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Engendering Landscape: A Gendered Analysis of Migration to the Buffer Zone of Carara National Park, Costa Rica

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Engendering landscape: A gendered analysis of migration to the buffer zone of Carara

National Park, Costa Rica

By

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National Park, Costa Rica

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This thesis uses gender as a lens of analysis for understanding the motivations of internal migrants in their decision to move to the 10 kilometer buffer zone of Carara National Park in Costa Rica. The thesis is in reaction to Wittemyer et al.'s (2008) article that statistically demonstrates that population levels at the borders of study selected national parks and protected areas across Africa and Latin America are growing due to in-migration. The study is composed of 30 interviews with Costa Rican migrants who live in three communities inside Carara's buffer zone. This study used cultural consensus analysis and semi-structured interviews to elicit responses around their motivations to migrate. This study concludes that men and women migrate for similar reasons. Both men and women are influenced to migrate by their desire to access coastal development and the lifestyle amenities associated with living an ecologically rich and tranquil area.

DEDICATION

To my parents, Beth and Mike, who taught me to work hard and never give up.

To my dog, Petey, whose unadulterated love got me through graduate school. And to my

husband, Chad, for his unending support and love, always.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

While humans have been migrating for various reasons across many different

regions for millennia, human migration has accelerated in a post-globalized world (Nyers

and Rygiel 2012). Anthropological literature on migration asserts that both transnational

and internal migration are propelled by changing political, economic, and social

relationships within and between nation states (Appadurai 1993). Moreover, as

environmental patterns shift due to climate change, it is increasingly evident that

environmental factors and conditions also motivate migratory flows (Baer and Singer

2009; Black et al. 2011). Often, the conditions affecting migration are fluid, leading to

changes in migratory flows (Kritz 1992). Human migration is conceptualized and studied

as a global process in the majority of theoretical literature. In reality, internal migration is

just as common as transnational migration (Kritz 1992). Like transnational migration,

internal migration is often propelled by economic factors and migrants frequently move

from rural to urban areas (King and Skeldon 2010). However, there is a notable

migration pattern that complicates this rather static, one-dimensional picture of internal

migration. Wittemyer et al. (2008) demonstrate that populations in a 10 kilometer

periphery of Protected Areas (PA) worldwide are growing at a rate faster than similar

rural, non-protected area affiliated areas. That is to say that rural areas located outside of

a 10 kilometer buffer zone of a PA are not experiencing the same amount of population

growth as areas located inside the 10 kilometer buffer zones. This trend has been analyzed in a growing body of work that explores the intersection of migration and biodiversity conservation. Wittemyer et al. (2008) further hypothesize that instead of an urban to urban or rural to urban migration pattern, the PAs themselves are drawing migrants to move from rural to rural areas or from urban to rural areas inside the buffer zones surrounding PAs. The population growth in these areas, they suggest, can primarily be attributed to internal migration for economic and resource benefits derived from the dynamics between human communities and conservation efforts (Wittemyer et al. 2008). They hypothesized that development associated with the establishment of a PA in a rural area provides "access to road networks, employment, foreign aid, increasingly scarce ecosystem services, and areas of safety in strife" to local inhabitants and potential migrants (Wittemyer et al. 2008:123). The outcome of protecting biodiversity in the form of PA establishment, it seems, is the greater economic benefit and development of the region, which, in turn, attracts migrants to the area.

Beyond this unintentional relationship is the direct relationship that sustainable development initiatives and integrated conservation and development approaches to human communities and biodiversity conservation have had on population growth around PAs. These initiatives seek to incorporate local people in conservation practices through co-management and economic initiatives so as to protect biological hotspots while simultaneously promoting human and economic development (Borgerhoff-Mulder & Capolillo 2005). Starting in the 1990s, largely at social scientists' and conservationists' behest, conservation projects began employing Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDP) around Protected Areas (Borgerhoff-Mulder & Capolillo 2005; Hoffman

2

et al. 2011). It was the worldwide prevalence of this type of conservation model, and the economic benefits that stemmed from them, that Wittemyer et al. (2008) suggest could be the distinguishing factor leading to internal migration to the buffer zones of PAs in their study. That is, internal migrants seek direct economic opportunities that are derived from the economic development produced by conservation initiatives in the PA buffer zones.

The discussion stemming from the Wittemyer et al.'s (2008) statistical analysis demonstrates that their methodology and conclusions could be problematic (Hoffman 2011; Joppa et al. 2009). This is due in part to the statistical information used in their analysis cannot adequately address the lived experiences of migrants who decide to move to the buffer zones of PAs worldwide (Hoffman 2011; Joppa 2008). Their analysis demonstrates that the trend exists, but it cannot answer why migrants are moving to the buffer zones. Further, as Wittemyer et al. (2008:124) states, "the mechanisms driving population changes around PAs are likely context-specific, and data collection at local scales is critical for understanding the relation between local people and PAs." Therefore, the demand for an ethnographically rich analysis was required in order to fully inform the conversation around this trend and to be able to create productive solutions to the issues that arise from population growth at the buffer zones of PAs.

Thus, this thesis uses ethnographic methods to investigate the motivations of internal migrants to the buffer zone of Carara National Park, located on the Central Pacific Coast. The principal investigator (PI) used cultural consensus analysis (CCA) and semi-structured interviews to investigate and analyze motivations of thirty migrants to the buffer zone of Carara National Park from a gendered perspective, exploring the reasons why men and women choose to migrate. The PI investigated the employment sectors men

3

and women entered into upon migrating to determine if their motivations were primarily economic and if gender influenced job availability. Furthermore, since migration to the peripheries of protected areas follows an urban to rural trajectory unlike international and rural to urban internal migration, a comparison of the results of this study to these other gendered migratory trends are applied in this study and will be discussed subsequently. In addition, the PI sought to investigate whether or not migratory flow reflects international trends regarding gender divisions along the two variables of employment sectors and reasons to migrate. In international migration, literature has generally found that both men and women migrate for similar economic reasons but are employed in drastically different sectors (Sharpe 2003; Pedraza 2003). Finally, the PI considered the role of the park in the decision to migrate and the differences in the ways in which men and women perceive the role of the park in their own lives. Identity determines and impacts an individual's choices, patterns of behavior, and opinions. The examination of a particular demographic trait can uncover different motivations within subsets of a human population. For this reason, a gendered examination of motivations to migrate to Carara National Park is important as it contributes to a more nuanced analysis of this particular migratory flow.

Population, Data Set, and Methods

Thirty interviews were conducted with Costa Ricans who had independently migrated as an adult to within the 10 kilometer buffer zone of Carara National Park in Costa Rica. The data was collected over four weeks in July and August of 2013. Since the PI sought to analyze the gendered differences in migrants' decision to migrate, the PI conducted an equal number of interviews of men (n=15) and women (n=15). Participants

4

were located through the help of demographic analysis and through the snowball method (Bernard 2006). The PI used the methods of cultural consensus analysis and cognitive anthropology to elicit quantitative responses of a migrant's decision to migrate. Cultural consensus analysis is a set of anthropological methods that uses a specific process to determine whether or not a group shares a common cultural model of a specific cognitive domain (Bernard 2006; Weller and Romney 1988). This model is based on the premise that cultural knowledge is shared and that anthropologists can determine the degree to which individuals in a society have consensus about a certain domain (Dressler and Santos 2005). Dichotomous rating and Likert scale rating using words associated with migration were employed as part of this method. Finally, the qualitative method of semi-structured interviewing was used to supplement cognitive methods with migrants' personal stories and experiences (Bernard 2006).

Aims

The importance and the broader impacts of this study lie within the discourse and practice of conservation and human populations. Global attempts at environmental protection oftentimes value land, air, water and soil conservation over the concerns of human populations. The field of anthropology can add depth of understanding to these priorities by providing a localized and demographically specific ethnographic account of human motivators and concerns. Conservation biology is usually dominated and propelled by the desire to conserve biodiversity and not by a desire to understand the human component in the relationship between nature and culture. By understanding human behavior in the context of conservation efforts, we are able to better address both conservation and human development so as to protect biodiversity and human lives and

livelihoods. Therefore, this study engages with and informs the conservation movement regarding population growth to the borders of PAs.

Ultimately, this thesis partially negates the hypothesis proposed by Wittemyer et al. (2008) that population growth in the buffer zone of PAs is directly related to the park itself. It collaborates others' research that caution against using statistical analysis to make broad generalizations about human patterns. Finally, it affirms the need for a collaborative relationship between the biological and humanistic epistemologies. The following hypothesis and research questions were addressed:

Hypothesis and Research Questions

First, this study hypothesized that: 1) men and women would share a single cultural model of migration to park peripheries; there would be intracultural variation as seen by varying degrees of knowledge of that model. This study also sought to answer the following research questions: 1) are the motivations behind migration to the buffer zone of Carara National Park different for men and women? Are men motivated more by economic reasons than women; 2) do men and women fulfill different employment sectors upon migrating, if both men and women are economic migrants; 3) to what extent does the idea of the park or nature play into the reasons for migrating 4) what is the role of the park in the daily lives of migrants?

Summary of Chapters

Chapter two outlines the literature in regards to parks and protected areas, migration and gender, and the theoretical approach this thesis utilizes. Chapter three details the methods used in this thesis and the setting in which research occurred. Chapter

four presents the data results of the quantitative methods, including the results from cultural consensus analysis and analysis of the Likert scale data. Chapter five discusses the qualitative results from the semi-structured interviews. Finally, Chapter 6 discusses the limitations of the study and draws conclusions from the data while revisiting the original hypotheses and aims

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

In order to discuss the significance of the findings, it is necessary to review the existing and supporting literature on the subjects of migration and conservation. First, this chapter discusses the theoretical approach of Political Ecology and how it can be applied to this thesis. Second, this chapter discusses the history behind the establishment of PAs worldwide and the evolving role human communities play in conservation agendas like ICDPs. Third, this chapter frames this project within the ongoing discussion following the publication of Wittemyer et al.'s 2008 article demonstrating population growth around PAs. Fourth, this chapter examines amenity migration in the United States. Fifth, this chapter discusses migration and gender literature on an international level.

Theoretical Approach

Political Ecology

This thesis used a political ecology theoretical approach. Political ecology is a synthesis of anthropology and geography that considers the intersection of humans and their environment, the political and economic factors that construct our idea of the environment, and the social constraints and issues that are played out through our interaction with the environment (Robbins 2004; Baer 2009; Hoffman 2011). This approach, although not exclusively retaining a certain theoretical perspective or method

8

(Hoffman 2011) is comprised of four epistemological approaches; cultural ecology; cultural geography; political economy; and post-structuralism (Robbins 2004). The first epistemological approach integrated into political ecology is cultural ecology. Along with cultural geography, this method of inquiry was one of the earlier predecessors to modern political ecology (Gezon and Paulson 2005; Paulson 2005; Scoones 1999). The interest in and development of cultural ecology gained momentum in the 1950s and early 1960s within the field of anthropology as a reaction to the dissatisfaction with "formulations of cultural values and types that were felt to be vague and improvable, as well with structuralist interpretations that appeared too rigid to accommodate social change and individual variation" (Netting 1986:6). The term ecology was borrowed from biologists by anthropologists and applied to the examination of the relationship between human and habitat. According to Paul Robbins (2004:28) "cultural ecology approached human-environment issues ecosystemically: humans would be seen as part of a larger system, controlled and propelled by universal forces, energy, nutrient flows, calories, and material struggle for subsistence."

Netting (1986:6) discusses how Julian Steward, an early advocate of this particular approach, defined cultural ecology along similar terms as Robbins, focusing on how "features of culture are affected by the basic adjustment through which man utilizes a given environment." Steward promoted empirical analysis of subsistence activities and economic structures, emphasizing a positivist application of quantitative investigation in order to make cross-cultural explanations (Netting 1986). However, this approach ultimately lacked explorations of socio-political impacts on environmental change. In addition, the empirically grounded methodology produced "problematic reductionist

9

conclusions" about human behavior cross-culturally that resulted in lofty claims and bizarre theories (Netting 1986; Scoones 1999; Vayda 1980). Nevertheless, the sound intellectual pillar of cultural ecology contributed to and inspired the notion of integrating the study of socio-environmental processes, local labor, adaptation, and rigorous fieldwork methods (Netting 1986).

Another early intellectual tradition that comprises part of the foundation of political ecology is cultural geography. Like cultural ecology, this geography-based field considered the relationships between humans and landscape to be negotiated, dependent, historical and dynamic. However, unlike cultural ecology's main focus, which studied the adjustment and incorporation of the environment into features of culture, cultural geography "directed itself [more] to research into human use of nature, especially the impact of human activities [on nature]" (Robbins 2004:29). An important aspect of cultural geography, which was pioneered by the geographer Carl Sauer, was the "duel interests of culture history and material landscape" (Robbins 2004:29). Incorporating the idea of historical particularism developed by Franz Boas, this historicist method focused less on "functional-causal explanations typical of previous determinism" and more on how the culture and landscape arrived at a certain point based on adaptation and diffusion over time" (Robbins 2004:29). According to Sauer (1925:46), "the cultural landscape is fashioned out of a natural landscape by a culture group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape the result." Sauer adopted an anthropological perspective, inquiring about the relationship between cultural groups upon the site, and the significance of the site in relation to the cultural practices of the group. Finally, Sauer (1925:53) stressed a reliance on a systematic approach, in which he deemed as a way of

10

expressing this field's concern "with directed reality, not premature realization." Even though it is different in that it devoted greater attention to the landscape in the dual human-environment relationship, cultural geography possessed many similar characteristics belonging to cultural ecology.

However, moving away from earlier approaches grounded firmly in the examination of culture, humans, and their relationship with the environment, the next foundation of political ecology contributes the application of socio-political, economic, and materialistic factors in the analysis of environmental change. Political economy hails from a Marxist lineage, applying the disciplines of economics, law, and political science to examine how production, the economic system, and the political environment influence one another. Political economy examines the environment based on means of measuring the social construct of nature (Gezon 2005; Scoones 2005). Political economy applies the idea of materialism to the study of nature and society. Since political economy is rooted in the idea that social organization, structure, and institutions are a product of economic production and efficiency then these institutions are "ultimately explained by how people use nature" (Robbins 2004:46). Accounting for cultural change over time, political economy implies that the mode of production is in constant state of flux, and these social and material elements lead to "differing ways of making a living from nature" (Robbins 2004:47).

