cuba (Eckstein 2009b; Grenier et al. 2007). Cuban emigres that have been uprooted at different points in time with different homeland experiences have different views on life, which have led them to adapt in various ways in the US and to relate differently to the homeland. Perez-Firmat (1994) outlines a three stage process in the adaptation of Cuban exiles to US society and the establishment of the Cuban ethnic community in Miami. The stages are referred as substitutive, destitutive, and

institutive stages (1994: 7-11). The first stage is characterized by immediate nostalgia for the homeland and brings about a desire to reproduce certain elements of the home culture in the new land. This corresponds to the initial formation of Little Havana. The second stage is marked by feelings of displacement and detachment—the sense that one does not belong to the new place, but that return to the homeland will not be possible any time soon. The third stage develops as particular relationships between the people and the place become established. Perez-Firmat goes on to describe a fourth stage wherein Cuban-Americans will go the way of other immigrant American groups. In this stage, exiles of the second generation and those that follow will have a “sentimental rather than vital, link to their culture of origin” (1994:17).

The Golden Generation

The first wave (1959-1973) represented the elite of Cuba and is known as the “Golden Generation” (Grenier and Pérez 2003), the *viejitos* (old timers), or exiles (Eckstein 2009b). While all terms carry inherent bias, for the purpose of this research, I refer to them as the Golden Generation since some Cuban Americans from later waves also refer to themselves as exiles. This first wave of immigrants was granted refugee status by the US government and has played a seminal role in the development of the “exile identity” of the Cuban American community. Between 1960 and 1962 more than 14,000 Cuban children arrived alone in the US in a project called the Pedro Pan (Peter Pan Operation) organized by the Miami archdiocese (Walsh 1971). These children were sent with the expectations that their parents would later join them or that they would be able to soon return to the island. Instead, stories abound of families separated for many years, as adults were unable to leave as quickly as they had planned (Walsh 1971).

Later, between 1965 and 1973, more than 260,000 Cubans arrived in Miami on daily flights coined “Freedom Flights” from Cuba to Miami (García 1997).

Most of the Golden Generation came from Cuba's educated upper and middle classes, and, since ethnicity and class were entwined in pre-revolutionary Cuba, were European descended (de la Fuente 2001a; Perez-Lopez 2004). Although few exiles were able to escape Cuba with more than a few dollars in their pockets, they carried with them the invaluable advantage of the social capital of education and entrepreneurial business sense (Grenier and Pérez 2003). Well-supported by the US government, receiving over \$1.3 billion in assistance, the exiles were eligible for free English courses, college scholarships, and low-interest business loans (Walsh 1971; García 1997). The Golden Generation flourished through entrepreneurial activities and, already well-acquainted with upper-echelon civic matters and politics in Cuba, were able to establish several enclaves in the US—though none compared to the level of Cuban saturation and influence like that of Miami (Stepick et al. 2003).

Marielitos

Revolutionary reforms (i.e., agrarian and educational), in principle, led to improved living standards, especially for poverty-stricken laborers (Eckstein 2003b). However, many Cubans opposed the drastic redistribution measures and the obligatory military service, which often involved overseas missions in Africa. As tension in Cuba grew, in hopes of reducing opposition Castro allowed many Cubans to leave during a five month period in 1980 (Eckstein 2003b; Saney 2004). Thousands of Cubans (125,000) departed the Mariel Harbor (the namesake of the group, which became known as Marielitos) for Miami when Castro declared that the port would be open for those wishing to leave Cuba, as long as they had someone to pick them up. Miami

Cubans rushed to the port to pick up relatives and friends. While the initial Cuban exiles settled in a few other areas besides Miami (Union City, NJ; Ybor City, FL; New Orleans, LA), over half of the Marielitos settled in the well-established Miami enclave (Portes and Clark 1987). The Mariel Boatlift, or the Mariel, as the event is referred to in Miami, led to a backlash from non-Cuban Miamians as well as by some Golden Generation Cuban Americans because this group represented a lower SES set, was ethnically mixed, and included convicts that Castro released from prison and mental health facilities (Portes and Clark 1987; Portes and Stepick 1993). Of the 25,000 Marielitos with “criminal records,” many were political activists with no history of violent or criminal behavior (Eckstein 2009b).

Since the Mariel exodus, the Cuban immigrant population has become more diverse both in terms of class background and racial composition (Grenier and Pérez 2003), as well as age and gender (Eckstien 2009b). Whereas the Golden Generation was primarily of White upper- and middle-class Cubans, the Mariel boatlift included Afro-Cubans from working-class sectors. Although only a minority were dark-skinned (approximately 10%), it was enough difference to be polarizing (Eckstein 2009b; Grenier et al. 2007). Aside from the children on the Peter Pan Flights, most of the Golden Generation had arrived in family units. The percentage of young adults and single males nearly doubled with the Mariel (Eckstein 2009b). The fulcrum of the revolution rested largely among the disenfranchised working class and the idealistic youth recruits (de la Fuente 2001a). After living in Castro's Cuba, many of these previous supporters of the revolution were disillusioned, thus the spike in younger, lower-income, and darker immigrants.

Further driving a wedge between the two sets of exiles, the Golden Generation blamed the Marielitos for 1) not leaving initially (Portes and Clark 1987), and 2) leaving during heightened discord (following the storming of the Peruvian embassy) which might have been the catalyst for toppling the communist regime (Eckstein 2009b).

Marielitos found themselves in a much less welcoming atmosphere than earlier migrants because their arrival coincided with the boiling point of race riots in Miami (Martinez and Lee 2000; Portes and Clark 1987). *Marielito* came to be a disparaging term, evoking low class, criminal, dark-skinned, and, to some degree, a traitor, since it was assumed that they supported Castro initially (Grenier 1992; Eckstein 2009b). Further solidifying the Mariel reputation, films like *Scarface* and *Miami Vice* depicted the Marielitos as criminals (Eitle and Taylor 2008).

New Cubans

The last immigration wave began in 1994, and Cubans who came during this exodus are known as the *Balseros* (rafters), or New Cubans (Eckstein 2009b; Grenier et al. 2007). The newest Cubans to arrive were fleeing an economically devastated country and can be considered economic refugees instead of political exiles (Perez-Lopez 2004). After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Cuba was thrust into an economic crisis so severe that even basic food staples were scarce. Facing the immediate problem of hunger and in fear of further meltdown, desperate Cuban Nationals took to the seas. More than 37,000 Cubans were rescued by the US Coast Guard as they attempted to navigate the ninety miles to the US on homemade rafts, while untold numbers perished at sea. Rafters who were rescued were transported to the US naval base at Guantánamo Bay where they would be detained for at least a year before being admitted to the US (Grenier and Perez 2003). The infamous wet-foot, dry-foot immigration policy was

prompted by the *Balsero* crisis. Under the 1966 Immigration Adjustment Act, anyone who fled Cuba and got into the US would be allowed to pursue residency one year later (Castro Mariño 2002). In 1995 the Clinton administration revised the policy to stop admitting people found at sea, while those who make it to shore get a chance to remain in the US and later qualify for legal permanent residence (Castro Mariño 2002). Although Cuba's conditions have improved since the beginning of the Special Period, Cubans continue to immigrate to the US (Brudenijs 2002; Henken 2005). Since it remains unclear if the Special Period is over, many authors continue to refer to the present immigrants as *Balseros* even though there are rarely cases of Cuban “rafters” at present (Henken 2005). For this reason, some authors refer to Cubans who arrived from the 1990s to present as New Cubans instead of *Balseros* (Eckstein 2009b).

As it becomes more difficult to immigrate to the US, the New Cubans are faced with the choice of sending one person instead of the whole family. Like many other Latin American immigrants, individual emigration is a family project (Eckstein 2009b). Those who come to the US are expected to share new country earnings. Accordingly, employable-aged men tend to dominate the exodus more than in the past. In terms of education and profession, the New Cubans were similar to the Golden Generation. Many professionals with advanced degrees have arrived in the past 20 years (Eckstein 2009b; Grenier et al. 2007). However, the post-Soviet wave did not have the wealth or opulence of the Golden Generation.

An ideological and experiential rift exists between the Golden Generation and the New Cubans despite similar educational and professional capital. Without English fluency, their professional skills do not go very far in the US. New Cubans, at least initially, had to work as unskilled laborers (Grenier 1992). The Golden Generation seem to detest anything that is a

product of the revolution and tend to be very aggressive about expressing their political views (Haney and Vanderbush 2005). New Cubans, though also disillusioned with Cuba's system, often feel that the Golden Generation is out of touch with the reality of the island since they have not lived there for decades (Eckstein 2009b). The Golden Generation and Marielitos condescendingly repeat that the New Cubans come with a different mindset, that communism, and specifically the economic crisis, forced Nationals to rely on the black market and shady dealings to survive (Hernandez-Reguant 2009). Like the negative connotation of *Marielito*, *Balsero* came to mean lazy, poorly educated, and darker skinned.

New Cubans and Marielitos have become enmeshed in the discourse of *cubanidad*. One way in which recent arrivals have affected Miami's Cuban community is in the sudden popularity of Afro-Cuban traditions, particularly among younger Cuban-Americans. What was once disparaged by middle-class Cuban-Americans has now become a popular symbol of *cubanidad* among second-generation Cuban-Americans, particularly those who have begun to include recently-arrived age peers in their social circles (Hill 1996).

Inevitably, Marielitos and New Cubans have become involved in social interactions with those for whom the theme of return to and recovery of Cuba is a powerful discourse of national identity (Rieff 1993). For the most recent arrivals and American-born Cubans, the reality of recapturing the Cuba of their memories is less significant.

US-Born Cubans

Of the 1.6 million Americans with Cuban roots, 39 percent are American born (US Census Bureau 2007). This group is indeed the most broad demographically, ethnically, and politically (Hill 1996). The US-born Cuban population is much younger than the immigrant

cohort, has a lower unemployment rate, and has attained higher educational achievement (Pérez 2008). A lower share of the US-born Cuban population lives under the poverty line compared to the Cuba-born cohort (12.6% versus 15.4%, respectively). The US-born group is also more likely than those born in Cuba to earn income five times the poverty line or higher (28.3% versus 19.9%, respectively) (US Census Bureau 2007). Finally, the US-born population had significantly higher representation than the immigrant population in professional and office and administrative support occupations (white collar occupations) compared to the immigrant cohort. The younger generation is colloquially called the YUCAs, or the Young Upwardly-Mobile Cuban American.

The children (and grandchildren) of the Golden Generation were more likely to attend elite, private, insularly Cuban schools (Pérez 1992). Among this cohort, their political views and allegiances are similar to the Golden Generation: Republican, anti-Castro, and pro-embargo (Eckstein 2009b; Grenier 2007). There is evidence that the conservative tide in Cuban Miami may be changing. Since 2004, the younger US-born Cubans and third wave immigrants represent a more Democratic voting contingent who are less supportive of the embargo (Bishin et al. 2009). In the fall of 2009, these polarizing views boiled to the surface. Juanes, a Colombian rockstar, performed to an audience of over 10,000 in Havana. Exiles claimed that Juanes supported the Castro regime by simply performing in Cuba and this breached the embargo. While concert goers in Havana attended the largest gathering since the 1998 Pope John Paul visit, another historic event occurred in Miami. The embargo-hardlining Golden Generation demonstrated in Little Havana and, for the first time, were outnumbered by younger Cubans who supported the concert and consequently opening (or at least revising) the embargo (Miller 2009).

The first wave of migration from Cuba beginning in the 1960s represented the dominant political (Republican), ethnic (European-descended), and social class (upper) that would come to characterize the Cuban enclave for the next decades (Portes and Stepick 1993). Spanning from the 1980s to present, the second and third waves of Cuban immigration diversified the diaspora. These included people of lower SES and with darker skin (Grenier and Pérez 2003). Until recently, it appeared that the first wave and their children characterized the Miami Cuban culture. Current trends in voting and public demonstration indicate that the Miami diaspora is becoming more heterogeneous. Research on aggregate knowledge within the Cuban enclave must be sensitive to this heterogeneity, focusing on the interplay of power dynamics (i.e., political, social, and ethnic capital).

Cubanidad in Miami

Entering Miami-Dade county feels like leaving the US. The Cuban *ajiaco* has not just picked up spices from yet another culture, rather *cubanidad* has flavored Miami. Cubans have defied the conventional experience of Hispanic immigration to the US. Instead of occupying lower sectors of the work force, and struggling to maintain their cultural identity, their presence has dominated Miami and much of South Florida culturally, economically, and, of course, politically. The past 50 years of Cuban immigration has fundamentally changed the face of Miami. It is the only place in the US where Spanish is the first language of the majority of residents (Diaz 2004; Resnick 1988). Cuban cuisine is, in some places, more common than American fare, architecture is reminiscent of Cuban design, and Miami is perhaps the only municipality whose local politicians have a foreign policy platform (i.e., where they stand on the embargo and US-Cuban relations) (Stepick et al. 2003). The Cuban impact on South Florida

economy and politics is well-illustrated in academic literature, and one need go little further than the front page of the Miami Herald (or the Nuevo Herald, the Spanish language version) to see the pervasiveness of Cuban interests. The following section outlines the cultural domains in Miami which have a heavy Cuban component: ethnicity, language, religion, and food.

Ethnicity and Language

While Miami is multi-cultural, it is not a melting pot. Ethnic lines do not blend, but are lined with barbed-wire boundaries. Landing in Miami international airport, Spanish drowns English into the background and is interspersed with Portuguese, Russian, Arabic, Hebrew, Creole, French, and Italian. Instead of a syncretic mix, Miami's diasporas remain insular. One can live in Miami for a lifetime, function normally, and never speak a word of English. Miami became a comfortable transition locale for other non-Cuban Hispanics, and has also become an immigration portal for non-Hispanic immigrants from Europe, the Middle East, and Russia. While their presence contributes to the multitude of cultures living in Miami, these groups are small in comparison to the Cuban contingency, and they have had little impact on the Cuban diaspora itself. The main lines of contention exist between Cubans and Americans (“native” Anglos and African Americans), Cubans and African Americans, Cubans and other Hispanics, Cubans and Haitians, and ethnically different Cubans themselves. My intention is not to exaggerate the level of hostility between groups. It is common for social groups to include individuals from several different cultural backgrounds. However, the overall interests of cultural groups are, more often than not, pitted against one another.

Cubans and Americans (Anglos and African Americans): Before Castro, Miami was a sleepy, tropical town emerging as a retirement and vacation destination (Portes and Stepick 1993). Miami did not become the “Gateway to the Americas,” or the “Capital of Latin America” until post-1960 Cuban immigration (Gonzalez-Pando 1997). The first waves of Cubans established a thriving Spanish-speaking community and, using the skills and social capital enjoyed by the upper class in Cuba along with the substantial federal aid from the US government, opened their own businesses (García 1997; Grenier 1992). Spanish became the language of choice for business matters, and the local politics came to be conducted bilingually. Soon, non-Spanish speaking natives (Blacks and Whites) felt discriminated against for not being bilingual, fueling resentment and an anti-Spanish backlash (Resnick 1988). Being monolingual consequently closed the door of advancement for lower SES Miamians, essentially Miami's African American population (Stepick et al. 2003).

The Golden Generation came to Miami at the beginning of the civil rights movement in the US. Their arrival seemed to short-circuit the political and economic gains that African-Americans were making elsewhere in the South. This resentment carried on to a boiling point, culminating in race riot violence that coincided with the second wave of immigration from Cuba (Stepick et al. 2003). The Mariel occurred during a considerable degree of racial unrest that had already been brewing in Miami. By the end of the 1980s, Miami experienced four riots centered in the poorest African American neighborhoods: Liberty City and Overtown (Mohl 1990). In a city whose main ethnic concern had been Caribbean immigrants, the riots focused a new attention on race relations in Miami.

Mohl (1990) sought to explain Miami's racial explosion, at least partly, by the Cuban influx into the city, and brought Hispanic competition to the forefront of the discussion.

The Black sense of powerlessness in Miami has intensified due to local political culture. The Cuban migration dramatically altered the political structure of the Miami area, especially as the Cubans became citizens and voters by the mid-1970s. At one time, Florida was an integral part of the solidly Democratic South (Bishin et al. 2009). Now, the Cubans have become a major cog in Florida's conservative Republican party politics (Mohl 1990) (although the most recent election shows some liberal, Democratic leanings (Bishin et al. 2009)). In other Southern cities (i.e., Atlanta, New Orleans, Richmond, and Birmingham), the civil rights movement gave Black populations a degree of political power. This has not happened in Miami, where Blacks remain a relatively small minority. By 1980, after 30 years of civil rights activism, Miami still ranked near the top of the list of Black residential segregation (Martinez and Lee 2000; Mohl 1990; Pérez 1992). Police brutality against African Americans fueled violent race riots several times in Miami's African American neighborhoods (Mohl 1990). Each of the major conflicts during the 1980s coincided with a new influx of Hispanic migration (Mohl 1990). Due to the frightening race riots, many Cubans' prejudices toward African Americans were cemented.

For middle and upper SES Anglos (as Cubans refer to White non-Hispanics), the matter of ethnic relations centered more on the issue of language. When immigrants come to a new country that welcomes them, they should, at a minimum, learn the language, say many Miami Anglos (Resnick 1988). Being Anglo is the ethnicity inherent with the most social, economic, and political advantages in the US, except for Miami. Many would argue that in this city, being Cuban American is ideal (Grenier and Pérez 2003).

Cubans and Hispanics: Engage a Cuban in conversation about Miami culture long enough, and the discourse will eventually turn to the fact that more and more Hispanics are moving in to Cuban neighborhoods. To the naive Anglo, this might sound like an achievement. However, Cubans think of themselves as “Cuban,” while “Hispanic” indicates Central or South American. Though Hispanic settlement in Miami proliferated in part due to the established Cuban community, relations between Cubans and other Hispanic groups are not fluid (García 1997; Grenier and Pérez 2003). Nicaraguans, Venezuelans, Colombians, Costa Ricans, Peruvians, Mexicans (in order of population size) all fall under the particular Cuban definition of “Hispanic.” Little Havana was the most highly concentrated Cuban area until the 1980s (Portes and Clark 1987). Nicaraguan refugees began moving into the confines of *Calle Ocho* (South West 8th street, the central part of Little Havana) during the 1980s along with the Marielitos, who were also at odds with the Golden Generation. These newcomers to Little Havana were also associated with the crime and violence spikes of the 1980s (Martinez and Lee 2000). The older, richer Cubans moved to Coral Gables, the elite neighborhood of the Cuban diaspora, and the lower-middle to middle SES Cubans moved to Hialeah. Incongruent immigration experiences contribute to discrimination between Cubans and Hispanics in Miami (Eitle and Taylor 2008). Compared to immigrants from any other nationality, Cubans have enjoyed a far easier naturalization process.

Cubans and Haitians: There had been such a steady stream of Haitians arriving in Miami throughout the three waves of Cuban immigration that by the 1980s they were the second largest diaspora in Miami next to the Cubans (Stepick et al. 2003). The Haitian immigration experience matched more the conventional Latino immigrant experience in the US. Both Cubans and

Haitians were escaping political persecution and economic disaster in their home countries. While Cubans represented a more cross-sectional demographic including the wealthy, the vast majority of Haitians were poor and dark-skinned. Language presented a further socio-cultural barrier between Cubans and Creole or French-speaking Haitians. Haitians must either assimilate with the African American community, which has more opportunities, or remain within the Haitian diaspora and risk even more marginalization (Stepick et al. 2003). The friction between Miami Blacks and Cubans during the tumultuous 1980s remains today, and Haitians, many of whom having assimilated to the Black community, are frequently treated as guilty by association (Martinez and Lee 2000).

Cubans and Cubans: Social science research on Cuban Americans tends to differentiate sectors of the diaspora based on immigration wave (Eckstien 2009b, Grenier et al. 2007; Pérez 1992; Pérez 2008). Research has described the different immigration waves' introduction experiences to the US, the differences in social class background, and demographic differences (especially ethnicity) (Eckstien 2009b, Grenier et al. 2007; Pérez 1992; Pérez 2008).

Common discourse on *cubanidad* in Miami continues to embrace the multi-ethnic, non-racist rhetoric that emerged in pre-revolution Cuba (Font and Quiroz 2005; Shnookal and Múniz 1999). However, settlement patterns of light-skinned and dark-skinned Cubans in Miami suggest that ethnic disparities and racism are very much a part of *cubanidad*. Cuban Americans, who claim to be only eleven percent mixed race and share the African–European admixture of Puerto Ricans, assimilated into a racial divide in Florida (Guanche 1996; Hill 1996). Black Cubans live in or near segregated African-American neighborhoods separated from the large White Cuban population (over 80%), which resides in the Cuban communities (Hill 1996). Thus, it appears

that Afro-Cubans must assimilate with local Black culture, while White Cubans had enough numbers and political clout to avoid assimilation (Woltman and Newbold 2009). In other words, “In the United States, Black Cubans are invisible, to some extent unthinkable. The popular construction of Cuban American identity stands in deliberate opposition to Blackness” (Greenbaum 2002:1).



Figure 3.4: A multicultural group at a predominantly Cuban gathering in Miami

There may be conflict between many of the ethnic groups in Miami, but this does not mean that social groups may not be composed of individuals from diverse backgrounds. In the above social group there are two Haitians, five Cubans, one Indian, one French-Tunisian, and one Anglo American.

Earlier waves of Cubans learned or already knew English before coming to the US, but continued to speak Spanish the majority of the time. Their households were represented in popular media by the Public Broadcasting System's sitcom “Que Pasa USA.” The show aired in the 80s, and it was the first bilingual TV show in the US. Characters' dialogue contained

seamless code-switching between English and Spanish (Resnick 1988). English was spoken as a second language by so many in Miami that even those born in the US and educated up to the college level retain a Cuban accent while speaking English (Diaz 2004). Later arrivals, who did not learn English in school and had very little contact with English-speaking tourists in Cuba, did not feel as much pressure to learn English when arriving in Miami since there were so many Spanish-speaking residents (Diaz 2004). Even though the vast majority of Cuban-Americans in Miami speak Spanish, and at least a little English, there appears to be qualitative variations between immigration waves' linguistic patterns including accent, grammar, slang, and code-switching (Diaz 2004; Resnick 1988; Stepick et al. 2003). Seemingly, ethnicity and language are consistent traits among Cuban-Americans; however, both vary among the diaspora, and play an important role not only in identity but also in one's capacities for social and economic capital.

Religion

Like the ethnically diverse population, Cuba's religions reflect diverse origins, yet have been shaped by common experiences. Under Spanish colonial rule, Catholicism was the official religion. But, Cuban Catholicism took on a highly syncretic form (*Santería*) transformed by African-based religions, which allowed Africans to retain their traditional beliefs while appearing to practice Catholicism (Hearn 2008). *La Virgen de la Caridad del Cobre* (the virgin of charity of Cuba) is the Catholic patroness of Cuba and is greatly revered by the Cubans Nationals and exiles (Kirk 1989; Wedel 2004). In *Santería*, she has been syncretized with the goddess *Ochún*. Afro-Cuban dance, inspired by *Santería*, is another important element of *cubanidad*. Rumba, originally danced by lower class Afro-Cubans in the colonial era, was elevated into a symbol of Cuba's new pop-culture after the 1959 revolution (Daniels 1995).

From 1959 to 1961, eighty percent of the professional Catholic priests and Protestant ministers left Cuba for the US. Along with the initial exodus were Cuban Jews who had settled on the island during the early 20th century (Corrales 2005). Many of these Cuban Jews were middle class and fled to Miami to escape redistribution measures and religious persecution associated with the Revolution (Levine 1993). Since the state promoted atheism, practice of organized religion on the island dropped (US State Department 2009). However, *Santería*, which was more discreet in its practice, flourished in Cuba, and subsequently later arrivals to Miami brought more *Santería* practitioners (Ayorinde 2006). By the 90s, and after a visit by the pope in 1998, the state eased its restrictions on the right to practice religion (US State Department 2009). Miami is decidedly more religious than Cuba. Freedom to practice religion was yet another reason that pushed religious Cubans to flee Cuba after the revolution. Alongside Catholicism, *Santería* is also an element of *cubanidad* in Miami. In Little Havana and Hialeah, one can find *botanicas*—stores that sell items used for *Santería* rites such as candles, herbs, and crucifixes. While quite prevalent, practitioners of *Santería* have had to battle persecution in Miami (Dutton 1993). In the early 1990s, the Church of Lukumi Babalu, a congregation of *Santería* practitioners, won a case against the City of Hialeah to be allowed to practice animal sacrifice as a part of their religious ceremonies (Dutton 1993).

Cuban Cuisine

Subsistence strategies of Miami Cubans are based on industrial agriculture, yet few Miami Cubans come into direct contact with industrial agriculture labor. As gatherers rather than producers, Miami Cubans collect at the supermarket, restaurants, and occasionally from the alternative foodway outlets in Miami (such as farmers markets and fruit stands). Morning meals

are usually had at home, and involve bread, butter, and strong Cuban coffee. Lunch is usually eaten outside of the home at a restaurant or on the job. Dinner, prepared by the female head of household or her paid laborer, is typically shared at home with family. Urban foraging is commonly carried out in the form of fishing along the coast. Fishing is a hobby of conspicuous consumption in Miami (see Figure 3.5). Owning a fishing boat, being able to afford fishing gear, and having the time to spend weekends fishing, is an emblem of male achievement in Miami. The despondently poor may also fish for subsistence, not from the comfort of a sport fishing yacht, but from the edges of bridges along the intracoastal waterway or from the polluted Miami River. I witnessed urban foraging myself on Miami Beach. In the midst of tourist-filled sidewalks, and Ferrari-choked avenues, several homeless people had taken to hunting for pigeons (see Figure 3.6). I watched as one hunter stood holding a fishing line noose on the ground covered in breadcrumbs as a lure. As soon as a pigeon stepped unsuspectingly into the noose, the hunter yanked the string with lightening speed and quickly wrung the pigeon's neck. Unintentionally symbolizing Miami's foodways and social inequalities, he carried his quarry in a worn Publix sack.



Figure 3.5: Locally caught fish served at a Cuban restaurant



Figure 3.6: A homeless person sleeping in front of a high-end boutique
The pictured area is where the homeless were witnessed hunting pigeons

The Cuban *mojito*, electrifying Cuban coffee (*cafecito*), the Cuban sandwich (*la media noche*), and black beans and rice (*moros y cristianos*) are not only highly visible culinary staples of *cubanidad* in Miami, but have also been adopted by non-Cuban Miamians and Cuban fare is a part of Miami's tourist appeal. Along with virtually every other cultural variable (i.e., SES, political organization, ethnicity, language, and religion), cuisine also varies among immigration waves. Cuban food of the Golden Generation, centering on hearty beef stews and varieties of pastries, is something that younger Cubans would have rarely, if ever, tasted in post-Soviet Cuba. Food being one of the central expressions of ethnic identity and social class is an essential component to investigate in portraying the experience of *cubanidad* in Miami. Food choice and eating is also intrinsically tied to economic capital in that lower income groups have limited access to highly valued (both in price and perception) foods. Ethnicity also limits access to highly valued foods in terms of income disparities and geography (i.e., food deserts in poor Black areas).

Miami's foodways, the sum total of institutions and venues through which people can acquire food, are influenced by Cuban culture. Background on Cuban Nationals' starkly different experience of food and foodways will be discussed in Chapter Five. These transnational experiences no doubt contribute to the structure of Miami's foodways as well. Centralized foodways (which include supermarkets, convenience stores, and restaurants selling food—the predominance of which has been conventionally produced) reflect the Cuban market demand with several Hispanic chain supermarkets and fast food chains. De-centralized or alternative foodways which feature farmers markets, local farms, and household or community gardens are also driven by Cuban cuisine market expectations. Even though the Miami area is suited to grow

a variety of tropical fruits, the market demands center on avocado, plantain, mango, mamay, papaya, tomato, and onion--all central ingredients to Cuban cuisine. Different immigration waves and sectors of society may be more or less likely to utilize centralized or de-centralized foodways. While alternative foodways have been growing in Miami, given its tropical locale and viability for urban agriculture, the city remains relatively devoid of a strong alternative foodway movement. This research examines the role *cubanidad* has played in Miami's foodway development and examines the relationship between socio-cultural factors (immigration wave, SES, ethnicity and political values) and food and foodway choice.

Conclusion

Cuban immigration set the stage for Miami to become an international city, shifting from Anglo retirement destination to the “capital of Latin America.” Coming to the US with social capital and a political agenda, the massive immigration of Cubans to Miami did more to assimilate local culture to *cubanidad* than vice versa, which is the defining difference between the Cuban and other Hispanic immigrant experiences. The multicultural rhetoric established by Ortiz and his contemporaries which celebrated European *and* African contributions to *cubanidad* has not come to fruition in Miami culture. The history of *cubanidad* is rooted in the ever-changing yet ever-present relationship between the US and Cuba. Cuban American identity is largely based on Cubans' relationship to their country of origin and what pressures brought them to the US. It has been these first two waves that have defined the meaning of Cuban American; that is, to be Cuban American is to be White and successful. This prevalent conception of Cubans in the US has also promoted the commonly held idea that Cubans are *not Black*. Racism and the inherent limitations to economic and social capital for those outside the ideal (in Miami being

White Cuban) are two issues that Miamians face. The political agenda of Cuban Americans has been recognized for its pervasiveness on a local and national level. Though once heterogeneously Republican, conservative, pro-embargo, and extremely anti-Castro, later arrivals and US-born Cubans have a broadening political ideology and agenda.

The cultural domain of food is essential to expressing identity and ethnic affiliation. Similar to the political power exerted by the Cuban diaspora, the abundance of Cuban cuisine in Miami is a testament to the extent that Cuban traditions have impacted Miami culture. This research investigates the relationship between the cultural domains of food and politics in Cuban Miami to identify how these domains impact individual food choices and Miami's foodways.

CHAPTER 4:

FOOD AND FOODWAYS IN ANTHROPOLOGY

It has long been recognized that humans do not simply eat to sustain life, but have an ongoing relationship with food, its preparation, and its presentation. Eating is associated with initiations, burial rites, gender roles, hospitality, and virtually every human activity (Messer 1984; Mintz and Du Bois 2002). If you know what, where, when, and with whom to eat, then you know a great deal about the character of society. Food choices and production are influenced by biological and social needs and restrictions structured by technology and ecology (Armelagos 1989). Food is a central feature to anthropological interest because of the urgency of famine and diet-related diseases such as obesity, diabetes, cardiovascular disease, and cancer (Farb and Armelagos 1980).

This chapter covers literature on food, giving background to fieldwork carried out on Cuban food and foodways in Miami, Florida. Beginning with a discussion of seminal works, the trajectory of anthropological food studies is traced. The second section pulls together three areas of study which are the underpinnings of this research: 1) the evolving human diet; 2) foodways in the modern world; and, 3) food and identity.

Food represents perhaps the perfect nexus of biology and culture. Eating is an essential biological function, yet each bite is infused with cultural beliefs and values, spiced with political processes, and topped with a dollop of socioeconomics. Like kinship and religion, it is universal,

well-recorded, and highly structured (Mintz and Du Bois 2002). Unlike sex, eating patterns are easy to study. Unlike religion, they are grounded in obvious biological fact. For this investigation, a biocultural approach is employed which takes into account the cultural propulsions that influence food choice, while also recognizing the biological outcomes of eating.

The biocultural synthesis contrasts with narrowly cultural or biological ones in that it takes into account human biology, culture, and political economy as equally important determinants of food systems (Goodman, Dufour, and Pelto 2000). Foodways can neither be explained simply by nutritional value nor by cultural (symbol or meaning) value alone. Throughout this investigation food is understood as a biological reality, as well as a cognitive structure. Along with mindless eating, people also may think and construct meaning about foods that are eaten (and not eaten). Constructed meaning, ecology, political-economic structures, and genetic predispositions all influence eating behaviors, which have biological effects on the body.

The theory and methodology of cognitive anthropology works well with a biocultural investigation of food. Researchers, like Dressler et al. (2008), Newkirk et al. (2009) and Oths et al. (2003), use cognitive theory in combination with a biocultural framework to examine how cultural knowledge interacts with individuals' physical bodies, their goal being to explore the relationship between the cultural conglomerate and the individual.

Food Scholarship in Anthropology

As early as Marx, it was recognized that “humans make food, but not just as they please” (1887:237). We construct our foodways within limits set by biology, technology, environment, economy, and culture. Food was of central importance to the founding forefathers of American anthropology (Messer 1984). Lewis Henry Morgan (1877) built his theories of culture on

subsistence strategies: fishing, hunting, herding, and farming. Cushing (1920) honed his foundational research methodology while participating and observing the food and eating habits of the Zuni of New Mexico. Boas (1916) dedicated 300 pages to recipes in the Kwakwaka'wakw ethnology. Cushing and Boas recognized that food could not be seen in isolation, and that the social context of production and consumption was essential (Messer 1984; Pelto et al. 2000).

Trained by Malinowski, who stressed the importance of biological needs, Richards (1939) emerged as a true leader of food studies (Messer 1984). Richards documented the effects of starvation on daily life among the Bemba living in the remote, harsh, food stressed parts of Africa (what is modern day Zambia). She strove to examine the interrelationship between society, nutritional needs, and individual relationships, showing how hunger shapes the sentiments which bind together a social group.

Firth (1934) explored African nutritional problems, focusing on how European expansion influenced the diets of native populations. Firth suggested that nutrition lay at the heart of most of Africa's problems, and worked with multidisciplinary, applied nutrition programs. Fortes and Fortes (1936) worked among yet another African tribe, the Tallensi, investigating the subsistence patterns. Their work played a role in shaping the Manchester School of social anthropology, and emphasized problems of working in colonial Africa (Barth et al. 2005). Indeed, much of midcentury investigations of food dealt with the legacy of colonial inequalities. Hunger in developing countries continues to be a subject of anthropological inquiry today. This research examines the globalized food industry (a grandchild of the colonial legacy) and its counter movement: localized foodways.

One of the major theoretical orientations of the 20th century, cultural ecology (Steward 1955), placed food as an integral unit in the human-ecosystem feedback system. Thus, food becomes a means for the transfer of energy between ecosystem levels. Harris (1966, 1987) took the legacy of this approach, while promoting his own cultural materialism, and sparked one of the biggest theoretical battles in anthropology—food and its meaning was central to the argument. On the other hand, structuralists began focusing less on production, and more on the symbolic meaning of food. Levi-Strauss (1969) centered food and cooking as primordial in his vision of the world. Levi-Strauss's volumes on things raw, cooked, and rotten set the stage for structuralism, one of anthropology's central theoretical orientations. Douglas (1966) traced the words and meaning of dirt in different contexts, asserting that what is considered dirt is anything out of place. Here she first proposed that the Kosher laws were not attributable to primitive health regulations or randomly chosen tests of faith. Instead, Douglas argued that the laws were about symbolic boundary maintenance. Prohibited foods were those that did not seem to fall neatly into any category. For example, pigs' place in the natural order was ambiguous because they share the cloven foot of ungulates but do not chew cud. Her stance on Hebrew food taboos argues that food is used to state repeatedly the message of pure categories which can be applied to religion or political or territorial boundaries. In describing American food festivities, Douglas (1983) illustrated that food provides meaning through structure in the categories of clean and polluted, edible and inedible. Meal structures can be understood as their contents and combinations, and celebratory meals are elaborations of the basic meal structure.

The battle between structuralists (Douglas) and materialists (Harris) manifested in Harris's (1966) interpretation of the Hindu beef taboo. Counter to Douglas's interpretation,

Harris held that food taboos were not a reflection of underlying symbolic thought, but were rational cultural adaptations. Later, re-interpreting the pork taboos of Jews and Muslims from his cultural materialist approach (Harris 1985), Harris further drove the wedge between structuralists and materialists. Anthropologists found themselves on one side or the other, for, as Messer states, “it was a brave soul who tried to straddle the two” (1984:212). Mintz (1985) and Mennell (1985) point out that Levi-Strauss's and Douglas's (and I would add that Harris's too) investigations of food were oblivious to social change and the analyses are static.

Though food was often a portion of ethnographic study, or a conduit to describe a larger paradigm, food studies were not popular in the US until the 1980s. There was an explosion of food research beginning in the 1990s (Mintz and Du Puis 2002). Up until this point, most studies of food concentrated on production and took consumption for granted. Goody (1982) and Mintz (1985) were two of the first to examine social order and food. Dealing with production, distribution, and consumption as part of a single process, neither were tied to material or structuralist agendas (MacClancy 2004).

Goody (1982) criticized approaches that overlook the comparative historical dimensions and cultural differences (specifically culinary differences) in class societies. His observations of West African cooking traditions are primarily concerned with why differentiated “haute cuisine” has not emerged in Africa as it has in other parts of the world. Comparatively, culinary practices in Eurasian societies throughout history – ranging from ancient Egypt, Imperial Rome, and medieval China to early modern Europe – emerged differently along the lines of socio-economic structures. He concludes with an examination of the world-wide rise of industrial food and its impact on Third World societies, showing that the ability of the latter to resist cultural

domination in food, as in other things, is related to the nature of their pre-existing socio-economic structures.

Mintz's (1985) study of four centuries of sugar trade in the Caribbean analyzes the way sugar was converted from being a luxury condiment for the powerful to becoming a proletarian staple of modern, industrialized society. Mintz figures the sugar trade as primary in the creation and consolidation of world capitalism. Rather than focus on the sugar plantation where he conducted fieldwork in the 1940s, Mintz took a global evolutionary perspective by drawing from biology, nutrition, social history, and culture. One of the greatest contributions of the monograph is the observation that what counts as food is not once and for all. His book plots sugar's process from an item in the mediaeval pharmacopoeia, through luxury for the sixteenth century aristocracy, essential source of calories for the impoverished English working classes of the 19th century, to commonplace ubiquitous flavor of the 20th century. First, his work insists that both demand and supply be considered, production as well as consumption. Second, Mintz's study shows it is vital not to take instances out of their historical context.

Capitalist (and communist) socio-economic structures, and especially the legacy of the sugar trade, figure heavily into this research on Cuban cultural values and meanings of food. In the late 80s, a new sub-field of nutritional anthropology emerged to deal with the calamitous consequences of overproduction and undernutrition throughout the world food system (Armelagos 1989; Armelagos, Brown, and Turner 2005; Bindon 1988; Farb and Armelagos 1980; Goodman, Dufour, and Pelto 2000). Nutritional anthropology was defined by biological anthropologists Ulijaszek and Strickland to be “the study of human diet and nutrition within a comparative and evolutionary perspective” (1993:1).

The Evolution of the Human Diet

The human diet has undergone cultural and biological adaptations. Much fewer in scope, biological adaptations to diet will be discussed first. Conversely, cultural adaptations relating to food are innumerable. Nutritional anthropologists, who are usually biological or biocultural in background, largely explore the health outcomes from the evolving diet (Armelagos 1989; Armelagos, Brown, and Turner 2005; Bindon 1988; Brown and Konner 1987; Farb and Armelagos 1980; Goodman, Dufour, and Pelto 2000; Pelto, Goodman and Dufour 2000; Ross 1989; Sobal 2001). Political-economic approaches also contribute much to the investigation of diet change (Himmelgreen et al. 2000; Pottier 1999; Roseberry 1996; Scheper-Hughes 1992; Weismantel 2005), since the worldwide problem of malnutrition often runs parallel to political-economic inequalities.

Biological Adaptations of the Human Diet

One of our evolutionary advantages is our ability to digest both plant and animal sources of nutrients. Though our minds are adaptable and capable of learning how to extract food from unlikely sources, store it, and process it, our guts are even more malleable. First of all, humans around the world evolved eating very different diets. The Inuit survived on mainly marine mammal meat, Indonesians on palm sugar, North Americans on acorns (Farb and Armelagos 1980). Speaking of our omnivorous advantage, Farb and Armelagos state, “Humans will swallow almost anything that does not swallow them first” (1980: 165). There is an enormous number of possible diets, but no diet will survive if it does not provide protein, carbohydrates, fats, vitamins, and minerals in the appropriate amounts and balances. Larger body mass and increased ability to accumulate fat in seasons of plenty (to protect against leaner times) are two

key adaptive features of human evolution (Aiello and Wells 2002). Prior to the development of efficient tools and agriculture, humans had a very high physical activity level (Ulijaszek 1999). Natural selection for body fatness would have favored traits which promote energy intake and storage and that minimize energy expenditure. For Caucasian women in Western Europe and the US, Tovee et al. (2002) suggest that the balance between the optimal body mass for health and fertility is struck at around the same value as the preferred body mass for attractiveness. However, they also suggest that the ideal may vary in different racial groups and different environments (Tovee and Cornelissen 2001), and a number of studies have suggested that resource-poorer societies prefer a heavier female body than more affluent societies (Brown and Konner 1987; Ember et al. 2005; Tovee et al. 2002). Body ideals in the US have been shown to become thinner over time as obesity rates increase, along with public health attention towards overweight and obesity (which is also argued to be a culture bound syndrome) (Ritenbaugh 1982).

The post-industrial world has replaced the variability in seasonal diets and workload with consistent food security and sedentary lifestyles. Though these cultural innovations have led to increased life expectancy for many and can support a larger population, the environment also promotes obesity and metabolic disorders (Eaton and Konner 1985). While genes for obesity have been searched for among populations exhibiting high obesity prevalence rates, the thrifty genotype hypothesized by Neel (1962) has yet to be found (Ulijaszek and Lofink 2006).

Cultural Adaptation and Diet Change

Changes at the end of the Pleistocene led to the development of agriculture (Childe 1952). Adopting agriculture as a subsistence strategy benefited people at the expense of health, causing

health disparities and metabolic disorders of malnourishment (Cohen 1989). Agriculture may have been the great leap forward, but it ended in deterioration of nutrition (Farb and Armelagos 1980). Fast forward 10,000 years to present-day industrial agriculture, and one of the biggest problems is delocalization of the food supply. Traditional foods are not produced locally; instead foodstuffs are produced in mass and circulated through global trade networks. Pelto et al. (2000) delineate the concept of delocalization and its causes, consequences, and implications for health around the world. They define delocalization as the “process in which food varieties, production methods, and consumption patterns are disseminated throughout the world in an ever-increasing and intensifying network of socioeconomic and political interdependency” (Pelto, Goodman, and Dufour 2000: 269). Delocalization has changed many aspects of the world's food systems in the past two hundred and fifty years and is one important feature of the processes we know as industrialization, modernization, and globalization (Phillips 2006; Riches 1997). Though the globalized, delocalized foodway has positive outcomes for many, the world's poor suffer from it (Franke 1989; Lentz 1999; Popkin 2001; Scheper-Hughes 1992).

Depending on the types of nutrients in scarcity, the malnourished body may be under- or overweight. It is useful to split the literature of diet change and malnourishment into studies of hunger and studies of obesity (or obesity related disorders). A population's political-economic and ecological environments influence either under- or overweight malnourishment (except in the case of the nutrition transition – see below). This research focuses on the latter, and thus, the literature relating to diet change and obesity will be more heavily represented.

Increased consumption of calorically dense foods low in vitamins and minerals, compounded with increased prevalence of overweight in middle-to-low-income countries is

typically referred to as the nutrition transition (Popkin and Gordon-Larsen 2004). It occurs in conjunction with the epidemiological transition—the shift from infectious to chronic diseases. Malnutrition ensuing from the nutrition transition is not merely from a need for food, but the need for high-quality nourishment. Foods rich in vitamins, minerals, and micronutrients such as fruits, vegetables, and whole grains have been substituted by foods heavy in added sugar, saturated fat, and sodium (Bindon 1988; Himmelgreen et al. 2007; Katz 1987; Ploeg et al. 2009). This trend, which began in developed, industrialized countries, has spread to developing countries. These developing countries still stressed and struggling with hunger are now simultaneously dealing with health problems associated with obesity (Popkin and Gordon-Larsen 2004; Ulijaszek and Lofink 2006). Societies or populations experiencing acculturation, pre-delocalization, have been shown to be especially sensitive to the nutrition transition.

Along with delocalization, lowered physical activity appears to accompany the nutrition transition. Bindon (1988, 1995) examined changes associated with increased modernization of Samoans that likely contributed to dramatically increased obesity rates. Though Samoans began consuming a greater variety of foods, most of which were store-bought and processed instead of traditional foods, representing a shift to delocalization, dietary change did not appear to be the culprit of rising obesity rates among the Samoans. Rather, dramatically reduced physical activity was a stronger contributor to obesity rates than diet change.

Similarly, acculturation to the US has been associated with shifts from traditional diets of vegetables, meats, and whole grains to the more processed, high-fat, and sugary foods that are popular and easily available in the US (Himmelgreen et al. 2007; Unger et al. 2004; Wang and Beydoun 2007; Walker, Kenae and Burke 2004).

From hunter-gathering benefits to modern day afflictions of obesity and metabolic disorders, the human diet has stayed at least true to its origins in one way: omnivorous flexibility. Due to our omnivory and capacity for innovation, the advent of agriculture is the greatest cultural adaptation of our history. However, the development of agriculture has had its share nutritional calamities, especially for the poor and marginalized. What was once our advantage is now our Achilles' heel among the calorically privileged. The omnivore's dilemma, as coined by Pollan (2006), is the plight to find nutritious food in an environment full of empty calories generated from chemically processed foods and plains of industrialized agriculture. The delocalized, industrialized, globalized, "conventional" foodway is discussed below. Demonstrating yet another cultural adaptation, the counter movement of re-localized, "alternative" foodways are also explored.

Foodways in the Modern World

Many foodway studies explore the global interconnections of political-economic world forces (Pottier 1999). The social structures which sustain conventional versus alternative foodways are explored in this research. Literature concerning the meaning and cultural values infused with each foodway are then discussed.

Conventional and Alternative Foodways: Local to Global to Re-Local

The widespread development of the conventional foodway, and the solidification of delocalization as the norm throughout the world, occurred between World War II and the Cold War. Friedmann (1982) demonstrates how subsidized US food exports and Marshall Plan aid, which included food, feed, and fertilizers meant for short-term provisioning, actually undermined peasant agriculture and rural self-sufficiency. Thus, third world production-consumption patterns

were pushed into the profit-driven, industrial agriculture system in which the third world was destined to fail. The incorporation of third world countries into the international food order has destroyed traditional ways of life, specifically in the way of food (Araghi 2003; Bonnano et al. 1994; Canclini 2001; Friedmann 1982; Lein and Nerlich 2004).

Bonnano et al. (1994), Bonnano and Lyman (1999) and Friedmann (1982) set the 20th century as being the age of globalization in agriculture and the food industry. Globalization is exemplified by transnational corporations that own and control a variety of worldwide production and distribution systems. Globalized corporations thereby control millions of workers, manipulate governments, and change consumption patterns. Consumers play into globalization by preferring and purchasing delocalized products. Globalized corporations exist independently of nation-states and are driven by profit rather than individual needs. Thus, controllers of global capital, rather than nations themselves, are making the new rules for the agribusiness industry, and are largely responsible for what does (or does not) end up on our plates.

Globalization and delocalization has, for first world nations in particular, increased availability and variety of food sources, though areas of low income have fewer food choices. Because food retailers will make less profit in low income areas, they are not found in as high of a concentration in low income areas as in higher SES communities (Ploeg et al. 2009; Raja, Ma, and Yadav 2008; Shaw 2006; Short and Guthman 2007; Walker, Kenae, and Burke 2004). These geographic spaces where residents have very little food choice have been termed “food deserts.” Cummins and MacIntyre (2002) trace the origin of the term to Donald Acheson (1998), who used it to describe the absence of supermarkets near public-sector housing in the west of Scotland. Research on food deserts is used as an example of a mechanism in which poverty and social

inequality could cause poor health (Cummins and MacIntyre 2002; Ploeg et al. 2009; Powell et al. 2007; Raja, Ma, and Yadav 2008; Shaw 2006; Short and Guthman 2007). Linn (1999) associates food deserts with food racism, since areas of food deserts usually occur in low-income, non-white areas. More recent investigations indicate that food deserts are not just geographic, but may also exist in areas with relatively dense food establishments, but cost is prohibitive to lower income residents (Ploeg et al. 2009). Miami has food deserts, and specific alternative foodways have emerged, in part, to help cope with this problem (see Chapter Six for more on specific alternative foodway projects which attempt to cope with food deserts.).

Interest in the health benefits of naturally-produced, chemical-free food began as early as the 19th century (Baer 2001). By the late 1960s, some suburbanites realized that they completely lacked any familiarity with food sources, and they felt out of touch with nature. While the back-to-the-land movement was not strictly part of the counterculture of the 1960s, the two movements had some overlap in participation. (Jacob 1997). Partly in response to the environmental degradation and ill health associated with industrial farming (Carson 1962; Shiva 2000), and partly as contra the political economy of the globalized, corporate foodway (Grey 2000; Hinrichs 2003; Jarsoz 2008; McMichael 2000; Pollan 2006), the re-localized, sustainably grown food movement gained in popularity the late 90s. Particularly in Europe where the Slow Food movement originated, genetically engineered foods provoked consumer reactions (Miele and Murdock 2002; Murcott 1996). Slow Food emphasizes transparent agricultural practices, environmental and economic sustainability, and fresh instead of processed foods (Lein and Nerlich 2004).

