"They just don't get it"

Local discourse dynamics around tourism development on the Osa

Peninsula, Costa Rica

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Abstract

In a country where tourism is the largest export product, Costa Rica's Osa Peninsula remains a moderately visited area. Several development plans indicate however that large-scale touristic developments are awaiting the region. This research focuses on the way residents of the area give meaning to these looming developments, using discourse analysis. Ten weeks of fieldwork on the Osa Peninsula provide insights in local discourse concerning the plans for large-scale tourism development and in the ways these discourses reveal particular differentiation and fragmentation in society. Using a post-structuralist approach and rejecting essentialist views of tourism being either exploitative or beneficial for local residents, this research centres on the local dynamics connected to upcoming changes.

While I expected that alliances would emerge based on the sharing of a particular objective, no explicit groups can be defined that gain a foothold on the ground. The local fragmentation stems from a lack of collective identity, related to the regions remoteness and its history of migration, which has left its traces in a current lack of leadership and lack of shared rituals. Also the strong local interdependence prevents residents from publically outspeaking their judgement or uniting against co-residents. As much as storylines are strategically uttered, silence and neutrality are strategically used in this remote area, where no one wishes to make enemies. These results support post-structuralist arguments arguing against essentialist views of a monolithic community, and show that neither clear *sub*-groups can be defined based on the sharing of particular characteristics. Post-structuralisms focus on local power and agency cannot be endorsed based on this research, as a certain cohesion is needed to turn passivity into action and make local voices powerful.

Residents do frame society however as if it were divided in particular groups, like 'newcomers' versus 'original residents', or 'rich' versus 'poor'. Building on discourse theory, this is explained as a way to reaffirm personal opinion by distancing from particular others, and to make sense of a complex situation. If the diverse population of the Osa Peninsula doesn't find a way to unite and identify with their home ground, investors will perceive less restrictions to develop the projects they wish for. This will increase the likelihood of large-scale tourism developing soon, for the good or for the bad -depending on which discourse is drawn upon- but undoubtedly affecting the landscape and the lives of the inhabitants irreversibly.

Keywords: *Post-structuralism, Discourse dynamics, Tourism development, Local fragmentation, Costa Rica, Osa Peninsula*

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1. Introduction

1.1 Problem statement

'The Osa Peninsula is the last remaining section of Costa Rica's Pacific coast where ecotourism is the dominant type of tourism' (Hunt et al. 2015: 16). Due to the area's remoteness, seasonal wet weather and less developed infrastructure it remained an 'of the beaten track' destination, mostly visited by eco-tourists interested in visiting its natural parks. The Osa Peninsula is often contrasted to the Northern Guanacaste Peninsula, where since the opening of an international Airport in 2002 many large-scale hotels and all-inclusive resorts have been constructed, welcoming 'sun-and-fun-seekers'. However, in recent years the Osa Peninsula has been identified as a potential location for large-scale resort and vacation home development, for an upscale international market (Driscoll et al. 2012: 9). Current developments on the Osa Peninsula reflect wider developments in Costa Rica's tourism sector. While using its natural image to attract tourists, the country is trying to increase the amount of visitors by investing in large-scale tourism development. This is remarkably, since most of the characteristics of conventional mass tourism are in direct contrast to those of nature-based ecotourism (Kahn 2002: 989).

Recently the *Costanera Sur* highway was opened that halved the travel time from the capital city of San José to the Osa Peninsula by car. American investors are working on the permissions and funding of a residential resort and marina in the Golfo Dulce, and enduring rumours to construct an international airport in the Southern region of the country, further stimulate the so the so called 'Guanacastization' of the Osa Peninsula. Honey describes that fears exist that the Osa might see rapid, uncontrolled real estate and mass tourism development (2008: 175). Several others studies indicate that the prospect of large-scale tourism moving into the Osa region creates consternation among local residents, researchers, and environmental NGOs (van Noorloos, 2011; Morales & Pratt, 2010 in Hunt et al. 2015: 5; Mora 2013).

Opponents of large-scale development on the Osa focus mostly on the negative implications for the region's biodiversity or local culture. Advocates of the touristic mega-projects focus on job-creation and other economic advantages large-scale tourism might bring to the people in this lesser developed region of the country (Hunt et al. 2015; Driscoll et al. 2011). While both proponents and opponents speak about consequences for the local population, local voices are not heard much in this debate. Little is known about how local people themselves perceive the pros and cons associated with touristic development and how they give meaning to, and act upon these changes, assuming that local people have been duped into accepting tourism, rather than having chosen for such an option for themselves. If the residents of the area are mentioned, 'The Community' is listed between turtles, whales or mangrove forest as a 'species' to be protected from touristic developments, or as a passive entity that is waiting for economic

opportunities to be brought to them, assuming that they are homogeneous entities with shared interests[1]. In reality not such clear delimited entities exist, and if people do identify as a community, it is likely that it is made up out of distinct interest groups (Scheyvens 2007: 241). Although the local population might not be financing new infrastructure or negotiating directly with international travel agencies when tourism develops, they are nevertheless affecting what happens on the ground (Stronza 2001: 275).

1.2 Research aim

The aim of this research is to provide a better understanding of the current changes in Costa Rica's Osa Peninsula that so far only received a small proportion of eco-tourists, but is identified as a potential location for large-scale tourism. Discourse analysis helps to explore how local residents give meaning to the plans for touristic developments and how different discourses interweave, leading to possible new alliances and divisions in society. The post-structuralist approach used rejects essentialist views of tourism being either exploitative or beneficial for local residents. It is acknowledged there are complex relations in which tourism and development are interrelated, and it is stressed that there is not such a thing as 'The Community' that either wins or loses when large-scale tourism development processes take place. Exactly the diversity and division among residents are of interest, explaining how the population gives meaning to, acts upon, or neglects tourism developments on their home ground. Through this case study it is furthermore aimed to contribute to theoretical debates concerning the usage of developmental paradigms in tourism, and to the significance and rectitude of post-structuralism and discourse theory within tourism and development studies.

1.3 Research questions

This research will be led by the following research-question:

Which local discourses can be identified with regards to the plans for tourism development on the Osa Peninsula and what are the dynamics between these discourses?

To answer this question, the following sub-questions will be answered:

- Which discourses can be identified among the Osa residents concerning tourism development?
- In what way is discourse used to differentiate between various groups among the population?
- How can the lack of alliances among people sharing a particular discourse be explained?

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[1] For example: *Peticiones de la Communidad*, petition against the planned marina in Puerto Jiménez, Retrieved from: https://secure.avaaz.org/es/petition/Detener_la_construccion_de_la_Marina_y_Resort_Cocodrilo_en_el_Golfo_Dulce_Costa_Rica /?syzqtdb on 24-03-15; *AmbienTico: Revista mensual sobre la actualidad ambiental* ISSN 1409-214X#235 Julio 2013, Costa Rican Magazine about environmental actualities. Retrieved from: http://www.ambientico.una.ac.cr/pdfs/ambientico/235.pdf. On 26-02-15.

1.4 Outline

Now the research topic and objective have been introduced, the second chapter will be dedicated to providing a situational and historical context of the region this research focuses on. After an introduction in tourism development in Costa Rica, the focus will be on the recent history and development of tourism on the Osa Peninsula. It is important to consider the characteristics of the place and the people under study to understand the empirical results and current problems in the region in their proper context. The third chapter will provide the conceptual context this research builds upon. This theory chapter starts with an overview of paradigms that influenced discourse on tourism and development over time, and then focusses on post-structuralism that emphasizes exactly the diversity and division that will be of importance in this research. After explaining the interest of using a post-structuralist perspective, discourse theory will be introduced, of which certain aspects will be used to collect data and to analyze the empirical results. Chapter four will explain and reflect on the methods and methodology used, providing insight in the way the results are obtained that are under attention in the following chapters. Chapter five shows the results of this research. First five storylines that were frequently expressed are explained. This introduces the current situation and provides insight in prevailing opinions on tourism development. Since no strong coalitions arouse, does the next part interpret this local fragmentation looking into local history and characteristics of the region and its inhabitants. In chapter six a conclusion is provided, summarizing the main results of this study. In the following discussion chapter theory and results are further interwoven. The results of this particular case are compared to other studies concerting tourism development and local action, and the discourse as expressed to the main development paradigms. It is reflected on how the research' conclusions in certain areas underwrite post-structuralist and discourse theory assumptions, and in other respects questions their premises.

2. Context

2.1 Tourism development in Costa Rica: Two-track policy

'The exotic display of flora and fauna is waiting for tourists from all over the world in a unique place, different from any other destination', can be read on Costa Rica's official tourism website. The country has promoted 'nature' as its unique selling point for decades. As early as 1960 the countries' slogan ushered '*Costa Rica, the Garden of the Americas'* [2], followed by '*Costa Rica es...Natural'* (Champion 1994 in Minca & Linda 2001: 110) and *'Costa Rica, no artificial Ingredients'* [3] The Costa Rica Tourism Board (ICT), founded in 1955, identified Costa Rica's flora and fauna as main attractions since the outset of tourism in the region. The attraction of tourists to the country has been very successful as tourism in Costa Rica is the most important source of foreign exchange and one of the largest industries in the country (Brida & Zapata 2011: 326). According to Van der Duim and Philipsen (2002) tourist interest was boosted among others by scientists who had begun to study Costa Rica's wildlife and nature in the early 1970s. They were followed by an increasing flow of tourists, looking for 'pristine wilderness'. Tourist expansion has arisen rapidly, with a quarter of a million international arrivals in 1985, one million in 1999 and two and a half million arrivals in 2014. Most tourist are North Americans (65% in 2014), but the biggest increase in tourist arrivals is from Europe[4]. China is appointed as the most important new source of tourists to Costa Rica. Minister of tourism Allan Flores has declared in media he works *on 'ensuring air connectivity and preparing the sector to welcome and guide Chinese tourists [...]*)[5].

Partly thanks to the flourishing tourism industry, Costa Rica is one of the few countries in Central America that has been successful in overcoming poverty challenges according to the World Bank (World Bank 2012). Struck by a debt crisis in 1981 Costa Rica failed to comply on its foreign loans and had to adopt neo-liberal policies pushed by International Monetary Fund structural adjustment programs and World Bank lending policies (Kull et al. 2007: 730). Private sector opportunities were increased and the country was exposed to the international competitive market. This had big impacts on the livelihoods of Costa Rica's population. Changes to local livelihood strategies included often the abandonment of farming and

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[2] Tourism in Costa Rica: History and Development, Imagenes Tropicales. Retrieved from: www.travelcostarica.nu/tourism-in-costa-rica on 18-02-15

[3] Williams, A. (2011, 27 January) New Costa Rica tourism campaign promotes Pura Vida in US. The Tico Times. Retrieved from: www.ticotimes.net/2011/01/28/new-costa-rica-tourism-campaign-promotes-pura-vida-in-u-s on 18-02-15

[4] Arias, L. (2015, 22 January) *Upbeat outlook for Costa Rica tourism, as visitors, revenue up in 2014.* The Tico Times. Retrieved from: http://www.ticotimes.net/2015/01/22/upbeat-outlook-for-costa-rica-tourism-as-visitors-revenue-up-in-2014 on 03-02-15.

[5] *China and Costa Rica to Establish Air Connections* (2012, 2 September) The Costa Rica News. Retrieved from: http://thecostaricanews.com/china-and-costa-rica-to-establish-air-connections on 06-02-15.

engagement in wage labour, for example in the tourism sector. Tourism was seen as a clean industry and an opportunity to bring in the needed foreign currency (Minca & Linda 2001: 110). The World Bank speaks of 'a development success story', but also indicates that the average percentage of people living in poverty increased as growth largely benefitted skilled labour (World Bank 2014). The key challenge for Costa Rica appears to be then, how to ensure that the benefits of tourism development accrue to the poor (Croes 2013: 213).

Besides socio-economic impacts, tourism development has had a big influence on the natural environment of the country. From 1950 through the mid-1980s, before the rise in tourism, Costa Rica's forests disappeared at almost four percent per year (Kull et al. 2010: 729). Driven by international markets and supported by domestic credit and subsidy incentives, large areas were cleared for agricultural exports and pastureland (ibid.). Tourism investment, changing livelihood practices, and a grown international awareness about nature conservation, turned the deforestation trend in the 1990s. Approximately a quarter of the surface of the country became designated as protected area (Van der Duim & Philipsen 2002) and Costa Rica became soon known as 'the world's leading example of environmental conservation' (Zambrano et al. 2010: 62). Nature became valued not only by international scientists or tourists but also by Costa Ricans as a part of patrimonial heritage and an economically profitable resource as tourism 'spurred an entire industry to devote to images of pristine nature'(Campbell 2002 in Kull et al. 2007: 730). In line with these developments, Costa Rica strives to become the first carbon neutral country in the world. In May 2007, Costa Rica's government announced it was drawing up plans to reduce net greenhouse gas emissions to zero before 2030 (World Watch Institute 2013). *'We want Costa Rica to be a guilt-free location to visit, and that will be good for business',* environmental minister Dobles declared[6].

The commitment to conservation has however brought a considerable amount of problems that 'Costa Rican governments through the years have not been entirely able to tackle' Minca and Linda argue (2001: 110). Tourist accommodation and facilities grew accordingly the amount of visitor arrivals and despite Costa Rica's high profile environmental agenda, large resorts and hotels are increasingly becoming the norm, especially in the coastal region of Guanacaste (Honey 2008: 164, 165; Van Noorloos 2012). The first of its sort was Papagayo, a luxury mega-resort project constructed in 1995 and the 'antithesis of 'green development' (Honey 2008: 165). The struggles over the construction of this and other big resorts has however stimulated the public debate over mega versus modest tourism projects, and put pressure on new projects to adopt environmental reforms according to Honey (2008: 166). However, at the moment

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[6] Lovgren, S. *Costa Rica Aims to Be 1st Carbon-Neutral Country* (2008, 7 March) Retrieved from:http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2008/03/080307-costa-rica_2.html on 18-02-15.

three resorts are under construction on the Papagayo Peninsula and design plans for two more will be submitted later this year. While former Costa Rican Minister Castro Salazar once envisioned: *'Tourism for the few who are prepared to pay more'* (quoted from Van der Duim & Philipsen 2002: 2), the increase of charter flights together with the construction of large scale tourist facilities suggest tourism is no longer meant to be just for the happy few. Crowding might damage the nature that is the current tourist attraction, undermine the ecotourism sector and turn Costa Rica in 'another Cancun or Miami' (Music & Jordan 2013), it is argued. There is a growing realization that Costa Rica is losing its comparative advantage as an ecotourism destination, as countries such as Ecuador, Panama, and Nicaragua become more powerful competitors (Honey 2008: 206). The concern is that rapidly expanding mass tourism is tarnishing and undermining Costa Rica's international reputation as the world's leading 'ecotourism superpower' (ibid: 208, 214).

The contrast between Costa Rica's expressed tourism strategy and its actual practices has already been noticed by Van der Duim and Philipsen in 2002. They conclude that Costa Rica is 'at a crossroads', suggesting that the country should make a choice between either nature-based ecotourism, contributing to nature conservation, or conventional forms of tourism, providing short-term economic benefits (ibid.). No clear path has been chosen; while trying to increase the amount of visitors to the country and investing in large-scale tourism development, the country tries to maintain its status as the ecotourism capital of the world by promoting its natural assets and its sustainable practices. Costa Rica pursues a 'risky, two-track policy' of marketing its flora, fauna and ecotourism, while trying to increase tourist arrivals by means of large resorts, cruise tourism and charter tours. A typical tourism paradox emerges: balancing growing tourism development with conserving natural resources, which in turn are essential for maintaining tourism (Van Noorloos 2012: 244). Telfer and Sharply (2008) speak of 'a development dilemma'; destination communities are in a sense required to engage in a trade-off between the benefits they perceive to receive from tourism and the negative social and environmental consequences of its development (in Sharpley 2014: 37). Current developments in Costa Rica suggest that quantity is winning over quality, and economy is winning over sustainability.

2.2 The Osa Peninsula: From gold to green gold

The Osa Peninsula lies in the southwest corner of Costa Rica on the Pacific coast. The peninsula includes the Corcovado National Park, 'the *largest protected region of tropical wet forest in Central America'* (Zambrano et al. 2010: 62) and *'one of the richest tropical areas on earth'* (Honey 2008: 173).The 41,789 hectare park contains a wide range of habitats and is home to increasingly threatened fauna, such as tapirs and jaguars (Stem et al. 2003: 325). The Corcovado National Park was founded in 1975 and is like other protected areas on the Osa Peninsula fully owned by the national government (Minca & Linda 2001: 117, 118).

Figure 1 Map of Costa Rica, Osa Peninsula marked

Corcovado has been the scene of *'the most volatile, intractable, and long-running conflict between rural people and parks'* (Honey 2008: 173). Much of this conflict involved the fifty-year presence and sudden withdrawal of the United Fruit Company (now Chiquita Brands) (Hunt et al. 2015: 343; Murillo 2012: 14). In the 1930s the United Fruit Company developed plantations around Palmar and Golfito, drawing thousands of workers to the region (Driscoll et al. 2011: 59). The company's departure in the 1980s, related to the fall of banana prices worldwide, set off an internal migration of workers and their families in search of employment. The African Palm plantations in which many of the former banana fields were

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converted over time, needed not as much employers, making many former United Fruit Company workers turn to gold panning, hunting, fishing and farming to provide for their income. The discovery of gold in 1937 had already set off a short-lived gold rush before, as many pan handlers from Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Panama converged the regions rivers (Driscoll et al. 2011: 59). These harming land-use practices led to increasing population numbers and decreasing forest cover over the years (Zambrano et al 2010: 63). The gold panning moreover silted and poisoned the rivers with the mercury that was used in to search for the precious metal (Honey 2008: 173).

Exclusionary conservation policies that came with the arrival of the creation of the protected area have not been popular among the local population and made residents embittered towards the park (Nuñez et al. 2007 in Hunt et al. 2015: 343). The gold seekers were often expelled from the park, but just as often returned back to the work that provided them in their livelihoods. The creation of the Corcovado park led to a rapid increase in government control through strict zoning, a legal framework for forest management and expropriation of land whereas until then local communities had practiced their activities without much intervention from the government. As police action didn't provide a long-term solution, it was tried to involve the local population in conservation and show them the *benefits* the park could have for the whole region (Hunt et al. 2015: 343). This strategy turned out to be difficult to implement and had varying success over the years. Fuelled by financial crises and associated loss of jobs, problems with illegal hunting and gold panning occur on a cyclical basis since the establishment of the park. Many local people have found it easier to sell land to foreign investors and engage in wage labour (Minca & Linda 2001: 118). Unemployment is a big problem for many people living in the region (Murillo 2012: 14) and until today the Osa stays home to a variety of human land uses, including palm oil plantations, small-scale agriculture, hunting and gold mining (Zambrano et al. 2010: 63).