Political economy has influenced political ecology in that the political ecologists' explanations of socio-environmental changes are based upon economic and political determinants and characteristics of political economy; that social and cultural relationships are intrinsically accountable to economic interactions, accumulation is

11

responsible for excess, and "the production for global market leads to contradictions and dependencies"(Robbins 2002:51). These factors ultimately impact the environment, including green trends such as ecotourism that impact the economic reality and opportunity for migrants along the borders of parks in Costa Rica. Economic forces, as will be demonstrated subsequently, impact the way the environment and humans interact in this area.

The final perspective that created the fundamental structure of political ecology came about in the 1980s. Post-structuralism emerged from the paradigm shift occurring during this time, in which increased political activism, the examination of academic pursuits in relation to power and colonialism, and the deconstruction of "the other" emerged. Post-structuralism examined the relationship between knowledge, truth, and power. It emphasized reflection and reexamination of truth and power in relation to knowledge concluding that, in essence, truth and inquiry cannot be solely positivists since knowledge is constantly shifting and constantly negotiated. Post-structuralism marked a departure from the emphasis placed on exacting empirical fact on the how and why social systems function and instead encouraged the inquiry of how *we* construct our ideas of fact and truth (Erickson and Murphy 2010). Foucault is an important social theorist to discuss here. In relation to the environment, Foucault's post-structuralist interpretation of the construction and deconstruction of subjectivities, which does not concern itself with determining good from bad, right from wrong, or truth from untruth, creates a unique vehicle for exploring environmental change. Foucault believed that the validity of intellectual inquiry was not defined by the pursuit of truth, but by the pursuit of determining subjectivities and realizing identity independent of normalization, a tactic of

12

modern environmentalists (Darier 1999:29).

The PI used Foucault's understanding of the environment when analyzing the relationship between conservation practices, including economic development, and the reasons why migrants move to the edge of Carara National Park. . Furthermore, Foucault's dismantling of subjectivities revealed the ways in which men and women relate to the park and the role it played in their decision to migrate and their life upon migration in the context of their position as male or female. The application of political ecology in the development of the parks system in Costa Rica contextualized the reasons behind the establishment of the PA. Ultimately this approach brought insight into the way our construction of nature impacts policies and park creation and encourages immigration to the park's edges. Studies use political ecology to understand health and changing global patterns (Baer 2009), access to resources such as water (Cole 2012), and ecological practices that degrade the environment (Hurley 2011). The consideration of political ecology in the development of the parks system in Costa Rica is useful in understanding the reasons behind the establishment of the PA. Migration, through this lens, is a byproduct of how our construction of nature impacts policies and park creation.

Feminist political ecology is a development out of the application of political ecology that incorporates gender into this theoretical approach. This sub-discipline takes a feminist approach to our interactions with the environment, lobbying for the inclusion of feminist perspectives because they allow for the consideration of the gendered differences in access to resources, lifestyle choices, and how power dynamics influence women's role in the environment (Elmhirst 2011). Using a feminist political ecology approach, the PI synthesized the four disciplines of political ecology with a feminist

13

perspective that will allowed for an understanding of gender differences in motivations to migrate to PAs in Costa Rica.

Cognitive Anthropology

Cognitive anthropology is a theoretical approach that forms the foundation for one part of the methodology used in this thesis. Cognitive anthropology is the "study of the relation between human society and human thought" (D'Andrade 2003:1). Through the use of specific tools of analysis that aim to measure cognitive perceptions, cognitive anthropology seeks to understand how humans in groups perceive the world around them. One of the methodological approaches of cognitive anthropology is cultural consensus analysis. This approach determines cultural knowledge about a specific cultural domain. More specifically, cultural consensus analysis is a set of anthropological methods that use a specific process to determine whether or not a group shares a common cultural perception/ cultural model of a specific cognitive domain (Bernard 2006). This model works off the premise that cultural knowledge is shared and that anthropologists can determine the degree to which individuals in a society have consensus about a certain domain (Dressler and Santos 2005). Cognitive anthropology, through the use of cultural consensus analysis, can shed light upon the links between human process such as migration and the way humans in a specific cultural group conceptualize their reasons to migrate on a cultural level (Simova, Robertson, and Beasley 2009).

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History of Protected Area Establishment

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The history of PAs worldwide can be traced back to the origins of the American national park system and the Euro-American conservation movement, although PAs as a

14

worldwide model of biodiversity conservation did not emerge until the 1970s
(Borgerhoff-Mulder & Capolillo 2005; Orlove & Brush 1996). American national parks,
supported by wealthy and influential "hobby conservationists", were established for
intrinsic reasons; the idea that certain people could enjoy them purely for the sake of their
natural beauty propelled the continued establishment of national parks across the United
States and, eventually, the world. However, the notion that all people could enjoy them
excluded those who lived inside of them; Native American communities throughout the
United States were pushed beyond the borders of established National Parks in order to
preserve the intrinsic and pristine beauty of nature (Borgerhoff-Mulder & Capolillo
2005).

The American park system prioritized land preservation and had zero tolerance
for extractive use of the land. Brockington (2002) established the notion of "fortress
conservation"- wherein these PAs were state controlled, highly regulated, and isolated
from human interference (Igoe 2004)- to understand the national park paradigm.
Brockington's idea of "fortress conservation" is based on the notion that nature is a social
construct and that land and natural resources are contested over. It asserts that land is and
always has been highly political; that landscapes are socially constructed places where
struggles ensue and power is disputed. Igoe (2004) discusses how the ideas of what we
refer to as fortress conservation continue to persist in conservation efforts today; that
nature is meant to be pristine; and that it should be humanity's prerogative to bring it
back to its original state; that people inhabiting ecologically important lands are not
indigenous and therefore should be justifiably evicted; and (now) that conservation
should work with local actors through conservation dollars in order to ensure biodiversity

15

conservation. Igoe (2004) demonstrates that this type of conservation model was exported to Africa from the United States in the form of game reserves and parks where the wealthy from Europe and the United States could hunt on private lands where local people were not allowed to go. Igoe (2004:71) states "fortress conservation has become manifest in the institution of the national park, which can now be found in practically every country in the world. One of its central features is that it relies on the forced exclusion of local people in order to remain viable."

A notable transition between the fortress conservation model and the establishment of new conservation models in the 1970s is explained through the notion of biodiversity conservation rather than preservation of beauty. The fortress conservation model sought to preserve the purity of nature (Brockington 2002). The establishment of PAs as a method for conserving biodiversity arose in the 1970s as an answer to the threat of declining biological diversity worldwide. Orlove & Brush (2010:331) state "the concern for the protection of biodiversity became a key element of national and international environmental movements, especially as a consequence of the growing awareness of the extent and impact of the clearing of tropical forests." The outcome of success in the conservation movement was determined by whether or not biodiversity was conserved. For this reason, the 1970s saw both the increase of the number of national forests, national parks, and wildlife sanctuaries worldwide and the development of the term protected areas that sought to categorize these biological reserves (Orlove & Brush 1996). The term "protected areas" was established as an umbrella concept by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN).

While biodiversity stabilized under the "fortress conservation" model of PAs, local communities certainly did not; human displacement from lands designated as parks caused serious social issues (Igoe 2004). Further, it was during this time that world population growth was increasingly putting pressures on the preservation of biodiversity and researchers were beginning to make the connection between poverty and uneven resource distribution (Little and Horowitz 1987; Young 2013). Young (2013:364) states "nature protection in developing countries became increasingly acknowledged as a 'people issue,' one requiring addressing of interrelated environmental and social concerns, with particular emphasis on the needs, concerns, and priorities of local people involved." A more nuanced approach to management of protected areas arose, one that incorporated local people as well as protected regions rich in biodiversity. This was in an effort to increase biodiversity conservation. In the 1990s, at the behest of both social scientists and conservations, projects began employing Integrated Conservation and Development Projects alongside Protected Areas (Borgerhoff-Mulder & Capolillo 2005; Hoffman et al. 2011). It was the worldwide prevalence of ICDPs, and the economic benefits that stemmed from them, that Wittemyer et al. (2008) suggest could be a motivator leading to internal migration to the peripheries of PAs worldwide. That is, internal migrants seek direct economic opportunities in PA peripheries produced by developmental projects.

While biodiversity conservation is the primary goal of protected areas, the history of the American parks paradigm is still a defining aspect in the development of protected areas worldwide. Furthermore, both of these conservation perspectives are grounded in the idea that humans and nature are inherently divided and that humans are inherently

17

destructive to nature (Borgerhoff-Mulder & Capolillo 2005). This idea, informed by ecological perspectives that dominated Western science in the middle of the 20th century, relied on the ecosystems approach that stated nature is homeostatic and achieves natural equilibrium if destructive interferences of humans are eliminated (Orlove 1980; Moran 1984; Smith 1984; Smith 1991). While the discipline of ecology has since rebuked this approach, the conservation model is still largely based on that understanding. The scientific and academic understanding of nature continues to promote the idea that without human interferences, the environment, and all its flora and fauna, would harmoniously prosper. In this understanding, all human activity that threatens the biodiversity inside PAs is problematic, including migration to the buffer zone of Carara National Park. The history and epistemological origins of fortress conservation and the establishment of PAs worldwide is important to this thesis because it provides insight into why migration is seen by conservationists as problematic in the first place.

Costa Rican PAs

Costa Rica has a prolific and proud history of biodiversity conservation (Evans 2010). Evans (1999:34) states, "tracing the history of interest in Costa Rican ecology and conservation goes back to the 16th century. Fernandez de Oviedo, a Spanish naturalist who traveled to colonial Costa Rica in the 1700s, was one of the first to recognize the area's distinct biodiversity and warned against deforestation." While Oviedo is an anomaly in Costa Rica during this time, the 19th century ushered in two major events that continue to pave the way for Costa Rica and its initiatives in preserving biodiversity. Evans (1999) explains that the proliferation of the coffee trade, which opened up unexplored routes through biologically rich areas of the country and the speculation of

the trans-isthmus canal, which brought scientific surveyors to the area, increased scientific inquiry into Costa Rica's forests and volcanoes. As word of Costa Rica's rich biodiversity continued to spread, more and more European and American scientists ushered into the country, forever impacting not only the scientific community of Costa Rica but Costa Rica at large (Evans 1999). Evans asserts that it was the arrival of foreign scientists interested in Costa Rica's abundant wildlife and biodiversity that laid the groundwork for the construction of a national identity that increased countrywide appreciation for and approval of biological conservation. He states:

> "But if the number of Costa Ricans with advanced degrees in biological sciences is small, the number of Costa Ricans who support conservation is large. Most may not actively lobby for ecological issues, but many do support the causes that will preserve their natural heritage. This support is rooted in the legacy of Costa Rica's emphasis on tropical science and is manifested in society today (1999:50-51)."

The country's early attunement to the importance of its natural resources helped to navigate major ecological issues that arose because of massive deforestation associated with the burgeoning coffee industry in the 19th century (Evans 1999). The calls for land management emerged from this environmental crisis; after two decrees calling for land preservation were passed in the late 1800s, a watershed decree was passed in the 1880s to protect mountain watersheds (Evans 1999). The beginning of formerly recognized land management arose in Costa Rica at the beginning of the 20th century (Bruggemann 1997). In 1913 the Poas Volcano was the first formally declared protected tract of land in Costa Rica (Bruggemann 1997; Evans 2010). In 1939 Bruggemann (1997:72) states, "a law

19

prohibited the use of resources in national forestssimilar to the United States' National Park model." In 1955 all summits of Costa Rica's volcanoes were deemed national parks and the put into the hands of the Costa Rican Tourism Institute (ICT) (Bruggemann 1997).

During the 1960s, the groundwork for developing well managed land reserves and national parks was enacted in response to the United States' initiative of the International Convention For Flora, Fauna and Natural Scenic Beauty Convention, which sought to promote nature preserves and national parks (Bruggemann 1997). The model developed for this preservation of Costa Rica's biodiversity was similar to the exclusionary parks system in the United States and early PA management models. Bruggemann (1997:73) states "the Forestry Law of 1969 defined the criteria for different categories of protected areas which exclude, by definition, human settlements and resource use." Under Mario Boza's influence, the parks system in Costa Rica expanded with success, although it still continued to face many issues over the subsequent decades (Evans 1999).

Like many countries in the 1990s, Costa Rica turned to ICDP efforts, like eco-tourism, that would economically incentivize local people while simultaneously encouraging conservationist behavior. Recognizing that Costa Rica abounds in flora and fauna very different from that which is found in the United States and Europe, where the majority of tourists hail from, Costa Rican officials created an extensive network of parks and protected areas (Evans 1999). In combination with the establishment of this parks network was the packaging of eco-tourism activities as the environmentally correct form of travel worldwide (Horton 2009). As a result, ecotourism, and international tourism to national parks and protected areas in general, exploded in Costa Rica due to the large

20

number of established national parks and protected areas (Horton 2009).

The history of land management, conservation, and the establishment of PAs in Costa Rica guide this thesis' understanding of the cultural and social setting in which research was conducted. As a result of a political ecology approach, the PI understands that the PAs in Costa Rica are the products of historical decisions that are informed by nature making in the United States and are thus a product of Costa Rican society as much as they are part of it.

