

DO INTEGRATED CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT
PROJECTS (ICDPs) LINKED TO ECOTOURISM
LIMIT THE PROSPECTS FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
IN RURAL COSTA RICA?

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS FROM THE OSA PENINSULA

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Declaration

I, Ann-Elin Norddal, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature.....

Date.....

Dedication

*To Aldo Sánchez Sánchez:
For making my stay in Costa Rica Pura Vida!*

Acknowledgments

This thesis is a final product of the contribution of several people to whom I wish to express my gratitude.

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Abstract

The overall objective in this Master Thesis is to assess the impact of ecotourism as Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDPs) implemented by international and national environmental non-governmental organizations (NGOs) on the Osa Peninsula in Costa Rica. By examining these projects in relation to the overruling policy of the environmental NGOs and their funders, this study aims to find out if ecotourism ICDPs limit the prospects for human development in rural Costa Rica. This research used a mixed-methods approach of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies, and applied critical theories to guide the early stages of the research project.

In short, environmental scientists fear that ICDPs fail to achieve conservation goals by focusing too much on development drivers and external factors such as policies, funders and forces of the market. On the other side of the debate, academics within development studies fear the opposite; that conservation goals act as the driving imperative, overruling the prospects for human development. Human development is to a large extent about individual values, and what people and communities ought to value, which means that personal preferences need to be taken into consideration in order to achieve human development.

Research findings recognize that ecotourism ICDPs have weaknesses and pitfalls concerning differences in values among the stakeholders, lack of context-specific knowledge and power inequity, where conditions for funding and conservation objectives act as the overruling imperative. Despite of this, positive outcomes have been identified and elaborated. The local majority residing close to the protected natural areas express appreciation for ecotourism, as it provides alternative sources of income and new capabilities. The civil society, through the environmental NGOs, creates a new arena where individuals can serve as political actors, facilitating local empowerment which eliminates threats to both human and environmental security.

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List of Abbreviations

CI	Conservation International
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDR	Human Development Report
ICDR	Integrated Conservation and Development Project
IISD	International Institute for Sustainable Development
IMF	The International Monetary Fund
IR	International Relations
IYE	The International Year of Ecotourism
MINAET	Ministry of Environment, Energy and Telecommunications (Costa Rica)
NGO	Non-governmental organization
PES	Payment for Environmental Services
PNA	Protected Natural Areas
PPT	Pro-poor tourism
SINAC	The National System of Conservation Areas (Costa Rica)
TCF	The Corcovado Foundation
TIES	The International Ecotourism Society
TNC	The Nature Conservancy
UN	The United Nations
UNDP	The United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USAID	The United States Agency for International Development
WTO	The World Trade Organization
WTTC	The World Travel and Tourism Council
WWF	The World Wide Fund for Nature

1.0. INTRODUCTION

The image of the developing world in western minds has in recent years changed from one of poverty, deprivation and conflicts, to a location of opportunities for an alternative and exciting holiday. Many of these new tourist destinations are biodiversity hot-spots labelled for environmental conservation, with the claim that dollars from high-spending tourists can fund preservation of fragile ecosystems and give rural communities new economic opportunities and incentives. Governments in many developing countries have seized upon this green, global trend, and are now promoting tourism as a tool for conservation and development in order to earn much needed foreign exchange and escape their Third World status (Collier 2007; Mowforth & Munt 2009).

Environmental non-governmental conservation groups have received billions of dollars of private money and World Bank funding in order to buy land from poor governments for conservation purposes. These non-profit groups are allowed to hire staff to ensure that the rules in the protected areas are obeyed, build accommodation and tourist facilities, and more or less dictate how the land can be used. Concurrent with this, “community participation” is a term widely used by the NGOs, emphasising the importance of involving the local communities in order to achieve conservation and development goals (Butcher 2007; Mowforth & Munt 2009; Vidal 2008).

Recognising the tensions that result between conservation on the one hand and local participation on the other, one question addressed in this thesis is: *Who is it that decides what sustainable development is – the scientists and idealists from the western world, or the local communities who have lived off the land for generations?*

Supporters claim that ecotourism is a symbiotic relationship between tourists, local people and natural areas (Budowski 1976) , and that it plays a vital and sustainable role in development, while critics often focus on the structural causes of inequality within this burgeoning industry, claiming that power relations are determined from a western perspective (Winson 2006).

The critique of tourism as being cultural and environmentally destructive and a major carrier of symptoms of imperialism, arise from observations of the mass tourism industry. Ecotourism claims to escape these relationships of domination, which stresses the need for new and alternative research approaches on the phenomenon.

The aim of this research is to identify and analyze how the value of natural resources and local empowerment in ecotourism ICDPs are both facilitated and constrained by environmental NGOs. By studying ecotourism initiatives from international and national environmental NGOs on the Osa

Peninsula in Costa Rica, this study aspires to identify the socio-economic outcomes of these projects, and how these variables affect the prospects for human development and well-being. Very few assessments have so far been done on these projects, hence it is important to find out if the overruling imperative of natural conservation of the NGOs actually contributes to improvements of livelihoods of people residing close to the protected natural areas, which is the claim being made.

1.1 Objectives and research questions

The overall objective of this study is to assess the impact of ecotourism as Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDPs) implemented by international and national environmental non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in rural Costa Rica. By examining these projects in relation to the overruling policy of the environmental NGOs and their funders, this study aims to find out if *integrated conservation and development projects linked to ecotourism limit the prospects for human development in rural Costa Rica.*

The main objective are further divided into sub-objectives as indicated in the following research questions:

To describe ecotourism ICDPs implemented by the environmental NGOs, and how these projects integrate natural conservation and human development in a claimed relationship of symbiosis.

- How can the ecotourism ICDPs of the environmental NGOs contribute to human development when natural conservation and the non-use of natural capital is their ruling imperative?
- How do the environmental NGOs value natural resources?
- How do the local communities value natural resources?
- How is community participation both facilitated and constrained by the conditions for funding and the policy of the ecotourism ICDPs?

1.1.1 Thesis structure

The paper is structured into 8 main chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the topic of research including research question and objectives. It continues by describing the background for choice of research topic and place and why it is an important, but under-studied, topic in the field of International Relations. Chapter 2 consists of the theoretical background, explaining and defining terms and definitions that will be used throughout the remaining of the thesis. Chapter 3 discusses the

literature published on the topics, and relate key concepts within the framework of this research. Chapter 4 explains the methods and procedures of the research and the fieldwork conducted in the Osa Peninsula. Chapter 5 describes the study area, including historical highlights. Chapter 6 presents the findings and results obtained from participant observation, personal interviews and surveys. Chapter 7 analyses the findings of the research in relation to the theoretical framework presented in chapter 2 and 3. Chapter 8 concludes the results from the analysis, answering the stated research question and objectives presented in the introduction of the thesis.

1.2 Background for choice of research topic and place

Global awareness concerning climate change, environmental protection and human development have led to a significant growth in ecotourism, which today is the fastest growing segment of the global tourism industry (Molstad 2010). Pristine environments serve as commodities for tourist consumption, while the distribution of resources and the inequality of power are often ignored. Even though ecotourism, by definition, claims to address these inequalities, one can not overlook the fact that ecotourism is a highly consumer-centred activity designed after western values (Butcher 2007; Mowforth & Munt 2009).

Today the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) emphasize the importance of tourism as a poverty reduction strategy, and in some cases tourism investments are prerequisites in order for poor governments to receive World Bank and IMF funding. This phenomenon which is popularly called pro-poor tourism (PPT) is currently receiving enormous attention from governments and international NGOs, and acts as an integral component of many sustainable development strategies (Hall 2007). Furthermore, the United Nations (UN) has acknowledged the crucial role tourism has proved to play in lifting the least developed countries (LDCs) out of poverty (tourism being the primary source of foreign exchange in all but a few of the LDCs (Mowforth & Munt 2009)), by designating the year of 2002 as the International Year of Ecotourism (IYE) and by including tourism in the UN's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Former Secretary-General Kofi Annan explained the integrative role of ecotourism as *"...beneficial of other economic sectors and small businesses, such as traditional agriculture and food production, handicrafts and textiles. Through ecotourism it can contribute significantly to rural development, while promoting the environmentally sensitive development of basic infrastructure in remote locations"* (UN 2003).

1.2.1 Ecotourism in the field of International Relations (IR)

The globalization of tourism has forced stake-holders in the industry to move their focus from the local level to a broader political arena. Lanfant & Graburn (1992) argue that *“tourism is not just a matter of national growth, but must be conceptualized as part of International Relations”* (Lanfant & Graburn 1992:94), and Hall (1994) claims that *“with its increasingly international nature, tourism is inseparable from the field of International Relations”* (Hall 1994:59).

In the 1990s integrated conservation and development projects (ICDP's) linked to ecotourism emerged as a tool for combining development with conservation, where the idea was that money from high-spending western tourists would act as a driver and funder for human development and environmental conservation (Butcher 2007; Mowforth & Munt 2009). Today an increasing number of international NGOs and individual billionaires are buying up vast areas of land in the name of conservation and sustainability, and hundreds of websites offer to buy land in order to save natural environments from deforestation and climate change. *“Brazil is not for sale!”* declared President Lula da Silva, claiming that these “well-intentioned” outsiders were attacking the country's sovereignty (Vidal 2008).

Private conservationists in the western world are usually mostly welcome as they maintain or even increase the market price of land, but introducing them to the developing world represents another reality. By establishing national parks and other protected natural areas for tourist consumption, tens of thousands of people have been evicted from their homes. Cutting trees, hunting animals and clearing land for cattle, have suddenly become forbidden, with no or little regard for the realities of generations of humans. As a result of this trend, the terms “eco-colonialism” and “ecological imperialism” are colouring the debate (Hannam & Knox 2010; Mowforth & Munt 2009; Vidal 2008), as western conservationists take control of communities and their resources like the Europeans in old colonial time. The main difference is that this time it is done in the name of protecting the environment.

“We're in the business of biodiversity. It's like an art museum. It's the property of humanity.

And there are certain pieces that you have to have”

(Monte Verde Environmental Activist, quoted in Vivanco 2007).

In 2005 the International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD) completed a study of the various environmental programs implemented by governments, donor agencies and international organizations, and the importance of conflict-sensitizing protected area management was one of their major findings in order to maintain peace and security (Brown 2005). Recent publications within the security discourse addresses foreign privately owned land as one of the major threats to environmental security in the developing world, while poverty and lack of opportunities are the greatest concern in relation to human security (Dodds & Pippard 2005; Dodds et al. 2009; Khagram et al. 2003).

1.3 Why Costa Rica?

Since the 1970s Costa Rica has developed a system of national parks, biological reserves and other protected areas which today cover 25% of the country's territory (SINAC 2011). This system has formed the foundation for the country's ecotourism industry, which is Costa Rica's national conservation and development strategy (Stem et al. 2003). Today, Costa Rica has a renowned reputation in environmental conservation, and enjoys admiration from foreign governments, the UN, the World Bank, and international environmental NGOs for their "green efforts" (Bien 2011; Honey 2008).



Figure 1: Map of Costa Rica. National parks, wildlife refuges, biological reserves, wetlands and nature reserves are in green. (ToucanGuides 2006)

Costa Rica's reputation as a prime eco-destination is result of a mixture of variable factors, but its stable democratic government, abolishing of its army and the friendly "Ticos" (Costa Rican citizens) are by many pin-pointed as the country's most important success factors in tourism (Honey 2008; Stem et al. 2003; Vivanco 2007). In regards to ecotourism, the country's nature and biodiversity are by far its most important ingredients, Costa Rica's tropical forests and marine ecosystems containing 5% of the entire planet's biodiversity (Bien 2011; Honey 2008; Orams 1995; Vivanco 2007).

In 2009 the New Economics Foundation (NEF) launched their Happy Planet Index by combining measures of ecological footprint with the happiness of their citizens. Their goal was to demonstrate real economic well-being by moving away from the long-time focus on Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as the ultimate measure of human development. Costa Rica was ranked number one, reporting the highest life satisfaction in the world with an ecological footprint of less than a quarter of its size (NEF 2009; Seager 2009).

1.3.1 Ecotourism development in Costa Rica

In the 1980s Costa Rica had one of the highest deforestation rates in the world, its "peak year" being 1986 with only 21% forest cover. Today 26 years later, the country is considered a pioneer in forest management and protection policies, with 52% forest cover (Rodriguez 2012). Costa Rica's first strictly protected area was established as early as in 1963, and its first official national parks were created in the early 1970's (De Camino et al. 2000).

Ecotourism has been increasing since the establishment of the park system, but did not "take off" until the 1980's when the industry gained tremendous government support with economic assistance from USAID, the World Bank and the IMF. During this time the state invested heavily in tourism development and reorganized the Costa Rican Tourism Board (ICT). Aside from investing in ecotourism and its promotion, the government also introduced new laws to reinforce its continuous economic growth. The most important piece of legislation in regard to tourism investment was passed in 1984, which gave incentives and tax reduction to businesses serving the tourist market. This legislation transformed the Costa Rican tourism industry, and tourism earnings surpassed both coffee and bananas in the early 1990's. By 1993 tourism had become the number one foreign exchange earner, and since 1999 tourism earns more foreign exchange than bananas, pineapples and coffee exports combined, creating a more diverse economy (Honey 2008; Minca & Linda 2000).

As stated earlier, more than 25% of Costa Rican territory is protected natural areas (Bien 2011; Lånkan 2010), the largest in the world as a percentage of the country's territory (the worldwide average is only 3%) (Honey 2008). The protected natural areas include over 30 parks and reserves and more than 230 different protected areas, serving as pleasure grounds for both scientists and international tourists. Costa Rica hosted 2, 2 million international tourists in 2011, of which 46% engaged in ecotourism related activities. Tourism accounted for 5,5% of the country's GDP, contributing to a reduction of poverty by 3% for the country as a whole (ICT 2010; UNEP & UNWTO 2011).

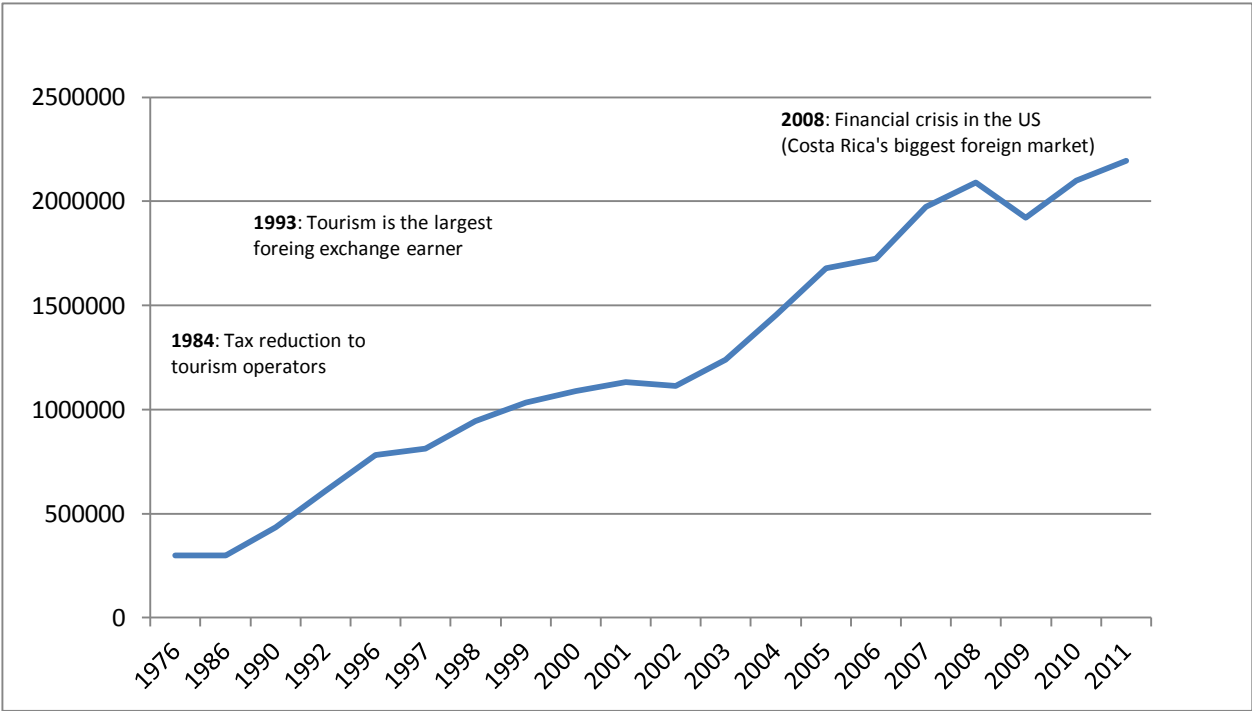


Figure 2: International tourist arrivals in Costa Rica, 1976-2011

(Honey & Bien 2005; ICT 2005; ICT 2010; UNWTO 2011)

1.3.2 Costa Rica; an environmental leader?

Ecotourism has proved to play a key factor for Costa Rica's high rate of development; hence the government keeps embracing its burgeoning ecotourism industry. The rapid growth of the industry has resulted in a public concern related to environmental issues (Mowforth & Munt 2009; Vivanco 2007).

Critics of Costa Rica as an international environmental leader argue that the small-scale, sustainable development strategy first implied by the Costa Rican government, has transformed itself to serve volumes of the capitalist market in its race for hard currency. Its reputation began to fade in the 1990s as contracts were signed with big international co-operations, who promoted mass attraction (Mowforth & Munt 2009). Examples of this kind of development exist on the entire northern- and central Pacific coast (Buchsbaum 2004; Honey 2008; Horton 2009; Mowforth & Munt 2009; Ross 2010), illustrating the differences between the Costa Rican government's stated policies and its practices. The direct link between escaping Third World status and government capitulation to transnational companies and international NGOs who wishes to profit on Costa Rica's tourism boom, might be difficult to prove, *"but the short-term temptations of the fast and easy money from mass tourism development in the context of an economy the size of Costa Rica's should not be underestimated"* (Michael Kaye quoted in Mowforth & Munt 2009:328).

Even though critics attack the Costa Rican government for wanting to maximize economic profits on its booming ecotourism industry, one must not forget that it was the same government who after decades of forest clearing for cattle-ranching, came up with a plan to protect which was left of the forests. Due to the governments many programs of forest protection and reforestation, 52% of the country is now forested again, and in the same time the GDP per capital near tripled, from USD 3 574,- to USD 9 219,- (Rodriguez 2012).

The Costa Rican government enjoyed international recognition and applause for its green efforts, but lacked severe underfunding for the protection of the natural areas. Natural resource management is expensive as it requires acquisition of land, trained employers to protect and control the land, infrastructure and administration. These are expenses that the Costa Rican government has been unable to provide or prioritize to its national parks and reserves, hence its environmental conservation programmes rely on international aid, private funding and debt-for-nature investments. This is how international donor agencies, environmental NGOs and local elites came to control much of these protected natural areas. Today they own and control more than 50% of the total protected natural areas in Costa Rica (Bien 2011; Isla 2001; SINAC 2011).

Nevertheless, despite the critique of the ecotourism industry not being sustainable due to rapid growth; Costa Rica's position as an ethical eco-destination among policy makers, international visitors and NGOs are still intact (EthicalTraveler 2012; Mowforth & Munt 2009). Costa Rica also has a highly valued reputation among international lending institutions, which often use Costa Rica's

development figures and strategies as a model to follow for other governments who wish to profit from ecotourism. The emphasis on the success-stories from Costa Rica are rooted in economic figures and rates of conservation only, ignoring the socio-cultural impacts resulting from foreign private ownership and control. The ignorance of socio-cultural impacts in most ecotourism evaluations, together with its acknowledged “green reputation”; makes Costa Rica a destination of both interest and challenge for this specific topic of research.

2.0 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Environmentalism, ecotourism and human development are highly independent topics of research, and key concepts are often used differently depending on context. The following chapter will set the terms for the understandings of the concepts and theoretical frameworks that are being applied in this research project. Furthermore it will provide an introduction to the theories of values, and why interpretations of values are of significance in human development analysis.

2.1 Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDPs)

Integrated Conservation and Development Project (ICDP) is one of several sustainable development strategies that have proliferated during the last two decades. The aim with ICDPs is to combine development aspirations with natural conservation in a compatible way, or at its best in a relationship of symbiosis. These projects operate on a belief that people wish to conserve their natural resources when economic incentives or alternatives to resource exploitation exist (Butcher 2007; Hughes & Flintan 2001; Wells & Hannah 1992; Wunder 2000).

The concept and theoretical framework of ICDPs was developed by The World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), the world's largest environmental NGO as early as in 1985, and ever since, several other environmental NGOs have introduced many different names to the same concept. People-Centred Conservation and Development, Eco-development, Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) and Community Wildlife Management (CWM) are some of the terms used, all trying to capture the underlying idea of combining social development with conservation goals (Hughes & Flintan 2001).

2.1.1 Environmental non-governmental organization

According to the UN, all kinds of private organizations that are independent from government control can be recognized as a non-governmental organization (NGO), as long as they engage in non-profit and non-criminal activities (Willetts 2006).

An environmental NGO works for the protection of our natural environment, ranging from conservation of wildlife and marine-life, to protection of forests, freshwater ecosystems, beaches and oceans. The environmental NGOs work to reach its stated missions through lobbying, consultancy, direct action, research and innovation.