However, '*as ecotourism has grown, forested land in tourist areas is worth far more than cleared land, the reverse of the Costa Rica's historical pattern*' (Honey 2008: 173). The Corcovado Park has attracted many nature seeking tourists to the region and made the Osa Peninsula is well-known as 'an eco-tourist paradise' (ibid.). Hunt et al. in a recent study on ecotourism in the Osa region conclude that ecotourism currently is '*the activity contributing most to improvements in residents quality of life*' and has led to increased levels of financial and attitudinal support for parks and environmental conservation (2015: 1). Ecotourism as a special form of responsible travel to natural areas seeks to minimise environmental impact, contribute to conservation and promote local livelihoods and social wellbeing (Honey 2008, Zambrano 2010: 63). The local economy of the peninsula is largely driven by small-scale ecotourism Hunt et al. (2015) observe. Privately owned eco-lodges have contributed to the reforestation of the Osa Peninsula and supported local development, such as the well-known and highly praised Lapa Rios Eco-

lodge[7]. It's isolation from the rest of the country is said to have 'saved' this delicate area of the Osa - that is said to hold two and a half percent of the world's biodiversity - from exploitation (Minca & Linda 2001: 111; Music and Jordan 2013) and from large-scale tourism development (Hunt et al. 2015: 343). But currently lands in the Osa are being cleared at a higher rate than anywhere else in Costa Rica Driscoll et al. write (2011: 12), which has devastating effects on the areas flora and fauna, and the Osa is becoming less isolated due to several infrastructural developments.

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[7] Lapa Rios is a luxurious eco lodge on the Osa Peninsula, it is seen as a model ecotourism project and a sustainable tourism pioneer. Lapa Rios won many awards for social and environmental excellence (see www.laparios.com).

2.3 Recent tourism developments: From green to glamour?

'Now, travelling from San José to Golfito is a breeze' was stated by a Costa Rican newspaper in April 2010[8]. The 'Pacifica Fernández Oreamunu', better known as the 'Costanera Sur' running from San José, down the Pacific coast to the south of the country was completed in 2010 in order to open up the whole southern area for tourism. A plan to link the central pacific with the south pacific was already posed in the 1970s, but due to a lack of funding the project was delayed considerably. The road was given priority by minister Arias (2006-2010) in order to open up the whole southern area for tourism. On the Osa Peninsula itself the road from Puerto Jiménez to Carate is being improved with the construction of five bridges substituting current trunks[9]. The bridges should facilitate the trip to the entrance of Corcovado Park and the airport of Carate.

But the Osa might in the future be even more easily and directly reached. For many years there has been spoken about the construction of an international airport in the South of Costa Rica. The government of Pacheco de la Espriella (2002-2006) raised the idea, as a manner to facilitate the direct arrival of international tourists to the southern region of the country, the project was officially announced during the government under Arias (2007-2010) and the former government under president Chinchilla (2010-2014) has given approval for the development of the 'Aeropuerto Internacional de la Zona Sur'. Ex-president Arias, after signing the project plan expressed to be very happy that the Zona Sur could now receive large jets like Liberia (the international airport of the northern region) and that he could finally make his citizens' dream to become like Guanacaste come true[10]. The 'dream' hasn't come true yet, as until now studies are being undertaken concerning the environmental and social impact the airport might have, delaying, or possibly abrogating the construction plans. Currently there are five small airports in the southern pacific region of the country, operated by SANSA and Nature Air. Planes with about twenty seats fly from the capital of San José to Palmar Sur, Bahía Drake, Puerto Jiménez, Golfito and Coto 47 on a daily basis. There has been a community initiative in Pavones for the construction of another domestic

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[8] *Its official, The Costanera Sur Is Now Complete* (2010, 30 April) Inside Costa Rica. Retrieved from http://www.insidecostarica.com/dailynews/2010/april/30/costarica10043006.htm on 05-03-15.

[9] Recio, P. (2014, 10 November) *Conavi colocará cinco puentes bailey entre Puerto Jiménez y Carate de Osa*. Retrieved from: http://www.nacion.com/nacional/infraestructura/Conavi-Puerto-Jiménez-Carate-Osa_0_1450455099.html on 19-02-15.

[10] 'Me siento muy feliz de poder darle a esta zona un aeropuerto para que puedan venire jets como los que estan aterrizando en Liberia y que estan cambiando la cara a Guanacaste y la zone que tiene que imitar a Guanacaste es la Zona Sur, por ello me siento feliz de que podamos realizar este sueño para Puntarenas'. San José 16 July 2007. In Murillo 2007: 15.

airport in this southernmost city of Costa Rica[11]. A fundraising campaign was started in March 2011, but until now realisation hasn't taken off yet.

Not only by land and air, but also by sea the Osa Peninsula can be reached. The Golfo Dulce separating the peninsula from the mainland – currently receives some smaller yachts. Three marinas are planned for the sweet gulf: 'Golfito Marina Village', 'Marina Bahía Banana' and 'Marina Bahía Cocodrilo'[12]. The latter will be the biggest of the three and located in the town of Puerto Jiménez. The current Crocodile Bay Resort works together with Sinergo Development Group to construct this marina and an additional residential hotel. The Sinergo Group was earlier responsible for developing the widely debated and earlier

Figure 2 Map of Osa Peninsula, Puerto Jiménez, Carate and location possible international airport marked

mentioned Papagayo Resort in Guanacaste, as well as for attracting both the Marriott and Hyatt brands to Costa Rica. In total Marina Bahía Cocodrilo, or 'Crocodile Bay' will be able to receive around thousand tourists it is estimated. Considering the town of Puerto Jiménez has three thousand habitants, this project will affect the town. The president of the current Crocodile Bay Resort, argues however that the main sources of income in the region, agriculture, livestock and tourism, all have their environmental impacts and that by obstructing the development plans, economic progression for local residents is obstructed

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[11] Retrieved from: http://www.marketingasaspiritualpractice.com/goodmorningpavones.com/2011/03/29/fundraising-drive-for-pilon-airport/ on 18-02-15.

[12] Rodriguez, R (2015, 20 January) *Tres marinas iniciarían construcción este año*. Retrieved from: https://www.larepublica.net/app/cms/www/index.php?pk_articulo=533325203 on 19-02-15.

(Williams 2012: 32). '*The local population, mainly in favour of quick realisation of the project now has to fight against the claims of some critical foreigners, who are unaware of the poverty the inhabitants of the region are mired in and their willingness to develop'* according to Williams (ibid: 34). In a pleading against the marina, environmental scientists Gonzalez and Lobo emphasise that their critique is no *'romanticism of a couple of environmentalists who don't care about development'* (2012: 8, 9), the consequences of the project will, they argue, prevent *true* development of the region because depletion and degradation of the natural unique recourses of the region will harm ecotourism and sustainable agriculture. It depends on what you see as development, which path to progress is recommended.

3. Theory

3.1 Differing notions of development

Tourism as the '*largest peaceful movement of people in history*' (Lett 1989: 277 in Sharpley 2014:37) and '*one of the world's largest discretionary transfers of wealth*', can provide a source of income, lead to business and infrastructural development (Sharpley 2014: 37) and to renewed interest and pride in cultural traditions (Honey 2008: 168). While tourism as '*an expansion of the mercenary capitalist market*' destroys natural areas (Duffy 2002), leads to displacement of local communities (Kull et al. 2007), to increased stratification (Honey 2008: 190) and to the loss of cultural identities (Stronza 2001). When it comes to tourism and development, tourist statistics can be read and interpreted differently, depending on what argument you wish to make (Scheyvens 2007). Perceived development impacts can evolve on the short-term or on the long-term, have different consequences for economic, environmental, political or social systems, and engender different consequences for different people. Depending on which focus is taken and which discourse is embraced, contradictory conclusions can be drawn when discussing the same case.

Whether expert or layman, the term development is used in divergent contexts and with varying biases. All development plans and strategies express consciously or unconsciously a preferred notion of what development is and these preferences reflect personal values, giving development a powerful normative component (Goldsworthy 1988 in Telfer 2002: 38). Despite the attention paid to tourism as a vehicle of development, tourism continues to be relatively neglected in the wider development theory and few attempts have been made to engage with the paradigmatic debates in theoretical literature on development (Sharply 2000; Bianchi 2002; Telfer 2002). Discourses about the relation between tourism and development are informed and influenced by several development paradigms, such as the modernization paradigm, the neoliberal paradigm, the dependency paradigm and the alternative development paradigm (Telfer 2002) that have evolved since the early 1950s. While being more prominent in people's mind-set in certain ages, these paradigms do not follow in sequence, but their ideas spread out over different periods in time.

3.1.1 Modernization

The modernization paradigm that arose in the 1950s, assumes a clear path from a traditional society to a modern society in which the market plays a key role. Developing countries are perceived to stand on a lower step of the universal ladder climbing towards a society of 'high mass consumption', all following the same evolutionary path to modernization (Rostow 1960). The core premise of the paradigm is economic growth, which is expected to diffuse through society as a result of growth impulses (Telfer

2002). Tourism, from this perspective, could be such a growth impulse and is therefore regarded as a catalyst for development. The tourism industry is further assumed to bring a desirable 'modern' way of living to 'traditional' communities that host western tourists (Scheyvens 2007: 238). While being criticized for being ethnocentric and having an economic bias, the modernization paradigm *'continues to underpin the rationale for tourism-induced development'* according to Sharply (2000), as tourisms role in development continues to be justified mostly on the narrow basis of economic growth (p.4).

3.2.2 Neoliberalization

Based on some of the key principles of the modernization paradigm, the neoliberal paradigm was prominent in the 1970s and 1980s. This approach also favours free competitive markets and focuses more than the modernization paradigm on the global market and on privatization of state enterprises. Neoliberalism considers the market as the best mechanism for allocating goods and services to meet the diverse needs of actors across the globe (Castree 2008: 143). The neoliberal paradigm informed structural adjustment programs (SAPs) of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, directed at downsizing the power of the state and public expenditures and stimulating export and privatization. These measurements were seen as solutions to overcome poverty and to help countries pay their international depths. The adoption of neoliberal ideologies was necessary for loan-receiving countries in order to get help in the economic sphere (Bianchi 2002: 273). Extensive borrowing linked to large-scale tourism projects became encouraged by different lending agencies as international tourism was seen to fit nicely in their strategy of encouraging indebted countries to 'trade their way out of poverty' (Brohman 1996 in Scheyvens 2007:239).

Although not everyone can participate directly in the tourism sector, there has been a great reliance on tourism benefits to 'trickle down' in both the modernization and the neoliberal paradigm. A view in which the benefits from growth are believed to diffuse to society as a whole, including to the poor (Croes 2013: 208). Tourists consume a variety of services and non-traded goods from several suppliers, creating opportunities for many to participate in the creation of the tourism experience. Besides job creation and the increase of foreign capital does overall growth through tourism raise the government's income on taxes, which can increase the government's capacity to invest in infrastructure, health, education and other services relevant for society as a whole. International organizations, such as the World Tourism Organization (WTO), have accordingly identified tourism as a key driver to alleviate poverty (Croes 2013: 208, 210). Neoliberal theories on tourism development have increasingly focused on the need to protect nature, considering ecological resources as part of the economic system and adhering economic value to nature (see Castree 2008; Igoe & Brockington 2007). According to Bianchi (2002) the neoliberal paradigm has not only dominated planning and policies (p. 273), 'driven by the rationality of the market', but also the literature on tourism development (p. 265). It shouldn't be surprising however that tourism is studied

from a neoliberal perspective Kull et al. argue, as international tourism is in a way made possible by '*liberalized flows of capital and openness to foreign investment'* (2007: 729).

The neoliberal approach is too much concerned with efficiency and not enough with *equity* it is argued by Mak (2004 in Croes 2013: 208) State action is heavily influenced by the agendas of multilateral institutions to whom they are indebted (ibid). Tourism-fuelled development, while increasing economic activity, mostly leads to increased stratification as changes in tourism infrastructure may lead to '*a shift in social distributions of opportunities and losses within a region'* (Croes 2013: 222). These changes in wealth and power may lead to social conflict. The neoliberal focus could mean tax breaks are given to wealthy foreign investors, while at the same time, less affluent local residents might encounter difficulties to access the market as there is not much state support to start up or improve enterprises (Scheyvens 2007: 239). The uneven distribution of power and uneven distribution of incomes which may result from open competition in the tourism market are often ignored by neoliberal views on tourism and development (Bianchi 2002: 268).

3.2.3 Dependency

While the modernization and the neoliberal paradigm hold on to the idea that wealth will automatically trickle down to the poor, the dependency paradigm, that was popular in the 1960s and 1970s, argues that the poor stay poor exactly because of the wealth of the rich. Western societies, according to dependency theory, have developed by 'destruction' of non-western societies (Peet 1999: 107 in Telfer 2002: 41) because impoverished sectors are indispensable for the wealthy sectors in their supply of cheap goods and labour and because economic surpluses are being expropriated by (foreign) elites. The 'free' market place is perceived as a highly political place, as it '*obfuscates the sources of inequality which arise from the apparent affluence it creates'* (Bianchi 2002: 268).

Tourism from this perspective is criticized as it exploits, highlights, and entrenches differences between rich and poor. In many less developed countries that are popular tourism destinations, tourism is frequently distributed unevenly, 'diminishing the opportunities for equitable development' (Sharpley 2000: 10). '*Influenced by local power relationships which favour the political or economic elite' (ibid.),* tourism leads to the transformation of places that are meaningful and important for local peoples to 'places of leisure for elites' (Springate-Baginski and Blaikie 2007 in Douglas 2013: 8). The decision-making comes directly from the top, whereas those at the bottom form the necessary labour force to implement these projects. It is suggested that it is in the very nature of tourism as a form of consumption that real development is an unrealistic objective. The tourism phenomenon is further condemned for its creation of unthinking and materialistic consumers, and the rise of an 'irresponsible and greedy industry' (Cheong & Miller 2000: 372). According to Hall it is not the local community at all that can benefit from tourism, arguing that narratives about tourism and development for the poor, reflect how tourists, companies,

government agencies and researchers *'assuage their need to do something about the gap between rich and poor, without changing their own lifestyles'* (2007: 6).

Contemporary studies drawing on dependency theory thus offer a critical view on the potential effects of tourism for the poor and focus on persisted inequalities. Jordan and Music (2013) present such inequalities in their documentary about tourism development in Costa Rica, in which the luxury in which tourist stay in coastal resorts is contrasted to the lack of basic facilities of residents living in the same area. Often when tourism develops there is investment in infrastructure to meet the needs of international tourists, while local residents have to live without the basics, Scheyvens argues (2007: 238). Money is made primarily by foreign companies that repatriate their profits, minimizing possible local benefits, while undermining sustainable local livelihoods by the expansion of capitalist relations (Mowforth & Munt 2003: 273 in Scheyvens 2007: 239). Having a different view on what development is, the central concern of dependency theorists is not whether income rise thanks to tourism, but whether tourism leads to rising inequality concerning access to power and resources. Different opinions on what development is (in this case economic growth versus economic equity), lead to different opinions on which policies should be undertaken to bring about development.

3.2.4 Alternative development

Whereas the modernisation paradigm sees 'The West' as the example for development, the neoliberal paradigm sees it as the stepping stone *towards* development and the dependency paradigm sees it as obstructer *from* development, they share the thought there is a dominant role for western society to bring about change in less developed countries and focus all on economic aspects of development. The alternative development paradigm arose out of criticism on these models. It focuses on bottom-up instead of on top-down possibilities for development and shifts the focus from growth towards 'well-being'. Development from the alternative perspective is seen as something broader than striving towards economic growth (neoliberal) or economic equity (dependency). Embracing human and environmental concerns, the fundamental principle of alternative development is that it encourages self-reliance and satisfies basic needs (Sharply 2000: 6). Popular participation and indigenous knowledge are highly valued in this perspective (Telfer 2002: 47).

Whereas supporters from the dependency theory argue that in order for 'the periphery' to develop, it should not welcome investment from foreign countries, but it should *'break the chains of surplus extraction'* to 'the core' (Hettne 1995 in Telfer 2002: 42) and withdraw from the global capitalist system (Sharply 2000: 5), alternative development sees possibilities *within* the current system. There are alternative ways in which tourism can lead to development if priority is given to the needs of the poor and the needs of the environment. Jordan and Music (2013) argue in favour of alternative development

in Costa Rica, emphasizing how locally owned forms of ecotourism on the Osa Peninsula contribute to fulfilment of the basic needs of small communities and encourage self-reliance, while protecting the natural environment. Recent debates concerning tourism have largely focused on the environmental harm of traditional tourism and have sought ways in which to prevent or mitigate these negative effects (Mowforth & Munt 2008: 148). If tourism is to contribute to sustainable development, it is argued that it is necessary that initiatives be economically viable, socially and culturally acceptable, but also environmentally sensitive (Wall & Mathieson 2007: 53).

Contemporary studies of tourism that highlight the possibilities for nature conservation or poverty alleviation of tourism, such as ecotourism, community-based tourism of volunteer tourism mainly draw on alternative development theory. It is argued however that these forms of alternative tourism only account for a small proportion of the total tourism product and that they are unlikely to replace other forms of tourism (Harrison 2003 in Scheyvens 2007: 241). Not only because of the difficulties for local small-scale businesses to connect to the international tourism system because of a lack of business skills or investment capital (see Van der Duim and Caalders 2008), but also because of the assumption that in order for tourism to be sustainable or responsible, it cannot perform on a large-scale: In order to be alternative, it cannot be mainstream.

3.2 Beyond inputs and impacts

The above paradigms, all having very different notions of what development is, have influenced varying discourses used in political discussions concerning tourism and development, and bring to the front different important aspects of the relation between these. What they share is a focus on external conditions that determine the way tourism can lead to certain local impacts, perceiving 'the host-community' as a passive entity.

3.2.1 Local Agency

Despite the move towards an increasingly deregulated global capitalist economy, the structures of power in tourism cannot simply be read of as linear expansion of modernization, an expression of neo-colonialism, or an expansion the capitalist free market. Also studies from the alternative development paradigm - while being interested in bottom-up development - perceive tourism as an external input that can have certain impacts on a host society, suggesting that particular fixed touristic inputs will result in particular desirable or undesirable outcomes both for people and natural areas, and thereby overlook local conditions, power and motivations (Stronza 2001). Within alternative development conventional tourism is portrayed as an evil force whereas alternative forms of tourism are applauded as *'a panacea for achieving a wide array of social, economic, and environmental goals'* (Stronza 2001: 274). It can be debatable however whether local residents wouldn't *want* to get engaged in mainstream tourism on a larger scale and whether those explicitly favouring alternative tourism aren't actually patronizing local development opportunities. It is too often implied that it is not the local people themselves who's economic interests need to be considered when discussing capitalist interests, while it doesn't necessarily have to be 'outsiders' who search to create *'the most economically successful productive permanences'* (Halfacree 2006: 56). Tourism scholars should be reflexive in the course of knowledge production and emancipate themselves from the institutionalization of '*ossified dominant conceptual frameworks'* (Mc Rae 2003 in Bianchi 2009: 486). A post-structuralist perspective acknowledges that not all people in a host destination want to participate in tourism equally and that those participating in tourism might be driven by very different motivations and values. Post-structuralists stress that the interrelationship between tourism and development is complex. They reject reductionist discourses which see communities as delimited entities and perceive tourism as neither naturally good nor bad. External conditions interweave with local conditions in both cooperative as competitive ways (Teo 2003: 460 in Scheyvens 2007). An important theme in post-structuralism is power, and the complex interplay between agency and the context in which it is embedded and enabled. Power is not conceived as a 'property' of particular knowledgeable or wealthy persons, wielded over or used against others, but it resides in particular practices and relationships (Foucault (1980a, 1982 in Kerfoot & Knights 1994: 70, 81). Perceived contradictions between 'the powerless static local' and 'the powerful changing global' do not exist (see Massey 2004) and so will communities engage in tourism developments in manifold ways.