The Slow Food movement caught on in the US as well, but not until the late 90s did a large number of Americans start to embrace natural, organic foods, and the revival of localized foodways (Watson and Caldwell 2005).

In addition to emerging as a counter force to the globalized (also known as “conventional”) foodways, alternative foodways have been associated with an attempt at coping with the identity crisis of modernity (Cone, Abbot, and Myhre 2000). Giddens (1998) identifies several dimensions of modernity including capitalism, industrialism, surveillance by massive organizations, the discontinuous separation of time and space, abstract systems, and chronic revisions of social relationship in light of new technology and information. Together these dimensions of modernity lead to a sense of detachment and disembeddedness, a loss of certainty that makes it difficult for people to construct a secure and fulfilling narrative of self. Much energy is spent on day-to-day decisions on how to behave, what to wear, what to eat. The conditions of modernity create a need for clearly defined community. Thus, Cone et al. (2000) claim that alternative foodways (specifically community-supported agriculture [CSA]) has the potential to re-embed people in time and place through linking them to a specific piece of land and an awareness of seasons. The authors see the CSA as a way to stave off the problematic aspects of modernity. Though the social and psychological complications of modernity are experienced across classes, Cone et al.'s sample was middle-class. However, alternative foodways serve both higher and lower SES individuals.

Alternative foodways serve higher and lower SES individuals in different ways (Jarosz 2000). For the wealthy, alternative foodways provide high-quality, trendy, nutritious, (nearly) chemical-free food. For low-income consumers, alternative foodways (e.g. community gardens,

farmers markets that accept food stamps) provide reasonably priced produce that is otherwise scarce, so theorists and activists of community food security strive to bring these consumers into the local food systems movement (Powell et al. 2007; Raja, Ma, and Pavan 2008; Walker, Kenae and Burke 2004).

Conversely, alternative foodways are sought out by the elite because of health concerns and the fad of eating “local” fare. In turn, the lower income consumers are often pushed out of the market. Linn (1999) uses places with well-established alternative foodways like Baltimore, Oakland, and Seattle as examples. Here, food justice activists have responded to disinvestment in the city and the resulting emergence of food deserts by redeveloping unused or private lots into urban agriculture sites intended to promote and foster greater food security for poor communities. Thus, a growing urban food movement actually benefits from urban disinvestment, as government neglect tends to leave abandoned lots and land available freely or cheaply for new and alternative types of development. Linn explains that “community gardens can be seen as forerunners of urban gentrification — Trojan Horses setting in motion processes that will displace people of lesser means” (1999: 45).

Due largely to the conflicting expectations and motivations of the low income customers and advocates versus higher income “lifestyle” consumers (Chrzan 2010), the space of alternative foodways can often lead to controversy (Andreatta and Wickliffe 2002; Chrzan 2008, 2010; Gutwill 2008; Jarosz 2008). Oths and Groves (in press) found clashing ideologies and contradictory expectations in farmers market development in a mid-sized city. Lower income consumers and producers were threatened by the establishment of new, trendy, higher SES customers and vendors.

Alternative Foodways, Meaning, and Cultural Values

One of the reasons alternative foodways may become a hotly contested topic is because of the wide assortment of meaning with which they may be infused. When meaning and cultural values become contradictory, conflict often ensues. The variety of meaning and values associated with alternative foodways are discussed below.

With the diverse types of alternative foodways emerging, scholars have attempted to discern the meaning associated with discourse on alternatives (Gottlieb and Fisher 1996). Kloppenburg et al. (2000) explored interpretations of the term “sustainable”, among producers and consumers, finding no less than seven criteria (environmentally and economically sustainable, just/equitable, proximate, healthful, diverse, participatory, and ethical). Webber and Dollahite (2006) found alternative foodways to be defined by three dimensions among low-income Americans involved in alternative foodways: 1) ecological soundness; 2) economic viability, vitality, and fairness to farmers and farm workers; and 3) social justice, particularly the availability of healthy, affordable food that is accessible to all.

While alternative foodways are associated with an escape from exclusionary conventional foodways (and also as a strategy to get healthy food), for the wealthy, alternative food has become a venue for the highly sought after “organic” products. Campbell and Liepins (2001), and Goodman and DuPuis (2002) point out the value and meaning differences between “local” and “organic” agriculture. Organic food, they point out, has been appropriated by centralized corporations, making it no better ethically than conventional foodways.

Chrzan (2010) found that producers and consumers had many differing ideas about organic and sustainable foods. Each person seemed to have a completely different concept of

organic food, how it is grown, and what it means for personal and public health. Most consumers are unable to define what organic is aside from “it doesn't have chemicals” or “it is better for you.” It is seen as what responsible mothers do, especially if their children have allergies, to keep families healthy. Chrzan identifies two types of consumers with different alternative foodways ideology: lifestyle consumers and educated organics consumers. The former has the vague idea of organics, while the latter is involved because of a sense of social and environmental responsibility in food choice.

It has been posited that alternative foodways are a gendered field. Because gender roles place women as the typical procurers of food for the household they are oftentimes the one making food choice decisions (DeLind and Ferguson 1999). Cone et al. (2000) found that women were predominantly the initiators of membership in the CSA and lifestyle changes in the household. Ferguson (1994) uses case studies in African agricultural research programs to show that women are central in efforts to promote sustainable agriculture. Trauger et al. (2010) found that women's involvement with alternative agriculture has been on the rise since 2002, especially as consumers.

Conventional and alternative foodways are infused with diverse cultural meaning and values. The foods within these foodways are also full of meaning, which, in turn, becomes experienced and expressed by the consumer.

Food and Identity

Food does not just transfer nutrients to the individual. What is consumed (or not consumed) also transfers cultural values onto the individual. The literature here discusses the many ways that food becomes a social expression of self—specifically in the form of ethnicity,

gender, social class, and the enduring fad of “health consciousness” in America. Particularly in multicultural Miami—with a wealth distribution increasingly similar to the Third World’s—food is of central importance to expressing one’s identity. This section on food and identity discusses how various food/foodway choices (or lack thereof) serve to construct and maintain identities.

Ethnicity

In keeping with the anthropological tradition of culture and diet change investigations, much research has been conducted on the specific physiological and psychological effects of dietary change among migrating peoples throughout the world (Abrahams 1984; Bindon 1988; Goode, Curtis and Theopano 1984; Himmelgreen et al. 2007; Himmelgreen et al. 2000). In America, the country of immigrants, ethnic food often becomes a way to hold on to ethnic identity in a multicultural atmosphere (Brown and Musell 1984) or to maintain regional identity (Gillespie 1984). This has been supported in celebration meals (Humphrey and Humphrey 1988), as well as more general meal structure (Goode, Curtis, and Theophano 1984). Sutton (2001) exemplifies the strong bonds between eating and ethnic identity in his account of Greek islanders’ memory and food. When he wanted to remember his fieldwork experience, his participants kept telling him to eat Kalymnian food; he said, “they were in fact telling me to act like a Kalymnian” (Sutton 2001: 2).

Exploring how and why certain foods come to be imbued with certain meaning reveals much larger meaning structures. Gillespie (1984) focuses upon the Pine Barrens of New Jersey, a million-acre wilderness located amidst the sprawling urban area. Where food is produced becomes a medium for expressing the self-sufficiency of Pine Barren inhabitants, who value rural living and adamantly oppose urban out-migration. The most esteemed foods are those gathered

directly from the land; the least esteemed are purchased from grocery stores. Gutierrez (1984) details an example of a particular foodstuff, crawfish, which has become a symbol of South Louisiana Cajun culture. In order to delineate genuine Cajuns from outsiders, especially tourists, one's knowledge of the preparation of crawfish and their ability to eat it in the proper way (peeling the outer shell is quite a chore) indicates how authentically Cajun one is.

While eating can be an exclusive experience, borrowing the “other” cuisine can represent a loosening in ethnic boundaries (Abrahams 1984; Lockwood and Lockwood 2000; Kalcik 1984). However, Abrahams (1984) suggests that America's romance with ethnic foods has become an established convention. In other words, departures from typical fare to “try ethnic food” is an extension of the “capitalist-colonialist” attraction to the exotic. In a sense, appropriating cultural styles of cooking and eating is a form of exploitation of subordinated peoples.

Social Class

Because food is a commodity, more expensive food is eaten to express wealth. What dictates which food is expensive and cheap? Production and preparation expenses contribute to a portion of specific foodstuffs value. However, existing cultural values contribute to demand, and supply and demand, in turn, also contribute to food value. Roseberry's (1996) discussion of beer and coffee is a useful example of how food becomes more expensive and more valued by higher classes and then becomes a badge of social class distinction. The rise of micro-brewed beers and Starbucks in the US in the 1990s is a window to shifting American economic and class structures. Beer and coffee were once quotidian and cheap.

Mass marketing impact on taste is evident where beer is now served in wine glasses, and the humble act of “offer[ing] a cup of coffee must now be prefaced by a discussion of preparation methods and bean origins” (Roseberry 1996: 762).

While examples of food and social class are especially well-documented in capitalist nations, Watson and Caldwell (2005) claim that the ethnography of socialist food has been the missing elephant in the late 20th century anthropological discourse. During the communist era in Cuba, foreign commodities, such as bananas, were a privilege only enjoyed by a few: those who were able to negotiate the black market or those who did indeed have extra means. These tokens of consumption were a channel for articulating dissent and their relative wealth (Watson and Caldwell 2005). So prominent is the place of food under socialism that people throughout the world equated the Soviet Union with breadlines and Chinese communism with the iron rice bowl (Caldwell 2002). Perhaps Cuba could be equated with the communist coffee (Caldwell 2002). The Cuban coffee served in thimble-sized cups from store front windows is periodically scarce in Cuba, and, when available, has been blended with garbanzo beans and other fillers.

Health food

Bourdieu (1984:190) explains how taste has become a performance of class, gender and nationality by explaining that “the body has become a potent symbol of such difference, a way in which one’s taste is displayed”. Following this, during the 1800s, the higher classes, those who possess good taste, began to express concern about body weight as an affliction of gourmet food. Thus, haute cuisine tended towards simpler, lighter food and fewer courses (Mennell 1985).

Though larger body ideals prevailed during the 1800s compared to the current thin ideal, women of the 19th century were admonished to eat with delicacy, displaying as little desire as possible—clearly reflecting extant mores on sexuality (Bordo 1993).

Beginning in the 1960s, the links between body norms and taste found a new expression when breakthroughs in nutritional science combined with social changes to spur new concern over food intake in the US (Lupton 1996). With nutritional ideas increasingly emphasizing what should not be eaten, exhortations regarding excess weight shifted from language of aesthetic to health (Levenstein 1993). As Levenstein argues, these new ideas about diet fit well with the moral asceticism of the times, given the newly found awareness of international poverty and hunger. Beginning in the 1970s, body fat came to be relentlessly villainized in the popular media to the point that “food replaced sex as a source of guilt” (Levenstein 1993: 212). Dubisch (1985) describes the social expressions of the health food movement as analogous to religious devotion (i.e., “followers” of health “gurus”).

Lupton (1996) seeks to explain eating choices and preferences in the context of Bourdieu's concepts of embodiment and subjectivity. Reflecting on contemporary dietary health advice discourse, this is a seemingly neutral science perspective that is, in fact, accompanied by moralistic undertones which suggest that the individual freely chooses his/her own state of health. Those suffering ill health, sickness, or obesity, all deviations from the normal healthy body, have only themselves to blame, yet nutritional epidemiological discourse changes continuously and contains conflicting messages. (A favorite example is that alcohol contributes to cardiovascular disease, and red wine plays a role in preventing arterial plaque build-up.)

As fast, cheap, convenience food became the cornerstone of most working-class American diets, obesity soared, particularly among the poorer people. As the poor got fatter, the rich got thinner, further indicating their success in SES and their discipline with food. Running parallel to the nutrition transition, body ideals tend to become thinner since it is harder (requiring more time and expense) to maintain a slender frame in an atmosphere of plenty, especially when the cheapest food is the most calorically dense (usually a high percentage of calories from fat, and “empty calories”/refined carbohydrates). “Healthy” food essentially means food that you can overeat without risk of a metabolic disorder (i.e., obesity, cardiovascular disease). In areas of food scarcity and hunger, a thick-crust, meaty pizza would become a “healthful” food, valued much more than the bowls of lettuce that adorn the tables of the calorically privileged West as badges of health consciousness.

Closely related to the “health food movement” is the alternative foodways movement. The 20th century brought improved sanitation methods (disinfectants) and storage innovations (refrigeration, packaging) which reduce microbial infestation of raw food. Partially because of the realized health benefits of eating fresh(er) produce, but also because of a mutual association with elite taste, fresh, locally grown food has become popular (Guthman 2003). Corporate manufacturers have historically played highly visible roles in the game of cultivating demand for value-added, flavor-and-calorie adding processed foods. Similarly, corporate financing plays a role in the growing markets of salad mix and vegetables (products consumed precisely for their lack of substance) (Guthman 2003). The slow, local, and artisanal food movements encourage careful, spare-no-expense food production both on the farm and in the kitchen--a food movement that has now become a statement of elite class status (Guthman 2003).

However, it is not my intention to portray *all* alternative foodway movements as elites in food justice clothing. There is a “return to the good 'ol days” value to alternative foodways. The small, family-owned farm, the harvest of American staples such as squash, tomato, and okra, (before being replaced by endless fields of corn, soy, and wheat) is valorized in American folklore (e.g., the memoirs of American conservationist Wendell Berry and *Charlotte's Web*), an undeniable pillar of America's national identity (Murcott 1996). This research strives to explore how food and foodways become expressions of ethnicity and social class among Cubans in Miami.

Conclusion

In this research, “healthy” food in the US is understood to be a constructed idea, rooted in biological realities (i.e., evolutionary energy conservation) and tied to the political economics of conventional and alternative foodways. Miami represents a unique and ideal setting for investigating cultural meaning and values of food and foodways, especially for comparing the cultural knowledge associated with conventional and alternative foodways. Cubans in Miami represent a wide range of social classes and have diverse backgrounds and experiences with both capitalism and communism. Using cognitive methods, cultural knowledge regarding food is examined. Eating behaviors and body size measurements (body mass index) ground and connect knowledge to the corporeal.

CHAPTER 5:

ALTERNATIVE FOODWAYS IN HAVANA

In this chapter, a preliminary study about Cuban alternative foodways is discussed. The purpose of this chapter is to give contextual details of “alternative foodway experience”—a variable central to this research. The results from this study further fleshes out the diverse types of alternative foodways that Cubans have potentially encountered, the various motivations and incentives for being involved with specific alternative foodways, and the cultural values associated with alternative foodways in Havana.

Overall, food in Cuba is limited in variety and quantity compared to the seemingly endless aisles of choices in US supermarkets. However, in recent decades, Cuba has gained attention as a leader in organic production and urban agriculture. An enormous discrepancy exists in portrayals of food in Cuba. Some describe with gusto the implications of large scale organic and urban farming. Havana's urban farming is proof that cities can support a large scale, locally grown food infrastructure (Altieri et al. 1999; Bourque et al. 2002; Rosset and Bourque 2002). On the other hand, some accounts of Cuban foodways during the Special Period denigrate these same innovations; urban agriculture was born of desperation wrought from the dictatorship and is further evidence of the failures of communism (Brudenijs 2002; Hernandez-Reguant 2009). The purpose of this preliminary research was to explore the foodways of Havana. I had the opportunity to see first-hand the way Cubans get food during a two-week visit to Havana in

September 2008. In this section, the foodways available to Cubans today are described. Data from participant observation and discussions with Cuban Nationals are also analyzed.

I explored all of the districts (Miramar, Old Havana, Central Havana, and Vedado), as pictured in Figure 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4. I immersed myself in various food-getting options in Havana and engaged Cubans in discourse about food and urban agriculture. Neighborhoods in Havana are diverse, ranging from modern high-rise apartment complexes (as in Vedado), to two-story single-family homes with fenced in lawns (as in Miramar), to derelict buildings converted to barely habitable living spaces (as in Central Havana, the largest district of Havana). During my time in Havana, I met with the director and associates of the Antonio Núñez Jiménez Foundation for Nature and Humanity (FANJNH), a non-governmental organization which has played a role in securing food throughout Cuba in its outreach program of urban sustainability. FANJNH has been successful in helping neighborhoods and individuals secure arable land for urban farming (Cruz 1997). They also provide communities with information and assistance in planning urban gardening projects, ranging from city-block-sized intensive gardens to container gardening. Caridad Cruz, director of the urban agriculture department of FANJNH, guided me through various projects in Havana, including two farmers markets, a household's private rooftop garden (see figures 5.5, 5.6, and 5.7), and gardening projects run by an elementary school and residents of an apartment complex.



Figure 5.1: Miramar district in Havana



Figure 5.2: Old Havana



Figure 5.3: Central Havana



Figure 5.4: Vedado district of Havana

I also met Dr. Jorge Perez, a renowned doctor of infectious disease particularly known for his development of a national AIDS program in Cuba. We spoke at length of the importance of freshly grown food in the HIV/AIDS sanatoriums in Cuba. Sanatoriums were set up by the Cuban government along with meticulous identification of every HIV-positive individual in Cuba as a method to curb the AIDS epidemic. Between 1986 and 1989, Perez urged the Cuban government to relax the absolute quarantine policy for HIV/AIDS patients in Cuba. He successfully lobbied for the quarantine policy of Cuba to be discontinued in 1994. Long-term residence at HIV/AIDS sanatoriums in Cuba is now voluntary; however, many people choose to live in the sanatoriums. Because a diet of fresh, wholesome foods is especially important to people living with HIV/AIDS, community gardens have been a central benefit of living at the sanatorium.

Background of Cuban Foodways

One of the first actions of the revolution was to establish a centralized, government-controlled redistribution system. The “ration” system of food distribution has been in place since March 12, 1962. After the fall of the Soviet Union, Cuba was thrust into economic crisis. The ensuing food crisis caused the Cubans to have to rely on other methods to secure food. Food, pesticide, fertilizer, and fuel imports dropped dramatically (50-70%) (Rosset and Bourque 2002). The food shortage was addressed with ingenuity (Altieri et al. 1999; Bourque et al. 2002; Rosset and Bourque 2002). First, large government-owned industrial farms were parceled out, allowing for co-ops and small, privately-owned farm plots. Organic sustainable traditions were renewed, along with innovative new methods such as organic production, hydroponics, biopesticides, biofertilizers, and microbial antagonists (Rosset and Bourque 2002; Quinn 2006).



Figure 5.5: Rooftop garden in Central Havana residence



Figure 5.6: Quail cages on roof of Central Havana residence



Figure 5.7: Rabbit cages on roof of Central Havana residence

In Havana (and other cities), urban agriculture emerged. City blocks were converted to urban farms, rooftops (see figure 5.5), windowsills, and yards were converted to food producing gardens (*huertos*). Foods available today in Havana may have been grown locally using urban agriculture methods or may have been farmed in the state-controlled cooperatives that operate like modern mega-farms on huge swaths of land with heavy equipment and irrigation. Imports round out the total foods available, with a third of food imports coming from the US (Rodriguez and Weissert 2008). The foodways available to Cubans today are discussed below.

Rationing in Cuba refers to the system of food distribution [*libreta del abastecimiento*], and the ration booklet that each household receives is referred to as the “*libreta*” (see figure 5.8). The vast majority of Cuban families rely on the distribution system for their food intake (Ritter 2004). The system establishes the rations each person is allowed to buy through the system and the frequency of supplies.

addresses have to return to the previous area for their supplies. Products distributed through the *libreta* are sold at subsidized prices. The *libreta* contains a page for every month, where the clerk marks what products were withdrawn, and in which quantities. Cubans are required to present the *libreta* each time they buy the rations (Ritter 2004).

Table 5.1 illustrates the standard ration distributed through this system during 2008. Figures are per person, per month. The list was compiled by Cruz's secretary, Juanita, when I was visiting FANJH in September 2008. An indication of the subsidized prices is given, as well. Allowances vary from year to year, so these should be understood as approximate figures, based on 2008 data. Juanita explained that the total cost for one month of rations is about 31 Cuban pesos or \$1.50, and that minimum wage (including pensions) in Cuba is about 225 pesos per month—meaning fourteen percent of a monthly salary is spent on buying rations.

Table 5.1: Standard rations per person, per month based on 2008 data

Products	Quantity	Price in Cuban Pesos
rice	7 lbs	.21/lb
white sugar	3 lbs	.15/lb
brown sugar	2 lbs	.06/lb
salt	2 lbs / 3 months	.20/lb
peas	8 oz	.06/lb
beans	8 oz	.06/lb
lentils	8 oz	.06/lb
coffee	4 oz	.01/oz
pasta	1 packet	.09/cup
eggs	10	.15/egg
oil	.5 lb	.45/cup
toothpaste	1 tube	.65/cup
washing soap	2 cups	.02/cup
bathing soap	1 bar	.16/bar

Meat products are distributed separately, if available, following a different rationale. These are distributed every two weeks, and usually rotate between fish, ground beef (usually mixed with soy and/or filler), chicken, sausages, and ham. Quantities, and prices, differ for each

meat product (beef, ½ lb/person each 15 days, chicken, 1 lb/person each 15 days).

It must be said that distribution is not always prompt, and product delivery is frequently delayed (for example, if one month there were no beans to distribute, they usually accumulate for next month, although this is not always the case). The fact that products are not always available at the *bodega*, but arrive in a more or less random manner, creates long queues when products arrive, which sometimes makes buying the products a quite lengthy process (see figure 5.3).

The *libreta* is not the only means of acquiring goods available to a Cuban citizen. Surplus rations and others are available on the *mercado libre* (free market) and in the numerous supermarkets and stores that sell goods in Cuba's tourist currency (Blue 2005; Eckstein 2003a; 2009b). Because the rationed amounts are often lacking, those who have access to dollars or the Cuban tourist currency can get more rationed items (the convertible Cuban peso or tourist currency is discussed in greater detail below.) Produce cultivated within in the city, such as a home garden (*huerto*) or community garden, may be used to supplement household rations, or sold in private enterprise *agromercados* (farmers markets), where fruits and vegetables can be bought in Cuban pesos (see Figure 5.9).

Most Cubans supplement these official channels for food with the informal economy. The black market in hard-to-find food items is thriving; these items include extra rations, tuna fish, honey, cheese, and lobster. The informal economy supplements the monthly rations, allowing some to profit by selling and others to survive by buying stolen goods. However, there are disparities across the Cuban population in access to food, and this is largely due to access to dollars (Ross and Mayo 2003). From the early 1990s to 2004, the US dollar circulated freely in Cuba (Ross and Mayo 2003).



Figure 5.9: Agromercado (farmers market) in Havana, Cuba.

Since 2004, the Cuban economy has been operating on two currencies: the Cuban peso (CUP), and the Cuban convertible peso (CUC). Individuals can exchange about 24 CUP for one CUC (Gonzalez-Corzo 2007). Enterprises, however, must exchange CUP and CUC at a 1:1 ratio at the Cuban National Bank (CIA 2011). The peso is the currency Cuban citizens are paid in and use for staples and non-luxury items. The CUC has about a 1:1 exchange rate with the Euro (CIA 2011). The CUC was implemented to remove foreign currency from circulation. Formerly known as “dollar stores,” certain establishments can only accept CUCs. CUC stores are marketed for tourists and contain luxury items, but Cubans with CUCs can also use CUC stores. Twenty percent of Cubans living in Havana have access to dollars, by far the highest percentage in Cuba (Ross and Mayo 2003).

Cuban nationals obtain CUCs primarily through remittances sent to them by family members living abroad. Those who work in the tourist industry and in foreign business endeavors make up a smaller sector of Cubans who have access to CUCs (Eckstien and Barberia 2002; Gonzalez-Corzo 2007; Ross and Mayo 2003). In a study of households in Havana, Blue (2005) found that the median yearly remittance was \$425, and that remittances nearly doubled household income. Research indicates that the influence of remittances is widespread on the Cuban economy and on individual households (Blue 2005; Eckstein and Barberia 2002; Gonzalez-Corzo 2007; Ross and Mayo 2003). An estimated 96 percent of Cuban remittances are used to finance family consumption (Eckstien 2003).

Ironically, as much as independence, ingenuity, and the socialist-compatible ideology of sustainable agriculture has contributed to food security, so has access to the capitalist dollar economy (Blue 2005; Ross and Mayo 2003). Though the US has attempted to limit relations, the steady increase in visits and remittance flows to the island indicate that Cuban efforts to encourage transnational links have been successful (Eckstein and Barberia 2002). Cuba-US relations are currently increasing dramatically due to the US directive to lift travel restrictions to Cuba by family members and to increase remittance allowances (Agence France-Presse 2009).

Reflections on Havana's Urban Agriculture

Despite the variety of neighborhoods, wherever there is sunlight and a container, one is sure to find something green and edible growing. On the horizon, one can see a patchwork of green rooftops, interlaced with water catchments (See Figure 5.10) Planters spill from windowsills, doorways, and balconies.



Figure 5.10: Water catchment systems on residences at the edge of Havana

It is commonplace in Havana to round the corner of a busy city street and find a field of onions, herbs, squash, and peppers rising from the old brick and mortar of a demolished block of buildings. The rubble provides the structure for raised beds (see Figure 5.11). Banana, avocado, guava, lemon, grapefruit, and mango trees choke through fenced-in yards. Nearly every arable space from city blocks to halved tires is being “greened” in Havana.

Cruz contends that the key to getting people enthusiastic about urban agriculture is to change their ideas about food: “People may not want to eat fruit with holes and bug bites on it, but people have to learn that if a bug won’t eat it, you shouldn’t either.” Cruz and the FANJNH distribute educational materials on how to grow food in a home garden using limited supplies and organic methods. Figure 5.12 pictures excerpts from one of these manuals.



Figure 5.11: City block transformed into an urban garden for an elementary school



Figure 5.12: Organic growing manual demonstrating how to use a halved tire for a planter

My pilot interviews demonstrated that urban agriculture is a well-known and established part of daily life in Havana. When asked about urban agriculture 100 percent (n=26) of Cubans were at least familiar with the term. Urban agriculture is a daily reality in Havana, and projects like Cruz's are spreading the knowledge of how to self-sufficiently and sustainably produce food (see figure 5.13). It is evident that there is some degree of variation in this knowledge because responses spanned from discussing farmers markets to organic versus conventional agriculture to the dangers of importing food from other countries—especially the US.



Figure 5.13: A demonstration garden in which plants are also sold

CUC stores (n=4) that I visited were much more reminiscent of supermarkets common in the US, with aisles of dry, prepackaged, and canned goods, fruit juices, soft drinks, cookies, candy bars, crackers, potato chips, pork rinds, and ice cream. There was no fresh produce in the

CUC store, save a few highly-priced bags of a half dozen apples. In a larger supermarket near large tourist hotels, two aisles were filled with only crackers. Along these aisles one could choose from a multitude of cracker types, each with packaging that claimed tailor-made health benefits for the maintenance or prevention of chronic diseases (in Spanish and English), such as: “low glycemic index,” “no sugar added,” “fiber plus,” “protein plus,” “calcium plus,” “whole grain,” “wheat free,” “gluten free,” and even “organic.” CUC restaurants offered traditional Cuban food like rice and beans, plantains, and paella, but always had the staples of french fries, fried chicken, pizza, spaghetti, and hamburgers. The food grown through urban agriculture is sold at farmers markets and fruit stands. In September 2008, after hurricanes ploughed through the Caribbean damaging crops, Cubans complained about the lack of produce at the farmers markets. However, to my unaccustomed American eyes, the produce-laden tables and fruit stands looked bountiful. Despite the “shortage,” all of the farmers markets (n=6) and fruit stands (n=10) that I visited stocked onions, garlic, guava, plantains, limes, and cassava. The larger farmers markets (n=4) boasted melons, squash, herbs, peppers, greens, and fresh meat (pork and chicken), and a fruit juice station (see Figure 5.14).

Urban agriculture is an activity that produces, processes, and markets food in urban areas, applying intensive production methods, and (re)using natural resources and urban wastes to yield a diversity of crops (Altieri et al. 1999). Urban agriculture contributes to more than half of the food shed in Havana (Bourque et al. 2002), and consequently the Cuban food shed is essentially local (see Figure 5.15). Conversely, urban agriculture is existent but rare in Miami (Morales 2009).



Figure 5.14: Cubans stand in line for juice at a farmers market in Vedado



Figure 5.15: A resident of Vedado buys organic fertilizer for a home garden

Conclusion

My experience in Cuba led me to further develop my hypothesis that involvement with different food procurement strategies contributes to variation in the way people think about and value food. On my flights to and from Havana, I had a chance to engage Miami-Cubans in conversation as well. During these interactions I noted the differences and similarities among the Cuban enclave in Miami. Food and politics are two oft-cited dimensions associated with Cuban-American identity, yet research has not yet tackled how these two factors are related. Cuban influences on the cuisine and politics of South Florida have long been appreciated (Duany 2005; Grenier and Pérez 2003; Pérez 1999). Studies focusing on political diversity within the Cuban enclave demonstrate that the cultural group is increasingly heterogeneous (Eckstein and Barberia 2002; Grenier et al. 2007). These differences have been attributed to first- and second-generation status, and also reflect three waves of Cuban immigration – each associated with divergent ethnic composition, SES, and political sentiments towards the island (i.e., respectively, political exiles, economic exiles, and immigrants) (Grenier et al. 2007).

However, to date, no research has identified how variability is manifested in cultural knowledge about food. The aim of this research is to identify the extent to which food knowledge is shared among Cubans in Miami, and to examine specific variables that may contribute to variation in cultural knowledge that Cubans have about food. The dissertation's research design identifies how this knowledge and experience with local food and urban agriculture is manifested in individuals' understanding and discourse about food.

Two differing experiences of urban agriculture are compared: 1) participation in Cuban urban agriculture, which is inherently survival based, and 2) participation in emerging local food trends in Miami that are not obligatory but provide an alternative to the predominant industrially-produced food shed.

CHAPTER 6:

FOODWAYS AND CUBAN COMMUNITIES OF MIAMI-DADE COUNTY

Miami-Dade County, the eighth most populous county in the US, is nestled in the Southeastern tip of South Florida, surrounded by 1.5 million acres of pristine Everglade wilderness (see Figure 6.1). Crossing the Miami-Dade County line feels like entering another country. Of the 2.5 million Miami residents, 59 percent are foreign-born, ranking Miami first in the world's cities in terms of foreign-born residents (United Nations Development Program 2004). Although there are growing non-Latin American diasporas in Miami (there is a large seasonal hospitality worker community of young Israeli adults in South Beach, Russian elites and “Snow Birds” from Quebec in Sunny Isles, and Saudi college students in North Miami), Latin Americans, specifically Cubans, outnumber Anglos (White non-hispanics) at 65 percent. Cuban Americans have an indelible cultural and political influence on South Florida.

With its tropical locale and relatively ample green space, Miami is a prime candidate to be a national leader of the alternative food movement, yet it lags behind other cities in terms of local food availability, urban farming initiatives, and carbon-reducing programs. This research investigates conventional and alternative foodways in the context of Cuban American culture. Since 57 percent of Miami's Cubans are foreign born, at least half of the population has had direct contact with organic, sustainable agriculture on the island. This population is ideal for studying the different cultural values associated with conventional versus alternative foodways,

and to study knowledge concerning the domain of food between those who have had experience with organic agriculture and those who have not. This research answers anthropological and applied queries. First, it examines how food and foodways become expressions of cultural values such as social class, ethnic identity, and political ideology. Secondly, it explores how cultural knowledge may become physically expressed by the body (i.e., body size or BMI).

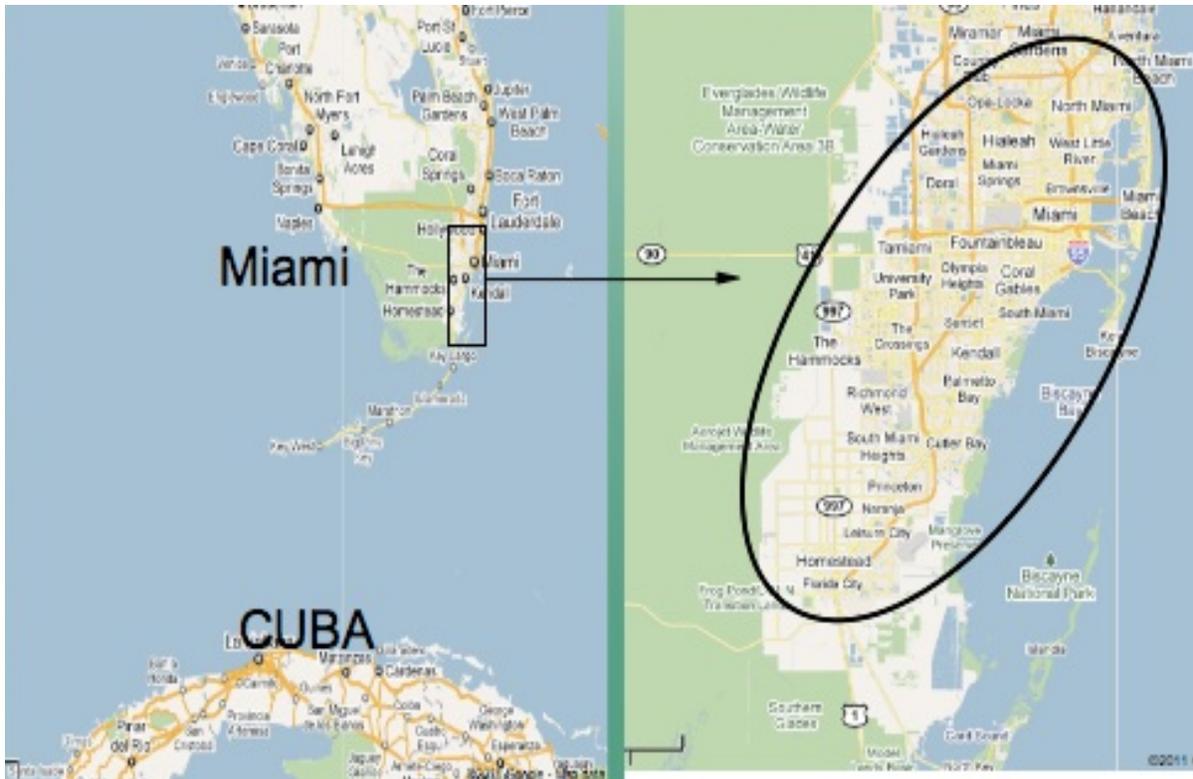


Figure 6.1: Miami on the map

Miami is highly stratified along social class, political, and racial lines—even among the Cuban cohort themselves. Therefore, four Cuban neighborhoods were selected for sampling which represent diverse socioeconomic statuses and immigration waves: Little Havana, Hialeah, Kendall, and Coral Gables. I interviewed participants, and participated with and observed Miamians and Cubans eating, socializing, and acquiring food in these communities. This chapter

describes the communities using demographic data, participant observation of foodways, and ethnographic detail from key informants to illustrate the setting.

Exploring the Foodways of Miami

Driving south along I95 into the heart of Miami for the first time, I half-expected to be asked for my passport at the numerous toll booths. With all of the signage along the road in Spanish, and the radio pulsing Latin beats, it is clear why Miami is called the “Capital of Latin America.” Stopping on the journey to get gas and to find accommodations for the first few days in the field, I was greeted with “*Buen dia, Mami, ¿Como e-tá?*” [Good morning, Mama, how are you?] (the Cuban accent drops final syllables and swallows S's). Before I spoke up with my *gringa* [female anglo] accent, their assumption that I am Latina is a good guess since 60 percent of Miami residents primarily speak Spanish (Modern Language Association 2008). They were surprised that an Anglo was attempting to speak Spanish, and right away wanted to know where I was from, and why I was in Miami.

With my large white dog in tow, I explained that I was studying food and culture in Miami. “*¿Sola?*” [Alone?] they usually asked with concerned expressions. “No, I've got my dog for protection,” I assured them, “and I have some friends and contacts at UM [University of Miami] and FIU [Florida International University],” I lied. In reality, I did not know anyone in Miami, and I did not have a clue where to live, but I guessed that telling strangers on the road that I was completely alone was not a good idea. It was soon not a lie, though, as I immediately began meeting many people who were eager to talk to me about my research and would become participants, key informants, and friends.

After arriving in Miami, I immediately confronted the problem of finding produce as a part of my research, but also as an avid local, organic eater myself. Coming from Tuscaloosa, Alabama, where local food is available and cheap, I had to deal with the scarcity-driven, high-prices of food in the city. I was on a limited budget since I was paying more for a studio with an air mattress in Miami than the mortgage payments on the house I was still maintaining in Alabama (that is, until it was destroyed by the Tuscaloosa Tornado of April 27, 2011). According to a 2009 study, Miami was ranked as the richest city in the US (UBS 2011) and fourth in the world. Miami is expensive, which makes it even harder for the 26 percent of residents who live below the poverty line. Table 6.1 presents Miami demographics including population, ethnic distribution of Cuban, White, and Black (African American), median household income, and percent of residents below the poverty line. The communities used for sampling are also included.

Table 6.1: Miami Neighborhood Demographics

Communities*	Population	Ethnic Distribution** (%)			Median Household Income (\$)	Residents below poverty line (%)
		Cuban	White	Black		
Little Havana	90,218	53	10	4	15,213	28
Hialeah	224,669	75	4	3	29,492	20
Kendall	75,226	21	28	4	51,330	9
Coral Gables	42,871	29	46	3	78,157	7
Miami Metropolitan Area	2.5 million	34	15	20	41,367	18

*This is not an exhaustive list of Miami-Dade cities or neighborhoods.

** This is not an exhaustive list of ethnicities which make up each communities' demographics, in particular, there are other Hispanic groups in all sampled communities.

It should be noted that the four communities listed are but a few of the many cities and neighborhoods in Miami-Dade county. The selected areas were chosen to represent the diverse Cuban diaspora including low to high SES, and homogenous to heterogenous ethnic make-up.

Agricultural Plenty and Local Food Scarcity

Miami has both conventional and alternative foodways. All sampled communities had some of each type, but prices, quality, and quantity differed. As is typical of most cities, higher income areas have greater access to organic foods in supermarkets and more alternative foodway choices than lower income communities. According to food activists, the poorest areas (colored red on in the Map Figure 6.2) are considered food deserts where residents have few to no fresh produce foodway choices.

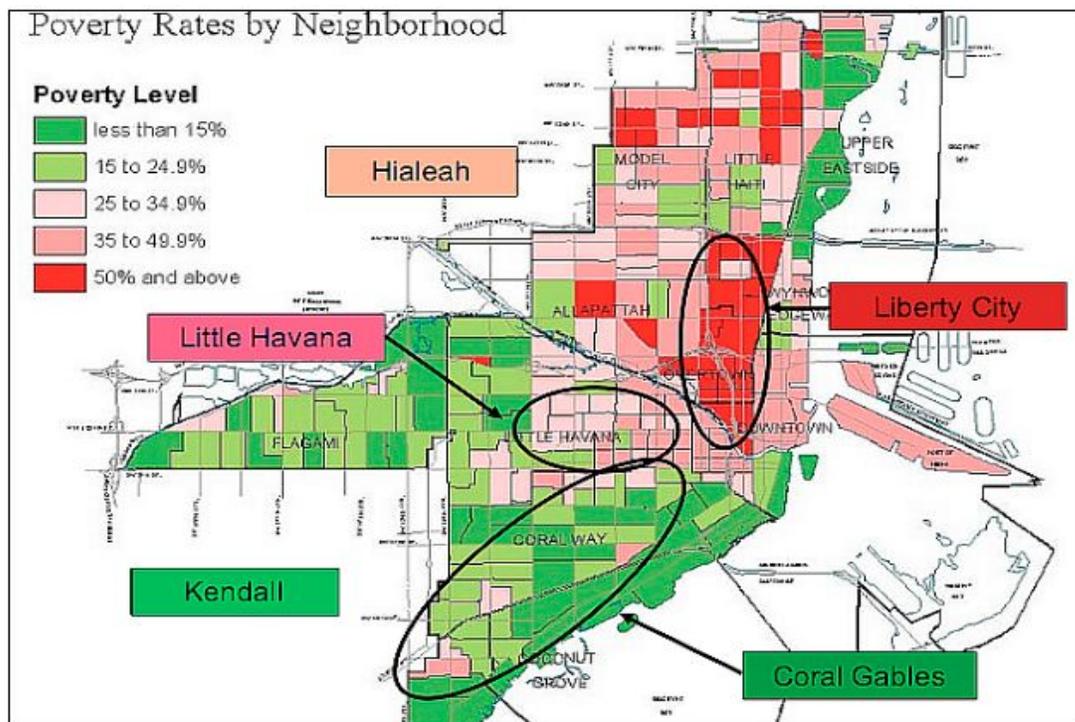


Figure 6.2: Map of poverty rates in sampled communities*

Liberty City, an African American community, was not included in the Cuban sample, but is discussed in terms of urban agriculture projects in the dissertation. Hialeah and Kendall are not shown on this map, but their poverty levels are in the 25-34.9 percent and 15-24.9 percent ranges respectively (Miami Herald 2009).

There are “farmers markets” in Miami, but most of the produce is commercial and not locally produced. In other words, most Miami farmers markets are like outdoor grocery stores rather than farmers selling their own produce. Some, especially in higher SES neighborhoods, have organic products at prices similar to high-end grocery stores. Most of these Miami farmers markets sell in malls or shopping centers once a week, featuring as many non-food vendors (such as soaps, crafts, and orchids) as produce vendors.

Since Miami-Dade County boasts one of the largest and most productive agricultural centers in the US (the region at the southern tip of Miami-Dade called Homestead), why are there not more genuine farmers markets? Amidst acres of fruit trees and vegetable fields, there are populations within Miami who have virtually no access to fresh produce. Thus, the lush facade of palm-laced, orchid-choked boulevards belies the scarcity for many. One should not be fooled by the mention of agriculture into thinking that Homestead is a country haven from the big city. With a population of 31,909, the landscape is one of industrial, mechanized agriculture. Run like factories, machines do the planting, fertilizing, watering, and harvesting. Laborers and agricultural scientists have replaced the farmer. Small-scale sustainable ventures cannot survive in this environment. Paradise Farms in Homestead is an exception. An organic farm run with no mechanization, it hosts monthly high-priced charity dinners, and sells its produce to high-end gourmet restaurants in Miami. This illustrates one of the tragic conundrums of conventional foodways. Mario Yanez (2010, personal communication) describes why, despite millions of cultivated acres in Homestead, few individual farmers can bring their produce to the city to sell it in a market. Most of the produce grown in Homestead is exported to large supermarket corporations, and produce distributors later re-import it to Florida.

In lower income areas, residents' food choices are limited to *bodegas* (convenience stores), fast food, and cheap supermarkets that feature primarily packaged foods (Cummins and Macintyre 2002). To supplement their diet, lower income communities depend on the local fruit stand and/or the *frutero* (fruit truck), especially in lower income Latin neighborhoods, like Little Havana and parts of Hialeah (see Figure 6.3).



Figure 6.3: A *frutero*'s typical set-up in Little Havana

There are community gardens where residents can grow their own, raised-bed plot in several places around Miami: Miami Beach, North Beach, Normandy Village, Downtown, Little Haiti, Coral Gables, and Liberty City. Coral Gables was the only neighborhood in the study

sample with a community garden. I visited all of the gardens, and the participants were mostly middle class, although a few lower SES families had plots. There were also more Anglos than Hispanic members (except for the Liberty City urban farm, which had primarily African American gardeners). The gardens were inconspicuous and seemingly guarded from the public by their members. I came across Miami Beach's Victory Garden after living for months but a few blocks away (see Figure 6.4). It was in a courtyard with a twelve foot wall and solid gate (I wondered how the plots even got any sun). Perhaps afraid of vandalism or theft, members were uninterested in expanding their operations by gaining public visibility.



Figure 6.4: Raised bed plots in Miami Beach Victory Garden

Figure 6.5 details the community gardens throughout Miami. The community gardens are defined with blue markers. Miami-Dade College (purple markers) and the Fairchild Botanical

Garden Society (green markers) sponsor gardens at local primary and secondary schools. Pink and yellow markers indicate independent groups which set up school and community gardens.



Figure 6.5: Community and school gardens in Miami

In summary, Miami does indeed have a growing alternative foodway infrastructure. Farmers markets, fruit stands, and *fruterios* can be found even in food deserts. However, most produce is wholesale, not local. In the communities sampled, there was not an abundance of community gardens. Hialeah was the largest community sampled and had no “official”

community gardens or school gardens. It is clear from the map that primary and secondary schools are leading the way with the hope of a more sustainable future in Miami. In the following sections each sampled community will be presented in ethnographic detail with special attention paid to the foodways in the area. Informants are also introduced in this chapter. All informants and interviewees were assigned aliases that are used throughout this dissertation.

Little Havana

Little Havana is the noted social, cultural, and political center of activity in Miami. Little Havana grew in the 1960s following the first wave of Cubans who settled there. The population of Little Havana is 90,218. Although it is famous for being the cultural and political emblem of Cuban Americans, the Cuban population decreased from 84 percent in 1979 to 58 percent in 1989 (City of Miami 2010). During the 80s Mariel boat lift event that coincided with an influx of Nicaraguan refugees, affluent Golden Generation Cubans moved to Coral Gables and wealthier suburbs. However, Nicaraguans have filled the Cuban absence, giving Little Havana the highest concentration of Latino residents in Miami at 89 percent (Neighborhood Enhancement Team 2010). With a median household income of \$20,694, Little Havana was the poorest Cuban neighborhood in the sample (See Figure 6.2). The neighborhood remains iconically Cuban and realistically South American. Little Havana is characterized by a robust street life of cultural activities (such as Carnival Miami, *Viernes Culturales*, and *Calle Ocho* festival), locally-owned businesses (predominantly restaurants, bodegas, and cigar rolling lounges), and political passion.

Viernes Culturales, or Cultural Fridays, is an artistic, cultural and social fair that takes place on the last Friday of every month. Soon after arriving in Miami (September 2009), I

attended a *Viernes Cultural*. The event kicks off with a tour of the neighborhood (see Figure 6.6). The tour passes through Domino Park, and the Bay of Pigs Memorial, and also passes through the residential portion to point out Cuban architecture representing Havana's Art Deco era. The climax of the tour is in front of the Elian Gonzalez house. A tour guide describes, in an almost evangelical crescendo, the tragedy of the Gonzalez family plight, the cruelty of the communist regime, and yet another betrayal by a Democratic President (Clinton) who sent his “gestapo” to “illegally break into a private home and kidnap Little Elian.”



Figure 6.6: Little Havana walking tour

Throughout the tour, Castro was referred to as “The Tyrant,” “The Evil Dictator,” and “The Old Man.” I must have looked bewildered. A Cuban journalist, Carlos, (who would later help me with translations and was an invaluable sounding board on the interpretation of my

results) was covering the event, and whispered that this was a passive version of Cuban vitriol when it comes to Castro, Cuba, and *el bloque* (the embargo) in Little Havana. Carlos had just covered the Juanes concert protest in Little Havana where conservative, pro-embargo Exiles spent hours in front of Versailles Restaurant on Calle Ocho, breaking CDs to symbolically express the disgrace of Juanes defying the embargo by performing in Cuba (as described in Chapter Three).

Carlos introduced me to Ralph, the director of *Viernes Culturales*. Ralph immediately took me under his wing and paraded me around Calle Ocho for the remainder of the event. Introducing me to the owners of the many restaurants, cigar-rolling lounges (see Figure 6.7), *bodegas*, and art galleries along Calle Ocho, Ralph extolled the virtues of *Viernes Culturales*. The monthly event is a powerful venue for Cuban artists and entertainers, and offers an opportunity for visitors to experience an evening of Cuban culture and community. Figure 6.8 pictures an Afro-Cuban music performance. Ralph is an event planner, a music producer, director of Bayfront Park in Downtown, and frequently works on various political campaigns. A true “culture broker,” his connections reach through all echelons of Cuban society from newly-arrived, struggling immigrants to his neighbors in the elite Coral Gables.

I also met Pablo, who is the director of the Neighborhood Enhancement Team (NET). NET is manned by police officers and various administrative staff. The goal of NET is to maintain and increase the integrity of Little Havana (NET 2010). Pablo invited me to meet with him and two other police officers at the “round-up” the following week during their lunch break at a Cuban-Nicaraguan fusion restaurant on Calle Ocho. The “round-up,” seemingly the primary function of NET, involved a single day police sweep in Little Havana.