Table 1: The most progressive environmental NGOs in 2012

	Founded:	Approx. members:	Annual rev:	Stated mission:
The World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF)	1961 Switzerland	5 000 000	EUR 525 mill	<i>"To stop the degradation of the planet's natural environment and to build a future in which humans live in harmony with nature"</i>
Greenpeace	1971 Canada	2 860 000	EUR 196,6 mill	<i>"To ensure the ability of the Earth to nurture life in all its diversity"</i>
The Nature Conservancy (TNC)	1951 USA	1 000 000	USD 547 mill	<i>"To conserve the lands and waters on which all life depends"</i>
Conservation International (CI)	1987 USA	Do not offer memberships	USD 124 mill	<i>"Building upon a strong foundation of science, partnership and field demonstration, CI empowers societies to responsibly and sustainably care for nature, our global biodiversity, for the well-being of humanity"</i>

(CI Undated; Greenpeace Undated; TNC Undated-a; WWF Undated)

Following the emergence of sustainable development on the global arena, many environmental NGOs embraced the ICDP approach to conservation. Local involvement and empowerment in combination with economic incentives were held to lead to a change and adoption of livelihood practices, less ecologically destructive. Despite the growth of adopted ICDPs strategies around the world, there still exists a lack of evidence concerning their success rate, especially in regard to their reliability over extended periods of time (Butcher 2007; Hughes & Flintan 2001; Stem 2001; Wunder 2000).

2.1.2 Support and critique of ICDPs

Supporters of ICDPs claim that conservation and development occur simultaneously and that they can co-exist in a relationship of symbiosis (Budowski 1976; McNeely 1988). They treat natural resources as value of exchange, and the economic incentives given to the local population might even be viewed as surpassing traditional land utilization. Several studies conclude that ICDP strategies can be significantly more economically profitable than agriculture and cattle ranching

(Kremen et al. 1994; McNeely 1988; Stem 2001; Stem et al. 2003). Others underline the importance of the ICDPs as a minimizing factor of natural exploitation, recognizing that human development and its impacts are inevitable. With a conviction that strictly protected natural areas without human interaction are necessary to preserve endangered species and ecosystems, ICDPs can at least offer the best alternative outside of these areas of absolute protection (Kremen et al. 1994).

Critics question the basic idea of the ICDP framework i.e.; if incomes are improved locals will automatically abandon environmentally destructive practices. They argue that the rate of success depend on more complex realities than such, and emphasize on labor requirements, local desires for development, social acceptability and traditions (Stem 2001; Wells & Hannah 1992).

A common concern is that development goals will overrule the aspiration for conservation. In a study where 36 ICDPs were reviewed, only five could prove that their stated goals for conservations were met (Kremen et al. 1994; Stem 2001; Wells & Hannah 1992).

2.2 Ecotourism

The origins of the concept of ecotourism are not certain, but Hetzer's four pillars of responsible tourism introduced in 1965 (Weaver 2001), and Budowski's article on tourism and environmental conservation from 1976 (Budowski 1976), are often cited as the first pioneering contributions to the discourse. Hetzer's (1965) four pillars were aimed at minimizing environmental impacts, respecting host cultures, maximizing benefits to local people and maximizing tourist satisfaction (Weaver 2001); all corresponding to our contemporary idea of ecotourism, but it was Budowski (1976) who brought the concept into the academic arena. In his article "*Tourism and Environmental Conservation: Conflict, Coexistence, or Symbiosis?*", he acknowledges that the relation between tourism and natural environment tends to be in conflict, but introduces new examples to prove that a change of attitude can lead to a relationship based upon mutual benefits (Budowski 1976).

The emergence of ecotourism was a result of two major factors, the global environmental movement of the 1970s and 1980s, and secondly the growing dissatisfaction with the high consuming, culturally insensitive and the economical inequity of mass tourism. Many travellers were startled by the rapid tourism development and its negative socio-environmental effects in resort areas such as Cancun in Mexico and The Costa del Sol (Coast of the sun) in southern Spain, hence alternative forms of tourism emerged (Honey 2008; Weaver 2001).

In short, compared to other forms of “new tourism” such as sustainable tourism or nature tourism, ecotourism (rooted in the concept of sustainable development) emphasize that nature-based tourism should benefit local communities and destinations not only environmentally, but also culturally and economically (Hannam & Knox 2010; Honey 2008; Mowforth & Munt 2009; Weaver 2001).

2.2.1 Defining ecotourism

In 1987, The Brundtland Commission defined sustainable development as “*meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs*” (The Brundtland Commission quoted in Wood 2007:161). These words are still the most quoted definition on sustainability which has become a well known term in modern political discourses.

Sustainability is an ideological term, but is nonetheless widely used in meaningless ways in order to give a specific topic a so-called “green” dimension. This ideology was also adopted by the tourism industry, and it was quickly hijacked by tour-operators, conservationists, government officials and the tourists themselves; who adopted it, popularized it and mainstreamed it; in order to give their activities a moral rectitude (Butcher 2003). As a result of, there is no major agreed-upon consensus on the definition of ecotourism, as the meaning and the use of the term has been characterized by disagreements, confusion and ambiguities. Despite the fact that ecotourism lacks one concrete definition, they all share a concern for human development, the environment and the socio-cultural impacts of tourism (Mowforth & Munt 2009).

Ecotourism has been defined by The International Ecotourism Society (TIES) as “*...purposeful travel to natural areas to understand the culture and the natural history of the environment; taking care not to alter the integrity of the ecosystem; producing economic opportunities that make the conservation of the natural resources beneficial to the local people*” (TIES 1990).

This study has chosen to use the definition from TIES as a background for analysis, due to its inclusion of values that also the visiting tourists ought to desire, such as purposeful travel for understanding. The definition manages to embrace the increasing numbers of academic disciplines which are melting together in this form of tourism, presenting ecotourism as the multidisciplinary concept it ought to be. This is of specific significance to this study, as ecotourism ICDPs aim is to link community well-being and development to the sustainable use of the natural environment, as highlighted in Table 2.

Table 2: The field of sustainable development

What is to be sustained?		What is to be developed?
<p>Life support systems: Resources, environment, ecosystem services</p>	<p><i>In what relation? Or, and, but, with...</i></p>	<p>Economies: Production, consumption, wealth, distribution</p>
<p>Natural environments: Species, biodiversity, ecosystems, earth</p>	<p><i>For how long? Years, decades centuries, forever</i></p>	<p>Societies: Capacity building, institutions</p>
<p>Communities: Traditions, values, ethnic groups, cultures, places</p>	<p><i>At what scale? Localities, states, regions, planet</i></p>	<p>People: Longevity, education, capabilities, choices</p>

(Khagram et al. 2003)

2.3 Human Development

In 1990, The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) launched the first Human Development Report (HDR), which opened with these words:

“People are the real wealth of a nation. The basic objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to live long, healthy and creative lives. This may appear to be a simple truth. But it is often forgotten in the immediate concern with the accumulation of commodities and financial wealth” (UNDP 1990:14).

The purpose of the HDR was, and still is, to identify and advocate policies that are to be applied to the concept of human development, but in order to do so one needs a common understanding of what human development is, which offers a great challenge as human development is a highly living and contextual concept. The idea of human development was not necessarily the same in 1990 as it is today, considering that the Cold War had just ended, and as the state of the world has called for different approaches to economics and development, the concept of human development has evolved itself (Alkire 2010; UNDP 1990).

The concern for peoples well-being can be traced back to Aristotle in the 4th century BC, where he identifies and acknowledges the relationship between economic activity and human development (Sen 1999). Human well-being was also of importance among the founders of modern economics, mentioned in the literatures of David Ricardo, Karl Marx and Adam Smith among others (Alkire 2010; Wood 1994). Smith also included the importance of equity in relation to human development, claiming that *“no society can surely be flourishing and happy, of which the far greater part of the members are poor and miserable”* (Smith 1776:96).

The basic objective of human development is to *“enable all people to flourish in various and creative ways”* (Alkire 2010:37), but this objective is often being overlooked as financial wealth and economic growth measured in a country’s GDP gets the higher priority. GDP does not reflect equity and values, or the burden on the earth’s resources, hence this research argue that GDP do not serve as an adequate measure of humans well-being.

2.3.1 Defining human development

A set of definitions exists of human development depending on contextual and conceptual differences, but emphasize on human development as a process of enlarging people’s choices and capabilities has been stable over time.

“Human Development aims to expand people’s freedoms – the worthwhile capabilities people value – and to empower people to engage actively in development processes, on a shared planet. And it seeks to do so in ways that appropriately advance equity, efficiency, sustainability and other key principles” (Alkire 2010:40).

Human development is about expanding people’s freedoms, the capabilities they value and to empower people in the process of development. As values colour people’s ideas and perceptions of what is right or wrong; principles of justice like equity, efficiency and sustainability, exist to limit undesirable options. The life of the individual person or the individual community is the main focus in human development, where healthy lives with decent quality, the right to education, the ability to be productive and creative, and the freedoms to shape their own future are valuable factors. Resources, income and social guarantees are of importance in policy making, but it is the everyday lives of people that measures failure or success. When human development is successful, people are able to enjoy freedoms and capabilities which they value, and have reason to value. Capabilities are therefore not limited to basic needs such as food, health and education; it can include everything

that one might value, as long as it is not socially destructive, excluding or social dominant. This means that people's values and preferences need to be taken into consideration in order to sustain human development (Alkire 2010; Sen 1999).

2.3.2 Human security

Human security shares many of the same ideas of human development but focuses on those defending national security, and represents one of the most significant shifts in the way security has been understood since the end of the Cold War. Human security challenges the state-centric security framework as it aims to empower the poorest and most vulnerable people in the world, and it does so by linking security to development. Human security acknowledges the fact that for the majority of the people in the world it is not a military invasion that is the real threat, but rather problems associated with poverty and lack of opportunity (Alkire 2010; McCormack 2011).

In short, human security holds that a people-centred view of security is necessary for national, regional and global stability, merging the concepts of development and security. By empowering the individual and promoting social progress, human security attempts to address the true sources of insecurity in people's everyday lives.

2.3.3 A critique of human security

Critics of the human security framework argue that due to its broad term, the concept fails as a realistic and useful policy tool. A growing number of academics argue that not only is its vagueness as a concept its major problem, but they question its fundamental idea of the merging of development and security. Since the end of the Cold War, they claim that it is directly the opposite that has occurred, as the developing world now plays a less strategically important role for the developed world. Rather than a merging of security and development, they claim that world politics in our post Cold War era have exercised a separation of the two (McCormack 2011).

Convinced that the concept of human security is loaded with imperialism, several critics understand human security as a regulatory power, which represents a new form of western domination of the developing world. Regulatory power *"seeks to support life through intervening in the biological, social and economic processes that constitute a human population"* (Duffield 2007:16).

When the West exercises this regulatory form of power they seek to assert control over the developing world in order to protect themselves, and Duffield (2007) stresses that this particular

form of power within the human security framework often is labelled sustainable development. While the West before and during the Cold War funded aid to develop and industrialize the developing world to ensure that these new states did not join the Communist bloc (McCormack 2011), aid-funded development projects today concern governing populations in the developing world in order to mitigate risks and control potential threats to the developed world (Grayson 2008).

Sustainable development and human security represent this “new” form of imperialism for critics such as Duffield (2007), Chomsky (2000) and Grayson (2008), where the West controls the developing world under political correct terms such as sustainability and environmentalism. They claim that sustainable development and human security both represent global technologies on how the population in the Global South can survive in a society of underdevelopment without causing security-threats for the developed world (Chomsky 2000; Duffield 2007; Grayson 2008; McCormack 2011).

Human security being people-centred rather than state-centred, challenges the critics’ view of the discourse being a major carrier of imperialism. There is not enough evident supporting a strong strategy or planned outcomes in favour of the developed world in our post Cold War world. Even in major humanitarian interventions such as in Afghanistan and Iraq which have been on the receiving end of both military intervention and foreign aid, lack a common policy of why it was important to gain strategic control in these places, which were considered major security-threats for the West (McCormack 2011).

Today there exist a great variety of policies concerning human security, from the rehabilitation of schools to ICDPs in rural Costa Rica. The individuality of the development projects within the human security framework makes it difficult to conclude on a common strategy and desired outcome to all, as the various projects act as a replacement of the traditionally material aid-flow from the developed to the developing world. Radical critics argue that all policies of human security should be understood as a system controlled by the West (McCormack 2011), while this paper supports the view that small-scale interventions driven by charity and human compassion do exist. Any project can be called a human security project, and it is difficult to find valid arguments that such a heterogeneous range of projects are imposed by the West in order to ensure their security.

As with human development, also human security must be seen as a living concept which needs to be specified in the different contexts. Human security policies exercised today are very different compared to the state-controlled industrial development during the Cold War, demonstrating the context-specific and prevention-oriented nature of the concept. And rather being viewed as a “competitor” to human development, human security represents a subcategory, which emphasise sustainability and stability of the desired outcomes (Alkire 2010; McCormack 2011).

2.3.4 Environmental security

The relationship between human security and the environment is close and complex, as human security in many respects rely on people’s access to natural resources (Khagram et al. 2003). And as this paper aims to analyze ecotourism’s potential of bringing natural conservation and human development into a relationship of symbiosis, there is a need to elaborate a little on the concept of environmental security within the human security framework.

Environmental security is an emerging paradigm for understanding global vulnerabilities in a changing world, the environment being the most transnational among international issues. Environmental security, as with human security, challenges the traditional notion of state security, and relates increasingly to forests, soil cover, watersheds and climate. To the extent humans and its governments neglect to maintain and protect the globe’s life-supporting ecosystems, Brown (2005) argues that the drive for natural resources will test traditional boundaries and concepts of national security, which may lead to conflicts from global to local and human level (Brown 2005).

In short environmental security concerns the protection of people from man-made threats in nature. In the developed industrialized countries air pollution represents one of the major threats, resulting in western governments and NGO’s buying vast areas of pristine forests in the developing world to serve as global carbon sinks. Paradoxically, foreign owned and controlled land represents one of the biggest threats to environmental security in the developing world, as restrictions on land use limit local people’s freedoms (Dodds & Pippard 2005; Dodds et al. 2009; Vidal 2008).

2.3.5 Environmental security in relation to human security

Most literature discussing environmental security, emphasize on the relationship between environmental change and violent conflicts. The concern being that scarce natural resources (e.g. water, minerals) and environmental change (e.g. contamination) might lead to massive migration

and armed struggle which threaten human security (Gleditsch 1998; Khagram et al. 2003; Matthew & MacDonald 2004; Peluso & Watts 2001).

This thesis emphasize on the indirect effects of environmental threats to human security, looking at how environmental changes impact human well-being in other aspects than violent conflicts (Khagram et al. 2003).

Protection of natural area for conservation represents an environmental change to people residing close to these areas. Conservation efforts limit their opportunity freedoms as they no longer can harvest from the forests and sustain their traditional way of life, hence natural conservation to some extent affect their well-being. These environmental changes are not only immediately constrained affecting people living today, but extend into the future with impacts for the generations to come (Khagram et al. 2003).

In contrast it is argued that protection and conservation of the environment also improve human security, as ecosystems reduce vulnerabilities. The environment is for many directly relevant for well-being and opportunities for fulfilment, and especially in developing countries which rely on subsistence economies (Khagram et al. 2003).

According to Homer-Dixon (1999) there are two important processes that have to be identified in the interaction of human society and nature; “resource capture” and “ecological marginalization” (Homer-Dixon 1999). These patterns of social and natural interaction illustrate that protection and responsible forest management can prevent unequal distribution of natural resources (Homer-Dixon 1999; Khagram et al. 2003).

Resource capture occurs when the demand of a resource increases due to population and economic growth. The increase in demand has in many cases encouraged the already powerful players of a society to exercise control over the resources, increasing both their social and economic power while repressing the opportunities of those that are marginalized and disadvantaged (Khagram et al. 2003).

Ecological marginalization entails the migration of disadvantaged people to fragile natural areas such as for example tropical rain forests. Their combination of low economic capital, population growth, and low level of context-appropriate knowledge; these populations might impose severe ecological damage to already fragile ecosystems. Natural conservation and the civil society represented by the

environmental NGOs can for these communities contribute as a political and economic “opening”, by providing a neutral and non-threatening arena where individuals, families and communities can participate in project planning and determining the well-being for the community as a whole. This kind of co-operation might even facilitate a way out of conflicts (Homer-Dixon 1999; Khagram et al. 2003), as communities are introduced to alternative forms of survival through payment for environmental services incentives (PES) and ecotourism.

The Toronto School fronted by Homer-Dixon (1999) is being criticized for applying a state level of analysis when addressing issues related to resource scarcity, as environmental security is being analyzed within broad level Neo-Malthusian models. Critics argue that natural resources represent threats to human security on more individual and local levels, arguing for the use of a household-livelihood framework as a level of analysis for research of environmental change and conflict (Deligiannis 2012).

The patterns of interaction in small-scale local conflicts can be characterized as simple scarcity conflicts; involving conflicts among e.g. park guards and miners, hunters and cultivators, who wish to continue their traditional livelihoods within park borders. Changes in land use have already been a direct reason for conflicts on the Osa Peninsula, leading to losses and deaths on both sides of the conflict (further explained in chapter 5).

A final notion to the critique of state level analysis is the tendency of over-predicting resource destruction and the likelihood of environmental changes causing conflicts. Ostrom (1990) stresses the fact that broad-level models of analysis accept “extreme assumptions” as an indicator of reference, which is less frequent in empirical reality (Ostrom (1990) quoted in Deligiannis 2012).

The interrelation of people, nature and economies are inescapable when discussing environmental security within the human security framework, as the environment affects the freedom capabilities of humans both directly and indirectly in a multi-subjected way. Khagram et al. (2003) stresses the importance of the interconnectedness between security and development, and argue that the discourse needs to move beyond human protection of environmental threats. They claim that the long-term relationship between human beings, economies and their environment also propose opportunities, recognizing the inherent value of natural resources (Khagram et al. 2003).

2.4 Theories of values

The concept of human development stresses the importance of personal values, and value theory encompasses a range of approaches in its attempt of understanding how and why people value differently. Value is a highly polysemous word, because value has multiple meanings depending on context and desired outcome among others. Its meaning varies between concepts from economy to morality, and its lack of consensus is evident in several academic disciplines, including economics, marketing, sociology, anthropology and psychology (Boztepe 2007; Graeber 2001; Holbrook 1999).

The discussion on theories of values has mainly been between economists who view value as the measure of individual desire and structuralism which emphasizes value as meaningful difference, but neither of them has proposed a complete understanding of value. Economists keep downplaying complex social relations of how people understand the utility of a special product, while structuralism ascribes value to meanings and experiences rather than to specific things (Graeber 2001).

Marxism soon found its place in anthropology by providing a technique for understanding capitalism and the different ways different people related to it, and it also had an overwhelming influence as it was the root for a whole series of new critical approaches and theories. Marx himself developed a theory of value (further explained in section 3.6), where he distinguishes between a product and a commodity, emphasizing on the human labour that went into producing the commodity (Marx 1990 originally published 1887). He criticizes the economic system of capitalism to ignore the notion of human labour treating commodities *“so that it seems that its value somehow arises naturally for the qualities of the object itself”* (Marx quoted in Graeber 2001:26). The theory holds that society is continually being re-created through human productive actions, and that inequality and exploitation are rooted in social relations depending on the actions (Graeber 2001).

On the other side of the debate, sociologists and anthropologists such as Mauss (1923) Kluckhohn (1961), Strathern M. (1975) conducted research and developed theories on gift economies, the contrary of market driven societies. Their assumption of gifts being given out of pure generosity was soon rejected, as empirical reality proved that the receiver is expected to return something of equal or of even greater value later on (Graeber 2001).

Mauss (1923) contributed in this field by arguing that the personal interest involved in exchange, does not necessarily have to do with making a profit at anyone's expense, claiming that the gifts themselves create social relations. The gift can create bonds and social structures between individuals or groups who might otherwise have nothing to do with each other (Mauss 1990 originally published in 1923). Many social anthropologists and functionalist theorists embraced this notion, which influenced further research on values, especially in the studies of exchange (Graeber 2001).

So what are values?

According to Kluckhohn (1961); values are *"the conceptions of the desirable"* (Kluckhohn quoted in Graeber 2001:3), referring to the desirable as not only to what people want, but also what they ought to want, underlining the systematic comparison of values. But in our diverse world cultures differ in their desires and wants, and perhaps even more in their beliefs of what justifiably can be demanded from the world (Graeber 2001).

As already explained, Marxists imply that individuals who produce objects have the right to determine their meanings, while Strathern's (1975) research in Papua New Guinea argue that people do not see things in this way. For them, objects have not been produced by individuals, but by an expression of one's commitment to a specific relationship, that relationship being a marriage, family or community (Graeber 2001; Marx 1990).

Graeber (2001) stresses the importance of Mauss' (1923) theoretical corpus in the history of anthropology, and complemented by the work of Marx; Graeber sums up much of the ideas and concepts of the theorization of values.

While economists focus on the value of exchange, and that the original form of exchange was motivated by material self-interest, Mauss (1923) is arguing however *"that the first agreements that could be described as economic contracts were agreements not to act in accord with one's economic self-interest, since if one is simply speaking of material gain, then obviously it is in the interest of the giver to demand and immediate return, and even more obviously, in the interest of the recipient to simply take the goods and keep them, rather than waiting for a discrete interval and making a dramatic counter-gift"* (Graeber 2001:154)

Mauss wanted to explore the common moral basis of all human societies, and he did that by arguing that people emphasize on the division between freedom and obligation, and between interest and generosity, is an illusion created by the market. He further claims that humans rely on other humans in nearly all aspects, and that *“freedom largely means the freedom to chose what sort of obligations one wishes to enter into, and with whom”* (Mauss quoted in Graeber 2001:221).