There has so far been negligible engagement in tourism with post-structuralist ideas Wearing et al. argue (2009: 435). Too often the ways in which local people act as decision-makers in shaping the kinds of tourism that will take place in their own communities are overlooked (Stronza 2001: 267; Wall & Mathieson 2007: 53). Wearing et al. (2009) adhere the neglect of the usage of post-structuralism to 'a desire for knowledge of a stable truth' and a focus on market driven perspectives and binary oppositions and colonizing truths have been the consequences of a desire to fit reality into theoretical and prepossessed expectations (p. 343). This can be seen as a reflection of the hegemonic way of thinking as historically, institutionally, and socially constructed as remarked by Foucault (a in Arce 2000: 67). Foucault, as one of the leading post-structuralists emphasised the shortcoming of grand narratives, and the need to examine the specificities of power.

Post-structuralism tries to reject reductionist views, looking into complexity of existing 'grand narratives', and acknowledging that not all people in a host destination are driven by the same motivations and values. Post-structuralism argues that local residents are not simply victims of destructive external dynamics, nor passive recipients awaiting economic benefits an external industry might bring, but they influence on the groundd development. Dominant discourses can be transformed or rejected by challenging local discourses. Cheong and Miller (2000) emphasize that local people can be proactive and resistant, as they constantly negotiate and contest the direction of development in the pursuit of their rights and interests. A focus on local economic development, local agency and local strategies moves beyond the portrayal of residents as inert objects unable to resist the hegemonic power of capital forces Bianchi assents (2002: 278), but he also emphasises the need to keep recognizing the continued importance of the capitalist discourse and state power. While acknowledging local agency, one should enquire how particular tourism discourses congeal *within* structural forces and discourses (Bianchi 2009).

3.2.2 Unpacking 'The Community'

Development has different meanings for everyone involved. In order to speak of true local participation or empowerment, dissenting voices and unexpected outcomes should be recognized regarding tourism development. Little is known however about how local people themselves perceive the pros and cons associated with touristic development, assuming that they have been duped into accepting tourism, rather than having chosen such an option for themselves. *'The analysis so far has been strangely devoid of local voices'* Stronza argues (2001: 269). When 'The Community' is taken into account, it is often assumed that it concerns a homogeneous entity with shared interests, while in reality not such clear delimited entities exist. If people do identify as a community, it is likely that it is made up out of distinct interest groups (Scheyvens 2007: 241). Different groups within a community might not share the same notion of

development and not benefit from the same developments. Since there are multiple possible meanings for a given place, there is often a conflict over what meaning should predominate.

Hall (2010) argues against a 'romantic view' on communities, as they are *not the embodiment of innocence, but complex and self-serving entities, as much driven by grievances, prejudices, inequalities, and struggles for power as they are united by kinship, reciprocity, and interdependence* (Millar & Aiken 1995: 629 in ibid: 205). It might be the case that inequalities rise within a community when tourism grows. Gezon (2013) for example shows in a study on tourism influx in Madagascar that young, male, well-education residents tend to benefit most, as they most actively engage in tourism, while elderly people, who formerly held most authority, are the ones that hardly benefit since they can't practice their subsistence activities anymore and do not get involved in the tourism sector. It is not surprising that those who obtain personal benefits from tourism are in general those who most strongly support further development of tourism (Vargas-Sánchez et al. 2014). This is however not the case on the Osa Peninsula, since the ones benefitting from current tourism are engaged mainly in ecotourism that could actually be 'harmed' by an expansion of mainstream tourism. In order to attract visitors, necessary to make profit out of ecotourism, places have to distinguish themselves from other areas.

Munt and Mowforth (2008) argue that it is often not the most 'marginal' groups that mobilize against certain developments, as only the educated, intellectual and socially aware have the flexibility and security to act upon their own genuine self-interests. Opposing large-scale tourism, and '*retaining places for the benefit of First World new middle-class tourists*' (ibid: 148), free from mass tourism might actually be considered by them as 'a middle class affair' (Dobson 1995: 154 in ibid: 153). It can be argued whether local people want to resign themselves with the image of 'pristine wilderness' and 'unspoilt nature'. Nost (2013) in a study about tourism development on the Caribbean coast of Costa Rica argues that local people do not get the chance to develop themselves and their area in a way they prefer, because they are 'stuck' in their image as 'structurally underdeveloped'. Visitors coming to the region expect the region to be 'backward' and the people to be 'poor but happy', and this identity is capitalized by those successfully involved in tourism. '*The landscape enables tourism promoters to depict a place as a function of development*' Davis expresses (2005 in Nost 2012: 101). Maybe 'simplicity' and 'naturalness' are only interesting if one also has the choice to live in 'affluence' and 'complexity'.

It is suggested by Scheyvens (2007) that '*rather than focusing too much on tourism's 'impacts', we need detailed studies of systems, processes, places, and interactions between people*', in order to understand how culture and power influence the actions of tourism stakeholders and lead to different forms of development (p. 242). Meanings, motivations and circumstances may vary, as do local systems of social obligation and relations of trust (Bianchi 2002: 277). This all has clear implications for the way tourism becomes embedded within particular social structures. While not underestimating the external forces as Bianchi (2009) emphasises, it is important to consider the characteristics of the community before

speculating what the impacts of tourism might be (Wall & Mathieson 2007: 53) and to acknowledge that tourism developments might be embraced, adapted or rejected based on local conditions and personal ideals and interests.

3.2.3 New alliances and divisions

It can be expected that people who perceive to have not much in common, unite in their shared opposition or sympathy concerning specific developments, putting aside minor differences and developing new alliances. Kousis (2000) who studied grassroots mobilizations against tourism activities in Greece, Spain and Portugal from the early 1970s to the mid-1990s by analysing newspaper articles, shows that groups which did not have common goals in the past united in their activism against mass tourism. Haddock (2012) similarly suggests that coastal communities in Costa Rica unify in their shared 'vulnerability' when it comes to external potentially threatening developments. Residents of host-areas do not depend on dominating party-links but utilize structures available from their own cultural context to mobilize against tourism developments Kousis argues (2000: 484). In the protests in the Mediterranean region she studied, grassroots movements acted mainly independent of larger national or supra-national organisations and formed alliances based on neighbourhood associations or cultural clubs. This shows that new forms of inclusion and exclusion arise, strategically adapting to the situation at stake. The investor of the yet to construct marina in Puerto Jiménez for example emphasizes that opponents of the construction are 'foreigners' (Williams 2012), identifying himself as one of the locals and creating new forms of inclusion by excluding particular others.

The impacts of tourism depend on local circumstances in the destination area but also on the destination's relationships with other places (Van Noorloos 2012: 25). Even more so in times where communication between places is easily facilitated. Much of the critique and mobilizations against the opening of the international airport in the southern zone of Costa Rica, can be attributed to the negative consequences of the international airport of Liberia in the northern part of the country, as *people don't want to reproduce the trends of large-scale development and unsustainable tourism as has developed in the Guanacaste region'* Haddock argues (2012: 15, 16). People see and hear about negative consequences and want to avoid the same 'counterproductive strategies and policies' (ibid.). Honey states that even 'unsuccessful battles' in tourism development in Costa Rica have had positive consequences in this way (2008: 166). Developments in other parts may influence reactions and ways of dealing with tourism in other related localities as places or communities are no delimited entities.

3.3 Discourse Analysis

To study the interweaving of meanings and practices, the relationship between social structures and local agency, and the role of interests and identities in explaining social action, discourse theory can provide an insightful framework (Howarth and Stavrakakis 2000). Discourse is defined as *'an ensemble of ideas, concepts and categories through which meaning is given to certain phenomena'* (Hajer 2005: 300). Discourse theory is closely related to, and partly rooted in, post-structuralism as it challenges any kind of determinism or reductionism and focuses on the relational construction of meaning and position. From a post-structuralist perspective, social meaning is neither given as a fact of nature nor a certain human essence, rather it is relationally constructed (Torfing 2000: 4). A certain discourse is not connected to a certain person or to a group of people - as people have no coherent and fixed set of ideas and beliefs - but it is constantly created, recreated and transformed through practices. In embedded routines and mutually understood rules and norms and in interactions with other people and other practices discourse is constantly (re)produced and changed (Hajer 2005). Discourse is also context specific as there is a different way of sensemaking and speaking is considered suitable for public debate and for inner circles (Van Wetering & Van Gelder 2000: 142). This is made very clear by Scott (1990), who differentiates between 'secret' discourse used by subordinates spoken behind the backs of the dominant, and public discourse in which abidance of the dominant discourse is feigned. While not wanting to differentiate between 'the powerful' and 'the powerless', it should not be overlooked that people adapt strategically to certain situations, and that local discourse is congealed within particular structural forces.

3.3.1 Dominating discourse

Power can be exerted by the stabilization of particular interpretations which can steer whether certain developments are welcomed or not. Dominant discourses reflect the hegemony of a certain way of giving meaning to certain situations and they might try to mask or discard resistant discourses that contradict or try to adapt the dominant position. *'Discourse is the site where meaning is both constructed and contested, and power relations defined'* (Arce 2000: 67). Drawing upon Foucault (1972, 1979, 1980) - who emphasised the shortcoming of grand narratives, and the need to examine the specificities of power in relation to discourse - dominant discourse, should not be understood as 'real', 'objective' or 'universal', but as reflecting a certain hegemonic way of thinking. Foucault also underscored the power of *counter* discourses to offer an alternative understanding of 'reality' and deconstruct hegemonic discourse (in Arce 2000: 67). A political project will always attempt to weave together different strands of discourse in an effort to dominate or organise a field of meaning and to fix the identities of objects and practices in a particular way (Howarth & Stavrakakis 2000: 3). Whether a certain plan or development is deemed successful or disastrous depends on how success is produced and measured, which in turn depends on

the discourse one draws upon. In this way, the control over interpretation and over discourse production is of great importance. By forming a coalition, a certain discourse can be strengthened.

3.3.2 The power of Language

Analysing the discourses around a particular issue can underscore both conscious and unconscious agendas and assumptions as it can bring out a certain regularity in the ideas, concepts and categories in which certain issues are discussed. Language is very important in discourse analysis as *'language has the capacity to make politics and to create signs and symbols that can shift power-balances and impact policy-making'* (Hajer 2005: 300). The concept of discourse extends however beyond words and language. Discourse includes the *meanings* of language and the way in which it is used to (un)consciously express and share power, which in turn affects the world around us. It should be kept in mind that any discourse however only partially assumes a verbal form (Van Wetering & Van Gelder 2000: 142), and what is left unsaid is often of equal importance. The topics people talk or keep silent about, and the *way* people talk do not neutrally reflect the world, but play a dynamic role in *producing* and *changing* it, so language is very powerful. Storylines can help illuminate distinct features of discourse.

A storyline is a condensed narrative, summarizing complex situations (Hajer 2005). Storylines are used as 'short hand' in discussions and conceal the complexity of a discourse. This does not make them less valuable as it is very relevant to learn which parts of the complex reality are deemed most significant in a certain situation by respondents. While it is mostly assumed that the hearer understands the storyline in the same way as the sender does, this is often not the case. However, even when people do not fully understand each other, they can produce meaningful interventions together (ibid: 302). Storylines are the medium through which actors consciously or unconsciously impose their view of reality on others as they suggest certain social positions and practices, and criticize alternatives. Social and psychological realities are actively (re)produced in specific discursive practices such as storylines, giving these tremendous importance in forming social opinion, initiating social action, and creating divisions and coalitions in society.

3.3.3 Discourse-coalitions

'A discourse-coalition refers to a group of actors that share the usage of a particular set of story lines and practices that express their storylines over a particular period of time' (Hajer 2005: 302). Discourse-coalitions act jointly in pursuit of a common goal, though they do not necessarily interact directly (Plehwe 2011: 130). A discourse-coalition is not connected to a particular group of people, but related to practices in the context in which actors (re)produce and transform particular discourses or institutional structures (Hajer 2005: 303). It allows for 'fluidity' in the membership. A discourse-coalition-approach tries to explain why a particular network shapes up and what holds it together. Core beliefs amongst the coalition are not necessarily shared and there may even be disagreements within the coalition, but a similar way of conceptualizing the world is shared and from either's position the other arguments 'sound right' (ibid. 304).

On the other hand is it possible that people who agree with each other on a certain development do not share the same discourse. The strength of a particular way of seeing and giving meaning can be so widespread, it overlays opposing opinions. Antagonists in many regards co-produce a particular discourse (Hajer 2005). Discourses often take form and become explicit in struggle with other complexes of thought. The construction of a social antagonism can even stabilise the discourse in question (Torfing 2000: 5). By positing a radical and threatening outside, 'insiders' can feel more unified, strengthening coalitions. To reject the marina in Puerto Jiménez because of the natural damage it might engender also implies a critique on the 'immoral' behaviour of the developers or proponents of the project and a dissociation from these constructed opponents. A certain narrative or storyline can in this way construct an issue or situation into a comprehensible problem with particular victims and perpetrators. Discourse always involve the exercise of power, as their constitution involves the exclusion of certain possibilities and consequentially structures the relations between different social groups. Discourse analysis in this way provides a framework to conceive the dynamics, divisions and coalitions that arise when certain developments take place.

The construction of a marina, and airport, or a highway in the Osa region might be seen as just some changes in the areas infrastructure, as a symbol of economic prosperity, or as the beginning of the end of the region's identity as an eco-tourist destination, depending which discourse is drawn upon. Taking into account that discourse is not fixed or given, but is fluid, mutable and created in interaction with others, discourse should not be analysed as something static. Often there are several discourses operating around same case and are elements of different discourses drawn together by certain persons or groups. It is exactly the dynamics and relationships between different discourses that are of interest when studying the local responses to the changes the Osa Peninsula is going through.

4. Methods

4.1 Data Collection

It was already long ago realised that '*development can be properly assessed only in terms of the total human needs, values, and standards of the good life and the good society perceived by the very societies undergoing change*' (Goulet 1968 in Sharply 2000: 4). The focus of this research will therefore be on the local residents of the region that is central in this study both indigenous as people originally from other regions or countries who have settled on the Osa Peninsula. Ten weeks of fieldwork gave the possibility to engage in participant observation, to conduct semi-structured interviews with a wide variety of people living in the area and helped to build a throughout understanding of the context, enhancing a good interpretation of the data. An important factor to understand the complete situation was 'being there'; staying when tourists move on, looking beyond the expected and being patient.

It must be recognized that the largest part of research has been done in the town and the close surroundings of Puerto Jiménez, while I refer in this research mostly to 'the population of the Osa Peninsula'. Interviews conducted in, and visits made to other villages gave me the assumption that the residents of the Osa are dealing with similar issues concerning large-scale tourism development. It costs time to build rapport and get an 'insider perspective'. I preferred to stay a longer period in one town – to be able to grasp issues at play beyond the surface – over staying shorter periods in different villages. I acknowledge that other villages might have different social structures that I could not grasp during this research, and that I make assumptions about a certain generality among various villages in the region.

4.1.1 Participant observation

As a researcher and temporary resident of Puerto Jiménez, I participated in local activities, interactions and events to learn about both the explicit and tacit aspects of local opinions, frames and strategies and the way these influence the changing situation on the Osa Peninsula. Whereas tourism's role in development continues to be justified for the most part on the narrower basis of economic growth (Sharply 2000: 4), wider aspects of development, concerning human and environmental needs, from a bottom-up perspective have proved to be much more important in recent development theory. Participant observation involves engaging with and experiencing a social scene as a means to understanding it (O'Neill & Morgan 2001: 264) and is a pre-eminently method to study the changes the region is going through from a bottom-up perspective. The method goes beyond economic determinism, reductionist views on tourism, or the obvious representatives (DeWalt & DeWalt 2011).

Puerto Jiménez is the biggest town on the peninsula. The town has about three thousand inhabitants, which made it possible to recognize people soon, get to know different organizations and to be known as a researcher soon. Since many people know each other in this small town, I got referred to new

possible informants often, and in a short period of time, I had created a long list of possible interviewees. Teaching free yoga classes provided a good opportunity to introduce myself in a positive and 'innocent' way and to connect with local people beyond my role as a researcher. Going to all possible events and participating actively in social life helped me to go beyond the obvious representatives and grasp the 'hidden' discourses in society. I always tried to befriend and talk about my research topics with new people I met during the period living in the region. Often this happened spontaneously and sometimes I went out on my bike purposefully to a particular shop, bar, the beach or the pier in hope of being able to speak with local people about touristic development. Sometimes during, but mostly after these informal conversations I wrote the expressions of interest and opinions of the people spoken with down. O'Neill and Morgan write that participant observation focusses on describing, analysing and interpreting the details of ordinary everyday actions and interactions within the studied social scene from both an insider's and an outsider's perspective (2001: 265). This should be understood as a shifting subject position that can change according the situation at stake. I have used my role as an 'outsider' and a researcher, or as an 'insider' and acquaintance consciously and strategically in order to be able to study the ongoing processes from various views, while always being honest about my role as a student researcher, interested in the residents view on tourism development. Taking care of the representativeness of the people studied to enhance the validity of the research, I have constantly attempted to keep up positive relations with a wide variety of people in the region.

4.1.2 Semi-structured interviews

Interviews helped me to get more information about the situation and the local opinions, and provided me with a better understanding of the *meaning* respondents give to the situation in order to reconstruct the discourses from which the situation is approached. Since it is important to consider what the informants *themselves* consider worthwhile themes within this research topic, I used semi-structured interviews. In semi-structured interviewing, a list of topics or questions is prepared, to make sure the same topics are covered in a similar way in each interview, but the interviewee still has much control over the interview (DeWalt & DeWalt 2011: 138,139). I encouraged informants to discuss the topics that relate to the research questions, but directed the content of the interviews initially not too much beyond that. Often explaining what I came to study already made the interviewee talk on what he or she deemed interesting for me to hear. I prepared a general topic list, which I adapted before every interview, this was as much a way to prepare myself for the conversation as to make sure no relevant themes would be forgotten. Interviews took place at a location chosen by the informant, assuming that the interviewee would feel more comfortable and speak more freely in a location of choice. Mostly I met people in their house or their working space. The particular situation in which something is said is also relevant considering discourse analysis. Storylines and metaphors are best studied in the context in which they

are produced and received because people might use different arguments and draw upon distinct discourses when confronted with different people or sites (Van Gelder & Van Wetering 2006). I therefore always described the setting where interviews or other forms of interaction under study took place. I have undertaken in total 29 interviews with a wide variety of residents of the Osa Peninsula, 26 were conducted in Spanish and three in English, according to the mother tongue of the people interviewed. All respondents' names have been anonymized for their privacy. Appendix two gives more information about the respondents and the interviews.