Figure 6.7: Authentic cigar lounge in Little Havana (Nicaraguan-owned)



Figure 6.8: The Afro-Cuban group, “Palo,” performing at Club *Aché*, Little Havana
Afro-Cuban dance and drumming invokes the *aché* (spirit or supernatural force) of the different *orishas* (intermediaries between the gods and humans).

Criminals were taken off the streets, and Little Havana was purged, at least for the moment, of the undesirables who were turning Little Havana into a bad neighborhood.

“Who would be committing a crime with hundreds of police officers around?” I asked, “Is it really that effective? Wouldn't they wait to do burglaries and trafficking until the round-up is over?” The officers listed the criminals that the round-up arrested: the drunks, the prostitutes, the addicts, the vagrants... I obviously did not know anything about criminal justice.

“We all grew up here [in Little Havana]. It was a nice neighborhood,” said 43-year-old Officer Canton, who now lives in Kendall. “It's not like it used to be. There is a lot of crime now, and shady hang-outs, lots of drugs.” Pablo further elaborates on the difference between exiles and New Cubans in Little Havana:

The first Cubans to come to Miami were the ones who made Little Havana. They were good, honest, hard-working people... Then, Castro released many prison inmates and lunatics, and sent them to the US... these Cubans do not represent Cuba... They have been brain-washed by Castro, and have had to resort to crime to survive, they come here and don't know any better. They bring that mentality, that crime, here.

Golden Generation Cubans were very adamant that I understood the difference between immigration waves, indicating that later arrivals have flawed the Cuban image. The political fervor of the Golden Generation brews, along with copious amounts of Cuban coffee, in Domino Park (See Figure 6.9). Although Little Havana has been supposedly overrun with South Americans, Domino Park is a vestige of Cuban majority. Like Ralph, Pablo, and the police officers, many of the domino players do not live in Little Havana anymore and have moved to Hialeah and Coral Gables. They come to Little Havana as a way to stay in touch with their roots. “It's tradition,” says Perla, who moved with her family to Coral Gables over ten years ago. “We

keep coming back to play, and eat at the restaurants.” However, Perla insists that Cultural Fridays is an exception. “Any other day of the week, you do not want to be here after dark! *You* need to be careful. Don't come here alone, it's not safe.”



Figure 6.9: Domino Park

Foodways of Little Havana

Perhaps the greatest tourist draw in Little Havana (next to the cigar-rolling lounges) are the restaurants specializing in Cuban fare. During my first month in Miami, I kept a meticulous log of Cuban eateries. Everyone I interviewed would suggest their favorite place for Cuban fare. As I drove through the city, I would swerve off the road to jot down the address of every Cuban restaurant I encountered. I stopped counting at 62 after the fifth month of fieldwork. Even college campus cafes had a decidedly Cuban twist. What would have been a better exercise is to

count the non-Cuban, non-Latin inspired establishments. That list would be substantially shorter. Wealthier Cubans living in Kendall and Coral Gables come to Little Havana for a Cuban dinner treat. Although there are Cuban restaurants all over Miami-Dade County, Versailles (“Ver-sigh-yays” with a Spanish, rather than French, pronunciation) is by far the most famous (see Figure 6.10).



Figure 6.10: Versailles restaurant, a frequent political demonstration locale

Versailles serves “*cafecito*,” Cuban pastries (beef or guava), and “*croquetas*” at a walk-up window. The large main dining room seats 370, and people gather for business lunches or large gatherings. Although tasty, the traditional, hearty beef-centric Cuban dishes are not Versailles' claim to fame. As described in the Miami Herald tribute article to Versailles' 40th anniversary (Santiago 2011):

This is where (Cuban) exiles gather to plot against and to topple Fidel Castro (at least with words), or so the urban legend goes. This is where [US] presidents, governors, legislators, mayors and commissioners come to court the Cuban vote and be photographed sipping that potent brew of café served by waitresses who call you by terms of endearment: “cariño”, “hijo mío”, “mi amor”. This is where the nation’s television cameras converge to gauge Cuban-exile reaction when crooner Juanes is singing in Havana or militant Luis Posada Carriles is acquitted in Texas. This is where the media will surely be staged one day for The Big Party, the day the tyrant (Fidel Castro) finally falls. Television networks have already reserved space around the restaurant to stage their live trucks here when The Day comes (The Miami Herald, July 10, 2011).

Most *bodegas* (Latin convenience stores) are not known for large selection and produce, especially in food desert literature (Cummins and McIntyre 2002; Raja, Ma, and Yadav 2008; Shaw 2006). Little Havana's *bodegas* are an exception (see Figure 6.11).



Figure 6.11: Larger selections at Little Havana bodegas

Although one would not find local or organic, the produce was seasonal, affordable, and good quality. Tourism to the area urges the *bodega* owners to stock Cuban fruits and the few vegetables used in Cuban dishes. There is one fast food chain in Little Havana, but, for the most

part, Little Havana, despite its low SES designation, is not a food desert. The *frutero*, who sets up in different intersections every day of the week, is available year-round, and along with front door service, sells produce sometimes cheaper than the bodega. Palacio de los Jugos, in Little Havana, is a covered *cantina* which offers fresh fruit juices, Cuban dish buffet, and produce for sale (see Figure 6.12 and 6.13).



Figure 6.12: Palacio de los Jugos in Little Havana



Figure 6.13: Cuban customers at Palacio del Jugos

Hialeah

It took me longer to venture into Hialeah. It is a maze of squat, tiled, block houses, usually painted in bright colors, with chain link fences around the front of the house, and iron-barred windows (see Figure 6.14). Hialeah has the highest population per square mile of US cities without high-rises. Hialeah now boasts the highest concentration of Cubans in a US city (US Census 2007). Though the area is heavily populated, there are much fewer community hangouts like there are in Little Havana (see Figure 6.15). Ralph owns a boat-towing company that specializes in removing boats from the Miami River which runs through Hialeah. “Why are there so many boats? The downward spiral of the economy?”

“*Conjo, no, cariña,*” Ralph chuckles, “there are ways around the repo man. Most of these boats have been gutted and stocked with drugs. No one wants a boat with coke all over it.”



Figure 6.14: Typical residential street in Hialeah



Figure 6.15: Hialeah resident strolling through a shopping center

Mike is 33 years old, and came to Miami from Cuba when he was ten years old. Mike, his mother, and his sister took a fishing boat to the open seas. He does not remember being scared. The plan was to land on an island, and they had been told that the coast guard would pick them up.

I was too young to be scared. I really think my Mom gave me alcohol or something, because I didn't care about anything, but when I saw that island, and we tied up the boat, it felt wrong. So we heard that you could wait a day, or hours until the coast guard arrived, my mom sat us down and we ate some bread that she had for us, and we drank some water, just a little because we didn't know how long we would be there, and then after probably 45 minutes the coast guard came.

Mike and his family did not have to go to Guantanamo Bay like many of the Rafters. They came straight to Miami, and they went to work right away for his uncle. He went to school and learned English quickly. It wasn't so scary, he said, because there were so many Cubans and so many who had the same story as he. "I don't know when I realized that this story seems fantastic to other Americans. For me, that was life, I thought everybody was like me, I didn't feel different. We all had the same story." He went to college at Florida International University and is a physical therapy assistant.

Mike took me to meet his uncle in Hialeah. After weeks of driving around the tightly packed houses, but with streets devoid of community life, I finally entered the Hialeah world. Mike's uncle, Ignacio, moved to Miami during the Mariel, and moved to Hialeah in 1990. He has a big house, and a lot of people know him. So, he ends up with a lot of family and friends staying with him as they transition to Miami life outside of Cuba. I pulled up in front of Ignacio's house waiting for Mike to arrive so that we could start the interview.

It looked much like a neighborhood in any other part of middle America, except the shrubbery was tropical and the stucco house was painted a garish shade of red instead of a neutral tone.

The minutes ticked by as I sat in front of the house waiting for Mike. “Cuban time,” I reminded myself. Finally, Mike arrived 45 minutes late, and escorted me to the door. He introduced me as his *novia* (girlfriend) to his uncle. I bit the bullet, and smiled. So this was the price I would have to pay for my priceless interview. After the guffawing and requisite doting over Mike's prowess in being able to land such a smart American girl, we got to the business of discussing *cubanidad* in Hialeah.

Mike's uncle's house was quite bigger than what it appeared from the street. He walked me through the kitchen to a screened-in porch addition that was split in the middle with a thin drywall corridor. These were two rooms that Ignacio rented out. They had their own entrance from the backyard and shared a bathroom that opened from the outside of the house. The interior door had been boarded up so that Ignacio, his mother, and girlfriend(s) were separated from the tenants. Out the back door was organized chaos. An eight-foot brick wall wrapped the back yard. A papaya and two banana trees shaded the three chickens pecking at the crevices in the concrete slab that covered the entire back yard except for the space where the three trees grew. Three outdoor sheds leaned against the wall, covered by a shared corrugated tin roof. Scrawny feral cats darted along the wall, eyeing the chickens, but most likely drawn by a pungent fish smell. The three sheds had screen storm doors, concrete floors, and electrical wires running from the house to the inside. One had an extension cord that trailed to the back of the main house. “Bacalao.” said Mike. The fish stew is a staple of Cuban cuisine, but it is rarely featured in restaurants, perhaps due to its pungent odor.

A single mother and her mother were making the fish stew over a charcoal grill while a toddler napped in the first one-room shed. A single man lived in the second shed, which had running water in a makeshift kitchen and one bed. His wife and teenaged son still lived in Cuba. The third shed was Mike's. He had a toilet, a shower, a mattress on the concrete floor, and a 46-inch flat-screen TV.

Mike's uncle remained a key informant even after he realized that Mike and I would never be an item. He invited me to his weekly Sunday family dinner, to which I went as often as possible (though I never ate the fish stew). While Ignacio had a middle class income, his connections were with lower SES Cubans, many of whom had stayed with him in the “compound.” While Ignacio's household was unique—no other informants admitted to having shacks in their backyards—his household does represent something about Hialeah. It is definitely a community that is “more than meets the eye.”

Foodways of Hialeah

Hialeah is densely populated and has a more mixed SES compared to Little Havana. Therefore, large chain supermarkets can survive here, and there are fewer bodegas. Convenience stores are usually attached to gas stations, and while most large gas stations have hot *empanadas* (fried pastries filled with meat), *pastelitos* (pastries filled with fruit or meat), and *cafecito* for sale, the convenience store food is not a staple. Some long-time Hialeah residents knew about the *fruteros*, but newcomers had never heard of the fruit-vending truck. Aside from a large public park with a soccer and baseball field and several picnic sites, there is comparatively less community space, let alone green space, in Hialeah than any of the other sampled neighborhoods (see Figure 6.16). Based on the map of community gardens (see Figure 6.2), Hialeah appears to

be an alternative foodway desert. There are virtually no documented farmers markets, community gardens, or school gardens.



Figure 6.16: Cuban family celebrating Memorial Day in the Hialeah Recreational Park

The map does not explore backyards. Hialeah has fewer apartment complexes; therefore, most houses have at least a small backyard. Thirty five (24%) participants grew some sort of foodstuff at home. Almost half (43%) of the participants who had home gardens lived in Hialeah. Though Hialeah is undeniably underserved when it comes to formal alternative foodways, it is inaccurate to say that alternative foodways do not exist here.

At least some Hialeah residents are participating in alternative foodways by growing their own—as exemplified by Ignacio's backyard compound.

Kendall

Kendall is a suburb of Miami, with a population of 75,226 (see table 6.1). It has a much higher median household income than Little Havana or Hialeah but is still very Cuban. A comparable 21 percent of Kendall residents are Cuban (28% are Anglo). Kendall is an expanse of mission-style gated community developments punctuated by guard houses. Miamians tend to be overly concerned with security, gates, and locks (de la Torre 2003; Dunn 1997; Eitle and Taylor 2008; Gonzalez-Pando 1997; Portes and Stepick 1993). Far from the epicenter of racial unrest and drug traffic during the 1980s, Kendall represents an escape from the bustling pace and dangers of the city. Even without the racial unrest and high crime rates of Metro Miami, Kendall retains a preoccupation with security, as represented by the gate house pictured in Figure 6.17.



Figure 6.17: A typical Kendall housing development

Christina, her two sisters, and their mother Gloria, all live within walking distance of one another in Kendall. Gloria and her husband immigrated on the Peter Pan flights. They met soon after arriving in Miami through mutual family friends and were married within a year. They set up a wholesale car parts franchise and were able to retire in their late forties. Gloria and her husband are active in the Cuban community. They frequently host the “Peter Pan Stories” monthly support group meeting in which Cubans who arrived on the Peter Pan flights share their arrival stories. They are also active politically. Her husband was running for commissioner when we met (see Figure 6.18).



Figure 6.18: Posing alongside campaign headquarters, Kendall

When Christina told me that she was the “black sheep” of the family, I was sure that it was because 1) she had married an Anglo man, and/or 2) she worked instead of staying home with her two toddlers. Neither was the case. Even though she was a staunch Republican like the rest of the family, her views on the embargo were opposite of her family's. Christina believed that getting rid of the embargo all together was the best idea for Cuba, while the rest of the family believed that the only way to oust Castro was to make the embargo even stricter. Though their embargo views were different, their ultimate hope for the future of Cuba was the same: that the communist reign would end, and Cuba would become a democracy. Like Christina's family, many Cubans posit that the embargo is too loose. Basically, Cuba still relies on the US for survival. Castro gets to have his communist country, and the US supports, through remittances and aid, the many areas where the government falls short. By completely cutting off US-Cuba interaction, exiles believe that the Nationals would finally rise up and rebel against the government. On Christina's side of the argument, opening the embargo completely would make it impossible for the communist government to control the Cuban currency. Furthermore, Cubans like Christina say that Castro would no longer be able to use the US embargo as a scapegoat for Cuba's problems. Once Nationals see that the problem is with communism and not the US embargo, then they would be motivated to rebel.

Foodways of Kendall

Christina and her sisters were all very “health conscious,” (in the sense that they focused on eating low calorie, unprocessed foods) and were trying to get their parents to eat healthier Cuban food. Kendall has many food choices among its conventional foodways including several high-end supermarket chains, Latin grocery stores, major fast food chains, and full service

restaurants. Aside from a couple of school gardens and a paltry mall farmers market (see Figure 6.19), there is no evidence of alternative foodways in Kendall.



Figure 6.19: A farmers market in a Kendall shopping mall

Coral Gables

Ralph, my self-proclaimed Cuban culture attaché, gallantly opened the passenger door of his Escalade and with a mini-bow offered his arm to escort me into the shimmering grounds of the “Biltmore” golf course, hotel, and elite members-only club (see Figure 6.20). A Mercedes-Benz pulled up behind us. A younger, slimmer version of Ralph got out of the luxury sedan and tossed his keys to the valet.

“*Aye, Papi! ¿Que bola?*” Rapid-fire, dropped-syllable Cuban Spanish ensued between the two. I could only understand that the younger version said that he was working on a campaign with Ralph to elect a city commissioner and that he was getting ready to go dancing.

“You see? Only in Miami!” Ralph proclaimed, as the younger version trotted into the Biltmore club. I asked him what he meant.

“This,” Ralph sweeps his hand (a typical gesture for the fervent man who aspires to be mayor of Miami one day) towards the brand new Mercedes. “Only in Miami are Hispanic people on top! I love this country, but only in Miami is Spanish the first language, and Hispanics are powerful and rich!”



Figure 6.20: The Biltmore Club of Coral Gables

This might be true for Cubans, but not other Hispanic groups in Miami. In fact, this is one of the few times that I've heard a Cuban include himself under the category of "Hispanic."

"That's a quote?" I ask.

"Yes!" He looks to see that I am writing down his exact words: "Miami is the capital of Latin America, and Miami is run by Cubans. You do the math!"

Ralph showed me around the glittering grounds of the Biltmore and the surrounding neighborhoods of Coral Gables where the richest of the rich live. The Spanish named streets, concrete road signs like those in higher class areas of Havana, and Art Deco/Spanish architecture from the pre-revolutionary-era, "America's Playground" Cuba gives Coral Gables its signature ambiance. This vision of white, rich, and powerful *cubanidad* only represents a portion of the Cuban enclave that is increasingly heterogeneous in SES, political ideology, and ethnicity.

"They have dance classes here at the Biltmore? Do they have salsa?" I interrupt, eager to add salsa to my repertoire of Cuban cultural emersion.

"I have no idea. Why?" Ralph responds exasperated at my off-topic question in the middle of his lecture on the Cuban contribution to the Biltmore's history.

"That guy with the Mercedes out front, he was getting read to go dance... He said '*voy a bailar con los cinco latinos...*' [I am going to dance with the five latins]."

Ralph burst into side-splitting hysterics. "Sweetie, you need to learn Cuban Spanish." The saying, with vulgar undertones, is a familiar way to say that one is just wasting time and taking it easy.



Figure 6.21: A courtyard in Merrick Place shopping center, Coral Gables



Figure 6.22: Large, organic Coconut Grove Farmers Market in Coral Gables



Figure 6.23: A large food billboard puts the organic farmers market in ironic perspective
Foodways of Coral Gables

Coral Gables is lush. Shopping centers are covered in tropical, vibrant landscaping (see Figure 6.21). Coral Gables hosts one of the oldest, most well-established farmers markets in Miami (see Figure 6.22). The majority of its produce is organic; however, it is not locally grown. The produce sold here is from an organic whole sale company that stocks organic produce from all over the world. Coral Gables also has a fifty-acre botanical garden and park, which hosts several community gardens within the area.

However, as the large billboard looming over the farmers market attests, Coral Gables is clearly dominated by the conventional foodway (see Figure 6.23).

Other Communities and Foodways

Other communities were explored in this research. Liberty City, the poorest area of Miami (see Figure 6.2), has a thriving urban farm called Roots in the City (see Figure 6.24); run by residents who are predominantly African American.



Figure 6.24: Roots in the City Urban Farm, Liberty City

Alice lives near the farm and takes advantage of the farmers market, which has low-priced produce. She says that Roots in the City does not have fences or security for a reason, “It show this place... it ain't be so bad.” When I told Alice that I was studying local food, she insisted that I come with her to a Sunday night fish fry in Liberty City. Two pastors from a local church started the tradition. Every Sunday night, about fifteen to twenty volunteers gather in the

driveway of an auto repair garage and prepare locally caught fish for “however many people we can feed,” and it is all free (See Figure 6.25). The fish is caught locally by fisherman who risk confrontation with the police since fishing from bridges is prohibited



Figure 6.25: Liberty City Sunday night fish fry

Top left: a volunteer serves free plates of fried fish and sides; top right: a community member enjoys a whole fried fish while others congregate; middle: deep frying the fish; bottom right: a volunteer leads a blessing of the food; bottom left: a stray dog runs across the street towards the fish fry, while downtown Miami overlooks the poverty stricken Liberty City.

Little Haiti also boasts an urban farm called “Earth-n-Us” (see figure 6.26). People can live on the farm. The farm is completely organic, uses a water catchment system, and has seasonal vegetables as well as a permaculture orchard. Earth-n-Us also houses goats, chickens, emu, and llamas. Earth-n-Us farmers are local food / organic production activists. Cecilia, an

Anglo college student, is waiting for a living space to open up on the farm. She talks a lot about the problem of food deserts in Miami as she shows me around the farm. The farm has a very hip, Anglo ambiance, and I did not see any Haitian farmers or residents while I was there.



Figure 6.26: Earth-n-Us urban farm in Little Haiti

Conclusion

The sample of Miami Cubans (n=143) is made up of equal representation of each of the four neighborhoods discussed: Little Havana, Hialeah, Kendall, and Coral Gables. This chapter demonstrates how different each neighborhood is, and thus justifies why a representative study of Miami's Cuban population must draw from all four communities. In terms of food and

foodways, each community also provides different conventional and alternative foodways. Though all neighborhoods have predominantly more conventional foodways, Coral Gables and Little Havana seem to have more alternative foodway choices than Hialeah or Kendall. Hialeah has virtually no alternative foodways; however, some residents do grow fruits and vegetables in their backyards. Kendall, though affluent, appears to have the fewest alternative foodway choices. Aside from two school gardens and a mall farmers and craft vendor market, there is not much interest in alternative foodways. Two very poor non-Cuban communities have urban farms. The Liberty City farmers market helps ease the pains of living in a food desert, while the Earth-n-Us farm is designed more for co-op members who are largely middle-class Anglos. The next chapter describes how participants from each of the communities were recruited, and the methods used throughout the study.

CHAPTER 7:

METHODS

Miami is an ideal place to investigate Cuban food and culture since South Florida is the epicenter of Cuban immigration and Cuban political fervor. Aside from the beaches and nightlife, Cuban cuisine is one of the biggest tourist draws to Miami (Levine and Asís 2000; Portes and Clark 1987). Key informants even attested that the only place in the world that has authentic Cuban food is Miami. Cuban exiles argue that the cuisine has “devolved” in Cuba due to lack of food and variety of ingredients. Indeed, many New Cubans, who experienced the food insecurity of the 90s and the continued restrictions and scarcity of foodstuffs on the island, have only tasted the staples of Cuban cuisine that include beef (*vaca frita* [fried, shredded beef], *picadillo* [skirt steak], *frita* [pork/beef mixed hamburger with shoestring potatoes on a bun]) after coming to Miami. As this research will show, New Cubans are familiar with urban agriculture and organic production, and most have had hands-on experience with a home (*el huerto*) or community garden. Conversely, in Miami local food and urban agriculture are merely peripheral social movements. This research examines the differences in cultural knowledge about food between diverse subgroups of Cubans (i.e., immigration wave, social class, ethnicity). It also examines how differing political views (i.e., political affiliation, embargo support) come into play with cultural values about food. The research explores how involvement with alternative foodways in Cuba and Miami influences the meaning of food.

Finally, this research uses biological parameters (height and weight) to investigate the relationship among food beliefs, eating behavior, and body size (BMI).

Using cognitive methods of cultural consensus analysis and narrative analysis, I presented participants with cognitive tasks that urged them to access their cultural models in order to answer. These cognitive methods allow for the investigation of the contents and structure of model(s) of food and foodways. Cultural consensus analysis was used to identify the level of agreement between respondents concerning the domain of food, and was also used to ascertain the competence each informant has in the domain (Weller and Romney 1988). Consensus analysis has been found to be successful with a small number of informants when there is a high degree of sharing within the group. Romney et al. (1986) found that seven informants with an average competence level of 0.60 have an 85 percent probability of correctly answering the question (confidence = 95%). The first stage involves freelisting, in which informants are asked to list terms or phrases relating to a particular domain. Terms and statements about food and foodways were selected based on their frequency of appearance for use in what I term the “model development phase,” in which the use of pilesorts, open-ended questioning, focus group discussions, and narrative analysis were used to identify the prominent dimensions that structure and organize the models. The final step involves an interview using the propositional statements winnowed from the model development phase to which informants can agree or disagree. Subsequent statistical analysis reveals the presence or absence of shared cultural models, and individuals' cultural competence coefficients.

Research Plan

After completing preliminary fieldwork in Havana (September 2008), the research developed to include Miami because of the transnational relationship between Miami and Havana. When I went to Havana, I discovered that Cuban Nationals knew more about Miami than I did. On the other hand, in Miami—a city which revolves around the politics of a nation only slightly larger than the state of Florida—Cuban exiles have very little first-hand knowledge of Cuban day-to-day experience. I concluded that, based on the extensive literature on Cuban transnationalism, one cannot understand the politics of food in Havana without understanding Miami.

Because Miami's Cuban population is increasingly heterogeneous, I planned to sample from different neighborhoods to represent the diverse Cuban diaspora. Recruitment would be opportunistic quota sampling in a variety of settings including: 1) community/cultural group meetings/events, and well known Cuban hangouts (i.e., Domino Park, Little Havana), 2) businesses, stores, groceries, farmers markets, restaurants, fruit stands, and various general public settings. The second recruitment method would be snowball sampling through recommendations by other informants. This strategy was to be kept at a minimum (< 20%), because sampling within social networks can introduce bias. Potential respondents were also to be compensated \$5.00 for their time.

Fieldwork officially began on September 15, 2009. It involved not only interviewing across several different regions of Miami-Dade county, but also involved extensive exploration of Miami's diverse foodways. In order to create a representative sample of the Cuban diaspora, it was necessary to sample among different neighborhoods that were spread across Miami-Dade

County. Interviews could take up to five hours including travel time (plus the inherent Caribbean lateness). I had sampled across neighborhoods, across age groups, and across SES levels, but I had only interviewed a few Afro-Cuban towards the end of data collection. When I asked my informants where all the black Cubans were they said, “everywhere,” or “Cubans don't see race in the same way as Anglos, we are just all Cuban.” Clearly, neither one of these answers were helpful to finding more Afro-Cubans informants. In August 2010, I found an Afro-Cuban dance studio in Little Havana, and this spawned many interviews. Since it appeared that Miami interviews were going to take twice the allotted time, plus the tremendous amount of data that I had already collected led me to reconsider the role of Havana in the research design.

In the end, data collection concluded after sixteen months; 143 Cuban respondents were interviewed in the four targeted Cuban neighborhoods (see Table 7.1). Cultural domain analyses of food and foodways were performed. Ethnographic interviews, food intake, and anthropometric measurements were collected on all respondents. Fifteen key informants' personal narrative data were also included (See Table 7.2).

Table 7.1: Interviews completed by ethnicity and community

Community	Ethnicity		Total
	Euro-Cuban	Afro-Cuban	
Little Havana	25	9	34
Hialeah	28	11	39
Kendall	27	9	36
Coral Gables	28	6	34
Total	108	35	143

Sampling

I used an opportunistic, stratified sampling strategy, along with a heavier dependence on snowball sampling than initially outlined in the research design. As discussed in the Chapter Three (Culture) and Chapter Six (Setting), the Cuban enclave is increasingly diverse. Sampling strategies had to ensure that the spectrum of Cuban diversity was included. Targets included different social classes, the three immigration waves, first and second generation Cubans, and both Euro- and Afro-Cubans. Sampling from different neighborhoods was the first step to ensure adequate diversity since the neighborhoods differ vastly in terms of residents' SES and immigration wave predominance.

Table 7.2: Number of each type of interview completed in different communities

Community	Free list	Model Development	Consensus Analysis	Total	Narrative Analysis*
Little Havana	11	5	22	35	3
Hialeah	12	5	24	38	4
Kendall	12	5	23	37	4
Coral Gables	10	5	19	33	4
Total	35	20	88	143	15

*All of the narrative data came from informants who participated in either the free list or model development phase of research.

Opportunistic Sampling

While performing participant observation at locales of foodway performance (including, supermarkets, bodegas, restaurants, farmers markets, community gardens), cultural events (Cultural Friday, Calle Ocho, Book Fairs, Pumpkin Festival, and sporting events), and community hangouts (predominantly parks and shopping centers), I would recruit potential participants by striking up a conversation, saying:

I am an anthropologist at the University of Alabama. I am in Miami doing research on food and culture. Would you like to do an interview with me? It usually takes about 45 minutes to complete, and you will be given \$5.00 if you decide to complete the interview. All of your answers will be confidential, and you may choose to not respond to any question that you do not feel comfortable answering.

At this point we would either do the interview on-the-spot, or exchange contact information and schedule a time and date to do the interview at the participant's convenience. If one of my research assistants was with me, he/she would either approach potential participants with me, or strike out on his/her own to recruit.

I attended seven Cuban cultural group meetings to recruit participants and to observe and interact with Cubans. The first group was a Peter Pan Stories meeting in which Golden Generation exiles share their experiences about arriving in Miami as children without their parents for several years. I attended two of their meetings. One was in Little Havana and one in Kendall. The location was usually in a private home, a classroom, or church space because the meetings were inherently emotional, and members needed a sober place to share their stories. Both meetings that I attended were in private homes.

I attended three dinner meetings of a Cuban cooking club (they asked that their group name remain anonymous). The attendees were mixed ages and were made up of Golden Generation and Mariel Cubans (there were no New Cuban members). I attended one Miami 411 dinner party. Miami 411 is a group news blog. The dinner party was for bloggers; also in attendance were local entrepreneurs who had (or wanted to get) their endeavor featured on Miami 411. Although not an officially Cuban outfit, many of the attendees were Cuban. Lastly, I attended one Afro-Cuban Dance lecture and presentation at a cultural center in Little Havana.

Before the meetings I asked that the facilitators introduce me to the audience according to a pre-arranged script that I had provided them:

This is Katy Groves, an anthropologist from the University of Alabama. She is studying food and culture in Miami, and is asking [club/organization] members to be participants. Please see her [after the meeting] if you would be interested in participating. Your answers are confidential and you will get \$5 for participating.

I also went to several networking events. The business of networking is well-organized in Miami. Many venues and networking clubs (i.e., Cocktails and Connections, French Tuesdays, Meet-Up Miami, Epic Promotions) host gatherings in which people simply introduce themselves to one another, eat, and sip cocktails. Being asked to do an interview in this atmosphere was not as invasive as tapping someone on the shoulder in the produce section at the supermarket. However, a certain type of Cuban was in attendance at these events: professional, entrepreneurial, working aged, and English-speaking.

Little Havana had plenty of cultural events, and “hangouts” where people were willing to do an interview. Hialeah was a bit more challenging, as there were fewer street life socializing opportunities, but there were several parks that, on weekends, were filled with people. In these two neighborhoods, opportunistic sampling was easier than in Coral Gables and Kendall.

Two interview methods were employed to increase response: 1) on-the-spot “cold call;” and, 2) social call. Table 7.3 displays the number of interviews done in either a cold call or social call set up. All of the interviews that included free lists, model development, and narrative analysis were done as a social call. These interviews took more time due to the extended open-ended interview questions, and usually involved a meal or at least an electrifying Cuban coffee. For a social call interview, it was necessary to meet somewhere in a safe location with available

parking or with public transportation. During the social call interviews, the participant, sometimes a research assistant/translator, and I were the only ones present for the interview (unless it was a group discussion which will be described later in this chapter). Figure 7.1 is a photo of a Cuban thanksgiving get together that I attended. They also allowed me to conduct a group interview before the dinner began.



Figure 7.1: Participant observation with a Cuban Thanksgiving dinner

The thanksgiving dinner had all of the traditional elements, including, turkey and dressing, casseroles, and mashed potatoes. The pot to the bottom left of the picture was full of black beans and rice. The hostess explained that every Cuban get together, even if its an Anglo one, like Thanksgiving, has to have black beans and rice.

Often, when recruited in a place such as a park, people preferred to do the interview on the spot in these settings, which I encouraged since scheduled interviews were often cancelled. More often than on-the-spot interviewing, participants preferred to do the interview as a social call involving dinner, or, at a minimum, a Cuban coffee. Cubans are gregarious and talkative (and this includes all social strata and immigration waves). In the Cuban Miami world, business

deals are not made at board meetings, but rather while standing in front of Cuban cafe window sipping on an afternoon *cafecito*, quite the opposite of the regimented Anglo concept of work and time management.

Table 7.3: Consensus analysis interviews completed as cold call versus social call set-up

Neighborhood	Cold Call	Social Call	Total
Little Havana	10	12	22
Hialeah	9	15	24
Kendall	6	17	23
Coral Gables	4	15	19
Total	29	59	88

Snowball Sampling

Snowball sampling was to be kept at a minimum (<20%), however, due to difficulty in accessing specific demographics (especially the upper echelons in Kendall and Coral Gables, and Afro-Cubans), I initiated contact with over half (n=84) of the sample (n=143) by having interviewed someone else in their social network. To minimize this bias as much as possible, I would only interview one person within a household or family. For example, I would not interview two sisters even if they lived in different houses, and I would not interview both husband and wife. Due to the challenges of urban ethnographic fieldwork, I had to resort to the less than ideal method of meeting potential participants through an informant. Opportunistic sampling was difficult because, 1) the elite are difficult to contact (Nadar 1969) and 2) Miami's ambiance of wariness and distrust.

The upper echelon of Coral Gables rarely ventures out of their cloistered social and business circles. How is one to find people to interview at the supermarket, when the nannies do the grocery shopping? Kendall, though less exclusive socially, is a suburb where people socialize

in their homes. The area does not have the host of open community events and hangouts like Little Havana and Hialeah. However, once I met a few people in each location, I was able to enter their social groups.

As discussed in Chapter Three (Culture), Miami is no melting pot. Inter-ethnic relations are tense and at times violent. At best, ethnic groups remain insular. At worst, inter-ethnic conflict leads to overt violence (Dunn 1997; Greenbaum 1985; 2002; Mohl 1990; Segal 1995). Though they have their differences, Anglos and Cubans are not as strongly pitted against one another as Cubans and African Americans or Cubans and Nicaraguans are. Thus, my ethnicity was slightly advantageous in the field. However, Miami is a city full of “scam artists and thieves,” as more than one key informant warned me. People are wary of strangers in Miami, even if the stranger is a non-threatening, young woman with a Southern accent. Miamians attempt to protect against attackers by circulating within social networks. As Ralph pointed out when I complained of no one wanting to do an interview:

You can't do anything in Miami without knowing the right people... *pero*, people don't care [about your education and research]. *I* know you're a good person, but that is because I *know* you. You have to get to know people. You don't mean anything to anybody here unless you know who they know.

Along with an atmosphere of suspicion, Miami was still being hard hit by the downturned economy. People simply did not have enough time to do an interview with someone who could not help them better their financial standing (aside from the \$5.00 payment).

Research Design

Table 7.4: Phases of research

Phase I	cultural immersion in Cuban neighborhoods and greater Miami-Dade County, foodway exploration, key informant establishment, ethnographic interview schedule finalization, freelisting
Phase II	model development (pile sorts, focus groups, narrative analysis, propositional statement development)
Phase III	consensus analysis
Phase IV	data analysis, follow-up discussions with key informants

Before informants were interviewed, the Informed Consent form was read to them and they were given a copy (See Appendix 1: Ethnographic Interview, and Appendix 2: Internal Review Board Documents). I explained that I would not record their name so that their answers could not be connected with them personally. Informants were asked for their permission to record our interviews. In cases where informants gave permission, the interview was recorded for later transcription using a digital voice recorder. All key informant narrative interviews (n=15) were recorded and transcribed. Table 7.4 summarizes the phases of the research project, and the procedures in each phase will be discussed in detail below.

Phase I

The first phase of fieldwork consisted of cultural immersion in Cuban culture, and also Miami as a whole. I explored foodways specifically within Cuban communities by going to grocery stores, *bodegas*, Cuban restaurants, and farmers markets. I traveled all over Miami-Dade to go to every farmers market listed online, or that was heard of by word of mouth (n=18). I visited colleges and universities within the area to connect with other social scientists studying Cuban culture. I attended as many “networking” events as possible to meet people within the community. I volunteered in two local agriculture projects. One was an organization that helps

low-income households set up backyard or windowsill gardens. The other was an organic farm, in the middle of Homestead's industrial agricultural fields. I visited three industrial farms in the Homestead area as well (two produced ornamentals and the other produced citrus). I also established relationships with food activists (mostly Non-Cuban). I became an active member of the South Florida Food Policy Council, and continue to attend meetings at present.

During the first Phase, I established key informants in all four communities. The initial, semi-structured interviews with the key informants shed light on available foods, typical cuisine, and methods of food procurement in Miami. Key informants' life stories were also collected during the course of data collection (Phases I - III). They were asked to speak at length on their experiences of immigration and Cuban identity. Informants' discourse on cultural and structural forces informed the final consensus analysis interview schedule. The key informants' insights were also sought throughout all stages of research including, sampling strategies, and cultural model elicitation techniques to ensure the emic validity of conclusions.

Table 7.5: Spanish and English interviews

Community	Language of Interview		Total
	Spanish	English	
Little Havana	12	22	34
Hialeah	16	23	39
Kendall	4	32	36
Coral Gables	6	28	34
Total	38	105	143

I have a functional speaking and reading ability in Spanish. I took language and conversation classes, and practiced with native speakers for a total of four years. However, Cuban Spanish is notoriously difficult to understand, and utilizes informal vocabulary and slang.

I needed translators to help make sure that communication was adequate, and that I was grasping all of the nuanced language. I procured two bilingual Cuban research assistants. Two key informants (also bilingual) frequently accompanied me to aid in recruitment and translation. The majority of the time spent recruiting and sampling I was alone (See Table 7.5). Cubans code-switch frequently, between English and Spanish, popularly known as “Spanglish.” All English interviews contained a little Spanish and vice versa. The assistants helped with translating the interview schedules and informed consent into Spanish, translating during interviews, and translating recorded Spanish interviews into English.

The ethnographic interview schedule was finalized during the first few weeks of fieldwork. It was included with all phases of cultural domain analysis. Therefore, some informants did free lists, some did pile sorts, some did agree-disagree questions, but all informants did the ethnographic interview, which included questions about demographics, political values, personal/family history of immigration, 24 hour food recall, and anthropometric measurements (See Appendix 1: Ethnographic Interview). Time was one of the biggest hindrances to participant recruitment and interview completion. Health status and transnational social network questions were discarded at this point since the interview was already taking 50 minutes to an hour to complete.

The interview began with demographic questions including age, gender, ethnicity, residence zipcode, education, occupation. Respondents were asked to describe themselves as Euro-Cuban, Afro-Cuban, or other. Education was a two part question. First, participants were asked to describe their highest degree completed. Then they were asked how many years of school had been completed.

Socio-economic status (SES) was ascertained by a series of questions which took into account education, occupation, and neighborhood. Questions of occupation were about the primary earner in the household. For example, an “unemployed” housewife in Coral Gables would answer questions about her spouse's occupation. Conventionally, income is also included in the SES equation (American Psychological Association 2007). However, due to results of pre-testing and key informants' input, it was determined that asking income questions would compromise rapport with the interviewee. The formula for SES was: Education + Occupation + Zipcode = SES score. Scores for each category were: Education: <highschool = 0, highschool = 1, Associates/Trade school = 2, Bachelors = 3, Graduate/professional = 4; Occupation: unemployed = -1; unskilled labor = 0, skilled labor (hotel/restaurant mid level, servers, cooks, hotel clerks, store clerks) = 1, administrative/technician/service (low level entrepreneurial hotel/restaurant upper level management) = 2, executive professional/high level entrepreneurial = 3; Neighborhood: zipcodes with low per capita income = 0, middle = 1, high = 2. The scoring methodology was determined by discussions with key informants and was finalized in pilot testing. Because one of Miami's main industries is hospitality, it was important to recognize the organizational levels within the hospitality industry. Zipcode tabulations were determined based on where the zipcode fell on the map of poverty distribution (Chapter 6, Figure 6.2). Kendall and Hialeah were not represented on the map. For these areas, the zip code profile index from www.city-data.com was used. The index provides average home sale price, per capita household income for 2009, and cost of living for specific zipcodes. Scores ranged between zero and nine. SES score (converted to a z-score) is used as continuous variable in regression analyses. Scores were also broken down into categorical variables (Low SES = 0-3, Middle = 4-6, High = 7-9).

In order to ascertain immigration wave, participants were asked to give the date of their arrival (or their parents' arrival(s)). Those who arrived from the 1960s through 1980 are considered a part of the Golden Generation. Those who arrived between April 15, 1980 and October 31, 1980 are defined as Marielitos. Anyone arriving after the Mariel is categorized as New Cuban. They were also asked to briefly describe their experience of coming to the US. Key informants provided lengthier descriptions of their immigration experience along with their life histories.

Participants were also asked to describe the age that they were when they arrived in the US. Their arrival age was used to determine if they were first or second generation. During Phase I and through discussions with key informants, it became evident that Cubans believe that those who immigrated before the age of approximately 10 years old, then they are considered to be second generation.

Cubans were asked to describe their parents' experience of immigration and/or exile. Even though these stories were second-hand, they were very vivid. Elders' immigration histories are an important chapter of family lore, thus even US-born Cubans are able to retell the family's immigration stories. Second generation participants' immigration wave categorization was determined by their parents' arrival date. For example, Eric's parents arrived in 1972. He was born in the US in 1980. Thus, he was associated with the Golden Generation exile group and was second generation.

Polarizing political values within the Miami Cuban community has been said to contribute to the heterogeneity of the diaspora (Bishin et al. 2009; Eckstein 2009b; Grenier et al. 2007; Haney and Vanderbush 2005; Miller 2009). The stronghold that first generation exiles had

politically—which was decidedly Republican, conservative, and pro-embargo—has given way to an increasing number of more liberal, less embargo-supporting younger generations and New Cubans (Bishin et al. 2009). Political values were predicted to contribute to the distribution of knowledge about food among Cubans. Political affiliation and embargo support variables were used to measure political values.

Although few Cubans would claim that the embargo is perfect and successful at present, they do fall along a continuum of those who wholly support the embargo to those who think that the sanctions should be dropped completely (Eckstein 2009b; Grenier et al. 2007). American-born Cubans have been anecdotally associated with loosening attitudes toward the embargo (Miller 2009). Participants were also asked to describe their political affiliation as Democrat, Republican, or other.

One of the aims of this research is to investigate how cultural knowledge of food is influenced by involvement with alternative foodways; therefore, it was necessary to assess participants' experiences with alternative foodways. Previous phases of this research demonstrated that, while there are alternative foodways operating in Miami, the majority of Miamians are only vaguely familiar with the alternatives to conventional foodways. Experience was assessed by a series of multiple choice and open-ended questions about involvement with different types of alternative foodways known to exist in Miami: farmers markets, *fruterios*, community gardens, and home gardens. Originally, participants were to be scored on a scale of involvement with alternative foodways, with those who frequently use alternative foodways (i.e., weekly farmers market shoppers, home garden growers) to those who rarely use alternative foodways (i.e., seasonal farmers market use). However, so few participants used alternative

foodways that the data was collapsed to include those who had at any time in their adult life utilized alternative foodways, compared to those who had never knowingly utilized an alternative foodway. Participants were also asked to describe where they get their food to account for other alternative foodways that were not listed.

First generation Cubans were asked about their involvement with local food projects in Cuba. They were asked if they participated in urban farms, used community gardens, bought food from farmers markets, or grew food at home.

I chose to do 24 hour recall because pretesting indicated that Cubans would be more honest about what they ate in the past 24 hours than by doing food frequency interviewing. Furthermore, Cuban informants who helped with pretesting recommended that 24 hour recall was less tiring to complete. Also, I wanted the option to count caloric intake in future endeavors related to this dataset. All participants (n=143) were asked to provide 24-hour food intake data during the interviews.

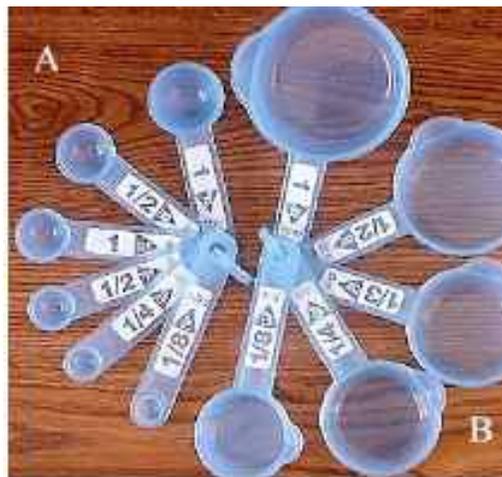


Figure 7.2: Measuring cups used for food intake data collection

A) indicates tablespoon and teaspoon measures. B) indicates cup measures

Participants were shown standard measuring cups for assessing volume (see Figure 7.2). For example, if the participant reported eating an apple, he was asked to describe how much based on the measuring cups provided. If the participant reported eating a salad, he was asked to describe how much of each of each ingredient was eaten based on the measuring cups.

The fruit and vegetable serving data consisted of a categorical and continuous variables. First the numbers of half-cup servings of fruit and vegetable intake were counted. According to the US Department of Agriculture (2008) (USDA) and the World Health Organization (2010), two cups of fruit and two and a half cups of vegetables are recommended to prevent disease and maintain a healthy weight. Fruit and vegetable intake was also assessed as two respective categorical variables: those who met USDA intake recommendations and those who did not.

In order to give contextual detail to the results and to represent participants' perceptions about their eating behaviors and body size, participants answered open-ended questions about their satisfaction with food intake.

Because body weight is sensitive to input (caloric intake) and output (energy expenditure), participants were asked a series of questions concerning physical activity. The Center for Disease Control (2011) recommends that adults do 30 minutes of moderate aerobic activity per day, most days of the week.

Participants were asked how often they participated in aerobic exercise of low or high intensity. Low intensity activities were defined as “activities that you can do without getting 'out of breath.'” High intensity activities were defined as “activities in which your “your heart is pumping and you are breathing heavy or 'out of breath.’” Pilot testing demonstrated that respondents felt the list of types of exercises and occupational activities were tedious. Therefore,

to ensure interview completion, participants were asked to describe any physical activity that they did. “Tell me what kinds of activities that you do when you are not sitting still during an average week. These might be things that you do while working, playing, or while exercising.” Exercises that Cubans reported doing were: walking, running (on a tread mill or outdoors), elliptical machine work, swimming, lifting weights, group fitness classes, dancing, and cycling. Occupational energy output included: walking to work/bus stop, bike riding for transportation or deliveries, climbing stairs, waiting tables, domestic cleaning, boat and car cleaning, and manual labor construction. Each respondent received a physical activity score based on the type, frequency, and duration of activity (every 30 minutes of moderate physical activity per week = 1 point, every 30 minutes of vigorous physical activity per week = 2 points).

Body weight and height measures were also collected. Participants were asked to stand on a digital scale, and their weights were recorded. Participants were then asked to stand without their shoes on level ground next to a wall or doorway. A tape measure was extended next to the wall or doorway and was used to measure height in centimeters. Using a smartphone application which calculates body mass index ($BMI = \text{kg}/\text{meters}^2$), participants' BMI values were immediately calculated and recorded. BMI is an index used to estimate an individuals' body mass. Though BMI is not a calculation of body fat, it is used to assess body composition by proxy.

The World Health Organization defines BMI ranges as underweight, normal, overweight, and obese. These ranges are used to estimate how much an individual's body weight departs from what is normal or desirable for a person of his or her height. The weight excess or deficiency may, in part, be accounted for by body fat (adipose tissue), although other factors such

as muscularity also affect BMI significantly. A BMI of less than 18.5 is considered underweight and may indicate malnutrition, an eating disorder, or other health problems, while a BMI greater than 25 is considered overweight and above 30 is considered obese.

Free list interviews: Free list interviews were completed with each of the immigration waves and generations (n=35). Original free lists participants (n=10) had to be supplemented with additional free list interviews (n=25) due to potential bias. The bias may have occurred because I was introduced to the informants as “an anthropologist doing research on Cuban food.” This resulted in informants' (n=10) answers being heavily weighted towards Cuban food when I asked, “Please describe what people around here eat.” After this incident, I provided the informant with a scripted introduction to avoid biasing participants' answers. I also asked people to describe “where people around here get the food that they eat.” The two free listing exercises were intended to uncover some of the contents of Cubans' models of food and foodways.

Phase II

The next step of consensus analysis was to examine the structure of the models using the contents identified in freelisting tasks. I call this phase “model development.” The focus of these interviews was investigating the structure of the model and dimensions that give the contents meaning. D'Andrade (2005) suggests that naturalistic discourse is ideal. Therefore, two, and later three, informants from each neighborhood were interviewed at the same time. In order to foster more natural communication (since the questions are about what people “you know” do), the focus groups knew each other, but did not live together. There are a variety of tools that cognitive anthropologists use to identify the structure of the model. The first method involved unconstrained pile sorts in which informants (n=20) were asked to sort foods into

groups based on their own criteria of similarity. The second method involved asking informants open-ended discussion questions that required them to use the model in order to answer.

Pile sorting is a step in cultural consensus analysis that explores how the elements of a cultural model are organized by focusing on how informants group elements. Sorted items were used to create a proximity matrix. Proximity matrices numerically represent the similarities of elements in the cultural model based on how often the items are grouped together. Multi-dimensional scaling is a procedure that maps items two-dimensionally based on the proximity matrix. Terms that are close together were sorted together often, while terms that are mapped furthest apart were never or rarely sorted together. The data from the pilesorts were entered into Anthropac 2.0 (Borgatti 1992a), and proximity matrices were constructed.

The elements that were mentioned most often were included in later pile sort tasks. In addition, some elements were added because of my experience listening to informants talk about food. The specific terms that were added, but not mentioned by informants, are discussed later with data analysis and results. Including these terms was the only way to be certain of their importance or lack of importance in cultural models of food and foodways.

Two informants from each neighborhood (n=8) were selected to meet at a predetermined location within their respective neighborhood. Informants who lived in the same community were interviewed together. The Little Havana, Hialeah, and Coral Gables interviews took place at one of the informants' homes. The Kendall interview took place in a coffee shop. Food terms that had been chosen from the free list were individually represented on a notecard by a picture. Pictures were used to avoid having to translate the items and also to ensure that when people are sorting a notecard, for example the card for “chicken,” they are all utilizing the same idea of

“chicken.” Participants performed two separate pile sorting tasks, first with food items, then with foodway items.