Influenced by the work of Mauss (1923), Graeber (2001) is suggesting that if one is to understand any system of value, one has to identify and examine both what should not, and could not, be compared within it, in order to declare something unfair or unequal. This is an important notion to this research as value conflicts occur between the different stakeholders in ICDPs, from locals, to NGOs to the authority of the state. Graeber recognizes that Mauss warned us about taking arguments of inequality too far *“not imposing our own assumptions about individual self-interest onto others who probably do not share them”* (Graeber 2001:226).

By using the work and findings of Graeber (2001) as a theoretical background, this research focus on consumer value, examining the concept of value within the user-product relationship.

2.4.1 Value as exchange

In a vast amount of the literature on consumer value, the phenomenon is often placed within the economic paradigm, defining value in terms of how much money people are willing to sacrifice for a product, feeling or experience (Boztepe 2007; Butz & Goodstein 1996; Graeber 2001; Holbrook 1999; Marx 1990/1887; Zeithaml 1988).

Value in economics is about maximizing own gains, or cynicism, also called rational action theory. It is a framework for understanding social and economic behavior, where the assumption is that no one ever does anything primarily for the good of others, without getting something out of it for oneself. Rationality is equated with *“wanting more rather than the less of a good”* (Hausman 2008). Personal gains do not have to be physical valuables like money or other property, but social standing, honour, or the good feeling one might get from protecting natural environments. People try to obtain things because they assume that this will make them happy (Graeber 2001).

The principle of maximization assumes that people will try to extract as much as possible from whoever and whatever they are dealing with, with no considerations of the other. The emphasis is on exchange, money is used as the index of value, and consumers make a rational evaluation of product quality at the moment of purchase (Boztepe 2007; Holbrook 1999).

This view on values neglects the context of the exchange, as non-monetary issues such as time spent, information and education obtained and personal feelings and experiences are important factors in evaluations and should be included (Boztepe 2007; Zeithaml 1988).

The product is more abstract than tangible in ecotourism, and also expectations, feelings and experiences are of importance, hence the theory of value as purely exchange, does not sufficiently explain the high value of natural areas in this research.

2.4.2 Value as experience

It is difficult to talk about values as only being meanings, utilities or experiences, as we know in reality that they are all closely interwoven and very personally dependent. Holbrook (1999) explains this interdependency by saying that *“value resides not in the product purchased, not in the brand chosen, not in the object possessed, but rather in the consumption experience(s) derived therefrom”* (Holbrook 1999:8), reconciling the different approaches (Boztepe 2007).

It is the experiences people seek in ecotourism, which emerge from interaction between the product and the consumer through a series of activities. Activities are central to the concept of experience, but they do not in any way replace experience, nor are equal to it. Activity consists of a series of actions oriented to a specific goal, and the experience is the reflexion of the consequences of one's activities (Boztepe 2007).

Viewing value as an experience, include both operative and reflective dimensions. The operative dimension refers to the series of activities, and how one uses the product, while the reflective dimension addresses the thoughts, meanings and feelings these activities give. The notion of value as experience encompasses aspects from direct use, social significance, to the consequences felt after interaction with the product (Boztepe 2007).

By considering value as experience, Dewey (1966) reminds us that experience is not totally internal to the individual, but that *“an experience is always what it is because of a transaction taking place between an individual and what, at the time, constitutes his environment”* (Dewey quoted in Boztepe 2007:57).

Experiences are context- and situation sensitive, and changes depending on circumstances such as time and location (Overby et al. 2005). In short, values changes as cultural norms and geographic location changes, and the same product therefore carries different values to different people. Geographical factors, infrastructure, utility, socially and culturally shared meanings and traditions are all important factors when shaping value, an important notion this research needs to consider when identifying the values of the use, or non-use, of Costa Rica’s biodiversity-hotspots.

Values also vary over time, as the level of experience with a product alters. Also the kind of user is an important consideration, because values differ from the first-time tourist, to the short-term and long-term values of the conservationists and local residents. Level of education and knowledge about the forests are relevant factors in the value assessment as well.

Based on the definition of value as experience, Holbrook (1999) identifies three dimensions of user-value.

- 1- Intrinsic-extrinsic user value, relates to whether a product is valued as an end by itself due to its qualities, or for the means it offers. The forests of Costa Rica are of extrinsic value for the people who want to protect the forests and for the ecotourist who want to experience these natural areas. The same forests are of intrinsic value to the opportunist who wants to sell the physical trees in return for hard currency.

- 2- Self-oriented versus other-oriented value, corresponds to whether a product is valued for its direct benefits to the user, or because of the reactions from the surrounding environment. The tropical forests of Costa Rica are mainly of self-oriented value as they provide direct benefits of feelings, meanings and experiences to both the conservationist, logger and tourist, but the value of protecting land in Costa Rica is also of other-oriented value, as both the government and conservationists receive positive reactions from their preferred surroundings and home environment. One can even assume that the government of Costa Rica gets more political power on the international arena by protecting its forests, knowing

that the protection of fragile ecosystems and large areas of forests, are considered of significant value against global warming.

- 3- Active-reactive dimension stresses the distinction of manipulation of a product by the user, or contrary. Reactive value concerns products that provide benefits from passive admiration, often the case of art and architecture, but can also be applied to passive admiration of pristine environments such as Costa Rica’s protected natural areas (PNAs). Active value is the contrary, where the benefits are derived from the user actively interacting with the product, such as hiking in the forests or to use it actively for scientific research (Boztepe 2007; Holbrook 1999).

Table 3: Types of User Value

	<i>Extrinsic</i>	<i>Intrinsic</i>	
<i>Self-Oriented</i>	Utilitarian Efficiency (e.g., Convenience)	Emotional Play (e.g., Fun)	<i>Active</i>
	Excellence (e.g., Quality)	Aesthetics (e.g., Beauty)	<i>Reactive</i>
<i>Other-Oriented</i>	Social Status (Impression Management)	Altruistic Ethics (e.g., Justice)	<i>Active</i>
	Esteem (e.g., Possession)	Spirituality (e.g., Sacredness)	<i>Reactive</i>

(Boztepe 2007)

Understanding the notion of value as experience, this section has demonstrated that people value differently, depending on both internal and external factors. And even if different people from different parts of the world share common values, their series of activities in order to attain the benefit of the experience, might vary greatly. Graeber (2001) gives us an important reminder that “the point of social science is not comparing different forms of social system but understanding what motivates human beings to act the way they do” (Graeber 2001:11), and even we sometimes can predict the individual behaviour in cultures other than our own, we cannot predict the values that motivate them.

2.4.3 The value of natural resources in ICDPs

Natural resources hold many values depending on people and places, but common for the ICDPs and ecotourism, is that they both value tropical forests beyond their timber and potential for agriculture. Natural resources serve as natural capital, where the non-consumption is valued higher than the transformation of nature in return for economic development (Deneven quoted in Boo 1990; Butcher 2007; Fennell 2003).

Natural capital refers to *“biophysical and geophysical processes and the results of these processes – fish in the sea, timber in the forests, oil in the ground – and the relationship of these to human needs over the long term”* (Butcher 2007:130). In this view nature is valued as a source of welfare due to for example its genetic biodiversity for medical research and the role of forests as carbon sinks (Butcher 2007).



Figure 3: Sign from The Corcovado Foundation saying: *“The trees are also pure life/full of life”* (left) An ecotourist admiring a tree in one of Costa Rica’s many nature reserves (right)
Photo: Ann-Elin Norddal

Natural capital was not introduced into theories of economics until the 1980s, when there was a growing concern for environmental limits to economic growth. The term natural capital was introduced in an attempt to integrate the natural world with traditional economic theories and thoughts, positing nature as a source of welfare (Ekins et al. 2003). The aspiration was to bring more ecologically aware thinking into economics, addressing how *“things should be”* (Akerman quoted in Butcher 2007:131).

Its introduction in economics served as an important metaphor, underlining the importance of the biophysical and geophysical processes, but critics argue that its importance in economics stopped there. Natural capital they claim, is analytically weak and does not provide a guide to environmental action, but acknowledges its effort of pushing environmental conservation onto the economic development agenda (Akerman 2003; Butcher 2007; Ekins et al. 2003).

2.4.4 The value of community participation in ICDPs

Principally, development was measured and valued by economic character as modernisation theory held that economic growth automatically led to development. Due to its ignorance concerning environment and socio-cultural factors, many rejected the modernisation paradigm which resulted in a post-modern thinking on development. Post-modernity rejects a “one size fits all” standard for development and shares many ideas and values with neopopulism (Muller 1994; Preston 1996; Scheyvens 2002).

The shift from “fortress conservation” to “participatory conservation” was based on the assumption that it would be easier to achieve conservation goals if the locals had an incentive to support protected areas (Hutton & Leader-Williams 2003). Local participation was believed to lead to improved environmental control, economic efficiency as well as questions of social justice. Local empowerment was also held to motivate and educate the local communities, so there would be an increased willingness and understanding of managing and protecting the forests (Agrawal & Gibson 2001). “Bottom-up” planning is essential in neopopulist thinking, as *“community consultation, empowerment and participation has become something of a new rhetorical orthodoxy”* (Butcher 2007:32).

2.4.5 The value of ecotourism in ICDPs

Due to its claim that conservation and development can exist in a relationship of symbiosis, ecotourism is a favoured ICDP strategy. Ecotourism uses a social values approach to conservation, emphasizing particularly on the non-use of natural resources and the “green values” which are proclaimed by their market. Ideally within the framework of ecotourism, ecologically engaged tourists arrive and pay for the non-consumption of natural resources and environment, giving the local communities economic incentives and alternative to resource exploitation (Blamey & Braithwaite 1997).

Underpinning the widespread support for ecotourism in ICDPs is the assumption that the visiting tourists are holding social values equal to the aspiration of ICDPs outcome, and that the tourists themselves demand local, sustainable products and experiences for tourist consumption. There exists not much research supporting this assumption, as the growth of ecotourism seems to be supply-driven by opportunists rather than demand-driven by “green” tourists (Blamey & Braithwaite 1997).

Ecotourism is valued as an appropriate tool for ICDPs due to the assumed social values of the visitors, an assumption which is being highly challenged as values and consumption practices between the ecotourist and the mass tourist are not of great distinction (Blamey & Braithwaite 1997; Higham & Lück 2007; Sharply 2006). It is also important to recognize that protected natural areas designated to ecotourism are not restricted only to those who are particularly committed to environmental issues (Blamey & Braithwaite 1997), hence the values, actions and impacts from tourism in general, must be taken into consideration when evaluating ecotourism as an ICDP strategy.

2.5 Summary

Environmental concern and the realisation that human actions are causing environmental change are arguably the most fundamental change in human awareness over the last 50 years. The business of ecotourism is a resulting manifestation of this environmental awareness (Higham & Lück 2007), and is a favoured strategy among the integrated conservation and development projects (ICDPs), implemented by environmental NGOs. Ecotourism is advocated as having the potential of bringing conservation and development into a relationship of symbiosis, a potential which is based on the non-consumption of natural resources.

The concept of sustainable development, which was popularized and more or less became a public domain with the publication of The Brundtland Report, provided fertile ground to the well-accepted theory that conservation would only succeed when local aspirations concerning social and economic welfare were satisfied. The theory implies that as long as local people’s incomes are improved by providing economic alternatives or incentives, their dependence on environmentally unsustainable livelihoods would decrease (Butcher 2007; McNeely 1988; Stem 2001).

Traditionally, development is measured in a country’s GDP, but this chapter has illustrated that the concept of human development embraces far more factors than just hard currency. The discourses on both human development and human security discuss the importance of empowering the poor and

most vulnerable people in a society, by expanding their freedoms and the capabilities they value, and ought to value. Values being the meaning and importance that an individual ascribes to an object, different people obviously value differently depending on socio-cultural background.

Pre-existing power relations already exist among the stakeholders in ICDPs, which must be considered carefully in order to avoid “ecological imperialism” imposed by western conservationists upon local communities. Critics argue that the desired outcome of integrating natural conservation and development in a relationship of symbiosis is unachievable, claiming that it will either be the aspiration for conservation or development that will serve as the overruling imperative.

Summing up the work of Graeber (2001) on theories of values, there is a common wisdom among the different scholars that the ‘60s were about exchange, the ‘70s about production, and the ‘80s about consumption. And even if our post Cold War world still is a highly consumerist one, *“there has since the ‘80s been a blossoming of theory that presents consumption as a form of creative self-expression”* (Graeber 2001:26). This is an interesting notion for this research, as the explosion of conservation groups buying up forests, and ecotourists arriving to “leave a positive footprint”, might just be an example of this so-called self-expression gained by doing something which they value ethically right.

Knowing how values differ, one can more easily predict and understand how the use or non-use, of Costa Rica’s tropical forests may lead to conflicts of interests and values. The value for the conservationists is in the disuse or dispossession of the forests. The value lies in the fact that by owning and protecting the land, they can make sure that no one will use it for cattle-ranching or logging. For the ecotourists the value lies in the activities they exercise in the forests such as bird-watching, hiking etc. and the feelings and experiences these activities give them. The local farmer might value the forest in a more economic discipline, as the exchange of forest to a logging company will give him and his community a valuable economic incentive to invest in their own well-being.

3.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

Tourism is by far associated with pleasure, but Nina Rao (2009) reminds us that “*tourism takes place in the context of great inequality and wealth*” (Rao quoted in Mowforth & Munt 2009:48). By building upon existing literature, this chapter discusses how tourism embodies power relations, and why they remain problematical. It further discusses ecotourism’s approach to ICDPs with a special emphasize on community participation; a preferred approach in the discourses on environmentalism, development and ecotourism.

3.1 Tourism and power

The ownership of power is crucial to a critical understanding of tourism related activities, as our contemporary post-cold war world represents a triumph of western ideas (Butcher 2007; Fukuyama 1989).

In the classic text “The Tourist Gaze”, Urry (1990) draws explicitly upon Foucauldian notions of power where he explains “the tourist gaze” as the set of expectations that tourists (guests) place on local populations (hosts) in their search for authenticity. The local population reflects back on the gaze in order to benefit both socially and economically.

Urry (1990) believes this gaze to be a highly destructive process, where historical and cultural expressions are treated as commodities in order to satisfy tourist demands (Urry 1990), while MacCannell (2001) argues that the tourist gaze can serve as a booster of ethnic identity and revive cultural traditions that were in danger of becoming lost to history. MacCannell (1976, 2001) relies heavily on theories within Marxism, blurring the lines between work and leisure, arguing that tourism is a kind of resistance to the development of modernism. He claims that the ever expanding number of visitors from the industrialized world seeking experiences in unfamiliar cultures and societies, reaffirm the alienation from their own society (MacCannell 1976; MacCannell 2001).

Cheong & Miller (2000) try to demonstrate that there now exists a shift of power within tourism, drawing even more upon the notions of Foucauldian power. They both argue that power relations not only are simple binary structures between the dominators on the one side and the dominated on the other, but claim this power structure to be highly unstable and constructed discursively as well as materially. They emphasize on the task of identifying the targets and the agents. In contrast to Urry (1990) they argue that tourists should also be seen as targets of specific power relations,

depending on the social circumstances, and stress the fact that the tourists often operate from an insecure position (Cheong & Miller 2000).

3.2 Tourism and equity

The global expansion of capitalism has tightened the economic relationship between the developed and the developing world, and tourism has had a significant role in this process as many LDCs and developing countries are highly dependent on tourist income. Dependency theorists argue that the developing world's structural dependency on the west is similar to the principal forms of global domination, namely colonialism and imperialism (the imposition of power by one state over another), and that this notion especially applies to tourism as the vast majority of tourists are from the industrialized countries (Mowforth & Munt 2009).

The UN's decision on designating the year of 2002 as the International Year of Ecotourism (IYE), was also offer for criticism particular from Southern NGOs, expressing their concern over the increase in eco-opportunistic western investors in the developing world. Critics often claim that as long as ecotourism is a result of consumer societies; ecotourism will never exist, and argue that it is the norms and values of the travellers (the guests), that need to change first (Mowforth & Munt 2009). Case studies research on failed ecotourism projects are unfortunately growing in numbers (Knox & Hannam 2010), and some even argue that ecotourism has become a sponsored and commercialized product, which is more ego-centric than eco-centric (Mowforth & Munt 2009).

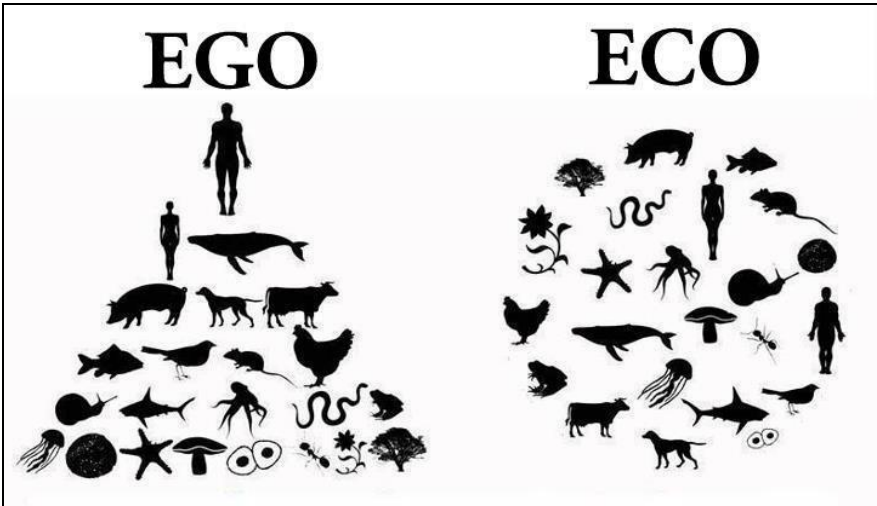


Figure 4: Ecotourism or ego-tourism?

(Unknown)

As a response to this critique, Wood (2007) argues that the impacts, both positive and negative, have been difficult to measure compared to traditional commodities markets, and tries to demonstrate that ecotourism has better prospects for economic growth, lower environmental impacts and more positive human developmental impacts than other industries in the developing world.

Because tourism for long has been neglected on the international arena as a serious driver for development, the industry is subjected to policies designed for other sectors where the only goal is economic growth. Wood (2007) acknowledges that also ecotourism is driven by economic growth, but emphasizes on the importance of the value of service, the quality of the attraction and the level of luxury within the industry, and argues that these factors make it somewhat different than a traditional marketplace for commodities. These factors allow multiple stakeholders not only to work for economic growth, but for better working conditions and for the protection of the environment. She further argues that tourists are willing to pay more for a pristine environment, compared to managers in most commodity markets, and that ecotourism favours small and micro businesses in developing countries which makes it one of the few globalized industries where local producers can sell directly to the consumer (Wood 2007).

While Wood (2007) stresses the fact that the impacts of tourism have been difficult to measure due to inappropriate tools of measurement, Harrison (1996) argues that analytical tools still do not exist within Tourism Studies. He claims that the distinguish between social and cultural attributes in tourist-receiving societies tend to be based on differences in ideology and morals between the hosts and guests, rather than on sound social analysis (Harrison 1996).

3.3 Ecotourism's approach to ICDPs

The linkage of the interrelated fields of conservation and development (concepts traditionally seen as being at odds with each other) make up the claims made for ecotourism, and it has been a supported and applied ecologically-sustainable alternative development strategy over the two last decades. Ecotourism's focus on local empowerment and resource conservation makes it a fulfilling example of an ICDP strategy (Butcher 2007; Stem 2001; Stem et al. 2003).

Ecotourism's primary appeal as a conservation and development tool is its provision of local economic benefits through employment, improved infrastructure and increased business for the local communities. Another major appeal of ecotourism in ICDPs, is its value on the non-consumption of natural resources (Hannam & Knox 2010; Higham 2007).

A South African study found that net income from its national parks was almost eleven times higher than from cattle ranching, and job generation was fifteen times greater. Other studies have concluded that the economic value of whale watching worldwide is USD 1 billion, which is far more than financial gains by commercial whaling, and that each free-flying macaw in Peru generated between US\$750 and US\$4,700 annually in tourism revenues (Honey 2008; Munt (1994) quoted in Stem et al. 2003; Wood 2007). The aim of the studies was to prove that non-consumption of natural capital was to be favoured in comparison to other forms of development that transform nature in return for economic benefits.



Figure 5: A red macaw in Corcovado National Park, Costa Rica
Photo: Aldo Sánchez Sánchez

Different ecotourism ICDPs differ in their ways of how they rationalise ecosystems and their fragility, but common for all is the view that *“sustainable development is development through the non-consumption of natural capital”* (Butcher 2007:129). Ecotourism ICDPs hence adopt an approach to sustainable development which has been termed *“strong sustainability”*. An eco-centric approach where natural capital is viewed as irreplaceable (Butcher 2007; Ekins et al. 2003).

3.3.1 Environmental and social fragility

Environmental fragility is often looked at in terms of the relationship between nature and humans, often referring to the human communities living within biodiversity rich areas. Environmental fragility concerns not only conservation of nature, but also preservation of the long-term existing relationship between people and nature within these pristine environments. This approach is emphasized by the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) which states:

“Indigenous people have developed over many generations a holistic traditional scientific knowledge of their lands, natural resources and environment. In view of the interrelationship between the natural environment and its sustainable development and the cultural, social and physical well-being of indigenous people, national and international efforts to implement environmentally sound and sustainable development should recognise, accommodate, promote and strengthen the role of indigenous people and their communities” (UNEP 1993:52).