4.1.3 Media

In order to understand the wider dominant discourses on tourism and development in the area and to better situate the issues at stake, I looked into representations of the Osa Peninsula as expressed by media, such as newspaper articles, promotional videos and Facebook. This data were not conceived as a compilation of facts, but rather as a reflection of a certain way of sensemaking and a particular way of looking at the world, produced to reflect certain values and interests that can be of particular interest to discourse analysis. It was always kept in mind by whom, for whom, at what moment and in which situation these documents were published. More important than my own interpretation of this data as a researcher, was the way the residents of the Osa Peninsula interpreted these texts. As I wanted to understand the interaction between different discourses, the documents that were watched or read by the local population were of greatest interest. As there was no local radio, television or newspaper focusing on the Osa region, and the available national newspaper (*La Nación*) was not much read, I looked mostly into social media. Internet was used a lot by a very large part of the population and social media, such as Facebook and YouTube were used to echo and spread particular storylines by some, and read by many. Facebook sites such as *'Puerto Jiménez Net'* or *'No a la Marina privada in Puerto Jiménez, si a la marina publica'* were closely followed. I further kept a close eye on online English newspapers aimed at expats living in Costa Rica, such as the *Tico Times* and The Costa Rica News. Important and interesting messages and representations as expressed in media were kept up in an overview during the research period, displaying the source, the date and possible noteworthy issues and comments.

4.2 Data analysis

4.2.1 Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis provided the conceptual tools to analyse local opinions, frames and strategies in their wider political context. It helped to analyse how interests are played out in the context of specific discourses and organizational practices and illuminated how different actors and practices help to reproduce or reject a given bias (Hajer 2005: 305). By focusing on the way people speak or write about the (expected) changes on the Osa Peninsula, I tried to discern various discourses and analysed how these interact and influence the on the ground situation. Discourse analysis shares with participant observation an interest in identifying the recourses which enable particular social interactions, practices and their meanings (O'Neill & Morgan 2001: 264). According to discourse theory, the way people talk does not neutrally reflect the world, but plays a dynamic role in producing and changing it. Storylines were conceived as discursive constructions that give meaning to, and influence the situation on the Osa. Using discourse analysis as research method, the focus was not only on *rational argumentation* but the more on *argumentative rationality* (Hajer 2005): Not only about what a person's or group's rational opinion is, but about how *meaning* is given to the issue at stake.

4.2.2 Recording and transcribing

As discourse is conceived as a *shared* way of talking and thinking, or an *ensemble* of ideas, concepts and categories, only after speaking to a wide variety of people certain connections of divergences can be found and discourses can be remarked. Reviewing transcripts helped to compare the way of talking and thinking in society. When possible and allowed by the informants I therefore recorded and transcribed the interviews I conducted. Not only interviews, but also presentations, meetings, or conversations among residents concerning the research topic were of great interest. The good relation with the people my research built and depended on was of course of greatest importance and never put at risk. Sometimes the respondent indicated not to want to be recorded, in other situations I decided myself not record to maintain or create an open and informal atmosphere in which the informant would feel free to go beyond publicly shared discourse. Especially when I noticed a discrepancy between what was informally and publicly expressed. Since not only *what* is said, but also *how* it is said, and to what *effect* is important to understand the meaning of words (Hajer 2005: 305), an overview of the setting, situation and possible other attendees was included in the transcripts or notes.

4.2.3 Coding and reviewing

After several interviews had been conducted and a variety of field notes had been drawn up, I started reviewing the data to start looking for patterns, identify diversity, and develop descriptions. I worked with themes that emerged directly from the field notes, media and transcripts to develop categories. Coding - in which the data are organized through 'emic' categories, from the point of view of the informants - is more closely tied to '*the development of new theoretical propositions, understanding of meanings, or patterns and ideas that emerge in the process of data analysis*' than the usage of 'etic' categories *a priori* drawn up by the researcher (DeWalt & DeWalt 2011: 183). A certain metaphor, storyline or expressed emotion could therefor become a code. Next to that, more matter-of-fact topics were tagged, such as 'airport', 'goldmining' or 'education'. Both coding and indexing took often place simultaneously and in a similar way.

Data collection and data analysis took place alternately during the research period. After a first period of intense interviewing, I took about ten days to focus primarily on coding to look for certain patterns. When at first sight no patterns where to be found, I tried to systemize the data even more profound, creating tables with features of respondent and ticking whether or not they supported certain developments and why. When still no structure or groups became clear, I decided to focus exactly on *the lack* of structures instead of forcing a pattern that was not there. New insights and new data in this way adapted the process of data collection such as the focus of the interview or the people spoken with. Insights that surfaced during the research were written down, often to be adapted or completely changed the next day and not treated as conclusions but as provisional possibilities. Reading, thinking and writing were followed by rereading, rethinking and rewriting with different questions and possibilities in mind and a continuing collection of data throughout the full fieldwork period. The qualitative research method used allowed for flexibility and adaptability to the issues at stake during the fieldwork period. I responded to issues or knowledge gaps I recognized along the way, and adapted my plans according to situations that unfolded during the period I spend on the Osa Peninsula.

4.3 Limitations

4.3.1 Researcher as measurement tool

'Social researchers are part of the world they research' Shipman strikingly argues (2014: 6). While not aiming to take a personal stand in this research topic, it has to be acknowledged that researchers bring to bear their personal, political as well as professional beliefs to give meaning to events and take action. Researchers are always caught up in the social scene they study as subjects within their own social context (Tolich & Davidson 1999 in O'Neill & Morgan 2001: 265). Or as Shipman states, 'those who assume that life is nasty and brutish' reach different conclusions than convinced optimists (2014: 6), as this might be decisive for which questions are asked and which assumptions are made. My personal subjectivity in this way influenced the way I interpreted certain findings.

Also the way other people interpreted my appearance influences the findings. The way people speak, being a focal point in discourse analysis, is hugely influenced by *the one spoken to*. In many cases myself. Many people assumed that I, as a European youngster and a researcher, would be a naturalist and conservationist. *"Ah, you're a researcher? Did you come to study animals or plants?"* was asked more than once, indicating that most foreign researchers coming around are focused on environmental than on social issues. As people tend to give socially desirable answers, they might pretend some more care about nature when talking to me. Even the most extreme 'asphalt-advocates' would add a *"-but of course always taking the environment in consideration"*, to their expressed wishes for not so environmental-friendly developments. Or, they would challenge me as an assumed 'tree-hugger', fortifying their arguments, *"YOU probably like what you see, but then YOU go back to your country and WE are stuck in poverty!"*[13]

I found it challenging to engage with the local population as an anthropologist aims to, and as I as a person like to, being 'tagged' and sometimes distrusted as a temporal foreign researcher in a small town where people are quite suspicious. Conservationists operating in the area would embrace me, assuming I would support them or that my thesis would back their struggle. *"Bring it out there, let people read what's going on here!"*[14] I was told more than once. I tried not to become too engaged with any outspoken local figure, as being seen with X might be disapproved by Z, or even undermine a possible interview. The longer I was in town and the more I understood of mutual suspicion among residents, of tensions between families or organizations, and the closer I became with certain informants, the less 'naïve' I could operate. I have commonly reacted understanding and supporting towards any argument given, making the informant feel comfortable, using a 'neutral' *"but I have read/heard other saying... "*, when wanting to provoke.

I have incorporated my own presence when of significance in the quotations and situations sketched below. Since it is post-structuralism's ontological viewpoint that reality cannot be perceived in an unbiased

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[13] Respondent 11, Transcript page 8 (see appendix 2 for more information about the respondents)

[14] R8: 9,10

manner. The best I can do is to recognize that the subject-position myself as a researcher matters when making claims about the area under study (Pile & Rose 1992; Berg 1993 in Daves 2013: 130). The fact that neither Spanish nor English (the languages in which interviews were conducted) are my mother tongue, further influenced the interpretation of the data. The focus on language in discourse analysis asks for a deep understanding of the nuances and refinements in language that I possible didn't always grasp. It might also made some informants speak with me in a different manner than they would speak with a compatriot or with someone having the same mother tongue. Besides the 'limitation' of 'being my own measurement tool', there is a limitation in causality and generality.

4.3.2 Causality and generality

Case studies cannot lead to causal inferences, since alternative explanations can never be completely ruled out. Since many of the forces of globalization appear to have similar repercussions to tourism (Wall & Mathieson 2007: 54), it will be difficult to determine what consequences of social change and action can be attributed to tourism and what should be described to other phenomena that provoke change in the region. Furthermore, since the study is based on developments in a specific place, with its own historical background and political context, the findings cannot be easily translated to other situations. In general social studies are difficult to generalize since 'humans are slippery subject matter' (Shipman 2014: 7), especially over time and across cultures nothing is predictable. Also the situatedness of knowledge and findings is important to acknowledge. A seasonal bias should be taken into account when studying tourism. According to Vargas-Sánchez, in the low season, residents perceive to a greater degree that the benefits of tourism outweigh its costs; they observe greater personal benefit derived from tourism development; and tourists are more favourably perceived in terms of respect, treatment, and expenditure (2014: 593). High season in Costa Rica is from the start of December till the end of April, when it is mostly dry. As the Osa Peninsula is one of the wettest parts of the country, the season didn't stretch that long. By the end of March there was a little peak due to eastern week where after it became very quiet in town. I was in the area from half March till the end of May, experiencing mostly low season.

5. Results

In this chapter the findings as obtained in the field will be presented. Storylines that were frequently expressed by residents can be read in the first part, providing insight in prevailing opinions on touristic developments. Often expressed storylines around this particular issue reveal both conscious and unconscious assumptions and aspirations about tourism development and the future of the region. This part furthermore shows how storylines are used to distance oneself from particular others, creating in- and outsiders. In the following part it is argued that while people continuously differentiate between the self and 'others', no actual clear-cut coalitions are formed among the residents of the Osa Peninsula. This local lack of strong coalitions is interpreted building upon particular features of society in the Osa region. Local history, frequent migration and strong interdependence all adhere to what will be explained as local fragmentation.

5.1 Local storylines

Analysing the way people speak about particular issues can indicate both conscious as well as unconscious assumptions and agendas, and provide insight in social structures. Language can render certain situations or events harmless, but it can also create consternation. It can lead to admiration or to aversion, to connections but also to divisions. Storylines illuminate the power of language and help to to distinct features of discourse. While discourse is dispersed and no clear groups can be defined, the following five storylines were recurrently shared in different variations among Osa residents. These storylines provide insight in the way people living on the Osa Peninsula give meaning to planned touristic developments, and in the way they consciously or unconsciously impose their view of reality on others, as these storylines suggest certain social positions and practices, and criticize alternatives. All storylines are introduced with a quote given by a respondent, strongly conveying the key point of that particular storyline.

5.1.1 "They just don't get it"

"Explaining the impact of the marina to a Tico is like explaining geometrics to a 3-year old, they just don't get it!"[15]

The people most actively involved in nature conservation and regional development are most often the people who have not lived their whole live on the peninsula. *"Most people I have seen taking care of animals, are not from here."* Romina is on a coffee break of her cleaning job in a hotel when I speak with

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[15] R27:6

her.[16] *"They are surprised by the quantity of animals here and take care, but the people from here, they don't care."[17] "Our problem is we never travel,"* Juan, who has a pair of Dutch wooden shoes hanging in his living room and obviously has some travel experience, adheres the local lack of interest in nature to a lack of possible comparison. 'New residents' who have experienced living somewhere else, and often were attracted to the Osa Peninsula's because of its rich biodiversity in the first place, blame local passivity to a lack of travel experience or a lack of education. The environmental or social consequences of large-scale tourism development are consequentially not truly understood they argue. *"People here just don't get it."* Elisa says. *"If a marina is constructed, turtles will stop coming, when turtles don't come, there will be too much plankton, too much plankton will...well, it's a process. But people here don't get it. They don't know anything! They don't see they will end up without water eventually!" [18]* She does understand the local disinterest in protecting nature, *"if your parents hunt iguanas for dinner, you are brought up in a very different way, but I cannot wait till the whole population understands the importance of nature protection!"[19]* Elisa herself has moved to the region after studying biology in San José and started an NGO promoting understanding and awareness about the regions ecology. By increasing environmental education, she hopes people will value their surroundings more and take care of it coherently. Also teacher Mateo believes education is the way to make people understand the importance of nature. *"They should now the Corcovado Park has other functions than hunting or logging."[20]* He works on a project to get local people to visit the regions famous national Park.

Not only environmental, but also social consequences of large-scale tourism are not properly understood Elisa implies: *"Mothers say, 'I have a jobless daughter at home, she can work in the marina!' But they don't understand that daughter will be cleaning vomit, sweeping the floor but never be a manager."[21]* On Facebook another marina opponent shares: *'They abuse the ignorance and innocence of people from the region. Like a child abuser offers candy to little kids and says 'come here, I won't harm you, you will like it'.' [22]* By this metaphor marina promotors are turned into criminals and the local population into ignorant children that should be protected or educated, as they do not understand the upcoming danger. In another message on the same Facebook page it is written: *'An American dictator once said: 'Analphabetic people are easier to dominate', in our case it would be 'uninformed people are easier to cajole'. We need to inform ourselves and not just 'eat' their stories', [23]* again implying that the people

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[16] All respondents names have been anonymized

[17] R15:2

[18] R12: 5

[19] R12: 1,2

[20] R24: 2

[21] R12: 5

[22] Online media sources, page 22

[23] Online media: 21

working on the marina abuse the disinformation and ignorance of the local population that doesn't understand the true impacts of the project.

Patrick looks for other measurements to stop the marina as the local population doesn't understand the need to undertake action. *"I am trying to organize this protest, but only a handful of people will probably show up. We need people to act!"* [24] He tells me when I visit him in his beautiful villa outside Puerto Jiménez. He has been living in the area since he came 17 years ago as a conservationist. On Facebook Patrick has called for residents to protest against the marina. '*We just need some red, black and white paint, some carton, staples and sticks, some music and lots of families against this monster marina'*, it can be read in his message[25]. *'Bring your umbrellas, coolers, kids and musical instruments! Come barefoot if you like, but come carrying a sign.' 'It is time to get involved'.* There is not much reply on this English written call-up, and the protest is never held. Patrick is disappointed in this lack of local support. *"I might have to put some Nica's fighting against the Nica-canal in my video's"*, he sighs. He has made various protest movies against Hyatt, Marriott and the marina wanting to settle on the Osa Peninsula that he shares on YouTube.[26] He seems to want the world to believe local people *are* standing up against those large projects. *'Join 1000's of locals protesting branded Hyatt residence ownerships in Costa Rica, Puerto Jiménez'* it can be read below one of his movies.[27] Patrick wishes he would have more actual local support *"but people here just don't have an opinion."*[28]

"They should be taken to Spain to understand it! We are in the last virgin part of the world and people don't see it! They are losing it all!"[29] Fernando uses his origin to back up his arguments against the marina. *"They will employ people from outside, they will bring trucks from faraway places, that's how things go in those resorts, I know this, I have lived this, I am from Mallorca!"* Originating in another country is used in argumentation as both a strengthening and a weakening asset. The fact people do not want to listen to him because he is from abroad frustrates him. *"My money is welcome, but my ideas are not."*[30] His compatriot Valeria is equally 'on fire' in the fight against the marina. *"I have already seen one coastline being destroyed,"* she comments on the 'anti-marina Facebook page', *"I am not letting that happen again!"* [31] They are one of the few who actively oppose against the planned marina in Puerto Jiménez. Valeria responds to a message implying she has less right and knowledge to speak since she is

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[24] R27: 6

[25] www.facebook.com/osa.p.travel/posts/10203788323054901, posted on 09-03-15, consulted on 24-03-15

[26] www.youtube.com/watch?v=b4ZI6fBtSFU, www.youtube.com/watch?v=YHjYK63YJEI, www.youtube.com/watch?v=7CcQcKB9l2g, www.youtube.com/watch?v=K1tsYoYSP7E www.youtube.com/watch?v=CJ_DzEH8DzI, www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZtKK04pmNy8 www.youtube.com/watch?v=tJoLrVd3vHw, www.youtube.com/watch?v=zqTwf1-jQF4

[27] www.youtube.com/user/OsaGreenTV, consulted on 30-03-15

[28] R27: 7

[29] R15:4

[30] R 9: 5

[31] Online media: 22

not 'Tica'[32]. Just as much as outsiders blame local people for 'not getting it', do local people supporting large-scale tourism play the outlandish opposition down. "*There is really no need to go and talk to her*", Lea confides me when telling her who I will interview next, "*she is not from here anyways.*"[33]

Trying to discard opposing discourse, people who upheld contradicting opinions are played down in this way as 'those who just don't get it', strengthening one's own discourse. Every local resident who wishes for large-scale tourism development is dismissed as 'uneducated' or 'unexperienced', by those who object large-scale tourism development. As they do not understand the harm tourism can have on the regions biodiversity or society, they do not have the capacity to decide upon the future of the area, it is argued. The 'local uneducated' are in this way differentiated as a particular group. The other way around, is anyone who has not lived their full live in the region, whether from San Jose or the USA, and whether staying for three months or living since fifteen years on the peninsula, often dismissed by original residents who do wish for tourism development as not having right to decide upon 'their' future. The next storyline further goes into their viewpoint.

5.1.2 "Would you like to eat dust every day?"

"*Look out of that window! What do you see? Huh?*" My interviewee got quite agitated. "*You think that looks charming?*" Henry points at the dust road passing his small lawyers office. *"Do you enjoy that?! I have to eat dust every day! Would you like to eat dust every day?"*[34]

About the Osa Peninsula a famous guide book writes: '*in a country where adventure is all too often downgraded and packaged for tourist consumption, Osa is the real deal.*'[35] The real deal doesn't seem to include all the facilities, infrastructures or developments a large part of the local population actually wishes for. Perceiving me as another white, rich European, who likes to take pictures of 'charming' wooden houses adjoining small dust-roads, Henry gets upset with me during our conversation. *"Go ahead and knock on any of those doors, they will all tell you they would prefer a concrete house."*[36] He is tired of 'outsiders' romanticizing, what he perceives as underdevelopment. *"They like that the streets are not paved,"* Agustin affirms from his desk at the local airline, *"Because it makes them feel they are on an adventure, they say."*[37]

While tourists positively contrast the region against more developed and more crowded parts of the highly visited country, many local residents argue their region is neglected by the government and consequently by a large part of tourists visiting Costa Rica. *"Those people saying no are real fools,"* the

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[32] 'Tico' or 'Tica' (feminine) is a colloquial term for a native of Costa Rica.

[33] Personal communication

[34] R 11: 7

[35] Retrieved from: http://www.lonelyplanet.com/costa-rica/peninsula-de-osa-and-golfo-dulce on 23-03-15.