Amenity Migration

Amenity migration is the process in which (largely) affluent people from urban or suburban areas move to areas rich in natural resources and aesthetic beauty (Marcouiller et al. 2002; Green et al. 1996; Gosnell and Abrams 2011; Abrams et al. 2012). The "amenities" that are implied in this context are typically thought of as lakes, forests, wildlife, oceans, and national parks (Marcouiller and Clendenning 2005). Moreover, these amenities are not valuable based on their extractive properties but instead due to their recreational and service related properties. Furthermore, amenity migration is distinguishable from other, more minor forms of urban-to-rural migration patterns due to the cultural contexts amenity migrants seek out (Abrams et al. 2012). Amenity migrants, most commonly in the United States, are characterized by a desire to not only consume amenities on an aesthetic level, but to be involved in a cultural setting where reverence for tranquility through proximity to an amenity rich location is obtained (Abrams et al. 2012). Desires for rurality, for scenery, and for outdoor recreational activities characterize the physical setting amenity migrants seek. Therefore amenities are twofold; they refer to geographic amenities in the form of natural resources and lifestyle amenities that are

21

derived from the presence of these natural amenities.

That being said, the definition of amenity migration is broad and sometimes problematic. Gosnell and Abrams (2009) struggle with this very concept in their literature review seeking to synthesize international definitions of amenity migration. Gosnell and Abrams (2009) state:

> In reviewing and synthesizing the international literature on 'amenity migration,' it is important to acknowledge that the term refers to a variety of migration processes taking place in diverse spatial, political, social, and economic contexts. In addition to discrepancies in terminology related to different cultural contexts, there is also no academic consensus on precisely what phenomena this term includes" (3).

The body of work dedicated to amenity migration spans continents and demographics of migrants (Chipeniuk 2008; Krannich et al. 2011; McGranahan 1999). Chipeniuk, in a study on public perception of amenity migrants, noted at least five demographic identities of amenity migrants being used in academic literature; new, permanent residents; second home renters or owners; seasonal visitors; transient tourists; and economic migrants seeking job opportunities within an amenity rich community (2008:3). A number of studies conducted by geographers, rural economists, and sociologists analyze changes in rural populations through amenity migration (McGranahan 1999; Deller and Marcouiller 2001; Guangqing and Marcouillier 2013). These studies characterize amenity migrants as full-time new residents or second home owning residents.

While much of the work dedicated to amenity migration is centered on demographic population analysis and economic distribution studies, equally important in this conversation is the role that PAs themselves play in attracting and sustaining amenity migrants. Furthermore, PAs are sites of contestation and nature making; conservation values and agendas come into conflict with the consumption of these resources by amenity migrants. Much of the discussion on the implications of amenity migrants and rural areas is grounded in the ecological impacts the influx of migration brings to these areas and, ironically, many authors suggest turning to amenity migrants to solve ecological issues because of their already perceived ingrained appreciation for nature (Moss 2007; Gosnell and Abrams 2009; Krannich et al. 2011; Abrams et al. 2012; Kondo et al. 2012).

Most of the impacts that the literature analyzes are rooted in how in-migration can affect relationships between long standing locals and amenity migrants and the environment (Kondo et al. 2012; Moss et al. 2007; Abrams and Gosnell 2009). Abrams and Gosnell state (2009:8) "studies of the social implications of amenity migration tend to frame research questions around the differences between two broad categories of people: local residents with long-term, often generational, roots in the community on the one hand, and newcomers who generally do not have social or familial ties to the community." Many of the studies Gosnell and Abrams analyze conclude that amenity migrants are often perceived or portrayed as inherently outsider; they lack local understandings and social ties that impede their assimilation into these rural communities. Furthermore, cultural clashes between these two groups have been analyzed as upsetting the idyllic life amenity migrants had originally sought (Jackson-Smith 2003).

23

These types of clashes, or rather, these types of encounters, have been occurring on an international level as well. International amenity migration, that is, migration from the global north to the global south for quality of life and aesthetic purposes has been analyzed in the context of Costa Rica (Matarrita-Cascante and Stocks 2013). Matarrita-Cascante and Stocks (2013 assert that while amenity migration literature in the global north is prolific, there is a marked lack of literature from a global south perspective. Furthermore, it is precisely the extreme cultural differences between western migrants and Costa Rican locals on the lines of language, customs, and culture that warrant a consideration of the local social impact of amenity migration. The authors concluded that while encounters between Costa Ricans and Americans were not reported as "clashes" (unlike cases in the United States), they were categorized as "everyday" or "mundane" (Matarrita-Cascante and Stocks 2013:96). Not only does this demonstrate that cultural values and morals are sometimes explanations for a lack of real engagement, it also implies that amenity migration, and amenity migrants themselves, arrive at their new sites and oftentimes influence the social landscape.

There is an interesting relationship between local communities, amenity migrants, and conservation efforts. A number of works on amenity migration note that the cultural and moral views of amenity migrants align with environmentalism; the nature they seek out is the nature their urban counterparts try to save (Marcouiller 2002; Abrams et al. 2012). This is no surprise since amenity migrants embody the romanticism and frontierism that informed the environmental movement. Marcouiller (2002:6) states "environmental awareness and political activism of urban audiences have provided strong criticism of extractive production practices by emphasizing adverse environmental

24

impacts, threats to biodiversity and sustainability and global environmental change." That being said, a major ecological implication of amenity migration is the pressure an increase in population can place on the natural areas amenity migrants desire to consume, if indirectly (Lynch 2006). While Lynch (2006) does not directly attribute environmental change to amenity migration, she asserts that population increases will have significant impact on the environment and rural landscape in the future. This is an interesting conundrum as the very lifestyle amenity migrants are seeking out is the one thing that they could irrevocably damage. Glorioso and Moss (2007) take up the challenge of addressing this conundrum. Their suggestion is that urban dwellers moving to rural areas already possess the knowledge and know how to implement sustainable initiatives. Although amenity migrants are consuming and commodifying nature at the expense of environmental degradation, their environmental awareness through sustainable consumption can mitigate these issues. Amenity migration literature highlights the complexity regarding the relationship between internal migrants and their host communities. This literature informs this thesis about migration propelled by lifestyle amenities as opposed to economic reasons, which is a focal conclusion of this thesis.

Gender and Migration

The need for a more localized understanding of the processes that are at play in the increase of population at the borders of PAs worldwide addressed above is at the heart of this project. Furthermore, as Hoffman et al. (2011:23) point out "given that migration streams are socially formed, one must examine their demographic composition. The motives of migrants and the factors shaping migration can be expected to vary not only cross-culturally but also along the lines of class, age, and gender." In order to understand

the macro level implications for PAs due to an increase of immigration, an understanding of the micro level factors is necessary. The following section will discuss the literature on gendered migration and the transnational characteristics of gendered migration.

It was only recently that a gender perspective, or a consideration of women in processes historically focused on men, began to be applied to migration theory. This was, in large part, because migration theory was rooted in a neo-classical or structuralist perspective, the former considering personal agency to be the explanatory factor in the decision-making process to migrate and the latter explaining structural issues to be the push factor in migration (Wright 1999). Women were largely excluded in this conceptualization of migration due to its two-dimensional, essentialist perspective that assumed migrant actors to be young, economically motivated, unattached males and provided with a clear choice to migrate or not (Pedraza 2003). According to Boyd (2003:1), "in the 1960s and early 1970s the phrase 'migrants and their families' was a code for male migrants and their wives and children." In the 1970s and 1980s, feminist scholars began to understand the process of and motivation for migration as fundamentally different for men and women, and a further incorporation of a gender breakdown within migration analyses emerged (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2003; Pedraza 1991).

The foundation of gendered migration is influenced by women's studies and feminist theory that states there is a difference between the biological category of sex and the cultural category of gender (Moore 1998). While earlier feminists attributed oppression of women to be inherent in the study of gender, anthropologists are now looking at the ways women and men experience social processes differently, instead of focusing solely on the experience of women (Swain 1995). While power is a major

26

consideration in these experiences, oppression isn't universal. Studying the motivations behind women's and men's migration through an incorporation of a feminist perspective looks at how social roles of men and women are reproduced through their reasons to migrate and the employment sectors they fill. Gendered migration analysis acknowledges that men and women have socially and culturally reproduced roles that are influenced and articulated through their decisions to migrate (Dias and Jayasundere 2001; Al-Najjar, 2002; Belcher et al. 2003). Pedraza (2003:333) articulates the justification for a gendered analysis stating, "paying attention to the relationship between a woman's social position through their decision to migrate will help fill the void regarding our knowledge of women as immigrants and contribute to a greater understanding of the lives of women."

As was stated previously, initial portrayals of migrants depicted the lone male, motivated by economics, with the intention of returning to his home country after a period of time (Pedraza 2003; Zlotnik 2003). While this was certainly true at the beginning of the 20th century, by the turn of the 21st century women made up nearly 50% of the migrant population (Sharpe 2003; Pedraza 2003). As the migration of women intensified in the last half century, a number of studies attributed this growth to women who migrated to reunite with family members or husbands and considered this to be a secondary wave to initial male migration (Houston et al 1984; Watts 1983; Tyree & Donato 1986). Furthermore, the reasons for migration were defined by men and women's cultural roles; the responsibilities of women as wives and mothers and men as breadwinners were seen to be the dependent factor in a migrants' decision-making (Pedraza 2003). This supports the idea that migration was seen to be the outcome of individual, rationalized decisions (Curran and Saguy 2010). Boyd (2003:3) states, "these

27

gendered responsibilities were believed to explain why women were less likely than men to participate in migration decisions or in the labor force of the host country when they did join their husbands."

However, many studies now point out that female migrants may be single actor (not migrating for reunification purposes) economic migrants, a fact which was formerly obscured by the type of jobs in which they were employed upon migration (Campani 1995; Willis and Yeoh 2000; Koffman et al. 2000). These jobs tend to be in employment sectors that often include solitary work and payment under the table. Women are becoming sole economic migrants despite their roles as mothers and wives (Pedraza 2003). Pedraza (2003:360) states, "like men, immigrant women became occupationally concentrated but along a much smaller spectrum of choices. They become domestic servants, work for family enterprises, or work in hospitality." It is important to note that Hoffman's (2011) preliminary research indicates that migration to the peripheries of parks for economic incentive does not reflect men and women's sole, or even primary, motivation to migrate. Hoffman's (2011) research suggests that while economic conditions were an attraction, many women are citing reuniting with family to be a notable motivation. The PI's hypothesis in this research study states that although current literature suggests that women are equal economic agents in international migratory trends, Costa Rican internal migration does not mimic this international trend. Despite the reasons for migrating, the PI hypothesizes that Carara migrants will enter into similar gendered employment sectors as migrants on an international level.

This thesis contributes to the literature previously discussed in the following ways. First, in regards to conservation theory, this thesis can deepen the conversation on

28

the relationship between development and conservation. Specifically, this case study illuminates the idea that migrants to the buffer zones of PAs are motivated by other reasons beyond taking advantage of opportunities derived from development associated with the PA. This finding challenges Wittemyer et al.'s (2008) assertions and, in doing so, contributes a greater knowledge regarding biodiversity conservation and human migration. It expands the knowledge about the factors that shape the social, economic, and environmental realities in and around the buffer zones of PAs that propel population growth and threaten biodiversity. This thesis also contributes to the conversation on conservation and threats to biodiversity by discussing how economic realities surrounding buffer zones should be considered when creating solutions to biodiversity loss. Second, this thesis will expand the conversation on migration and gender as it more closely compares to amenity migration versus international trends in migration. It fills the gap in literature considering amenity migrants in developing countries and further contributes to that conversation through a consideration of gender.

CHAPTER III

METHODS AND SETTING

Methodology

Field research for this project was conducted over a period of six weeks during the months of July and August 2013. The site of investigation for this research study was three communities located within the 10 kilometer buffer zone of Carara National Park. The PI used both qualitative and quantitative methods. Quantitative research took the form of cultural consensus analysis with additional statistical and demographic data collected. Qualitative research took the form of semi-structured interviews. This mixed methodology was designed to test the hypothesis that men and women would share a single cultural model of migration to park peripheries; there would be intracultural variation as seen by varying degrees of knowledge of that model. Additionally, it sought to answer the following research questions:

- Are the motivations behind migration the buffer zone of Carara National Park different for men and women? Are men motivated more by economic reasons than women?
- Do men and women fulfill different employment sectors upon migrating, if both men and women are economic migrants?
- To what extent does the idea of the park or nature play into the reasons for migrating?
- What is the role of the park in the daily lives of migrants?

The PI conducted 30 interviews with Costa Ricans who had independently migrated as adults to live within the 10 kilometer buffer zone of Carara National Park in

30

Costa Rica. The length of time since migration varied from just a couple of days to over 15 years. Since the PI sought to investigate the gendered differences in migrants' decision to migrate, the PI conducted an equal number of interviews of men (n=15) and women (n=15). Participants in the research study were contacted through the assistance of the Observatorio de Desarrollo (ODD) and through the use of the snowball method. The Observatorio de Desarrollo is a social science research center at the University of Costa Rica. The ODD pinpointed specific sites of notable population growth due to in-migration, which informed the PI on the most important communities to investigate.

Around Carara National Park, the towns of Quebrado Ganado and Orotina had elevated numbers of population growth due to in-migration. The PI also conducted a small number of interviews (n=3) in Tarcoles, which was not a community that had experienced unprecedented population growth due to in-migration but it is located within the buffer zone. The PI is justified in including this community in this study because the PI was not conducting the interviews in a statistically significant manner and because the PI wanted to include perspectives outside of popular in-migration destination communities. The PI did this to determine if specific communities inside the buffer zone impact motivations to migrate. The primary method that was used in the effort to find individual participants inside the communities pinpointed by the ODD was the snowball method. Snowball sampling involves a word of mouth approach that leads the researcher from one participant to the next through participant social connections (Weller and Romney 1988; Bernard 2006; Copeland 2008). While the ODD provided preexisting information from census information with specific community locations for potential participants, snowball sampling provided specific participant locations. Further

31

discussion and an example of how this process usually ensued will be discussed below.