The UNEP makes it clear that it is the relationship between humans and nature that is central in sustainable development, and that this relationship is fragile in a transformative world.

Deneven (2007) introduces the concept of “social fragility” in his writings on environmental fragility, and claims that markets, prices, social relationships and politics can be more critical than environmental fragility. He argues that fragile environments should be managed according to traditional land use systems, and that the aspirations of ecotourism ICDPs of bringing long term sustainable development concurrently impose limits for economic development.

“I’m already a conservationist. I don’t need outsiders who come in with projects and money and screw things up. They destroy communities. I don’t need their help. Call it a biological corridor, call it a reserve, call it a conservation area, call it what you want. It simply means more controls on the campesino”

(Cattle Rancher in Costa Rica, quoted in Vivanco 2007)

Communities living in and off biodiversity rich areas have in many cases a balanced relationship to its environment, and critics warn that even the most well-implemented ecotourism project might introduce problems to the existing relationship which have existed for generations (Deneven quoted in Butcher 2007; Harrison & Price 1996).

3.4 Community participation in ecotourism ICDPs

Ecotourism ICDPs are often called Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM), which name captures the shift from “top-down” to “bottom-up” planning in the discourse on development (Adams 2001; Butcher 2007; Scheyvens 1999; Scheyvens 2002).

Community participation is about *“empowering people to mobilise their own capacities, to be social actors, rather than passive subjects, to manage the resources, make the decisions, and control the activities that affect their lives”* (Cernea quoted in Butcher 2007:63).

Emphasize is on the importance of local control and that it is the local communities agency and aspires that are of significance. The term is very central in the advocacy of ecotourism, and it can even be argued that it has become an ideology of ecotourism planning. It has even been predicted that community based tourism would become *“the watchword of tomorrow”* (Brent-Ritchie 1993), and supranational organizations such as the WTO, WTTC, the World Bank, the UN and several international recognized NGOs have adopted community participation in their development projects. It seems like the global community considers local empowerment and participation as a prerequisite for achieving sustainable development, and this neopopulist view consistently favour local control over national (Adams 2001; Brent-Ritchie 1993; Butcher 2007; Hall 2007; Hannam & Knox 2010; Higham 2007; Mowforth & Munt 2009; Scheyvens 2002; Smith 1989; Tosun 2000).



Figure 6: The Corcovado Foundation is giving a course on *“How to legally run an ecotourism business?”* to interested participants in the small community of La Tarde on the Osa Peninsula
Photo: Ann-Elin Norddal

Community participation is today a progressive essential of human development within the ecotourism discourse, evolved alongside with the rise of post-modern development (Potter et al. 1999). Urbanisation and modern conceptions of development have increasingly been rejected, and micro projects with local ownership favoured. The term community participation suggests democracy and a greater level of control by the local community, and to *“propose a development strategy that is not participatory is now almost reactionary”* (Tosun 2000:165).

The term has in many ways become an umbrella term, and the very fact that local participation is looked upon as a prerequisite to success, has made it a concept rarely offer for critical analysis (Butcher 2007; Tosun 2000).

3.4.1 A critical review of community participation approaches

Several critics emphasize the fact that the shift from modernisation to post-modernisation theory came from a position of western power in the first place, hence the concept of community participation, which is a direct result of this ideology shift, is a biased western construct (Akama 1996; Butcher 2007; Mowforth & Munt 2009). Akama (1996) is critical to the way western NGOs emphasize community participation and argues that the local communities should be empowered to overcome western desires concerning conservation and development.

“The local community need to be empowered to decide what forms of tourism facilities and wildlife conservation programmes they want to be developed in their respective communities, and how the tourism cost and benefits are to be shared among different stakeholders” (Akama 1996:573).

Akama (1996) argues that ICDPs facilitated by western NGOs are exercising environmentalism from a western perspective wrapped in the language of community participation. It is the culture and the aspirations of the local community which are being emphasized when presented for local governments and possible donors, but the unequal power relations between the developed and developing world, will always be offer for a biased reality (Akama 1996). The already existing inequity among the conservationists from the west and the local communities represents a challenge, as lack of context-specific knowledge and experience might limit the locals to participate comfortably in decision-making forums, hence limit their ability to affect change (King & Stewart 1996).

Another dilemma in community participation obviously occurs if the local population strongly disagrees with the desires of the facilitating NGOs. *“If experts (from the developed world) attempt to impose an alternative tourism model or to re-educate the local people so that they change their preferences, then entire issue of local decision making, control and community based tourism is called into question”* (Weaver 1998:15).

The criticism from Weaver (1998) has further been elaborated into arguments that western NGOs are seducing local communities into sharing their values for ecotourism ICDPs. Butcher (2007) makes a point that it might be more a case of pragmatism rather than seduction, as local communities find

themselves accepting the terms of foreign development projects in the lack of alternatives (Butcher 2007; Cooke & Kothari 2001; Hickey & Mohan 2004; Mowforth & Munt 2009; Scheyvens 2002; White 2000).

3.4.2 The state vs. the civil society in community participation

The state has been seen as an ineffective governor of locally oriented development projects; hence the importance of the NGOs has increased rapidly, now acting as powerful players within the civil society. The people-centred focus within development has decreased the sovereign state as the most important stakeholder, hence reinforced the role of global institutions and the NGOs, which since the 1980s have exerted more and more power within the civil society. Civil society is distinctive due to the fact that it is neither a family nor a state, but rather a meeting ground between the individual and the state. It creates an arena where individuals can serve as political actors outside of the traditional state or the commercial market, which is the main role played by the many international and national NGOs today (Butcher 2007; Mowforth & Munt 2009; Potter et al. 1999).

In regards to ecotourism ICDPs, environmental NGOs emphasize on their role as facilitators, not the ruler or governor. They claim that their aim is to provide expertise and advice, and not least facilitate the meeting ground for relevant stakeholders in the projects with an emphasis on the local community. Nevertheless NGOs relies on consistent private and government funding, tracing the power of control back to the project donors. Critics hence question the role of neutrality claimed by the NGOs, as the driving imperative will be tied to the overruling interest of the donors not necessarily with much concern for local desires. In this reality much of the rhetoric referred to in the development literature concerning the importance of community participation is not the case at all (Brohman 1996; Butcher 2007).

In a response to the critique of the role of the civil society, Scheyvens (1999) argues that the relationship between local empowerment in ecotourism and national priorities is a problematic one, questioning how central governments in reality would facilitate community-level development. She claims that the imperative of national development is based upon international trade, and is therefore critical to the state being the controlling or even facilitating actor in ecotourism ICDPs, claiming that economic growth would overrule social and environmental concerns (Scheyvens 1999).

Parnwell (1998) focus on instable governance and corruption as major problems among many developing governments, claiming that local community participation compensate for the lack of sustainable governance at national level. He fears that state-control would favour and encourage foreign capital, which at the end would benefit a small elite rather than the majority of the population. He considers the state a limiting factor and emphasizes on the neutrality of the civil society where NGOs and local communities can develop and conserve through ecotourism in a manner that provides positive outcomes for the local community. He concludes by stating that in order for ecotourism projects to be successful, planning, implementation and control are dependent upon local institutions and actors. If not he fears that the drive of developing government to escape the poverty trap will lead to exploitation of both people and natural environments (Parnwell 1998).

3.5 Tradition in ecotourism ICDPs

In TIES definition of ecotourism (see section 2.2.1) they include “...purposeful travel to natural areas to understand the culture and the natural history of the environment” (TIES 1990). The natural history and the culture of the environment are normally linked to the “traditional culture” of the destination, a term often used when marketed to tourists. Poon (1993) links this marketing trend back to the “new tourist” who wishes to experience cultures different from their own (Poon 1993), while Butcher (2007) goes further in his arguments, claiming that the existence of ecotourism itself, partially is due to a “profound disillusionment in the developed world with the experience and the outcomes of development” (Butcher 2007:101).

A number of important themes arise when discussing culture and tradition, and Butcher (2007) identifies cultural relativism, culture as functional, culture entrenched in the past and the support of local traditions through external intervention, as the most important notions of culture in the advocacy of ecotourism (Butcher 2007).

The stressing of “the traditional” in ecotourism is an emphasis on culture entrenched in the past, rather than developing traditions and cultures with a perspective for the future. The modern societies in the Western world have lost parts of its authenticity on their road to development, hence people of the developed world search for authenticity in form of community, harmony and closeness to nature in the developing world. This view is not necessarily rooted in reality, but rather a romanticised version of the rural developing communities held by people of the developed world in their search for authenticity (Butcher 2007; Poon 1993).

Cultural relativism refers to different ways of knowing with the result that culture and traditions can only be thoroughly understood within the community. Ecotourism tends to define a society and its traditions by the distinct differences from its own society, leading to a cultural imposition from the West (Escobar 1995; Milton 1996). Butcher (2007) argues that cultural relativism in the advocacy of ecotourism for development in fact limits the prospects for development. The claim being that by using local traditions as the ruling principle, ecotourism projects prevent access to modern technology and scientific knowledge (Butcher 2007).

The debate concerning tradition in the advocacy of ecotourism further moves to viewing culture as something functional. Functional by serving as an operating factor of the community as it is constituted (Butcher 2007). Rojek (1995) makes a comparison of culture and the human body, and claims that while the human body needs organs to survive, culture needs cultural organs such as norms, history and traditions to survive (Rojek 1995). Butcher (2007) argues that this analogy illustrates the limitations of functionalism, as human beings and their societies function socially, not biologically as the human body (Butcher 2007). Several academics argue that the whole concept of ecotourism is based upon viewing culture as functional (Fennell 2003; Goodwin 2000; McLaren 1998), as ecotourism's potential of bringing human development and natural conservation into a relationship of symbiosis, sustain a particular relationship between communities and their natural surroundings, reflecting a static view of society.

MacCannell (1992) argues that tourism can serve as a booster of ethnic identity and revive cultural traditions and therefore "save" communities from being integrated into mainstream society. From a study conducted among the Masai people in Kenya and Tanzania, he argues that tourism allow them to *"adapt and coexist and earn a living just by "being themselves", permitting them to avoid the kind of work in factories and as agricultural labourers that changes their lives forever"* (MacCannell 1992:19).

This statement contradicts the whole trajectory of world development. Development has been characterised by urbanisation and technology, and when integrating conservation and development in the name of ecotourism, the ICDPs indirectly oppose this trajectory (Butcher 2007).

The most contradictory view on tradition in the advocacy of ecotourism is perhaps the support for local traditions through external intervention, and it happens every day around the globe as western funded ICDPs *modify* tradition in order to *teach* the local population the value of non-consumption of

natural resources. The advocacy of ecotourism emphasis on its role in protecting communities from external cultural influence, while the whole project is sponsored through foreign aid funds, which in itself indeed is a sense of cultural influence (Butcher 2007).

According to Milton (1996), environmentalists in general fail to distinguish between culture in what people aspire and culture in what people do, and that ways of life that are being considered valuable traditions might just be a necessity for survival. The assumed ecological balance between a community and its natural resources might just be incidental, not culturally or traditionally bound at all (Milton 1996).

3.6 Commodification in ecotourism ICDPs

Commodification is the transformation of goods, ideas or other entities that may not normally be valued as goods or objects, turning them into a commodity for market consumption (Polanyi 2005). King & Stewart (1996) define the process of commodification as *“changing a cultural element or a natural object into a commodity that can be exchanged in a monetary market; in essence, taking something that was not marketed and turning it into something that is”* (King & Stewart 1996:298). The major difference between a commodity and an object is that a commodity has an exchange value in addition to its use value (Hannam & Knox 2010).

The term commodification, originated in Marxist political theory, claim that human beings can be considered subjects to commodification through labour. Marxism is critical to the social impacts the process of commodification imply, arguing that some things ought not to be for sale and ought not to be treated as if they were a tradeable commodity. Marx (1887) emphasizes on the different forms of value between product and commodity exchange, arguing that the way a tangible product is valued by money-prices is not applicable when determining the value of commodities, as exchange-values and money-prices are not the same thing (Marx 1990 (Original publication 1887)). Marx (1887) warned against the social impacts from commodities being subjected to market forces, fearing a separation of human labour from the natural world, as the resources of production are increasingly being commodified and given exchange values.

Ecotourism claims to escape patterns of commodification, emphasizing on the importance of community participation in the development of ecotourism projects, which place the locals in control. The drivers behind ecotourism ICDPs argue for exercising a form of controlled development, building healthy and sustainable relationship between protected natural areas, the local communities and the visiting tourists (King & Stewart 1996).

3.6.1 Commodification of tradition

In their search for funding NGOs frequently use phrases such as *“ecotourism respects the dignity and diversity of other cultures”*, *“ecotourism sustains the well-being of local people”*, and *“ecotourism improve the quality of life”*. These statements portray ecotourism as a tool for the defence of cultures and traditions (King & Stewart 1996; MacCannell 1976; MacCannell 2001), supporting the claim that ecotourism offer a sustainable alternative to the commodification of people and places exercised by traditional tourism.

Ecotourism started as a kind of travel that was uncomfortable, difficult and expensive; *“a strenuous search for other peoples and adventures”* (Boorstin 1987:84), while it today is being facilitated to attract volumes of visitors. Critics argue that ecotourism ICDPs are turning formerly remote areas into accessible destinations, putting environments and their local communities into *“packaged experiences”* that are sold as commodities. Anticipation is a great part of a travel experience, and the communities visited are supposed to meet or even exceed these expectations held by visitors from foreign cultures (Boorstin 1987; King & Stewart 1996; McLaren 1998). King & Stewart (1996) argue that pre-existing inequalities of power between locals and the visiting tourists is exacerbated by ecotourism development, arguing that *“promoting ecotourism on the basis that it improves the welfare of indigenous people is disingenuous, at best”* (King & Stewart 1996:239).

The early twentieth-century cultural theorists of the Frankfurt School were particularly concerned with the reproduction of works of art, as reproduction for large audiences would separate authenticity and culture. Their concern and critique can be transformed to the ecotourism industry, which claim that funding from high-spending tourists support local culture and traditions. Performing and *“demonstrating”* local traditions in a marketplace is seen to devalue the special characteristics of tradition. Local communities become commodified, as traditional tools and instruments are sold as souvenirs, and everyday life is turned into a series of performances in the tourism encounter (Hannam & Knox 2010).

Not only do the visitors arrive with their (often misguided) expectations, they also have the economic power to fulfil them. This power is forceful, and critics suspect this force to substantially alter the host community's traditions, as many now depend on the tourists for survival (Butcher 2005; Butcher 2007; King & Stewart 1996; Mowforth & Munt 2009).

3.6.2 Commodification of nature

Forests that once were places for daily life sustaining activities, have been transformed into an area for market consumption through its non-use, which depend on the purchasing power from visitors for its survival. The "consumers" of the natural areas have changed from the residing communities to the visiting tourists.

The fact of having to pay to enter a national park; leaves only those that have the means to pay the entrance fee, to be able to experience that commodity. Natural areas which once were free for public admiration and consumption, have shifted into an economic domain of scarcity (Hannam & Knox 2010). Wastson and Kopachevsky (1994) argue that this change in relationship between humans and nature presumes commodification, and that the access to natural areas and the knowledge about flora and fauna held by the locals automatically lead them into a market relationship with the guests (Watson & Kopachevsky 1994).

The commodification of nature changes the value of natural environments from being a direct source of use value to a commodity with an exchange value. As a result of this change in value, local communities need to adopt a change in tradition from working with the land to working for tourists, who observe the land (King & Stewart 1996; Watson & Kopachevsky 1994).

ICDPs linked to ecotourism do not only alter the way local communities use their land, but also how they view themselves. The shift in labour from working in the fields and forests to working for tourists is a major change in lifestyle, and critics hold that the authentic aspects of the way of life in the local communities become blurred (King & Stewart 1996; Sweet 1989).

The commodification of nature in ecotourism is facilitated by acknowledged concepts such as national parks, biological reserves and wildlife refuges (ICT Undated), that are social constructs developed in western societies. These natural areas designated to protection and conservation become objects of admiration in the minds of the tourists, and Hayles (1995) argues that national parks and other protected natural areas are thought of as existing independently of humans and

their culture among the visitors from the west. The pristine environments become places to be admired and experienced (Hayles 1995); objects for direct market consumption.



Figure 7: A domesticated macaw for market consumption in a private reserve in Arenal, CR
Photo: Ann-Elin Norddal

Impacts from ecotourism are likely to be positive only when a community already is in a state of decline due to resource scarcity. In cases of such reality the people of the communities are already prepared for change, and ecotourism can provide an economic platform to sustainable livelihood (King & Stewart 1996).

3.7 Summary

This chapter has discussed the existing power relations within the tourism industry, demonstrating how these relationships of domination remain problematical when ecotourism is being used as a tool for conservation and development objectives. The multidisciplinary approach of ICDP's strategies makes them complex, and the socio-economic differences among the stakeholders involved and structural problems such as poverty, resource distribution and corruption must be identified, recognized and managed with extreme care.

Despite years of experience in ecosystem protection, academics and practitioners keep disagreeing and developing new frameworks on how to most effectively protect natural resources (McLaren 1998; Stem 2001; Stem et al. 2003). The attention was pushed towards community participation, after acknowledging that an exclusively preservationist approach was not adequate to address the complex socio-cultural realities within the natural areas that were to be protected.

ICDPs aim to embrace the “triple bottom line” of economy, environment and culture that is central in the framework of sustainable development within neopopulist thinking often described as “green development” (Adams 2001; Muller 1994). Community participation is the preferred approach, and with local empowerment and the value of non-consumption of natural resources; ecotourism claims to bring conservation and development into a relationship of mutual benefits, protecting traditional livelihood.

Natural conservation and the discourses on development are social constructs developed in western societies, hence critics argue that community participation is unachievable when planning and implementing ecotourism ICDPs. Supporting their criticism is the dilemma of commodification, as tradition and nature are changed into objects for market consumption. Ecotourism claims to protect people and places, but it is difficult to deny that the shift from working with and off the land to working for tourists, do not alter traditional life.

The opposition of modernity, which has characterized the development discourse, is also colouring conservation thinking. Tradition is normally seen as an oppositional category to modernity; hence the rationale has been to limit access to modern technology and scientific knowledge in order to sustain traditions and cultures (Butcher 2007). A notion which might propose limits for human development in rural Costa Rica.

4.0 METHODS & PROCEDURES

4.1 Theoretical framework

This research used a mixed-methods approach of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies, and applied critical theories to guide the early stages of the research project (Knox & Hannam 2010). Key methods included semi-structured interviews, participation and observation and a researcher-administered survey. In addition to the direct field work, a number of open-ended interviews have been conducted. The study also involved a large literature and document review and analysis, in order to gain a broader perspective on integrated conservation and development projects (ICDPs).

The study employed qualitative and quantitative tools to enrich understanding. The aim of the study was to indicate locally held values and experiences in relation to the ecotourism ICDPs, and the quantitative data obtained through the public opinion survey indicated tendencies and patterns among locals residing close to the protected natural areas (PNAs). The open-ended interviews told and explained the motivation behind ICDPs; relating the stated objectives of the environmental NGOs to the local perceptions and views which unfolded in the field.

4.2 Target population and sampling methods

4.2.1 Qualitative interviews

For the qualitative part of the study, interviewee selection drew from a nonprobability sampling design. The research used snowball sampling, also called referral sampling (Hair et al. 2006), where chosen respondents identified additional potential respondents, which also should be included in the study as key informants. This method allowed this research to establish relevant contacts through a small group of people. Among key stakeholders and target population for the research's qualitative interviews, were government officials, environmental NGOs and academics and professionals working in conservation and/or ecotourism in Costa Rica.

The research used semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions. An interview guide was prepared prior to the interviews, a document which contributed to keep focus on the research objectives (Appendix 1). Follow-up questions were created depending on the responses, and changes to the questions were made continuously. Most interviews lasted between 45 minutes to 1,5 hours; as interviews were ended when the interviewee started to emphasize on terms and subjects already covered, and no new information appeared in the conversations. All the interviews were one-on-one, and took place in privacy.

The reason for choosing qualitative interviews was because the range of information possible to obtain. Semi-structured interviews offer some of the advantages of both structured and unstructured interviews, by being informal and open for directions from both the researcher and study participants. It was important for the study to understand the motivation behind ecotourism ICDPs, and the open-ended questions allowed the interviewees to explain values, attitudes and challenges. The semi-structured interviews also invited and facilitated to ask follow-up questions, depending on responses and comments, which is something quantitative methods do not allow in the same manner. Another argument supporting qualitative interviews is the flexibility of the method, also allowing the interviewees to express their own interpretations (Bryman 2008).

The information from the interviews provided this research with a rich knowledge base for the continuation of the research, and the information obtained from the interviews was contextualized and applied when designing the public opinion survey.

4.2.2 Quantitative survey

A researcher-administered survey was conducted in 5 different communities on the Osa Peninsula (Appendix 2). The survey was based on 40 different statements, in an attempt of identifying tendencies and patterns among the local residents in relation to natural conservation and ecotourism. The statements were divided into four sub-categories, respectively the value of natural resources, the value of traditions, community participation and commodifications. The researcher does speak Spanish; nevertheless it was very useful to have the survey built on already formed statements to limit linguistic barriers.