[36] R11: 5

[37] R 14: 3

police officer says, referring to the people who oppose the planned marina. "*Everywhere in the world are people harming the environment, why make such a fuss about it right here? We need the jobs.*"[38] Mario is passionate about nature, but reasons similarly: *"You in your developed countries should tell the Ford and Toyota fabrics to stop making cars because we are getting out of oxygen. But no, you make more and more and more. And those same people come to my farm and say 'so lovely', and 'oh I only eat salad please'. Those people come here because they have already destroyed their own countries, and then tell us not to develop."*[39] When asking a local friend whether she's not afraid the Osa Peninsula will look like Guanacaste one day she looks at me as if I say something weird. *"Guanacaste? I would like it to be like Guanacaste here! More jobs, more motion."*[40] Also in various local eateries and bars does luxury tourism seems to be a paragon rather than a blemish. The cover of the menu in a simple eatery for example shows glamourous cruise ships that do not anchor anywhere near the Golfo Dulce,[41] and the wall of another bar is filled with pictures of sport fishing boats and broadly smiling tourists showing large catches. When I ask whether such people ever visit his bar, the owner shakes his head. *"No tourists don't actually come here, but I like the pictures. They are beautiful right?"*[42]

This storyline represents a discourse generally welcoming large-scale tourism developments such as a marina, an international airport, or large resorts, assuming this will provide jobs, improve facilities and bring about the development people long for. Persons outing this discourse do not necessarily identify with foreigners coming to their region, or even like tourism, but do long for change and see large-scale tourism as a necessary economic impulse. While promotion material of the marina markets the remoteness and purity of the region the project will be located,[43] advocates of the marina also strategically use the local perception of poverty to promote their plans. *"Those who oppose it all have their houses, their jobs and their bank account. There are other people hungry in this town,"*[44] Hank tells me. The initiator of the marina in this way identifies himself with a population wishing for betterment, and dissociates himself from 'rich people' in town who do not care about their co-residents and want the region to stay the way it is, simultaneously imposing the idea that the region is currently underdeveloped and that the marina would improve the lives of those who are hungry. *"The government doesn't have any funds to repair it. I am willing to invest..."*[45] Hank adds to the idea of this project caring for the community. A family member of him reasons similarly and replies to an anti-marina message on the

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[38] R3: 3

[39] R10: 7 (Mario and his family host tourists on their organic farm for a tour and a homegrown meal.)

[40] R21: 5

[41] Observations: 1

[42] Observations: 1

[43] See for example http://www.prweb.com/releases/2015/01/prweb12418574.htm. Posted on January 6, 2015, consulted on 30-03-15.

[44] R5:4

[45] R5: 5

Facebook page, *'rather than words, try to do something yourself that benefits the people of the village'*,[46] implying that the marina will benefit the people and distancing herself from people who only complain and brake development for the region.

"Even with all those tree-lovers coming here, in the end people want to live well," Antione, who works as a sustainability manager at one of one of the larger lodges reasons. *"Sure, I would prefer something more authentic than this marina. But let's be honest to admit that in the end money does define quality of life."*[47] Lana is happy with the developments the tourism industry brought the town she has lived all of her life. We sit in front of her house in Puerto Jiménez that also serves as laundry service, second-hand clothing shop and ice-cube fabric. People come and go as we make our way through my questions. *"First we were goldminers, then they came to create the park to protect the nature, then the gringos came to buy land and build hotels, from here all the way to Carate, only hotels, only gringos."* Lana considers this a good development, *"they painted the school of my granddaughter, and they say they will make a swimming pool in town."*[48]

Considering nature protection and authenticity more important than economic development can be considered a 'middle-class affair' (Dobson 1995: 154 in Munt & Mowforth 2008: 153). Munt and Mowforth (2008) argue that it is only the educated, intellectual and socially aware are in the 'luxurious' position to have the flexibility and security to act upon their own genuine self-interests. Following this reasoning, it makes sense that it is mostly the well-off, foreign originating residents who care most about local authenticity and nature protection, not having to worry about basic economic needs. In fact, many foreigners came to this region exactly to escape their more 'refined' places of origin. *"I am from Seattle, you know, I know what life is,* Bob tells me from the booth where he sells products from his farm. *"I had it, I had it all".* Now he rather focuses on his organic farm outside Puerto Jiménez. *"Here it's friendly and small, people always smile you know. This place doesn't need any of those big developments."*[49] This opinion is not shared by residents who feel they depend on big developments to prosper. '*Back off with your protest and negativity',* it is written on the marina page on Facebook, *you are breaking down the future of people who need this!*[50] *"You foreigners want this place to stay the way it is. In harmony with nature. And poor,"* Henry tells me, *"But then you return to your country, where everything is better and we are stuck in poverty."*[51]

Local residents wishing for development of their region, including the development of large-scale tourism, dismiss the opposition as foreigners who do not have to live the consequences of underdevelopment on a daily base. Passing tourists and long-term settlers are thereby generalized as one group of foreigners,

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[46] Online media: 9

[47] R16: 2

[48] R19: 2

[49] Personal communication

[50] Online media: 22

[51] R11: 8

and set off against a local and poor 'original population' that should have more right to decide upon the future, as their needs are more urgent. The initiator of the marina and other 'foreigners' do strategically distance themselves from this group, identifying their selves as part of the local population. Lines between inclusion and exclusion are not fixed but flexible and permeable according to the situation at stake and the argument one wishes to make.

5.1.3 "Foreigners come and take over"

In five years, there will be a Marriott here," George envisions. *"And a Hilton. Not a skyscraper but a unique eco-version of it, you know. They are understanding the value of having a toucan up in a three,"*[52] he predicts while pointing at an actual toucan up in the three in the garden of his hotel.

Many of the current local residents do not understand the value of the natural richness of the area or do not find a way to capitalize on it. Investors, often from other countries, are increasingly buying properties in the Osa area, which distresses some of the current residents. Doña Julieta experiences all the foreigners coming and buying land as unequal competition. *"People here have land, but not the money to realize something like they can. They can invest. And once they realize their project they can attract tourists who speak their language, French or German or Americano."*[53] Many local residents sell their land to people from other parts of Costa Rica or from other countries, who are interested in a second house in the area or who see opportunities in tourism. *"The whole peninsula is for sale! Everything, everything, absolutely everything is for sale!"*[54] Henry argues. *"The dream of anyone here owning a farm is to sell it and they sell it way too cheap,"* he continues. *"So what happens? I sell my farm, I buy a house, a cow and a car. My money is finished now, so I sell the cow, I sell the car, than I sell the house. Than I am poor and homeless. That is what is happening!"*[55] Being specialized in deeds of ownership and land title registration, Henry as a lawyer and notary makes good business out of the land sales. He moved to the peninsula for this job, still he would personally prefer local people kept the land in own hands. "*People here want to invest,"* Josue tells me, "*I wanted to open a larger shop, I went to the bank and showed and explained my plans, but they send me away"* He says there is much discrimination when it comes to the needed arrangements when opening a business. *"If I would have a big moustache, blond hair and blue eyes it would be: 'of course sir, come in and have a coffee with us'. The foreigners can do what we cannot."* Josue is frustrated that the marina seems to get everything in order without much trouble. *"I have worked hard, so hard, saved up so much to have my own shop, the government does not help me at all, the only thing I want is to be a little bigger, and then this marina-people come with their plans and they get everything as they want."*[56]

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[52] IC 14
[53] R 7: 3
[54] R11: 5
[55] R11: 5,6
[56] R17: 5

Driving over the only main road on the Peninsula the signs 'for sale' are countless. *"There is not a single Tico living here anymore,"* says Patrick from his terrace overlooking dense forest. *"They sold their land for a penny, lived like a god for a year, and ended up worse they ever were. Colonized."* Patrick argues the employers of the mainly foreign owned hotels and resorts are colonized, working for a meagre wage, while the owners are filling their pockets. Some people who sell their soil stay in the region to engage in wage labour, others move to other parts of the country. *"People from the countryside move to San Jose, but there is many of them already,"* according to Doña Camila, *"they don't understand there are no jobs for them there, if they can't find anything here."*[57] Magdalena is worried about the foreign invasion and local people leaving. *"Matapalo has one Tico, all the other hotels are foreign owned."*[58] The small town of Matapalo, nearby Puerto Jiménez consists of a couple of houses and dozens of lodges and hotels hidden in the forest along the coast. *"First they came to build their second house, then they started to invite 'guests', and now they are all hotels."* Antoine, working at this one 'Tico owned' lodge doesn't share her preoccupation, he is living in the area since ten years now. *"It is ignorant to think we don't need foreigners."* He tells me in his office. *"I don't know what this region would be like if local people kept in charge of the land. I know that many people who sold their land regret it now, but I don't think it would be equally beautiful and taken care of."*[59]

Elisa tries to convince people to stay and start up their own business. *"They could realize a butterfly garden or so, there are many options."* She has just bought a piece of land herself and is persuading her brothers and sisters in San Jose to do the same. *"I tell them this is the most beautiful part of the planet, they now start to realize that the Osa has the future."*[60] Many local residents do not see a bright future for themselves in this region however. *"We have to teach the people that their land is worth so much, so much more than selling it,"* Magdalena exerts, *"but we are not given the time to do this with this big investors coming,"*[61] referring to the planned marina in Puerto Jiménez. Costa Rican musician Alvaro has lived on the Peninsula the Osa for around ten years, he has written a song about foreign privatisation that is shared online[62]. In Spanish he sings: *'Do you remember the days that you could walk around without being told in English "Get out! Private property!" There is so little remaining of our beautiful land.'* In an interview he explains to worry that the Osa will become like Guanacaste. *"We have seen what happened there when the airport was constructed, tourism exploded and left money in a couple of hands, leaving the local population disillusioned."*[63]

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[57] R20: 3

[58] R25: 10

[59] R16: 3

[60] R12: 5

[61] R25: 9

[62] Song posted on 02-04-15 on
https://www.facebook.com/video.php?v=838085802904589&set=vb.100001095301381&type=2&theater, consulted on 02-04-15.

[63] R26: 3

In a call to sign an online petition against the marina, the 'foreignness' of the people planning the project is emphasised. *'We have to unite against the foreign company that is using our recourses to fill their pockets with money.'*[64] Most of the online signatures are interestingly however from non-Costa Ricans. This storyline fearing 'foreigners' is often expressed by people who are not self-evidently 'local' themselves. Certain 'new residents' caring about local development or wanting to protect the authenticity of the region they once fell in love with, distance themselves from potential other new residents, having interest in a future on the Osa Peninsula as they once had. Doing so they project themselves as belonging to the area and as part of the 'authentic population' or at least as someone who knows what is good for the population.

5.1.4 "Save the poor to save the forest"

"I hired a boy recently, he's from a poor family, he is a hunter, that's the reason I hired him."[65] Juan, who owns an apartment complex and works as a guide looks at me meaningfully. "*I have my house, my car, money to drink some beers in town tonight, so yeah, I can worry about the forest. As this boy earns some money he can stop hunting and start worrying about the forest too. I save him to save the forest."*

The RBA-group (Reinventing Business for All) subsidizes capacitation projects on the Osa Peninsula. On their website is stated: '*A conservationist focus has omitted the human and social component (…) that is a reason why a part of the population dedicates itself to activities such as illegal logging, the extraction of gold and hunting."*[66] The idea that providing alternative sources of income would make hunters, goldminers and loggers stop performing their damaging activities, is shared by both advocates of large-scale tourism development and supporters of small-scale eco-tourism in the region. Together they distinguish themselves from the 'pessimists' who do not provide alternatives. *"If we keep saying no, no to this project, no to the next, then the region loses. You can't just be negative!"* Hank argues from his office, *"to stop people from hunting and mining, we create jobs and give people an alternative to provide for their families."*[67] In a radio interview he adds to this viewpoint: '*When they created the park local people had to find another way of living. A lot got into practices that are not very environmentally responsible, because they needed options. Tourism is such a benefit, because it not only provides tourists with the opportunity to see and appreciate the world's wonders, but it also to provide local people in a*

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[64] *Peticiones de la Communidad*, petition against the planned marina in Puerto Jiménez, almost 7000 people since August 2012. Retrieved from:
https://secure.avaaz.org/es/petition/Detener_la_construccion_de_la_Marina_y_Resort_Cocodrilo_en_el_Golfo_Dulce_Costa_Rica/?syzqtdb on 24-03-15.

[65] R2: 6

[66] '*Un enfoque conservacionista que ha omitido el componente humano y socio cultural (..). Por lo tanto, parte de la población se dedica a actividades como la tala ilegal, la extracción de oro y la cacería'* Retrieved from: http://www.grupo-rba.com/#!caminosdeosa/c178u on 17-04-15.

[67] R5: 3

way to provide for their families.*[68]* Elisa, opposing the marina project, reasons similarly: *"I really believe in ecotourism as an alternative, nature organizations are realizing now they have to provide an alternative for the people if they want to protect the nature. If you take better care of monkeys than of people, the people will end up eating the monkeys."[69]*

While the large-scale tourism defenders are satisfied with the idea of local hunters, goldminers and loggers transforming into night guards, gardeners and cleaners, the eco-tourism advocates envision a more glorious future for the people who currently exploit natural resources for a living. *"I don't want to see my people washing ships when they could have their own project,"* Magdalena, who owns a kayak rental declares, *"I don't want to see people enslaved that way."[70]* The local people whom they care about should ideally not only have a worthy job, they should become real care-takers of the surroundings they were damaging before. *"If you own a piece of forest and your kids have no clothes to go to school, you cut a tree to sell it, but if you learn to live off of nature by using it in a responsible way, by making soap from plants, souvenirs from trees, rural tourism, you will protect that forest, it's providing for your family!"[71]* Juan explains. Hank on the other hand suggests that exactly large private projects can lead to true environmental betterment. *"The marina will care for the aquatic environment. There are no regulated black water pump out services, no fuel stations, no approved facilities where people can park their boat, we are really fighting for that, for the Golfo Dulce."* He explains in the radio interview, investors can come in where the government lags behind. *"The reason the services are not there is because there is no money, it is not like people don't want to operate in a way that harms the environment, they just don't have the alternatives, and the government has no money to provide them."[72]*

A documentary shown to Osa residents argues adversely that large-scale tourism is the worst way of developing the region. The lady shown on the big screen shows her hands. The skin is thick and battered from goldmining. She would prefer to do different work, *"I am tired of doing this"*, she says. Xina would love to receive tourists and stop looking for gold immediately. *"That is my dream."* About fifty people are sitting together watching the documentary about tourism development on the Osa Peninsula. A former hunter has already been 'saved' by tourism. *"I used to hunt every animal you can find on the Osa Peninsula, now I discovered tourism no more of that!"* he shares with the viewers. *"Conservation is difficult when people are hungry"* one of the American documentary makers explains after the applause. The documentary is called '2.5%', referring to the high percentage of biodiversity of the region (Bollinger & Elterman, 2015). The makers strive to show people there are possibilities to develop *in harmony* with

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[68] Radio interview with investor of the marina on a channel from Los Angeles where the family planning the marina in Puerto Jiménez is originally from. Retrieved from: http://www.latalkradio.com/archives/Jani-091912.mp3 on 07-04-15

[69] R16: 3

[70] R25: 9

[71] R2: 2

[72] Radio interview with investor of the marina on a channel from Los Angeles where the family planning the marina in Puerto Jiménez is originally from. Retrieved from: http://www.latalkradio.com/archives/Jani-091912.mp3 on 07-04-15.

nature, small-scale communitarian tourism could be such a possibility it is argued. *"We have been treated as enemies of our own lands,"* a villager says in the promotional movie of a local NGO, *"as long as we don't receive work, illegal logging, hunting and goldmining will continue."* He has participated in a capacity training provided by this organization. *"We have found out that the true colour of gold is green,"* another participant declares in front of the camera, *"and we have to conserve it."* [73]

Doña Marta found her opportunity within tourism long ago. *"When my daughter had to go to school, we had to come to town and stop mining. A friend gave me a piece of land and I started this hostel, my love."* Young backpackers walk in and out and greet the elderly lady sitting on the bench at the entrance. *"Tourism has been good to us, my love."* She greets a man walking by *"See? He comes from the forest, he has been mining. We used to all be goldminers, my love. It was tough, tough, tough. If there would be no tourism in this town...aiaiai"* [74]. Jacobo now and then still goes out to look for gold. Six nights a week he works as a night guard in a hotel, otherwise he'd go more often. With nostalgia he speaks about the days he went into the forest instead of to his chair next to the reception desk when the night falls *"If it wouldn't be for this hotel, I'd be out in the forest. Well... And for my daughter as she wants me to keep this job,"* [75] he adds.

The storyline arguing that jobs need to be created to provide for alternative sources of income was widely shared. Both advocates as opponents of large-scale tourism development, and both original as new residents would agree that tourism could provide is such jobs. Nature would not be harmed that much by damaging activities if there would be more opportunities to work in tourism. It was however not agreed on the type of tourism that should provide in these jobs, differentiating between those who see *any* job as a step ahead and those who wish for '*worthy*' jobs, independent from foreign investors. Both use their arguments to strengthen their main objective, favouring the development of large-scale tourism development or of small-scale ecotourism in the region, without seeing or wanting to face, the overlap between their generally opposing discourses and maintaining distance between the self and threatening outsiders.

5.1.5 "Those tourists bring bad habits"

"I prefer a poor community over a rich community with access to drugs and prostitutes". The biologist I am having a beer with, worries more about social consequences than about environmental consequences of large-scale tourism development. *"Current tourists go to bed at nine to get up fresh at five to spot birds, the tourists that will come to the marina are looking for a whole different type of diversion."*[76]

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[73] Online media: 2, retrieved from https://vimeo.com/110902232 on 07-04-15

[74] R6: 2

[75] Personal communication

[76] R18:6

Drug use, criminality and prostitution were often referred to when discussing local impacts of tourism development. "*Youngsters see tourists with a nice cell phone, they want one too, and so what do they do?*" Alvaro asks me, "*They will want to work!*" I answer honestly, leaving the local artist a moment without response "*Criminality will increase,*"[77] he replies. Also Doña Julieta has seen criminality and drug use rise since tourism developed in Bahia Drake, where she runs a restaurant. "*Tourism has brought much contamination to this town, of both trash and of habits,*" she argues, "*as this place is remote and nobody knows them, nobody cares, they do what they like,*" she is whispering now, "*it smells often like marihuana in this street.*"[78]

The marina, and the type of luxury-seeking tourist these kind projects would draw, are especially related to socially negative consequences. "*People who travel by yacht carry around lots of cash, money they want to spend on drugs and prostitutes,*"[79] Nicolas argues. Adrian agrees, some clients in his car rental shop ask him for phone numbers of prostitutes, he confides me. "*In those expensive hotels, in their rooms, they invite them, and local girls take advantage because they have no money, others don't, because they can't pay for it.*"[80] Big money is in this way expected to lead to socially undesirable expenditure, not only among tourists, but also among local residents. "*The captain working with current sports fishers gets up to 1000 dollar of tip a day!*" Nicolas tells me. "*And you know on what he spends it? Cocaine! And this marina will need a lot more of captains.*"[81] He drops a silence to make me understand the impact of his analysis. Nicolas is worried about the social consequences of large-scale tourism in Puerto Jiménez, "*this town is just not ready for such a megaproject.*" Some respondent supporting the marina would affirm these social negative consequences but consider them unpleasant but necessary side effects. "*I know the marina carries the devil inside, but it also brings quite some benefits,*"[82] Henry says.