I explained: “These cards show foods that other Cubans have listed as being foods that people often eat around here.” Then I asked them to “Put these foods into groups or piles in any way that makes sense to you.” Each participant had his or her own set of cards to sort. Though the participants did the interview in pairs, they were told that they had to “use their own answers. Don't copy one another.” Respondents were asked to explain their reasoning for sorting the piles in the way that they did. Participants were then asked to perform the same task using the foodways terms. The pile sort data were recorded and analyzed using Anthropac 2.0. The pile sort discourse data were recorded and later analyzed.

Conventionally, the second part of pile sorts involves constrained pile sorts based on categories and/or elements that appear to be frequently used (i.e., prestige, healthfulness). However, during the pile sorts, it became evident that the pictures were more confusing than simply writing the term on the notecard. The mistake here is that since freelisting elicits words, those same words must be used for the pile sorts. If freelisting involved choosing images of foods instead of food terms, then using images would be acceptable. I compromised the emic validity of the freelisted terms by imposing my own (non-Cuban) impression of what those terms *look* like. What was useful about the pilesorts was that they got people to start talking about the meaning of food and foodways.

Group Discussion Interviews: Pile sorts are not the only way to identify the structure of the model. Another way to identify the structure of the model and relevant dimensions is to get people to use the model in order to answer open-ended questions. Increasing the interview

groups to three participants for each community (n=12), I asked the informant groups open-ended questions relating to food/foodways using free listed terms, and the dimensions that had emerged during unconstrained pile sorts, narrative interviews, and participant observation: 1) Cuban-ness; and, 2) health.

Key informants were asked to contact two other people that they know, but not people that live in the same household or interact on a daily basis. Participants' knowing one another could potentially introduce social network bias, but measures were taken to reduce this bias: 1) four different interview groups from different neighborhoods were used; 2) group participants were only acquaintances rather than intimate social alters.

The focus group interviews were by far the longest sessions. The discussion vacillated between interview questions and social discourse on unrelated topics. While this made interviewing considerably longer (and at times tedious for the interviewer), the setting fostered naturalistic discourse. Food as an expression of Cuban identity had emerged early in the research. Before asking questions about food (to avoid predisposing the informants to include food in their response), I asked, “What makes a person Cuban in Miami?” Participants were then asked: “How is Cuban food different in Miami compared to Havana? How do you know what foods are healthy?/What makes a food healthy?

Where do you find the healthiest foods? Where do you find the least healthy foods?”

Discussion groups were also shown the freelisted terms (without pictures this time due to the bias encountered in pilesorting). I said: “These terms were listed by other Cubans living in Miami as 'foods that people you know eat.' They were then asked to sort these foods into piles that made sense to them.”

Showing them the MDS map (without labels or circled groups), I then explained:

This is a graph representing how often people sorted items together. So, for example, *pastelitos* and avocado were probably never put in the same pile, but soft drinks and chips were often grouped together. Our task today is to discuss what people are thinking about when they sorted foods and what the findings mean. There are no right or wrong answers, this research is about what you *think*, so please do not hesitate to share any ideas that you have.

In the case of alternative foodways, freelisting and initial interviews indicated that many Miamians are unaware of what alternative foodways even are. For this reason, a more nuanced cultural model elicitation technique was used. I gave the participants a hypothetical situation in which they had to decide if they agreed or disagreed. I said:

A local food project is going to be set up in your neighborhood. Mango, papaya, and avocado trees will be planted along the sidewalks, and anyone can gather from the tree. Community gardens will be set up in a park and people living in the area can rent a plot for low cost. They can garden whatever they like, and farmers will show people how to grow vegetables year round. Do you think that people in your community would be supportive or opposed to this project?

During group interviews I took notes, and portions were recorded (I would turn off the recorder when conversation shifted to unrelated, personal topics). At the end of the discussion I reviewed the notes out loud, and asked if there was anything I was incorrect about or had missed. In a sort of “analysis-on-the-spot,” I asked the groups to develop three to five statements based on their answers to each question. I suggested statements based on their answers, and they were asked to contribute to, or correct the statements. For example, I said “The food at *fruteros* and farmers markets is dirty.” Then a participant corrected the statement to say, “No, it's not that they are dirty. Foods at the supermarket are cleaner than the food at the *frutero* or farmers market.”

As one of my informants who had just moved to the US from Cuba said, “Cubans love to talk about food and politics... you will have no trouble getting people to talk about food, but you better know what your political stance is because they will ask you!” Indeed, the informants needed very little prompting. If discourse strayed from the topic to unrelated issues, such as interpersonal matters, I moderated the discussion back to food.

Phase III

Free listing, pile sorts and discussion groups represented the elicitation portion of consensus analysis. Phase III consists of the statistical analysis portion of consensus analysis. Free listing and model development were used to identify the most salient components of the cultural domain of food. These salient components are then quantitatively assessed by having respondents rank the pooled data or respond to true/false, multiple choice, or rating questions about each component (Weller and Romney 1988). Once this quantitative data is attained, cultural consensus can be statistically tested. After pile sorts, groups discussions and analysis of key informants' narratives, propositional statements were compiled into agree/disagree statements to be used in the final consensus analysis interview.

Consensus analysis, similar to procedures used in psychometric test construction and reliability theory, is a form of factor analysis which tests the intercorrelation of individual cognitive models (Romney 1999). In consensus analysis, the survey response matrix is transposed; individual respondents are treated as variables, and intercorrelations are analyzed to determine whether an underlying “culture” construct is present. Consensus analysis produces three important pieces of information: 1) a measure of cultural agreement in the form of an eigenvalues (the first factor must account for more variation than any other factor, and the ratio

between the first and second eigenvalues must be at least three to one); 2) the correlation of each individual informant with the cultural construct in the form of factor loading scores or “cultural competence” (all respondents must have higher loadings on the first factor than on any other factor, and no respondent can have a negative loading on the first factor if a shared cultural model is to be supported); and 3) an “answer key” which is constructed by weighting each respondent’s survey answers by their competence score and averaging the responses for each component of the domain (Romney 1999).

Along with the ethnographic interview, participants from each neighborhood (n=88) answered the agree/disagree statements. Statistical analysis was performed using Anthropac 4.0 (Borgatti 1992), and quantitative data were compiled in SPSS Version 17.0 for comparative univariate and multivariate statistical tests. Table 7.6 summarizes the hypotheses, variables tested, and statistical procedures.

Conclusion

Fieldwork was conducted in Miami, Florida from September 2009 to April 2011 using a stratified, opportunistic sampling strategy (Bernard 2002). Snowball sampling was also included due to the difficulty in accessing certain demographics. I contacted several Cuban cultural/community groups, explained my research, and scheduled appointments to meet with the program facilitators. I also provided organizations with my research proposal, interview schedules, and informed consent forms.

Table 7.6: Hypotheses, variables, and statistical analyses

	Hypotheses	Variables			Statistical procedure
		Independent	Dependent	Controls	
1	It is predicted that more than one model in the cultural domain of food and foodways will exist among the diverse groups of Miami Cubans.			age, ethnicity, ses, immigration wave, political values	Consensus analysis
2a	Degree of experience with alternative foodways will be associated with cultural knowledge in the model of food, and	alt. foodway experience	cultural knowledge distribution	same as above	Multiple regression analysis
2b	difference in knowledge will be specifically reflected in the health belief dimension of the food model.	alt. foodway experience	cultural answer key/cultural knowledge distribution	same as above	Consensus analysis; univariate statistics
3	Political values will contribute to the distribution of cultural knowledge about food and foodways.	political values	cultural knowledge distribution	age, ethnicity, ses, immigration wave	Multiple regression analysis
4	Degree of alternative foodway experience will have a positive relationship with fruit and vegetable intake.	alt. foodway experience	BMI	age, ethnicity, ses, immigration wave, political values	Multiple regression analysis
5	Knowledge in the domain of food and foodways will have a positive relationship with BMI	Cultural competence	BMI	same as above	Multiple regression analysis

I spent time in the different locations several weeks before beginning any interviewing. Spending time at the various locations provided insight into what Cubans are doing and how they talk about food and politics. I took ethnographic field notes each day that I visited one of these locations. I also typed notes with any additional observations at the end of each day.

One hundred forty-three Cubans participated in interviews. Informants were interviewed individually and privately, usually at their home, but most importantly at their convenience. The interview and informed consent were translated into Spanish, back translated into English, and checked for accuracy. All interview schedules were pretested. The first interviews conducted were freelists in order to develop the list of elements included in later phases of research. Model development involved group interviews using pile sorting tasks and open-ended interviewing. Cultural consensus analysis interviews were the final portion of the data collection phase. Narrative analysis of key informants' life histories were included to add ethnographic depth to the research, and to identify structures of the Cubans' cultural models of food and foodways.

As an anthropologist trained in rigorous methods, I avoided the disillusionment that our less methods oriented counterparts often experience the first time in the field. However, even the best laid plans, can, and do come unglued when we try to put them into practice. More often than not, our participants just will not cooperate with our infallible research designs. Perhaps this finicky, unpredictable nature of our subjects is what has prompted many an anthropologist to give up on methods and just rely on rhetorical reasoning and reflexive analysis. However, methods are able to reduce researcher bias, make our research replicable, and give us a chance to come closer to the truth. The value of methods is too great to give up; instead ethnographers have to be prepared to adapt throughout the research process.

CHAPTER 8:

MODELS OF FOOD AND FOODWAYS IN CUBAN MIAMI

This chapter examines the cultural knowledge that Cubans in Miami have about food and foodways. First, demographic data are presented, followed by results of freelisting. Model development data (from pilesorts and discussion group discourse analysis) are discussed. Freelisting and model development culminate in emically-generated and informant-validated agree/disagree statements that will be used in consensus analysis. These agree/disagree statements, or propositional statements (D'Andrade 2005), represent the underlying knowledge which structures cultural models of food and foodways. Asking participants questions based on underlying cultural knowledge structures enables the ethnographer to ascertain the level of consensus about the model(s) and the degree of variation between informants concerning the specific domain (i.e., food and foodways). The cognitive anthropological methods employed ensure the emic validity of the final consensus statements—the final statements are in the participants' own words. Here, the focus is presenting the cultural models and discussing the elements of this model. Further results are presented in Chapters Nine and Ten.

Demographic Data

The demographic data are presented separately for Cubans who participated in freelisting, model development, and consensus analysis. This facilitates comparison of Cubans who participated in separate interviewing tasks. All key informants did extended life history narrative interviews.

They also did either free list or model development interviews. Demographic data include both continuous and categorical variables.

As Table 8.1 shows, the data are similar for each group as well as the total sample. There was a similar distribution of continuous demographic variables across the three samples including age and years of completed education. The sample was middle-aged, with a mean age of 40 years (range= 18-72 years). Overall, the education of the sample is quite high. The mean number of years spent in school is 14.5 years, meaning that many had completed at least some college. This is the result of at least three influences: 1) relative financial security of the Cuban diaspora (Eckstien 2009b); 2) Cuba's education system (Rosendahl 1997); and, 3) sampling to include college campuses (Florida International University, University of Miami, Barry University, and Miami Dade College) since preliminary findings suggest that the college campus is a locus of the local food movement. Despite the range in SES among the Cuban diaspora, few Cubans live in abject poverty for extended periods of time (Eckstien 2009b; Stepick et al. 2003; United States Census Bureau 2007). Compared to poverty-stricken neighborhoods like Liberty City (primarily African American) and Little Haiti, even the poorest Cuban neighborhoods are not the worst in Miami (Stepick et al. 2003). For all of its criticisms, Cuba does a good job at educating its citizens. Cuba's literacy rate surpasses that of the US (Rosendahl 1997; Scarpaci, Segre and Coyula 2002). It is not uncommon that first generation New Cubans come to the US with graduate or professional degrees (Perez-Lopez 2004; Portes and Stepick 1993).

It was important to ensure that gender was similarly represented across interview samples, as there may be variation in food knowledge based on gender. As with other Latin cultures, the Cuban kitchen remains primarily a female domain. This was evident in discussions with Cubans,

who refer to their mother/grandmother/wife's cooking expertise. However, food and cooking are becoming less gender-role specific among younger generations. Young, unmarried male and female Cubans in the sample who lived outside of their parents' homes had to prepare food for themselves, as will be discussed later in this chapter. It was also necessary to equally represent immigration waves and both first and second generations. Current literature on Cuban diaspora indicates that the polarizing issues of the increasingly heterogeneous group often fall along the different immigration and generation cohort lines (Bishin et al. 2009; Eckstien 2009b; García 1997; Grenier and Pérez 2003; Grenier et al. 2007; Henken 2005; Hill 1996; Miller 2009; Mohl 1990; Pérez 1992; Pérez 2008; Perez-Lopez 2004; Portes and Clark 1987; Portes and Stepick 1993; Stepick et al. 2003). As described in Chapter Three, the immigration wave is broken down into the Golden Generation, Marielitos, and New Cubans. Generation is split into first and second generation Cubans. First generation Cubans are those who spent at least at the first ten years of their lives in Cuba. Second generation Cubans are those who left Cuba before the age of ten or were born in the US. The same operational definition of generation has been used in other generational research on Cubans in Miami (Eckstein 2009b; Hill 1996).

SES is distributed among the model development group (n=20) differently than the other interview groups. Nearly half (45%; n=9) of the model development group was in the high SES category. This is significantly different than the total sample (n=143) SES distribution, in which only 27 percent (n=27) were in the high SES category ($\chi^2(1) = 10.67, p = .030$). The model development group required several follow-up interviews, group discussions, and, in some cases, narrative data collection. For this reason, the model development interviews were substantially longer and required the participants to commit more time. As discussed previously in Chapter

Six, one of the challenges to participant recruitment was the economic climate of Miami.

Working class, particularly hourly workers, were harder to access simply because of lack of time.

Lower SES participants were more likely to agree to an “on-the-spot” interview at a park or meeting place where they were already taking leisure time.

Table 8.1: Demographic data by interview type

Interview Type (n)		Free list (35)	Model Development (20)	Consensus Analysis (88)	Total (143)	Key Informants (15)
Age (yrs) (sd)		40.4 (11.5)	42.6 (12.7)	39.8 (11.8)	40.3 (11.7)	41.0 (12.9)
Education (yrs) (sd)		14.5 (2.8)	14.9 (2.4)	14.0 (2.7)	14.2 (2.7)	14.5 (2.5)
SES % (n)	Low	34 (12)	20 (4)	33 (29)	31 (45)	27 (4)
	Mid	49 (17)	35 (7)	53 (47)	50 (71)	40 (6)
	High	17 (6)	45 (9)	14 (12)	19 (27)	33 (5)
Gender % (n)	M	46 (16)	45 (9)	53 (47)	50 (72)	40 (6)
	F	54 (19)	55 (11)	47 (41)	50 (71)	60 (9)
Ethnicity % (n)	Euro	80 (28)	80 (16)	76 (67)	78 (111)	80 (12)
	Afro	20 (7)	20 (4)	24 (21)	22 (32)	20 (3)
Immigration Wave % (n)	Golden	31 (11)	40 (8)	38 (33)	36 (52)	27 (4)
	Mariel	26 (9)	40 (8)	26 (23)	28 (40)	46 (7)
	New	43 (15)	20 (4)	36 (32)	36 (51)	27 (4)
Generation % (n)	1st	57 (20)	50 (10)	59 (52)	57 (82)	40 (6)
	2nd	43 (15)	50 (10)	41 (36)	43 (61)	60 (9)

Secondly, the model development phase required a meeting at someone's home, with other familiars. In order to access the higher SES groups, I needed a social network connection. This means that I had met them at previous engagements and likely had been introduced by someone in their social network. Treating the model development interviews like a social call, these informants were more likely to be open to an extended interview in their home. Finally, women of high SES who are not working (stay-at-home-moms, “trophy wives,” and mother-in-laws) are also more likely to have time to do a group interview. To reduce bias towards upper SES women in the model development phase, I drew from narrative analysis to aid in model development, making sure that males and lower SES participants were equally represented in the final agree/disagree statements.

SES was ascertained by a series of questions which took into account education, occupation, and neighborhood. The formula for SES was: Education + Occupation + Zipcode = SES score. Scores for each category were: Education: <high school = 0, high school = 1, associates/trade school = 2, bachelors = 3, graduate/professional = 4; Occupation: unemployed = -1, unskilled labor = 0, skilled labor (hotel/restaurant mid level, servers, cooks, hotel clerks, store clerks) = 1, administrative/technician/service (low level entrepreneurial hotel/restaurant upper level management) = 2, executive professional/high level entrepreneurial = 3; Neighborhood: zip codes with low per capita income = 0, middle = 1, high = 2. Scores ranged between zero and nine. SES scores were broken down into a categorical variable from the numerical score ranges (low middle, high). Questions of occupation were about the primary earner in the household. For example, an “unemployed” housewife in Coral Gables would answer questions about her spouse's occupation.

Table 8.2: Frequency of terms in food freelist

Terms Included	%	Terms Excluded	Terms Added
1) Black beans/white rice	100	<i>Moros, Moros y cristianos</i>	31) Soft drinks
2) Plantains	100	<i>Maduros, tostones</i>	31) Frozen vegetables
3) Cuban coffee	96	<i>Cafecito, cafe con leche</i>	32) Fresh fruit juice
4) Chicken	92	<i>Pollo fricase</i> (pan fried chicken)	33) Bottled fruit juice
5) Deli sandwich (Cuban)	80	<i>Media noche, Cuban sandwich</i>	34) Sweet snacks
6) Beef dishes (Cuban)	80	<i>Vaca frita, ropa vieja, picadillo</i>	35) Apple
7) Yuca	72	<i>Yucca con mojo</i>	36) Potato chips
8) <i>Pastelito</i>	72		37) Green vegetables
9) Sandwich (US)	68		
10) Fast food	64	Fast food burgers, fries, tacos	
11) Steak	64	Sirloin, New York strip	
12) Roasted pork	60		
13) Cereal	56		
14) <i>Tostada</i>	56		
15) Mamey	56		
16) Pork	40		
17) Avocado	40		
18) <i>Ajiaco</i>	36		
19) <i>Tortilla</i>	32		
20) Pasta	32		
21) <i>Croquetas</i>	16		
22) Pizza	16		
23) <i>Bacalao</i>	16	Salted codfish, codfish soup	
24) <i>Sofrito</i>	12		
25) <i>Frita</i>	12		
26) Guava	12		
27) Tomato	12		
28) Onion	12		
29) <i>Mojo</i>	12		
30) Salad	8	Chef salad, Caesar salad	

Freelisting Results

The first step in examining the cultural models of food and foodways among Cubans in Miami was freelisting, an emic methodological task that entails participants generating a list of terms or elements that means something in their lives relative to a specific cultural domain. This was employed in order to identify culturally relevant elements of food and foodways. Thirty-five Cubans from the four sampled neighborhoods participated in the freelisting tasks to generate a list of elements of food and foodways. The first ten freelists were excluded because of potential bias (see Chapter 6); thus, the final freelist only reflects 25 respondents. Participants were asked a series of questions about food and foodways: “Tell me what people you know eat. Tell me where people you know get the food that they eat. (See Appendix 1 for the full list of questions). Freelisting, along with observation, informal interviews, and narrative analyses, resulted in two lists, one of foods and the other of foodways. These freelists would later be used in model development interviewing.

Freelist of Food

Thirty eight terms made up the freelist of food. Many of the terms generated in the freelisting exercises were quite salient. Most of the terms were listed by at least 50 percent of the participants. Seventeen terms were excluded because they repeated previously mentioned items. For example, (1) “black beans and rice” may also be called “*moros y cristianos*” or “*moros*.” (2) Plantains and (3) Cuban coffee may be prepared in slightly different ways resulting in different terms for the item: for instance, *maduros* are ripe, sweet, and sauteed plantains, while *tostones* are green, starchy, deep-fried plantains.

Table 8.2 represents the frequency of food items listed by participants. It also indicates which excluded items “matched” more salient items on the list.

If the goal of the research were to examine the depth and breadth of Cuban cuisine, it would be necessary to include all of the variations of Cuban dish terms. However, the ultimate goal of this project was to examine food relative to foodways. Thus, it was only necessary to generate a general list of food terms. Although terms were deleted from the freelist for the sake of brevity, these terms were catalogued for later use during interviews and to also ensure that the interviewer had a more complete knowledge of food vocabulary during interviews and participant observation. Eight terms were added, and are also displayed on Table 8.2. Even though these items were not elicited in freelisting, I saw people eating/buying these items frequently, or they were brought up in conversation. Each of the eight additional terms are justified below.

Description and Translation of Freelisted Terms

1) Black beans and white rice is the most important dish of Cuban cuisine. Often stewed with pork fat chunks, and with onion, salt, and cumin seasonings, black beans and rice may be served as a stand-alone dish or as a side. Many Cubans claimed that their mother or grandmother has the best black beans and rice. Another informant said that even though her granddaughter (who was born and raised in Philadelphia) did not speak Spanish, she was still Cuban, because “she loves black beans and rice!”

2) Plantains are served as sides along with black beans and rice. Most people prefer the sweet or green plantains. As I sampled new dishes, informants would ask, “do you like the *maduros* or the *tostones*,” as if one could not like both¹.

1. I liked the sweet *maduros*, and wished they were served with ice-cream, *helado*, instead of savory entrees.

3) Cuban coffee may be served with milk, sugar, or cream, but is always served in espresso-sized cups. Cuban coffee is often served from windowsill counters of eat-in restaurants or *bodegas*. The to-go form is served in thimble-sized plastic shot glass, drunk throughout the day, but especially in the morning with *tostadas* (toast, preferably Cuban bread, with butter or margarine). The tell-tale white plastic shot glasses litter any Cuban gathering from the tables at Domino park to the American Airways flight 9410 (one of two flights that departs daily to Havana, Cuba) ticket counter at Miami International airport. The authenticity of Miami Cuban coffee is often pointed out: “You can't find Cuban coffee in Cuba,” says Carlos, a second generation Marielito. Coffee rations in Cuba are said to be mixed with garbanzo flour. Corruption of the simple Cuban staple of coffee is used as evidence by the exiles against the Castro regime—and the degradation of the the island's food culture.

4) Chicken makes up many Cuban dishes, as well as US-type dishes. Cuban chicken recipes usually involve sauteing with tomatoes and onions or roasting and serving over black beans and rice.

5) Sandwiches are a popular lunch or snack food. The Cuban sandwich is usually on a hoagie-style bread with ham, roast beef, swiss cheese, mustard, and pickle. The 9) US sandwich is made on sliced, store-bought bread, unlike the Cuban sandwich that is served on Cuban bread. The US variation is usually deli turkey or bologna. Supposedly originating among cigar factory working exiles, the Cuban sandwich has become ubiquitous in South Florida cuisine. The key to a Cuban sandwich is that it is wrapped and stored (in the home refrigerator or in the restaurant's deli case), which allows the ingredients' flavors to soak into the bread.

6) Cuban menus are heavily beef-centric. Although pork is generally more common in

Cuban cuisine, there seem to be more variations on beef dishes.

7) Yuca is a starchy root served alongside beans and rice as another side dish to a meat. The word is also used to describe Young Upwardly-mobile Cuban Americans, usually the privileged children of the exile elite.

8) *Pastelitos* are baked pastries filled with sweet fruit paste (usually guava), meat, or cheese. They may be eaten as a snack with cuban coffee or as an appetizer. The food is unique, because it is both a casual snack and also an essential party food.

10) Cubans claim to eat fast food just as much as Anglos, usually for lunch.

11) Steak refers to conventional US meat cuts such as New York strip or sirloin.



Figure 8.1: Roasted pork in a *caja china*

12) Roasted pork made in a *caja china* is a festive event food (served at a females' fifteenth birthday parties—*las fiestas de las Quinceañeras*—weddings, and, most importantly, Christmas). The *caja china* (literally, meaning “chinese box”) is an enclosed box for roasting a whole pig (See Figures 8.1 and 8.2). The key to juicy meat is the enclosure, and the hot coals are

placed on top of the box, heating the interior. Some models may also have internal spits. The *caja china* may be home-made or commercially purchased. Many Cubans (of all SES levels) have semi-permanent set-ups in their backyards. If outdoor space is not available, whole roasted pig is easy to find in Miami, especially during the holidays. Pizza ovens are the perfect size for roasting a pig, and many local restaurants with large pizza ovens will offer roasted whole pigs during the holidays.



Figure 8.2: A homemade *caja china* converted to a burger grill during a Fourth of July celebration in Miami

13) The only thing Cuban about cereal is the Latin brands which Cubans might buy. For the most part, conventional US cereal brands are consumed for breakfast.

14) *Tostada* is Cuban bread, toasted and covered in butter. This, plus coffee, is the most common Cuban breakfast.

15) Mamey is a Caribbean fruit also grown in South Florida that has the consistency of avocado and the sweetness of a mango.

It can be eaten raw, but is more often used in juices, smoothies, and milkshakes.

16) Pork is arguably the most popular animal protein in Cuban cuisine. Chunks of pork meat and fat are often used in black beans and rice or in sauces. It is typically served shredded as a dish or on two pieces of Cuban bread.

17) Avocado is sliced as a garnish or served on top of salads.

19) *Tortilla* in Cuban cooking refers to an omelette. The egg mixture may be filled with chicken, pork, beef, tomatoes, onion, and/or cheese. It is usually served as a breakfast food.

20) Pasta and 22) pizza are consumed in the conventional form with a tomato sauce base.

21) *Croquetas* are fried appetizers served with a cilantro-cream dipping sauce. Flour is mixed with pork, chicken, beef or cheese, rolled into cigar-sized pieces, and deep fried.

23) *Bacalao* is a salted cod-fish common to other Latin countries including Brazil, Portugal, and Spain. The Cuban form is usually used in a soup with a brine broth.

24) *Sofrito* is the mix of stewed tomatoes, garlic, onion, and spices which make the base of most Cuban dishes. Experts of Cuban cooking claim that the longer the *sofrito* is cooked, the better the flavor.

25) The *frita*, or Cuban hamburger, is a mix of ground beef and spicy sausage, served on a Cuban bread bun, covered in sauteed onions and fried potato sticks. Other variations may include cheese or mushroom toppings. Several Miami restaurants specialize in this sandwich.

26) Guava (*guayaba*) is eaten raw between meals or as desert. It is also used in juices or milkshakes (*batidas*). The concentrated paste form is used as a filling in pastries (*pastelitos*).

27) Tomato and 28) onion are sliced and served raw on the side of the plate. The two ingredients also serve as the base to sauces for most Cuban dishes.

29) *Mojo* is a Caribbean sauce made of olive oil, garlic, paprika, and cumin. It is used as a condiment, and is usually found on tables along with salt and pepper at Cuban restaurants.

30) Salad indicates a simple salad of lettuce greens, dressing, and toppings such as chopped vegetables, croutons, and/or cheese. Cubans often serve a side of diced cabbage topped with a tomato slice, which they also call a salad. A salad would never be a course in and of itself during a traditional Cuban meal. The salad is just a side dish.



Figure 8.3: Three popular Cuban soft drink brands

Added Terms

31) Soft drinks were included because of participant observation. At supermarkets I saw Cubans buying cases of soft drinks. There are also some Cuban brands of soft drinks (see Figure 8.3). They were sold in Cuba before the revolution, and the company owners (who became exiles) brought their recipes to the US. In Cuba, soft drinks are also plentiful, though still considered a treat, whereas soft drinks are a mainstay for many American (and Cuban American) diets.

32) Frozen vegetables and 37) Green vegetables were not specified during freelists, but 40 percent (n=6) of key informants described the importance of including vegetables in the diet as a preventive against heart disease and obesity. Since fresh vegetables “go bad quickly,” frozen vegetables are a good way to make sure there is always some vegetables at home, explained 56-year-old Cookie. Cookie enjoyed cooking, but had never learned any good recipes for fresh vegetables, so she would just force herself, her husband, and her family (when they came over for dinner) to eat at least a little vegetable side dish.

Luis, 51, lives alone and works 60 hours a week as a restaurant delivery driver. He moved from Cuba, leaving his wife and grown sons, to work in the US one year ago. He has a Master's degree in engineering from the University of Havana. Though Spanish is widely spoken in Miami, one cannot get an upper-level professional job without speaking English. Usually he eats at the Italian restaurant where he works, but he said he tries to eat vegetables as often as possible because the “food [in the US] is so unhealthy and rarely fresh. I wish I could eat more meals at home, with fresh vegetables, but there is no time.” Luis keeps frozen vegetables in case he gets a chance to eat at home. However, he claims that frozen produce does not taste as good as fresh.

Paola, 59, a “Peter Pan” exile, lives with her husband in a middle-class portion of Coral Gables. Her daughter, son-in-law, and infant granddaughter often share meals at her home. “[My daughter] does all her own baby food. There are chemicals and preservatives in [packaged baby food], so she makes her own.” Paola's daughter is “very health conscious,” and has even succeeded in convincing the family to eat more green vegetables. “We don't eat *bad*. Our doctors tell us to lose 5-10 lbs, well lately, 20 lbs,” she says as she pats her husband's belly and

laughs. “We eat Cuban food, and it's not so bad. It has vegetables like beans, and yucca, and tomato, and avocado.” The daughter interrupts her mother and reminds her that avocados are fruit, not vegetables. “All the fruit is good [to eat], and Cuban food has a lot of fruit, but you need green vegetables too!” exclaims Paola's daughter.

During my many Cuban meals, I found that Paola's daughter was right. Fruits and roots are used regularly in Cuban cooking, but vegetables do not have a large place in traditional Cuban cuisine. Of the 40 percent (n=6) of key informants who said that vegetables were an important part of staying healthy, four said that Cuban food lacks vegetables. Furthermore, 33 percent (n=3) of key informants mentioned using frozen vegetables as a substitute to fresh vegetables. Frozen vegetables were useful according to participants because they 1) are cheaper, 2) last longer, and 3) are easier to prepare.

33) Fresh fruit juice and 34) Bottled fruit juice were also not named during freelisting, but Cuban Americans are presented with the choice of fresh and bottled juices frequently. In Cuba, fruit juice stands are a mainstay of a farmers market. People line up for blocks for a glass of fresh-squeezed juice. Fresh juice and *batida* (fresh fruit milkshake, usually pineapple, mamey, mango or papaya) are included on almost every Cuban establishment's menu. The famed *Palacio del Jugos*, Juice Palace, showcases fresh squeezed juices served and presented in a way similar to Havana's farmers market juice stands. Similarly, *guarapo*, which is fresh cane sugar juice, is often served at bodegas in Little Havana and Hialeah. The open-air restaurant is common in Miami. Undoubtedly due to the tropical fruit availability, many of this style establishment feature fresh juices.

Latin-branded cartons of juice are so popular that at Latin grocery store chains a whole aisle is devoted to packaged juices. Bottled or pre-packaged fruit juices were included to identify if participants' cultural model(s) of food differently value fresh versus packaged juices. In keeping with whether Cubans value foods differently based on production techniques (organic versus conventional, fresh versus manufactured), it was necessary to include both fresh and bottled juices on the free list. These two items have emic validity since both are regularly consumed and encountered in diverse foodways.

Freelist of Foodways

After completing the food freelisting exercise, participants were asked to “tell me all the different places that people get the food that they eat.” Table 8.3 lists all the terms people mentioned that I kept (n=11), the terms that I added (n=5), and how often the terms were listed by participants, as well as those excluded.

Table 8.3: Frequency of terms listed in cultural model of foodways

Terms Included	%	Deleted Terms
1) Supermarket	100	Winn-Dixie, Walmart, Publix
2) Supermarket (Latin)	80	Sedanos, Publix Sabor
3) Versailles	72	
4) Fast Food Restaurants	72	
5) Cuban Restaurant	50	Added Terms
6) Restaurants (non-Cuban)	50	12) Community garden
7) Home-prepared	36	13) Drug store/Pharmacy
8) Grandmother's house	28	14) Farmers market
9) Palacio Del Jugos	20	15) Home garden/container planting/fruit tree
10) <i>Frutero</i> (fruit truck)	12	16) Organic Grocery Store
11) <i>Bodega</i> (convenience store or small grocery store)	10	

Descriptions of foodways in Miami have been previously discussed in Chapter 7 with the exception of (7) home-prepared and (8) grandmother's house meals, which are listed as separate entities because informants listed them separately. "Home-prepared" may range from packing a lunch for work to an involved, labor-intensive recipe. The important aspect of home-prepared food is that it is created at home and may be eaten at home or it may be packaged and taken out of the home to be eaten later. "Grandmother's house" was a distinctly separate experience of food preparation and eating. Grandmothers uphold the integrity of *authentic* Cuban cuisine. Sunday meals with extended family usually happen after church, but often happen among non-church going families as well. The Sunday meal is an important food-centered family gathering outside of other festivities (such as Christmas, showers, and *la fiesta de la Quinceañera*). Participants alluded that missing meals made by Grandmother (or a similarly-aged matriarch) lessens one's authentic Cuban-ness. Missing meals or not having family to eat traditional home-made meals with seems to not only erode one's familial connection, but also one's ethnic identity.

I don't know what will happen when my Grandmother can't cook anymore. None of us know the recipes. I need to write down everything... these recipes. The only time I eat Cuban food is on Sunday with my grandmother. [Gesturing to the cereal and loaf of wheat bread on the counter] I don't have a Cuban kitchen...nothing in here looks Cuban. [I ask why he doesn't eat Cuban food.] When I was at college [in Gainesville, Florida] I felt bad, because I never spoke Spanish and I didn't eat the right food. I felt like, you know, 'what makes me Cuban, then?' We can't lose these recipes because that is our culture.
--Alex, 31, second generation, Golden Generation.

Added Terms

13. Drug store/pharmacy was added because two female informants from Kendall said that a quick, cheap place to get food was at chain drug stores.

“If you have to eat-on-the-run, it's better to go to a [drug store] because they have diet foods, like protein bars... It's healthier than fast food,” said Lourdes, aged 46.

12. Community garden, 14. Farmers market, and 15. Home garden/container planting/fruit tree were added because no one mentioned alternative foodways during freelists. The only way to know how people thought about alternative foodways was to include some on the freelist for later Model development interviews. I only included alternative foodways that had been mentioned by the informants to ensure that there was a degree of emic validity.

It was anticipated that at least some of the participants would know about alternative foodways since they had been brought up during key informant discussions. All of the key informants were asked if they were familiar with the following terms associated with alternative foodways: urban agriculture, community gardens, farmers markets, community supported agriculture, local food projects. If the participant was familiar with a term, he/she was then asked to list any examples in Miami.

All of the informants (n=35) had heard of farmers markets in Miami. Three mentioned the Coconut Grove (Coral Gables) organic, wholesale farmers market. The Lincoln Road farmers market on South Beach was mentioned by three informants. This market is about half craft show, half wholesale produce. One informant listed a university sustainable garden and farmers market.

Two informants listed the urban farm, Roots in the City in Liberty City, as an example of a community garden. Liz, a 28 year old college student, and the granddaughter of Golden Generation exiles, had visited the Liberty City urban farm as a part of a sustainability class.

“It is the best thing because there are areas where people in this really poor area actually cannot find [fruits and vegetables], and there they can grow it and buy it too,” she said.

None of the freelisting informants commented about getting food from their own backyard. However, I saw banana, mango, papaya, avocado, and mamey trees in yards. The trees are more often seen as ornamental rather than a food source. For that matter, fruit trees are also frequently viewed as a nuisance since the fallen fruit can be unsightly and odiferous and can stain sidewalks and driveways. One Coral Gables informant had a vegetable garden with tomato, squash, and greens. Two Hialeah informants had gardens and fruit trees in their yards.

Miami Cubans were, for the most part, unknowledgeable of where to access alternative foodways other than farmers markets. All New Cubans (n=15) were familiar with the alternative foodway terms, although few of them could name examples in Miami. Their knowledge was of local foodways in Cuba.

16) Organic grocery stores were included to encompass the high-end, alternative health-oriented food and natural supplement stores (a.k.a. “health food stores”). Informants named Whole Foods, Fresh Market, and Epicure under the term “organic grocery stores” or “organic supermarkets” even if all of their products are not organic. These stores are found in Coral Gables and Kendall (and other high SES areas of Miami), but were not nearby to Little Havana or Hialeah. Organic groceries are met with mixed criticism by diverse groups of Cubans.

“I don't think organic makes a difference [compared to the same non-organic item]; it's just another way to make money and to sell something,” says Cesar, 59, first generation, Kendall. Cesar has been diagnosed with irritable bowel syndrome and has since changed his diet to include less fatty foods, more complex carbs, and more raw or steamed vegetables. “Food makes

a difference with your health,” he says, “but the organic price doesn't make it any better.” The younger generation seems to be more likely to shop at organic groceries than the older generation. When asked if she would pay more for organic food, Liz, a Florida International University student from Coral Gables said, “Sometimes! Why not? It's better!”

Model Development

Model development consisted of two phases of group interviews: pile sorts and focus group/propositional statement development discussions. Though group interviews may skew data to the views of the individual with the most dominant personality in the bunch, I was able to moderate the discussions since the groups were small (two- and later three-person groups). Group interviews are advantageous for two reasons. First, the power of cultural consensus analysis is that it investigates the cultural knowledge that people have using terms and phrases generated by the subjects themselves, thus the high degree of emic validity. If an ethnographer can capture naturalistic discourse, then all the better (D'Andrade 2005)! Secondly, the research subjects were more likely to participate if the interview was also an opportunity to socialize.

Pile Sort Results

Four groups of two from each neighborhood (n=8) were interviewed. The pile sort participants had not participated in the freelisting interviews. The organizing features reported by informants, as well as the emergent patterns in the proximity matrices, were used to further investigate the model during the second group discussion phase of model development. Although the pile sorts were done in pairs, none of the pairs did the exact same pile-sorting pattern. This indicates that bias was reduced since the participants were not “copying” each other.

Figure 8.4 is a non-metric multidimensional scaling map of unconstrained pile sorts of foods. The MDS had a stress of 0.13, which indicates this is a good representation of the domain of food as structured by pile sorts. For a 38 item data set, a stress of <.348 indicates that <1 percent of the items have been randomly sorted (Sturrock and Rocha 2000).

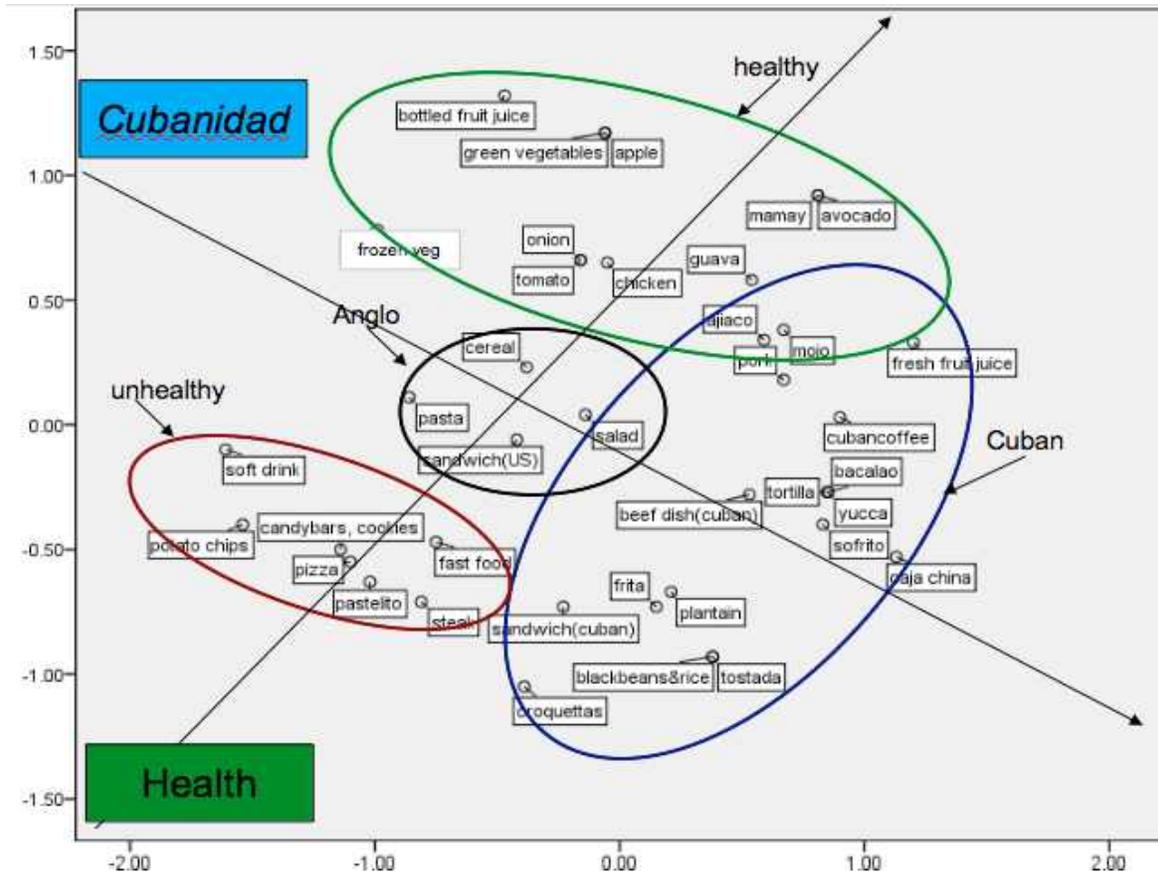


Figure 8.4: Multidimensional scaling of pile sorts of freelisted food terms

Based on informants' responses and the pattern from the proximity matrices, two hypothetical dimensions are used to suggest how the Cubans' cultural model of food is structured: 1) Cuban versus Anglo ethnic identity of foods, and 2) healthy versus unhealthy attributes of foods. Figure 8.4 shows these two hypothetical dimensions, and the items grouped

closely together are circled and labeled as “Cuban,” “Anglo,” “Healthy,” and “Unhealthy.” It should be noted that Cubans used “American foods” and “Anglo foods” interchangeably even though other ethnicities may be considered “American” (such as African Americans). This indicates that Cubans likely consider Anglo food to be the dominant food of the US.

Other grouping criteria which are less evident on the MDS map were also used by some participants. Diana from Hialeah sorted cards based on dishes versus ingredients, drinks, and pre-prepared food (i.e., pizza, fast food, *croquettas* and *pastelitos* are foods that one rarely makes at home and buys at restaurants or bodegas instead). Mike, also from Hialeah, separated food based on items that you eat at a restaurant versus items that you can make at home. Two respondents, one from Kendall and the other from Coral Gables, sorted items based on nutritional value or food groups (i.e., meat, vegetables, fruits, starches, simple carbohydrates). A Kendall informant, Lisa, aged 43, second generation, sorted items based on old-fashioned foods and contemporary foods. I suggested that these piles seemed to also be Cuban versus Anglo foods. “Yes, I guess that's true,” she said, “These are the foods that the old timers [first wave exiles] brought, and these are the American foods that we started to eat after we moved here.”

Figure 8.5 is an MDS map of unconstrained pile sorts of freelisted foodway terms. A stress of 0.12 is acceptable. It appears that Cubans were sorting items based on one dimension: eating out and eating at home. Four (13%) based their groups on eating out and eating at home. One of these four grouped based on quick meals versus long preparation. “Restaurants, fast food, all these places are quick and take no preparation time. The foods you eat here [food from supermarkets, home garden, grandmother's house] had a long prep time,” said Tiffany, 30, from Hialeah.

Two (13%) grouped foodways based on healthy and unhealthy places to get food. Two (13%) pilesorted based on Cuban versus Anglo foodways. Both were second generation Cubans who had never been to Cuba. They both sorted community gardens and organic food stores with Anglo foodways. One person sorted based on expensive versus cheap places to get food.

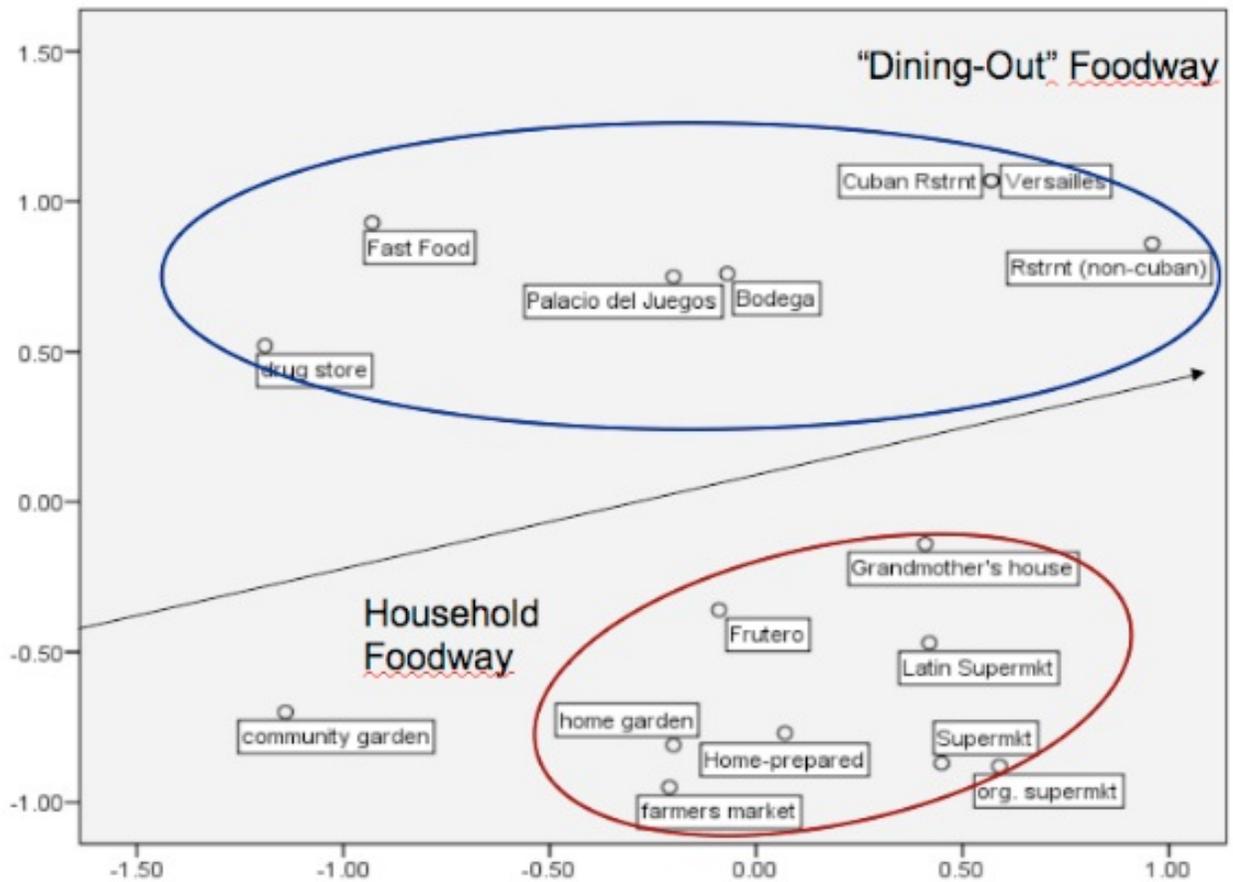


Figure 8.5: Multidimensional scaling of pile sorts of freelisted foodway terms

The pilesort results indicate that participants are using shared knowledge to perform the cognitive tasks (the stress levels are acceptable enough to assume that they are not just randomly sorting). Healthfulness and Cuban-ness are two dimensions shared in the food and foodways models. Cubans seem more apt to organize foodways based on eating at home versus dining

outside the home, than to separate foodways based on conventional versus alternative foodways. The results from pilesorting tasks were used in the discussion group phase of model development to generate more social discourse on the topic of food and foodways.

Discussion Groups

Three-person interview groups from each neighborhood (n=12) were organized. The participants had not performed freelists or pilesorts, but I was already well-acquainted with seven of the participants, as they were already contributing as key informants. The participants in each group were also acquainted with one another, but they could not be family members, people of the same household, or anyone else that they interact with intimately on a daily basis. For example, one group consisted of a key informant and two co-workers. Even though they saw one another nearly everyday, their relationship did not extend beyond an exchange of pleasantries and work-related discussions. Therefore, their relationship was not considered intimate.

The group discussion involved talking about the freelisted terms and the MDS graph results. Our analyses ended with the development of propositional statements. Each group ultimately agreed upon 3-5 statements that encompassed the discussion. Below I discuss the main discourse themes that emerged and the propositional statements associated with the theme. The themes are discussed in order of frequency in discussions and amount of discourse contributed to the theme.