Before conducting the survey, the 40 statements which made up the survey, were read out loud to one native Spanish speaking study colleague, and two field-workers in The Corcovado Foundation. This was done in order to test the intelligibility of the survey and identify if any of the statements needed to be modified. The feedback received was positive, and only small changes in the statement structures on the Spanish version of the survey were done as a result of the test (Appendix 3).

To get a representative sample for the survey, the most popular *Soda* (local cafeteria) in each community was identified. The researcher asked random people on the streets which *Soda* was the most popular, and when a specific *Soda* was mentioned three times; the researcher went there. The manager of the *Soda* was told and explained the purpose of the research, asking for permission to conduct the survey in the respective site. After permission was granted, every 3rd person who

entered the *Soda*; independent of sex or age (as long as it was not very young children), were asked to participate. This sampling method worked well, and only 1 of the 28 people asked, refused to participate.

The community of La Tarde and the area between Punta Agujitas and Playa Caletas outside of Drake Bay, were too small in order to apply the sampling method described above. In these two areas, whomever that was willing and available for interviewing was asked, the researcher being conscious to get representation from women, youth and elderly populations.

The survey had a total of 43 respondents, but the researcher eliminated 1, due to the participant responding only what he/she expected that the researcher wished to hear.

On average each survey lasted about 30 minutes.

4.2.3 Participatory observation

The researcher went to the Osa Peninsula on three different occasions from December 2011 to April 2012, getting to know the area, talking to people and observing everyday life and behaviour. On the last trip, the different communities where The Nature Conservancy (TNC) and the Corcovado Foundation (TCF) operate ecotourism ICDPs were visited; asking local stakeholders and program coordinators about general practices, desired outcomes and real life challenges.

This process of getting information from different sources using different methods is called triangulation, which is a powerful technique, facilitating validation of data through cross verification. Triangulation becomes an alternative to traditional criteria like reliability and validity, and many researchers argue that this is becoming the preferred line in the social sciences (Bryman 2008).

4.3 Data collection techniques and analysis

Data collection strategies included:

- Literature and document review to relate the research in a historical context and to assess changes, impacts and outcomes of ICDPs.
- Quantitative semi-structured interviews with different stakeholders in conservation, development and/or ecotourism in Costa Rica. Interviews were conducted in order to identify indicators of motivation from the facilitator's side.

- Quantitative survey among local residents with the intention of identifying and indicate tendencies concerning how the local residents value the impacts of conservation linked to ecotourism.
- Observation and participation in the communities and projects studied to better understand conservation aspirations and challenges.

This research relies more on qualitative analysis than quantitative, due to the small sample size in the public opinion survey. Nevertheless, the data obtained from the survey was statistically tested, using a Chi-squared test for hypothesis testing, and the p-value to test significance. Descriptive statistics proved a correlation among the respondents depending on occupation; a demographic variable which is highlighted in the analysis and interpretation of the data (Appendix 4).

Names and positions of interviewees participated in the qualitative interviews can be found in the final bibliography of this thesis. Names or other key details of the survey respondents and people, who have talked openly on informal ground, have been excluded in order to protect the informants' identity.

4.4 Ethical concerns and limitations

Besides the ethical concerns regarding harm to participants, informed consent, invasion of privacy and deception (Bryman 2008), this project considered the power relations between the researcher and research participants, an important element to reflect upon. Bias was of major concern, a notion that could challenge the validity and reliability of the findings; hence the researcher's background and bias were always reflected upon, when interpreting, assessing and judging the relations observed and information received.

Linguistic challenges were met to some extent, but the fact that the survey was built upon statements only, made the research overcome these challenges.

Despite the survey being carried out in Spanish, the results in this thesis are being presented in English. It is possible that differences in languages have caused misinterpretations to some of the comments made by the respondents, but these should be of minimal scale as the researcher has strong Spanish skills. In cases of uncertainty, help to translation was received from a native Spanish speaking study colleague.

This research presents some interesting insights concerning ICDPs linked to ecotourism, nevertheless it is important to be aware that the multidisciplinary nature of the topic makes it very broad with a great number of influencing factors. The aim of this study is to identify potential limiting factors for human development in rural Costa Rica, an objective which requires much time and interaction with local residents. Even though this research tried to build trust and confidence in the communities through several visits, the researcher is still a stranger to the local population, which most likely has influenced the responses among some of the participants.

5.0 SITE DESCRIPTION

In the extreme south-western corner of Costa Rica lies the Osa Peninsula. The peninsula, about 150 000 hectares in size, encompasses 12 ecosystems, including mangroves, swamplands, cloud forest, and very humid rainforest (Stem 2001; Toft & Larsen 2009).



Figure 8: Map of the Osa Peninsula and Golfo Dulce (Toft & Larsen 2009)

The Osa Peninsula is regarded by locals, scientists and tourists as the most pristine location in Costa Rica, containing one of the continent's last remaining patches of Pacific rainforest. The entire peninsula operates as a vast biological corridor, and the National Geographic Magazine have famously labelled Corcovado National Parks (the peninsulas main attraction), as *"the most biologically intense place on earth"* (Firestone et al. 2010:390). It is estimated that more than 50% of Costa Rica's species are found on the Osa Peninsula, and due to its climate, location, topography and variety of ecosystems, the area is conducive to the development of new species (Firestone et al. 2010).

5.1 History of the Osa Peninsula

The Osa Peninsula has always been considered to be a frontier land, and this impression is still intact among the majority of Ticos (Costa Rican citizens) today. The area has a reputation of being wild, unsettled and dangerous, and due to its isolation Osa served as a haven among Costa Rican criminals seeking refuge from the law (Stem 2001).

The United Fruit Company (UFCO) moved its operations to the area in the late 1930s, and with this establishment immigration increased. The majority came from northern Costa Rica and neighbouring Nicaragua, and the growth in population resulted in deforestation, as tropical rain forest was converted into pasture land for cattle-ranching and agriculture. Gold was also discovered in the many rivers in the peninsula at this time leading to a small gold rush (Stem 2001).

In the 1960s the Costa Rican government established “pueblos de desarrollo”, zones that were considered in immediate need for development. The Osa Peninsula was one of these zones, and the government gave huge tax-reduction and access to property to North American companies in hope that more enterprises would establish operations on Costa Rican land. The government succeeded with their strategy, and in 1957 Osa Productos Forestales (OPF), a US industrial forest company, bought 47 000 hectares of land on the peninsula. Residents of Osa claim that much of this land was already inhabited and cultivated by local farmers, hence the company’s establishment led to conflicts throughout the whole region for decades. A former gold-miner recalls the operations of OPF as “*a country within another country. Nobody could walk on their land if they were not one of their employees*” (Araya (1999) quoted in Stem 2001:42).

In the early 1970s violent outbreaks occurred between local residents and OPF, leading to murders of both company employees and local farmers. As a result of the violence, local residents together with political groups started to put pressure on the government, demanding state leaders to expropriate the OPF land. At the same time conservationists were taking an interest in the area, pushing for the establishment of Corcovado National Park.

The local communities and the conservationists joined forces, and in 1975 the national park was established, and by 1979 they managed to get OPF out of the Osa Peninsula. A few years later the UFCO also left the peninsula, leaving the whole area in an economic crisis (Evans 1999; Horton 2009; Stem 2001).

In 1989 Ston Forestal as US pulp and paper company, arrived in Osa, and most people embraced their establishment with a hope of economic prosperity. After a short time in operation local resistance against the company grew, as communities were re-settled by force, lakes were drained and the soil eroded. The environmentalists also lobbied about the company's operations on the peninsula, and in 1994 Greenpeace sent one of their ships to the Golfo Dulce, attracting international attention to the peninsula and the environmental crimes being done. An agreement was reached between Ston Forestal, the government, local communities and environmentalists in 1995, but the communities kept expressing concern for the rapid deforestation of the Osa Peninsula. Greenpeace continued supporting the communities politically and morally, and in 1998 the environmental NGO sent a second ship to the Golfo Dulce, demanding a moratorium on logging in the Osa Peninsula. As a response to the Greenpeace campaign, the Environmental Minister of Costa Rica announced that he would work to obtain funds to support conservation incentive payments for the Osa Peninsula (Quirós 1998).

As logging, mining, hunting and other traditional life-supporting activities became illegal as a direct result of the establishment of the national park, the Costa Rican National Learning Institute (Instituto de Aprendizaje, INA) offered courses and training in industry, agronomy, commerce and services and tourism to interested individuals. The residents of the peninsula, and especially the communities residing close to the Corcovado National Park were in severe need for alternatives for socio-economic development, and INA made an important effort in their capacity building. Its coverage was limited though, concerning both time and geographic coverage, hence critics and some residents question its value. Also the environmental NGOs established community projects for capacity building, addressing the negative attitudes towards conservation and the establishment of Corcovado National Park. WWF and USAID funded projects concerning environmental education, agro forestry and ecotourism, as alternative income generating activities (Stem 2001).

The establishment of economic alternatives for people living close to Corcovado National Park were the prioritized agenda of both the government and the environmental NGOs, and ecotourism was valued as a solid and positive alternative for resource exploitation.

Table 4: Major historical events on the Osa Peninsula

Year(s)	Event
1937-1957	UFCO arrive in southern Costa Rica and dominate the economy Gold is discovered on the peninsula Construction of the Inter-American Highway begins (1947 – 1960)
1957-1978	Osa Productos Forestales establishes itself in the Osa Peninsula Conflicts between local settlers and OPF
1975	Establishment of Corcovado National Park
1978-1990s	Increased colonization of peninsula IDA titles land and hands it over to colonists
1980	Expansion of Corcovado National Park (implementation in 1986)
1984	UFCO abandons banana plantations
1989-1995	Arrival of Ston Forestal Conflict between Ston Forestal, environmentalists and communities formally ends with agreement in 1995
1995 →	Continued protests against logging
1998	Greenpeace ship “Warrior” comes to Golfo Dulce to provide political support and attract international attention Fundación Corcovado is established
1999 →	Continued protests against logging Improvement of road from Rincón to Drake Bay

(Stem 2001)

5.2 Ecotourism on the Osa Peninsula

The Osa Peninsula is still considered a remote corner of Costa Rica, but the introduction and emphasize on ecotourism as an economic alternative to resource exploitation has resulted in small airplanes and four-wheel drives packed with tourists arriving in the area. State policies facilitated the groundwork for the ecotourism industry on the peninsula, but its rapid growth was largely private-sector initiatives (Horton 2009).

International hotel chains have not yet invested and been established on Osa. The official reason for their absence is the geographical remoteness and lack of infrastructure and accessibility, but also the high level of social organization within the local communities appears to be a reason for their absence. History has demonstrated that the residents of the peninsula get highly involved in environmental matters, and local resistance in the forms of protests and campaigns against company operations is strategically avoided among most businesses.

Tourism on the Osa Peninsula has mainly been developed by North American and European investors (Minca & Linda 2000), and many Costa Rican residents on the peninsula have expressed frustration over the economic and cultural advantages possessed by the foreigners. While Costa Ricans struggled to obtain bank loans due to the neoliberal reforms which emphasized market criteria over social criteria (Edelman 1999), expats from North America and Europe arrived and profited on the emerging industry. Their possession of context-specific knowledge, international experience, language skills and economic advantages, made it difficult for the residing Ticos to compete in the same market.

“There is no one here who has the means to start a tourism project; even the simplest of projects cost millions (of colones)” (Misael quoted in Horton 2009:97). According to real estate agents in Puerto Jiménez, the price of ocean-view and forested land doubled every year during the 1990s, resulting in the tourism industry representing a continuation of stratified landholding that has been present for decades on the Osa Peninsula (Horton 2009).

As a result of the development of ecotourism on Osa, the industry today acts as a three-tiered model of participation. On the top tier are small to medium-sized, foreign-owned eco-lodges. The majority of these eco-lodges are located on private reserves on the edges of Corcovado National Park and in Drake Bay. They attract the more well-off tourists, and offer the greatest opportunities for profit.

The second tier consists of cabins and small hotels, the majority owned by well-off residents before ecotourism. These accommodation services are located in the town of Puerto Jiménez, and cater to backpackers and other budget travellers who come to experience the national parks on the peninsula.

The third and last tier of the model consists of the less well-off Costa Ricans who are employed as cooks, maids, guides and security guards by the foreign-owned lodges in the first tier (Horton 2009).

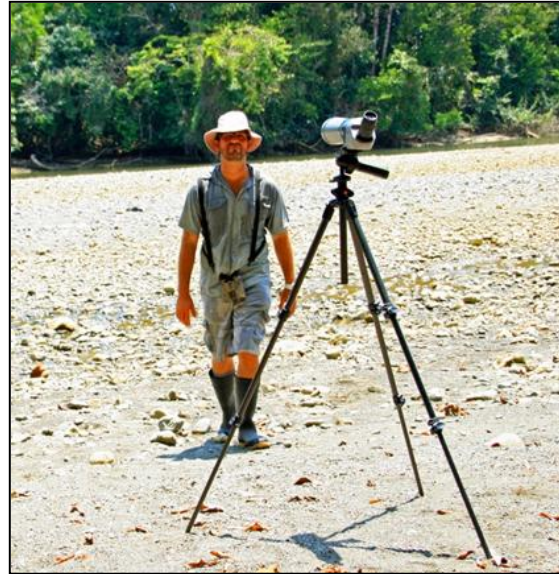


Figure 9: Las Caletas Lodge, Drake Bay. A small Tico/Swiss owned eco-lodge (left)
A Costa Rican naturalist's guide in Corcovado National Park, Costa Rica (right)
Photo: Ann-Elin Norddal

According to Catuosa, the Osa Tourism Chamber, between 23-25% of the population work directly in ecotourism, while 60% receive indirect economic benefits from the industry (Catuosa 2012).

5.3 Corcovado National Park

Corcovado National Park (CNP), which is the main attraction on the Osa Peninsula, comprises the largest remaining tropical, humid rainforest in Central America. The park covers an area of 42 000 hectares, and is home to a wide range of habitats. It provides habitat to threatened fauna, including crocodiles, tapirs, jaguars, scarlet macaws and all four of Costa Rica's monkey species (Horton 2009).

The park was established in 1975 in an attempt to protect the unique ecosystems from the threats of colonists and international logging companies. The government arranged to relocate the local families residing inside of the newly established park boundaries, a task which became both more challenging and expensive than first envisioned. After the expansion of the park in 1980, almost 2000 colonists and their livestock had to be relocated or compensated, leaving the government with a cost of USD 1,2 million (Evans 1999).

The government's establishment of the national park received much support compared to the management of several other protected natural areas in Costa Rica, nevertheless there were problems. Compensations were distributed unfairly, and many people were ill-prepared to handle large sums of money (Evans 1999; Horton 2009).

The creation of the park led to a decrease in hunting and logging, but park employees still consider gold mining within the park boundaries a threat. The growing number of visiting tourists is also addressed as a threat, as a high number of visitors and human activities threaten Corcovado's integrity (Evans 1999; Horton 2009).



Figure 10: Corcovado National Park (left). A baird's tapir in Corcovado National Park (right)

Photo: Ann-Elin Norddal

6.0 RESULTS & FINDINGS

This chapter presents the information and data obtained through interviews with representatives from the Costa Rican government, academics and professionals in the field and environmental NGOs working in Costa Rica, including their written documents and accounts. Secondly it presents a summary of the public opinion survey conducted in Osa, where a series of statements concerning natural conservation, development and ecotourism were chosen in an attempt of capturing values held by the local public.

6.1 Costa Rica's efforts in natural conservation

As mentioned in the introduction of this research; Costa Rica has during the last 26 years gone from having one of the highest deforestation rates in the world, to being considered a pioneer in forest management and protection policies, with more than 25% of its territory dedicated to conservation. Carlos Manuel Rodriguez, former Environmental Minister and head of protected natural areas (PNAs), explains this change as a result of great influence from the United States; *"they had protected areas, and so should we"* (Rodriguez 2012). Scientists and researchers mainly from the US flocked to these newly established protected areas, creating a sort of hub for scientific tourism. These researchers and professionals published books on Costa Rica's birds and plants and eventually also travel-guides, resulting in more tourists finding their way to Costa Rica's PNAs. With the arrival of more international travellers, the government acknowledged the potential of tourism and took control from the previously ruling private park system. The government introduced payment for environmental services (PES), the practice of offering incentives to farmers or landowners, in exchange for managing their land to provide some sort of ecological service. This programme promoted natural conservation in the global marketplace, inviting private charities and international NGOs to participate.

"We became greedy", as conservation efforts brought much needed foreign-exchange into the economy. *"We (Costa Rica) were that young pretty girl that everybody wanted to date, and from starting off by only dating the best boy at the school, we ended up sleeping with everyone!"* (Rodriguez 2012). The result being that private persons, charities and environmental NGOs now control and manage more than 50% of the PNAs in Costa Rica (Bien 2011; Rodriguez 2012).

6.2 The environmental NGOs; Objectives & Strategies

A dozen of international and national environmental NGOs have been involved in this research, informing and explaining their objectives and preferred applied strategies for conservation. The

following section introduces two of them, one international and one local, which are the two environmental NGOs this research has followed most closely due to their conservation efforts on the Osa Peninsula.

6.2.1 The Nature Conservancy

The Nature Conservancy (TNC) is a leading US-based environmental NGO, which has bought much land for conservation purposes in Costa Rica. The stated mission of TNC is *“to conserve the lands and waters on which all life depends”* (TNC Undated-a). To achieve this, they use a non-confrontational, collaborative approach and stay true to their five core values; integrity, respect, commitment, lasting results and one conservancy (TNC Undated-b). TNC cooperates with several partners from governments to local NGOs; funding and operating conservation projects in more than 33 countries worldwide.

6.2.1.1 How TNC works

TNC buys land from the Costa Rican government, private landowners and local farmers, and then donate this land to local NGOs under strictly agreed upon conditions. Andrea Borel, conservation coordinator in TNC Costa Rica, explains that private people and charities often contact them, wanting to donate money to natural conservation in Costa Rica and in some cases in specific area, e.g. the Osa Peninsula. Donor objectives range from people who fell in love with Costa Rica while on vacation, to affiliations after seeing a documentary about the pristine and fragile ecosystems in the tropical rainforests. The job of TNC is to find land for sale in the requested area, to buy it from its representative owner and to donate it to a local NGO under conditions agreed upon by the donor and TNC. Local actors and NGOs then compete for the funding, by presenting their projects which corresponds to the demands requested from TNC.

TNC works closely with the Ministry of Environment, Energy and Telecommunications (MINAET) and The National System of Conservation Areas (SINAC), government departments which *“bring their needs and prioritizes to TNC here in Costa Rica”* (Borel 2012). The relationship seems to be mutual, as TNC never do anything concerning natural conservation without consulting the government departments first. Borel exclaims; *“Conservation is big business!”*, hence it is important for TNC to have major government actors on their side (Borel 2012).

6.2.1.2 The Nature Conservancy’s approach to ecotourism ICDPs in Costa Rica

TNC argues that the annual growth of international ecotourism in Costa Rica creates unique opportunities for both natural conservation and the local communities residing close to the

protected areas. Their claim is that ecotourism provide the much-needed revenues for the protection of nature and the management of these areas, revenue that is not achievable from other sources. Additionally TNC emphasizes on ecotourism as a viable economic development alternative within communities with few income-generating options. Ultimately they focus on the environmental education that the visiting tourists receive, making them more active and enthusiastic concerning natural conservation (Borel 2012; TNC 2011).

TNC has recently gone through an international restructure, moving from a focus from pure biodiversity protection to include conservation of all livelihoods, including humans; thereof the embracement of ecotourism as a favoured strategy. *“By funding and facilitating ecotourism projects we integrate all aspects of society, while achieving our stated goals for natural conservation and protection, which still is the overruling policy of TNC – absolutely!”* (Borel 2012).

6.2.1.3 TNC and the Osa Peninsula

The Osa Peninsula has been the main area of focus for TNC in Costa Rica. TNC claims that the unique ecosystems and the biodiversity range are under *“threats of development”* (Borel 2012), and their priority has been to create biological corridors between already protected areas, so wildlife can move more freely over larger areas of land. In order to manage and sustain these newly created protected natural areas, TNC has funded and facilitated ecotourism and community based natural resource management projects (CBNRM) in the communities residing close to the Corcovado National Park.

Borel ends the interview by saying that TNC in Costa Rica will continue to focus its conservation efforts on the Osa Peninsula, as they still view Osa as a problematic zone with many threats. She mentions threats concerning illegal hunting, logging, moving of agricultural frontiers, development projects which run into PNAs, illegal fishing and contamination. *“Development in general is a threat!”* exclaims Borel, emphasizing once again that TNC considers development in general a threat to their conservation efforts on the Osa Peninsula.

6.2.2 The Corcovado Foundation

El Fundación Corcovado or the Corcovado Foundation (TCF) is one of the local environmental NGOs on the Osa Peninsula which operates and manages ecotourism ICDPs with funds from The Nature Conservancy (TNC). The Corcovado Foundation was established in 1998 by concerned neighbouring communities of the already established Corcovado National Park. Violent conflicts between local

hunters and loggers and guards of the national park were of growing concern, and three hotels from Drake Bay joined forces in an attempt of improving the situation for both people and nature on the Osa Peninsula.

On their web-site they introduce themselves as *“a hands-on, down to earth local leader in conservation, who works closely with the National Park Service to protect the wild heritage and the future of protected areas. We advance the cause of environmental education and champion the rights of the local communities, while encouraging responsible tourism as a tool to help protect this incredible gift that we have been left, the Osa Peninsula”* (TCF 2012).