The PI conducted one interview with each participant that lasted approximately 45 minutes. All participants were adults over the age of 18. The interview combined qualitative and quantitative methods (see Appendix A for Interview Schedule). All interviews were conducted in Spanish. The PI obtained IRB approval during the Spring of 2013. Per IRB standards, the PI obtained verbal consent at the beginning of each interview with a new participant. In order to protect the identity of the participant, the PI has kept all interview materials on a locked and password protected computer and has taken every effort to obscure any connections between interview material and participant identity. Additionally, no identifying information was collected that would connect the interview material to the individual. To protect confidential material in the field, the PI immediately uploaded the interview from the recording device to the PI's locked computer upon completion of each interview. When the PI returned to the United States, she uploaded a copy of the interviews to the project desktop. The recording was then deleted from the recording device. The project computer is also password protected and in a locked room. Protecting the confidentiality of the participants involved in this research was a significant concern of the PI.

After the PI obtained consent, she asked the participants a number of demographic questions to begin the interview. These included job status, marital status, age, from and to where they migrated, their gender, and whether or not they have children. This basic demographic data gave the PI data relevant to the types of jobs men and women obtain upon migrating.

The second part of the interview incorporated cultural consensus analysis (CCA) through the rating exercise. The 55 terms that the PI used in this activity were established as the relevant domain through the analysis of a free-listing activity conducted by Dr. Hoffman during the summer of 2012. Dr. Hoffman asked 90 participants living in the buffer zones of the three parks (including 30 from Carara National Park) to list terms in response to seven questions regarding a migrant's motivation to move to the edges of a protected area. Terms were established by testing for salience and frequency through a software program called Anthropac. This program is able to analyze all of the aggregate responses to the freelisting activity. Anthropac identifies the terms that were most common in responses in the free-listing activity as well as which terms were most prominent on each participants' list of responses to determine salience based on a 10% cutoff for frequency It is applicable to this project to use these terms because they established the terms that are relevant to the central research question—the motivations of Costa Rican migrants in their decision to migrate to the peripheries of parks. This is also referred to as the cultural domain.

Table 3.1   Terms of the Rating Activity

	Terms		Terms		Terms
1	Safety	20	Services	39	Agriculture
2	People	21	Culture	40	Commercial Business'
3	Tranquility	22	Education	41	Food
4	Work	23	Drugs	42	Delinquency
5	Climate	24	Unemployment	43	Overpopulation
6	Beach	25	Prices	44	Highways
7	Social Environment	26	Medial Services	45	Poverty
8	Tourism	27	Alcoholism	46	Farm Life
9	The Park	28	The Government	47	Traffic
10	Animals	29	Garbage	48	Robbery
11	Quality of Life	30	Pollution	49	The Economy
12	Volcano	31	Water	50	Self Improvement
13	Peace	32	Prostitution	51	Recreation
14	River	33	Centrally Located	52	Electricity
15	Cleanliness	34	Family	53	Bank Services
16	Living in Beautiful Place	35	Commodities	54	Nature
17	Insecurity	36	Transportation	55	Super Markets
18	Healthy	37	Noise		
19	Violence	38	Sports Areas		

This activity provided the terms for the cultural model of migrants, in their own words, on a migrant's decision to migrate. CCA was used to test the PI's hypothesis as to whether men and women shared a single cultural model of migration to park peripheries. The PI asked the participant to respond yes or no when questioning whether or not each of the 55 terms was important in a migrant's decision to migrate (Weller 2007). An example of this question is—"is safety important in a migrant's decision to migrate?" The PI then asked the participant to rate the importance of the terms in the yes pile based on a five level likert scale from not important to very important (0=not important, 4=very important). An example of this question is—"how important is safety in a migrant's decision to migrate?". In this rating question "safety" was one of the 55 terms of the domain established by the research team. Other terms included both positive and negative

34

motivators in the decision to migrate; terms included "drugs", "tranquility", "transportation," "natural beauty" and so forth.

In addition to determining whether men and women share consensus as a group and separately within genders, the PI used the rating activity to determine gendered differences by comparing rating profiles between men and women to see if there was a difference. The PI did this by analyzing the values produced by the likert scale responses. Additionally, the PI was also able to look at the level of importance of each specific, individual term to both men and women through the analysis of the rating profiles. This ultimately told the PI the degree to which men and women associate certain terms with a migrant's decision to migrate.

The final step in the interview process was the semi-structured interview portion, which included open-ended questions. Ultimately, this technique served to test the research questions regarding the role the park plays in the decision to migrate and the relationship migrants have with the park upon migrating. In addition, the semi-structured interview sought to elicit individual motivations to migrate through participants' own words and to gather data on their past work history that cannot be garnered from basic demographic and census information. Semi-structured interviewing provided data regarding the types of jobs that men and women are fulfilling upon migrating to the peripheries of parks and what that demonstrates about gendered employment characteristics in this migratory flow. Finally, semi-structured interviews provided data on the role the park played in the decision to migrate. Through these interviews, the PI strove to ascertain to what level of similarity or dissimilarity men and women perceive the role of the park in their decision to migrate and how the park influenced their lives

35

upon migrating. The results of the data gained from these interviews are based on individual perceptions of the park. Many ethnographers utilize semi-structured interviews alone or alongside the CCA as a mixed methods approach in order to get a more comprehensive analysis (Bernard 2006; Hoffman 2011).

Site Description

Carara National Park (CNP) was established in 1978 and is located along the central Pacific coast of Costa Rica. It was originally designated a biological reserve but has since been recognized as a National Park (Vaughan et al. 2003). The total park hectares are 5,242 and the climate is tropical with defined wet to dry seasons and primary and secondary forested areas (Arevalo and Newhard 2011; Vaughan et al. 2003). CNP is flanked by Highway 34 that runs along the Western side of the park between the park and the Pacific coast. Highway 34 is one of the busiest roads in Costa Rica as it connects the Pacific coast through Highway 27 to the Central Valley (and capital San José). All three sites of investigation that the PI worked within are located along this highway. The communities of Tarcoles and Quebrado Ganado are located along the central western edges of the park. The other town where research was conducted was Orotina, a town located north of the park and is inside the buffer zone. Orotina is a commercial center for the surrounding towns and therefore presents an interesting contrast to the other towns located along the tourist corridor.

While the 10 kilometer buffer zone is an important concept to Wittemyer et al.'s (2008) statistical analysis of migration to the peripheries of parks and protected areas, an equally important concept in this study is how the surrounding area outside of the buffer zone impacts processes that occur within the buffer zone. In the case of Carara National

Park, the tourism-based town of Jacó is worthy of such an examination. Jacó, whose outskirts are located less than a kilometer outside of the buffer zone, is a beach town on the Pacific coast that has experienced unprecedented growth in the last two decades. This growth can be most attributed to the overall tourist boom Costa Rica experienced beginning in the mid-nineties (Horton 2005). Since that time, the population of Jacó has tripled in size, with internal and international migration acting as significant causes of population growth (Abel 2012). Condos and tiki themed restaurants dominate the landscape. However, as one informant from Quebrado Ganado told me, the 2008 recession hit the Jacó region hard and many of those condos have been halted in construction and stand as empty reminders of the city's struggling tourist appeal in a world hit by recession. While Jacó is not located inside the buffer zone, nor were interviews conducted with participants living in town, it still remains an economic and social pull for migrants to the area. In order to provide a more contextualized understanding of the three sites of investigation, as well as the economic hub of Jacó, a further ethnographic description is provided below.

A Researcher's Perspective

If you ask (almost) anyone in the United States how they imagine Costa Rica to be, they would no doubt conjure up images of expansive beaches, tropical forests, quaint towns, and happiness. After all, according to a Forbes analysis of a recent Qualtrics survey of over 40,000 people worldwide on personal satisfaction and happiness, Costa Rica is measurably the happiest country in the world (Breines 2014). Couple that with their zero carbon emissions goals and well developed National Parks, it isn't any surprise that Costa Rica is one of the most well-known, and most heavily visited, countries in

Central or South America. Tourism accounts for 13.5% of the GDP, 92,000 jobs, and up to two million visitors come to Costa Rica each year (Dyer 2016). To illustrate this fact, Costa Rica's land mass is comparable in size to Delaware and its population is 4.8 million (Dyer 2016), meaning that the number of visitors to Costa Rica each year is equal to roughly half of its entire population. Further, recognized as a peaceful nation within an area of extreme political instability, Costa Rica's national identity is easily digestible and aesthetically pleasing for the tourists that visit her shores every year.

While nothing the PI experienced in Costa Rica has disproved these facts, the Costa Rica experienced in this research project is much more complex than simply a lush and beautiful country. For example, while most tourists see and appreciate the crystal clear water of the pristine tourist beaches, just down the road garbage is carried to the sea from San José's deeply polluted Tarcoles River. What is ironic here is that many of these tourists travel to Costa Rica to specifically search out nature based tourism and national parks—or at least have some sort of 'natural history' experience inside or around Costa Rica's 26 national parks (Boza 1993; Campbell 2002). The tensions between the idealized version of Costa Rica that many tourists experience and the more complex picture painted above demonstrate that the perceived national identity does not properly reflect, and sometimes doesn't align, with the cultural context the anthropologist experiences. As another researcher aptly asserts, it is possible for many visitors to Costa Rica to stay in Costa Rica but it is very unlikely they will actually ever *be* in Costa Rica (Abel 2012). The PI specifically uses the word experience to describe the process cultural anthropologists encounter in the field as it embodies the very personal and experiential practice that oftentimes defines field research. Following in the footsteps of post-

modernists, this section seeks to purposefully point out the PI's reflexivity and positionality in the field in Costa Rica. That is to say, the PI wants to underscore that the interpretation of the data comes from her lived and impressionable experience in the field and that these interpretations are influenced by her own past. The following section highlights her experience in the field. The PI discusses and describes each town that she conducted research in around the 10 kilometer buffer zone.

Quebrado Ganado

Quebrado Ganado, where a majority of the fieldwork was conducted, is a semi-rural, small town with one long, meandering road running through the middle of it. The rolling, deeply vegetated hills of Carara National Park are the backdrop to the town, increasing the feeling of rurality and peace. When the sun goes down and the earth cools off, the townspeople flood the streets of Quebrado Ganado to socialize, pick up children from school, and buy bread from the prolific panaderia. It is clearly a working class town that depends on tourism in the area for employment. Buses from mega hotels located on dramatic oceanfront settings mere miles away efficiently and reliably pass through town picking up and dropping off the mothers, neighbors, sons and sisters of Quebrado Ganado. Despite that fact that this town's border is a couple of miles from the park entrance, these commuters make their way in the opposite direction to reach their jobs at the beachfront hotels or near tourist beaches. Jacó, one of these major tourist destinations just over those same small rolling, hills employs many people from Quebrado Ganado who commute twice daily via the one-hour bus ride.

While Quebrado Ganado is peaceful, tranquil and safe, Jacó is the exact opposite. While the PI never felt in danger when she was in Jacó, the town itself is more like an

39

Americanized, bustling, small city than a rural Costa Rican village. There are pizza joints and boutique stores that sell "American clothing" and a taco bar where you can sit in giant swings and eat as many tacos as you can fit into your mouth. With this tourist influence comes many problems associated with tourism. Drugs and prostitution are rampant. One afternoon the PI was sitting in small café eating lunch and she overheard two gentlemen picking out their escorts for the night through an online portal system. While the bus ride from Quebrado Ganado to Jacó is less than an hour and only seven miles, it feels worlds away in terms of their social and cultural makeup.

Across the highway from Quebrado Ganado is a large farm owned by a friend's family. This family was the only group of people who the PI could see actively engaged in farming activities, whether for subsistence or commercial use. This was rather astonishing as many migrants mentioned rurality as a motivator to move to this town. This particular friend and her husband spoke to the PI a lot about the changes Quebrado Ganado had undergone over the last 25 years. When her husband was growing up on his family farm, the area was quiet and sleepy. The town was half its current size and comprised mostly of established families. Slowly, the town was built up into the thriving middle class town it is today.

While farming doesn't seem to propel migrants to move to this area, coastal tourist destinations do seem to attract migrants. Coastal development, led by major players in international hotel chains such as the Hilton and the Sheraton, plays a big role in attracting migrants to this area; Quebrado Ganado is a prime spot from which to access tourist development along the coast but still live a wholesome, peaceful life in the "country." While the park attracts tourists from Jacó and San José, an even larger

attraction is the bridge that crosses the Tarcoles River; home to large, fear-inducing crocodiles that languidly lounge on its calm shores. This is a must stop attraction about eight miles north of Tarcoles and 10 miles north of Quebrado Ganado. By the time international tourists arriving from the airport in San José and locals from San José reach the park, just beyond these two communities, the desire to stop is much less despite the roadside amenities. One restaurant owner the PI interviewed bemoaned the fact that many tourists pass over these small towns on their way to Jacó, taking their money with them. While there are certainly restaurants, grocery stores, and cafes in Quebrado Ganado, it is more common to see locals in them than tourists.

Tarcoles

Tarcoles, located just a few miles down the road from Quebrado Ganado, factored much less in this research study. This town was not labeled as a hot spot for population growth, but being in such close proximity to the entrance to the park, it was an important case to include in the sample as these informants could possibly have a different relationship to the park due to that proximity. Tarcoles is very different from Quebrado Ganado. Whereas inhabitants of Quebrado Ganado seem relatively well off despite their working class status, Tarcoles seems much less economically viable. The town's primary economic activity is connected to the fishing cooperative located in the center of town as opposed to tourism. The town is located right on the ocean but has a less desirable beach than Jacó. In fact, the beach around the town is largely devoted to fishing equipment and activities. It experiences unsightly runoff from the Tarcoles River and therefore does not benefit from coastal tourism like Jacó. The bus drops you off on the highway, but it is easy to walk through and quite small. In the center of town is a large fútbol field where

the town congregates after the sun sets to watch teams from all parts of Costa Rica play. If not for the fishing cooperative where the PI found the three participants she interviewed here, the PI would have headed to the field to try her luck.