Cuban-ness and Cohesiveness

Participants cited “eating Cuban food” as the second most important way to express Cuban-ness next to speaking Spanish (with a Cuban accent). The impact of Spanish and Cuban foods are undeniable on the South Florida landscape. “You want to know about *cubanidad*?”

asked a 36-year old female from Little Havana, “then start by learning more Spanish... then eat Cuban food!”

Even though Cubans have done almost more to transform their diaspora than become enculturated to the US (García 1997; Grenier and Pérez 2003; Portes and Stepick 1993; Stepick et al. 2003), there is still the fear—especially among older generations—that the authenticity of Cuban culture is lessening among younger generations. Alex, 31, from Kendall, was born in Miami, and his parents left Cuba in their teens. He explains:

The first generation, they eat Cuban all day every day. Us [second generation], we don't eat it so much, well, not for every meal. Its hard not to eat [Cuban food in Miami]. But we're working, and that's part of it, we don't come home for lunch and [take a nap] like our grandparents did in Cuba. We take our sandwich to work, and eat lunch at a restaurant... Times change and that's natural, but we need to remember these recipes. We always eat Cuban food when it counts.

“It counts” when getting together for family dinners, Christmas, any important celebration, or a social event.

It is notable that the most famous Cuban restaurant (Versailles) is also the hub of political happenings. Informants describe the centrality of Versailles to Cuban political interests: “If you want to understand Cuban politics, go to Versailles.” “Versailles is the place to see and be seen if you want to be anybody in South Florida politics.” “Miami is the only place in the US where politics takes place in a cafeteria over *cafecito*.” While recent events at Versailles suggest that Castro-hating, embargo-supporting exiles are losing ground to the less conservative second generation and New Cubans (see Chapter 3, “New Cuban” section), the stronghold of Versailles is exemplified by a lunch meeting at Versailles with a Cuban National visiting Miami. The visiting National, an internationally celebrated health activist and medical doctor, requests all of us in his party to not mention that he is living in Cuba while on Versailles grounds. He does not

want any trouble with the other diners (who he assumes are embargo hardliners, and extremely anti-Castro). The take-away point is that a restaurant, a foodway, is an institution of Cuban political interests. Sharing distinctly Cuban meals is the catalyst for political expression and action. In other words, by sharing meals with other Cubans at Versailles, one is stating, “I am one of you. I’m on your side. I hate Castro too.”

Five statements relating to Cuban-ness and social cohesion were created during the model development phase:

1. Eating Cuban food is one of the best ways to express being Cuban in Miami.
2. Every good Cuban family should eat together on Sunday and serve authentic Cuban food.
3. It is important to eat Cuban food because, without it, we lose part of our culture.
4. Sandwiches, fast food, cereal, steak, pasta, and pizza are American foods.
5. The patrons of Versailles restaurant are usually pro-embargo.

Healthfulness

The verdict is still out among Cubans on whether Cuban food is healthy or unhealthy. Cubans defend their diet, saying that, despite the focus on oil and sugar with few fresh vegetables in the most popular dishes, there are still quite a few fruits and vegetables consumed on a daily basis, like yucca, mamey, and guava. “You can eat healthy Cuban food, just like you can eat healthy American food. I’m vegetarian and my Mom makes black beans without pork,” says Patricia, a 23-year-old yoga teacher from Coral Gables. Cuban women, the younger generation, and those who have had diet-related health problems (such as, diabetes, irritable bowel syndrome, obesity, and cardiovascular disease) are motivated to eat diets with increased fruit and vegetable intake, less of “Cuban” food, and less fried, fatty foods. Among this group, Cuban

food is seen as a treat reserved for holidays and social events. “I cannot eat that stuff everyday, and look at the people who do eat it everyday. They are huge [fat],” says Barbara, 43, from Kendall.

Indeed, on the plane from Miami to Havana it is clear who the Cuban Americans are and who the Nationals are. The Miamians are substantially fleshier and flashier. Not just Cubans, but Miami style in general, is an image of hubris: excessive color, excessive jewelry, excessive skin-baring. Overeating is a forgiven sin, to not overeat on special occasions arouses a degree of suspicion.

“I can eat!” boasts Diana, 34, Hialeah. “A guy wants a girl who can eat, guys want form. Girls who are skinny aren't sexy or pretty. Cuban guys especially like thick girls.” When I first arrived in Miami, I met three Cubans in their 40s from Kendall who I spent some time with at the beach. “You are too skinny!” they admonished. “Once you eat [Cuban food] you will get a big Cuban ass!” Sure enough, I met with them again five months later and they exclaimed (much to my chagrin), “Ahhhhh Katy, you got chubby! You look good!”

Patricia said that her parents are okay with her being a vegetarian, but other friends' parents are not so accepting. “They say, 'we came to this country so at you could eat, and you [children] just want to eat lettuce! You're too skinny and you look like you're starving. This is not attractive.’” Older generation Cubans and those who experienced the food crisis of the 1990s are seemingly morally opposed to restrictive diets, especially plant-based diets. Moises, a 22-year-old New Cuban living in Hialeah, explains why the first generation might be frustrated by Patricia's vegetarianism:

You have to understand. To them it's like, 'Meat is something we came to the US to be able to eat...' so they expect you to eat it. 'Lettuce is what we have to eat in Cuba, so you live here in America and you eat meat.' *Meat is capitalism, lettuce is communism* [emphasis added].

Even though Cuban food is blamed by many for weight gain, home-prepared, traditional foods are considered to be less fattening and healthier than restaurant food. “You don't really know what's in [restaurant food], [at home] the ingredients are fresher... you know who makes it,” says Chris, 39, Little Havana, second generation of Golden Generation parents. Recent arrivals and younger Cubans seem to be more wary of chemical additives to food such, as preservatives and hormones in meats. “It's not *Cuban* food that is making people fat, it's just the food in America! It's not natural; it's fake. Fake sugars and dyes and chemicals are everywhere in food and it is not good,” says Moises. Moises and Chris were both talking about food having chemical additives, though Chris was referring to food preparation, while Moises was referring to the production and preparation of food.

Propositional Statements of Healthfulness:

6. Cuban food gives the body a desirable form.
7. Cuban food has both healthy and unhealthy dishes, but for the most part, eating Cuban food all the time will make one gain weight.
8. *Pastelitos*, Cuban sandwiches, *croquettas*, fast food, and pizza are unhealthy foods.
9. Home-cooked food is healthier than restaurant food.
10. Fruits, vegetables, and meats produced in the US have chemicals in them that are unhealthy.

Communism versus Capitalism: Scarcity versus Plenty

Cubans, especially the Golden Generation, are quick to point out that the different immigration waves represent very different sectors of Cuban society. Similarly, they claim that the diets of diverse Cubans differ as well. The newest arrivals are said to eat the most meat because beef consumption by citizens is forbidden by the Cuban government. Furthermore, Exilic and pro-embargo Cubans frequently claim that Cuban culture has been destroyed by communism and the Castro regime. Cesar describes the supposed degradation of food in Cuba versus the innovations in Miami cuisine:

Food has always been used as a weapon by Castro. Starve the people until they do what you want. The only people who get to eat are the ones who do what he wants. The rations are just a method of controlling the people. [Castro] has destroyed Cuban culture. No more art, barely any music, burn the books... and the food has completely devolved there. You should study how the food between Cuba and Miami has changed. Here we keep the traditions plus all the new fusion things like: Cuban-Thai, Cuban Sushi, Cuban-Italian... there they don't have anything... food is not a celebration of culture [in Cuba like it is in Miami]... they are just trying to survive...

Castro is cast as a disgraceful villain of inhumanity by nearly all Cubans in Miami. In my entire study, I did not meet a single Cuban American who was sympathetic to Castro, although there were varying degrees of disdain. The food crisis of the 1990s was not only proof that a communist Cuba was doomed to fail, but also it was the ultimate insult to the Cuban cuisine. Stories abound of the measures that citizens had to take just to survive, some of which include people raising pigs in their bathtubs, papaya peel steaks, plantain leaf soup, days without any food at all, garbanzo bean flour in coffee, soy protein added to ground “mystery meat,” and crackers made of non-foodstuff fillers. Ricardo, a 45-year-old Marielito from Hialeah, describes measures that he took to cope with post-revolution rationing:

My brother and I would sell cups of coffee in the street. We hardly had enough coffee at home, so we would mix it with roasted garbanzo flour and lots of sugar to cover the taste. I don't know how my Mom got so much sugar. She probably knew someone who had an extra ration, but we had a lot, so all mixed together it tasted almost like regular coffee.

Luis, who just immigrated from Cuba one year ago, has a very different perception of food in Cuba versus the US:

Good, there is more food here, yes. Of course there is more food in the US, it's the fattest country in the world. In Cuba there is food. But, we have no variety, we have shortages. Except for [the food crisis in the 90's] we have enough food, enough to survive. Here [in the US] we have so much food. Chinese food, Italian food, Cuban food, expensive food, cheap food, whatever you want you have it in the US. But, there is no time to eat here. I eat badly, just tuna sandwiches, and yogurt, and restaurant food, because I have no time to eat. I work all of the time. In Cuba we have less food and more time to eat, in the US there is more food but less time to eat it. People don't move here to eat, people move here to work. If I had to say where I ate better? I think I was healthier in Cuba. (translated from Spanish)

After much discussion with all groups about the differences between food in Cuba and Miami, I asked if there were any foods that transcend the divide. Is there anything that Cubans from all immigration waves eat the same way? The *caja china* roasted pork seems to be a unifying tradition. Cubans from all sectors of society applaud their ingenuity. Earlier waves are proud of their success and political clout in South Florida. Later arrivals, especially those who arrived during the rafter crisis of the 90s (though sometimes shunned by earlier arrivals for staying in Cuba and “supporting” the revolution) are commended for their bravery and inventive methods of crossing the Florida straits on make-shift vessels. One important part of the *caja china* tradition is how creatively the apparatus is built. “You can buy them, but what is more fun is to try to make your own,” says Andy. “Everyone remembers at Christmas, 'Remember that

time *Tio* made a *caja china* out of that old dryer?' I think one year my uncle did actually use an airplane part for the *caja china*..." explains Andy, a 28-year-old, second generation Little Havana resident. The *caja china* seems to be a unifying symbol of Cuban ingenuity.

The topic of alternative foodways was difficult to discuss for two reasons: 1) people who had mainly lived in Miami did not know much about alternative foodways aside from their experience with (largely wholesale) farmers markets; 2) some Cubans reacted with vitriol when I explained what alternative foodways were like in Cuba. At first I was timid to talk about Cuba and urban agriculture, and I did not tell people whom I knew to be hardlining embargo supporters about my 2008 trip discussed in Chapter Five. Later I learned that a little instigation (and it only takes a little) brought a wealth of discourse.

Ralph, 46, and I discussed urban agriculture in Cuba during a group discussion with two other participants from Coral Gables. Below is an exchange between Ralph and me concerning Cuban urban agriculture. Some of Ralph's dialogue has been translated from Spanish.

Ralph: My friend is in a agriculture class at [a college]. They just learned about "CUBAN ORGANIC FOOD" like it was some...uh... *achievement*.

Katy: Well, it *is* kind of an achievement. There's no place in the US with the amount of food that they grow in the city...

R: BECAUSE THEY DONT HAVE ANY! Of course they have to grow food in tires! You should have seen this liberal, nutcase textbook! They don't have any tractors or anything to do the work. They don't HAVE any food, they MUST grow it. If they don't grow it, they don't eat it. You can have anything you want here. You go to the grocery, and you can pick from apples or kiwi or baloney. They wait in line for 6 hours to get a cup of rice and some beans, and maybe a lemon.

K: But that lemon is organic? (I laugh to soften the comment.)

R: Yeah, you got it, the lemon is organic.

K: So we don't have urban agriculture here because we don't need it. Because everyone in Miami has enough access to good food? So urban ag and community gardens and such are for poorer communities, not the rest of Miami?

R: Right. Miami has no [food security] problems...

K: Meaning?

R: Everyone has enough to eat, we don't need to grow [plants] out of tires, and I don't see the fascination with this. How can you go to all the groceries, all the farmers markets, all the restaurants and tell me we have a problem with food here? It's ridiculous!

Propositional statements on capitalist and communist generated foodways:

11. Communism destroyed the culture of Cuba, especially Cuban cuisine.
12. There is more food in the US than in Cuba, but less time to spend preparing food.
13. Cuban food in Miami is very different than Cuban food in Cuba.
14. Cubans who immigrated at different times may eat differently, but to celebrate we all do a *caja china*.
15. Cubans grow their own food in Cuba because there is nothing to eat; we don't need to grow our own food like them because we have plenty to eat in Miami.

The Cuban Domain of Food and How it Deals with Alternative Foodways

Nine (16%) of the Freelist and Model Development respondents reported having gone to a farmers market in Miami. Of these nine, only two went once a month or more. During the discussion groups, four (20%) suggested that farmers markets were inferior to supermarkets because 1) they are just not as convenient as supermarkets, and 2) they are not as clean. “That food sits outside all day, you don't know how long its been there or if it is fresh, and there are flies buzzing around,” says Maria of Kendall.

On the other hand, four (20%) informants during discussion groups suggested that farmers market and *frutero* produce might be better than supermarket food because: “It might be fresher. These fruits go straight from the farm to the vendor. Supermarkets probably store the food longer... I always buy from the *frutero*,” says Diana of Hialeah, “because it's definitely fresher than the grocery.”

Four informants who were all under the age of 35 (two were second generation, two were first generation) claimed that food in the US is indeed unhealthy because of chemical additives during production and preparation. They say that home prepared food is safer, and that home grown food would be safer than buying from the grocery. However, none of these four thought this was a viable option for people in Miami because there is not enough time and space to permit growing food at home.

Results up to this point indicated that Miami Cubans are relatively unknowledgeable about alternative foodways. New Cubans had experience of local food projects in Cuba but not Miami. The only way to discover how Cuban's cultural models dealt with alternative foodways was to define what an alternative foodway is. The final portion of the interview involved asking participants a hypothetical question about putting a community garden and edible landscaping in their neighborhood, and asking if people in the community would be supportive or not of the project (see Appendix 1 for full interview schedule). Community gardens were thought to be unneeded in most communities. As Marlen, 46, of Coral Gables explains:

It might be a good idea, but not in my neighborhood. I think there are regulations against something like that, but I can see how it would be community-building... My kids have a school garden and the kids seem to love that. But in my community, no.

Ralph, who was in the discussion group with Marlen, becomes outraged again:

Are you trying to write a dissertation or plant a bunch of gardens? Look, I know about this from a city-planning perspective. This is not going to work. The trees would be a mess. People wouldn't know how to take care of the plants, there would be rotten fruit everywhere... No way. We have planted landscaping in Little Havana, and that is enough. It's so hot here, you have to put in heat and drought-resistant things. It just would not work.”

Edible landscaping was not approved by anyone. They thought that it would dirty the streets, that people would not eat from it anyway, and that it might even attract vagrants to the area. Cookie from Hialeah says:

You don't really know what it is like in Hialeah. I'm sure people would steal from the garden... kids, just to be mean. And who would want to live next to the garden? You'd probably wake up with a bum on your doorstep eating a mango. You know, you see the homeless on South Beach selling the coconuts that fall [from the palm trees onto the ground]. Who would want that garden next to their house? I'm sure it would attract bums. And can you imagine [in Coral Gables] people walking up and down Ponce de Leon [a high end boutique area] picking avocados?!

However, all four discussion groups agreed that community gardens and edible landscaping would be good for low income areas of Miami. None of the participants believed their respective community to be low-income enough to warrant such measures.

Propositional Statements on Alternative Foodways:

16. Supermarkets are cleaner than farmers markets and *fruter*os.

17. Farmers markets are less convenient than supermarkets.

18. Fruits and vegetables at farmers markets are healthier than the same foods from a supermarket.

19. The healthiest food is from a home garden.

20. Miami needs more community gardens, farmers markets, and local food projects.

21. Growing fruit trees and vegetable plants in public areas is a bad idea because the plants are messy.

22. Community gardens in neighborhoods are a bad idea; bums might start hanging around to get the food.

23. Poor neighborhoods need community gardens because they do not have enough money to buy good food.

Conclusion

Freelisting results indicate that there was a high degree of sharing within the cultural domain of food. There was a high degree of salience on many of the terms listed. Half of the terms were mentioned by 50 percent or more of the sample. Black beans and rice was listed by 100 percent (n=35) of the informants! There are more meat-based items on the free list than produce items, and there are more fruits than vegetables. Even in the early stages of consensus analysis, it appears that the topics of interest in this research, politics and health, are relevant dimensions in Cubans' domain of food. Political beliefs and anti-Castro/communism values filter into the domain of food. Eating at Versailles is not just for authentic Cuban food, but to express authenticity as an embargo hardliner and/or having Golden Generation exile identity. Eating Cuban food is a crucial element to express and maintain Cuban identity in general. Furthermore, it is important to eat pre-revolution foods, like meat (especially beef) and proper Cuban coffee.

Model development demonstrates that health is also a prominent dimension in the domain of food. The propositional statements highlight particular dimension of food relevant in today's atmosphere of growing food concerns: healthy eating and alternative foodways. Pile sorts suggest that health and Cuban-ness are attributes which construct and order the cultural model of

food. The pile sort of foodway terms also suggests that health is a pertinent domain. The major organizational dimension appears to be foods that are prepared at home versus foods that are eaten outside the home (i.e., “dining out”). Discourse analysis reveals that foods prepared (or grown) at home are perceived as healthier than foods procured at restaurants or that are pre-made. Therefore, the foodway pilesort again supports the pertinence of health to the domain of food. Since Cubans had very little knowledge of alternative foodways in Miami, methods had to be adapted to account for how the Cuban cultural model(s) of food deals with alternative foodways.

The propositional statements are not an attempt to present all of the knowledge that Cubans have about food, eating, cooking, and foodways. The purpose is to present some of the core things that Cubans must know in order to negotiate the food options of Miami foodways. The propositional statements created from freelist data and model development include pertinent dimensions such as: Cuban-ness and social cohesion, healthfulness, and communism versus capitalism. Propositional statements concerning alternative foodways were added in order to explore how diverse subgroups of Cubans use cultural knowledge to deal with this foodway option. In the next chapter, the generated propositional statements are used to measure the degree of sharing, or consensus, among diverse groups of Cubans.

CHAPTER 9:

DISTRIBUTION OF CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE IN THE DOMAIN OF FOOD

In the previous chapter, the cultural domain of food and foodways was explored and elements were presented in the form of propositional statements. This chapter explores the variation in knowledge within the domain of food and foodways among Cubans, specifically, how factors that contribute to the purported heterogeneity of the Cuban diaspora (immigration wave, generation, political values) may also contribute to the distribution of cultural knowledge about food. The chapter explores how involvement with alternative foodways in Cuba and Miami influences the meaning of food. Even though knowledge is not the same as behavior, different knowledge constructs contribute to the food choices and the places that people go to procure food (i.e., supermarkets, farmers markets, or home garden). The next chapter deals with the relationship of knowledge, behavior, and body size.

Eighty-eight Cubans were asked to agree or disagree on the 23 propositional statements discussed in the previous chapter. Agree/disagree results were analyzed using cultural consensus analysis in Anthropac 2.0 (Borgatti 1992a). Participants were also asked to complete an ethnographic interview (See Appendix 1: Consensus Analysis Interview Schedule) which included questions about demographics, immigration history, and political values. The ethnographic interview also included extensive multiple choice, Likert scale, and open-ended questions about food-related behaviors and values as well as health outcomes. Participants'

answers to these questions will be explored in greater detail in the next chapter. However, involvement with alternative foodways is a relevant variable for this chapter, and is discussed below, along with the other variables used to explore variation in cultural knowledge about food and foodways.

The predictions tested in this chapter are:

1. Diverse groups of Miami Cubans will draw from more than one model in the cultural domain of food and foodways.
- 2a. Involvement with alternative foodways will contribute to the distribution of knowledge, and
- 2b. Difference in knowledge will be specifically reflected in the dimension of healthfulness.
3. Political values will contribute to the distribution of cultural knowledge about food.

The variables of interest concerning cultural knowledge distribution about food are alternative foodway experience and political values (represented by a cluster of variables: immigration wave, generation, embargo support, and political affiliation). However, demographics including age, education, SES, gender, and ethnicity may also contribute to variation in cultural knowledge. These demographics will be used as covariates when examining cultural knowledge distribution.

Sample Characteristics

Demographics

The sample (n=88) age was normally distributed, ranging from 19-71 years of age, with a mean age of 40 years (sd = 12). The sample was well educated. Only eleven (13%) participants

had not finished high school. Nearly half of the sample (47%, n=42) had attended at least some college. Table 9.1 presents the distribution of the continuous demographic variables discussed above.

Table 9.1: Distribution of continuous demographic variables

	Mean (n = 88)	Std Dev.
Years of Age	39.8	11.8
Years of Education	14	2.7
SES	4	2

Table 9.2: Distribution of categorical demographic variables

		%	n
SES	Low (0-2)	33	29
	Middle (3-6)	53	47
	High (7-9)	14	12
Gender			
	Male	53	47
	Female	47	41
Ethnicity			
	Euro	76	67
	Afro	24	21

SES was calculated as a numeric score for each participant based on education level, occupation, and neighborhood. Scores ranged from 0-9, with a mean of four (sd = 2), skewed slightly towards lower income respondents (see Table 9.1 for continuous variable, and Table 9.2 for categorical SES variable distribution). Gender was evenly distributed across the sample. Euro-Cubans represent 76 percent (n=67) of the sample, and Afro-Cubans represent 24 percent (n=21). The sample is representative of Miami demographics since the majority of Cubans

identify as European-descended. Table 9.2 presents the distribution of the categorical variables discussed above.

Immigration Wave and Generation

The immigration waves of the Golden Generation and New Cubans are slightly more represented than Marielitos. Although approximately 125,000 Cubans arrived during the Mariel (Portes and Clark 1987), the immigration wave lasted only six months and makes up only a small proportion of the nearly 1 million Cuban Americans in the US. First generation Cubans slightly outnumber second generation Cubans. Table 9.3 presents the distribution of immigration waves and generations across the sample.

Table 9.3: Distribution of immigration wave and generations

		%	n
Immigration Wave	Golden	38	33
	Mariel	26	23
	New	36	32
<hr/>			
Generation	1st	58	51
	2nd	42	37

Political Values

Reflecting Miami Cuban trends, the sample is more heavily Republican. The sample was over half Republican (56%, n=49); 22 percent (n=19) were Democrats. Twenty-three percent (n=20) did not know or had a different political affiliation. One would expect there to be a high degree of collinearity between the variables of immigration wave and generation with political affiliation and embargo support. However, there was no significant relationship between generation and being a Democrat or Republican ($\chi^2(1) = .568$, n.s.). There is an insignificant

relationship between generation and embargo support and ($\chi^2(1)= 1.028, p= n.s.$). Immigration wave was collapsed into a dichotomous variable of exile (Golden Generation and Marielito) and New Cuban. Previous research on the Cuban diaspora supports that Golden Generation and Mariel Cubans have similar political values (Bishin et al. 2009; Eckstein 2009b; Grenier et al. 2007; Haney and Vanderbush 2005; Perez-Lopez 2004). Immigration wave is not significantly associated with political affiliation ($\chi^2(1)= 2.179, n.s.$) or embargo support ($\chi^2(1)= 1.124, n.s.$). Finally, there was no relationship between political affiliation and embargo support ($\chi^2(1)=1.274, n.s.$). These variables, and the lack of relationship between them, will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

Table 9.4: Distribution of political values

		%	n
Political Party Affiliation	Rep	56	49
	Dem.	22	19
	Other	23	20
<hr/>			
Embargo	Pro	73	64
	Anti	27	24

Alternative Foodway Experience

Half (51%) of the sample had experience with alternative foodways. (See Table 9.5)

Table 9.5: Distribution of alternative foodway experience in sample

Alternative Experience	%	n
Yes	51	45
No	49	43

First generation Cubans were also asked about their involvement with local food projects in Cuba. One hundred percent (n=29) of first generation New Cubans had had experience with alternative foodways in Cuba, only two Marielitos had been involved with alternative foodways in Cuba, and none of the Golden Generation had experienced alternative foodways in Cuba. This was unsurprising given the history of agricultural reform in post-revolution Cuba. During the early days of the revolution, younger citizens were called upon for mandatory farm labor (Pérez-Stable 1999; Rosendahl 1997; Saney 2004). Though the practice was reportedly common, none of the Golden Generation admitted to having been involved in forced farm labor. While large-scale agricultural reforms have occurred throughout Castro's reign (including land redistribution in the 1960s, and re-privatization of farms in the past two decades), urban farming, community gardening, and local food projects became widespread only after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent food crisis (Altieri et al. 1999; Rosendahl 1997).

Cuban alternative foodways and the US versions are qualitatively and quantitatively different. First, Cuban alternative foodways arose as a necessity to battle dangerous food shortages spawned by the Soviet collapse (Altieri et al. 1999; Rosset and Bourque 2002). Alternative foodways in the US have re-emerged in the past decade as a part of two different movements: 1) food justice activism (Jarosz 2000; 2008; Winter 2003), and 2) environmental and health consciousness (Kloppenburger et al. 2000). The former targets low income, urban areas with very few fresh food options (food deserts) (Raja, Ma and Yadav 2008), while the latter tends to be marketed towards middle to high SES consumers (Kloppenburger et al. 2000).

For this group, local, sustainable products allow consumers to express their “being green,” to gain purported health benefits, and to conspicuously consume higher-priced, specialty items (Guthman 2003; Jarosz 2008; Kloppenburg et al. 2000; Miele and Murdoch 2002; Trubeck 2005).

Second, local, sustainable agricultural production outweighs industrial farming in Cuba. Because of Cuba's embargo-promoted isolation from the world-market, many items must be locally produced (Ritter 2004; Rosendahl 1997; Rosset and Bourque 2002; Scarpaci, Segre and Coyula 2002). Almost all of Cuba's fruit and vegetables are produced in Cuba, in small scale farms, with little petroleum input (Altieri et al. 1999; Franco et al. 2007; Rosset and Bourque 2002). Oppositely, alternative foodways are but a small contribution to the US foodshed (Nestle 2002; Pollan 2006; Shiva 2000). Especially in Miami, alternative foodways are only an emerging trend.

Alternative foodway experience in Cuba did not predict participation in US alternative foodways. In fact, only four New Cubans participated in alternative foodways in Miami, demonstrating that those with Cuban alternative foodway experience are *less* likely to participate in alternative foodways in the US ($\chi^2(1)= 12.691, p<.05$). The motivating force for many New Cubans to leave was because of the Special Period food scarcity (Grenier et al. 2007; Hernandez-Reguant 2009; Rosendahl 1997). Since the food scarcity prompted the re-invention of local foodways like urban agriculture and small-scale farming, it seems logical that New Cubans who left to escape food instability would not want to be involved in alternative foodways in the US. In other words, the argument would be that New Cubans want to take advantage of well-stocked supermarkets, fast food, and prepared foods—things that they did not have in Cuba. However,

while New Cubans certainly take advantage of these conventional foodways, it does not appear that they are *opposed* to alternative foodways. For example, Luis, a recent arrival, preferred fresh, home-grown produce. He simply did not have time to grow or cook food since he was working to establish himself in a new country. Other New Cuban key informants (n=3) also reminisced about fruit in Cuba, mentioning that the chemical-free growing techniques in Cuba made food taste better. The lack of participation in US alternative foodways by New Cubans appears to have more to do with structural constraints than reflecting a lack of motivation or desire to be involved. Chapter Ten returns to the topic of New Cubans and alternative food experience in the US and Cuba.

The 23 agree/disagree statements are examined using consensus analysis in the remainder of the chapter. The variables discussed above (demographics, immigration history, political values, and alternative foodway involvement) are explored, along with the distribution of cultural knowledge about food and foodways among Cubans in Miami.

Knowledge Variation in the Cultural Domain of Food Among Diverse Cubans

Hypothesis One: It is predicted that more than one model in the cultural domain of food and foodways will exist among the diverse groups of Miami Cubans.

Consensus analysis was run using the formal process model (Romney, Weller, and Batchelder 1986) in which each answer accommodated a single phrase (I agree/do not agree). When consensus analysis is run on the entire sample (n=88) using the 23 agree/disagree statements, results indicate that there is a high degree of agreement among participants and a normal distribution of cultural knowledge.

The eigenvalue ratio of factor 1 and factor 2 are well over the cut-off of 3 (ratio = 5.73), and we can thus assume that participants are drawing from the same or similar cultural models (see Table 9.6).

Table 9.6: Consensus analysis of total sample

(n=88)	23 statements
Factor 1	47.25
Factor 2	8.24
Ratio	5.73
Mean knowledge (Sd)	0.67 (0.17)

Consensus analysis can be analyzed using the match or covariance methods. The match method assumes that there is no response bias, as in, people are not just guessing their answers. The covariance method assumes that only fifty percent of the answers are “real” and without bias. Romney (1999) advocates using both methods and comparing to see if the match is really inflated; if so there is probably a bias and the covariance method should be used. Consensus analysis was run using both methods, and the results do not differ. The cultural answer key generated by Anthropac 4.0 indicates that informants with the most cultural knowledge answer “agree” to all of the statements.

Table 9.7 presents the statements and indicates the percentage that the sample (n=88) agreed on each statement. Propositional statements relating to Cuban-ness and Social Cohesion are virtually uncontested. One hundred percent (n=88) agree on which foods are considered to be American foods. Complementing narrative analysis on exile and immigration experiences, consensus analysis answers indicates that eating Cuban food is an important part of expressing Cuban identity.

Answers to propositional statements of healthfulness indicate a more mixed response. Only 60 percent agree that (6) Cuban food gives the body a desirable form. Since most (85%) agree that Cuban food makes one gain weight, it can be assumed that the 40 percent who do not think that Cuban food gives the body a desirable form also do not value larger bodies over thinner ones. Ethnographic interviewing and participant observation indicate that more voluptuous bodies are valued among Cubans, compared to thin Anglo ideals. Therefore, since it is believed that Cuban food increases weight, and since rounder bodies are preferred, it is logical that many participants would agree that Cuban food gives the body desirable form. However, some groups of Cubans desire to lose weight. Women (n=14) of varied SES backgrounds, immigration waves, and neighborhoods indicated that eating too much Cuban food would make one unattractively overweight. Three men discussed that they had reduced “Cuban food” intake for health reasons including cardiovascular disease and obesity.

Fifty-four percent agree that (10) fruits, vegetables, and meats produced in the US have chemicals in them that are unhealthy. Despite few alternative foodway options in Miami, it appears that many respondents are wary of industrial food production techniques.

Propositional statement answers relating to capitalist Miami versus communist Cuba indicate that there is a perceived qualitative and quantitative difference between Cuba and Miami food culture. When discussing comparisons between Cuba and Miami in general, exiles often point out that Miami is what Cuba would have been had Castro not become dictator. Invoking images of Havana streets full of pattering, forty year old automobiles, exiles point out that Cuba has been frozen developmentally since the revolution.

Table 9.7: Distribution of agreement on cultural model of food statements

% Agree	Propositional statements relating to Cuban-ness and social cohesion:
94	1. Eating Cuban food is one of the best ways to express being Cuban in Miami.
95	2. Every good Cuban family should eat together on Sunday and serve authentic Cuban food.
86	3. It is important to eat Cuban food, because, without it, we lose part of our culture.
100	4. Sandwiches, fast food, cereal, steak, pasta, and pizza are American foods.
93	5. The patrons of Versailles restaurant are usually pro-embargo.
	Propositional statements of healthfulness:
60	6. Cuban food gives the body a desirable form.
85	7. Cuban food has both healthy and unhealthy dishes, but for the most part, eating Cuban food all the time will make one gain weight.
99	8. <i>Pastelitos</i> , Cuban sandwiches, <i>croquetas</i> , fast food, and pizza are unhealthy foods.
94	9. Home-cooked food is healthier than restaurant food.
54	10. Fruits vegetables and meats produced in the US have chemicals in them that are unhealthy.
	Propositional statements on capitalist versus communist:
54	11. Communism destroyed the culture of Cuba, especially Cuban cuisine.
90	12. There is more food in the US than in Cuba, but less time to spend preparing food.
93	13. Cuban food in Miami is very different than Cuban food in Cuba.
95	14. Cubans who immigrated at different times may eat differently, but to celebrate we all do a <i>caja china</i> .
72	15. Cubans grow their own food in Cuba because there is nothing to eat; we don't need to grow our own food like them because we have plenty to eat in Miami.
	Propositional statements on alternative foodways:
66	16. Supermarkets are cleaner than farmers markets and <i>fruterios</i> .
74	17. Farmers markets are less convenient than supermarkets
52	18. Fruits and vegetables at farmers markets are healthier than the same foods from a supermarket.
93	19. The healthiest food is from a home garden.
52	20. Miami needs more community gardens, farmers markets, and local food projects.
77	21. Growing fruit trees and vegetable plants in public areas is a bad idea because the plants are messy.
66	22. Community gardens in neighborhoods are a bad idea; bums might start hanging around to get the food.
83	23. Poor neighborhoods need community gardens because they do not have enough money to buy good food.

Ninety percent of the sample agrees with (12) there is more food in Miami than in Cuba, but less time to spend preparing it. New Cubans encounter tremendously more food options in Miami compared to Cuba, and most of them are struggling to make ends meet as new immigrants working at low-level, long-hour jobs. A common complaint among New Cubans is that they haven't had time to enjoy much of anything that Miami offers because they are working all of the time. Exiles have the perception that communism breeds apathy and laziness. They often point out that New Cubans have no work ethic, assuming that they did not have to work very hard in Cuba and received food rations whether they worked or not. Having been to Cuba, I contend that if people have more time to have meals in Cuba compared to Miami, it has more to do with culture than workload. Cuban Nationals are not sitting around waiting for (paltry) food rations. They are actively working within (and outside) the system to achieve a higher standard of living.

Cuba, along with countries such as Spain, France, and Italy have much longer, structured meals than are typical in American culture. Though Miami has been influenced by foreign residents' customs more so than perhaps any other American city, the importance of longer, structured mealtimes has not been maintained. Most people work through their lunch, eat on the run, and spend comparatively little time preparing meals.

Fifty four percent agree that (11) communism destroyed the culture of Cuba, especially Cuban cuisine. First generation New Cubans were significantly more likely to disagree with this statement than the rest of the sample ($\chi^2(1) = 4.91, p < .05$). Seventy-seven percent (n=24) of New Cubans (n=31) disagreed with this statement compared to 28 percent (n=16) of the rest of the sample (n=57). The mantra that communism destroys culture is often repeated by exiles.

Many have not been to the island in over 40 years, if ever, and do not know of the rich popular culture of music, art, and literature that has flourished even under a restrictive government.

Conversely, more recent arrivals, many of whom may not know Pre-Castro Cuba, would not agree that Cuba has lost culture. A New Cuban informant, who was a chef in Cuba, described how food had actually evolved just as much, if not more, than in Miami. He contends that since there may be fewer ingredients available in Cuba compared to the Miami kitchen, Cuban chefs have had to hone and develop their cooking skills even more than their US counterparts.

The *caja china* pork roast is a symbol of Cuban-ness that translates across all groups of Cubans in Miami. Though black beans and rice is the staple Cuban dish, there are variations in preparation across different groups. For example, Miami-style is said to be heavier on beans with less rice, while the Cuban-style is said to be mainly rice, with just a few beans. Raul, a Golden Generation key informant, describes how the *caja china* is a unifying part of *cubanidad*:

Imagine, [*balseiros*] knew how to make a boat out of frigidaire, and some [tire] inner tubes... I tell you, they can make the best *caja chinas*. They know how to "...” rig things.

Most agree (72%) that (15) the local food movement in Cuba was a necessity to combat the food crisis, and that in Miami similar projects are unnecessary due to the (perceived) adequate food supply. The 28 percent (n=25) who disagreed had been to college or had a low SES.

Colleges in Miami are leaders in the alternative foodway movement, hosting farmers markets, offering sustainable agriculture courses, and sponsoring community gardens on and off campus. These projects indicate a social consciousness of poverty and food deserts.

Thus, those who have knowledge of food deserts in Miami, and those who have personally experienced difficulty in finding produce (i.e., those with very low SES) are probably more likely to be aware of a need for more foodway options in Miami.

The propositional statements referring to alternative foodways had the least agreement, although the lowest agreement was still (18) was still 52 percent. The alternative foodway movement is a new concept in Miami, and cultural knowledge is likely still “under construction.” Examining who has more or less cultural knowledge regarding alternative foodways will be informative to the growing movements' supporters.

While most (66%) agree that supermarkets are cleaner than farmers markets and *fruterros*, some contend that supermarkets are dirtier than farmers markets and *fruterros* because, even though the surface appears clean, chemicals and pesticides are regularly used to control for bugs. Charla, 29, from Hialeah, explains that she would rather eat at an open-air restaurant where the kitchen is visible and exposed to the elements, because “you can see what's going in your food.” She admits that there are flies that probably land on the food in farmers markets and *fruterros*, “but you can see them. What's scary is what [the customer] can't see... the back rooms full of roaches... the [pesticides] they spray every night.” Seventy-four percent of respondents say that (17) supermarkets are more convenient than farmers markets. Even people who go to farmers markets claim that they are not very convenient because parking is usually harder, there are no shopping carts, and specific items may not be available every week.

Despite the spotty alternative foodway availability, there is 93 percent agreement that (19) food grown from a home garden is the healthiest kind of food. This reveals that, even in the absence of large-scale alternative foodway infrastructure, Cubans in Miami possess similar

ideology about the health and safety of locally grown food. However, it is also possible that some of the participants were responding to the food groups available from a home garden rather than drawing from any shared knowledge about alternative foodways. One cannot grow chips, sodas, and fast food in a home garden, so it is logical that vegetables and fruits (what you can grow in a garden) are healthy.

Eighty-three percent agree that (23) community gardens are for poorer neighborhoods. (20) Miami needs more community gardens, farmers markets, and local food projects, according to 64 percent of the participants. However, these projects had better not be in public areas since 80 percent of participants claim that (21) this would be messy and unsightly. Most (66%) agree that (22) community gardens might be a bad thing for neighborhoods because they may attract vagrants. Even though local food projects may be valued as an idea, it will likely prove difficult to sell Cubans on the actual establishment of such projects.

Cultural competence scores are slightly skewed towards more knowledgeable scores, however the second factor loadings appear to be bimodal (see Figure 9.1). The near unanimous agreement on eleven of the 23 statements indicates the following: 1) Cultural knowledge on food is highly shared. 2) The high degree of agreement and high cultural competence scores are important, especially in regard to the claim that Cubans are an increasingly heterogeneous group. Overall, the knowledge and cultural values regarding food and foodways appear to be highly shared. 3) The variation in the cultural knowledge does not seem to be happening along the competence loadings. Instead, the second factor, which represents residual agreement, appears to be where the variation among groups is happening.

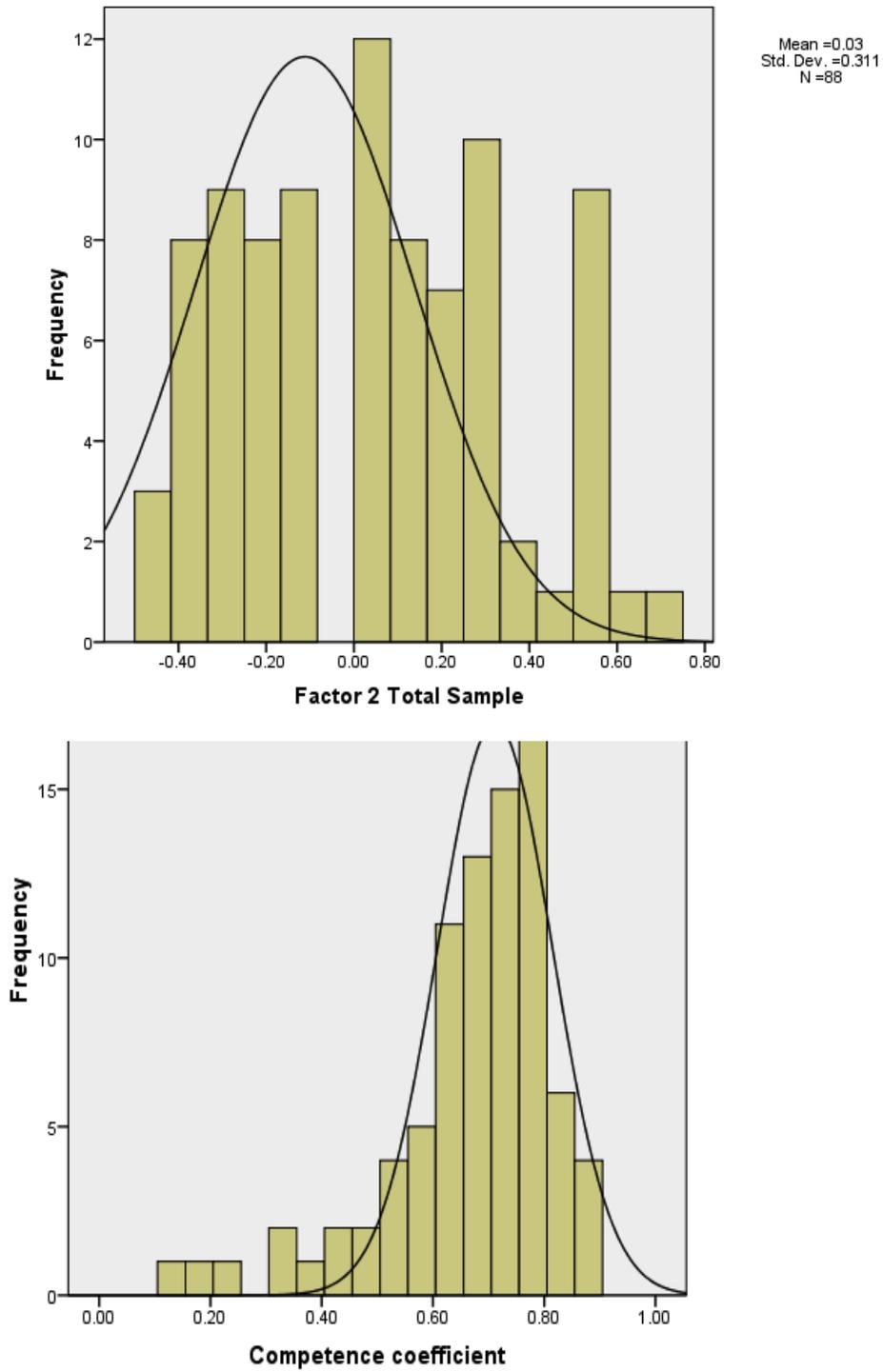


Figure 9.1: Distributions of residual agreement and competence on propositional statements

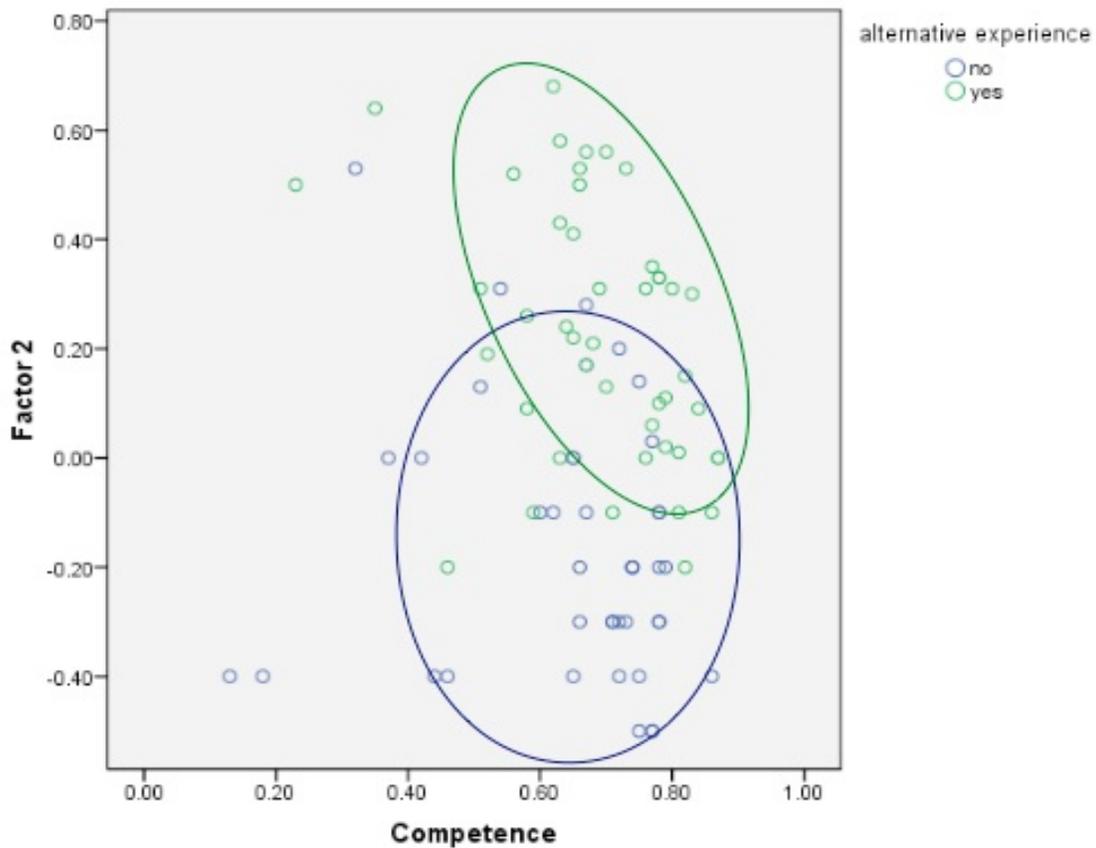


Figure 9.2: Scatterplot of participants' knowledge scores highlighting participants with versus without alternative foodway experience

Cultural competence coefficients represent how well each respondent “knows” the shared understanding within the domain. Ross (2004) suggests that the analysis of residual agreement can provide a measure of sharing that is left over after consensus is accounted for. Figure 9.2 is a graphical representation of participants' knowledge scores plotted against the second factor values of consensus analysis. Blue circles indicate participants without alternative foodway experience. Green highlighting indicates participants with alternative foodway experience.

Hypotheses Two and Three: predicting the distribution of cultural knowledge in the food model

This section explores the variables which contribute to the distribution of cultural knowledge. It was predicted that the (2a) degree of experience with alternative foodways would be associated with cultural knowledge in the model of food, and it was also that (3) political values would contribute to the variation in cultural knowledge about food. The relationship is explored using bivariate correlations and multivariate regression analysis. Covariates include age, gender, education, SES, ethnicity, immigration wave and generation.

Table 9.8: Bivariate correlations of covariates and residual agreement

	age	edu	ses	gender	ethnic	gen	wave	embarg	politic	alt exp
edu	.052	1								
ses	.171	.564**	1							
gender	.027	-.112	-.101	1						
ethnic	.007	-.126	-.220*	.256*	1					
gen	-.410**	-.045	.015	-.127	-.045	1				
wave	-.289**	-.047	-.148	.090	.020	-.548**	1			
embarg	-.130	.247*	.067	.163	.076	-.108	.174	1		
politic	-.256*	.302**	.057	.212*	.185	-.084	.259*	0.31**	1	
alt exp	-.202	.172	.068	-.047	.014	-.365**	.644**	.088	.208	1
Factor2	-.090	.558**	.272*	.013	.092	-.156	.278**	-.002	.248*	.643**

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
 * . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Education years (edu) and SES scores, and the second factor (Factor2) were converted to z-scores. Dichotomous variables were coded as follows: Gender (0=female; 1=male); ethnicity (ethnic) (0=Euro-Cuban; 1=Afro-Cuban); generation (gen) (0=first; 1=second); immigration wave (wave) (0=exiles (golden generation and Mariel Cubans); 1=New Cuban); alternative

foodway experience (alt exp) (0=no experience; 1=yes) embargo support (embarg) (0=support; 1=oppose); political affiliation (politic) (0=republican; 1=not republican). Bivariate Pearson correlation for the independent and dependent variables are shown in Table 9.8.

There is a strong correlation between SES and education ($r = .56$; $p < .01$). Those with higher SES have more education. This is unsurprising given that educational attainment was one of the criteria for SES score. Ethnicity and SES also have a mild correlation ($r = -.22$; $p < .05$). Euro-Cubans tend to have a higher SES than Afro-Cubans. There is a mild correlation ($r = .26$; $p < .05$) between ethnicity and gender. The sample has slightly more Afro-cuban males than females. This sampling issue actually makes the sample more representative. The first immigration waves were made up of families and Euro-Cubans (Grenier et al. 2007). New Cubans are more ethnically mixed (Eckstein 2009b). It has also been demonstrated that recent Cubans immigrants are more likely to be single men who work in the US to send remittance back to family in Cuba, as opposed to earlier waves that immigrated as family units (Eckstein 2009b).