It is the unique ecosystems on the Osa Peninsula that TCF is aiming to protect and conserve, and ecotourism is one of their applied and favoured strategies in order to achieve their overruling conservation goals (Appendix 6) (Delgado 2012; Solano 2012).

6.2.2.1 The Corcovado Foundation’s approach to ecotourism ICDPs in Osa

The Corcovado Foundation claims that ecotourism is fundamental for the protection of the natural resources on the Osa Peninsula and is a well applied strategy in their integrated conservation and development projects (ICDPs). Ecotourism provides an income to communities that earlier depended on resource exploitation for their survival, and TCF helps these new established businesses to diminish their impact on the environment. The Foundation *“is dedicated to promote a more responsible relationship between businesses and nature”* (TCF Undated), and they have trained more than 400 hotel staff from different hotels in the Osa in sustainable practices.

“We cannot make conservation without the local community” says Project Manager Mauricio Solano, reflecting the foundations stated mission of *“working with people to protect nature”* (TCF 2012).

Today TCF emphasize on rural community-based tourism, and they work with small communities living close to the border of Corcovado National Park, teaching them how to cater for ecotourists. The foundation educate and train the farmers to spot wildlife and birds, becoming good naturalist’s guides, so the locals feel that they can contribute by teaching the visitors about their lifestyle, flora and fauna. Solano claims the organization has a dynamic relationship with the communities, as the locals tell TCF what they need, and the foundation helps and supports them with the tools needed (Solano 2012).

6.2.2.2 Challenges in the field

Funding and looking for funds are always of major priority for NGOs, and this reality applies for TCF as well. Their monthly secure funding from local members is far from sufficient to cover their expenses, hence they rely on large international funders (e.g. The Nature Conservancy) that provide dollars with “many strings attached” (Monge 2012). As a result of this, TCF is designing its ICDPs in accordance to the conditions from the funders, “*not together with the locals, that we should be doing*” proclaims Solano (Solano 2012).

TCF argues that whole families and communities benefit from their ecotourism ICDPs. In regard to active participation, they experience that the males are more active than the females, and that locals wish to participate for economic benefits only. TCF also need to import labour, both nationally and internationally, as they do not find the skilled workforce they need within the boundaries of Osa. “*The local communities benefit more directly from the spin-offs’ the projects*”, Solano continues, “*by hosting our volunteers, opening sodas (small restaurants) or transportation*”.

TCF experiences local resistance in their work and argues that one major problem is the presence of too many NGOs on the Osa Peninsula. Different NGOs work differently, while the locals tend to view all of the NGOs under one big umbrella. Solano says that there exists an attitude among the locals of Osa that the NGOs are exploiting both people and places in order to raise money for themselves, their fancy cars and their travels. “*Don’t sell yourself for a cup of coffee*” has been expressed by an Osa resident, indicating that the NGOs arrive to claim more from the communities than they give back in return.

To end the interview, Solano is asked to indicate the gains and losses for the Osa residents as a direct result of the ecotourism ICDPs carried out by TCF. He quickly mentions the economic alternative that ecotourism provides as the ultimate gain. Concerning losses, he lists hunting, logging, gold mining, fishing and agriculture and cattle-ranching in newly established PNAs. While this is being listed, Solano exclaims; “*Hey, write more about all the spin-offs effects from ecotourism so the list does not look as bad*” (Solano 2012), adding accommodation, restaurants and transportation as new sources of income on the “gains- side” of the list as well.

6.3 Public opinion survey on the Osa Peninsula

This section presents the responses from 42 public opinion surveys conducted in different communities on the Osa Peninsula. The intention is to identify tendencies and patterns concerning

how the local residents value the impacts of conservation and ecotourism, and how it affects their prospects for human development.

Among the 42 survey respondents; 26 were men and 16 were women, ranging from 13 to 76 in age. 40 of the respondents were Costa Rican citizens, 1 from Nicaragua and 1 from the US, all presently residing in Osa. The communities comprising the majority of this study borders the Corcovado National Park (CNP), Drake Bay, La Tarde and Puerto Jiménez. In addition surveys were conducted in the communities of Palmar Norte and Sierpe, two major gateways when arriving on the Osa Peninsula.

Table 5: Survey participants by community

Community	Surveys
Drake Bay (centre of village)	10
Drake Bay (from Punta Agujitas to Playa Caletas)	8
La Tarde	6
Puerto Jimenéz	4
Palmar Norte	10
Sierpe	4
TOTAL	42

The survey was divided into four parts: The value of natural resources, the values of traditions, community participation and commodification, each part containing 10 statements. The findings from the survey indicate no major differences between age groups or community of residence, but occupation is an indicator of significance. In several of the statements a correlation exists between respondents working directly in ecotourism businesses or with natural conservation (Appendix 4), hence the results from the survey are sorted according to occupation as illustrated in the tables below. The findings presented below are analysed and highlighted in the proceeding chapter.

Table 6: The value of natural resources

	All respondents				Respondents working in conservation or ecotourism				Respondents NOT working in conservation or ecotourism			
	Agree	Disagree	Neither	Don't know	Agree	Disagree	Neither	Don't know	Agree	Disagree	Neither	Don't know
The forests of Osa exist to provide timber and firewood	21,43 %	71,43 %	7,14 %	0,00 %	5,56 %	83,33 %	11,11 %	0,00 %	29,17 %	62,50 %	8,33 %	0,00 %
It is not OK to cut trees to sell them	83,33 %	11,90 %	4,77 %	0,00 %	77,78 %	11,11 %	11,11 %	0,00 %	87,50 %	12,50 %	0,00 %	0,00 %
An important reason to protect the forest is to attract tourists	88,10 %	9,52 %	2,38 %	0,00 %	94,44 %	0,00 %	5,56 %	0,00 %	79,17 %	20,83 %	0,00 %	0,00 %
Hunting is OK when it is for household consumption	61,91 %	33,33 %	2,38 %	2,38 %	50,00 %	44,44 %	5,56 %	0,00 %	66,67 %	29,17 %	0,00 %	4,16 %
It is good that foreigners give money to protect and conserve our natural areas	97,62 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	2,38 %	94,44 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	5,56 %	100,00 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	0,00 %
The environmental NGOs have taught us the importance of natural conservation	73,81 %	11,91 %	7,14 %	7,14 %	66,67 %	5,56 %	11,10 %	16,67 %	79,17 %	16,67 %	4,16 %	0,00 %
It is unfair that foreigners buy land here for conservation	9,52 %	90,48 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	11,11 %	88,89 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	4,17 %	95,83 %	0,00 %	0,00 %
It is unfair that the Park goes after hunters, loggers and miners, because we were here before the NP was created	28,57 %	69,05 %	2,38 %	0,00 %	38,89 %	55,56 %	5,55 %	0,00 %	20,83 %	79,17 %	0,00 %	0,00 %
We first need food and money before we can start caring about protecting the forests	64,29 %	28,57 %	4,76 %	2,38 %	66,67 %	27,77 %	5,56 %	0,00 %	62,50 %	29,16 %	4,17 %	4,17 %
Not being able to transform our natural resources for industrial use, limits our prospect for development	40,48 %	52,38 %	4,76 %	2,38 %	27,78 %	66,66 %	0,00 %	5,56 %	45,83 %	45,83 %	8,34 %	0,00 %

Table 7: The value of traditions

	All respondents				Respondents working in conservation or ecotourism				Respondents NOT working in conservation or ecotourism			
	Agree	Disagree	Neither	Don't know	Agree	Disagree	Neither	Don't know	Agree	Disagree	Neither	Don't know
Ecotourism provides the communities with an alternative financial source, hence the majority of people no longer WANT to do live from agriculture, hunting or logging	78,57 %	16,67 %	2,38 %	2,38 %	77,78 %	16,67 %	5,55 %	0,00 %	79,17 %	16,67 %	0,00 %	4,16 %
The tourists show respect for the community's traditions and values	88,10 %	0,00 %	11,90 %	0,00 %	83,33 %	0,00 %	16,67 %	0,00 %	91,67 %	0,00 %	8,33 %	0,00 %
The local communities and the conservationists normally share the same view on conservation and natural resource management	57,14 %	19,05 %	19,05 %	4,76 %	33,33 %	16,67 %	38,89 %	11,11 %	75,00 %	20,83 %	4,17 %	0,00 %
Ecotourism has interrupted the relationship between local communities and their natural resources	38,10 %	59,52 %	2,38 %	0,00 %	33,33 %	66,67 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	41,67 %	54,17 %	4,16 %	0,00 %
If I disagree with the NGOs they respect my view and do not try to educate me in order for me to change my opinion	38,10 %	40,48 %	7,13 %	14,29 %	16,67 %	44,44 %	16,67 %	22,22 %	54,17 %	37,50 %	0,00 %	8,33 %
It makes me proud to show the tourists our natural environment and way of life	100,00 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	100,00 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	100,00 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	0,00 %
I enjoy to cater for tourist as they learn from us	97,62 %	2,38 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	100,00 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	95,83 %	4,17 %	0,00 %	0,00 %
The NGOs have taught us to appreciate our natural resources in new manners	73,81 %	16,67 %	2,38 %	7,14 %	66,66 %	22,22 %	5,56 %	5,56 %	79,17 %	12,50 %	0,00 %	8,33 %
We have lost some of our traditional identity due to natural conservation	40,48 %	50,00 %	4,76 %	4,76 %	27,78 %	55,56 %	5,56 %	11,10 %	45,83 %	45,83 %	4,17 %	4,17 %
I value the non-consumption of forests higher than the transformation of nature in return for economic development	83,33 %	7,14 %	7,14 %	2,39 %	72,22 %	5,56 %	16,66 %	5,56 %	91,67 %	8,33 %	0,00 %	0,00 %

Table 8: Community participation

	All respondents				Respondents working in conservation or ecotourism				Respondents NOT working in conservation or ecotourism			
	Agree	Disagree	Neither	Don't know	Agree	Disagree	Neither	Don't know	Agree	Disagree	Neither	Don't know
People with little education participate in tourism in the same way as people with more education do	40,48 %	45,24 %	4,76 %	9,52 %	50,00 %	33,33 %	11,11 %	5,56 %	45,83 %	54,17 %	0,00 %	0,00 %
The natural conservation efforts are imposed upon the local communities	42,86 %	47,62 %	4,76 %	4,76 %	38,89 %	44,44 %	11,11 %	5,56 %	41,67 %	50,00 %	0,00 %	8,33 %
Ecotourism benefits the foreigners, more than locals	23,81 %	61,90 %	9,53 %	4,76 %	11,11 %	61,11 %	16,67 %	11,11 %	29,17 %	66,67 %	4,16 %	0,00 %
The interests of the community are always prioritized when developing ecotourism projects	66,67 %	26,19 %	2,38 %	4,76 %	55,56 %	38,89 %	0,00 %	5,55 %	79,15 %	12,51 %	4,17 %	4,17 %
Ecotourism has given business opportunities outside of the ecotourism projects as well	80,95 %	7,14 %	2,38 %	9,53 %	72,22 %	0,00 %	5,56 %	22,22 %	87,50 %	12,50 %	0,00 %	0,00 %
Ecotourism both help us with conserving our forests and provide an alternative income source	83,33 %	7,15 %	4,76 %	4,76 %	83,33 %	11,11 %	0,00 %	5,56 %	83,33 %	4,17 %	8,33 %	4,17 %
Most ecotourism businesses are operated by locals	54,76 %	38,10 %	2,38 %	4,76 %	55,56 %	38,89 %	5,55 %	0,00 %	50,00 %	41,67 %	0,00 %	8,33 %
The community as a whole benefits from tourism	88,10 %	4,76 %	7,14 %	0,00 %	88,88 %	5,56 %	5,56 %	0,00 %	87,50 %	4,17 %	8,33 %	0,00 %
Ecotourism benefits the locals more than the foreigners	64,29 %	19,05 %	9,52 %	7,14 %	50,00 %	22,22 %	16,67 %	11,11 %	70,83 %	16,67 %	4,17 %	8,33 %
Only those who are directly employed in ecotourism benefit from the industry	26,19 %	73,81 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	16,67 %	83,33 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	29,17 %	70,83 %	0,00 %	0,00 %

Table 9: Commodification

	All respondents				Respondents working in conservation or ecotourism				Respondents NOT working in conservation or ecotourism			
	Agree	Disagree	Neither	Don't know	Agree	Disagree	Neither	Don't know	Agree	Disagree	Neither	Don't know
It is good for our children to interact with the tourists	95,24 %	2,38 %	2,38 %	0,00 %	94,44 %	0,00 %	5,56 %	0,00 %	95,83 %	4,17 %	0,00 %	0,00 %
Economic gains are the most important reason for communities to engage in ecotourism	83,33 %	14,29 %	2,38 %	0,00 %	88,89 %	11,11 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	83,33 %	12,50 %	4,17 %	0,00 %
Ecotourism helps us to keep and maintain our traditions because that is what the tourists come to experience	80,95 %	9,52 %	7,14 %	2,39 %	72,22 %	11,11 %	16,67 %	0,00 %	87,50 %	8,33 %	0,00 %	4,17 %
I am now dependent on the tourists in order to survive financially	50,00 %	50,00 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	66,67 %	33,33 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	37,50 %	62,50 %	0,00 %	0,00 %
We are selling our way of life as a product for tourist consumption	59,52 %	33,33 %	4,76 %	2,39 %	72,22 %	16,67 %	11,11 %	0,00 %	50,00 %	45,83 %	0,00 %	4,17 %
In ecotourism, the local communities exchange their traditions and environment in return for money	76,19 %	16,67 %	0,00 %	7,14 %	83,33 %	5,56 %	0,00 %	11,11 %	66,66 %	29,17 %	0,00 %	4,17 %
Tourism is more profitable than agriculture	83,33 %	9,52 %	0,00 %	7,15 %	94,44 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	5,56 %	70,83 %	20,83 %	0,00 %	8,34 %
Tourism brings more than only economic benefits to the community	80,95 %	14,29 %	2,38 %	2,38 %	83,33 %	16,67 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	79,16 %	12,50 %	4,17 %	4,17 %
The identity of the community has changed as a result of ecotourism	88,10 %	9,52 %	2,38 %	0,00 %	88,88 %	5,56 %	5,56 %	0,00 %	83,33 %	16,67 %	0,00 %	0,00 %
Ecotourism is the future for the Osa peninsula	80,95 %	16,67 %	0,00 %	2,38 %	100,00 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	66,66 %	29,17 %	0,00 %	4,17 %
*** **												
Costa Rica is the happiest country in the world	83,33 %	14,29 %	0,00 %	2,38 %	100,00 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	70,83 %	25,00 %	0,00 %	4,17 %

7.0 ANALYSIS

This chapter pulls together the most relevant findings from both the qualitative interviews and quantitative data obtained from the survey, analyzed with a background of impressions and interpretations from field observations. The survey indicated a tendency concerning values depending on occupation, and the responses from all 40 statements were statistically tested, using a Chi-squared test for hypothesis testing, and the p-value to test significance. The statistical testing proved a correlation depending on occupation in 15 of the statements (Appendix 4).

The research interprets this finding as a result of experience and context-specific knowledge held by the respondents in occupations related to conservation and ecotourism. People who are financially dependent on PNAs or ecotourism carry different values, and their knowledge on biodiversity, and experience in sustainable practices are relevant factors in their assessment of ICDPs. These respondents were generally more positive towards conservation and sustainable practices compared to respondents in all other occupations and tended to have a more nuanced relationship and awareness towards conservation efforts linked to ecotourism using the whole scale of possible answers more frequently (See Table 1-4). Their answers might reflect what is expected from them in relation to their profession; hence biased responses can be expected to some extent.

Having identified this tendency, the results and findings are analyzed in relation to the four different values and approaches advocated by ecotourism ICDPs. Each segment is being analyzed critically in relation to the theories introduced in chapter 2 and 3 with the findings from the research strengthening and weakening the arguments for ecotourism in the advocacy of ICDPs.

7.1 The value of natural resources

There is a clear emphasis on the non-consumption of natural resources among the environmental NGOs. Both TNC and TCF take a strong sustainability stance, where the natural resources are given an economic value, a value that can only be realised by leaving it as is. If the natural resources are being transformed or exploited in any ways, the value of the resource is lost within their ideological framework. This strong sustainability approach has been criticized for representing antidevelopment in general, as conservation take precedence over development (Beckerman 1995; Beckerman 1996), thoroughly underlined by TNC, who views development in general as a major threat to their work on the Osa Peninsula (Borel 2012).

The public opinion survey indicates that the value of non-consumption of natural resources is not shared equally among the local public. 30% of all the respondents not working directly in ecotourism

or with conservation believe that the tropical forests of Osa exist to provide timber and firewood, and 50% holds that the protection of the forests limit their prospects for development. A final notion supporting the differences in values is the majority who agree that hunting is OK when it is for household consumption. Hunting is forbidden by federal law in all of Costa Rica (Solano 2012), nevertheless the NGOs cited logging and hunting as major threats to biodiversity protection in Osa.

Surprisingly 40% of the respondents working in conservation and ecotourism believe that it is unfair that local loggers, miners and hunters no longer can exercise their traditional life-sustaining activities inside the borders of the Corcovado National Park, as opposed to only 21% of the respondents in other professions. The divide in responses illustrates the different level of context-specific knowledge and experience, the respondents working within the industries being more aware of the conflicts between the locals and the park rangers. Several of the respondents expressed concern of the bureaucratic management of the park, and that the ongoing conflicts between park guards and local miners were taken out of its proportion. *“Instead of using their resources on the logging companies which continuously violate their borders of operation, the park goes after a single miner. Where is the sustainability in these actions?”* asks a respondent from Puerto Jimenéz.

Finally almost 74% of all respondents believe that it is the environmental NGOs that have taught the local communities in Osa the importance of natural conservation, and equally many claim that the NGOs have taught them to appreciate their natural resources in new manners. The environmental NGOs appreciated this high number, but it can also be interpreted as a triumph of western ideas and thoughts. This research question the power structure when foreign NGOs are “teaching” local communities how to value their own natural resources, modifying locally held values in order to respond to funding conditions and conservation goals. Human development is successful when people are able to enjoy freedoms that they value and have reason to value (Sen 1999), but in areas of natural protection freedoms are being limited, as personal values must give way to the values held by the conservationists.

UNEP claims in various reports that it is the relationship between humans and nature that is central in sustainable development. Communities living in and off PNAs often have a balanced relationship to their environment based on generations of experience, and this relationship becomes under the threat of destruction, when international NGOs impose restrictions and teach local communities alternatives to resource consumption (Harrison & Price 1996; UNEP 1993).

On the contrary the vast majority of all respondents acknowledge the importance of ecotourism, almost 90% claim that it is important to protect the forests to attract tourists. All except one appreciate the fact that foreigners come and buy land for protection, a finding which weakens the arguments of ecological imperialism.

The advocacy of ecotourism does not only claim to bring conservation and development in a relationship of mutual benefits in theory, but also spatially. Knowing that the environmental NGOs which introduces and manages the ecotourism ICDPs operates with an overruling policy of conservation, the prospects for human development within this framework seems to be tied to very localized and natural limits (Beckerman 1995; Beckerman 1996).

7.2 The value of tradition

Tradition is a widely used term within ecotourism, with the claim that ecotourism respects local traditions and that it can serve as a booster of ethnic identity and revive cultural traditions (MacCannell 1992). 40% of all the respondents believe that they have lost some of their identity, and that the NGOs do not respect their values related to natural conservation. This finding support Butcher's argument of the contradictory view on tradition in the advocacy of ecotourism ICDPs. The environmental NGOs claim to strengthen local tradition through their intervention, but if local values are not being respected, this claim becomes elusive (Butcher 2005; Butcher 2007).

On the contrary findings from several statements support the claim on traditions, as 100% of the respondents are proud when showing the tourists their natural environment and way of life, and 98% enjoy catering for the tourists as the visitors come and learn from the local communities. This reinforces the notion that tourists from industrialized countries visit PNAs in search for authenticity. They want to experience the relationship between man and nature which has been lost in their own world, an expectation which is positively met by the locals residing close to these natural areas, supporting MacCannell's argument of tourism strengthening local pride (MacCannell 1992; MacCannell 2001).

Almost 80% of the total respondents believe that the majority of people living in the communities of Osa do not longer want to live from traditional life-supporting activities, indicating that the change in lifestyle is chosen and not imposed by the conservationists. This is perhaps one of the most important findings in the research, as environmental security research claims that changes in livelihoods are positive if it is by choice increasing human security. This underlines tradition being a living concept which evolves along with time and development and should not be ingrained in the

past. People want to change and ecotourism facilitates the change, reducing vulnerabilities as a result of livelihood changes.

In relation to the visiting tourists the vast majority has a very positive outlook. Almost 90% believe that the tourists show respect for the local community's traditions, findings which weakens the argument of power structures between hosts and guests being of major concern within the ecotourism encounter.

Societies change, and along change their culture and traditions. The stressing of maintaining cultural traditions in ecotourism does not appear to prevent any natural changes that may transform a community's relationship to its environment, that is feared by critics (Butcher 2007; Escobar 1995; Milton 1996). The loss of identity due to conservation seems to be a fact, but that is because local people have chosen to, not because it is forced upon them.