The people supporting small-scale eco-tourism contrast current tourists to the careless new type of tourist the region would have to deal with when large-scale and more luxurious tourism arrives. "*There is two types of tourists*", Elisa explains me, "*those who like the jungle, and those who like to sportfish and look for whores. And those fat rich gringos who look for prostitutes at night! That is not the kind of tourism this town wants!*"[83] In the call to sign an online petition against the marina it is stated: '*In this country we already have to deal with various marinas and their impacts such as prostitution and drug traffic,*' trying

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[77] R26: 1,2

[78] R7: 1

[79] R18: 6

[80] R4: 2

[81] Personal communication

[82] R13: 4

[83] R12: 5

to make people aware of these possible social consequences.[84] "*I know the tourists who come here,*" Hank replies when I carefully bring up the topic, *"they are white, male, US citizens mostly, elderly often. They are not the same tourists that go to Lapa Rios[85], I know"*. He argues his project is just an easy target for any idealist or conservationist to stand up against and to slander about, using all possible arguments. *"We are a small fish in a very small fishbowl."*[86] The idea two types of tourists is enhanced by the 2.5% documentary that educates the residents of the Osa about the 'dangers' of the infamous mass tourist (Bollinger & Elterman 2015). A partying drunk crowd is filmed in booming tourism town Tamarindo located in Guanacaste. Thereafter an elderly Dutch couple in a green meadow is depicted, surrounded by pigs, while a local farmer explains them how to drink from a coconut. They represent the properly behaving eco-tourist the Osa region should aim at, while keeping the fun and sun-seeking party crowd at a distance.

This storyline is expressed by both original residents as new residents worrying about the consequences of large-scale tourism development. They differentiate between two types of tourist. Those who are into nature and those who are into luxury, perceiving the latter as having a negative influence on society. This differentiation is strengthened by (foreign) advocates of small-scale tourism. People contrast their view against other discourse and thereby consequentially create certain insiders and outsiders. The needy versus the well-off, the knowledgeable versus the uneducated, the foreigner versus the local, the pessimists versus the solutionist, or the luxurious tourist versus the eco-tourist. Storylines are in this way used as much to communicate the actor's view of reality as to counter alternative discourses. The personal discourse is stabilized by posing an antagonisms (Torfing 2000: 5).

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[84] Online petition against the marina, retrieved from:
https://secure.avaaz.org/es/petition/Detener_la_construccion_de_la_Marina_y_Resort_Cocodrilo_en_el_Golfo_Dulce_Costa_Rica /?syzqtdb on 24-03-15.
[85] Lapa Rios is a luxurious eco lodge on the Osa Peninsula, it is seen as a model ecotourism project and a sustainable tourism pioneer. Lapa Rios won many awards for social and environmental excellence (see www.laparios.com).
[86] R 5: 5

5.2 Fragmentation

Social and psychological realities are actively (re)produced in specific discursive practices such as storylines, giving these tremendous importance in forming social opinion, initiating social action, and creating alliances and divisions in society. Many respondents mindlessly referred to a distinguishable outgroup, differentiating and generalizing the other, but in practice, the created groups were not to be found in society in such a clear-cut way. 'The uneducated locals' would not perceive themselves as a coherent group, neither did the 'well-off foreign residents', or even the few proactive opponents against the marina. Within what would be classified by outsiders as a particular group, sharing a particular objective, many differences would prevail. Even when there were hardly any such differences, agreeing people would – not aware of the likeminded co-residents - operate individually. To understand how culture and power influence the actions of various stakeholders, '*systems, processes, places, and interactions between people', should be studied in detail',* Scheyvens argues (2007: 242). In order to understand local responses and their implications on tourism development, it is therefore important to consider the characteristics, context and social structures of the society in which tourism developments are planned. After presenting how this fragmentation was felt in society and expressed by several respondents, the influence of local interdependence, migration and history on the current situation is explained, trying to interpret this lack of on-the-ground group-formation.

5.2.1 Coalitions and divisions

While it can be expected that people unite in their shared opposition, sympathy or vulnerability concerning specific developments, putting aside minor differences and creating certain alliances - such as Kousis (2000) and Haddock (2013) respectively show in their studies on Mediterranean Europe and coastal Costa Rica, such alliances where not easily found in the Osa region. Newspaper articles about ongoing developments in the region do present the local situation as if there were clear-cut camps. The *Tico Times* reports that the tiny town of Pavones is 'up in arms' about a condo project, expats do not want to share the waves with more tourists while local people want the jobs and facilities that come with the project.[87] An article about the planned marina in Puerto Jiménez is headed *'Crocodile Bay Marina: Osa destroyer or Golfo Dulce dream?*[88] And another one reads: *'Crocodile Bay Lodge & the Town of Puerto Jiménez - Development versus the environment'.*[89] These opposing sides as represented in media are not found on the ground. The people interviewed are those with obviously opposing opinions, such

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[87] Kahler, K. July 14 2015. Retrieved from: http://www.ticotimes.net/2015/07/14/pavones-tiny-surf-capital-up-in-arms-about-big-condo-project on 15-07-15.

[88]Kahler, K July 6 2015. Retrieved from: http://travel.ticotimes.net/2015/07/crocodile-bay-marina-osa-destroyer-or-golfo-dulce-dream/ on 15-07-15.

[89] Watts, T. 2 June 2007. Retrieved from: http://www.welovecostarica.com/public/1451.cfm on 07-04-15.

as the investor of the marina and a biologist. Individuals who do not represent society and who do not have a clear group backing them up.

The most active opponents against the marina in Puerto Jiménez did not meet up to unite their forces. The Spanish Valeria and Fernando would try to talk to as many people as possible about the devastating natural consequences of the marina and post their viewpoints on Facebook. Costa Rican Magdalena didn't feel like 'wasting her time' on a page with that kind of 'quarrelling'.[90] She was in charge of some official charges against the marina, supported by her daughter who is an environmental lawyer in San José. While Alvaro sings his songs promoting local authenticity, does Patrick operate on YouTube to reach an international public. He creates movies warning people for the environmental consequences of a marina. His movies are mostly English-spoken as he doesn't speak much Spanish. The language barrier might complicate communication between opponents and the reach among the local population, not only concerning Patrick's movies, but also concerning other English expressions against large-scale developments online.[91]

While Hank refers in our interview to 'those six' opposing the marina[92] (not necessarily speaking of the above mentioned people), there is not a coalition of people uniting their forces and opposing the project collectively. There are certainly are people wanting to 'protect' the Osa Peninsula from large-scale tourism, but there is not much cohesion between them. *"There is no fraternity here."* The ice-cream seller, sounds embittered when we sit together in front of his shop, *"it's a beautiful town, I moved here from Quepos because I fell in love at first site, but I didn't know then that people were so individualistic here."* [93] *"You should have come to make an anthropological study of egoism here!"* Fernando asserts. *"People are not capable to work together, to cooperate, to communicate. We tried ourselves, we invited all entrepreneurs of the commercial street in our office. Together we could demand a better road, better conditions, communal gardens, be stronger! But it didn't work, they stopped showing up. People are selfish here!"*[94]

Since there were many *individuals* expressing similar feelings and uttering corresponding storylines about touristic developments, it can be argued that certain discourse-coalitions do exist. Discourse-coalitions act jointly in pursuit of a common goal, though they do not necessarily have to interact directly (Plehwe 2011: 130). A discourse-coalition is not connected to a fixed group of people, but to practices in the context in which actors (re)produce and transform particular discourses or institutional structures (Hajer 2005: 303). Since those practices are not shared and not practiced *together* however, no networks between those individuals arise, and no collective action is undertaken. Patrick – complaining about local

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[90] R25: 12

[91] For example: English blog about consequences riverbed mining: http://blog.natureair.com/index.php/2010/02/riverbed-mining-destroying-the-rivers-and-wildlife-of-osa-peninsula/, consulted on 30-03-15; and several messages on https://www.facebook.com/groups/12829640983/?fref=ts.

[92] R5

[93] R23: 3

[94] R9: 3

people not understanding the impact of a marina - would not be aware of Lana, a few kilometres further down working in the laundry, actually worrying about privatisation of the fishing areas.[95] On the other hand would people who did work closely together or did live right next to each other often entertain a whole different view on reality.

> *"Look at all those motorcycles, look at all those cell phones,"* Hugo points to the nearby street, *"if we hadn't had tourism, we would have none of that. If more want to come, that would be great".* I am standing on a small organic vegetable market, where a couple of farmers share a booth. After hearing Hugo's opinion I turn to his next colleague. *"Oh yes, we are really fed up with those plans to ever increase tourism. The people in Jiménez really don't like that."*[96]

While most people could clearly formulate an opinion when being asked about tourism development, they didn't discuss the future of their region among each other, let alone undertake collective action. *"Yes, we are very individual here, nobody likes to get his hands dirty,"* Josue is 'padre del barrio', or neighbourhood father. *"We talk about who wipes the streets, but we don't meddle with things that really matter.* He gives me a generous smile from his rocking chair. "*I rather sit here and not get involved with anything or anybody."* [97] Or as Doña Camila concludes our interview: *"Nobody is interested in anything. That is probably the reason we are the happiest country in the world."*[98]

5.2.2 Strategically neutral

The first time I spoke with Josue - who has been selling souvenirs for decades in the commercial street - and ask him about surrounding hotels he got quite upset. *"I hate these resorts! They treat their staff like slaves, they don't allow their guests to come here or to leave any money in town, they just want everything for themselves!"*[99] Eagerly I write his unambiguous opinion down. It's a couple of weeks later I am watching a new promotional movie of one of the biggest resorts in the region on YouTube[100]. The part in which the 'charming village with the friendly local people' is showed I see my former critical informant smile and greet the people from the large all-inclusive hotel he was so hostile about.

For public debate and for inner circles there can be different ways of sensemaking and speaking considered suitable. Van Wetering and Van Gelder describe how discourse is context specific (2000: 142) and not connected to a particular person, as people have no coherent and fixed set of ideas and beliefs

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[95] R19

[96] Informal Conservation 21,22

[97] R17, interview 2: 3

[98] R20: 12

[99] R17, interview 1: 2,3

[100] Retrieved from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t49mtfiliUI on 20 April 2015 (published on 16 April 2015)

(Torfing 2000). While it made sense for Josue to complain about all-inclusive hotels when I as a foreign researcher asked for his opinion, it made as much sense to him to cooperate in a promotional movie of such a resort in another context. Scott (1990) would differentiate in this incident between 'secret discourse', and 'public discourse'. Drawing upon post-structuralism, not such a clear division between 'the powerful' and 'the powerless' can be made, neither can be stated that the first critical utterance is genuine and the cooperation with the resort is fake, but it is important to acknowledge that discourse is strategically chosen and context specific. In different contexts different responses make strategically sense, creating different forms of inclusion and exclusion, adapting to the situation at stake. Not only the 'powerless' but also the 'powerful' adapt strategically to specific situations. The resort owner just as much shifts between different discourses as he needs the back-up of the 'friendly locals' to create the right atmosphere in the promotional movie, while in other situations he might indeed not recommend his clients to shop there, wanting them to spend their money within the resort.

The Facebook group *'No a la marina privada en Puerto Jiménez'* is created by opponents of the marina as a public space to discuss the planned project. No less than 800 people follow this page, but no more than 21 people have participated by sharing or commenting since the beginning of this year. Most active participants are not original inhabitants of the region, or don't even live in the region at all. Having your opinion read by 800 fellow villagers might not be a wise choice living in a small town. *"We as a company decided not to have an opinion on the marina,"* [101] the employer on duty at the local car-rental solemnly states when our interview starts. Similarly is a locally operating environmental NGO 'opinion free': *"Yes, we are neutral,"* Joaquin laughs, *"officially. Of course I am against, but the board of trustees wants the organization to stay neutral."*[102] Wanting to keep cooperating with a wide variety of businesses and people in town it might be best not to protest nor to support a delicate topic openly. The local development committee equally is said to operate in a strategic and even nepotistic manner. *"Those in the committee have their own economic interests, or those interests of friends right...It's a small town... it is always between family and friends,"* a teacher complaints, *"I do go to their assemblies, but hardly anyone in town bothers to even show up."* [103] The pastor also adheres the seemingly local disinterest in communal development to strong familiar ties within the community. *"One will always find a family member involved in a conflict. Better not to get yourself involved than to fight family."*[104] Following this reasoning it makes sense it is mostly 'foreigners' who actively and publicly oppose a large-scale development as the marina as they don't have such (family)ties to take into account. People who are tied to this far-off village and their co-residents, might think twice before openly sharing their viewpoint.

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[101] R4: 1

[102] R22: 2

[103] R24: 4

[104] R28: 3

When always fearing to exclude others, no true inclusion can be achieved, since exclusion and inclusion operate reciprocally. This deters opportunities to bond and form coalitions within the community. It is exactly the *union* through kinship, reciprocity and interdependence within society that prevents people from grouping and forming alliances that could realize actual changes. *"It is better to watch the bulls from far"*, Josue argues sitting in front of his shop *"you got that? Some people want to get up and ride their back, but it's safer and more quite to watch from a distance."* Personal discourse is in this way concealed within structural forces operating beneath the surface but influencing the way people act or.

5.2.3 Lack of pertinence and legitimacy

Another process contributing to fragmentation on the Osa is the lack of leaders having the necessary pertinence and legitimacy among the population. *"If a meteorite falls down here, I go to San Jose,"* Juan says metaphorically, he is from the central valley originally. *"Without that option, I would worry more."*[105] Most 'key positions' in town are occupied by 'new residents'. "*Leaders are not from here. And if they don't like it anymore? They just go,"* the department manager of the ministry of agriculture and ecology answers the question himself. He has been send to the region for a period three years. "*Nobody likes to work here. It's the first time now there is school director who managed to stay over two years."*[106] A befriend nurse, who arrived in town around the same time as me and who is looking for a placement elsewhere, confirms this. *"This is not a popular place, but there are no people educated here to do this job so they have to get them elsewhere."*[107] *"Instead of capacitating people from here, there is always outsiders coming in,"* Alvaro states, *"If education here is not improved, this will not change."*[108] *"And it is the worst teachers they send to rural areas like this and the police officers with the worst grades,"*[109] Fernando mentions shaking his head. Police officers, schoolteachers, pastors, doctors and ministry deputies are mostly not from the region, but send to this rural area. They have consequentially not the same ties, not the same legitimacy and no pertinence in the region, making them lack the force to unite the community. *"Not even the guards of Corcovado are from here, since they only want people with the right titles,"* Mario tells me, *"now they are not strategically positioned at all, because they don't know the area."*[110]

Besides professionals send to the Osa area, there are many new residents who *chose* to live in the region. Many of them want to be involved in local development but don't have the necessary legitimacy among the population. *"When I give advice about local issues, I am told 'you are not from here, don't tell us*

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[105] R2: 9

[106] R18:1

[107] Personal communication

[108] R26: 2

[109] Personal communication

[110] R10: 4

what to do!'" The North-American George has brought a couple of businesses to the Osa in the last twenty years he has been on and off living there. *"Work ethic is very low here,"* he asserts, *"that's ok, but then you have to accept that other people will come in and take over."[111]* And many foreigners have come and took opportunities that 'original' residents of the area didn't see or didn't want to take. *"There is a load of persons in this village, who we call 'floating citizens',"* Doña Camila tells me, *"they are not from here, they don't vote here, they don't decide anything in town. The people actually from here, are a minority now".* Camila is a well-known lady in town since she was the president of the development committee for over ten years. She still lives on the same parcel her family was given by the government when the town of Puerto Jiménez was funded, running the hotel her family funded forty-five years ago. *"But not for tourists, tourists started coming only like fifteen years ago. We used to receive scientists, goldminers and merchants,"* Camila explains as we sit in on her flowery couch. Often people who first came as tourists or as scientists decided to stay and take advantage, she continues to narrate. *"This feeling that biologists, NGOs, foreigners are living well of the region's nature, while the proper people from the village are not, frustrates us until the day of today."[112]*

While some 'original residents' complain about the engulf of foreigners taking over what's 'theirs', 'foreigners' complain about 'original residents' not *taking care* of what's theirs. Nicolas, engaged in local development and conservation, finds it a shame local people don't share his preoccupation. *"It's such a shame but it's always foreigners who want to save the Osa. Foreigners or otherwise Tico's from San José",* where he himself is from. *"NGO's are similarly always run by outsiders, they don't have much legitimacy among locals."[113]* Meetings and workshops organized by such conservation organisations are regularly hardly attended by local people. The festivities on 'Earth-day', should make local residents more aware of the need to protect the environment, but they are not reaching the people they are meant for:

> A hippy-crowd walks making music and picking up garbage trough Puerto Jiménez' Commercial Street, the clean-up parade had been announced over the last few weeks, inviting everybody to participate. During the sequent speech about the importance of environmental care in the communal centre the mostly American youngsters work on their dreads or chat with one another - bored since they don't understand Spanish- and wait for the pick-up-van that will bring them back to the farm they work. The only local people attending are the small entrepreneurs selling coconut water and fried chicken at the entrance to the discalced youth.

"An empanada seller only worries about selling his empanadas, you see," Antione argues, *"those who really worry come from other places, people fall in love with the region, but when they don't like it*

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[111] R1: 3

[112] R20: 1

[113] R18: 2

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anymore they pack their bags and leave."[114] The professionals who are send to the region don't *want* to stay and take the lead; adventure seekers who chose to come to the region have not the legitimacy nor the pertinence to take the lead; and 'original residents' often don't dare, care or are deemed capable to take leading positions. This contributes to fragmentation as strong leaders could help to unify the population of the remote area.