Generation (gen) ($r = -.41$) and immigration wave (wave) ($r = -.29$) have a strong correlations ($p < .01$) with age. While there are young first generation New Cubans, all first generation exiles are at least in their late 40s. Exiles were also more likely to be first rather than second generation immigrants ($r = -.55$; $p < .01$). Older Cubans are also more likely to be republican ($r = -.26$; $p < .05$). Those with more education are more likely to oppose the embargo ($p < .05$). Males are less likely to be republican than females ($r = .21$; $p < .01$). Those with more education ($r = .30$; $p < .01$) are also less likely to be republican. Republicans are also more likely to support the embargo than non-republicans ($r = .31$; $p < .01$). As demonstrated by Bishin et al. (2009), New Cubans are increasingly less republican. Accordingly, in the sample, New Cubans

were less likely to be republican than exiles ($r = .26$; $p < .05$). Those who support the embargo are also likely to be republican ($r = .31$; $p < .01$).

Alternative foodway experience is strongly correlated with generation ($r = .37$; $p < .01$) and immigration wave ($r = .64$; $p < .01$). This relationship is due to all New Cubans in the sample having experienced alternative foodways in Cuba, and all New Cubans were first generation.

Residual agreement is correlated with several covariates, including, education ($r = .56$, $p < .01$), SES ($r = .27$, $p < .05$) and immigration wave. New Cubans of increased education and SES tend to have higher loadings on the second factor. As described previously in the setting discussion, a locus of the alternative foodway movement is on the college campus, therefore this likely explains why this variable is correlated with knowledge distribution. As predicted, both being non-republican ($r = .248$, $p < .05$) and having alternative foodway experience ($r = .643$, $p < .01$) are correlated with residual agreement. However, alternative experience has the strongest correlation of any other variable with residual agreement.

Multiple regression analyses were used to test the relationship between alternative foodway experience and political values on the dependent variable of cultural knowledge (in the form of residual agreement) in the model of food. Age, SES, gender, ethnicity, and immigration wave were used as controls. Immigration wave was included instead of generation because of the high collinearity and also because immigration wave has a correlation with the second factor. Each of the first five variables were entered into the first model, with the and alternative foodway experience entered to the second model. Embargo support was not included in the model because of its collinearity with political affiliation. The model regression analysis is presented in this way in order to show the development of the model with each additional variable. Table 9.9

shows the model summary, which includes the change in R^2 with the addition of the alternative foodway experience variable. The final model summary gives the variance explained even after controlling for the independent variables included in the regression model. All of the variables together explain sixty three percent of the variance in residual agreement.

Table 9.9: Model R^2 change with residual agreement as dependent variable

Model	R	R^2	Adjusted R^2	R^2 Change	F Change	Sig. F Change
1	.640	.410	.374	.410	11.399	.000
2	.794	.631	.604	.221	48.493	.000

1: (Constant), politic, ses, wave, age, education

2: (Constant), politic, ses, wave, age, education, alternative foodway experience

Table 9.10: Regression model development for residual agreement as dependent variable

Model		Coefficients		t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
		Unstandardized B	Standardized Beta			Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	-.895		-4.398	.000		
	age	-.002	-.081	-.889	.376	.858	1.165
	edu	.068	.582	5.344	.000	.607	1.647
	ses	.000	.002	.015	.988	.650	1.538
	wave	.185	.289	3.161	.002	.864	1.158
	politic	-.014	-.023	-.243	.809	.789	1.268
2	(Constant)	-.854		-5.271	.000		
	age	-.001	-.056	-.761	.449	.856	1.168
	edu	.055	.473	5.369	.000	.588	1.701
	ses	-.015	-.048	-.577	.565	.645	1.549
	wave	-.086	-.134	-1.419	.160	.508	1.967
	politic	-.003	-.004	-.057	.955	.788	1.269
	alt fdwy exp	.396	.641	6.964	.000	.538	1.859

Dependent Variable: Residual Agreement

The unstandardized and standardized regression coefficients for this regression model are listed in table 9.10, along with the t values and significance, and collinearity statistics. The development of the model, or the change in the coefficients with the addition of the alternative foodway variable, is also shown. Although bivariate correlations raise suspicion of collinearity

between several of the dependent variables, diagnostics indicate that tolerance values are above the cut-off ($>.10$). The variance inflation factors (VIF) are well below 10, indicating that the correlations between variables are not problematic enough to be considered collinear. In the first regression model includes only covariates of age, SES, immigration wave, and being republican or not. Education (beta= .582) and immigration wave (.289) have significant beta values ($p < .01$), but in the second model, alternative foodway (beta= .641, $p < .01$) takes on the variance of immigration wave (beta= -.134, $p > .05$). Education (beta= .473, $p < .01$) remains a significant predictor. Experience with alternatives does appear to influence the distribution of knowledge. Furthermore, political values (embargo support and political affiliation) do not appear to influence the distribution of cultural knowledge.

Education likely remains a significant predictor, because, as described previously, the campus is a locus of the alternative food movement.

Now that the variable which contributes most to the distribution of knowledge has been verified (alternative foodway experience), we move on to examining how the two groups (those with and without alternative foodway experience) differ in their pattern of answers. Table 9.11 compares the posterior probabilities of each answer to the actual frequencies of agreement on each statement between the two groups (without $n=43$ and with $n=45$ experience). The posterior probability of each statement is calculated in consensus analysis and contributes to the answer key calculation. Comparing the probability and the actual frequency of agreement enables us to identify where the two groups diverge in their answer patterns, thus revealing underlying differences in cultural knowledge. The information from Table 9.11 is presented in the next series of figures (see Figures 9.3: Cuban-ness and social cohesion, 9.4: health, 9.5: communism

vs. capitalism, and 9.6: alternative foodways) of bar graphs. The blue bars represent the no experience group, and the red bars represent the experience group. The green line represents the posterior probability of agreement for each question.

Within the first five questions there is not much variation in the probabilities or frequencies (see Table 9.11 and Figure 9.3), both groups appear to be in consensus about food and topics relating to Cubaness and social cohesion. The continuity in answer patterns starts to vary in the healthfulness section (See table 9.11 and figure 9.4). As predicted, the two groups are differing in terms of whether or not (10) produce and meat in the US has chemicals that are unhealthy. Only 30 percent of the non-experience group agrees with this statement, while the majority (77.8%) of the experience group agrees. The posterior probability is pulled in favor of the alternative food group's answers (see Table 9.11 and Figure 9.4). People who believe that food produced with chemicals (pesticides, preservatives, etc.) is unhealthy would be more motivated to seek out alternative foodways. This probably explains much of the disparity between the two groups. However, thirty percent of those who do not have experience with alternative foodways believe that there are unhealthy chemicals in our food. It is possible that this thirty percent is unable to participate in alternative foodways—representing that belief is not always congruent with behavior. As described by Marilyn (aged 32, from Hialeah, works two jobs and is a single mother), “I know there are dangerous chemicals [in our food in the US], but I don't have the time to [drive to an organic grocery store], and organic is always more expensive.” All participants were asked to describe their satisfaction with their dietary intake, and, if dissatisfied, to describe why. They were also asked to discuss what sorts of things prevented them from eating the way they wanted. Time was the factor most often listed.

Table 9.11: Posterior probabilities versus frequencies of agreement on propositional statements

	posterior probability of agreement (%)	frequency of agreement (%)	
		no alternative foodway experience (n=43)	alternative foodway experience (n=45)
Propositional statements relating to Cuban-ness and social cohesion:			
1. Eating Cuban food is one of the best ways to express being Cuban in Miami.	85.3	93.0	95.6
2. Every good Cuban family should eat together on Sunday and serve authentic Cuban food.	85.9	95.3	95.6
3. It is important to eat Cuban food, because, without it, we lose part of our culture.	79.0	86.0	86.7
4. Sandwiches, fast food, cereal, steak, pasta, and pizza are American foods.	88.0	100.0	100.0
5. The patrons of Versailles restaurant are usually pro-embargo.	85.3	90.7	95.6
Propositional statements of healthfulness:			
6. Cuban food gives the body a desirable form.	61.1	60.5	60.0
7. Cuban food has both healthy and unhealthy dishes, but for the most part, eating Cuban food all the time will make one gain weight.	80.3	76.7	93.3
8. <i>Pastelitos</i> , Cuban sandwiches, <i>croquettas</i> , fast food, and pizza are unhealthy foods.	87.3	100.0	97.8
9. Home-cooked food is healthier than restaurant food.	86.1	88.4	100.0
10. Fruits vegetables and meats produced in the US have chemicals in them that are unhealthy.	59.0	30.2	77.8

Table 9.11(continued)

	Posterior probability of agreement (%)	frequency of agreement (%)	
		no alternative foodway experience (n=43)	alternative foodway experience (n=45)
Communism versus Capitalism:			
11. Communism destroyed the culture of Cuba, especially Cuban cuisine.	58.5	69.8	40.0
12. There is more food in the US than in Cuba, but less time to spend preparing food.	84.0	86.0	93.3
13. Cuban food in Miami is very different than Cuban food in Cuba.	86.8	88.4	97.8
14. Cubans who immigrated at different times may eat differently, but to celebrate we all do a <i>caja china</i> .	86.2	90.7	100.0
15. Cubans grow their own food in Cuba because there is nothing to eat; we don't need to grow our own food like them because we have plenty to eat in Miami.	70.3	83.7	60.0
Alternative foodways			
16. Supermarkets are cleaner than farmers markets and <i>fruterios</i> .	64.0	79.1	53.3
17. Farmers markets are less convenient than supermarkets.	69.2	95.3	53.3
18. Fruits and vegetables at farmers markets are healthier than the same foods from a supermarket.	56.3	11.6	91.1
19. The healthiest food is from a home garden.	85.2	90.7	95.6
20. Miami needs more community gardens, farmers markets, and local food projects.	59.3	41.9	62.2
21. Growing fruit trees and vegetable plants in public areas is a bad idea because the plants are messy.	73.3	76.7	77.8
22. Community gardens in neighborhoods are a bad idea; bums might start hanging around to get the food.	64.8	65.1	66.7
23. Poor neighborhoods need community gardens because they do not have enough money to buy good food.	76.8	76.7	88.9

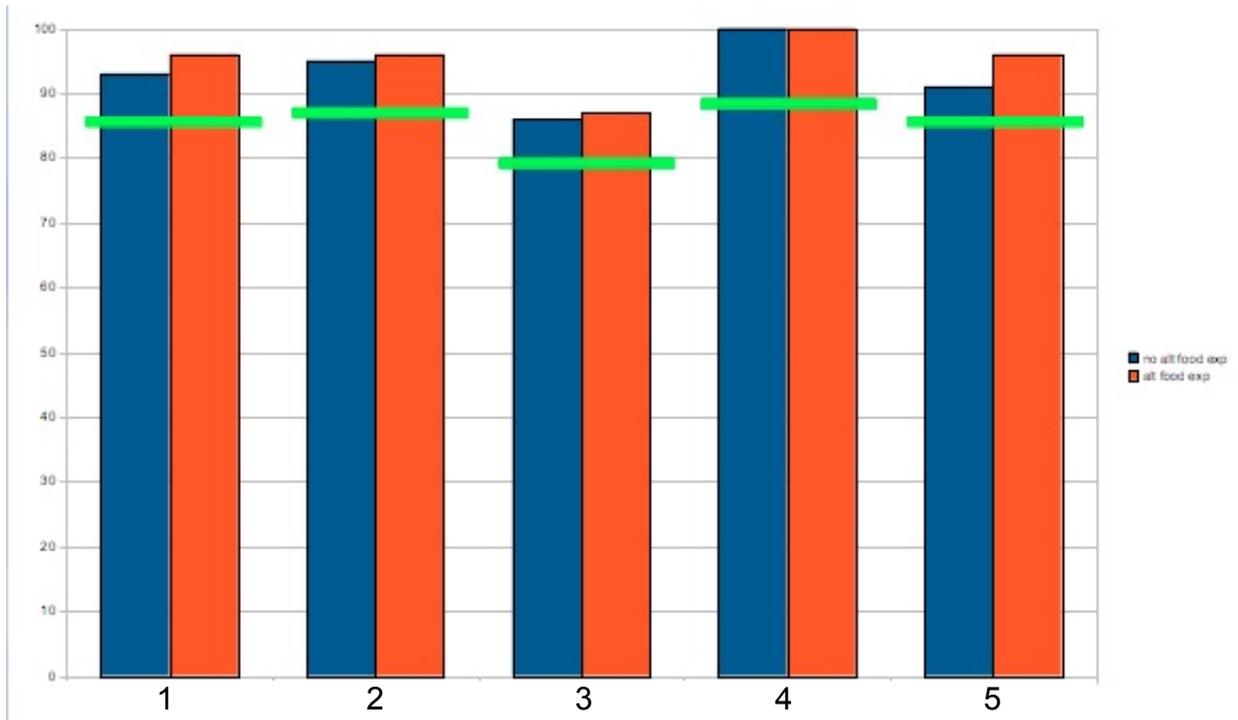
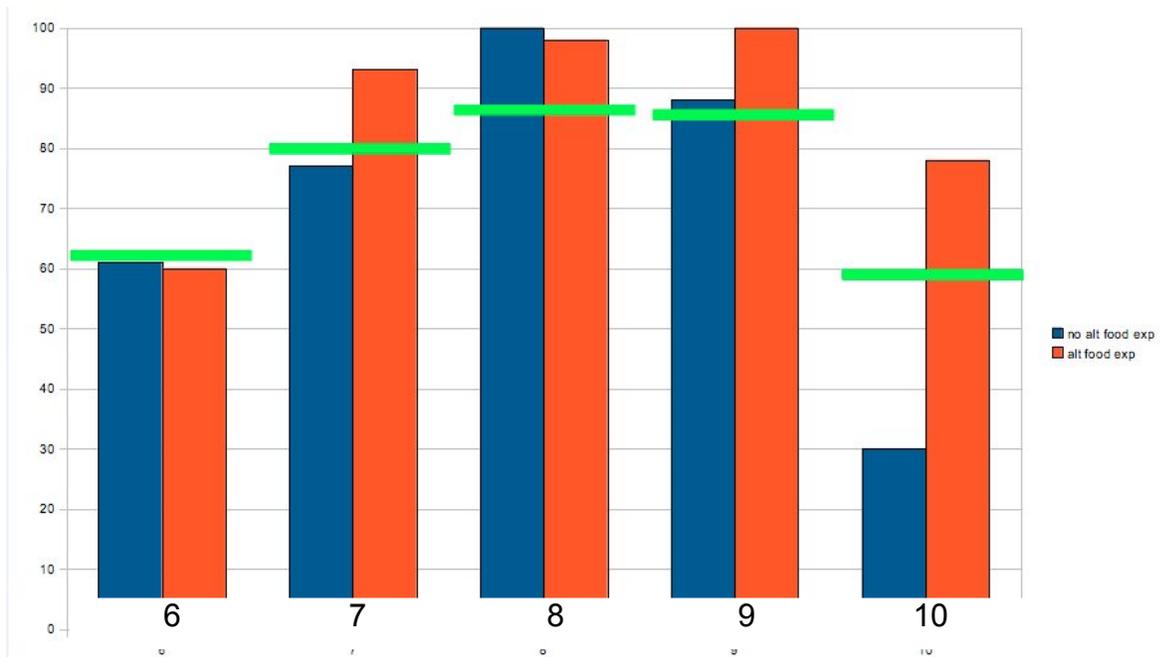


Figure 9.3: Frequencies of agreement: Cuban-ness and social cohesion



Figures 9.4: Frequencies of agreement: healthfulness

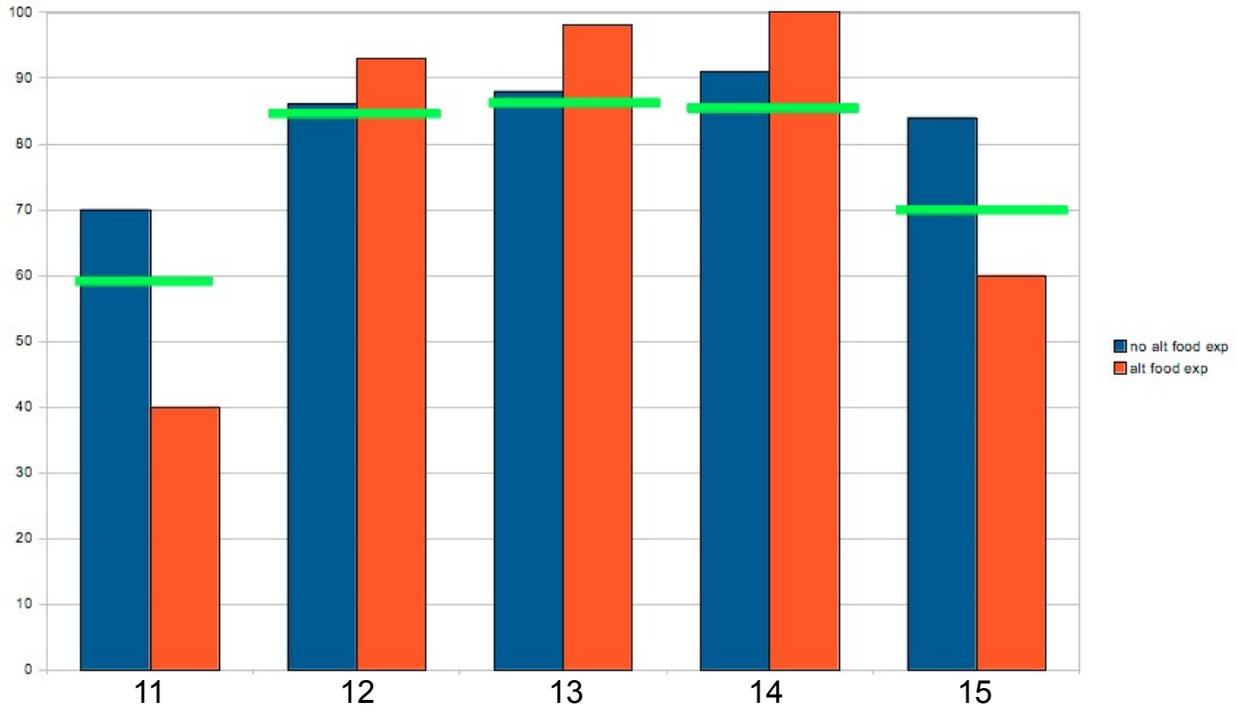


Figure 9.5: Frequencies of agreement: Capitalism versus Communism

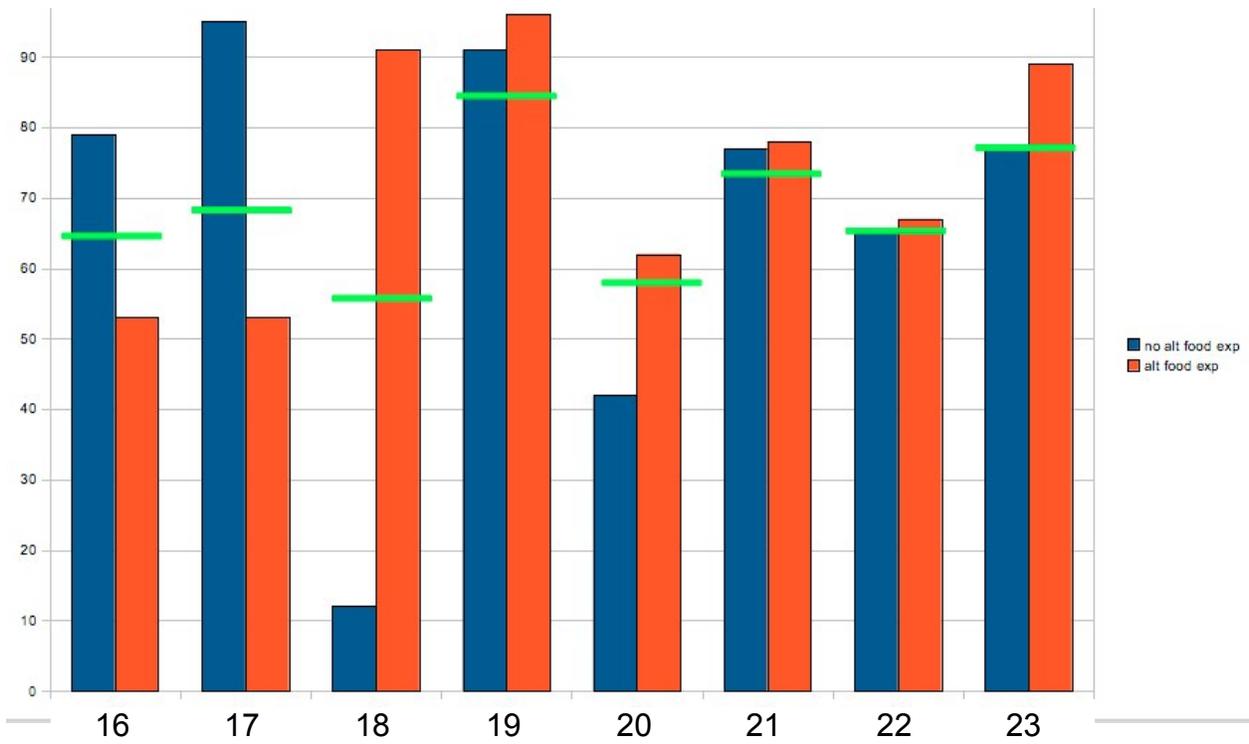


Figure 9.6: Frequencies of agreement: alternative foodways

Next, we see that those with experience are less likely to agree that (11) communism destroyed culture and on the last statement that Cubans grow their own food because there is nothing to eat, and that we don't need to grow food like that in Miami (see Table 9.11 and Figure 9.5). Different immigration waves contribute to the two groups incongruently. As discussed previously, 100 percent (n=29) of first generation New Cubans reported experience with alternative foodways in Cuba. The group with no experience in alternative foodways are made up of exiles (Golden Generation and Marieltos). The group with experience includes those of all immigration waves including first and second generation Cubans. Differing beliefs regarding the development (or squelching) of culture in communist Cuba is likely reflecting the different immigration waves' experiences of Cuba. Those with experience in alternative foodways (many of whom are New Cubans) disagree that communism destroyed Cuban culture, compared to the non-experience group (which is all Golden generation and Mariel exiles) agreed.

Eighty-four percent without experience believe that alternative foodways are necessary only in areas of food shortage, and that in Miami there is no problem with food security nor a need for alternative foodways. Comparatively, sixty percent of those with alternative experience agree that (15) Miami needs more farmers markets and local food projects. As described by Liz, a Florida International University student, whose parents had come during the Peter Pan flights:

Community gardens in Cuba are very different than from here. In Cuba they *have* to eat [from local food projects], here it is just... a hobby... You can't compare these two [experiences of alternative foodways], because they are just too different. You can't even compare Cuba and Miami, it's just completely different things.

Though alternative foodways may be scarce in Miami, Cubans in Miami have all heard of the alternatives to large-scale, industrial farming in post-Soviet Cuba. The values associated with

Cubans' sustainable farming practices are, however, very different among diverse subgroups of Miami Cubans. As indicated by the majority agreement across both groups, most Miami Cubans agree that alternative foodways in Cuba were a survival method rather than a forward-thinking production method. Alternatively, Cuban urban agriculture and local food practices have been celebrated within the local and sustainable food movement. Furthermore, agreeing with the statement also includes the assessment that Miami does not suffer from issues of food insecurity. Most Miami Cubans do not suffer from immediate food shortages, and their caloric demands are being met (and usually exceeded). However, some concur that there is more to food security than just meeting caloric needs. Angela, 52, Coral Gables, a regular farmers market customer, explains:

Not many people are starving in Miami, but [that's not to say] there's no problems... in Miami and America. We have food, but kids grow up never eating a vegetable. That's a problem. They are starving in a way, that's why they eat so much junk to make up for [the nutrients that they miss in their diet].

Both groups agree that supermarkets are cleaner (16 and 17) and more convenient than farmers markets and *fruterios*. Those involved with local, sustainable food movements value different things about foods than the mainstream. For example, if the goal is to select chemical-free food, then apples with a few marks and insect bites are much more appetizing than waxed, uniformly-shaped, cold storage apples on display at the supermarket. However, poor alternative foodway infrastructure and the tropical climate of Miami combine to make food from farmers market and the *frutero* questionable as far as freshness. First, since the farmers markets are usually under temporary tents with little shade, the sun starts to bake the items quickly. The *frutero* truck, open to the sun all day (as well as roadway debris and pollution), has a particular odor of catalytic converter-less exhaust mixed with decomposing fruit.

Having lived in Miami for two years, I can also attest that, even as a local food activist, going to a farmers market is particularly challenging in Miami's urban environment. I would agree with the informants that, in Miami, farmers markets are inconvenient. For people who live near a farmers markets location, walking is an option. Driving and parking (and paying for parking) are time consuming.

Both groups agree that even though Miami may need more local food projects, these projects would not be beneficial to neighborhoods since the food might attract vagrants. For a city that does not have food security problems, according to participants, at least some Miami residents must be hungry enough to be attracted to local food projects!

As described in Chapter Seven, there are a few well-known, successful local food projects in Miami. Roots in the City in Overtown, an urban farm at an alternative school for troubled youth also in Liberty City area, and several philanthropic endeavors address the issue of food deserts in the poorest areas of Miami. Couple this with the idea that Cuban alternative foodway development is seen as a last-ditch effort to avoid starvation, in the minds of Cubans in Miami alternative foodways are likely associated with poverty rather than an elite ideal.

To summarize, the hypothesis that Cubans would draw from more than one model of food was not supported. Although, the most contested statements regard the healthfulness dimension of food, further supporting hypothesis two.

Conclusion

Consensus analysis was used to investigate the cultural domain of food among Cubans in Miami. Participants agreed or disagreed to a list of propositional statements on food and foodways developed during the first phase of research. Consensus analysis was then used to

measure the degree to which cultural knowledge is shared and to assess knowledge variation. Three predictions were tested in this chapter.

1) It was not supported that there was more than one model of food operating in the domain of food among Cubans. Overall, the knowledge and cultural values regarding food and foodways appear to be highly shared, especially within the dimension of Cuban-ness and social cohesion.

2a) Multivariate regression analyses indicate that participation in alternative foodways best predicts the distribution of knowledge on residual agreement (the second factor in consensus analysis). 3) The prediction that political values would have a relationship with cultural competence in the food model was not supported. Alternative foodway experience and education are the strongest predictors of residual agreement within the cultural domain of food. 2b.) The two groups (those with versus without alternative foodway experience) differ most in their answer patterns on statements concerning the healthfulness dimension of food.

In conclusion, there was only one cultural model in the domain of food, but there was variation among Cubans in the distribution of cultural knowledge, and this does appear to be happening within subgroups who have and have not had experience with alternative foodways. Indeed, it was also supported that the difference in knowledge was reflected in the health dimensions. Political values did not emerge as a predictor of residual agreement, instead education and experience with alternatives account for most of the variance. This does not mean that the model of food is not influenced by politics, it just means the model was not sensitive to the two variables I used to represent political values. Ethnographic experience, and especially the propositional statements demonstrate that the Cuban model of food is imbued with a lot of

political sentiments. I did not ask people to tell me about politics, I asked people to talk about food, and all of this discourse about politics stemmed from there. The next chapter explores the ways these differences in knowledge may or may not become manifested in behaviors and body size.

CHAPTER 10:

CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE OF FOOD, EATING, AND BODY SIZE IN CUBAN MIAMI

This chapter further delves into the cultural domain of food in Cuban Miami. Previous chapters focused on the contents and organizational structure of the domain of food among Cubans, which coalesced in the list of propositional statements. Consensus analysis was used to identify the degree to which diverse groups of Cubans share this knowledge. The current chapter explores the relationship between cultural knowledge of food and body size.

Thus far, the cognitive components of culture have been explored. Here, the corporeal aspect of food is examined, demonstrating how food mentality may be expressed physically. Eating behaviors have powerful consequences on the body. Eating more fresh fruits and vegetables than processed, calorically-dense, low-nutrient foods is enormously supported as preventive for a host of metabolic disorders (Patterson et al. 1990; Nestle 1999). This chapter introduces new variables which represent eating behaviors: fruit and vegetable intake. Output (physical activity) is an important factor to control for when assessing food intake since physical inactivity is also associated with metabolic disorders (CDC 2011). BMI is used to estimate the degree to which participants fall within healthy weight ranges. Bivariate correlations and regression analyses are used to test the hypotheses:

4. Degree of alternative foodway experience will have a positive relationship with fruit and vegetable intake.
5. Knowledge in the domain of food and foodways will have a positive relationship with BMI.

Food Intake, Physical Activity, and BMI

The fruit and vegetable serving data consisted of categorical and continuous variables. First, using the 24 hour recall data, the numbers of half-cup servings of fruit and vegetable intake were counted for each participant. According to the United States Department of Agriculture (2008) and the World Health Organization (2010), two cups of fruit and two and a half cups of vegetables are recommended daily to prevent disease and maintain a healthy weight. The variable was collapsed into a dichotomous variable, those who met the USDA's intake recommendations and those who did not. Table 10.1 displays frequencies of meeting intake recommendations, along with means of fruit and vegetable intake for the entire sample (n=143). Fruit and vegetable intake distribution across the sample is skewed toward the right (higher end of intake), although most participants did not meet the intake recommendations for vegetables (71%). More participants achieved fruit intake recommendations. This is likely due to Miami's tropical climate, in which fruit is more plentiful. Even though conventional foodways do not necessarily offer local, seasonal produce, since Florida is a major tropical fruit producer, tropical fruit finds its way to supermarket shelves in greater numbers than more temperate areas of the US. Open-air restaurants often serve fruit juices in Miami, especially in Cuban neighborhoods.

Table 10.1: Frequencies of fruit and vegetable intake variables

	Recommendations		Mean Cups (sd) range
	% (n)		
	Not Achieved	Achieved	
Vegetable	71 (101)	29 (42)	1.39 (1.95) 0-6
Fruit	59 (84)	41 (59)	1.42 (1.63) 0-6

Physical Activity

The activity scores ranged from 0-6 (0 <30 minutes, 1=31-60 minutes, 2=61-90 minutes, 3=91-120, 4=121-150 minutes, 5=151-180 minutes, 6=210-320 minutes) and the mean score was two, which falls well below the CDC's recommendation of 150 minutes of moderate aerobic activity per week (CDC 2011). The Centers for Disease Control (2011) reports that 60 percent of US adults do not engage in the recommended amount of activity. Sixty-four percent (n=92) of the entire sample (n=143) reported physical activity below what is recommended for preventative health. Physical activity was also collapsed into a dichotomous variable: those who are physically active according to the CDC activity recommendation (of 150 minutes per week) and those who are inactive (less than 150 minutes per week). Figure 10.1 is a box-plot of fruit and vegetable servings and activity level. The dashed lines indicate recommended intake and activity levels.

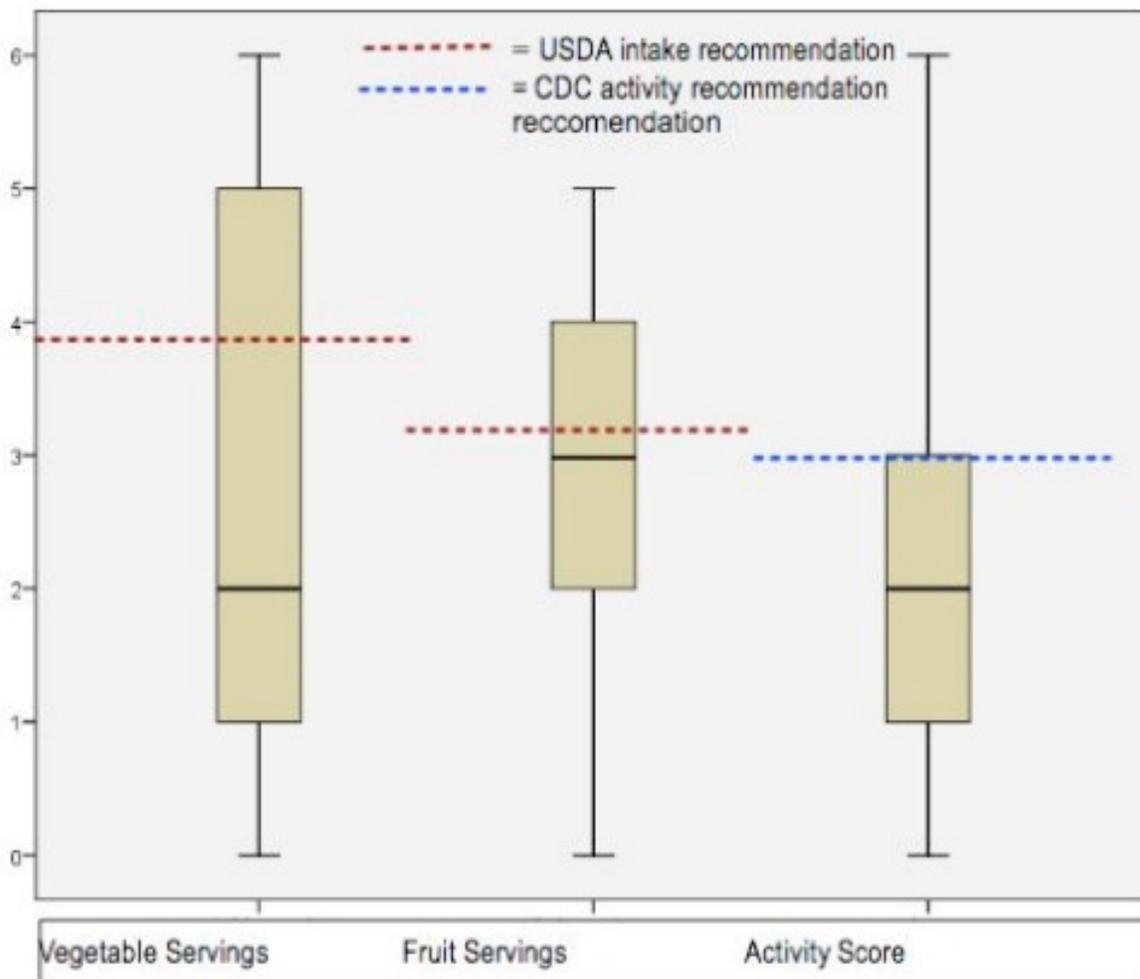


Figure 10.1: Box-plot of vegetable servings, fruit servings, and activity level

Body Mass Index

Height and weight data were collected on all informants at every stage of the research, totaling 143 participants. Cubans' BMIs were normally distributed. BMI values ranged from 17.5 to 43.8. The mean was 26.7 (which would be considered overweight), with a standard deviation of 5.4 (n = 143). Figure 10.2 shows the normal curve of BMI distribution, and dotted lines represent cut-off points for underweight, normal weight, overweight, and obese.

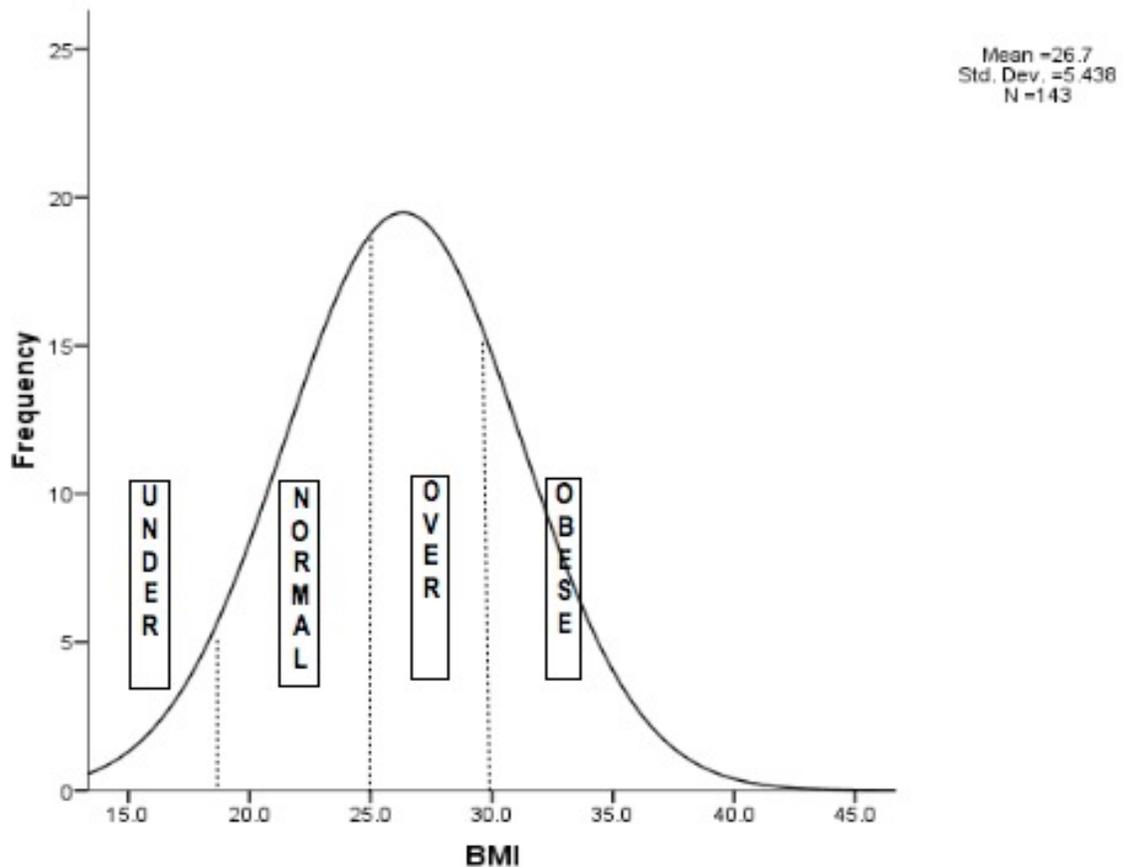


Figure 10.2: Normal curve of BMI distribution in total sample

The BMI values were also broken down into categorical variables and are presented in Table 10.2. Frequencies of BMI categories within the sample are also compared to reports of the general population in the US (WHO 2010). The sample's BMI distribution matches that of the rest of the US: mostly normal weight, overweight, and obese, with few underweight individuals. However, there are ten percent fewer obese Cubans in the sample than in the US population.

Table 10.2 Frequencies of BMI categories within sample and US population

BMI Category	Cuban Sample % (n)	US Population %
Underweight <18.5	3 (5)	2
Normal weight 18.5 – 24.9	39 (55)	34
Overweight 25.0 – 29.9	35 (50)	31
Obese 30+	23 (33)	33

Hypothesis Testing: Culture, Behavior, and Body Size

Hypothesis Four: Degree of alternative foodway experience will have a positive relationship with fruit and vegetable intake.

Alternative foodway participation is broken down by location (Cuba and/or US) of experience in Table 10.3. More of the sample participated in Cuban than US foodways.

Table 10.3: Alternative Foodway Participation broken day by Cuba and US

	Cuba	US	both	either/or
n	50	35	8	85
%	35	24	6	59

Participating in alternative foodways in Cuba did not predict participation in alternative foodways in Miami. Only eight New Cubans participated in alternative foodways in Miami. This was interpreted by two key informants on separate occasions as proof that the food situation in Cuba is so traumatizing that when Nationals escape to the US, they would not desire to be involved in any way with a foodway that remotely resembles Cuban urban agriculture.

Andy is a second generation Cuban college student who wants to go to Cuba to see his cultural heritage, but will be unable to go while his parents are living unless “the Castros die first”. In response to reviewing these results with me, Andy says, “I’m not surprised at all that you found this. These people don’t want to grow food! They came here to be able to go to the grocery and buy whatever they want. Get a [pre-packaged dinner] instead of a sack of rice!”

Cesar, who moved in his twenties during the 1970s said, “If they were happy growing tomatoes out of tires, they would have stayed in Cuba; they came here to escape that.” Among New Cubans, I found a very different view. Seventy-four percent (n=37) of New Cubans expressed that they were unhappy with their current diets because they eat too much food that was not home-prepared, processed food instead of fresh food, and/or too much fast food. Moises, a 22-year-old who lives with his parents outside of Kendall, explains “We are all busy and working. We don’t sit down for a big family meal like we did [in Cuba]. I think this is bad for health, but also bad for families [in the US].”

While one undoubtedly earns a higher income in the US compared to Cuba, the workload also increases. Luisa, 54, was a nurse in Havana. She now works seventy hours per week for a cleaning service company. She echoed what has become a saying among New Cubans fresh to Miami, “There is more food in the US, but less time to eat it. Less food in Cuba, but more time to eat it.” The majority of new arrivals have to work long hours to make ends meet as they start out their new lives in the US, leaving little time to prepare food, let alone take extra time to go to a farmers market or take care of a small garden plot.

Several New Cubans described the difference between US food and Cuban food. Fifty-six percent (n=28) of New Cubans mentioned that the produce available in Miami had a chemical

taste, had no taste, and/or was contaminated with chemicals. Miriam, 43, who moved to Miami in 2004 explains:

I told you about working in the co-op before I moved here. The pay was nothing, but we received [a portion of the produce that we grew]. It was a hydroponic [system] and we had some [fruit trees]. Well, in Cuba, they make it seem like a lot more than it is. They put up a BIG sign with lots of *pictures* of fruit and vegetables, and you think, 'How nice, they are really growing a lot!' But, it's really not that much, it is only just enough. But, the truth is, that food [that we grew in Cuba] is better than what we have in the supermarket here. Good, I have lemons all the time I want [in the US]. I go to the supermarket or Wal-mart or even the [bodega], but the truth is they don't taste as good here as they do in Cuba. I love this country [the US]... but the chemicals and things create food that is not... there is a difference... the fruit is not very good [here].

I again consulted with Andy and Cesar. I explained that many of the New Cubans I had talked to wanted to eat better quality produce; their hardworking lifestyle in Miami did not leave much time to do so. Secondly, far from feeling like they had landed in the land of milk and honey, many felt that it was difficult to find quality fruits and vegetables in Miami.

Andy, who is a self-proclaimed junk-food addict with an overweight problem, conceded that there could be quality food in Cuba. Andy explained that when he was briefly trying to diet, food tasted better because he was starving. Similarly, in Cuba, he claims better tasting food is probably a byproduct of hunger rather than qualitative differences.

Cesar reacted, as he normally did to most of my queries, with vitriol. Cesar once announced that it was his personal mission to educate me on the loads of misinformation with which the “bleeding-heart liberals of the university” had used to “indoctrinate” my “malleable mind.” He was usually angry at me for not writing my dissertation as a lengthy diatribe against the horrors of the Castro regime. However, he seemed to like that I listened to his lectures, and took notes and recordings of what he said.

Katy: So, it doesn't seem to be the case that new arrivals don't *want* to go to a farmers market, they just don't have the time, and some even feel like the food is tainted with chemicals, pesticides, and...

Cesar: You are so naïve! You went to Cuba, but you didn't *see* Cuba! You saw what they wanted you to see! You didn't *see* the bad parts of Cuba, you saw the tourist areas. *Mira*, most of their food is imported from here anyway. Did you forget that? No, you just want to use whatever information that backs up what you say, what you want to believe. Ok, so these *people* who told you they don't like the food here... did you ever consider that they were rich in Cuba? There are rich people in Cuba. Did they tell you that? The rich people in Cuba are the ones who get to come here. Did you know Castro's daughter doesn't even live in Cuba? The poor people, the ones who are starving, they never make it here.

Means of BMI, fruit and vegetable intake, and physical activity score for the entire sample (n=143) are presented in the Table 10.4. Those without experience have a slightly higher BMI mean (26.9) than those who have participated in alternative foodways (26.6). Fruit and vegetable intake means (3.1 and 2.9, respectively) are also slightly higher than the non experience group (2.7 and 2.6, respectively). Physical activity means are nearly the same for both groups. Independent samples t-tests confirm that there are no significant differences between BMI ($t(141)=3.40$, n.s.), fruit intake ($t(141)=-1.25$, n.s.), vegetable intake ($t(141)=-1.29$, n.s.), and physical activity ($t(141)=.392$, n.s.) means of subsamples with and without alternative foodway experience.

Table 10.4: Means of fruit and vegetable intake, and physical activity score among those with and without alternative foodway experience

n=143	alternative foodway experience	no alternative foodway experience
BMI	26.6	26.9
fruit intake	3.1	2.7
vegetable intake	2.9	2.6
physical activity	2.2	2.3

Table 10.5 Distribution of mean fruit and vegetable intakes across independent variables

n= 143	SES			gender		ethnic		wave		embargo (support)		politic (republican)	
	low	mid	high	f	m	euro	afro	exile	new	yes	no	yes	no
fruit	2.8	2.7	3.4	2.9	2.8	2.9	2.6	3.0	2.8	2.7	3.2	3.0	2.7
veggi	2.8	2.8	2.9	2.7	2.9	2.7	3.2	2.3	3.1	2.9	2.6	2.6	3.2

Relationships between alternative foodway participation and fruit and vegetable intake were explored for the whole sample (n=143) using bivariate correlations and multivariate regression analyses. It was predicted that alternative foodway participation would increase fruit and vegetable consumption. Covariates include age (continuous), years of education (continuous), SES (continuous), gender (0=female/1=male), and ethnicity (0=Euro-Cuban/1=Afro-Cuban). Additional variables were also included to account for alternative explanations of BMI distribution: immigration wave (0=exile/1=new Cuban) embargo support (0=pro/1=anti), political affiliation (0= republican/1=not republican). SES score and fruit and vegetable intakes (fruit con and veggi con) were converted to z-scores. Fruit and vegetable intakes are also included as categorical variables (fruit cat and veggi cat). The categorical forms of the intake variables are coded as: does not meet USDA intake recommendation (0) or does meet recommendation (1). USDA recommendations are 2.5 cups of vegetables and two cups of fruit (USDA 2008).

Bivariate correlations (Pearson's) for the independent and dependent variables are shown in Table 10.6. A similar correlation table appears in Chapter 9; however, this table represents the entire sample (n=143), while the table in Chapter 9 represents only a subgroup of the consensus analysis sample. Again we find a significant correlation ($p < .05$) between ethnicity and gender ($r = .198$). There are more Afro-Cuban men than women in the sample. Males are more likely to

oppose the embargo than females ($r = .168, p < .05$) Non-republicans are more likely to oppose the embargo ($r = .258, p < .01$). Older Cubans are more likely to be republican ($r = -.3, p < .01$). Exiles tend to be older than New Cubans ($r = -.33, p < .01$). There is a negative correlation between immigration wave and education ($r = -.209, p < .05$).

Table 10.6: Bivariate correlation matrix with independent and dependent variables: fruit and vegetable intakes

	age	edu	gender	ethnic	embargo	politic	wave	alt exp	ses
age	1								
ed years	.091	1							
gender	-.033	-.145	1						
ethnic	.049	-.131	.198*	1					
embargo	-.111	.097	.168*	.048	1				
politic	-.300**	.068	.095	.093	.258**	1			
wave	-.330**	-.209*	.238**	.197*	.071	.359**	1		
alt exp	-.254**	.076	.021	.033	.166*	.195*	.281**	1	
ses	.110	.581**	-.134	-.221**	.028	-.100	-.263**	-.019	1
fruit con	-.108	.000	-.029	-.096	.123	-.088	-.068	.105	.107
veggi con	-.145	.056	.030	.110	-.047	.152	.195*	.108	.043
fruit cat	-.087	.094	-.105	-.143	.125	-.079	-.134	.047	.172*
veggi cat	-.126	.091	.088	.059	-.016	-.005	.041	-.010	.105

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

There are more male New Cubans in the sample than females ($r = .238, p < .01$). There are also more Afro Cubans among the New Cuban group than the exile group ($r = .197, p < .05$). New Cubans are less likely to be republican than exiles ($r = .359, p < .01$). Older Cubans are less likely to have had experience with alternative foodways than younger Cubans ($r = -.254, p < .01$); this is expected, given that schools tend to be a major hub for emerging alternative foodway projects in Miami. Alternative foodway participation is also associated with being non-republican ($r = .195, p < .05$). New Cubans are more likely to have experienced alternative foodways than exiles ($r = .$

281, $p < .01$). Those with higher SES have completed more years of school ($r = .581$, $p < .01$).

There is a negative correlation ($r = -.221$, $p < .01$) between being Afro-Cuban and SES, meaning Afro-Cubans tend to have lower SES than Euro-Cubans in Miami. New Cubans also had lower SES than exiles ($r = -.263$, $p < .01$). Fruit and vegetable intakes are not correlated with any of the covariates except fruit (categorical) and SES, and vegetable intake (continuous) and immigration wave. Those who meet the USDA fruit intake recommendation (2 or more cups per day) are of higher SES. New Cubans tend to eat more vegetables than exiles ($r = .195$, $p < .05$).

Predictive modeling for fruit intake (categorical) controlled for the only variables which appear to have a possible relationship based on bivariate correlations: Age, embargo support, and SES. It was predicted that alternative foodway experience would increase fruit intake.