7.3 Community participation

Community participation is a favoured adopted term within all discourses discussed in this research, and the concept states that it is the local community that is the appropriate stakeholder to address the kind of development that is environmentally and culturally benign. Both TNC and TCF underline their role as facilitator, not governors, in the ICDPs, and that their aim is to provide expertise and advice to local stakeholders. But control depends on funding, hence it is undeniable to overlook the fact that power and control are tied to the conditions from the funder. In practice, ICDPs are planned according to the conditions set by the donors, leading communities to participate in already designed projects. The constraints imposed by the conditions of NGO funding, undermine local empowerment in community participation, limiting people's freedoms and the capabilities they value in the process of development. Some critics question the term already by its name, arguing that the emphasize on local communities forecloses substantial development and narrows their prospects for development (Butcher 2007).

43% of the survey respondents believe that natural conservation is imposed upon them, a finding which supports the fact that the concept of community participation is more an ideology than a practical strategy for development. If local participants recognize ICDPs as being imposed upon them, local empowerment and engagement through community participation is unattainable. In fact, power relation in general can be a challenge when it comes to community participation, as "*the push for local participation comes from a position of power*" (Mowforth & Munt 2009:242) from the Western environmental NGOs in the first place.

Even though one may analyze the concept of community participation in relation to many factors theoretically, it is reality that matters. Community participation stresses that it is the local community's agency and aspirations that are of significance, aspirations that seem to be met as the majority of all respondents hold the impression that local interests are always being prioritized when designing ecotourism ICDPs.

The survey also indicates that the public believe that ecotourism has brought along a wider range of business opportunities, creating a greater variety of opportunities for livelihood. These findings underline the supporting claims fronted by Wood (2007), that ecotourism favours small and micro businesses which makes it one of the few globalized industries where local producers can sell directly to the consumer (Wood 2007). The correlation between economic activity and human well-being can be traced back to BC, and along with the increasing opportunities as a result of ecotourism, reasons exist to believe that ecotourism reinforces human development. The overall public impression is that the foreign controlled projects facilitate alternative income sources, but that it is the locals, not the foreigners, who benefit the most. Business opportunities empower people by merging development and security, eliminating sources of insecurity such as poverty in everyday lives. These findings discard the arguments that the industry is being controlled by opportunistic foreigners, as the locals place themselves comfortably within their new life reality.

7.4 Commodification

The environmental NGOs are embracing ecotourism as a favoured strategy in ICDPs, citing economic benefits to the local communities as the most important argument in its favour. By providing technical skills and other tools, their desire is to change local dependence and perception on resource exploitation. The TCF tells that it is normally men who participate in their ecotourism ICDPs. Farmers and miners are being taught how to become good naturalist's guides, and the few women who participate are trained to cater for visitors in respect to housing and boarding, ratifying the pre-existing power structures within the communities, where leading positions are held by men.

The locals are being taught how the tourists value their traditions and natural resources, and provide them with tools in order to attract visitors to come and pay for environmental and cultural experiences. The provision of alternative sources of income to resource exploitation to local communities is the strongest argument in the advocacy of ecotourism as a strategy for ICDPs, hence it is difficult to understand how ecotourism escape patterns of commodification (King & Stewart 1996).

This notion is being supported by the survey, where the vast majority of all respondents believe that they are selling their way of life as a product for tourist consumption, and list economic benefits as the most important factor to engage in the industry.

Ecotourism also claim to escape the patterns from mass-tourism in respect to power relations, claiming to build healthy and sustainable relationships between the hosts and guests, based on mutual dependence. This research argues that a relationship of symbiosis is impossible to achieve, as hosts and guests meet within the ecotourism encounter with completely different objectives and desires. The host participate for economic gains, according to both the survey and the NGOs, and the visitors have the economic power to fulfil these gains, which more than half of the respondents depend upon for survival. The hosts exchange their environment and lifestyles, and the guests exchange money. Claiming that this relationship of exchange is mutual is a false perception.

This interaction is rooted in two different theories of values, where the host community is concerned with the value as an exchange factor, and the visitors are seeking values as experiences derived from the exchange. Value as experience is more complexed than values in economic terms; hence there are reasons to believe that the visitors are willing to cross moral and ethical barriers in order to obtain what they want, and they possess the economic power to do so.

Earlier research has proved that ecotourism is not demand-driven as ideally stated in its definition, a notion which underlines the importance of treating ecotourism as the consumption-centred industry it is. Value in economics is about maximizing gains that will make one happy, and the visiting tourists might extract as much as possible from whoever and whatever they are dealing with in their drive for authenticity and unique natural experiences. The local communities' economic dependency on tourism make them vulnerable partners in this market-driven agreement, as reflecting upon "the tourist gaze" in order to benefit socially and economically, is a destructive process (Urry 1990).

Despite the fact that the identity of the communities has changed as a result of ecotourism, the results from the survey indicate that the locals have a positive view towards the industry and the visitors. The vast majority of the respondents believe that ecotourism brings more than only economic benefits to the communities, and all but one respondent believe that it is exclusively positive for the children of Osa to interact with the tourists.

Restrictions on resource exploitation were imposed by the Costa Rican government long before ecotourism became a favoured strategy for conservation and development; hence the communities were already in a state of decline due to resource scarcity. Through ecotourism, the local public have been introduced to a new economic platform to sustainable livelihood, and more than 80% of the respondents demonstrated to have faith in the industry, believing that ecotourism is the future for the Osa Peninsula.

8.0 CONCLUSION

Within the academic literature, there are few practical recommendations how to combine environmental protection and human development, hence different industries and governments have developed and exercised their own methods. Costa Rica having a reputation of being an international leader in natural conservation linked to ecotourism, this research saw the need for critically question the socio-cultural impacts of having this position, and how it affects the people residing close to these protected natural areas. The overall objective of this study was to assess the impacts of integrated conservation and development projects (ICDPs) linked to ecotourism, and how these impacts might limit the prospects for human development in rural Costa Rica.

In short environmental scientists fear that ICDPs fail to achieve conservation goals by focusing too much on development drivers and external factors such as policies, funders and forces of the market. On the other side of the debate, academics within development studies fear the opposite; that conservation goals act as the driving imperative, overruling the prospects for human development. The basic objectives of human development have long existed among political leaders and economists, and even though it has varied depending on time, place and context, it has maintained its underlying objective of people's well-being. Human development is to a large extent about values, and what people ought to value, which means that personal preferences need to be taken into consideration in order to achieve human development.

This research identified four approaches advocated by ecotourism ICDPs, which further were critically analyzed within a framework consisting of theories of values and discourses on development and security.

- (1) The value of natural resources in ecotourism ICDPs is on the non-use of the resources, and the environmental NGOs who design and control the projects acknowledge that conservation is the overruling imperative in their projects. This vision of development is the exact opposite of how the home countries of the environmental NGOs were developed. The history of development in the Western world is characterized by urbanisation and transformation of natural resources and not least the separation of man and nature, which make this research to question the vision that conservation can facilitate human development. A strong sustainability approach might even represent antidevelopment for the people residing close to the protected natural areas (PNA), as development is tied to very natural and localized limits.
- (2) Traditions and authentic cultures are common terms when promoting ecotourism destinations, the industry claiming to act as a booster for ethnic identity. Critics argue that

emphasize on culture entrenched in the past prevents development, a claim this research discards. Traditions and cultures change, and society naturally evolves as a result of development and opportunities. Research findings support the argument that community identities have changed as a result of conservation, but changes occurred because people wanted and are in need of change, not due to imposition from external interventions. Resource scarcity is already a fact for people residing close to national parks, making them more susceptible for change.

- (3) Community participation is viewed as prerequisites for success within the discourses of environmentalism, development and ecotourism, acknowledging the importance of empowering local stakeholders in a “bottom-up” planning strategy. This seems to be a highly idealistic strategy, as projects are dependent on its donors and their conditions for funding, leaving the communities to participate in already designed projects where desired objectives are set prior to their involvement. Nevertheless ecotourism ICDPs do provide a new economic platform which increases local people’s capabilities for development, and the fact that the local majority seeks new life supporting activities because they want to, support ecotourism ICDPs within the development discourse.
- (4) Ecotourism claims to escape the patterns of commodification known from mass tourism. This notion is rejected in this research, as ecotourism is undoubtedly a favoured ICDP strategy due to visitors paying for environmental and cultural experiences. This is a process of a complex value exchange, where local communities, economically dependent on the exchange; becomes vulnerable partners in a consumption-oriented market with unequal positions of power.

So what do all this tell us? Do ecotourism ICDPs limit the prospects for human development in rural Costa Rica?

This research cannot easily accept or reject this hypothesis, as human development is a highly individual concept, reflecting what individual people and communities value and ought to value. People differ in their desires and wants, and even more in their believes of what justifiably can be demanded from the world. The theoretical framework of ICDPs also represents a limit as it values natural resources to economic benefits and functional roles only. The ICDP model does not consider aesthetic values such as traditions or other forms of socio-cultural related identities, or that natural resources are being valued differently depending on history, traditions and context.

Ecotourism ICDPs in the developing world, initiated, implemented and controlled by western NGOs as a form of new regulatory power, is this research's main critique. The argument being that the value of non-consumption of natural resources leads to antidevelopment, as it promotes development in a complete opposite manner compared to how the industrialized world was developed. A major difference of state from then and now; is the scientific knowledge we possess on climate change. Today we know that climate change represents significant environmental, social and economic threats globally, that are the reasons for environmental NGOs buying up vast areas of land in the developing world where pristine natural areas still exist. Critics argue that this land acquisition is a new form of "ecological imperialism" controlled by the West, but this research sympathises with the view that small-scale interventions driven by charity and human compassion do exist. Uncertainties do not longer revolve around whether climate change will occur, but to what degree; which is the primary cause for today's green, global trend.

The survey indicated a correlation depending on occupation, as responses from the local people working within the field of ecotourism and natural conservation demonstrated a more positive and nuanced view concerning the protected natural areas (PNAs) and sustainable practices. They support the fact that foreign NGOs arrive and buy land for conservation, and the majority claims that it is the foreigners who have taught them the importance of natural conservation. There is an extreme high support for ecotourism among this group, and they value ecotourism as beneficiary in more than only economic terms. These findings demonstrate that context-specific knowledge and hands-on experience in sustainable practices are extremely important in order to understand and value the preventing effects that local ICDPs in Costa Rica have for the international community as a whole.

Costa Rica, identified a biodiversity hotspot, has cleverly profited on the current green, global trend, choosing ecotourism as a national strategy for conservation and development, resulting in more than 25% of the country's territory now being under some kind of natural protection. Resistance to this development exist among its public, and this paper argues that lack of education and knowledge in relation to sustainable practices are major reasons for this resistance. The respondents, who supported natural conservation, did so due to the importance of attracting tourists with their purchasing power, few commented on conservation for biodiversity protection, prevention of soil erosion or the role of forests as global carbon sinks. In parts of the world, flooding caused by forest clearing have higher human end economical losses, than the logging companies have in revenues. This reality is something the major public in Osa are not aware of, limiting their motivation for conservation to economic benefits from ecotourism only.

Underpinning the support for ecotourism ICDPs is the assumption that the visiting ecotourists are holding social and ecological values equal to the aspiration of ICDPs outcome. Earlier research states that ecotourism is supply-driven rather than demand-driven by tourists. Costa Rica has to a large extent contributed to this supply and attracts more high-end tourists than neighbouring Central-American states. Among long-term travellers and backpackers, who have the reputation of being the most sustainable travellers, Costa Rica has an image of being expensive, “Americanized” and with few cultural attractions. To this market, Costa Rica is accused of being “too developed”, leaving it to be less attractive for tourists who seek authenticity far from their own society. This tendency is a dangerous notion for developing states who want to promote ecotourism in order to escape the poverty trap, and a huge paradox in the discourse on ecotourism. If western tourists stop travelling to countries because their GDP is increasing too fast, then ecotourism fails as a tool for human development.

This research has recognized that ecotourism ICDPs have weaknesses and pitfalls concerning differences in values among the stakeholders, lack of context-specific knowledge and power inequity, where conditions for funding and conservation objectives act as the overruling imperative. Despite of this, positive outcomes have been identified and elaborated. The local majority residing close to the protected natural areas express appreciation for ecotourism, as it provides alternative sources of income and new capabilities. The civil society, through the environmental NGOs, create a new arena where individuals can serve as political actors, facilitating local empowerment which eliminates threats to both human and environmental security.

Critics claim that a mutual relationship between conservation and development is impossible to achieve due to an overruling imperative of natural conservation, proclaiming if not all elements concerning local empowerment and control are achieved, ecotourism fails as a tool for combining conservation and development. Nevertheless experiences and findings from the field convinced that even though a relationship of symbiosis is unattainable, a relationship of co-existence between conservation and development is not, and that foreign interventions driven by conviction and compassion do exist.

This research acknowledges that our ruling world system is far from just, hence it warns of letting the theoretical perfect be the enemy of the real good. Positive long-term impacts and outcomes of ecotourism ICDPs towards the local population have been identified, contributing more than they limit the prospects for human development in rural Costa Rica.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1: QUALITATIVE INTERVIEW GUIDE

Name of the Department/Faculty/Organization:

Name of the interviewee:

Position and role in the NGO:

Place & date:

1. What is the motivation behind the choice of using ecotourism as a national strategy for conservation and development?
2. What is the overruling policy of your organization and your funders?
3. What indicators/factors do you emphasize on in search for funding?
4. How much natural territory do you own and manage in Costa Rica?
5. From whom did you buy the land in Costa Rica?
6. Who funds your purchasing power in Costa Rica?
7. Are there any kinds of prerequisites or “strings attached” in order to obtain the funds?
8. Does your funder control or limit the usage of the money donated?
9. What is your main purpose with owning and managing this land?
10. Why and where do you use ecotourism as an ICDP?
11. Who designs the ecotourism ICDPs prior to implementation?
12. Community participation is an important part of ecotourism ICDPs.
How do you facilitate/involve the local communities?
13. What segment of the communities participate the most in your ecotourism ICDPs?
14. Who would you say benefit the most from your ecotourism ICDPs, and how?
15. Does your ecotourism ICDPs rely on local labour, or do you need to import employers from other areas in order to fulfil tourism standard concerning level of service, technical and language skills?
16. Would your ecotourism projects survive financially without your funding?
17. What other local micro-business opportunities arises in addition to the primary tourism program established?
18. Have you experienced local resistance in any of your ecotourism ICDPs?
 - a) If yes, on what terms?
19. If a local community is negative to your conservation efforts, what do you do?

20. What indicators are of most importance when evaluation whether an ecotourism project was successful or not?
21. Have you changed/modified any of your strategies as a result of community feed-back?
22. As a result of your conservation and development efforts, can you indicate specific losses/constraints and gains for the locals residing next to the protected natural areas?

APPENDIX 2: SURVEY INSTRUMENT (English version)

Date:

Name of community:

My name is Ann-Elin Norddal, and I am doing a public opinion survey with people living in the Osa Peninsula. This survey is part of my master's thesis only, and is not related to any project or organization that works here.

Through this survey, you will give me your opinion about the community, traditions, ecotourism, and natural conservation. Your participation is very important, and your viewpoints represent the opinions of those who live here. Everything you tell me is for this study only, and I will not share your direct responses with anyone. You can feel comfortable openly expressing your opinions, as there are neither good or bad responses; it is your opinions that interest me.

You are in control of the survey and might stop at any point. If there are statements that you feel are uncomfortable to comment on, you might choose not to answer. OK? Let's begin!

Sex:

Age:

Nationality:

How many years have you lived in Osa?

How many years have you lived in (name of the community)?

What do you do for a living?

Is your work related to ecotourism or natural conservation in any ways?

a) If yes, in what way?

Are you familiar with the integrated conservation and development ecotourism project in (name of community)?

I am now going to read you some statements that people have made about natural resources, ecotourism and community participation.

Please tell me if you agree, disagree where you can either agree with, disagree with, or are indifferent to the statements.

Natural Resources	Agree	Do not agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Don't know
The forests of Osa exist to provide timber and firewood				
It is not OK to cut trees to sell them				
An important reason to protect the forest is to attract tourists				
Hunting is OK when it is for household consumption				
It is good that foreigners give money to protect and conserve our natural areas				
The environmental NGOs have taught us the importance of natural conservation				
It is unfair that foreigners buy land here for conservation				
It is unfair that the Park goes after hunters, loggers and miners, because we were here before the NP was created				
We first need food and money before we can start caring about protecting the forests				
Not being able to transform our natural resources for industrial use, limits our prospect for development				

Traditions and Values	Agree	Do not agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Don't know
Ecotourism provides the communities with an alternative financial source, hence the majority of people do not longer WANT to live from agriculture, hunting or logging				
The tourists show respect for the community's traditions and values				
The local communities and the conservationists normally share the same view on conservation and natural resource management				
Ecotourism has interrupted the relationship between local communities and their natural resources				
If I disagree with the NGOs they respect my view and do not try to educate me in order for me to change my opinion				
It makes me proud to show the tourists our natural environment and way of life				
I enjoy to cater for tourist as they learn from us				
The NGOs have taught us to appreciate our natural resources in new manners				
We have lost some of our traditional identity due to natural conservation				
I value the non-consumption of forests higher than the transformation of nature in return for economic development				

Community Participation	Agree	Do not agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Don't know
People with little education participate in tourism in the same way that people with more education do				
The natural conservation efforts are imposed upon the local communities				
Ecotourism benefits the foreigners more than locals				
The interests of the community are always prioritized when developing ecotourism projects				
Ecotourism has given business opportunities outside of the ecotourism projects as well				
Ecotourism both help us with conserving our forests and provide an alternative income source				
Most ecotourism businesses are operated by locals				
The community as a whole benefits from tourism				
Ecotourism benefits the locals more than the foreigners				
Only those who are directly employed in ecotourism benefit from the industry				

Commodification	Agree	Don't agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Don't know
It is good for our children to interact with the tourists				
Economic gains are the most important reason for communities to engage in ecotourism				
Ecotourism helps us to keep and maintain our traditions because that it what the tourists come to experience				
I am now dependent on the tourists in order to survive financially				
We are selling our way of life as a product for tourist consumption				
In ecotourism, the local communities exchange their traditions and environment in return for money				
Tourism is more profitable than agriculture				
Tourism brings more than only economic benefits to the community				
The identity of the community has changed as a result of ecotourism				
Ecotourism is the future for the Osa peninsula				

Costa Rica is the happiest country on the planet				
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Thank you very much for your help. I want to remind you that all the information you have shared with me is confidential. If you have any comments, I would like to hear them.

Have a nice day – PURA VIDA!

APPENDIX 3: SURVEY INSTRUMENT (Spanish version)

Fecha:

Nombre de la comunidad:

Me llamo Ann-Elin Norddal, y estoy haciendo una encuesta de opinión pública con las personas que viven en la Península de Osa. Esta encuesta es parte de mi tesis de maestría única, y no está relacionado a cualquier proyecto o organización que trabajan aquí en Osa. A través de esta encuesta, que usted me dé su opinión acerca de la comunidad, las tradiciones, el ecoturismo y la conservación de la naturaleza.

Su participación es muy importante, y sus puntos de vista representarán a las personas que viven por aquí. Todo lo que me dice es solamente para este estudio, y no voy a compartir sus respuestas directas con nadie. Usted puede sentirse cómodo expresar abiertamente sus opiniones, ya que hay respuestas ni buena ni mala, solo me interesan sus opiniones.

Usted está en control de la encuesta y podría detenerse en cualquier punto. Si hay una frase que sientes que son incómodos para comentar, puede optar por no contestar. ¿De acuerdo?

Vamos a empezar!

Sexo:

Edad:

Nacionalidad:

¿Cuántos años ha vivido en Osa?

¿Cuántos años ha vivido en (nombre de la comunidad)?

¿A que se dedica?

¿Es su trabajo relacionado con el ecoturismo o la conservación natural en alguna forma?

a) En caso afirmativo, de qué manera?

¿Está familiarizado con la conservación integrada y el desarrollo del ecoturismo en el proyecto (nombre de la comunidad)?

Ahora voy a leer algunas frases/declaraciones que la gente ha hecho sobre de los recursos naturales, el ecoturismo y la participación comunitaria.

Por favor, dígame si está de acuerdo, en desacuerdo, o son indiferentes a los estados.