5.2.4 Lack of shared history and rituals

"'I am from Perez Zeledón', 'I am from San José', even if they have been living here 30 years they don't say they are from Puerto Jiménez," Alvaro argues. *"People are not proud of their hometown."*[115] Migrants are nothing new to the remote region of the Osa Peninsula. Local history is rife with migration memories and often referred to when asking about the local lack of cohesion. *"Everybody in the end comes from outside as there were no people living here at all,"* the pastor of the largest church in Puerto Jiménez of summarizes. *"The first inhabitants of the Osa Peninsula came from Panama, then many Nicaraguans came here during their war - and most never left. Thereafter people came to look for gold, or to look for land, from the centre of the country, since there is plenty of land here. Later people came to work for the banana company. And of all those immigrants, there is no identity uniting us".*[116] The population of the Osa, composited by people who came to the region with different motivations, backgrounds and cultural habits, doesn't share many cultural habits. *"I keep eating my Mexican food and the gringo keeps eating his food,"* the originally Mexican preacher explains, *"that doesn't help uniting us".*[117]

It is exactly tourism that in other cases shows to contribute to a reassertion of local cultural practices and a feeling of community. Community representations by for example tourism agencies can manifest and reconstruct images of 'community' (Van der Duim et al. 2006: 113). In an area where tourism is about trees, toucans and tapirs and not about people, this seems not to apply. *"I've done indigenous communities, coffee and chocolate tours and all that, I came all the way here to see animals, you know."*[118] A British tourist gives voice to the sentiment of most people visiting the Osa when I ask her about her travel plans. There are no expectations of certain cultural practices that might stimulate local unity and hardly any shared symbols that contribute to a feeling of cohesion. *"There is a lack of feeling of authenticity here,"* Antoine says. *"If people would identify more with their homeland, they might worry more about the nature,"* Antione works as a sustainability manager at one of the larger lodges close to the Corcovado Park. *"People are just not proud of their own land."*[119] Current practices that might

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[114] R16:2
[115] R26: 1
[116] R28: 2
[117] R28: 3
[118] Personal communication.
[119] R16: 2

distinguish the Osa from other regions, such as hunting and mining are quite contested and consequentially don't adhere to a positive collective image of the region. *"We have to look for an identity that brings us together,"* Matias agrees, *"Guanacaste has its marimba, its dances, its typical costumes, the Caribbean have their music, the center has its coffee, and here...? Nothing!"* Alvaro hopes music and art can help create such awareness, he teaches folkloric dance at a primary school. He agrees that this collective awareness *does* exist in other parts of Costa Rica, *"in Guanacaste they feel like Guanacasteños, they have an identity."*[120]

A lack of shared history makes the existence of a collective identity among residents of the Osa not self-evident. Sharing particular practices could help to create such awareness as 'people enact community relations based on processes and practices that connect them with key activities, institutions and spaces' (Van der Duim et al. 2005: 297). Also Collins (1993) emphasized that collective rituals have to be performed to prevent that people entertain alternative views of meaning and reality (In Haddock 2012). But currently there are not many rituals shared, activities attended or shared spaces widely used. The extracurricular folkloric dance at most keeps a handful of kids in school, the clean-up street parade is an exclusively foreign affair, and the decayed bench in front of the church doesn't make it to the 'plaza' that serves as a communal meeting place. The online meeting space on Facebook is neither *actively* used by the major part of the population. The vicious circle won't be broken easily as a current lack of communal identity keeps preventing people from attending public events, once again restraining the arousal of a communal identity.

*"*The 2.5% documentary did momentarily bring together poor goldminers worrying about their future, conservationist worrying about nature, and residents worrying about unemployment, both on screen as on the ground. Sitting together in the schoolyard, applauding the documentary they just watched, the residents of Puerto Jiménez for a moment shared a practice and a particular field of meaning. Weaving together different groups, as Howarth and Stavrakakis argue, is necessary to organize a field of meaning and to dominate discourse (2000:3). Such events and such attendance where however exceptional.

The regions natural richness and remoteness have attracted many outsiders and contributed to a broad cultural heterogeneity among its population. A lack of shared rituals among the population and a lack of pertinence among a large part of current residents, combined with a strong interdependence among those same people, contribute to local fragmentation. This in turn withholds people from participating collectively and actively in particular discourse-coalitions which could adapt, reject or support particular plans

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[120] R26: 1

6. Conclusions and Discussion

In this chapter the results from this research are summarized and further interwoven with the theory used. The first part of the discussion aims to provide a better understanding of the reasons of local passivity and fragmentation by comparing the results from this study with other cases concerning tourism development and local action. The second part emphasizes the need to allow for 'discourse of dissent' without perceiving community as a monolithic entity - as post-structuralism argues - but also without forcing community into sub-groups based on particular characteristics. The third part argues that local power can only be practiced if residents of a particular site feel united and empowered. The fourth part shows the resemblances between certain expressed storylines and elements of the development paradigms. It is argued that differentiation and generalization are a way of sensemaking in a complex situation. In the following subchapter the theories used are critically examined and reflected upon, showing their strengths and their flaws concerning this research. It is concluded in the last subchapter with recommendations for further research.

Some considerations must be taken into account when interpreting the conclusions. It must be realised that the way people speak about tourism development, is largely influenced by various emergent conditions such as the context, the season, and the one spoken to (in many cases myself). Also the fact that almost all interview data is translated must be considered. It is post-structuralism's ontological viewpoint that reality cannot be perceived in an unbiased manner. The conclusions drawn should therefore be conceived knowing that different conditions might lead to differing results when studying the same case.[121] Based on an intense fieldwork period of ten weeks, numerous informal conversations and semi-structured interviews, throughout analysis and interpretation of the data, I present the following conclusions.

6.1 Conclusions

As diverse as the composition of the population of the Osa Peninsula, is the way meaning is given to tourism development in this remote part of Costa Rica. Plans to establish large-scale tourism projects are discussed along lines of environmental, economic and social impacts. Particular storylines as expressed by residents reflect the way people think about particular developments and illuminate existing discourse. Storylines are not only used to communicate one's personal view of reality, but also to counter alternative discourses. Constantly people differentiate between the self and the other, and thereby create or reproduce particular divisions in society. While residents refer to certain 'sub-groups', such as 'those foreigners' or 'those protesters', they cannot be distinguished looking into actual practices, meetings, or collective activities. The arousal of alliances capable of influencing local development, is prevented by fragmentation among the population.

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[121] More information about the conditions and limitations of this research can be found in chapter 4. Methods, in particular on page 31, 36 and 37.

The Osa Peninsula has drawn many outsiders to the region throughout history and up until today. People who searched for gold, for work on the former banana plantations, or for available land to cultivate, were joined in the last two decades by people who search for opportunities in (eco-) tourism, a (second) home in a natural surroundings, or a drive for nature conservation. Some of those 'new residents' are concerned about the environmental and social consequences of tourism and argue that people living in the area do not have the proper education to understand the negative impacts of large-scale tourism. The storyline *"They just don't get it,"* is however not only expressed by the recent and often more educated residents, but also by long-term residents of the area who speak of those who just arrived and 'interfere' too much with regional issues. The people concerned about the economic lag of the region dismiss the well-off and the short-term inhabitants for worrying more about animals than about people, and for averting job opportunities in the region.

"*Would you like to eat dust every day?"* I was asked, emphasizing there is nothing romantic about unpaved streets and underdevelopment if you don't have the opportunity to go anywhere else. This storyline is expressed by inhabitants who long for economic development, but also (strategically) used by investors to justify their development plans and to ally with the local population. While the people who express this storyline like tourism to grow and like more investors to arrive in the Osa region, current 'foreigners' who live in the area, actually often fear the arrival of more outsiders in the area they once fell in love with. *"Foreigners will come and take over,"* is expressed mostly by worrying residents who are not so evidently 'local' themselves. According to the situation and the issue at stake, people easily shift between the classifications they (re)create themselves. Boundaries between 'local' and 'foreigner' or between 'needy' and 'well-off' are flexible and permeable.

A grand part of the Osa population agrees on the need to create jobs through tourism to provide alternatives for illegal hunting, logging and mining, currently performed by many (unemployed) residents. *"Save the poor to save the forest"*, it is argued. Within this one view there is a differentiation between those who see *any* job as a step ahead and those who wish for *'worthy'* jobs', independent from foreign investors. While the first identify the latter as 'unrealistic idealists', the latter accuse the former of contributing to rising inequality in society. The people who favor small-scale ecotourism align themselves with the people who fear that criminality, drug use and prostitution will accompany large-scale and more luxurious tourism developments, and they contribute to the reproduction of this fear. *"Those tourists will bring bad habits"*, it is argued, constructing the idea that two types of tourist can be discerned. Constantly people create, reproduce and strengthen certain sub-groups by speaking about, and thereby give meaning to, the development of tourism on their home ground. By proposing an antagonism, the personal argument is reaffirmed, and the self is distanced from the other.

This could be a strong foundation for polarization and group formation. Expectantly would the above mentioned discursive practices lead to clear divisions in society and to distinguishable coalitions on the ground. But while respondents mindlessly refer to a particular 'out-group', these particular groups are

not recognized or practiced as such by those who are supposed to be in them. While exclusion presumptuously goes hand in hand with inclusion, no solid 'in-groups' can be discerned among the Osa residents. Like-minded people are often not even aware of their shared objectives, or differences considering other issues prevent them from identifying or meeting with one another. Also the expressed generalizations turn out to be inaccurate as colleagues, neighbors or siblings – assumingly sharing a particular discourse – turn out to have different, or even contradicting opinions. Characteristics such as kinship, origin, or job turn out not to be reliable predictors to estimate discourse. Furthermore, people often contradict themselves, as they want things that are not congruent, such as the construction of an airport while protecting the nature, wanting tourism to diminish while depending on it for a living, or arguing certain developments should be stopped by the population, while not undertaking action themselves.

The on-the-ground fragmentation and inaction can be partially explained by particular characteristics of the area and its inhabitants, as these influence the way people interact and act upon planned changes, and contribute to a lack of social attachment and group-formation. A strong interdependence due to the regions remoteness prevents people from clustering, or from publicly speaking out, as no one wishes to make 'enemies' in this remote area. Discourse expressed by the same person often differed considerably depending on other persons present, as people adapt strategically to the situation at stake. While it can be expected that interdependence leads to strong cohesion within society, in this case it leads to an aversion to truly connect, as people always fear to lock out others. Additionally, the historical and recurrent migration contributes to a lack of collective identity and cohesion in society as shared history and shared rituals are scant. Since not many residents have the both needed pertinence and education, long-term and legitimate leadership, that could possibly connect the residents of the Osa Peninsula, is limited. While residents do define particular outgroups, and frame society as if it were divided in certain sub-groups, these groups are not practiced as such on the ground. While people make sense of the situation unfolding around them by framing society as if it were divided in particular groups, fragmentation prevails and no strong alliances are formed. The lack of a collective and active local population leaves current plans for large-scale tourism development mostly unchallenged. Feelings of disempowerment or discrimination among the local population further stimulate this 'in-action'. As current development plans are left unchallenged, the various environmental, economic and social consequences the Osa residents long for or fear might soon become reality.

7.2 Discussion

7.2.1 Conditions for coalitions

'International trends in the tourism industry have led to unsustainable coastal development triggering the creation of a unified front of coastal communities demanding for social change and the recognition of their economic, social and cultural rights' (Haddock 2012: iii). Haddock (2012) detects strong local coalitions focusing on Costa Rican residents who oppose tourism development. He argues that local people force themselves to reject or adapt particular touristic projects. The current case study contradicts this conclusions. Haddock's research focuses on Costa Rica's coastal areas, and most often refers to the denser developed northern Pacific coast. Here movements have aroused that were able to make changes within the Costa Rican coastal legal framework and future policies around tourism development (ibid.). The success of meaningful local coalitions is explained by a model from Dahrendorf (1958, 1988). This model argues that three conditions have to be met for a group to become active: technical conditions, political conditions and social conditions (in ibid: 127).

The technical conditions concern ideas and norms that set a particular group apart. Haddock argues that coastal communities share the core belief that 'after twenty years of uncontrolled tourism growth, there has come the time to find concrete solutions protecting the environment, cultural diversity and preventing the further gentrification of the coast' (2012: 128). Among residents of the Osa Peninsula this belief is not widely shared. This might be related to the fact that the region has not experienced twenty years of tourism growth yet. The coastal areas of Costa Rica are at different stages of tourism development. The original residents of the Osa region have not experienced the severe consequences of large-scale tourism as the residents of Guanacaste might have. Haddock argues that actors with different ideologies and political inclinations unify in their shared core belief against the further development of touristic mega-projects (2012). 'The coastal lifestyle', including particular livelihood strategies and cultural traits, additionally unifies the coastal population. Focusing solely on the Osa Peninsula this conclusion is inaccurate as a lack of shared culture and history prevents the peninsula's residents to unify. Differences overrule similarities, and the urge to stop tourism development is not felt strong enough to overcome differences and foster cohesion. Dahrendorf's first condition is not met in this particular part of Costa Rica.

The second condition is of political nature and has to do with the accessibility and the availability of facilities to meet and organize. There are various organizations that try to gather people and provide the necessary locations and facilities. NGOs and local development committees for example try to bring people together in meetings or activities, but these are not much visited. The remoteness of certain communities and the lack of public transportation makes it difficult to meet up with people from various parts of the region. This is however not much different in other parts of Costa Rica. The political condition does not have to be a blockade for the people on the Osa to unify. The third condition is the social

condition and concerns communication and the structural patterns of recruitment for a particular group. Facebook and other social media provide an easy way to communicate with likeminded people and form groups. This online infrastructure is present on the Osa Peninsula and many people have the facilities to go online. Facebook groups such as '*Decimos No a la construcción del aeropuerto international del Sur*' (Let's say No to the construction of the international airport in the South) and '*No a La Marina Privado de Puerto Jiménez - Si Marina Publica*' (No to the private marina in Puerto Jiménez – Yes public marina) and a variety of YouTube movies are dedicated to the opposition of large-scale development. These online media are however not used by a large part of the inhabitants of the region, who wish not to be publicly involved in sensitive issues. Workshops and informational meetings could be another way to communicate or form a group, but as long as Osa residents prefer to stay on the background, rather than to be actively involved in communal or political matters, these won't be influential. While Haddock (2012) affirms the presence of the technical, political and social conditions to for a group to unite and become active in 'coastal Costa Rica', I argue these conditions fall short on the Osa Peninsula.

A lack of feelings of unity and a (strategic) disinterest in public participation problematize the arousal of strong local coalitions. The need for collective identity and structural social patterns are affirmed by Kousis (2000) who emphasizes the relevance of strong social structures in society in order for social movements to arise. In her study on protests against touristic projects in Mediterranean Europe, Kousis remarks the importance of neighborhood associations, residential groups and cultural clubs in the arousal of protest groups (2000). Apart from technical, political and social conditions as proposed by Dahrendorf (1958, 1988 in Haddock 2012), play economic conditions a role in explaining the inaction of residents. Kousis suggests that economic dependency on the tourism industry might hinder the emergence of mobilizations against touristic projects (2000: 485). This economic condition is also of importance on the Osa Peninsula as the lack of job opportunities in the region makes more people willing to give in on the negative environmental or social consequences of large-scale tourism, as they give priority to job creation and economic development.

Jackson and Inbakaran (2006) evaluate residents' intentions to act towards tourism development in Australia. They remark little proactivity from residents to protests against tourism development and argue that protests are often localised to the few residents who are directly affected by proposed developments (ibid: 363). This affirms that not necessarily active local coalitions arise that try to undermine particular developments as is the case on the Osa Peninsula. While some residents work individually to change the course of particularly planned developments, such as the marina in Puerto Jiménez, no coalition is formed between them that could strengthen their voice and adapt the future plans for the region. As long as no symbols or rituals are found with which a wide variety of people can identify that create feelings of collective identity, it will be difficult to cooperate and to practice local power and agency. This might ultimately lead to the *'rapid, uncontrolled real estate and mass tourism development'* Honey warns about (2008: 175).

7.2.2 Discourse of dissent

This study clearly sustains one of post-structuralism's main arguments of overcoming essentialist structures and acknowledging diversity and dissenting viewpoints. While respondents suggest there are particular sub-groups in society by the storylines they express, these groups are not practiced as such. Particular characteristics of the inhabitants do not predict particular opinions. The research' respondents often based their opinion about particular tourism developments on unexpected conditions and on unforeseen personal ideals and interests. Whereas Haddock writes about Costa Rica: '*The most remote places are becoming areas of struggle between those who traditionally lived on the land and those who want to acquire it for tourism development*' (2012: 153), this research argues that there is no binary between 'traditional residents' and 'outsiders'. There is no conflict between opposing foreign 'exploitative investors' and 'honourable local people', as other studies concerning tourism development suggest (Scheyvens 2007). Neither are there only 'locals' who wish to exploit the natural resources to a further extend, and just 'foreigners' who want to protect the regions biodiversity. While respondents suggest there are such sub-groups in society by their expressions, these groups are not practiced as such.

Crehan argues against essentialist views of a monolithic community and maintains that communities are fractured along lines of gender, age, kinship, ethnicity and existing levels of wealth (1997 in Van der Duim et al. 2008: 110). This view of communities as fractured allows for the acknowledgement of differences within a community, but suggests that certain sub-groups exist based on particular characteristics. This study argues that a certain opinion cannot be readily explained by apparent characteristics of a person, and that sharing particular characteristics does not necessarily lead to the creation of a certain sub-group. While I initially tried to explain differing opinions concerning the future of tourism on this remote part of Costa Rica to such particular characteristics - dividing people in 'poor' versus 'rich', 'local' versus 'foreign' or 'educated' versus 'uneducated' – these divisions often demonstrated not to connect with actual preferences or practices. The population of the Osa Peninsula could not be fit in clear-cut coalitions nor in personal patterns of expectation. There are no different groups based on particular characteristics as Crehan (1997) suggests *and* as the respondents living in the area propose themselves, constantly differentiating between the self and the other (in Van der Duim et al. 2008: 110).

The study of Jackson and Inbakaran (2006) neither finds a relationship between intentions to protest and particular demographics or attitudes of the respondents and affirms the idea that characteristics such as gender, age and education level are no clear indicators to predict practices against tourism development. A community should not be understood a homogeneous entity, but neither as an entity that can be divided in particular sub-groups sharing certain characteristics. Even concerning the same person, discourses expressed show to vary according to the situation or to other residents present. A post-structuralist perspective acknowledges these discursive contradictions and *enables human subjectivity to be multiple, fragmentary and inconsistent, rather than unified and rational*' as Gavey (1989) and Weedon (1987) express (in O'Neill & Morgan 2001: 272). These inconsistencies also support the assertion of

discourse theory that people have no coherent set of fixed ideas and believes, as discourse is constantly created, changed and context specific (Hajer 2005). 'Discourse of dissent' (George & Campbell 1990) should not be understood by negation, mirroring the illusionary unity of taken-for-granted realities, but by recognizing inconsistencies, contradictions and dissenting voices.

7.2.3 Unite and conquer

Language is a very powerful tool to initiate action and particular storylines can help to form social opinion, and in turn initiate social action (Hajer 2005; Van Wetering & Van Gelder 2000). Forthright storylines are however not publicly expressed much, as many people rather stay neutrally on the background. Discourse and counter-discourse, and consequentially insiders and outsiders, are created in private conversations and in the minds of the respondents. This process is however not build up in public settings on the Osa Peninsula as people do not speak out in front of their co-residents. This confirms the argument of Van Wetering and Van Gelder who argue that for public debate and for inner circles a different way of sensemaking and speaking is considered suitable (2000: 142). As these processes prevent people from expressing their personal opinion, this sustains the argument of Bianchi (2009) that discourse is congealed within particular structural forces. The reticence in public space strategically prevents the arousal of any divisions or conflicts within society, but it also prevents the creation of alliances that can turn their union into power. Investors willing to create certain touristic developments on the Osa Peninsula, don't have to 'divide to conquer', as there is little local unity at all.

Exactly the broad variety in society and the multitude of motivations and values among the people lead to a lack of local cohesion which in turn *diminishes* local power among residents of the Osa Peninsula. This contrasts another important premise of post-structuralism that argues against views that conceive the local population as a passive entity and focuses on local vigour instead (Stronza 2001; Halfacree 2004; Scheyvens 2007). *'They may resist, subvert, manipulate, or transform tourism to their own benefit'* Scheyvens for example argues (2007: 237). A lack of collective identity however, prevents people from participating actively in society and operating collectively in the Osa region. Too much division and fragmentation prevents the arousal of coalitions that can be truly influential. While some residents are certainly not passive but actively try to undermine particular developments and influence local development, these single acts of protest don't make the necessary changes to speak of true local power such as post-structuralism underscores.