Orotina

The last site that was included in the study was Orotina. This large, semi-urban area is a transit and economic hub for the surrounding small towns. Before the new Highway 27 was built linking San José to the coast (and more importantly to tourist destinations) the old highway (deliciously named El Aguacate or "avocado") passed straight through the center of town. For this reason, many of the restaurants and cafes are still up and running, catering to the visitors leisurely driving along the old highway. Additionally, the large numbers of farms in the surrounding area strongly economically influence the town. These farms are sources of employment for people living in Orotina, although their employment seems to be seasonal. That being said, the areas of Orotina that were recognized as "hot spots" were located far outside the city center and on the edge of town. In contrast to Quebrado Ganado and Tarcoles, navigating around the sprawling urban center of Orotina was difficult and tedious. The idyllic anthropological fieldwork experience the PI was able to have in Quebrado Ganado and Tarcoles was absent here. For this reason, the PI largely relied on one informant to set up interviews, which occurred in his house. Another informant, an under-the-table taxi cab driver, picked the PI up from the bus stop and drove her around town. Oftentimes, he would wait for the PI to finish the interview for a nominal fee. The PI became very good friends with these two people and their families.

Figure 3.1   10 Kilometer buffer zone around Carara National Park (OdD 2012).

CHAPTER IV

QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

Introduction

Exploring motivations for migrating to the buffer zones of parks through quantitative methods is crucial in determining whether or not this phenomenon can be explained on a macro level through analysis of the aggregate group responses of migrants. Additionally, a more micro level of understanding of this trend is also presented here through the analysis of the importance of certain terms in a migrant's motivation to move to the buffer zone of Carara National Park. Participants' knowledge of the domain of motivations to migrate has been analyzed through the use of the CCA methods to determine whether or not there is consensus.

Human processes impact parks and protected areas worldwide; migration to the peripheries of parks puts pressure on biological diversity protected within the park (Wittemyer et al. 2008). Understanding whether or not there is a shared cultural model of motivations to migrate in Costa Rica can move the conversation forward on how to conserve ecological hotspots and develop communities. Further, the PI chose gender as a lens in which to more specifically analyze this trend because of its category as a social and cultural construct and its ability to highlight even more nuanced understandings of motivations to migrate. The gender related data generated from the analysis in this study could also be compared to literature on gender and migration on an international level.

44

The following chapter first discusses the demographic data collected through the interviews, which describes the data set. Then, this chapter discusses the data derived from the results of CCA, which answers the hypothesis that men and women would share a single cultural model of migration to park peripheries. After, the PI presents the results of the statistical tests the PI ran on likert scale data, which answers the research question regarding motivations to migrate to Carara National Park

Demographic Data

The demographic data is presented in Table 4.1. The demographic information collected included continuous variables such as: age (years) and time spent in new community (years). Categorical variables included: location within buffer zone (Quebrado Ganado, Tarcoles, or Orotina), gender (male or female) and relationship status (married, single, divorced, civil union). The table below describes the age and length of time in the participants' receiving communities. Descriptive statistics for this sample are demonstrated below. The mean age of the participants was 39.57, the mean age for women was 36.53 and the mean age for men was 41.33. While the range in age for the sample of men is more drastic than the women's sample, the mean for each sample demonstrates that the average age was very similar for both groups. The average time spent in the community (since relocating) is just under five years for the entire sample. The average time spent in the community for the women's sample is 3.63 and the average time spent in the community for the men's sample is 5.75. The range for the men's sample for time spent in community, again, is greater, however the means of both samples demonstrate that the length of time spent in the community is similar for both men and women.

45

Table 4.1   Descriptive Statistics of Informants from Carara National Park Buffer Zone

Descriptive Statistics	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean
Age in years	30	21	62	39.57
Female	15	21	52	36.53
Male	15	26	72	41.33
Time in community in years	30	.22	17.0	4.702
Female	15	.22	11	3.63
Male	15	.25	17	5.75

Results of Cultural Consensus Analysis

The PI used a statistical software program called ANTHROPAC to determine whether the ratings results had consensus. In other words, the PI tested the hypothesis that men and women migrated for similar reasons by determining whether there was a cultural model in their decision to migrate. The 30 participants interviewed for this thesis research were asked to respond to the following question: "Please tell me whether or not each of these terms are important or not important for people who are making the decision to migrate **(0=Not important, 1=Important)".** Then, participants were asked to further rate the terms that were deemed important as **(0=really not important, 1=not very important, 2=neutral, 3=important, 4=really important)** in a migrant's decision to migrate. The responses were verbally noted and coded into text boxes by the PI then tested for cultural consensus through Anthropac. The first rating question is a

46

dichotomous rating. In order to determine if there is a shared cultural model of understanding within this domain, the crucial indicator to analyze is the eigenvalue ratio. According to Collins and Dressler (2008:374), the eigenvalue ratio demonstrates "whether there is a sufficient level of agreement among individuals in the analysis to conclude the existence of a shared model."

The results of the CCA demonstrated no consensus. The eigenvalue for the rating exercise for factor one was 4.884 and the eigenvalue factor two was 2.258. The ratio of factor one was 2.1 and the ratio of factor two was to 1.7, which is too low to fulfill the three to one threshold for determining consensus (Collins and Dressler 2008). The percentage of variability explained through factor one was 57.9% while the second factor explained 26.8% of variability. Factor three explained 15.3% of variability. Anthropac also determines the average competence score for the data set. The competence score is an analysis of how closely each individual rates the terms of the data as compared to the group (Collins and Dressler 2008). The competence score for this set was 0.30, which demonstrates that this data set has a low level of agreement between individuals and the group. Finally, the standard deviation also indicates intracultural variation. The higher the standard deviation, the more intracultural variation exists. The standard deviation for this data set was 0.30, indicating again that there is significant variation in how individuals rate the terms of importance as compared to the group. Therefore, the responses from the dichotomous rating activity do not share consensus. These results demonstrate that among this study's sample there is not a single cultural model that explains the domain of motivations to migrate. The Costa Ricans who migrated to the buffer zone of Carara

47

National Park and who participated in this study do not share a model regarding importance in the decision for a migrant to move.

Figures 4.1 and 4.2 demonstrate the results of CCA visually through SPSS. Plotting individual competence scores that are outputted through the Anthropac analysis into SPSS create scatterplots that can visually represent the relationship between the participant responses. The scatterplots help to represent the relationship of the sample in a similar or dissimilar manner. The x axis in these scatterplots represent factor one, or the participants' competence scores while the y axis represents factor two and each circle represents a participant. The scatterplot in Figure 4.1 represents the competence scores for the entire sample, while Figure 4.2 represents the responses coded by gender. The lack of cluster for the sample as a whole and coded for gender visually demonstrates that what the Anthropac output details'; that this sample does not share consensus terms' importance in a migrant's motivation to migrate.
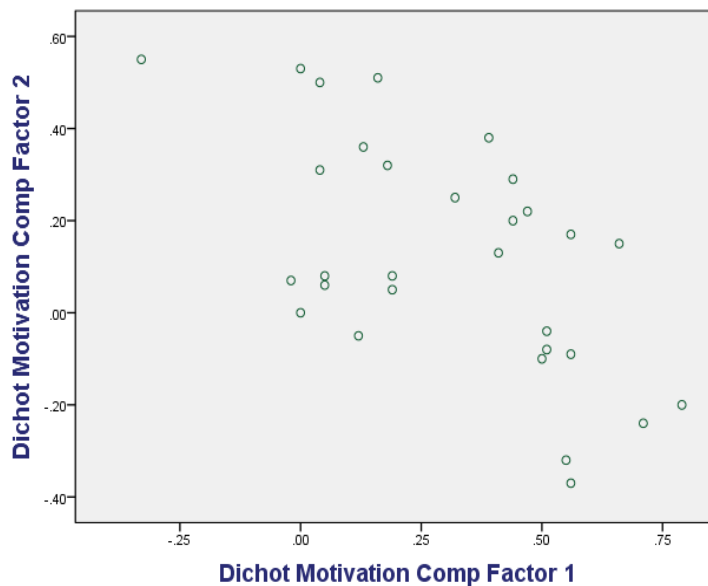

Figure 4.1   Scatterplot of Competence Scores for Entire Sample

48
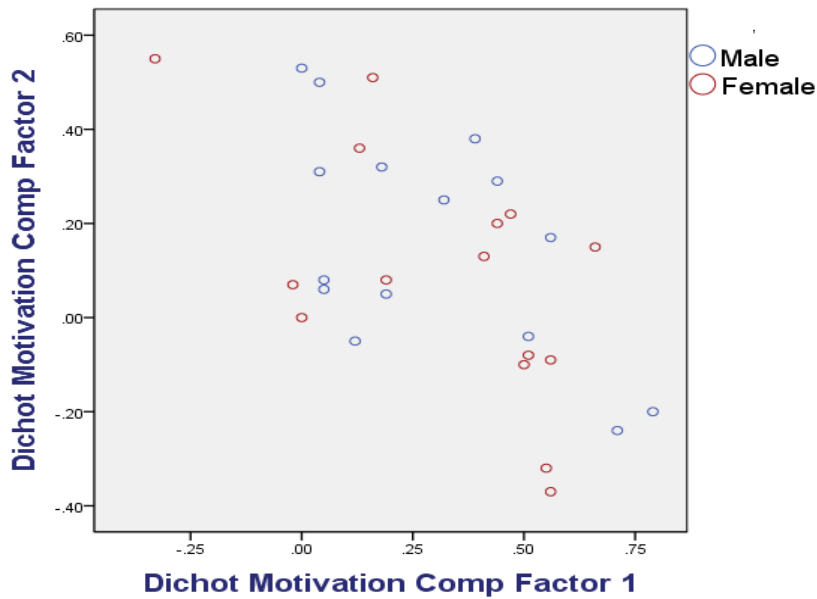
Figure 4.2   Scatterplot of Competence Scores by Gender

Since the visual representation of the results of CCA on the scatterplot can help

identify dissimilarity or similarity in a sample, it is quite visually clear from the

scatterplot listed above that neither the male or female group would appear to have

consensus as separate groups. This conclusion was confirmed when the PI parsed out the

female and male rating responses from the dichotomous rating activity. The eigenvalue

ratio for the female data set for factor one was 2.4 and for factor two was 1.3 with 57.6%

of variability explained through factor one, which does not meet the 3:1 threshold and

therefore demonstrates a lack of consensus in this group. The average competency score

was 0.31 and the standard deviation was 0.30 and both of these analyses demonstrated

that a high level of intracultural variation persisted within this group. Thus, the female

49

group did not fulfill the requirements for demonstrating consensus. The male data set told a similar story in response to the dichotomous rating activity. The eigenvalue for this group for factor one was 1.9 and for factor two was 1.7 with 55.5% variability explained by factor one. The average competency score was low at 0.32 and the standard deviation was high at 0.23 demonstrating too much intracultural variation within the sample to determine consensus with this domain. So, not only did the group as a whole set demonstrate a lack of consensus, the male and female groups did not have consensus when parsed out as individual data sets either.

The second rating task also did not demonstrate consensus to migrate within this sample. The second rating task asked participants to further assign values to their dichotomous yes responses as demonstrated above. The eigenvalue for factor one was 6.5 while the eigenvalue for factor two was 3.7. The ratio of the eigenvalue for factor one was 1.8 and the eigenvalue ratio for factor two was 2.3. The percentage of variation explained by factor one was 54.9% and the percentage of variation explained by factor two was 31.3% leaving 13.7% to be explained by factor three. Therefore, this demonstrates that the second rating activity also does not support a single cultural model. Additionally, the data sets parsed out by gender for the second rating task also did not demonstrate consensus. The eigenvalue ratio for the male data set for factor one was 1.8 and the eigenvalue ratio for factor two was 1.8 and the percentage of variation explained by factor one was 54.5% and the percentage of variation explained by factor two was 29.6%. The eigenvalue ratio for the female data set for factor one was 1.7 and the eigenvalue ratio for factor two was 2.5 with 55.8% of variability explained by factor one and 32.1% of variability explained by factor two.

Statistical Tests on Ratings Data

Next, the PI used EXCEL to test mean and mode of each term in order to better understand the significance of each term in relation to migration. While the way in which the questions were phrased did not allow the PI to explicitly ask the migrants to rate the terms based on significance in their own decision to migrate, analyzing each term can tell us which reasons are most important in a migrant's decision to migrate. The PI used statistical analysis of the rating data in order dissect each term in relation to a migrant's decision to migrate; while CCA can determine aggregate responses, it does not account for the individual importance of each word/concept. The PI conducted statistical tests in Rstudio using the Rcommander package. First, the PI used these programs to determine descriptive statistics on the data set for men and women separately. The PI used EXCEL on the data set as a whole to determine the mode and mean for the numerical response of each term. The PI then tested the data set for normality using the Shapiro Wilkes Test through Rstudio. The Shapiro Wilkes test is a statistical test that assesses whether or not a data set is normally distributed by testing against the null hypothesis that the data set is normal. If the p-value is less than .05, the hypothesis is rejected and the data is not normal. The PI tested each numerical variable and all of the terms had a p-value that was less than .05, which indicates that the data set was not normal. This means that using standard multivariate analyses would not be possible likely due to the small size of the sample.

A non-parametric test is necessary when the data are non-normal. A non-parametric test does not make assumptions about the outcomes of the variables because it is distribution free (Madrigal 1998). Since the data set is small (30 participants) it is

51

recommended that the researcher not try to transform the data set to make it normal, but instead, use a non-parametric test (Madrigal 1998). The PI chose to conduct a Mann-Whitney Test, also known as a Wilcoxon Rank Sum Test or a Mann-Whitney-Wilxocon Test, through Rcommander on the likert scale data. The Mann Whitney tests whether there is a statistical difference between the medians of one numeric dependent variable (Likert scale response) that is grouped by one categorical independent variable ('Home' or 'Park') between two populations or groups (gender). It tests against the null hypothesis that the medians of the two populations are identical (Bernard 2006) which, if not true, would mean that the two groups have differing rates of responses to each term. The PI ran the test on each of the 55 terms to determine whether or not men and women rate the terms similarly or dissimilarly.