Table 10.7 presents the model summaries. Age, SES, and embargo support were entered into the first block. Model two includes alternative foodway participation (the variable predicted to increase fruit intake) into the regression model.

Table 10.7: Model R² changes for fruit intake (categorical) as dependent variable

Model	R	R ²	R ² Change	F Change	Sig. F Change
1 (Constant), ses, embargo, age	.230	.053	.053	2.590	.055
2 (Constant), ses, embargo, age, alt fdway	.230	.053	.000	.010	.922

The equation for the first model is significant ($F = 2.59$, $p = .06$), however the model which includes alternative foodway experience is not. The first model (and second model) explains 5.3 percent of the variance. Table 10.8 presents the standardized and unstandardized coefficients along with t values, significance, and collinearity statistics. SES is the only covariate with a significant beta coefficient ($\beta = 2.16$, $p < .05$).

Table 10.8: Regression models of fruit intake (categorical) as dependent variable

Model	Coefficients		t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
	Unstandardized	Standardized			Tolerance	VIF
	B	Beta				
1 (Constant)	.541		3.581	.000		
age	-.004	-.096	-1.147	.253	.974	1.027
embargo	.120	.109	1.311	.192	.986	1.014
ses	.089	.180	2.164	.032	.985	1.015
2 (Constant)	.533		3.141	.002		
age	-.004	-.094	-1.086	.279	.918	1.089
embargo	.119	.108	1.279	.203	.966	1.035
ses	.089	.180	2.156	.033	.985	1.015
alt foodway exp	.008	.009	.099	.922	.916	1.092

Predictive modeling for vegetable intake (continuous) controlled for variables which appear to have a possible relationship based on bivariate correlations: immigration wave, age, and political affiliation. It was predicted that alternative foodway experience would increase vegetable intake. Table 10.9 presents the model summaries. Immigration wave, age, and political affiliation were entered into the first block. Model two includes alternative foodway participation (variable predicted to increase vegetable intake) into the regression model.

Table 10.9: Model R² of vegetable intake (continuous) as dependent variable

Model	R	R ²	R ² Change	F Change	Sig. F Change
1 (Constant), wave, age, politic	.225	.051	.051	2.470	.065
2 (Constant), wave, age, politic, alt fdway exp	.228	.052	.001	.184	.669

The first regression equation ($F = 2.47, p = .07$) is significant. The model which includes alternative foodway participation is not significant. The first and second models explain 5.2 percent of the variance. Table 10.10 presents the standardized and unstandardized coefficients

along with t values, significance, and collinearity statistics. The best predictor of vegetable intake appears to be immigration wave (beta= .142, p<.10). New Cubans appear to eat more vegetables than exiles. This is an important finding since many exiles in the sample pointed out the New Cubans eat lots of meat and junk food since they were deprived these things in Cuba.

Table 10.10: Regression models of vegetable intake (continuous) as dependent variable

Model		Coefficients		t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
		Unstandardized B	Standardized Beta			Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	.005		.013	.990		
	age	-.006	-.075	-.837	.404	.853	1.172
	politic	.161	.078	.867	.388	.834	1.199
	wave	.295	.142	1.557	.122	.817	1.224
2	(Constant)	-.044		-.113	.910		
	age	-.006	-.069	-.754	.452	.831	1.203
	politic	.155	.076	.832	.407	.830	1.205
	wave	.279	.135	1.445	.151	.788	1.269
	alt fd exp	.075	.038	.429	.669	.887	1.127

Further evidence of the relationship between alternative foodway experience and fruit and vegetable intake: While some farmers markets, including the Coconut Grove farmers market (in Coral Gables), offer vegetables year-round, most farmers markets sell few vegetables. Vegetables are only in-season during the cooler months of the year (October – March). The growing season for tropical fruits is generally longer than for vegetables. Miamians are presented with a greater variety of local fruits year round, and this environmental influence most likely contributes to the statistical finding. Recalling the freelist of foods from Chapter Eight, fruits far outnumbered the vegetables which made up the final freelist.

Hypothesis five: Knowledge in the domain of food and foodways will have a positive relationship with BMI

Table 10.11 presents mean BMIs across covariates (SES, gender, ethnicity, immigration wave, embargo support, and political affiliation). The mean BMIs do not vary significantly between the variable categories, and all mean BMIs are over the cut off for what is considered to be overweight.

Table: 10.11: Categorical variable distributions of BMI among consensus sample

n=88	SES			gender		ethnic		wave		embargo (support)		politic (republican)	
	low	mid	high	f	m	euro	afro	exile	new	yes	no	yes	no
BMI	26.2	27.1	26.7	26.4	26.6	26.7	25.6	26.6	26.3	26.8	25.6	26.8	26.1

Table 10.12 compares mean BMIs across different types of alternative foodway experiences. Alternative foodway experience in the US versus Cuba are first presented, followed by experience in *either* Cuba or US experiences. Because only eight participants had experienced both Cuba and US alternative foodways, the mean BMIs of this small subgroup are not displayed. None of the mean differences within each variable category are significant.

Table 10.12: Comparison of mean BMI between US and Cuba alternative foodway experience

	Alt food exp in US		Alt food exp in Cuba		Cuba or US	
	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
mean	26.8	26.4	26.1	26.7	26.2	26.8
sd	5.9	5.0	4.9	5.3	5.2	5.1

The relationship between cultural knowledge in the domain of food and body size were explored among Cubans (n= 88) using bivariate correlations and multivariate regression analyses. It was predicted that variation in cultural knowledge would be reflected in BMI. Covariates

include age (continuous), education years (continuous), SES (continuous), gender (female=0/male=1), and ethnicity (Euro=0/Afro=1). Additional variables were also included to account for alternative explanations of BMI distribution: immigration wave (exile=0/1=new Cuban), embargo support (0=pro/1=anti), political affiliation (0= republican/1=not republican) Cultural competence coefficients (comp) and BMI measures are also included. SES score, activity score, fruit and vegetable intakes, cultural competence coefficients, and BMI values were converted to z-scores.

Table 10.13: Bivariate correlation matrix of independent and dependent variables exploring the relationship of competence, food behavior, and BMI

n=88	age	edu	ses	gendr	ethnic	wave	embar	politi	alt fd	comp	veggi	fruit	active
age	1												
edu	.052	1											
ses	.171	.564**	1										
gendr	.027	-.112	-.101	1									
ethnic	.007	-.126	-.220*	.256*	1								
wave	-.289**	-.047	-.148	.090	.020	1							
embar	-.130	.247*	.067	.163	.076	.174	1						
politi	-.256*	.302**	.057	.212*	.185	.259*	.312**	1					
alt fd	-.202	.172	.068	-.047	.014	.644**	.088	.208	1				
comp	-.090	-.081	-.006	.061	-.097	.355**	-.002	-.028	.127	1			
veggi	-.133	.045	.036	.030	.139	.138	.012	.187	.095	.016	1		
fruit	-.196	-.140	.001	.028	-.129	-.016	.050	-.104	.005	-.208	.184	1	
active	.066	.167	.317**	-.032	-.027	.042	.123	.048	-.015	.079	-.099	-.104	1
BMI	.015	.083	.180	.022	-.094	-.030	-.107	-.062	-.055	.025	.193	-.043	-.195

*p<.05, **p<.01

Bivariate correlations (Pearson's) for the independent and dependent variables are shown in Table 10.13. In chapter 9 a similar correlation matrix is presented (Table 9.10), the correlations with covariates are discussed there. Here, the correlations with additional variables,

fruit and vegetable intakes, physical activity score, and BMI measures, are discussed. There is a positive correlation ($r = .317$, $p < .05$) between physical activity and SES. Those with higher SES tend to be more active than those with lower SES.

A similar bivariate correlation matrix appears in Chapter 9. For a discussion of correlations between covariates (age, education, SES, ethnicity, immigration wave, embargo support, political affiliation), refer to table 9.10. BMI is not correlated with competence in the cultural model of food, or with any of the controls (intake and physical activity), or the covariates (age, education, SES, ethnicity, immigration wave, embargo support, political affiliation). Table 10.14 shows the models' R^2 change with BMI as the dependent variable.

Table 10.14: Model R^2 change with BMI as dependent variable

Model		R	R^2	Adjusted R^2	R^2 Change	F Change	Sig. F Change
1	SES, embargo, vegetable intake, fruit intake, physical activity	.382	.146	.094	.146	2.795	.022
2	SES, embargo, vegetable intake, fruit intake, physical activity, competence	.382	.146	.083	.001	.054	.817

The first model adds the variables which appear to have possible influences on BMI in bivariate correlations: SES, embargo support, vegetable and fruit servings, and physical activity. The second model adds the predicted variable, competence score, to the regression. Both the first model ($F = 2.80$, $p = .022$) and second model which includes competence score ($F = 2.31$, $p = .041$) are statistically significant. However, the addition of competence does not significantly increase the R^2 (R^2 change = .001, significant F change = .817). Table 10.15 presents unstandardized and standardized regression coefficients for both models.

The two variables with statistically significant beta values are SES (beta=2.43, p=.018) and physical activity (beta=-2.37, p= .020).

Table 10.15: Regression model development with the addition of political values, competence in food model, and intake and activity variables, with BMI as the dependent variable

Model	Coefficients		t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
	Unstandardized B	Standardized Beta			Tolerance	VIF
1 (Constant)	24.025		19.193	.000		
SES	.578	.262	2.425	.018	.894	1.119
embargo	-1.027	-.089	-.866	.389	.980	1.020
veggie	.895	.177	1.693	.094	.955	1.047
fruit	-.505	-.098	-.938	.351	.955	1.047
active	-1.253	-.260	-2.374	.020	.868	1.152
2 (Constant)	23.460		8.550	.000		
SES	.580	.263	2.417	.018	.893	1.120
embargo	-1.027	-.089	-.861	.392	.980	1.020
veggie	.887	.175	1.665	.100	.951	1.051
fruit	-.478	-.093	-.864	.390	.913	1.095
active	-1.262	-.262	-2.371	.020	.864	1.157
competence	.835	.024	.232	.817	.949	1.054

Figure 10.3 shows the positive linear relationship between SES and BMI. Figure 10.4 shows the negative linear relationship between physical activity and BMI. The finding that physical activity lowers BMI follows national trends, and public health initiatives which promote exercise as preventative to overweight and obesity (CDC 2011). As SES increases, BMI also increases. This is a curious finding that does not match national trends. The next section examines BMI among the total sample, and specifically explores the role of SES in BMI.

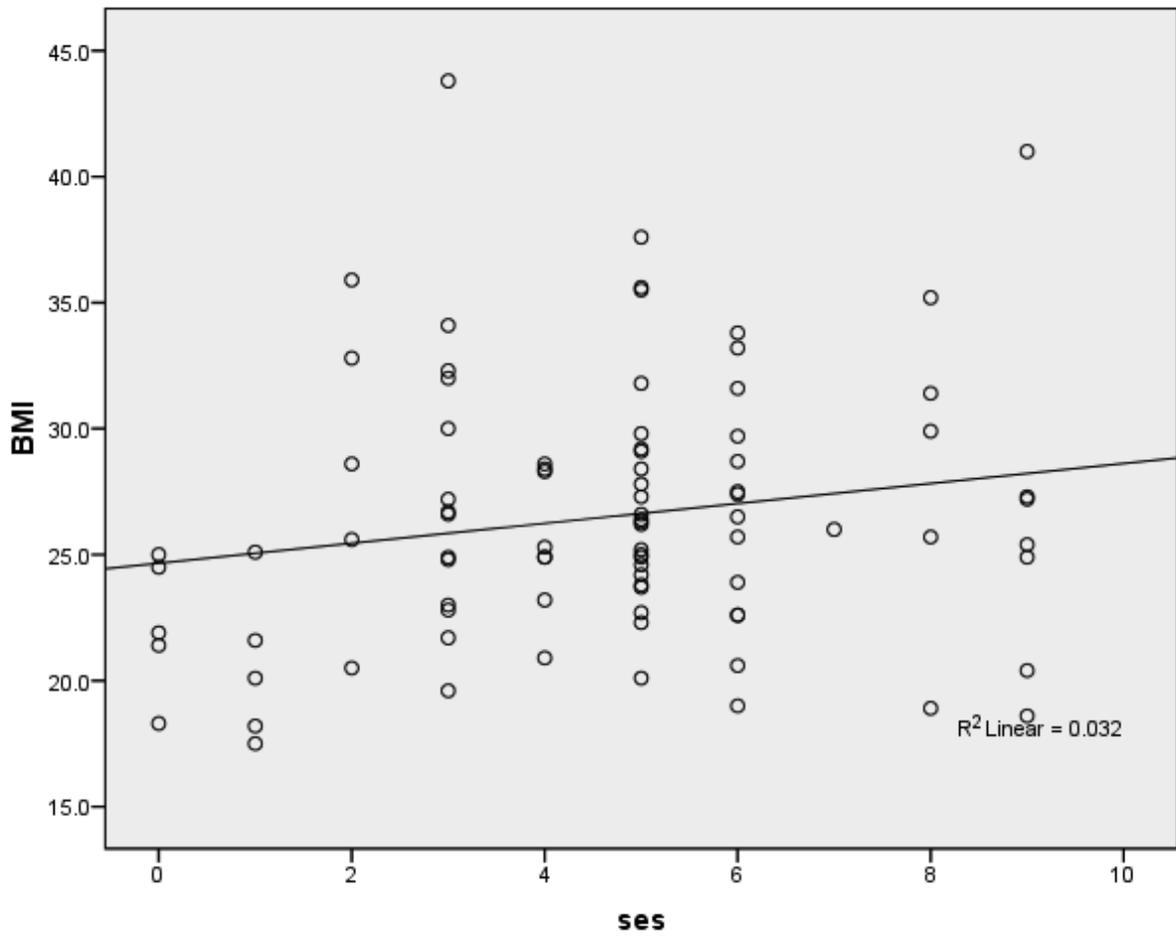


Figure 10.3: Scatterplot of SES and BMI among consensus sample

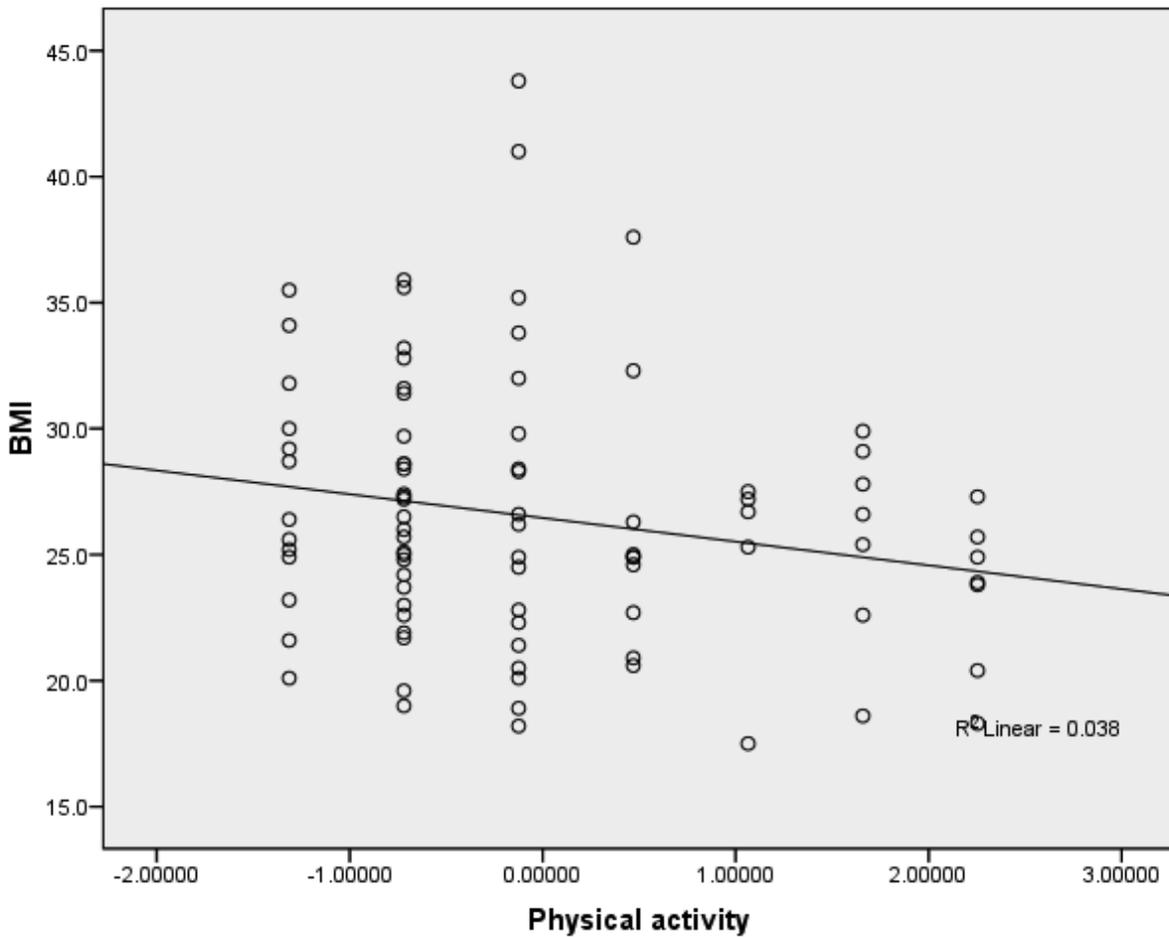


Figure 10.4: Scatterplot of physical activity and BMI among consensus sample

Additional Findings

So far the two hypotheses have been explored. First fruit and vegetable intake among the total sample was explored. It was found that SES and fruit intake have a positive relationship. That is, those with more SES are more likely to achieve intake recommendations of fruit. Vegetable intake did not have such a clear relationship with the covariates, although New Cubans tend to eat more vegetables than exiles. Then, cultural competence was added as a predictive variable (the consensus sample consisted of 88 participants, a subset of the 143 total sample).

Physical activity level appears to be the strongest predictor of low BMI, while SES has a positive relationship with BMI. This section further explores the relationship between BMI, SES, and the covariates within the total sample (n=143).

Table 10.16 presents mean BMIs for categorical variables. The BMI means across categorical variables for the total sample (n=143) are similar to the BMI means of the consensus subsample (n=88) presented in Table 10.11.

Table 10.16: Distribution of BMI across covariates for total sample

	SES			gender		ethnic		wave		embargo (support)		politic (republican)	
	low	mid	high	f	m	euro	afro	exile	new	yes	no	yes	no
BMI	26.1	27.1	26.5	26.8	26.6	26.9	26.1	26.2	27.0	26.9	26.3	27.0	26.2

Table 10.17 presents the distribution of BMI means across alternative food experiences in the US, Cuba, and US and/or Cuba (recall only 8 participants had experience in both US and Cuban alternative foodways). The mean of those with experience in the US (27.1) is slightly higher than those without (26.6). The means of those with and without alternative foodway experience in Cuba are equal (26.7). Those with either US or Cuban alternative foodway experience have a slightly lower BMI mean (26.6) than those without experience (26.9).

Table 10.17: Distribution of BMI across alternative food experiences in the US and Cuba

	Alt food exp in US		Alt food exp in Cuba		Cuba or US	
	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
mean	27.1	26.6	26.7	26.7	26.6	26.9

Pearson's correlations and multiple regression analyses were used to further identify the predictors of BMI within the total Cuban sample (n=143). Covariates include age (continuous), years of education (continuous), SES (continuous), gender (0=female/1=male), and ethnicity (0=Euro-Cuban/1=Afro-Cuban). Additional variables were also included to account for

alternative explanations of BMI distribution: immigration wave (0=exile/1=new Cuban) embargo support (0=pro/1=anti), political affiliation (0= republican/1=not republican. SES score and fruit and vegetable intakes (fruit and veggi), and physical activity scores (active) were converted to z-scores. Table 10.18 presents the correlations with BMI as the dependent variable. A similar table is presented earlier in this chapter (Table 10.6), and correlations between covariates (age, education, SES, ethnicity, immigration wave, embargo support, political affiliation, alternative foodway participation, fruit and vegetable intakes) have been described previously. Here, the focus is on predicting BMI.

Table 10.18: Bivariate correlations of independent variables and BMI

	age	edu	ses	gender	ethnic	wave	embrg	politic	alt fd	veggie	fruit	active
age	1.00											
edu	.09	1.00										
ses	.11	.581**	1.00									
gender	-.03	-.15	-.13	1.00								
ethnic	.05	-.13	-.221**	.198*	1.00							
wave	-.330**	-.209*	-.263**	.238**	.197*	1.00						
embrg	-.11	.10	.03	.168*	.05	.07	1.00					
politic	-.300**	.07	-.10	.10	.09	.359**	.258**	1.00				
alt fd	-.254**	.08	-.02	.02	.03	.281**	.166*	.195*	1.00			
veggie	-.145	.056	.043	.030	.110	.195*	-.047	.152	.11	1.00		
fruit	-.108	.000	.107	-.029	-.096	-.068	.123	-.088	.11	.232**	1.00	
active	-.078	.109	.236**	.049	-.007	.000	.092	.021	-.03	-.05	-.10	1.00
bmi	.067	.074	.076	-.014	-.063	.069	-.045	-.069	-.03	.176*	.07	-.239**

* p<.05, **p<.01

BMI is significantly correlated with only vegetable intake and activity level. Vegetable intake ($r = .176, p < .05$) has a positive relationship with BMI, while activity level has a strong negative relationship with BMI ($r = -.239, p < .01$). Multiple regression analyses were executed using the significantly correlated variables (vegetable intake and activity level) along with

variables that were very nearly significantly correlated with BMI, including, political affiliation, immigration wave, and SES. Table 10.19 presents the model R² changes for two predictive models of BMI. The first includes the covariates political affiliation, immigration wave, activity level, vegetable intake, and SES. The second includes age and fruit intake into the model. Age was included because it is conventionally used as a control of BMI, and fruit was included to highlight any differences in effect on BMI between fruit and vegetable intakes.

Table 10.19: Model R² change with BMI as dependent variable for total sample

Model	R	R ²	Adjusted R ²	R ² Change	F Change	Sig. F Change
1 Politic, wave, active, veggi, SES	.343 ^a	.118	.085	.118	3.649	.004
2 Politic, wave, active, veggi, SES, age, fruit	.348 ^b	.121	.076	.004	.288	.750

Both the first and second model are statistically significant (Model 1: F=3.65, p=.004; Model 2: F=2.66, p=.013). The addition of age and fruit intake does not significantly change the regression equation (p= .750). Table 10.20 presents standardized and unstandardized regression coefficients along with collinearity statistics. The first model's significant beta value is physical activity (beta=-3.19, p<.01). Vegetable intake (1.79, p<.10) and SES (1.77, p<.10) have a weaker significance at the relaxed standard of p less than .10, which is suitable for moderately small sample sizes. Physical activity has the strongest influence on BMI. Increased physical activity lowers BMI (see Figure 10.5). Vegetable intake surprisingly increases BMI (see Figure 10.6). Similar to the regression analysis on the consensus sample, SES increases BMI (see Figure 10.7). The last two findings are counter conventional knowledge on nutrition and social influence on

BMI. There is usually an inverse relationship between these two variables and BMI. Typically, in developed countries wealthier people tend to be thinner, while the poorer tend to be larger bodied. In developing nations the opposite is found; larger bodies are typical of the richer, while the poor are thinner (Mendez and Popkin 2004; Popkin and Gordon-Larsen 2004). These findings are explored and discussed in the remainder of this chapter and Chapter 11.

Table 10.20: Regression model development for BMI as dependent variable for total sample

Model	Coefficients		t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
	Unstandardized B	Standardized Beta			Tolerance	VIF
1 (Constant)	26.322		34.243	.000		
politic	-1.271	-.114	-1.321	.189	.863	1.158
wave	1.365	.121	1.343	.181	.791	1.264
active	-1.442	-.265	-3.191	.002	.933	1.072
veggi	.808	.149	1.793	.075	.938	1.066
ses	.832	.153	1.771	.079	.863	1.159
2 (Constant)	24.926		12.255	.000		
politic	-1.124	-.101	-1.131	.260	.818	1.223
wave	1.536	.136	1.462	.146	.749	1.336
active	-1.409	-.259	-3.063	.003	.910	1.099
veggie	.837	.154	1.791	.075	.881	1.135
ses	.811	.149	1.704	.091	.850	1.177
age	.031	.067	.747	.456	.819	1.222
fruit	-.004	.000	-.009	.993	.886	1.128

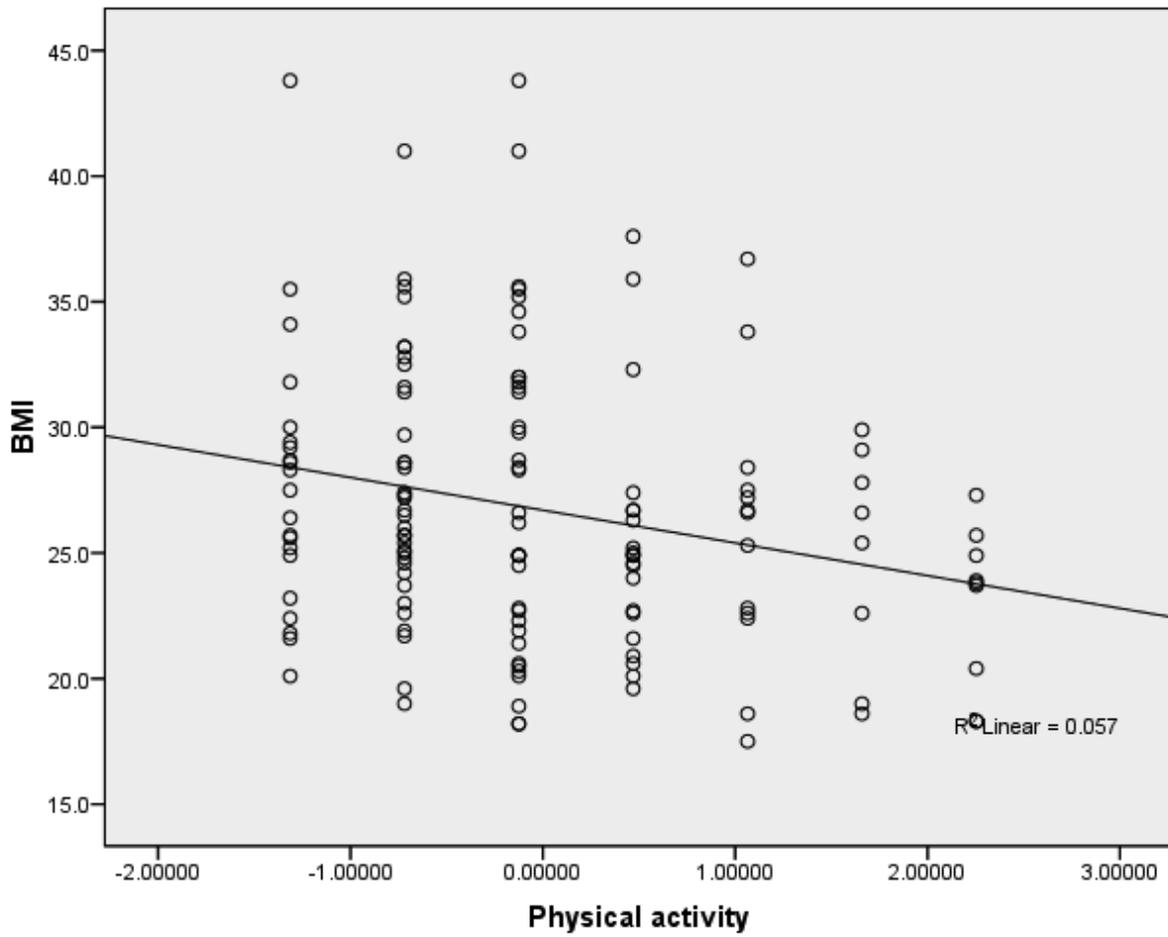


Figure 10.5: Scatterplot of negative linear relationship between physical activity and BMI

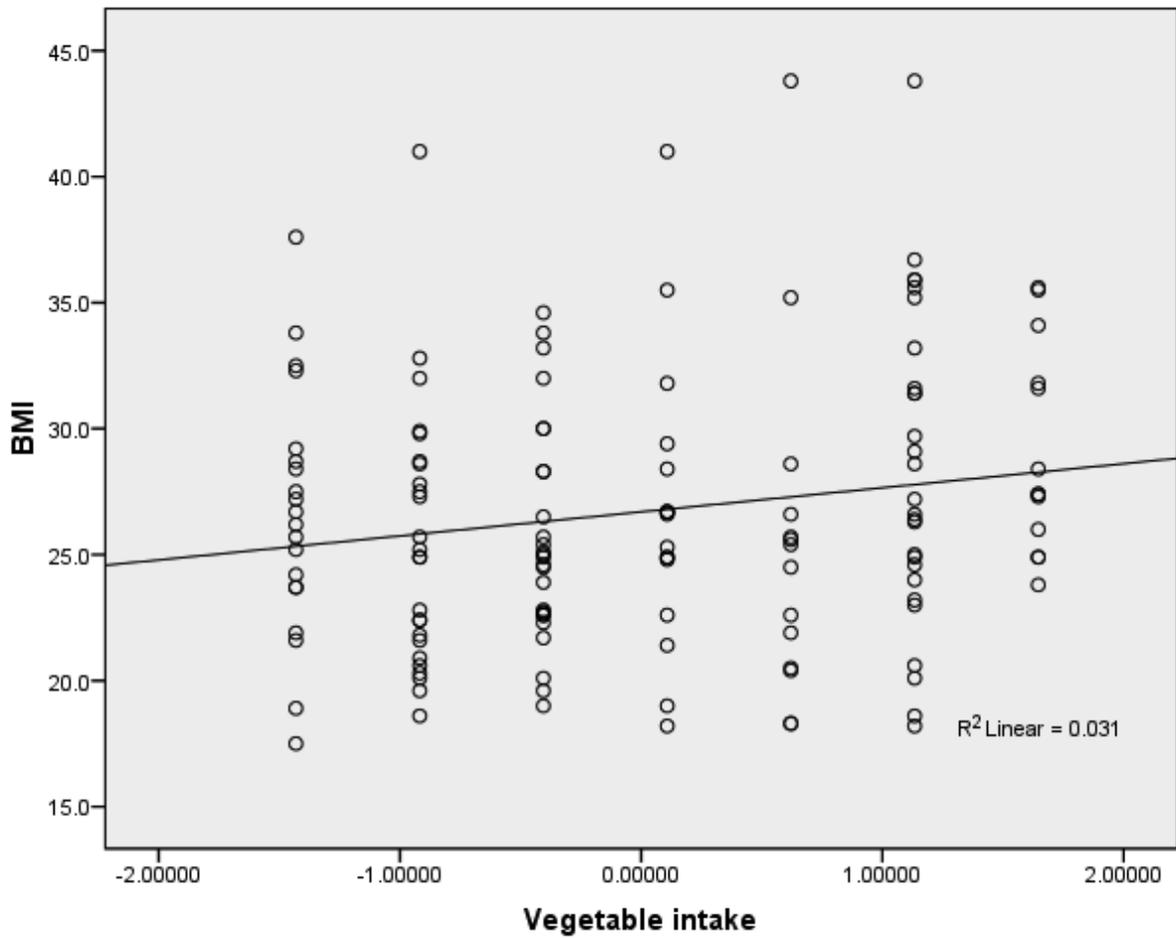


Figure 10.6: Scatterplot of positive linear relationship between vegetable intake and BMI

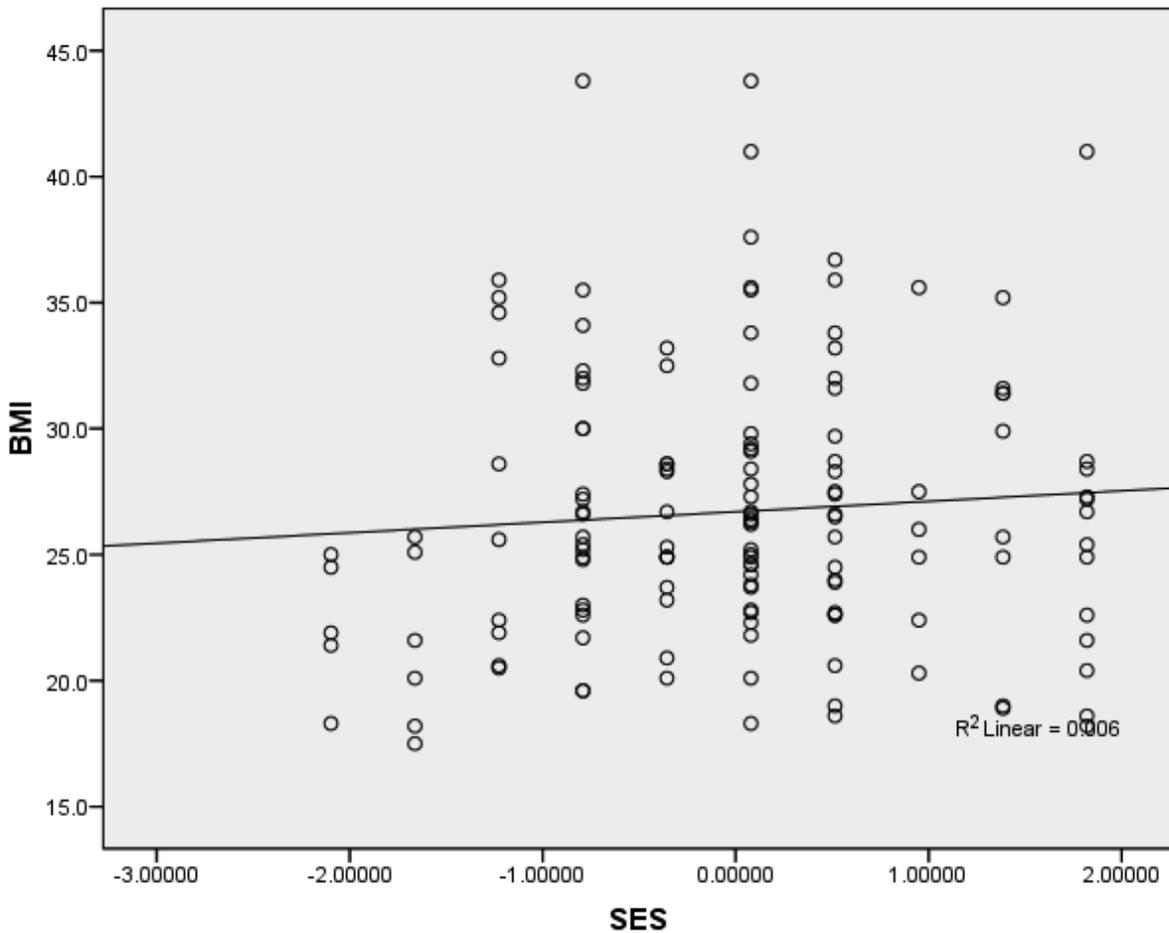


Figure 10.7: Scatterplot of positive linear relationship between SES and BMI

Perhaps the BMI patterns are following the third world pattern that New Cubans brought from Cuba. BMI means are displayed in Figure 10.8 based on experience of alternative foodways in Cuba. Separate bars represent high, middle, and low SES. Those who have alternative foodway experience reflect what is expected in a developing, non-industrialized, third world population. Indeed, all of those who have experienced alternative foodways in Cuba are New Cubans.

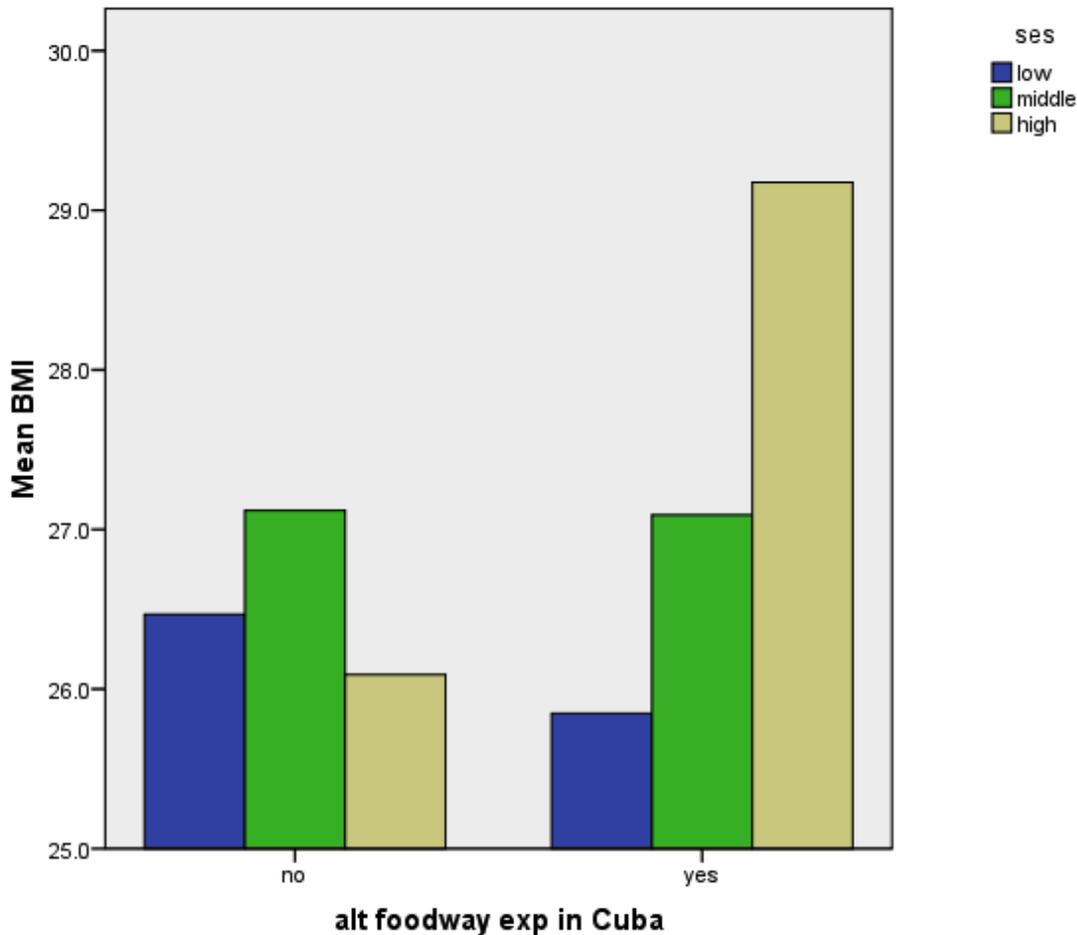


Figure 10.8: Bar graph of BMI means of participants with and without alternative foodway experience in Cuba highlighted by SES

However, when the same graph is plotted for those with alternative foodway experience in the US, the pattern is striking (see Figure 10.9). Those who have experience have BMI means among SES groups which follow what would be expected in a first world population. The low SES mean is higher than upper SES BMI means. Those who do not have experience in US alternative foodways have mean BMI patterns which are similar to the New Cubans *with* experience pattern, the third world pattern. The low SES mean BMI is lower than the higher SES means. It should be pointed out that no matter how BMI means are compared in the sample, all

of the means remain in the overweight category. To be a truly “third world” BMI pattern, the lowest SES group would have a mean BMI bordering underweight. However, the pattern in BMI is still telling. Something is shared between those without experience in the US (made up of exiles and new Cubans) and those who have experience in Cuba (New Cubans only).

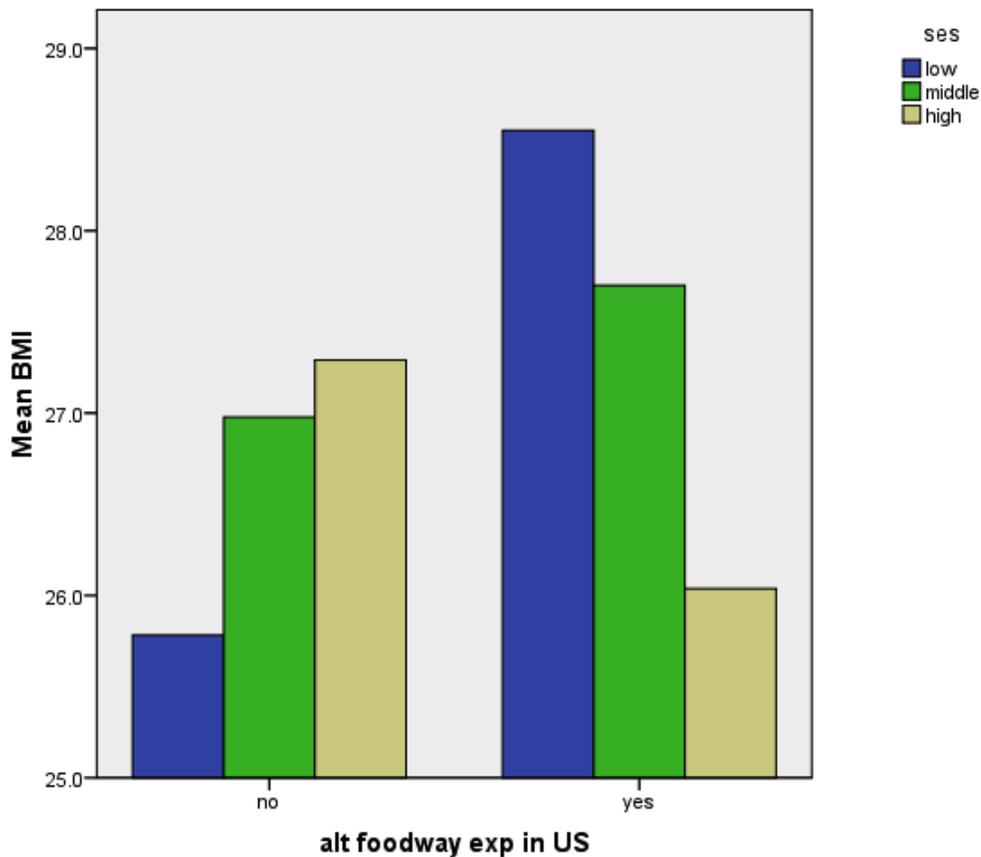


Figure 10.9: Bar graph of BMI means of participants with and without alternative foodway experience in the US highlighted by SES

Statistical Evidence and Ethnographic Detail of Alternative Foodways and Physical Activity Variables' Influences on BMI: A series of two-way ANOVAs were run to identify if there is covariance between variables relating to BMI. First, BMI was explored using wave and SES as predictors controlling for age and gender, second, BMI with SES and alternative experience in Cuba controlling for age and gender, third, BMI with alternative food experience

in the US and SES, controlling for age and gender. It was found that there were no significant variations signaling covariance among the variables.

There is no significant difference between the mean BMI of those who have and have not had experience with alternative foodways ($t(141)=.340$, n.s.). Though the alternative foodways of Cuba and Miami differ tremendously, there is no difference of mean BMIs between those who have had experience in Cuba versus the US ($t(80)=.486$, n.s.). Immigration wave does not appear to be reflected in body size since the three immigration waves have nearly the same BMI means and standard deviations (Golden Generation: 26.2 (sd = 5.0); Mariel: 27.1 (sd = 5.7); New Cuban: 26.7 (sd = 5.2)).

Older, earlier arrivals often point out that the New Cubans arrive skinny and malnourished and quickly blossom (or balloon) into more desirable, plumper proportions once arriving to Miami. Observational findings and statistical results do not support this supposition. There were no statistically significant differences in BMI based on immigration wave or generation. Based on observation, New Cubans do indeed tend to look different than earlier arrivals in terms of dress and mannerisms. However, this has more to do with SES. Higher SES Cubans are often assumed to be early arrivals or the children of early arrivals even if they are recent arrivals. Lower income Cubans, flagged by their non-designer clothing, more pronounced accents, and different mannerisms, tend to be categorized as New Cubans. I interviewed several middle and high income New Cubans who could have “passed” in Coral Gables high society.

Although there is no correlation between the continuous activity variable and alternative foodway experience, when activity scores are collapsed into inactive (<150 minutes per week) and active (active for at least 150 minutes or more per week) there is a significantly higher

proportion of active Cubans among those who have experience ($\chi^2(1) = 2.06, p = .10$) than those who do have experience. Table 10.6 displays the frequencies of active/nonactive and inexperience/experience of alternative foodways. Consensus analysis supported that a motivation for seeking alternative foodways is for health reasons. Because of this, the same individuals seeking alternative foodways may also tend to be more active as a part of a health regimen.

Table 10.21: Chi square test of association for physical activity and foodway experience

$\chi^2(1)=2.06; p=.10$	Alternative Foodway Experience	
	No% (n)	Yes % (n)
Active	42 (39)	55 (53)
Inactive	55 (28)	45 (23)

Recalling the bivariate correlation results, physical activity is correlated with SES. In some populations, low-income laborers may be more physically active, due to labor-intensive occupations. Among the overall sample of Miami Cubans this does not appear to be the case. Those who are active tend to also have a higher SES within the sample of Cubans. Higher SES affords Cubans in Miami the time and money to spend exercising.

To summarize, alternative foodway experience appears to influence eating behavior and physical activity. First, those who have alternative foodway experience are more likely to eat at least the USDA-recommended fruit intake portion (two cups per day). Secondly, alternative foodway experience is associated with being active based on CDC recommendations. Those with higher SES tend to be more active than those with lower SES.

Cuban and Miami versions of alternative foodways differ greatly. However, these differences do not contribute to BMI in terms of generation, immigration wave, or between those

who have only experience with the Cuban version versus those who have experience with only the Miami version. People who participated in alternative foodways in Cuba are much less likely to participate in them in Miami (only 8 participants who had experience with Cuban alternative foodways were also involved in US alternative foodways). Ethnographic interviewing reveals that this is not necessarily a choice for many New Cubans. Many newer arrivals expressed stress over the food in the US, believing it to be less healthy and more chemically contaminated than fresh food from Cuba. The majority of new arrivals seemed to be open to participating in alternative foodways in Miami, they were simply unable to because work schedules left little time to spend on food procurement and preparation. “Lack of time” was a recurrent theme in discussing food behaviors. Below, the relationship between intake and BMI and satisfaction with diet are discussed.

Fruit and Vegetable Intake, BMI, and Satisfaction with Diet: Though alternative foodway involvement was predicted to influence BMI, I also expected that fruit and vegetable intake would have at least a small effect on BMI. Regression analyses demonstrated that fruit intake accounted for little of the variance in BMI. Vegetable intake marginally increased BMI. This lack of relationship is attributable to two factors. For this research, I focused only on counting cups of fruit and vegetables eaten during the 24-hour period, saving the other intake items for later analyses (I share with my participants the problem of “lack of time” regarding food, in this case not from an eating standpoint, but a methodological one.) The measure of energy intake is thus a snap-shot of a snap-shot.

Secondly, the assumption that eating “healthy” (i.e., eating fruits and vegetables) brings one to a “normal” BMI is problematic because it assumes that eating healthy predates a lower BMI. Anyone who has attempted to lose weight knows that “eating healthy” does not readily tip the scales in the lower direction. People who would be motivated to eat “healthy,” or increase fruit and vegetable intake, may be doing so because they are overweight and are trying to eat more vegetables in order to lose weight. Conversely, people who eat fewer fruits and vegetables may make those choices because they are not pressured to eat healthily—perhaps because they have lower BMIs and higher metabolisms. Ethnographic details reveal this musing to be plausible.

During our 24-hour diet recall, 41 percent (n=58) claimed to be currently dieting. Of the 58 individuals claiming to be dieting, only 28 percent (n=16) were normal weight. Most were overweight (n =23, 40%) and obese (n = 19, 32%). Christy is a wealthy second generation Cuban living in Kendall. She is 26, and has a BMI of 32, which is considered obese. In keeping with the fad diet that she had started in the past month, her 24-hour dietary recall included nothing more than fruits, vegetables, chicken breast, canned tuna, fat free yogurt, skim milk, and water. Mike, 33 from Hialeah, is a New Cuban of normal weight and eats “whatever he wants,” according to his wife Moira. Despite dieting off and on for several years, Moira remains overweight. Her dietary recall had more fruits and vegetables than her husbands'. The only vegetables on Mike's recall were sauteed yucca, two slices of avocado, and a mamey milkshake.

In order to assess how participants perceive their food intake patterns, they were asked if they were generally satisfied or unsatisfied with the foods they eat. If unsatisfied, participants were asked to briefly describe what sorts of things caused them to be unsatisfied. Discussions

with key informants during the early phases of this research suggested that people who claimed to be “watching what they ate,” or “dieting” were less satisfied about their food than people who were not trying to lose or maintain weight. Furthermore, preliminary investigations of alternative foodways in Miami revealed that people involved in some alternative foodways (specifically farmers markets and community gardening in middle to upper SES areas) were dissatisfied with food because of production techniques, thus prompting them to seek alternatives.