While several studies indicate that the prospect of large-scale tourism moving into the Osa region creates consternation among local residents, researchers, and environmental NGOs (van Noorloos 2011; Morales & Pratt, 2010 in Hunt et al. 2015: 5; Mora 2013), this consternation is not prevalent among a large part of the residents of the Osa Peninsula, who rather continue their day-to-day business and don't want to be involved in public matters. Wearing et al. remark adhere the focus on structuralist approaches in tourism research to 'a desire for knowledge of a stable truth' and a focus on market driven perspectives

(2009: 343). Binary oppositions and colonizing truths have been the consequences of a desire to fit reality into theoretical and prepossessed expectations (ibid.). Depending on (unconscious) personal preference, or a focus on a certain theoretical approach, different research choices might have been made, resulting in different interpretations or divergent conclusions. According to this research, most residents of the Osa Peninsula do not engage in any practices to prevent, adjust or reject planned developments. They perceive these changes as happening upon them and don't see possibilities to act upon them, contradicting post-structural theory arguing that the local population can be a powerful force that influences on-the-ground development. *'Too often, we have assumed that hosts are relatively passive'* Stronza argues (2001: 278). Feelings of empowerment, a certain cohesion and shared identity seems to be necessary to make local attitude influential and to turn passivity into action.

7.2.4 Storylines and paradigms

While having argued that it is necessary for social research to emancipate from essentialist perspectives and from the institutionalization of '*ossified dominant conceptual frameworks'* (Mc Rae 2003 in Bianchi 2009: 486), the opinions of respondents spoken with, resemble some of the arguments related to the above discussed development paradigms. All views on local development plans express consciously or unconsciously a preferred notion of what development is and these preferences echo ideas from paradigmatic debates in theoretical literature on development.

Many inhabitants of Puerto Jiménez associate the arrival of a marina in their town with the emergence of asphalted roads, or the rise of large hotels with the possibility of getting a swimming pool or another supermarket in town. It was argued that it was because of tourism that people currently were in possession of cell phones or motorcycles. 'Modern' ways of living brought to 'underdeveloped regions', as the inhabitants of the Osa region often referred to their home ground. This idea resembles one of the core premises of the modernization paradigm: growth impulses will diffuse through society and lead to economic growth and development (Telfer 2000; Croes 2013). The storyline *"would you like to eat dust every day"*, justifies the development of large-scale tourism based on the premise of economic prosperity. The modernization paradigm is often conceived as 'outdated' in current development literature and is critiqued for its narrow economic bias (Sharply 2000; Scheyvens 2007). But exactly the focus on economy is acknowledged and defended by various residents, in line with elements of this economy focused paradigm. While being aware of possible environmental or social negative consequences of large-scale developments, residents argue they are in true need of economic growth, and consider the fixation on nature or authenticity as a preoccupation of the rich or the foreign. The neoliberal paradigm echoes much of these modernization viewpoints. Several investors who could be designated as both 'rich' and 'foreign', give arguments that resemble elements of this paradigm as they (strategically) reinforce the idea that the creation of a particular touristic project will trickle down to the community that is in need of development.

They argue that private investments can accomplish what the government neglects to achieve concerning local development.

The argument that tourism-fuelled development leads to prosperity for the poor, is tackled by other residents of the Osa region, who argue that increasing economic activity and an open competitive market will lead to increasing inequality. Some residents express the fear that foreign elites will privatise natural recourses and public properties, such as the pier in Puerto Jiménez or fishing areas of the Golfo Dulce, diminishing local opportunities. The storyline *"Foreigners will come and take over"* echoes much of this concern. Similar arguments are used in the dependency paradigm, maintaining that the poor cannot overcome poverty because the rich expropriate economic surpluses (Bianchi 2002; Sharpley 2000). The dependency theory conceives tourism as a form of consumption that excludes any opportunity for 'real development' (Hall 2007). While there are many people expressing negative feelings concerning *large-scale* tourism projects in the Osa region, most of them see *small-scale* tourism and eco-tourism as a solution to *overcome* poverty and to protect the local natural environment. This is reminiscent to the alternative development paradigm that shifts the focus from economic growth to *human and environmental well-being*. This paradigm also encourages self-reliance, preferring residents of host areas to start up their own (community) tourism projects, rather than to engage in wage labour in (foreign owned) hotels. This position is ratified by NGO's that work in the region, and by two documentaries devoted to tourism on Costa Rica's most biodiverse peninsula (Bollinger & Elterman 2015; Music and Jordan 2013). Both emphasize how locally owned forms of ecotourism can contribute to fulfilment of the basic needs of communities, encourage self-reliance, and protect the environment. *"Save the poor to save the forest"* is a storyline that resembles ideas of the alternative development paradigm. Other people are sceptical about these proposed forms of small-scale tourism, as they cannot employ as many people as large-scale projects, and cannot lead to the growth and the changes they desire.

The development paradigms, having different notions of what development is, have influenced varying discourses used in academic literature and political discussions concerning tourism and development. While having argued all these paradigm focus too much on external conditions and neglect the role of the local residents, they are also unconsciously drawn upon by those 'hosts' living in an area where tourism is on the rise. The paradigms bring to the front different aspects of tourism and development that are also highlighted by particular residents. Whereas post-structuralism has a clear preference for differences and dynamics, and whereas the on the ground situation is not easy to capture in structures, residents try to make sense of the situations unfolding around them by focusing on certain aspects of tourism and development, by identifying with particular generalizations, and by creating particular groups in their minds.

7.3 Theoretical reflections

When solely listening to inhabitants statements and only looking into the interviews conducted, clear coalitions could have been distinguished as most people refer to particular groups as they differentiate between the self and the (ignorant or threatening) other. Based on participant observation however, these findings had to be brought down as there is no strong cohesion among the residents and there are no actual alliances. The results showing a fragmented community are congruent with post-structuralist ideas that argue against binary oppositions implying hierarchy, dominance, and a subordinating structure of opposition, and turn to difference, dynamism and interplay instead. Using post-structuralism the inherent plurality in visions on tourism and development could be unpacked, interpreted and strengthened. The lack of local forces to reject, adapt or support proposed changes could however not be explained using post-structuralist theory.

Drawing upon Foucault (1980a, 1982) post-structuralism questions power relationships between the sources and beneficiaries of any supposed knowledge, and rejects the assumption of dominance of one over the other (in Kerfoot & Knights 1994: 70, 81). However, without wanting to portray residents as passive objects and foreign investors or conservationists as influential actors, the results indicate that there *are* feelings of disempowerment among many residents when it comes to tourism development in the area they live in. This shows the (conception of) continued influence of hegemonic discourse expressed by 'powerful' people and institutions and weakens the premise that power is not connected to particular positions or persons. Perceived contradictions between 'the powerless static local' and 'the powerful changing global' do not exist, as it is argued by Massey (2004). But, if these differences are perceived as such by the population, it can be questioned whether they do not influence actual practices, or rather the refrain from particular practices. Post-structuralism in this case fails to take into account the ongoing importance of structural forces in development issues that are continuously present or felt in 'real' society as for example Bianchi (2009) remarks.

Surpassing purely theoretical grounds, discourse theory offered methodological approaches that enabled for interpretation of the multiple and sometimes contradictory meanings present. The differentiation residents create can be interpreted by discourse theory, as discourse often takes form and becomes explicit by creating a social antagonism, which can stabilise the personal opinion (Torfing 2000: 5). A certain storyline can help to construct an issue or situation into a comprehensible problem and help to make sense of complex situations. The difference between discourse as expressed, and practices as undertaken as encountered during this research, can however not be easily explained using discourse theory or post-structuralism.

Discourse theory argues that reality can never be reached outside discourses (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002). Post-structuralism similarly abandons the idea of social reality outside personal interpretation. *'Structuralist approaches accept that there is such a thing as a social reality and post-structuralism argues*

that there are only interpretations or 'readings' of text' as expressed by Abbott and Wallace (1997 in Wearing et al. 2009: 434). Focusing *not* on 'reality' but on interpretations instead, or *not* on rational argumentation but on argumentative rationality as the theories used prescribe (Hajer 2005), it should be concluded that there *are* coalitions to be distinguished on the Osa Peninsula. Residents make sense of the situation by means of differentiating between the self and the other, creating particular groups and establishing structure. Discourse theory conceives language not only as a medium to reflect on particular developments, but as a powerful force that *changes and creates* society (Hajer 2005; Van Wetering & Van Gelder 2000), so no distinction between expressed discourse and 'reality' should be made, as discourse *is* reality.

7.4 Recommendations

The current study indicates that in accordance with discourse theory, people try to make sense of the situations that unfold around them by classifying society in particular groups, but also that on the ground such sub-groups are not necessarily practiced. This suggests that discourses do not so much create or change society as discourse theory asserts. It might however be the case that discourse as expressed eventually *does* change society and that the coalitions as expressed in the long run *are* stabilized by the force of language. This research has been too short to perceive changes in society that are taking place at a slow pace. Also certain coalitions might arise as conditions change, or as current intangible projects become more concrete. As much as the region of the Osa is in a transitory phase, the responses of the population might transit over time. Further research could look deeper into the currently perceived incongruence and into possible conditions for language to become a powerful force. On the long run it would be interesting to see whether local discourse changes as tourism grows on the Peninsula and whether de same developmental paradigms are still reflected in local sensemaking.

This research has shown that on the Osa Peninsula residents hardly unite, and that no actual coalitions arise that influence local development. Collective identity has been foregrounded as an important factor to create cohesion among the population and to create the necessary coalitions that can change the course of development in the region. Further research could delve deeper into the relation between collective identity and local power. The affiliation might be researched in other locations and compared, to test whether the made assumptions are correct. Also the relation between local power and other conditions outlined above, such as the need for local organization, communication and economic independency, could be further investigated. Concerning the Osa Peninsula it might be questioned to which extent there currently are feelings of collective identity, and what possible factors to unite the residents are. This research has centred on local discourse dynamics concerning the development of tourism, but outside tourism there might be other factors that unite or divide the population in other ways. Using discourse analysis it could be investigated how residents frame the Osa Peninsula. This can provide insight in factors that can unite the population and help to practice local power. A demarcated identity might also be used for tourism purposes, to 'promote' the region to the desired target groups. It must be recognized however that no 'oneness' will probably be reached among the population concerning which tourists are desired or despised.

This research has further indicated that there is a *conception* among residents of a continued importance of hegemonic discourse, and has argued that this influences the refrain from activities to undermine proposed plans concerning tourism development. The actual importance of institutions, government and private negotiations in Costa Rica has however not been part of this study. Other research could be dedicated to this governance level, by interviewing a different target group and looking into policy documents. This could elucidate to which extent the conception of discrimination and disempowerment is based on actual policy and create more clarity on the actual possibilities and power of the population.

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Appendix 1: Resúmen en Español

En un país que vive de turismo, la Península de Osa sigue siendo un área de Costa Rica poco visitado. Sin embargo, varios planes indican que el turismo de gran escala está esperando la región. Esta investigación se dedica a la forma en que los residentes de la zona dan sentido a estos desarrollos, usando análisis del discurso. Diez semanas de trabajo de campo en la Península de Osa disciernan ideas del discurso local sobre los planes de desarrollo turístico de gran escala, y en las formas en que estos discursos revelan una cierta diferenciación o fragmentación en la sociedad. Utilizando un enfoque post-estructuralista y rechazando vistas esencialistas de turismo, esta investigación se centra en las dinámicas locales conectados a los planes de desarrollo de turismo.

Aunque esperaba que ciertas alianzas iban a emerger por compartir un cierto objetivo, no se pueden definir grupos explícitos y potentes que se juntan a intentar de cambiar ciertos planes para la región. Esta fragmentación local, se debe a una falta de identidad colectiva, relacionada con la lejanía de la región y su historia de la migración. Esto ha dejado sus huellas en una falta de rituales compartidos y una falta de liderazgo eficaz. Además, la interdependencia local impide que los residentes públicamente comparten su juicio, o unen contra co-residentes. Estos resultados apoyan los argumentos post-estructuralistas argumentando en contra de visiones esencialistas de una comunidad monolítica, y muestran que tampoco se pueden definir *sub*-grupos explicitas basado en características particulares. Sin embargo, el poder local acentuado por el post-estructuralismo, no se puede aprobar basado en esta investigación, ya que se necesita una cierta cohesión local para convertir pasividad en acción y hacer que las voces locales sean más poderosas.

Los residentes, sin embargo si enmarcan la sociedad como si estuviera dividido en coaliciones. Usando la teoría del discurso, esto se explica como una forma de reafirmar opiniones personales por distanciarse de otras opiniones particulares, y como una forma de dar sentido a una situación compleja. Si la población diversa de la Península de Osa no encuentra una manera de unirse e identificarse con sus tierras, los inversionistas interesados en el desarrollo de grandes proyectos percibirán menos restricciones. Esto aumenta la probabilidad de que el turismo de gran escala desarrolla pronto. Un cambia para el bien, o para el mal, según del discurso uno prefiere, pero sin duda, afectando el paisaje y la vida de los habitantes irrevocable.

Appendix 2: List of interviewees

Respondent Number	Anonymized name	General information	Setting interview
1	George	Runs a hotel and deals in real estate. Lives of and on in Puerto Jiménez since 20 years. Originally from USA. Around 60 years old.	In the garden of his hotel. He is very preoccupied with explaining his own presence away.
2	Juan	Owns an apartment complex in Puerto Jiménez and works as a tour guide. Originally from the center of Costa Rica. Around 35 years old.	In one of the apartments he inhabits himself. He takes a lot of time and comes with many examples to make me understand his viewpoint.
3	'Police officer'	Has been working almost three years in Puerto Jiménez, sent here as a police officer for a period of three years. Around 40 years old.	In the backyard of the police office, during lunch break. Takes his role to help me as a foreign girl very seriously.
4	Adrian	Works at the car rental in Puerto Jiménez. Lives here since eight years. Around 35 years old.	In the office of the car-rental, during work hours. He seems a little suspicious at first.
5	Hank	Initiator of the marina in Puerto Jiménez. Currently runs a sports fishing resort his father originated. Has lived here for fifteen years. Originally from USA. Around 30 years old.	In the office of his resort. He canceled our appointment a couple of times before, but is very welcoming now.
6	Doña Marta	Owns a youth-hostel in Puerto Jiménez. Former gold miner in Corcovado. Around 80 years old. Original resident.	In front of her hostel on a bench. Often she 'passes' questions to her friend who works at the hostel.
7	Doña Julieta	Runs a restaurant with her children in Bahia Drake, where is has lived all her life. Around 65 years old.	In her restaurant during working hours. She often whispers as she doesn't want clients to hear her opine.
8	Valeria	Runs a sustainable tourism agency in Puerto Jiménez. Has lived in the area 9 years. Originally from Spain. Actively anti-marina. Operates much on Facebook and tries to talk with many residents.	In the tour agency, during work hours. Many interruptions.
9	Fernando	Runs the tour agency together with Valeria, from Spain.	In the tour agency. I planned to interview Valeria but she could not be there.
10	Mario	Runs a farm with his family. Used to farm in Corcovado. Original resident of the area. Very passionate nature-lover. Around 45 years old	On his farm. Went back many times as I befriend with the family.

11	Henry	Lawyer and notary in Puerto Jiménez. Since 25 years. Originally from the center of the country. Continuously living here since 3 years. Around 50 years old.	In his office attached to his house. He is quite hostile towards me at first, making me defend my presence in town.
12	Elisa	Runs an NGO focusing on environmental awareness and tour guide. Originally from the center of the country, since 12 years living here. Around 30 years old.	In the office of the NGO. Often interrupted.
13	-	Manager of a hotel and working in real estate. Of and on living on the Osa and in the center of the country. Originally from the Osa area. Around 50 years old.	In the office of the hotel she works, with her child present. She answers very formally and 'correct'.
14	Agustin	Works at the local airline that operates between Puerto Jiménez and San José. Original resident. Around 20 years old.	At the airport, during his work hours.
15	Romina	Cleaner in a hotel and housewife. Originally from Guanacaste area. Moved here for her husband 5 years ago. 22 years old.	In her work break at the hotel she works. She seems a little nervous about being interviewed.
16	Antione	Sustainability manager at a lodge in Carate. Moved to the region around 10 years ago. Around 35 years old.	In his living room. With his kids present.
17	Josue	Owns and runs a large souvenir and art shop in Puerto Jiménez. Used to work as a bartender in various hotels and resorts. Original resident. Around 50 years old.	In front of his shop. I interviewed him twice and he is very interested in my findings.
18	Nicolas	Biologist and deputy from the ministry of ecology and agriculture. Has been send to the region for a period of 3 years, almost accomplished. Very active in local awareness about nature. Originally from the center of Costa Rica. Around 40 years old.	In his ministry office with two co-workers present. I had spoken with him often before this interview about my research.
19	Lana	Runs various little business with her family from their house, such as a laundry service, knife sharpening service, selling clothes, ice-cubes and bait. Original resident of Puerto Jiménez. Around 65 years old.	In front of her house. Interrupted often. Very short as she rushes trough the answers.
20	Doña Camila	Retired owner of small hotel in Puerto Jiménez. Has been the president of the local development committee for 10 years. Well-known and respected in town.	In her living room. She seems to feel honored to be asked to interview and takes the job seriously.
21	Lea	Works at the reception of a hotel and is mother and housewife. Has lived in the area since she was a child. Around 30 years old.	In the hotel during her break.

22	Joaquin	Works as a guide and works for the NGO Elisa funded. Originally from the center of the country. Around 30 years old.	At the NGO office. Quit short, spoke with him for additional information a couple of times more.
23	Ice-cream seller	Owns and runs an ice-cream shop in Puerto Jiménez. Originally from Quepos, moved to the area 15 years ago. Around 45 years old.	In front of his shop. Conceives the both of us as 'outsiders' seeing the craziness of this town.
24	Matias	Teacher at adult education. Used to volunteer in Corcovado. Originally from center of the country in the Osa region since 5 years. Started a project to get local residents to get to know Corcovado Park. Around 35 years old.	In a coffee bar. He seems very pleased to talk with me about local fragmentation.
25	Magdalena	Runs a company renting kayaks and providing tours through the mangroves. Very active marina opponent, in charge of several charges. Has lived in the area around 20 years. Originally from other part of Costa Rica. Around 50 years old.	At the porch of her house from where she runs her business.
26	Alvaro	Artist and musician. Also teaches music at the private primary school. Lives in Puerto Jiménez since 10 years. Originally from other part of the country.	At the primary school. Surrounded by many kids. He is in a rush.
27	Patrick	Architect and active conservationist. Has lived in the region since 17 years, originally from USA. Has a YouTube channel dedicated to denigrate the marina.	At his house, designed by himself. Overlooking dense forest. Expects me to assist in his fight against the marina.
28	'Pastor'	Pastor of the largest church in the region. Originally from Mexico, in the region since 8 years. Around 40 years old.	In the parochial house. He takes much time to think and to reflect on my questions.
29	-	Current president of the development committee of Puerto Jiménez. Originally from the area. Around 45 years old.	Goes not into my questions/ topics at all. Seems to have arrived with a prepossessed idea of what he wants to tell me. He is called away half way and does not show up at our follow-up appointment.