Statistical Test Results

Test for Mode and Mean

The PI tested for the mode and mean in EXCEL. The terms that were highest rated (modes of 4) for women were: safety, tranquility, work, beach, animals, quality of life, peace, river, education, drugs, business, delinquency, overpopulation, poverty, countryside, traffic, economy, self-improvement and recreation. The terms that were rated the highest (modes of 4) for men were: safety, tranquility, work, beach, animal, quality of life, peace, river, contamination, delinquency, countryside, robbery, self-improvement, insecurity, beauty, violence, nature, and noise. Table 4.2 is a visual summarization of the terms that were most frequently highly rated by gender. The highlighted terms represent rating similarities across gender.

52

Table 4.2   Most Frequently Rated Terms by Gender (highlighted terms are responses shared by men and women)

Highest Rated Terms By Gender	
Men	Women
Safety	Safety
Tranquility	Tranquility
Work	Work
Beach	Beach
Animals	Animals
Quality of Life	Quality of Life
Peace	Peace
River	River
Overpopulation	Overpopulation
Self-Improvement	Self-Improvement
Delinquency	Delinquency
Beauty	Nature
Insecurity	Education
Contamination	Poverty
Countryside	Countryside
Robbery	Traffic
Violence	Economy
Nature	Recreation
Noise	Drugs

Based on these summaries, it is interesting to note that while this sample did not have cultural consensus, the terms do seem to be rated similarly based on gender. Both genders rated work, most commonly, as being very important in a migrant's decision to migrate. Many of the terms rated very highly by both men and women include amenity terms (such as quality of life, tranquility, beach etc.) and negative terms oftentimes

associated with their home communities (violence, contamination, robbery) as will be discussed in the qualitative chapter.

While the mode determines the most common responses, it is limited in its ability to portray the reality of the ratings. This is because it cannot accurately describe the range of the responses. For this reason, the PI looked at the means of the terms through the Rstudio outputs to determine averages of how the participants rated the terms. Amazingly, the terms with the highest mean ratings for the populations together were all quality of life and amenity-based terms. The terms with the highest mean ratings of the sample were tranquility (3.4), peace (3.5), nature (3.5), quality of life (3.4), living in a beautiful place (3.1), safety (2.93) and countryside (3.2). Work (2.5) and economy (2.1) factored much less into a migrant's decision to migrate when considering means. The discrepancy between the mode and the mean in regards to how the migrants rated the term work could be attributed to the range of the participant ratings. Since the mean is the average and the mode is the most frequent response, neither of these tools can represent the data on their own. This is why, in combination with the results of the CCA and the content of the semi-structured interviews, a mixed methods approach is important. What these two tests demonstrate is that quality of life indicators are large factors in a migrant's decision to migrate to the buffer zone of Carara National Park.

Table 4.3   Means of the Ratings of the Terms (highlighted terms have highest means with 2.5 cutoff).

Terms	Mean	Terms	Mean	Terms	Mean
Peace	3.47	Delinquency	2.40	Sports Area	1.69
Nature	3.45	Robbery	2.27	Garbage	1.63
Tranquility	3.43	Insecurity	2.21	Alcoholism	1.60
Quality of Life	3.40	Health	2.17	Transportation	1.59
Country	3.17	Park	2.13	Supermarkets	1.59
Beautiful Place	3.10	Traffic	2.13	Unemployment	1.57
Safety	2.93	Economy	2.13	Electric Lights	1.57
River	2.77	Business	2.07	Food	1.50
Recreation	2.70	Water	2.03	Centrality	1.43
Animals	2.67	Overpopulation	2.03	Poverty	1.40
Self Improvement	2.63	People	1.93	Agriculture	1.27
Noise	2.62	Drugs	1.90	Banks	1.24
Beach	2.57	Highways	1.90	Medical Services	1.03
Contamination	2.50	Climate	1.87	Prostitution	0.97
Cleanliness	2.48	Commodities	1.86	Prices	0.90
Work	2.47	Education	1.83	Volcano	0.83
Family	2.45	Services	1.77	Government	0.40
Violence	2.41	Social Environment	1.73		
Tourism	2.40	Culture	1.70		

Mann Whitney Test Results

Contrary to what the PI hypothesized, the Mann Whitney test results show that only a few terms were rated differently in a statistically significant manner between men and women. In order for the test to reject the null hypothesis that men and women would have identical ratings based on median, the terms must generate a p-value of less than .05. The only terms to generate a p-value of less than .05 were health (0.01733) poverty (0.04) and sport (0.03). This means there was a statistically significant difference in the way that men and women rated these terms and only these three terms. So, men and women tend to rate the terms in more similar than dissimilar ways demonstrating gender does not have a strong influence on how terms are individually rated.

The preceding section presented the results of the quantitative analyses. The analyses sought to test hypothesis one that men and women would share a single cultural model of migration to the park peripheries and that there would be intracultural variation as seen by varing degrees of knowledge of that model through CCA. The statistical analyses sought to answer the research questions regarding whether men and women's motivations to migrate were different. The results of CCA disprove the PI's hypothesis. There was no consensus on motivations to migrate within the sample as a whole, nor parsed out in groups by gender. The statistical analyses of the likert data demonstrate that men and women report that the reasons for migrating are similar between the genders, particularly evident through the Mann Whitney results. In this sample, key terms that presented as most important to the participants by mode and mean were quality of life terms like tranquility and peace. One discrepancy between the test for mode and mean was the importance of work in a migrant's decision to migrate. The following section will further explore the research question regarding motivations to migrate through the own words of the migrants. The PI will compare the results statistical analyses in this chapter to the results of the semi-structured interviews in order to enhance this study's conclusions.

CHAPTER V

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

In the last section I detailed the results of the quantitative data. While the CCA results demonstrated that the group as whole, nor parsed out by gender, did not share consensus around the cultural domain of motivations to migrate to Carara park periphery, the statistical and descriptive results paint a more complex picture. Mann Whitney tests demonstrate that men and women rate the terms of the motivations to migrate similarly; only three terms were rated statistically different between genders. The following section supplements these findings through the results of the qualitative portion of the interview. This section will use migrants' own voices to answer the questions this thesis-and the literature before it-is asking. In the first section the migrants respond to why they decided to move to the buffer zone of Carara National Park. Then, I will present the participant responses on employment (if employed) in the area in order to understand what types of jobs (in what industry) the participants have. Finally, I will discuss the role of the park in the participants' lives. Interviews were analyzed using open coding methods (Ryan and Bernard 2003). The PI began by scrutinizing the interviews and scanning for repetition of word choice and wording. Themes were established through this initial analysis; the PI then coded specifically for those themes and proceeded to cut and sort (using Microsoft word) specific quotes together based on patterns of similarity.

57

<center>**Motivations to Migrate**</center>

Tranquility and Peace

   Both men and women overwhelming cited their desire to live in a peaceful, tranquil area as a primary reason in migrating to the buffer zone of Carara National Park. Many of these responses also included some reference to natural beauty, implying that this peace and beauty is derived from the natural, more rural setting of the area. Of the 30 respondents interviewed, 20 participants cited some aspect of peace, natural beauty, or tranquility as their primary motivation to move. Some of these responses were explained through health reasons. Mari, 31, moved from the bustling town of San Isidro with her family in search of a healthier climate and a more peaceful place to raise her daughter.

> "We came here because we lived in a really cold climate and I have a problem with my back and…the…the climate is very good (here). In addition, because it is healthier and more peaceful here than in San José (province) to raise my daughter."

> *Vinimos por acá porque vivíamos en un clima muy frío entonces yo tengo un problema en la espalda…y el, el clima caliente es muy bueno. Además, porque es más sano y más tranquilo aquí que en San José (province) para la crianza de ella (su hija).*

   Eric, a local veterinarian, left his thriving vet clinic in San José (San Juan de Tibas) with his partner and moved to the area not because of a job opportunity but because he wanted a more relaxed lifestyle. Now, he operates a modest vet clinic on the edge of Quebrado Ganado and works with Carara National Park when the park personnel

<center>58</center>

find wounded animals. While he states the community didn't have a vet, his primary motive was not to run the clinic; in fact, he told me that many people don't have the means to pay him up front or to pay in full. He operates on a low budget and helps many people and their pets for free.

> "I decided to come to Quebrado Ganado principally because it is a very beautiful place. Because there weren't any vets. I decided because I like the beach. I like nature and because it is a very pure place, very clean."

> *Me decidí venir a Quebrado Ganado por principalmente, porque es un lugar muy bonito. Porque no habían veterinarios. Me decidí porque me gusta la playa. Me gusta la naturaleza y porque es un lugar muy puro, muy limpio.*

Mauricio, 55, also came to Quebrado Ganado because he was sick of the busy San José from where he came.

> "Well, especially because I wanted to live in a more open place, like the countryside, where there would be better quality of air. There wasn't as much garbage. There wasn't as much delinquency. All the problems that a big city brings, even though San José is a small city in relation to other cities in other countries of the world, but it still has significant problems. Too much.

> *Bueno, especialmente porque querría vivir en un lugar más abierto, como el paisaje, donde iría mejor calidad de aire. No había tanta basura. No había tanta delincuencia. Todos poblemos que llevan una ciudad.. a pesar*

de San José es una ciudad pequeña en relación con ciudades de otros

países del mundo, pero ya tiene problemas bastantes significativos en

cuanto eso. Entonces demasiado.

Estera, 23, came for very similar reasons from San José.

> "I got outta my life (there). I have kids and it is safer (here), more nature.
> Better quality of life."

> *Me saque mi vida. Tengo hijos y aquí es mas seguro, mas naturaleza.*
> *Mejor calidad de vida.*

While Julia's boyfriend, who lived in Orotina, asked the 27 year old to relocate
for their relationship, she said a deciding factor in her decision to move in with him was
the natural beauty of Orotina versus her hometown of San José. The proximity to the
beach helped her decision, too.

> "Well, I decided to come here because it is a beautiful place. I like the
> beach, the climate, Orotina is a change. I always lived in San José, and I
> came here for two, three days, and then you go and now I have been here
> for a month and a half here and I love it. I think I like it better than living in
> San José. I love it here. Love it. I want to stay for the rest of my life."

> *Bueno, yo me decidí venir acá porque es un lugar bonito. Me gusta la*
> *playa, el clima, cambiar un poco de Orotina. Siempre viví en San José, y*
> *vino por dos, tres días y te vas y ya que tengo mes y media de estar aquí,*

me encantado. Pienso que encima de vivir en San José, me encanta aquí.

Me encanta. Todo la vida quiero quedar.

The number of participants who voiced similar reasons for migrating was astounding in their cohesion. These responses mimic the results of the Likert scale terms that were rated the highest—tranquility and safety.

> "Because in San José life is ... how do I say it ... too much delinquency, a lot of noise, lots of murders. Instead, here you come here , and here is a peace, a tranquility. So we decided to leave San José running and come to a place of peace and tranquility."

> *Porque San José la vida esta… que le digo…demasiado mucha delincuencia, pusó mucho ruido, mucho asesinatos. En cambio, aquí uno venido aquí, y aquí es uno paz, una tranquilidad. Por eso nos decidimos salir corriendo de San José y venir a un lugar de paz y tranquilidad (Suzy).*

> "The…the recreation, the peace that is here. There is a peace here that you can't find in the city. More tranquil. Less delinquency, less drug addiction. No alcoholism here. More beauty, farms."

> *La…la recreación, la paz que hay acá. Hay aquí una paz que no consigan en la ciudad. Más tranquilo. Menos delincuencia, menos drogadicción. Cero alcoholismo aquí. Mas bonito, fincas (Laura).*

> "Peace. Peace is the most valuable."

> *Paz. Paz valora más (Don Julio).*

61

"Ehm, for peace, tranquility, family. And to get away from the pressure that characterizes living in the capital."

Eh, por paz, tranquilidad, la familia. Y salir de la presión que significado vivir en el capital (Ezekiel).

"A moment arrived in which I felt suffocated by the city. A family project arose, here in Orotina, with the hotel. So, I came. Also, in reality, ever since I was an adolescent I always thought about living in a more tranquil place. Because even though the city…well, um, it has its benefits but it also has negative things. For example, delinquency, insecurity, drug addiction, prostitution, things that one…doesn't like."

Llegó un momento que me sofoque de la ciudad. Y apareció un proyecto familiar, aquí en Orotina, eh era con el hotel. Entonces, me vine. También, en realidad yo desde que estaba adolescente siempre había pensado en vivir en un lugar mas tranquilo. Porque aunque la ciudad…digamos, este, tiene sus beneficios también tiene otras cosas negativas. Por ejemplo, la delincuencia, la inseguridad, la drogadicción, la prostitución, cosas que uno… no le gusta (Manuel).

Tranquility and Work

Secondary to tranquility and peace (and nature) was the question of work. Oftentimes migrants moved for both reasons. Twenty-two participants mentioned work as being a motivator in some form or another. However, only six listed work as the only motivation in moving to the buffer zone of Carara National Park. The others underscored

the idea of seeking a peaceful place to live while also considering job opportunities. Jose, 41, moved because he wanted to be closer to his work and because he loved the tranquility of Quebrado Ganado. Our conversation was similar to other conversations I had with many of the participants. Work, as it is for all of us, certainly plays a part in weighing the costs and benefits of moving to a new location. That isn't remarkable. The combination of prioritizing for environmental amenities and, secondarily, economic reasons is remarkable.

> "Ahh, it was a question of proximity and ease in getting to work. True. Yes, we found an opportunity to have our own house in a place that is very beautiful and very nice and so I came. The nature, there is a lot of nature. This was also very agreeable. True, eh, the other factor was the factor of nature. I like the mountain; I like the countryside, a little. I like the city but combined with the mountains and another reason is because…Quebrado Ganado is a place where a person comes to rest. There isn't much noise so people rest here."

> *Ehh…fue por una cuestión mas de cercanía y comodidad para ir a trabajar. Verdad. Si, encontramos una oportunidad de tener casa propia en un lugar que es bonito y agradable para esto lo que vine, la natural, hay mucha naturaleza. Entonces nos agrade esto. Verdad, eh, la otra factor era la factor de naturaleza. Me gusta la montana—me gusta el campo, un poco. Me gusta la ciudad pero combinado con las montanas, y otro es porque…es como…Quebrado Ganado es como un lugar donde viene a descansar, no hay mucho ruido entonces una descansa más.*

63

Others underscored the idea of seeking a peaceful place to live while also considering job opportunities.