Only thirteen (9%) of participants were satisfied with the that foods they eat. Of the rest of the sample who reported being unsatisfied (n=30; 91%), individuals most often mentioned “fat” as a reason for being unsatisfied with their food intake (n=52; 40%). Examples of responses coded as “fat” include: “It's too fattening,” “I eat too much fat,” and “I shouldn't eat so much fat.” The second most common reason for being unsatisfied was because of preparation (n=35; 27%). Examples of dissatisfaction with preparation include: “I don't spend time cooking, so I eat out all the time,” “I live alone, so I never cook,” “We always eat out,” “I eat too much fast food,” and “We don't sit down and eat home-made meals.”

The third most given reason for dissatisfaction was because of dieting (n=26; 20%). Examples of dissatisfaction because of dieting include: “I'm on a juice diet, I don't enjoy any meals,” “I eat healthy, and it is boring,” and “I can't eat any of the foods that I actually want.” The fourth most common reason (n= 14, 11%) was eating unhealthy foods. Eating unhealthily was distinguished from eating too much “fat” when someone did not mention fat specifically. Examples included: “I don't get enough fresh food,” “I eat too many carbs,” “I should eat more vegetables,” and “I could eat more healthy.”

Though participants were not specifically asked to explain why they were unable to eat the way that they felt that they should, forty-one percent (n=57) of the entire sample spontaneously mentioned that lack of time was the reason for eating too much fat, for being unsatisfied with preparation (i.e., too busy to cook at home), and for not eating enough healthy foods. Lack of time is a recurrent theme in the discourse Miami Cubans have about food. New Cubans often recount that in Cuba there was more time to eat but less food, a problem that is reversed in Miami. Busy work schedules that minimize food satisfaction is likely something that influences lower income diets more so than the upper SES—who may have demanding work schedules, but also the resources to balance the lack of time (i.e., housekeeper, or higher-quality restaurant dining).

The findings suggest that experience in alternative foodways may lead to lowered BMI. Whether one was involved in US or Cuban alternative foodways does not make a difference in this relationship. New Cubans who had been involved in alternative foodways in Cuba had patterns of BMI that were statistically indistinguishable from Cubans who had experience with alternative foodways in Miami only. Furthermore, New Cubans were most likely to *not* be involved in Miami's alternative foodways. Ethnographic interviewing reveals that lack of involvement with alternative foodways in the US did not reflect a lack of desire to be involved. Rather, New Cubans expressed that they were unable to go to farmers markets, grow plants at home, or participate in a community garden because they did not have enough time. Contrary to what some have suggested, none of the New Cubans in the research expressed that they would refuse to participate in alternative foodways in the US because of traumatic experiences in Cuba.

Rather, some New Cubans expressed that Cuban-grown fruits and vegetables, while admittedly in much lower supply than in the US, were superior in taste and nutrient content.

Those who had experienced alternative foodways were also more physically active (which lowered BMI in the regression model) and ate more fruits and vegetables. Based on the evidence, I posit that alternative foodway experience encourages healthier behaviors (i.e., diet and exercise), even when one is not currently involved. It is plausible that healthier behaviors predate alternative foodway participation (which is probably especially so for the US participants), but New Cubans had no choice but to be involved in alternative foodways in Cuba. Whatever one's reasons for being involved, it appears that the experience with alternative foodways imprints values that are reflected in the body.

Conclusion

The hypothesis that alternative foodway experience would have a positive relationship with fruit and vegetable intake was only supported for fruit intake. Those with high SES are more likely to achieve the USDA's fruit intake recommendation. Immigration wave influenced vegetable intake. New Cubans are shown to eat more vegetables than exiles. This finding refutes the lay knowledge that New Cubans “binge” on US junk foods and meat. (They may be binging on those things, but they are also eating vegetables!) SES is the best predictor of fruit intake in the regression model. Wealthier Cubans tend to eat more fruit than poorer Cubans. Fruit and fruit juices are central to the Cuban cultural model of food. However, vegetables do not figure heavily into Cuban cuisine. It appears that the wealthy are able to best achieve the cultural model by eating more fruits. Although few New Cubans participate in alternative foodways in the US, it is not because they do not want to.

No New Cubans said they did not want to participate because of trauma with alternative foodways in Cuba.

The second hypothesis tested in this chapter was that cultural knowledge distribution would be reflected in BMI. The strongest predictors of BMI in regression analyses are physical activity, vegetable intake, and SES. Physical activity lowers BMI. Vegetable intake appears to increase BMI, however this finding may be due to overweight participants “dieting” and eating more vegetables. SES was found to have a positive relationship with BMI. The implications are curious: the BMI pattern reflects a “third-world” nation in which the wealthy are heavier than the poor. There was no statistically significant difference in the BMI means of exiles, who have lived in the first-world US for at least 30 years or were born here, or New Cubans, who are frequently stereotyped as unsophisticated since they lived under communist rule (Eckstein 2009b; Farber 2006; García 1997; Grenier and Pérez 2003; Haney and Vanderbush 2005; Henken 2005; Miller 2009; Rosset and Bourque 2002). They have been, the saying goes, frozen in time since Castro became dictator (Castro Mariño 2002). However, the results indicate that exiles and New Cubans share similar BMI patterns, it goes to show that they are not so different after all, at least in terms of food and BMI.

CHAPTER 11

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This research explored how sociocultural (social class and ethnicity), historical (immigration wave and experience of Castro's rule), and political (positions on US-Cuba relations) factors contribute to the Cuban cultural values about food and foodways. The cultural domain of food was explored using consensus analysis and narrative discourse analysis. Data were collected via structured and semi-structured ethnographic interviews and participant observation.

Immigration wave is at the root of most of the diversity among the Cuban diaspora. Each immigration wave is characterized by a specific pattern of SES and ethnic characteristics. These demographics contribute to the heterogeneity of the diaspora. Further, those who arrived at different times had different experiences of Cuba and communism. These different experiences have contributed to the development of polarizing political values within Miami Cubans. The once starkly Republican, embargo-hardlining contingent has become more diversified in terms of political affiliation and views on the embargo. The political power exerted by the Cuban diaspora coupled with the abundance of Cuban cuisine in Miami are testaments to the extent that Cuban traditions have impacted Miami culture. This research explored how these different experiences of Cuba and political values come into play in the domain of food.

Miami represented an ideal setting for investigating cultural meaning and values of food and foodways. Because New Cubans had all experienced alternative foodways in Cuba, the setting and population allowed for the comparison of cultural knowledge associated with conventional and alternative foodways. Eating behaviors and BMI were used to connect knowledge to the corporeal. This chapter summarizes the results of the study. The theoretical and applied implications are then discussed. Limitations of the study are presented, followed by an outline of future directions. Table 11.1 presents each hypothesis and indicates the degree to which each hypothesis was supported.

Summary of Findings

Table 11.1: Summary of hypotheses and results

	Hypotheses	Support
1	More than one cultural model will exist among the diverse groups of Miami Cubans.	moderate
2a	Degree of experience with alternative foodways will be associated with cultural knowledge in the model of food, and	moderate
2b	difference in cultural knowledge about food will be specifically reflected in the health belief dimension of the food model.	strong
3	Political values will contribute to the distribution of cultural knowledge about food and foodways.	weak
4	Degree of alternative foodway experience will have a positive relationship with fruit and vegetable intake.	moderate
5	Knowledge in the domain of food and foodways will have a positive relationship with BMI	weak

Hypothesis 1

Consensus analysis on the propositional statements about food indicates that the domain of food is highly shared among Cubans. Several of the statements had over seventy five percent agreement across the sample, especially within the dimension of Cuban-ness and social cohesion. Cultural competence scores in the cultural model of food are high overall, however the

distribution of residual agreement (the second factor in consensus analysis) is double peaked. Cubans, despite heterogeneity in ethnicity, class, and immigration wave, have highly shared cultural values concerning food and foodways.

Hypothesis 2a

Alternative foodway experience and education are the strongest predictors of variation in knowledge in the model of food. It is supported that the answer pattern on statements concerning the healthfulness of foods tends to vary between those with and without alternative foodway experience. This suggests that cultural knowledge may indeed vary along the healthfulness dimension between the two groups.

Hypothesis 2b

Freelisting and model development indicated that healthfulness and Cuban-ness are two salient dimensions that structure the domain of food. Discourse analysis reveals that foods prepared (or grown) at home are perceived as healthier than foods procured at restaurants or that are pre-made. The alternative experience group was more likely than the non-experience group to believe that US food has unhealthy chemicals in it and that food from farmers markets is healthier than food from supermarkets. The majority of those with experience believe that food in the US has dangerous chemicals and that produce from farmers markets is healthier than items from supermarkets.

Hypothesis 3

The prediction that political values would have a relationship with cultural knowledge in the food model was not supported in multivariate regression analysis where alternative foodway experience and education were the significant predictors of residual agreement. However,

participant observation, key informant interviews, and ethnographic experience indicates that political sentiments figure heavily into nearly all domains of Cuban exile culture in Miami. The political value variables used for the regression only tested for political affiliation and embargo support. Other political values were expressed throughout data collection by participants—often without prompting—when discussing food topics.

Hypothesis 4

SES also influenced fruit intake, with higher SES Cubans eating more fruit. New Cubans tended to eat more vegetable than exiles. This indicates two social issues. First, the claim that New Cubans eat lots of meat and packaged foods *instead* of vegetables was refuted. They may be eating those items, but they are also eating vegetables. Second, fruits, not vegetables, figure more heavily into the cultural model of food, and those with higher SES are more likely to achieve this ideal. New Cubans are not realizing this ideal by consuming more vegetables. As New Cubans become more established in the US, will they realize the ideal of eating more fruit than vegetables? Or, will they change the cultural model, perhaps to include more vegetables than the current model contains? Future directions of this research are discussed in greater detail below.

Hypothesis 5

Competence in the food model did not predict BMI. Instead, the greatest predictor of BMI was vegetable intake and physical activity, and SES. Vegetable intake actually increases BMI among Cubans. Ethnographic interviewing supports that this is probably due to overweight people including more vegetables in their diet in order to lose weight. Physical activity was the best predictor of BMI.

Physically active Cubans had lower BMIs than inactive participants. SES slightly increases BMI.

Exiles who have not experienced alternative foodways and those who have experienced Cuban alternative foodways have similar BMI mean patterns relating to SES. High SES subgroups have higher mean BMIs than the low SES subgroup. This “third world pattern” is unusual to find in the US. As described previously in earlier results chapters, while several Cubans used alternative foodways in Miami, many had never heard of anything except farmers markets, and even at that, could not think of a specific one in Miami. Combing through ethnographic interviews and going over notes with key informants who had not experienced alternative foodways, I searched for a common theme among the group. Aside from immigration wave, and being embargo supporting, is there a “grander” social force at work?

Miriam, 56, who lives in Hialeah, came on the Mariel boat lift. Miriam is a successful business woman, and she does not speak English because she does not need to. She owns and operates three stores that showcase the Cuban female wardrobe staple: *la faja* (corset). Mari and Joe, a married couple in their 40s, were born and raised in Miami; they live in Joe's aging parents' house. Their large extended family fills the house and their lives constantly. I imagine they must measure the passing of the year with the number of pigs roasted in the *caja china* setup in the backyard. My most treasured informant, Ralph, is a successful person within and outside the Cuban community of Miami. He speaks English perfectly and is a culture broker among all echelons of Cuban society. Cesar lives in Kendall. He works with English-speakers, but primarily deals with upper SES Cubans in Spanish. All of these people represent diverse educational backgrounds, ages, and SES. Some are large, some are thin. None of them have had

experience with alternative foodways, and all of them would be outraged if I wrote anything which could possibly portray Castro's Cuba with a positive glimmer.

If these informants represent the rest of the non-experience subgroup, then I concede that the larger social force at work is a reluctance to change. They live somewhat isolated from the developments outside of their insular communities. Cuban culture pervades Miami. It is inaccurate to say that Cubans are a community within Miami. At times it feels like the non-Cuban communities are diasporas. However, there are pockets of more exclusive groups. Within these pockets, there is fierce, staunch adherence against post-revolution Cuba. It is within these circles that local Miami politicians, even school superintendents, must have a position on the embargo, and there is a strong desire to return to Cuba once the communist government ends.

Creating alternative foodways is about long-term planning and sustainability. To plant a garden is to accept a commitment to staying in one place long enough to care for it. It may be difficult for these Cubans to put down roots in Miami, when their proverbial ones are still in Cuba. Culture, our shared cognition, makes its reflection on our bodies. In this case body size reflects pre-nutritional transition (pre-revolutionary) Cuban patterns. Essentially, their body size distribution reflects more of pre-revolution patterns than current US patterns.

Further Findings

Regression analyses indicate that the variable that best predicts BMI is physical activity. Individuals involved in alternative foodways tend to be more active than those who have never been involved in alternative foodways. Thus, alternative foodway experience may have an indirect influence on BMI.

Some of the earlier immigration waves and second generation Cubans predicted that New Cubans would not want to be involved in alternative foodways because of the trauma of food scarcity in Cuba. In other words, they left Cuba to have the more abundant (and convenient) food choices that are found at the supermarket. This research also puts to rest one of the lay assumptions about Cuban agricultural projects (e.g., urban, sustainable, home gardens, etc.). Though Cuban alternative foodways emerged out of need to address critical food shortages, New Cubans do not reject alternative foodways due to being traumatized by local food production in Cuba. Lack of involvement in alternative foodways for New Cubans stemmed not from lack of desire, but lack of time. New Cubans frequently complained that American food is laden with chemicals and is not fresh. The values that New Cubans have could change the face of food in South Florida. Perhaps they will support the development of more alternative foodways.

The hypothetical situation posed to the discussion group regarding the implementation of urban agriculture in their neighborhoods indicated that opposition to alternative foodways had more to do with social class than political values. Given that two of the major urban agriculture projects in Miami are for the abject poor, this sort of foodway seemed to be unappealing to most of the Cubans in the study.

Finally, though much discourse about Cuban food involves the difference between food and Cuba (poor, bland, and restricted) versus Miami (rich, diverse, and bountiful), the difference was not reflected in immigration waves' BMIs. Further, there was no difference in BMIs between those who had participated in Cuban versus US alternative foodways.

Theoretical Implications

Miami Cubans are indeed increasingly diverse, but, in general, they agree on what to eat. However, the knowledge relating to healthfulness seems to be more contested among Cubans. Food knowledge between those who have had experience with alternative foodways and those who have not appears to be different in some respects.

The BMI findings have implications related to nutritional anthropology and cognitive anthropology. First, though the food intake and physical activity data were limited (these limitations are discussed below), there is surprisingly little association between fruit and vegetable intake and BMI. One explanation is that the data were insufficient, but since the physical activity variable had a measured effect on BMI, it appears that there is some validity to the data and findings. The findings imply that eating behaviors do not necessarily predate body size. In this study many people reported dieting, and specifically increasing fruit and vegetable intake to reduce weight. Overweight people in this study were more likely to be eating fruits and vegetables. It is plausible that Cubans of normal body weight did not have to worry about “watching” their diet and thus felt less pressure to abandon their *cubanidad* to eat “healthy.” This finding reveals the importance of temporality in dietary assessment. History of weight fluctuations, physical activity, and diet are important to take into account.

The BMI pattern of participants with no alternative foodway experience is curious; there was a positive relationship between SES and BMI. The pattern reflects the third world, pre-nutrition transition distribution of BMI along SES, despite most high SES participants being US-born or having lived in the US for at least 30 years. I interpret this finding to be an example of how culture can become manifested physically. Participants in the non-alternative foodway

group tended to be more conventional in terms of political values and seemed especially adhered to a Castro-as-villain/Cuba-as-the-promised-land ideology. Just as their longing for pre-Castro days tends to dominate much of their experience, so do their body size patterns reflect a pre-nutrition transition, third world pattern.

Applied Implications

The findings of this research can be directly applied to alternative foodway projects and public health missions to increase fruit and vegetable intake. First, there is some good news for local food projects in Miami. It seems logical that if Cubans abhor everything about Castro, then they would not appreciate anything that reminds them of his reign—including alternative foodways. However, the reluctance to become involved has to do with lack of time and social class issues, both of which can be remedied with planning and marketing.

Though organic food is definitely valued as an upper class luxury, *local* food seems to be associated with poorer Miamians. Furthermore, Latin Americans (not just from Cuba, but Colombia, Venezuela, Brazil, etc.) are familiar with farmers markets and urban farming in their own countries. These local foodways are not where the upper-crust goes. Given the number of farmers markets springing up and high-end restaurants offering local ingredients in the past two years of this research, it is evident that alternative foodways are swiftly becoming appropriated as commodities by the wealthy elsewhere in the US. If local, sustainable food activists can continue to supply low-income communities like Liberty City with local food while also marketing alternative foodways as a luxury, I am convinced that Miami will see a boom in alternative foodway availability.

Creating alternative foodways is about long-term planning and sustainability. Currently, Miami is conceptually more of a stopping point than a long-term home for the multitude of immigrant residents. If Miami local food activists are to see a dramatic restructuring of the foodway, then Miami needs to become a more hospitable, long-term home. Improved public services and fair treatment of the many undocumented workers who keep the main industries of Miami running would be the first steps towards improving the appeal of Miami-Dade County.

Limitations

Consensus Analysis Pitfalls

I encountered a methodological problem with pile sorting. I used pictures instead of words printed on cards to do the pilesorts because I was trying to reduce bias due to the different names that people used for the same item. Plus, I wanted to ensure that when people were performing the pile sorts that they would be thinking of the same thing. However, during the pile sorts, it became evident that the pictures were more confusing than simply writing the term on the notecard. The mistake here is that since freelisting elicits words, those same words must be used for the pile sorts. If freelisting involved choosing images of foods instead of food terms, then using images would be acceptable. I compromised the emic validity of the freelisted terms by imposing my own (non-Cuban) impression of what those terms *look* like. What was useful about the pilesorts was that they got people to start talking about the meaning of food and foodways. MDS graphs were used in the group discussions, which further elucidated the domain of food. The limitation of the group discussions was that there could have been a problem with social network bias, but by doing five separate group interviews this bias was likely reduced.

Overthinking food?

I had plenty of constructive criticism from my Cuban informants (some of it bordering on bashing), but several of them were academics in their own right. I have already mentioned some of their critiques concerning my portrayal of Cuban culture in Miami. However, a Cuban professor pointed out that perhaps I was over-thinking food. He had read my proposal and wrote me an email stating, “This whole project concerns the way people think about food and that this somehow translates into what people eat? That's quite a leap. The only people thinking this much about what they eat are people with health problems, nutritionists, etc. But for the average Cuban American? I'm unconvinced.”

Even the most basic bodily functions are subject to cultural values and meaning. While it seems that much of eating is a mindless activity (especially as I sit and eat in front of the computer writing this dissertation, subsisting on whatever I can find minus the trappings of a plate or table manners), cultural cognitive structures play a major role in our day-to-day lives. Just because we do not consciously think about food while we are eating, does not mean that it is culturally irrelevant. Our social discourse about food and consumption patterns construct meaning well beyond the moment of eating.

Food Intake Data

I chose to do 24 hour recall because pretesting indicated that Cubans would be more honest about what they ate in the past 24 hours than by doing food frequency interviewing. Furthermore, Cuban informants who helped with pretesting recommended that 24 hour recall was less tiring to complete. Also, I wanted the option to count caloric intake in future endeavors related to this dataset. Further investigation of the 24 hour recall data, beyond simply counting

fruit and vegetable servings, is needed to determine if there are relationships between food beliefs and values, food intake, and body size.

Future Directions

Along with analyzing more of the food intake data, two additional research directions are planned for this data.

Cultural Consonance

Dressler and Bindon (2000), and Dressler et al. (2005; 2007) have created a successful research paradigm which addresses the ability to accurately measure to what degree one achieves the cultural ideals in his or her life. Cultural consonance is the degree to which one approximates prototypical beliefs and behaviors encoded in cultural models in his or her own behavior. In research projects across diverse cultural settings in Brazil and Southern African American communities, Dressler and colleagues used arterial blood pressure as a biomarker of psychosocial stress. They paired this biomarker with reports of psychological distress as well (such as depression) individual cultural consonance levels. Lower consonance is associated with an increase in psychosocial stress and increased arterial blood pressure. Dressler and Bindon, and Dressler et al. ensured that these models were culturally salient by eliciting the models from the informants. A high degree of consensus or sharing of a model (participants agree with one another about what the model of a specific domain should be composed of) is a relatively good marker that the model is salient to the social group. Once the model is established, participants report their individual behavior based on the cultural model, and consonance level is determined. Cultural consonance analysis works for virtually any cultural domain that is salient (in which consensus is reached). Comparing participants' food intake data with the freelisted items would

be one measure of consonance. Exploring consonance as a predictor of BMI would be the next step using the current data set.

Retesting

Miami has seen huge growth in the arena of alternative foodways. New farmers markets have sprung up since the beginning of this research in September 2009. More restaurants are catching on to the trend of local food. An organic food co-op has recently opened, and in less than six months has more than 300 members. Retesting the same agree/disagree statements would reveal the degree to which knowledge within the cultural domain of food has developed and restructured. These findings would be important additions to the nature of culture change as measured by cultural consensus analysis.

To conclude, this research explored the cultural values of food and politics using complimentary quantitative and qualitative methods. The research set out to identify how sociocultural factors (such as, SES, political affiliation and experience with communism/capitalism) color the cultural domain of food. It is supported that immigration wave influences much of the heterogeneity in the Cuban enclave. SES emerges as a salient variable in predicting food related behaviors (intake and physical activity are correlated with SES) and body size. This research represents yet another example of how thoroughly social class pervades socio-cultural relations in American (and Cuban American) society. Finally, the research exemplifies how variables from diverse domains of social life (politics, experience with communism/capitalism, SES) influence values relating to the the alternative foodway movement.

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APPENDIX

Spanish-English Glossary

Aché- spirit or supernatural force, also a club in Little Havana

Agromercados- farmers markets

Ajiaco- indigenous stew

Aye- an exclamation similar to “Oh!”

Bacalao- fish stew

Balsero- Cuban rafter arriving in the 1990s.

batidas- juices or milkshakes

el bloque : the embargo

botanicas- store that sells *Santeria* and Catholic religious objects such as candles, amulets, and herbs, holy water, etc.

bodega- convenience store

cafecito- Cuban coffee

caja china- chinese box

Calle Ocho- Eighth Street in Little Havana

cariño- dear (term of endearment)

carnicería- butcher shop

croquetas- fried, breaded appetizers, resembling cheese sticks, filled with a mixture of onion,

flour and cheese, and either pork, chicken, or beef.

cubanidad- Cuban-ness

empanadas- fried pastries filled with meat

frita- pork/beef mixed hamburger with shoestring potatoes on a bun

fruteros- fruit trucks

gringa- female anglo

guarapo- fresh cane sugar juice

helado- ice cream

hijo mío- my son

huerto- home garden

jugo- juice

la lucha - the struggle

libreta- ration booklet

libreta del abastecimiento- the system of food distribution

maduros- ripe plantains prepared by sauteeing

mamey- mamey (type of fruit)

Marielitos- Cubans who came to the US during the Mariel boatlift

media noche- Cuban sandwich

mercado libre- free market

mi amor- my love (term of endearment)

mojito- rum mixed drink

mojo- Cuban sauce/condiment

moros y cristianos- black beans and white rice (literally moors and christians)

moros- black beans

mulattas- a woman of european and african heritage

novia- girlfriend

Ochún- A god in the Yoruba religion

orishas- intermediaries between the gods and humans in African religion (Yoruba)

pastelitos- pastries filled with fruit or meat

Palacio de los jugos- Palace of juices, a outdoor restaurant chain in Miami

Periodo Especial- Special Period

picadillo- skirt steak

pero- but

Pollo fricase- pan fried chicken

Que Pasa USA- sticom from the 1980s which was bilingual, and centered on Cuban-Americans in the US.

Quinceañeras: A fifteen year old female who is celebrating her “*quince*” [fifteenth] birthday party.

ropa vieja: shredded beef with tomato-based sauce (literally, old clothes)

Santeria- a syncretic religion with African and Catholic elements

“*Socialismo o muerte*”- “socialism or death”

sofrito- a mixture of tomato, garlic, onions, and spices, usually the base of many Cuban dishes

sola- alone

Taino- indigenous ethnic group of Cuba

tio- uncle

Tortilla- omelette

tostadas- toast, preferably Cuban bread, with butter

tostones- deep-fried plantains

vaca frita- fried, shredded beef (literally, fried cow)

viejitos- old timers

Viernes Culturales- Cultural Fridays

La Virgen de la Caridad del Cobre- the virgin of charity of Cuba

Yucca- Cuban root vegetable

English Informed Consent

Informed Consent

You are being asked to take part in a research study on Cuban food and culture. The study is being done by myself, Katy Groves, and I am a PhD candidate at the University of Alabama.

The results of this research will be applicable to developing cultural awareness of the types of foods that make up the Cuban cuisine, and identify the biological outcomes of different diets in Miami.

You have been asked to be in this study, because I am sampling Cuban adults who live in Miami. About 100 other people will be in this study.

If you decide to be in this study, you will be asked to answer a short set of questions. Being in this study will take about 45 minutes.

There will be no cost to you except for your time in completing the questionnaires. There are no direct benefits to you from being in this study. There are no foreseeable risks for being in this study beyond the activities of daily living.

Participation in this research is confidential. There will be no information that personally identifies you stored with your responses.

Taking part in this study is voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you start the study, you can stop at any time.

The University of Alabama Institutional Review Board (IRB) is the committee that protects the rights of people in research studies. The IRB may review study records from time to time to be sure that people in research studies are being treated fairly and that the study is being carried out as planned. If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant you may contact Ms. Tanta Myles, The University of Alabama Research Compliance Officer, at (205) 348-5152. If you have questions about the study right now, please ask them. If you have questions about the study later on, please call me, Katy Groves, at (270) 748-1856 or email groveskaty@yahoo.com. You may also contact Dr. Kathryn Oths, professor of anthropology, at (205) 348-5947, or email koths@as.ua.edu.

I have read this consent form. The study has been explained to me. I understand what I will be asked to do. I freely agree to take part in it. I will receive a copy of this consent form to keep.

Signature of Research Participant

Date

Investigator

Date

Spanish Informed Consent

Consentimiento Informado

Usted ha sido preguntado a participar en un estudio de comida y cultura Cubana. El estudio lo esta haciendo voz, Katy Groves, un candidato de un grado de doctorado de la Universidad de Alabama.

Los resultados de este estudio sera utilizado para construir cocimientos culturas de los tipos de comida Cubana y para identificar las dietas diferentes en Miami.

Usted ha sido preguntado en este estudio por que estoy estudiando adulto Cubanos quien vive en Miami. Acerca de 100 personas van a participar en este estudio. Si tu decida a participar en este estudio, usted será preguntado una conjunto de preguntas. El estudio tomará acerca de 45 minutos.

El unico costo a usted será su tiempo. No hay beneficios ni riesgos previsibles de participar en este estudio. La participación en esta investigación es confidencial. No habrá información que personalmente le identifica almacenó con sus respuestas. Participación en este estudio es voluntaria. Usted puede escoger no tomar parte en el estudio. Si usted comienza el estudio, usted puede parar cuándo desea.

La Tabla Institucional de Revisión (IRB) de la Universidad de Alabama es el comité que protege los derechos de personas en estudios de investigación. El IRB puede revisar registros de estudio de vez en cuando para estar seguro que personas en estudios de investigación son tratadas bastante y que el estudio es llevado a cabo como planeado. Si usted tiene cualquier pregunta acerca de sus derechos como un participante de investigación, usted puede contactar la Sra. Tanta Myles en (205) 348-5152 o toll libre en 1-877-820-3066.

Si usted tiene preguntas acerca del estudio en este momento, por favor los preguntan. Si usted tiene preguntas acerca del estudio más tarde, por favor me llaman, Katy Groves, en 270-748-1856 o groveskaty@yahoo.com correo electrónico. O usted puede llamar Dr. Kathy Oths, Profesora de La Antropología, en 205-348-5947, o koths@as.ua.edu, correo electrónico.

He leído esta forma de consentimiento. El estudio ha sido explicado a mí. Comprendo lo que será pedido hacer. Conuerdo libremente tomar parte en ello. Recibiré una copia de esta forma de consentimiento para mantener.

Firma de participante

Fecha

Firma de investigador

Fecha

English Interview Schedule

ID# _____

Ethnographic interview:

Interview date _____

Interview Location _____

Interviewee is from:

a) little havana b) hialeah c) kendall d) coral gables e) other

I. Basic Info:

1. Gender Male Female

2. What is your date of birth? ____ - ____ - ____

3a. What is your occupation?

3b. What is the occupation of the primary earner in your household?

(What does the person who makes the most money in your household do?)

4a. What ethnicity best describes you?

0 – Cuban 1 – Cuban-American 2 – American 3 - Other

4b. What best describes you?

0 – Euro Cuban 1 – Afro Cuban 2 – Jewish Cuban 3 – Other

5a. What is the highest level of school that you have completed?

0 – middle school 1 – highschool

2 – associates degree 3 – bachelor's degree

4 – graduate degree

ID# _____

5b. How many years have you attended school _____?

6. What is the zipcode of where you live? _____

7a. Have you lived anywhere other than Miami? Y N

7b. (If yes) Where?

8. Would you describe yourself as

1st Generation Cuban (you were born in Cuba, or you stayed until at least 11 years of age)

2nd generation Cuban (you were born in Cuba and left before 11 years of age or were born in the US) or

3rd generation Cuban (you were born to Cuban parents who were also born in Cuba or arrived before they were 11 years old)

0 - 1st generation

1 - 2nd generation

2 - 3rd generation

9. When did (you / your parents) arrive leave Cuba?

(Wave: _____)

10. Describe (your / what you know of your parent's) experience of coming to the US:

(Prompts: What surprised you? What did you miss? How did you adjust to the new place?)

ID# _____

II. Political

11. How would you describe your political affiliation?

0 – democrat 1 – republican 2 – other _____ 3 – don't have one

12. How much do you support the US embargo against Cuba?

0 – Strongly support 1 – moderately support 2 – moderately oppose 3 – strongly oppose

13. How do you feel about US – Cuba political relations?

ID# _____

20a. Do you or anyone in your household grow plants?

0- Yes

1- No

20b. If yes: What do you grow?

21a. Do you eat anything from your garden? Yes No

22b. If yes: What?

For 1st generation informants:

23. Tell me if you were ever involved with growing things in Cuba? What sorts of things did you

(prompt: urban agriculture/ agricultura urbana, los huertos/home gardens, community gardens/co-opertivos)

ID# _____

V. Body size and Activity

24. Please stand and remove your shoes so that I can measure your height _____ cm

25. Please step onto the scale so that I can read your weight _____ kg

BMI _____

26. Please list all of the physical activities that you do during the average week. These physical activities may include exercise, sports or recreation, or things that you do for work when you are not sitting or sleeping. (For example, running, lifting weights, walking, dancing, playing sports)

(In other words, tell me what kinds of activities that you do when you are not sitting still during an average week. These might be things that you do while working, playing, or while exercising)

Now tell me how long you do each of these activities.

Activity week	Amount of time per
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

ID#

FREE LISTING

1. Please list characteristics that make someone “Cuban” for example, how do you know someone is Cuban? What are ways that a person expresses their “cubanness”? I know there are a lot of different types of Cubans in Miami, but just describe what the Cubans are like who you hang out with (like family and friends).

2. Please tell me what people around here eat. (People you know, like friends, family or co-workers)

3. Now tell me where people get these foods. (restrnts, groceries, prepared and where)

GROUP DISCUSSION: ENGLISH ONLY

DATE _____

LOCATION _____

PARTICIPANT IDs: _____

Thank you all for coming tonight, and for helping me with my research. I've already read the informed consent to you, but I want to tell you again that your answers are confidential. I have 10 questions to ask you. So I don't keep you here all night, we should probably keep the discussion for each question at no more than 10 minutes.

1. What makes a person Cuban in Miami?
2. How is Cuban food different in Miami compared to Havana?
3. How do you know what foods are healthy?
4. What makes a food healthy?
5. Where do you find the healthiest foods?
6. Where do you find the least healthy foods?

7. (Pass out lists of free listed terms) These terms were listed by other Cubans living in Miami as 'foods that people you know eat.'
8. They were then asked to sort these foods into piles that made sense to them. (Pass out the MDS map.) This is a graph represents how often people sorted items together. So, for example, *pastelitos* and avocado were probably never put in the same pile, but soft drinks and chips were often grouped together. Our task is to figure out what people are thinking about when they sorted foods and what the findings mean. There are no right or wrong answers, this research is about what you *think*, so please do not hesitate to share any ideas that you have.
9. This is the last topic for us to discuss. A local food project is going to be set up in your neighborhood. Mango, papaya, and avocado trees will be planted along the sidewalks, and anyone can gather from the tree. Community gardens will be set up in a park and people living in the area can rent a plot for low cost. They can garden whatever they like, and farmers will show people how to grow vegetables year round. Do you think that people in your community would be supportive or opposed to this project?
10. This is a review of the main points that we discussed today/tonight. (Read notes) Is there anything I left out? (record additions) Now let's narrow these points down to 3 to 5 statements that best summarize our discussion topics.

ID# _____

Key Informant Life History

I've already asked you about your experience/ your parents' experience of arriving in the US from Cuba. Please tell me more details about your life and experiences. I want to remind you again that this is confidential. Your name will not be used in the dissertation or any publications, nor will it be stored in the recording of this interview.

Consensus Analysis Interview

ID # _____

I am going to read sentences about food in Miami. Tell me if you agree or disagree with each sentence.

	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Eating Cuban food is one of the best ways to express being Cuban in Miami.2. Every good Cuban family should eat together on Sunday and serve authentic Cuban food.3. It is important to eat Cuban food, because, without it, we lose part of our culture.4. Sandwiches, fast food, cereal, steak, pasta, and pizza are American foods.5. The patrons of Versailles restaurant are usually pro-embargo.
	<ol style="list-style-type: none">6. Cuban food gives the body a desirable form.7. Cuban food has both healthy and unhealthy dishes, but for the most part, eating Cuban food all the time will make one gain weight.8. <i>Pastelitos</i>, Cuban sandwiches, <i>croquetas</i>, fast food, and pizza are unhealthy foods.9. Home-cooked food is healthier than restaurant food.10. Fruits vegetables and meats produced in the US have chemicals in them that are unhealthy.
	<ol style="list-style-type: none">11. Communism destroyed the culture of Cuba, especially Cuban cuisine.12. There is more food in the US than in Cuba, but less time to spend preparing food.13. Cuban food in Miami is very different than Cuban food in Cuba.14. Cubans who immigrated at different times may eat differently, but to celebrate we all do a <i>caja china</i>.15. Cubans grow their own food in Cuba because there is nothing to eat; we don't need to grow our own food like them because we have plenty to eat in Miami.
	<ol style="list-style-type: none">16. Supermarkets are cleaner than farmers markets and <i>fruterios</i>.17. Farmers markets are less convenient than supermarkets18. Fruits and vegetables at farmers markets are healthier than the same foods from a supermarket.19. The healthiest food is from a home garden.20. Miami needs more community gardens, farmers markets, and local food projects.21. Growing fruit trees and vegetable plants in public areas is a bad idea because the plants are messy.22. Community gardens in neighborhoods are a bad idea; bums might start hanging around to get the food.23. Poor neighborhoods need community gardens because they do not have enough money to buy good food.

Spanish Interview

ID# _____

Entrevista Etnografica

Fecha de entrevista

Entrevistado vive en:

a) little havana b) hialeah c) kendall d) coral gables e) otros

Información Basica :

1. Sexo: Masculino Femenino

2. ¿Cual es su fecha de nacimiento? ____ - ____ - ____

3a. ¿Cual es su ocupación/ A que se dedica?

3b. ¿Cual es la ocupación de la persona que provee sostén en su familia

(Que hace la persona que hace mas dinero en su familia.)

4a. Que etnicidad de describe mejor como persona

0 – Cubano/a 1 – Cubano/a-Americano/a 2 – Americano 3 – Otra

4b. ¿Como te describes major como persona?

0 – Euro Cubano 1 – Afro Cubano 2 – Jewish Cubano 3 – Otra

5a. ¿Cual es el nivel mas alto de educación que has completado?

0 – Middle school / Escuela Media 1 – Highschool / Bachillerato/ Secundaria

2 – Associates degree/ Titulo Asociado/ Técnico 3 – Bachelor's degree/ Titulo Universitario

4 – Graduate degree/ Posgrado / Masters

ID# _____

5b. ¿Por cuantos años atendió la escuela? _____

6. ¿Cual es el código postal donde usted reside?

7a. ¿Ha vivido en otro lugar que no sea Miami? si no

7b. ¿Si la respuesta es si, donde?

8. ¿Se describiría usted como?

Primera Generación Cubana (Nació en Cuba, o vivió en Cuba por el mínimo hasta los 11 años de la edad)

Segunda Generación Cubana (Nació en Cuba y partió a la edad de 11 años o usted nació en los Estados Unidos)

Tercera Generación Cubana (Nació de padres Cubanos que también nacieron en Cuba o que llegaron antes de cumplir los 11 años)

1 Generación

2 Generación

3 Generación

9. ¿Cuándo (usted / sus padres) llegaron o se fueron de Cuba?

(Wave: _____)

10. Describa la experiencia suya y de sus padres en venir a los Estados Unidos:

¿Que extrañaste? ¿Como te acoplaste al nuevo sitio?

ID# _____

II. Política

11. ¿ Como describiría su afiliación política?

0 – Democrateice/Democrato/a 1 – Republican/Republicano/a 2 – Otra
_____ 3 – No tiene ninguna preferencia.

12. ¿Que tanto apoya usted el embargo de Estados Unidos contra Cuba?

0 – Apoya fuertemente 1 – Apoya moderadamente 2 – Se opone moderadamente 3 –
Se opone fuertemente.

13. ¿Como se siente acerca de las relaciones políticas entre Cuba y Estados Unidos?

ID# _____

20a. ¿Usted o alguien de su familia siembra plantas?

0- si

1- No

20b. ¿Si la respuesta es si, que siembra?

21a. ¿Consume usted algo de su cultivo? Yes No

22b. Si la respuesta es si, que? es?

Informante de la Primera generaci3n:

23. Dígame si alguna vez estuvo envuelto en la agricultura en Cuba? Que clase de plantas cultivo?

ID# _____

V. Body size and Activity

24. _____ cm

Por favor póngase de pie, remueva sus zapatos para poder medir su estatura.

25. _____ kg

Por favor de pararse encima de la balanza para medir su peso.

BMI _____

26. Por favor, mencione todas las actividades físicas que usted realiza durante una semana normal. Estas actividades físicas pueden incluir ejercicio, deportes, recreación, o cosas que usted hace cuando no esta sentado o dormido. Ejemplo: correr, levantamiento de pesas, caminar, bailar, o jugar algún deporte.

En otras palabras, dígame la clase de actividades que hace cuando no esta sentado durante su hora de trabajo o puede ser cosas que hace cuando esta trabajando, jugando, o cuando esta haciendo ejercicio.

Dígame que tanto tiempo le toma cada una de las actividades.

Actividad	Tiempo por semana
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

ID#

FREE LISTING

1. Por favor escriba algunas de las características que describan a un “Cubano”. ¿Cuales son las formas en que una persona expresa su ‘Cubanismo’? Se que hay diferente tipos de Cubanos en Miami, pero solo describa como son los cubanos con los que usted pasa mas tiempo como su familia o amigos.

2. Por favor dígame lo que comen las personas aquí (Gente que usted conoce, como amigos, familia o compañeros de trabajo)

3. Dígame donde compran la comida estas personas (restaurantes, supermercado, la preparan y donde)

ID# _____

Key Informant Life History

Ya te pregunte acerca de tu experiencia y la experiencia de tus padres cuando llegaron a Los Estados Unidos desde Cuba. Por favor dígame mas detalles acerca de tu vida y experiencias. Solo quiero recordarle una vez mas que esto es confidencial. Su nombre no sera puesto en ninguna publicación ni sera mencionado en ninguna parte de esta entrevista.

Consensus Analysis Agree/ disagree:

Dígame si esta o no esta de acuerdo/a con las afirmaciones:

<p>1. Comer comida Cubana es una de las mejores formas de expresar el ser Cubano en Miami.</p> <p>2. Toda Buena familia Cubana debe de comer juntos los Domingos y servir comida Cubana autentica.</p> <p>3. Es importante comer la comida Cubana, porque sin ella, perdemos parte de nuestra cultura.</p> <p>4. Sándwiches, comidas rápidas, cereales, filete, pasta y pizza son comidas Americanas.</p> <p>5. Los clientes del restaurantee Versaillesestánn a favor del embargo.</p>
<p>6. La comida Cubana le da al cuerpo una figura deseada.</p> <p>7. La comida Cubana tiene platos saludables y no saludables, pero mas que todo, comer comida Cubana todo el tiempo hará que el peso de uno aumente.</p> <p>8. Pastelitos, sándwiches Cubanos, croquetas, comida rápida y pizza son comidas no saludables.</p> <p>9. Comida hecha en casa es mas saludable que comida de restaurante.</p> <p>10. Frutas, vegetales y carnes producidas en Estados Unidos tienen químicos que no son saludables.</p>
<p>11. El Comunismo destruyo la cultura de Cuba, especialmente la tradición culinaria.</p> <p>12. Hay mas comida en Estados Unidos que en Cuba, pero hay menos tiempo para prepararla.</p> <p>13. Comida Cubana en Miami es muy diferente a la comida Cubana en Cuba.</p> <p>14. Cubanos que han inmigrado en distintas épocas comen de diferentes formas, pero para celebrar, todos preparamos una caja china.</p> <p>15. Cubanos siembran su propia comida en Cuba porque no hay nada para comer; no necesitamos sembrar nuestra propia comida porque hay suficiente para comer aquí en Miami.</p>
<p>16. Los supermercados son mas limpios que los fruteros y los mercados de granjeros.</p> <p>17. Los agromercados son menos convenientes que los supermercados.</p> <p>18. Las frutas y los vegetales del mercado de granjeros son mas saludables que las mismas comidas si son vendidas en un supermercado.</p> <p>19. Las comida mas saludable proviene de un cultivo en la casa propia.</p> <p>20. Miami necesita mas cultivos comunitarios, mercados de granjeros y proyectos de comida local.</p> <p>21. Crecer arboles de frutas y plantas de vegetales en un publico lugar es una mala idea porque las plantas están sucias.</p> <p>22. Cultivos comunitarios en vecindarios urbanos son una mala idea; indigentes pueden acercarse para obtener comida.</p> <p>23. Vecindarios pobres necesitan cultivos comunitarios porque los residentes no tienen suficiente dinero para comprar comida.</p>

December 15, 2009

Office for Research
Institutional Review Board for the
Protection of Human Subjects

THE UNIVERSITY OF
ALABAMA
RESEARCH

Katy Groves, M.A., ABD
Department of Anthropology
College of Arts & Sciences
The University of Alabama

Re: IRB # 09-OR-358 "From the Roof to the Table and Across the Straits:
Urban Agriculture, Cultural Models of Food, and Havana-Miami Social
Networks"

Dear Ms. Groves:

The University of Alabama Institutional Review Board has granted
approval for your proposed research

Your application has been given expedited approval according to 45 CFR
part 46. Approval has been given under expedited review category 7 as
outlined below:

*(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior
(including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition,
motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or
practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview,
oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation,
or quality assurance methodologies.*

Your application will expire on December 14, 2010. If your research will
continue beyond this date, complete the relevant portions of Continuing
Review and Closure Form. If you wish to modify the application,
complete the Modification of an Approved Protocol Form. When the
study closes, complete the appropriate portions of FORM: Continuing
Review and Closure.

Please use reproductions of the IRB approved informed consent form to
obtain consent from your participants.

Should you need to submit any further correspondence regarding this
proposal, please include the above application number.

Good luck with your research.

Sincerely,



152 Rose Administration Building
Box 870117
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35487-0117
(205) 348-5152
fax (205) 348-8882



Carpentato J. Myles, MSW, CIM
Director & Research Compliance Officer
Office for Research Compliance
The University of Alabama

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
HUMAN RESEARCH PROTECTION PROGRAM

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

Title of Research: From the Rooftop to the Table and Across the Straits:
Cultural Models of Food and Agriculture in Miami and Havana

Investigator(s): Katy Groves, M.A. and Dr. Kathryn Oths, Ph.D.

IRB Approval #:

OSP #:

Sponsor:

You _____ are being asked to be in a research study.
(name)

The name of this study is "From the Rooftop to the Table and Across the Straits: Cultural Models of Food and Agriculture in Miami and Havana"

This study is being done by Katy Groves, MA, and Kathryn Oths, PhD. Ms. Groves is a doctoral student and Dr. Oths is a professor at the University of Alabama Department of Anthropology.

What is the purpose of this study—what is it trying to learn?

The purpose of this study is to examine the ways people in Miami and Havana think about food, how the Cuban cuisine has developed differently in Miami and Havana, and how different food and lifestyle behaviors affect health outcomes.

Why this study is important—what good will the results do?

Outside of Miami and Havana, many people do not know the about the rich food and culture of Cuba, this research will contribute to academic and popular literature about Cuban food and culture. Research on this topic can be useful in identifying eating patterns that are helpful or ones that lead to sickness.

Why have I been asked be in this study?

You have been asked to be in this study because you are an adult who identifies as Cuban or Cuban-American.

How many other people will be in this study?

There will be at least 200 people in this study.

1 of 3

Potential's Initials _____

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA IRB
CONSENT FORM APPROVED: 12-14-10
EXPIRATION DATE: 12-14-11

What will we be asked to do in this study?

If you agree to be in this study, you will take part in this interview. The interview will take place at the location of your preference. You may be asked to take part in a follow-up interview. Participants will be asked to complete an interview about what they know about food, and how it was obtained (grown, bought, etc). You will also be asked about you and your peers eating habits, your relationships with other Cubans or Cuban-Americans, the frequency of contact with relatives or friends in Cuba and if you send remittances to them, your general health, and how active you are. You will also be asked questions about your educational background and your occupation. Your height and weight will be measured. These measurements are confidential.

If you are contacted for a follow-up interview, you will be asked to elaborate on your experience as a Cuban in Miami, and how food factors into your identity.

How much time will I spend being in this study?

This interview will take about 45 minutes to an hour to complete. The follow-up interview will also take no more than an hour.

Will being in this study cost us anything?

The only cost to you is the time you will spend in doing the interview(s).

What are the benefits of being in this study?

Although we cannot promise good results, it is possible that you will learn more about food and nutrition. You may feel good about helping with a study that focuses on Cuban culture.

What are the risks (dangers or harms) to me if I am in this study?

There are no foreseen risks for being in this study.

How will my privacy be protected?

We will not tell anyone that you are in this study. You do not have to answer any questions or give us any information that you do not want to.

How will my confidentiality be protected?

We will protect your information by giving you an identification number. Your names will not appear on any study document besides this consent form. There is no way to link consent forms and names with data. The data from the study will be kept separate from this form.

No one will have access to it except the investigators. We will publish scientific articles on this study but no names will be identified. No one will be able to tell who you are.

Do I have to be in this study?

No. If you decide to be in this study it should be because you really want to volunteer. You can refuse to be in the study. You can also start the study and decide to stop at any time. If you refuse or if you start the study and then stop it, you will not lose any benefits or rights you would normally have.

If we don't want to be in the study, are there other choices?

If you do not want to be in this study, the other choice is to refuse. We will thank you for your time and leave.

What if new information is learned during the study that might affect my well-being or decision to continue in the study?

You can tell us at any time whether you want to continue in the study or not.

What if we have questions, suggestions, concerns, or complaints?

If you have questions about the study now, please ask them. If you have questions or concerns later, you can reach Ms. Groves at 270-748-1856 or Dr. Oths at 205-348-5947. If you have questions about your rights as a person taking part in a research study, call Ms. Tanta Myles, The Research Compliance Officer of the University of Alabama at 205-348-8461.

What else do we need to know?

You do not give up any of your legal rights by signing this consent form.

You will be given a copy of this consent form to keep. Save it in case you want to review it later or you decide to contact the investigator or the university about the study.

The University of Alabama Institutional Review Board (IRB) is the committee that protects the rights of people in research studies. The IRB may review study records from time to time to be sure that people in research studies are being treated fairly and the study is being carried out as planned.

This study is supported by a Graduate Council Research Fellowship from the University of Alabama. The fellowship pays the primary investigator a stipend. The investigators are not receiving extra money for doing this study.

I have read this consent form. I have had a chance to ask questions. My questions have been answered. I understand what I will be asked to do. I freely agree that I will take part in it.

_____ Date _____
Signature of Research Participant

_____ Date _____
Signature of Investigator

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA IRB
CONSENT FORM APPROVED: 12-11-18
EXPIRATION DATE: 12-11-18