Recursos Naturales	De acuerdo	En des-acuerdo	Ni de acuerdo, ni en desacuerdo	No sé
Los bosques de Osa existen para proporcionar madera y leña				
No está bien cortar los árboles para venderlos				
Una razón importante para proteger el bosque, es para atraer turistas				
Cazar está bien cuando es para consumo de los hogares				
Es bueno que los extranjeros dan dinero para proteger y conservar nuestros espacios naturales				
Las ONG nos han enseñado la importancia de la conservación de la naturaleza				
Es injusto que los extranjeros comprar tierras aquí para la conservación				
Es injusto que el Parque va después de los cazadores, madereros y mineros, ya que estábamos aquí antes de que el PN fue creado				
En primer lugar, necesitan alimentos y dinero antes de que podamos empezar a preocuparse por la protección de los bosques				
No ser capáz de transformar nuestros recursos naturales para uso industrial, limita nuestra perspectiva para el desarrollo				

Tradiciones y Valores	De acuerdo	En des-acuerdo	Ni de acuerdo, ni en desacuerdo	No sé
El ecoturismo brinda a las comunidades con una fuente financiera alternativa, por lo tanto, la mayoría de la gente ya no quieren depender de la agricultura, la caza, o tala para sobrevivir				
Los turistas muestran respeto por las tradiciones y los valores de la comunidad				
Las comunidades locales y los conservacionistas suelen compartir el mismo punto de vista sobre la conservación y manejo de recursos naturales				
El ecoturismo ha interrumpido la relación entre las comunidades locales y sus recursos naturales				
Si yo no estoy de acuerdo con las ONG, ellos respetan mi punto de vista y no tratan de educarme para que yo cambie mi opinión				
Me hace sentir orgulloso de mostrar a los turistas de nuestro entorno natural y modo de vida				
Me gusta atender a los turistas, como ellos aprenden de nosotros				
Las ONG nos han enseñado a apreciar nuestros recursos naturales en nuevas maneras				
Hemos perdido parte de nuestra identidad tradicional, debido a la conservación de la naturaleza				
Yo prefiero conservar los bosques mucho mas que utilizarlos para obtener beneficios económicos				

Participación de la comunidad	De acuerdo	En des-acuerdo	Ni de acuerdo, ni en desacuerdo	No sé
Las personas con poca educación participan en el turismo de la misma manera que las personas que tienen más educación				
Los esfuerzos de conservación natural se imponen a las comunidades locales				
El ecoturismo beneficia a los extranjeros, mas que de los locales				
Los intereses de la comunidad son siempre prioridad a la hora de desarrollar proyectos de ecoturismo				
El ecoturismo ha dado oportunidades de negocio, tambien fuera de los proyectos de ecoturismo				
Ecoturismo nos ayudan tanto con la conservación de nuestros bosques como con proporcionar una fuente alternativa de ingresos				
La mayoría de las empresas de ecoturismo son operados por la población local				
La comunidad en general se beneficia del ecoturismo				
El ecoturismo se beneficia la gente del lugar, más que los extranjeros				
Sólo aquellos que están directamente empleados, se benefician de la industria del ecoturismo				

Mercantilización	De acuerdo	En des-acuerdo	Ni de acuerdo, ni en desacuerdo	No sé
Es bueno para nuestros niños para interactuar con los turistas				
Las ganancias económicas es la razón más importante para las comunidades a participar en el ecoturismo				
El ecoturismo nos ayuda a mantener y conservar nuestras tradiciones, porque es lo que los turistas vienen a experimentar				
Ahora yo dependo de los turistas para sobrevivir económicamente				
Estamos vendiendo nuestra forma de vida como un producto de consumo turístico				
En el ecoturismo, las comunidades locales intercambien sus tradiciones y sus ambiente para ganar dinero				
El turismo es más rentable que la agricultura				
El turismo trae más que sólo beneficios económicos a la comunidad				
La identidad de la comunidad ha cambiado como resultado del ecoturismo				
El ecoturismo es el futuro por peninsula de Osa				

Costa Rica es el país más feliz en todo el mundo				
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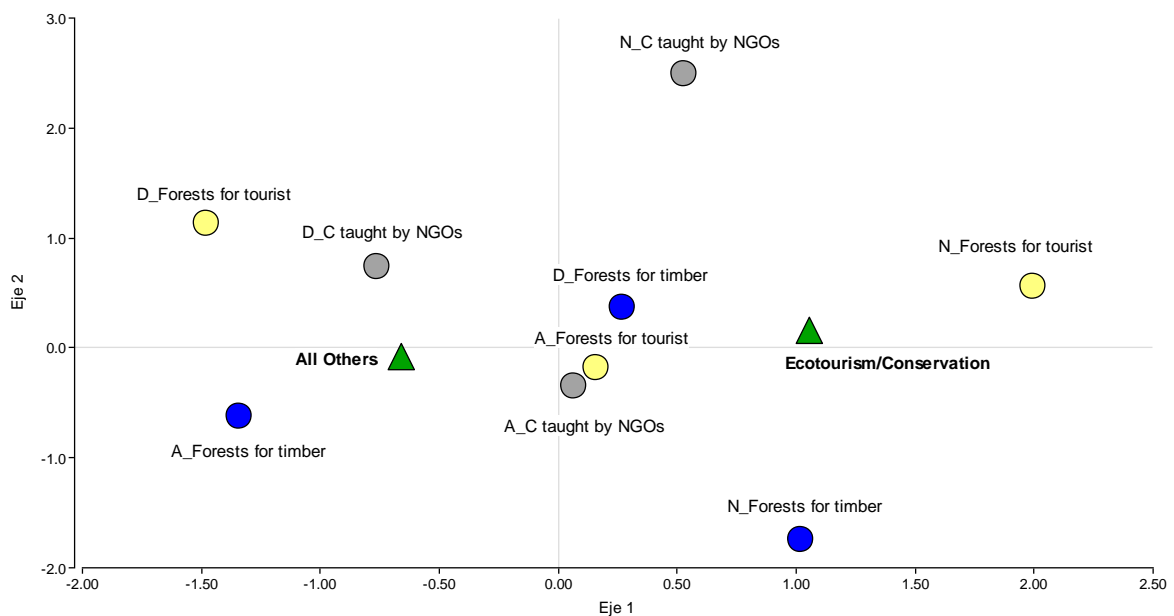
Muchas gracias y que tengas un buen dia - PURA VIDA!

APPENDIX 4: DATA TABLES & GRAPHICS

The value of natural resources

Statement	Chi Square	P-value
Statement 1	5,68	0,0585
Statement 3	7,57	0,0227
Statement 6	7,16	0,0670

Ecotourism/Conservation = Respondents working directly in ecotourism or/and conservation
All Others = Respondents in all other occupations (Farmers, traders, students, retired etc.)
A = Agree
D = Disagree
N = Neither agree, nor disagree



Statement 1:

The forests of Osa exist to provide timber and firewood = Forests for timber (Blue)

Statement 3:

An important reason to protect the forest is to attract tourists = Forests for tourist (Yellow)

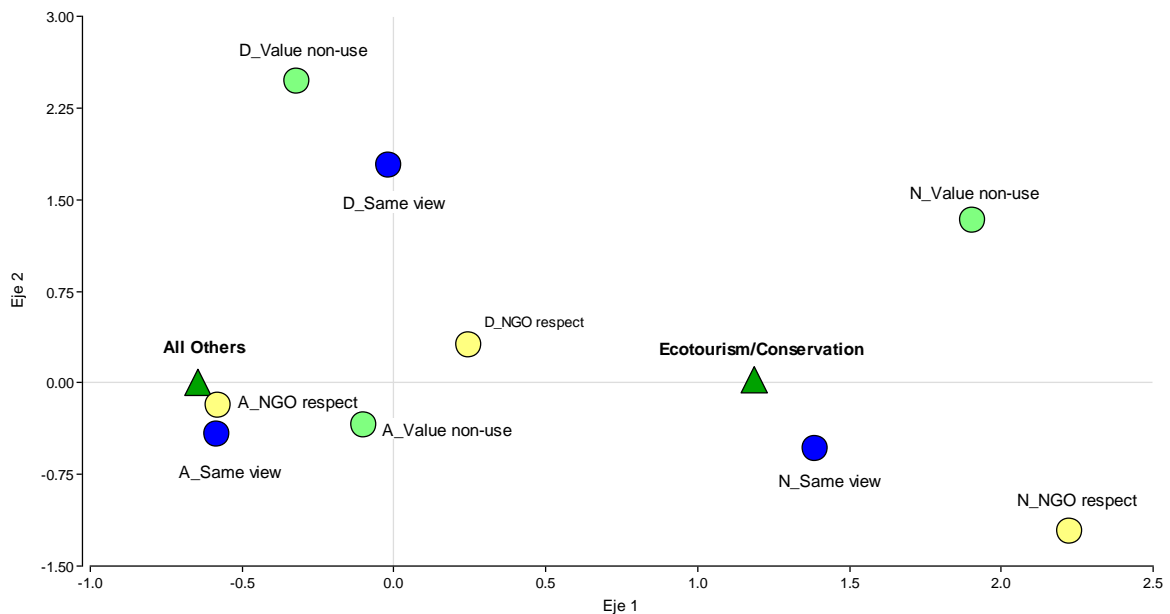
Statement 6:

The environmental NGOs have taught us the importance of natural conservation = C taught by NGOs (Grey)

The value of tradition

Statement	Chi Square	P-value
Statement 3	13,76	0,0033
Statement 5	9,33	0,0252
Statement 10	7,37	0,0611

Ecotourism/Conservation = Respondents working directly in ecotourism or/and conservation
All Others = Respondents in all other occupations (Farmers, traders, students, retired etc.)
Agree = A
Disagree = D
Neither agree, nor disagree = N



Statement 3:

The local communities and the conservationists normally share the same view on conservation and natural resource management = Same view (Blue)

Statement 5:

If I disagree with the NGOs they respect my view and do not try to educate me in order for me to change my opinion = NGO respect (yellow)

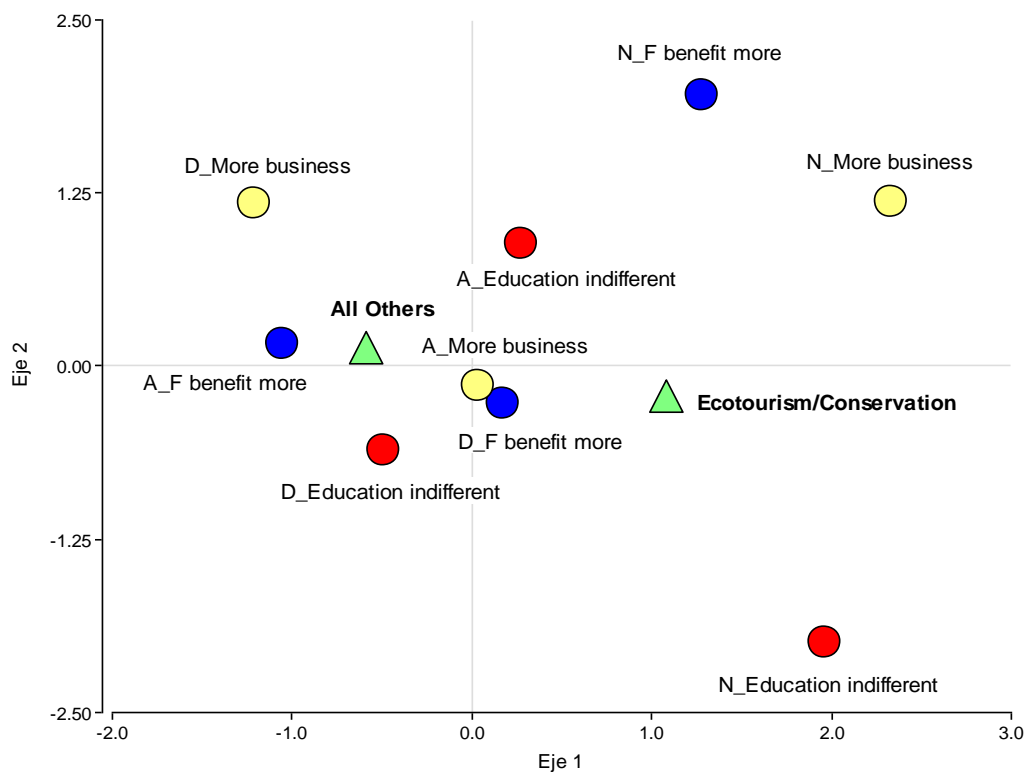
Statement 10:

I value the non-consumption of forests higher than the transformation of nature in return for economic development = Value non-use (green)

Community participation

Statement	Chi Square	P-value
Statement 1	6,14	0,1050
Statement 3	6,83	0,0774
Statement 5	12,13	0,0069

Ecotourism/Conservation = Respondents working directly in ecotourism or/and conservation
All Others = Respondents in all other occupations (Farmers, traders, students, retired etc.)
A = Agree
D = Disagree
N = Neither agree, nor disagree



Statement 1:

People with little education participate in tourism in the same way that people with more education do = Education indifferent (red)

Statement 3:

Ecotourism benefits the foreigners more than locals = F benefit more (blue)

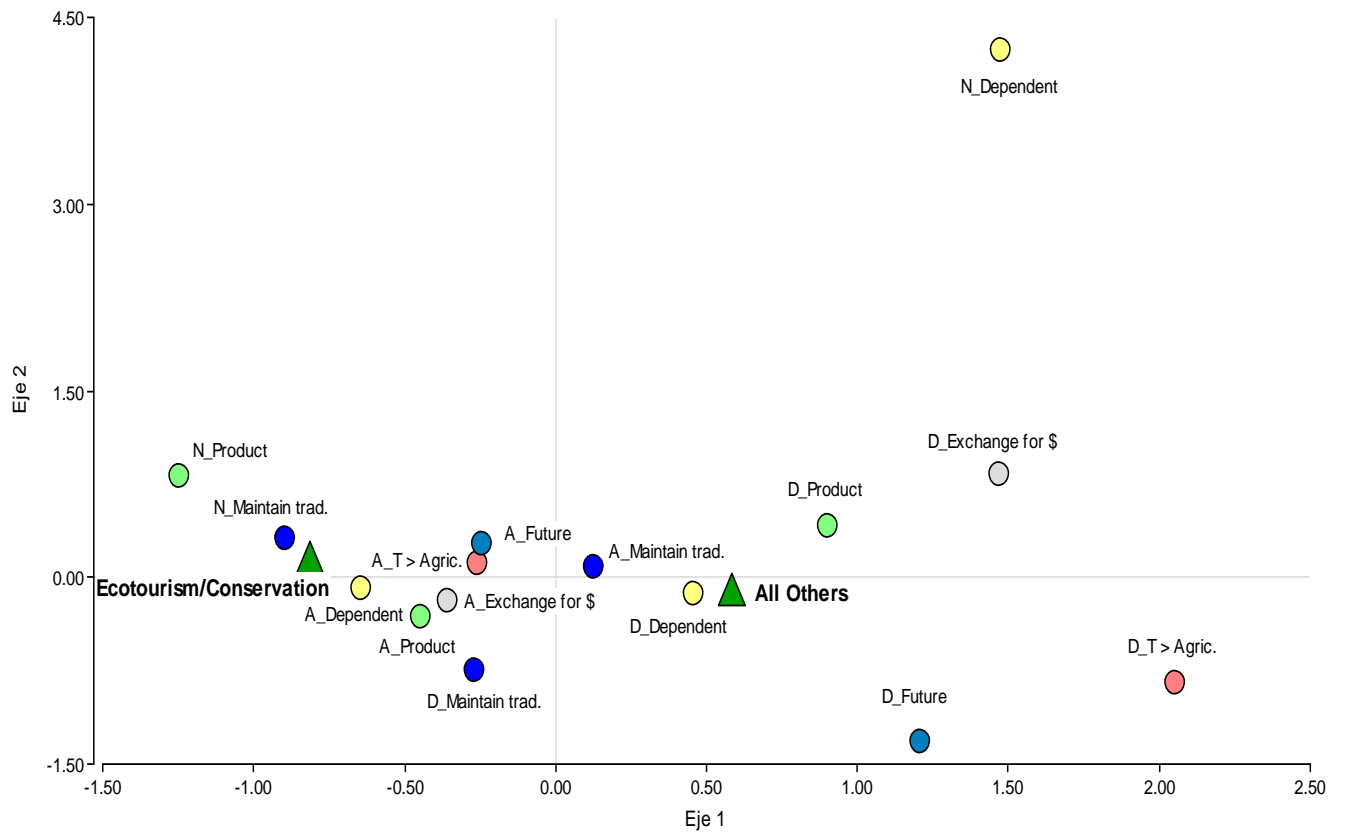
Statement 5:

Ecotourism has given business opportunities outside of the ecotourism projects as well = More business (yellow)

Commodification

Statement	Chi Square	P-value
Statement 3	6,59	0,0864
Statement 4	5,32	0,0701
Statement 5	8,20	0,0421
Statement 6	4,57	0,1016
Statement 7	6,41	0,0405
Statement 10	10,35	0,0057

Ecotourism/Conservation = Respondents working directly in ecotourism or/and conservation
All Others = Respondents in all other occupations (Farmers, traders, students, retired etc.)
A = Agree
D = Disagree
N = Neither agree, nor disagree



Statement 3:

Ecotourism helps us to keep and maintain our traditions because that is what the tourists come to experience = Maintain trad. (dark blue)

Statement 4:

I am now dependent on the tourists in order to survive financially = Dependent (yellow)

Statement 5:

We are selling our way of life as a product for tourist consumption = Product (green)

Statement 6:

In ecotourism, the local communities exchange their traditions and environment in return for money = Exchange for \$ (grey)

Statement 7:

Tourism is more profitable than agriculture = T > Agric. (pink)

Statement 10:

Ecotourism is the future for the Osa peninsula = Future (light blue)

APPENDIX 5: BROCHURE FROM THE CORCOVADO FOUNDATION



How to make a difference?

You can make a difference by filling out the credit card form on the back and fax it to our number in Costa Rica (506) 2241-2906, or mail it to:

Corcovado Foundation
 P.O. Box: 025635, CRC665
 Miami, FL 33102-5635
 USA
www.corcovadofoundation.org
 E-mail: funcorco@raesa.co.cr

To make a US tax deductible donation or to find out more about our organization, please contact us:

Funding for our brochure provided by:



eco tips
 AS A RESPONSIBLE TOURIST

- Enjoy nature but don't chase or touch wild animals.
- Leave everything as you found it, don't remove anything that is part of the natural environment such as rocks, shells or plants.
- Stay on the trails, trails are designed to lessen the erosion caused by the transit of visitors.
- Report environmental damage to authorities.
- Participate in local conservation activities.

PLEASE, DON'T FEED THE WILDLIFE

- Feeding interferes with the wildlife's natural habits and upsets the balance of nature.
- Wildlife can be susceptible to human diseases. They can actually die from bacteria transferred from you, that has no ill effect on humans.
- Irregular feeding leads to an aggressive behavior towards humans and other species.
- When we feed an animal, we are actually affecting its natural diet. Fruits, especially those containing pesticides, can upset their digestive system or cause dental problems that can lead to death.
- Feeding creates a dangerous dependency on humans that diminishes the wildlife's ability to survive.
- Contact with humans facilitates poaching and the trade in illegal wildlife and makes them an easy target for hunters.
- Please, help us spread the word. Let nature take its own course!

CORAL ETIQUETTE

- Whether you swim, snorkel or scuba dive, please help protect our reefs.
- Corals are colonies of very small animals which may take hundreds of years to form the structures visible today.
- Simply touching corals to see what they feel like can cause the death of an entire colony.
- Don't walk upon or stand on coral, as this can kill the living coral polyps that are the builders of the reef structure.
- If a diver, practice buoyancy control skills before diving on any sensitive environment and make sure you don't drag your gauges.
- Swim clear of the reef to search for a sandy or coral free shallow place to stand. Don't touch, pickup or hold reef inhabitants, and never disturb them.

WHALE ETIQUETTE

- Taking the following precautions and respectful steps will assure that whale-watching can continue for future generations.
- When approaching whales in an area, stay visible by approaching from the side, not from the front or rear.
- Keep a safe distance, of at least 100 meters (or 300 feet) from the whales.
- Move at the same speed and in the same direction as the whales and avoid sudden changes of speed and direction.
- Keep the noise level down and spend no more than 30 minutes at a time within the whales range.
- Finally, be considerate to other whale-watchers.



*Working with people
to protect nature*



The Corcovado Foundation is a local nonprofit organization that for the last 10 years has pioneered projects that contribute to the protection and conservation of the natural resources of the Osa Peninsula.

This is how we are doing it...



OUR MISSION

We strive to increase the protection of wild areas, promote environmental education, sustainable tourism and community participation through the sustainable use of natural resources in the South Pacific area of Costa Rica.

WASTE MANAGEMENT

We have worked with more than ten communities which needed support getting organized in waste management. We provided training, equipment and we also created a recycling network in order for these projects to get stronger through their work together.




THESE PROGRAMS depend on donations from PEOPLE like you!

Experience the power that we as individuals have to **MAKE a DIFFERENCE**

ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION

Since 2003, we have been working with local schools to create awareness of the importance of protecting our natural surroundings. Throughout all these years, we have been organizing workshops, lectures, festivals, and all kinds of activities to reach kids and their parents and spread our message.




SUPPORT TO NATIONAL PARKS

Between 2001 and 2010 we have successfully managed more than 80 programs and projects for the Osa Conservation Area. We helped protect this incredible biodiversity by building 5 ranger stations, hiring park rangers and buying supplies and equipment.

SEA TURTLE CONSERVATION

Since 2006 we have worked side by side with local community volunteers to protect and relocate sea turtle nests on the Drake Bay Beach. We have decreased poaching up to 85%, and by 2010 we had released more than 36,500 little turtles.

SUSTAINABLE TOURISM

We have educated more than 400 employees of local hotels and businesses in 'best practices' for sustainable tourism and they in turn have educated their friends, family and our visitors so we can all work together to protect this natural treasure that is Corcovado.

Make a difference



This is an effort to reach tourists visiting the southern region and motivate them to support our projects through volunteer donations.

Your collaboration will make a difference. Thru your support our organization will be able to maintain our programs in Osa.

YES, I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE

Name: _____
 Address: _____

 City: _____ State: _____
 Zip: _____ Country: _____
 E-mail: _____

Payment Method

- Check enclosed payable to
 - The Corcovado Foundation
- Charge my
 - Visa Master card
 - American Express Discover

Credit Card Number _____

Expiration date: _____
 In the amount of _____

Please send me a biannual newsletter updating the situation in the Osa Peninsula and Corcovado National Park.