> "I wanted to live in a more peaceful place….in the country. My husband got a job in construction at Punta Leona and we moved here."

> *Quería vivir en un lugar más tranquil...en el paisaje. Mi esposo tenía una oportunidad de trabajo….trabajando construcción aquí en Punta Leona.. y vinimos por acá (Lisa).*

> "We came for work but also because I like the beach. And, it was a better place to raise my daughters. More tranquil."

> *Nos venimos aquí por el trabajo, pero además de que me gusta la playa. Y era un lugar bonito para que mis hijas crecerían. Y más tranquilo (Sara).*

> "There is so much tranquility here. Nature…I love nature. The town is very quiet, there isn't noise, there isn't violence, it is clean and it is close to Jacó where we work."

> *Hay tanto tranquilidad aquí. La naturaleza…me encanta la naturaleza. Este pueblo…no hay ruido, no hay violencia, esta limpio y esta cerca a Jacó donde trabajamos nosotros (David).*

> "For work but also in order to change my life. I wanted to get myself out of a loud world…here you can live in tranquility.

64

Por el trabajo, pero también para cambiar mi vida. Querría salirme de ese mundo ruidoso…aquí uno vive muy tranquilo (Samuel).

"Work, for health reasons, and because I love the countryside."

Por trabajo, cuestiones de la salud, y porque me encanta el paisaje (Daniel).

"I needed to get out of the city (San José). There is a lot of nature and so much peace. I found a job opportunity at the hotel."

Tenía que irme la ciudad (San José). Hay mucha naturaleza y tanto paz. Encontré oportunidad de trabajo al hotel (Jorge).

"For the question of work. But, also a little bit because of security. Security principally, and also, the tranquility in the region. Less congestion than in San José. And…for recreation. It is better here on the nature level than in San José. In San José, there are more theaters, movie theaters, but very few parks. And, unfortunately, above everything else there is so much contamination. For my health. These are all principal reasons."

Por el cuestión de trabajo….pero por un poquito lo que es la seguridad. La seguridad principalmente y también ese...la tranquilidad de la zona. Menos congestionada que es en San José. Y….de la….expresarse recreación. Es mas bien para acá al nivel natural que en San José. En San José es mas teatros, cines…hay muy poco parques de recreación. Y

65

lamentablemente hay mucho contaminación sobre todo. Por la salud. Estos todos son razones principales (Mauricio).

"I came because I had work in a hotel. I love the place, it is very calm, very tranquil, and the people are really tranquil. There isn't…it is slower…where I came from there is a lot of contamination, so much noise. I like to live in peace so here in Quebrado Ganado there is so much peace, so much silence, it is beautiful."

Eh, me vine porque tenia trabajo en un hotel. Me encanta el lugar, es muy pacifico, es muy tranquilo, la gente es muy tranquila. No hay…es muy despacio así como….donde ya salí tanta contaminación, tanta escandalo. A mi me gusta vivir en paz entonces aquí en Quebrado hay demasiado paz, hay demasiado silencio, y es bonito (Ana).

"I came for work. But I stayed because of the tranquility, the beach. I love beauty of the coast."

Vine por trabajo. Pero aquí me quede por la tranquilidad, la playa, y la belleza de la costa (Florencia).

"My husband's work. It was an economic opportunity but also to live by the coast. By the pacific, it is tranquil. San José there is lots of pollution. Here, no. There isn't any prostitution."

Trabaja de mi esposo. Era una oportunidad económica pero también a vivir a la costa. Cerca del pacifico, es muy tranquilo. Allá en San José hay mucho contaminación. Aquí, no. No hay prostitución (Eliza).

Of course, there were a handful of participants who moved to the area solely for the purpose of work. Six participants listed no other reasons than work, four of whom were men. Two women stated that their primary reason to migrate was because both married men who were from the area and two other women listed work and family as their primary reasons to move.

Employment

In the second section of the qualitative interview, the PI asked the participants a series of questions relating to their current and previous employment history in order to determine how men and women experience the economic aspects of migration differently. When considering employment and employment history, gendered differences played a prominent role here. Of the thirty participants, twenty-three were currently employed around Carara National Park. All fifteen men (100%) responded as currently employed. Seven of the women were not employed or earning a salary. Two of those women were students and the other five women were "amas de casa" (housewives) attending to children and household duties. Here we see the influence of traditional gender roles manifested in employment demographics that despite migration reflect the same imbalance at the Costa Rican national level. The UN and the World Bank estimate that 46% of women in Costa Rica are currently working in the non-agricultural workforce (UNdata 2014; World Bank 2014). The percentage of women in this sample that were

67

currently employed (also all in the non-agricultural workforce) was the same, at 46%. So, while there is a notable difference in the percentage of employed men versus employed women in this sample, it mimics the national percentage and is thus related more to a social-cultural trend than to one instigated by migration to Carara National Park.

Employment Comparison

A comparison of the types of jobs the participants held before they migrated to the buffer zone and the jobs they held at the time of the interview is important for understanding what elements of employment draw migrants to live around the border of Carara National Park. This analysis of this information can determine whether or not a certain type of work is attracting migrants to the area and whether that type of work is influenced by Carara National Park. Interestingly, only seven of the currently employed participants had jobs that were very similar to their jobs in their previous communities, and all were men. Three of these participants worked in construction and had relocated to work construction around Jacó. One had previously worked in restaurants in San José and had opened up his own *soda* (small restaurant) in Quebrado Ganado. Another participant had worked as a mechanic outside of San José and continued working as a mechanic when he moved to Quebrado Ganado. The other three were professionals, one a lawyer, one a pharmacist and the other a veterinarian. Three participants had worked in the service industry in their previous communities in some form or the other but did not describe their current service industry jobs as similar to their previous ones. The fact that most participants cited a change in work after relocating is interesting only when considering the primary motivations of many of the participants, which was a change of lifestyle- oftentimes from the busy, chaotic city to the quiet, naturally beautiful setting

68

around the park. In other words, finding work is important but the environment in which work is found is of primary importance. The idea that seeking out a peaceful environment while also finding a job is elucidated from the words of the participants in regards to the level of satisfaction in their current job in comparison to their previous job, which was explicitly asked of all current and previously employed participants. The combination of seeking a new lifestyle while also finding employment is echoed in the words of many of the participants below.

Ella, who moved with her family to start a restaurant talked to me a lot about how their business was struggling. They weren't sure they would be able to stay. When I asked, however, what her level of satisfaction with her job was, she stated the following.

Jessy: "And, like a comparison, are you more satisfied in your work now in this place or before?"

Y en como a una comparación, esta usted mas satisfecha con su trabajo ahora o en su lugar antes?

Ella: "The one here. More tranquility. Less pressure and more tranquility. The truth."

En la de acá. Mas tranquilidad. Menos presion y mas tranquilidad. La verdad.

Despite the struggles facing the restaurant, her overall satisfaction with her job and lifestyle in her current community surpasses her level of satisfaction in her previous community due to the peace and tranquility of the town and surrounding area. Ella

dramatically changed her life; not only did she move locations, but she changed her career, after eight years of working as a hairstylist in San José for a chance at some peace.

Karen, an architecture student, worked for a well known architect making design models and building houses for lower income people at a university in San José. I was impressed and asked her if she wanted to continue to pursue her career in San José after she graduated. She said definitely not. Her love of the beach kept her near the coast, despite an impressive job in San José.

"No, absolutely no. I want to stay here and work in Jacó. Near the beach."

No, absolutamente no. Quiero quedarme acá y trabajar en Jacó. Cerca de la playa.

Eliza, who worked in retail in Orotina, said that her wages were worse in Orotina but she liked the slower pace of the city and the proximity to nature and the beach.

"No, no here, there isn't work. I work 10-12 hours a day and my salary isn't as good as the one I had (in Heredia). But, I like it better here- the nature, I have my family, the beach. Better here."

No, no aquí no hay trabajo. Trabajo 10-12 horas por día y mi salario no es tan bueno como el trabajo que tenia (Heredia). Pero me gusta mas aquí- la natureleza, tengo mi familia, la playa. Mejor aqui.

Don Julio also expressed a greater job satisfaction in his current career due to the tranquility in the area and not his economic improvement. He said he has come to appreciate that tranquility, more than wages, over time.

> "They are…they are found realities. San José offers a better economic condition. There is greater commercial movement but one can also say pressure from city life. Here, my pockets are empty but there is tranquility. And, it is cheaper to live. I want to live poor but happy."

> *Son…son…este…son realidades encontradas. San José ofrece mayor condición económica. Hay un movimiento comercial mas grande pero dice uno mas presionado por la ciudad. Aquí, estando bolsillos vacíos, pero hay tranquilidad. Y es mas barrato vivir. Quiero vivir pobre pero feliz.*

Perhaps Mari was the one to express this idea the most succinctly when she described why she thought people migrated to the area. She asserted that work is, obviously, important in seeking a new lifestyle, but the lifestyle migrants to the area are seeking has nothing really to do with that work.

> Mari: "Everyone comes seeking tranquility, looking….almost everyone who came from San José came to work here. To look for their own destiny or something so we all came for the same reasons."

> *Todo venimos a buscar tranquilidad, buscar….casi todo los que vinimos de San José vinimos a trabajar acá . A buscar su propio destino o algo entonces todos vinimos por la misma perspectiva.*

> Jessy: "Yes, to look for tranquility and a life…"

71

Si, para buscar la tranquilidad y una vida…

Mari: "Equally, everyone has to work, but here it is more tranquil…less stress than San José. San José…more expensive, lots of people, lots of cost. Here there are situations, there are problems but the environment makes it easier."

Igual, hay que trabajar igual, igual solo que esto mas tranquilo…menos estresante que San José. San José…mucho carro, mucha gente, mucho costo. Aquí hay situaciones, hay problemas pero el ambiente que hace solo maneja mejor.

Eric's economic situation certainly did not improve when he moved from San José to Quebrado Ganado to practice as a veterinarian. Eric came to the area also seeking tranquility and peace. When asked if he was more or less satisfied with his job in his previous community in San José or with his current practice in Quebrado Ganado, he talked about his economic satisfaction in his old job. Eric told me that his clients in Quebrado Ganado were less educated and poorer than his clients in San José. For this reason, they undervalued the services of a veterinarian, and oftentimes didn't have the money to pay him for his treatments.

"People come here [to his clinic] and many people say 'I don't have money' so I just make a note and then try to track them down later. And later, they don't come and pay even though I call them. It is a…serious situation. Not everyone, but some. So, I am satisfied with both (of my jobs) but economically I was more satisfied with the one I had before."

72

Aquí la gente llega lo primero dice mucha gente 'no traigo plata' entonces tengo que notarlos y tengo que tocar. Y después no viene a pagar aunque llamando. Es una situación…grave. No son todos pero algunos….Digamos, que con mi trabajo..estoy satisfecho con ambos (trabajos) pero económicamente estaba mas satisfecho antes.

Still, he said he found what he was looking for here—a slower pace of life and natural beauty of the area.

Mauricio, a lawyer, had a similar opinion regarding his level of satisfaction with his job in his previous community and his job in Quebrado Ganado.

Jessy: "Were you satisfied with your job that you had before you moved in San José?"

Estaba usted satisfecho con su trabajo que tenia antes de que se mudo? En San José?

Mauricio: "From an economic point of view, yes."

Desde punto de vista económica, si.

Jessy: "And from other points of view?"

¿Y otros puntos de vista?

Mauricio: "From the point of view of this, of insecurity….of having everything totally closed off, everything, everything, closed, from issues of security, more than anything, no."

73

Desde punto de vista de eso, de inseguridad de…de tener que esta todo cerrado siempre, todo, todo, cerrada, de esa de situaciones de seguridad, mas que todo, no.

Jessy: "Yes, can you compare your job there and your job here and, the question…are you more satisfied in your job here in this place or are you more satisfied…"

¿Entonces puede comparar su trabajo allá y su trabajo acá y la pregunta- -usted esta mas satisfecho en su trabajo ahora en este lugar o estaba mas satisfecho…?

Mauricio: "Here."

Aquí

Jessy: "Why?"

¿Por que?

Mauricio: "Because here I have the possibility of being in nature. I like that a lot. From here I go walking in the park, or I go to the beach, or here. More contact with nature in every way.

Porque aquí tengo la posibilidad de encontrar la naturaleza. Eso me gusta mucho. Yo este voy a caminar en el parque, o a la playa, o aquí. Mas contacto con la naturaleza en todo sentido.

Marcos expressed a similar sentiment when discussing his lower wages.

"Less earnings but more tranquility."

Menos ganancia pero mas tranquilidad.

Suzy, a psychologist in her previous community in San José, came to Quebrado Ganado to take over a photocopy and paper business. She expressed more satisfaction in her current job than in her previous job due to less stress.

"In reality here there is more tranquility for me now. Yes, before, I had pressure, I have a schedule now but I can go to my house…I feel like I have more tranquility."

En realidad acá hay mas tranquilidad para mi ahora. Si, antes tenía más presiones, tengo un horario pero puedo ir a mi casa…yo siento que llevo mucho mas tranquila.

Eva, who resides in Quebrado Ganado with her husband, recently left her job at a health store in Jacó but when asked to compare her job as a cashier at a pizza parlor in San José to her previous job in Jacó, she said she much preferred her job in her new community and hoped to go back. A primary reason she liked her job in Jacó better than the one in San José is due to the working environment.

"The people are more tranquil, here. And for this reason, everything is more tranquil. More restful here. The salary was better there (the pizza shop), the hours too."

La gente es mas tranquila, aquí. Y por eso, todo es mas tranquila. Mas descanso aca. El salario era mejor alla (la pizzería), los horas también.

75

Derek, a pharmacist, who liked his previous job in San José and his current job in Quebrado Ganado equally but noted that the working environment in his new community had improved, expressed that same sentiment.

> "Here, there is less stress, because of the environment. Every job has its problems but here it is a little more tranquil."

> *Aquí, menos estrés, pero por el ambiente. Todos los trabajos tienen problemas pero aquí es un poco mas tranquila.*

Oscar worked at a security company in San José. He remembered days filled with answering multiple telephones, responding to requests on the Internet, and drowning himself in Facebook while he sat in his office. Now, working in his bike shop, he interacts with people, spends more time with his family and appreciates the peace and quiet of his new life.

> "So, there are days like today….Mondays are very tranquil where…it is a little boring. But also, there are moments that I remember the pressure that was there (in his previous community). Better here."

> *Entonces, hay días como hoy…los lunes son muy tranquillos donde…un poco aburrido. Pero también, hay momentos en que recuerdo la presión que esta ahí. Mejor aquí.*

Pedro used to work as a chef in San José but came to Orotina to be closer to his daughter and to get out of the city. He came looking for peace and tranquility. When he realized working as a chef did not pay as decently as working as a taxi driver, he switched his career. While he sometimes missed working in the kitchen, the tradeoff- the

76

increased salary, the peace and tranquility around his new home, and his flexible
schedule made it worthwhile.

> "I work by phone. If my phone doesn't ring, I'm here in the house tranquil.
> Tranquil. Better here."

> *Yo trabajo por teléfono. Si mi teléfono no suene yo estoy aquí en mi casa*
> *tranquilo. Tranquilo. Mejor aquí.*

Why this particular place?

The previous section established that men and women migrants who move to the
park periphery of Carara do so in search of a higher quality of life, often at the expense of
their wages. Their level of life and job satisfaction is influenced by the peace and
tranquility of the area and many migrants express a decrease in their experience of stress,
crime, and overpopulation that characterized many of their previous communities. The
question still remains, however, as to what role the park itself actually played in attracting
migrants to the area.

Wittemyer et al. (2008) suggest that the establishment and existence of the park,
and the development associated with the park, draws migration to the buffer zones.
However, the peace and tranquility the migrants in this study sought out is not exclusive
to living in the buffer zone of a national park; Costa Rica's abundance of tranquil
settings, quiet towns and lush countryside provide countless places to settle that do not
include settling in a 10 kilometer buffer zone around a national park. For this reason, the
PI wanted to understand first, the migrants' motivations but also, why they chose that
particular place instead of any other to understand if the park itself played any role in

their decision. The PI asked the question "why did you chose this place [to relocate to] instead of another" in order to continue to understand the motivations of the migrants to move, particularly, to the buffer zone of Carara National Park. This ultimately provided data for the analysis of the research question regarding what role the park played in a migrant's life. Again, the majority of the participants noted the peace and tranquility of Quebrado Ganado, Tarcoles, and Orotina. But, also, many of the participants (number=12) talked about how they picked these communities because they were close enough to Jacó to take advantage of its services, but far enough from Jacó and its downfalls.

> "There is a lot of prostitution in Jacó…um…because you've seen the drug addiction. And because almost always on vacation many outsiders arrive and contaminate the place. So, [we came here] in order to avoid this, the people are very tranquil. So, yea. I really like the rolling mountains. The little birds. The butterflies. The cachinas. Listening to the birds sing, the sun, it is beautiful. I love the beach. I like to sit by the beach and admire the beauty…it isn't like Jacó."

> *Hay mucho prostitución en Jacó…ehm…porque viste que maniculo mucho la drogadicción. Y porque casi siempre en vacaciones llegan mucha gente afuera a contaminar el lugar. Entonces para evitar esto, la gente es muy tranquila. Entonces, si. A mi me gusta que se arroya las montanas. Pajaritos. Las mariposas. Las cachinas. Escuchando pajaritos contando, el sol, es muy bonito. Me encanta la playa. La playa me gusta sentarme a ver que tanto hermoso…no es como [the beach] Jacó (Ana).*

78

"For the tranquility, very tranquil. It is cheaper. Jacó is very unsafe, less security in Jacó. Quebrado [Ganado] is beautiful, a much more tranquil place to live."

Por la tranquilidad, muy tranquilo. Es mas barato. Jacó es muy inseguro, mas inseguridad en Jacó. Quebrado es mas bonito, mas tranquilo para vivir (Mauricio).

"Because…well, for more tranquility. Much safer. There are environmental risks. I have an adolescent. There are, in general, fewer risks here than in Jacó. There's more partying, more drugs in Jacó. Here, it is much more tranquil. Much safer, more tranquil."

Porque…digamos por mas tranquilo. Más seguro. Hay menos riesgos en el ambiente. Tengo un adolescente. Hay menos en general riesgos aquí que en Jacó. Hay más fiesta, mas drogas, si al lado de Jacó. Acá es mucho mas tranquilo. Más seguro, mas tranquilo (Oscar).

"Because…I chose it for the closeness to Jacó. For the location of Quebrado. It's true. For the peace. And, like I said, because there wasn't a vet in this place."

Porque… lo escogí por la cercanía con Jacó. Por la ubicación quebratica. Verdad. Por la paz. Y, por no había, como le dijo, no había veterinario en ese lugar (Eric).

"I came here and I liked it. I like the [river] bend, I like, I like that it is close to the park, the beach, the mountains. And that it has not been developed as tremendously like Jacó, like Herradura. Um, yea, I think it is kinda like a commuter community."

Vine y me gusto. Me gusto el torno, me gusto, gusto que esta cerca del parque, la playa, los montanas. Y que y que no había desarrollo tan tremendo como en Jacó, como en Herradura. Digamos, si, yo pienso es como una comunidad dormitorio (José).

The other participants (number=11) continued to stress the tranquility of the region yet only three participants mentioned the park itself. The participants in the following section did not explicitly mention their decision to move to the area in contrast to Jacó, but many did comment that their community is like a refuge from bigger, more bustling cities. Five of the participants continued to discuss work as their primary motivator for choosing this area. The two women who had married men from the area asserted that this reason, and no other, was the primary motivation in choosing this location of any other.

"For the beach. For the tranquility."

Por la playa. Por la tranquilidad (Suzy).

"Ahh…there is a lot of tranquility in this community."

Ehh….hay mucha tranquilidad en esta comunidad (Karen).

80

"Here (Orotina) since it is like being in the countryside, much more country, much more tranquility. There is much more urban movement in San José. In contrast, here, here is tranquil, you can see the mountain, trees everywhere. Any person that wants a more tranquil life…I think this would be the same option they would chose. Many people come here and believe that the land is really expensive….it isn't expensive! I have the same amount of land that I had in San José- but here, here I exchange peace and tranquility for the chaos. I've never had this type of tranquility."

Aquí (Orontina) como que es mas aparte es mas campo, mas de campo, mas tranquilidad. El centro hay mas movimiento con mas urbano que es San José. En cambio aquí, aquí es tranquilo, como se ve todos se ve la montana, arboles por todo lado. Tranquilo. Cualquier persona que quiere tener una vida tranquila…yo creo que este es la misma opción que escogen. Mucha gente se viene y cree que la tierra es muy cara…no es muy cara! Tengo el mismo que tuve en San José- en cambio aquí…aquí cambia por la paz y tranquilidad los alborotos. No tenia esa tranquilidad ni uno (Julia).

"To look for peace, tranquility, to live in tranquility. And this is here.

Buscar paz, tranquilidad, vivir tranquilo. Y eso lo que aquí (Daniel).

"Because it is more economical- this place is healthier, more tranquil. And everything is cheap."

81

Porque es mas económico- el lugar es mas sano, es mas tranquilo. Y todo

es mas barato (Manuel).

 "For the tranquility. And, because, it is in the same are as my husband's

work."

Por la tranquilidad. Y porque, este es la misma zona de mi esposa para

trabajar (Florencia).

"Here the cost of living is lower and because- it is like a place of refuge.

Truthfully. After work."

Aquí el costo de vida es mas bajo y porque de—es como un lugar de

refugio, verdad. Después el trabajo (Jorge).

The Role of the Park

One of the questions the PI continually came back to was what role the park

explicitly played in men and women's decision to migrate to the park periphery. This is

because Wittemyer et al. (2008) assert that park development draws population to the

borders of national parks. If this is the case, then many of the respondents should have

actively discussed the park as either playing a role in their decision to migrate or should

have discussed how the park played a role in their current life. Assuming migration is so

influenced by development associated with park establishment, then the participants

should have discussed the park itself. The PI asked a series of questions with the intention

of understanding how the park played a role in their daily lives and the role the park

played in the area in terms of tourism. Understanding the role of tourism around Carara

82

National is relevant because tourism is a tool of development and conservation in many buffer zones of parks and protected areas. Again, assuming development around Carara National Park attracts migrants as Wittemyer et. al (2008) asserts, then tourism, as a tool of development, should attract migrants to the area. This relationship should be explicit in the conversations with migrants regarding the park, their decision to migrate, and their daily lives. Many (n=18) of the respondents had known of the park before they migrated but only one of the respondents did not know a park even existed nearby until we began the interview. Most (n=26) of the respondents did not feel that the parked played an explicit role in their daily life nor had it influenced their decision to migrate to the buffer zone. Only a couple (number=4) of the respondents said the park played an explicit role in their daily lives, and some (number=9) said it played an indirect role in their daily lives. There was no notable difference in the responses by gender. The participants that stated explicitly that the park played a role in their lives did so within the context of the economy. Joanie, the owner of the restaurant, exemplified this idea when she stated the following.

> Joanie: "It's the same situation, like, the tourists come here and they always look for something close by or, to eat, and so for this reason I say that it influences…"
>
> *Por la misma situación, como, viene turistas ahí, entonces casi siempre busca algo cerca o comida, entonces por eso por le digo si influye…*
>
> Jessy: It influences the economy.
>
> *Influye la economia…*

83

Joanie: The economy. Because it happens a lot and there are a lot of tourists and everything and so it helps our jobs, seriously. Because the tourists.

La economía. Porque lo hizo tan mucho y hay muchos turistas y todo entonces el trabajo de uno como aumenta mas, verdad. Porque los turistas.

Sarah similarly stated that the tourism related to Carara National Park influenced her daily life in that it sometimes brought clients to her restaurant.

"Yes. Many times, people that come to Carara Park, they come to the beach that is very close and it gives me the possiblity of serving them."

Si. Muchas veces, gente que se vienen al parque Carara, se vienen a la playa que es muy cerca y eso me da la posibilidad de atenderles como comenzales.

While Joanie and Sarah certainly felt like the tourists, attracted to the area by the nearby entrance to Carara National Park, positively impacted the economy of Quebrado Ganado, they were the only ones to state so explicitly and primarily. Oscar discussed how the park protects animals and birds, acting as an environmental corridor for flora and fauna. He asserts that this attracts tourism to the area.

"In the first place, nature, because we are in a biological corridor where many birds, many animals and so forth are protected by the park. So, the park is part of my life in this way. Also, people visit the park because they like nature. This protected zone means that we are always going to have

84

this as a focal attraction to people. Indirectly this is related to my life"

(Oscar).

En la razón primera por la naturaleza porque estamos en un corrido biológico donde pasa mucho aves, muchos animales de cualquier tipo que son protegidos por el parque. Y, entonces, forman un parte del parque en ese sentido. También, la gente visita porque le gusta naturaleza. Esta protegida toda esa zona significa verdad que siempre vamos a tener este, un foca de atracción que visita la gente. Indirectamente esta relacionado a mi vida.

Some people mentioned tourism to the area at large, but no one else connected the park itself to the tourism in the area and the impact that tourism had on the local economies of Quebrado Ganado, Tarcoles, or Orotina. Eric, the vet, said the park influenced his life but for the reasons connected to his association with the park on a professional level.

"For example, the monkey that's there (pointing to the one in his office) I picked up from Carara. There is a coati in back, too. I went to the park officials to offer my services to them free of charge. Because they…no one will pay for a wild animal."

Por ejemplo, este mono que esta ahí lo trajeron de Carara. Hay un pesote que esta atrás. fui a buscar a los…los señores de Carara para ponerme mi servicio a ellos y ellos quieren servicios gratuitos. Porque ellos…una animal silvestre nadie va a pagar nada.

Many participants (n=9) talked about Carara's influence on their lives in terms of the environment. Some said the park serves as a safe haven for wild animals endangered by the coastal traffic and others found Carara to be an important air filter.

"Because there is a place where one can go…eh…to be, for recreation but also because of something very important. The park is a gas exchange center. So, the air in this area is always going to be very clean because…[the park] collects all of the carbon dioxide in this zone" (Marcos).

Por eso porque tiene un lugar donde puede ir a…um…tanto estar, recreación pero también es algo muy importante. Que es un central intercambio de gases. Entonces el aire en esta zona siempre va a mantener bastante limpio porque eso…eso recoge todo el dióxido de carbono de esta zona.

Five more of the participants spoke to the idea of the park acting as an air filtration system for the area by describing it as a lung system.

Mari: "Like…it's like…like around it, for oxygen. For.."

"Como…como es…como alrededor, por el oxígeno. Por…"

Jessy: "For the air?"

Jessy:" ¿Por el aire?"

Mari: "For pure air. The park, for example I'll tell you, it works like a lung. Like a lung for the area and now that is important. Mmhm. Well, at

the least it is like a lung."

"Por el aire puro. El parque, por ejemplo como le digo, funciona como un pulmón. Como un pulmón para esta área y ahora es importante."

Others reiterated this idea that the park served an environmentally utilitarian role when asked if the park influenced their daily life in any way. In other words, the participants did not seem to be seeking out the park for recreational or tranquility seeking purposes and only focused on how it functions to improve the air quality in the area.

"Well, at the very least, because it is like a lung" (Suzy).

Bueno, por lo menos, es como un pulmón.

"A lung, an oxygenator, is what it is. The park is very, very important for this reason" (Eliza).

Un pulmón, oxigenador que es. El parque es muy, muy importante por esta razón.

"The only way [the park influences] is that it gives me clean air. Everyday" (Mauricio).

El único es me da oxígeno limpio. Todos los días.

"A lung….it is a lung for the environment" (Pedro).

Un pulmón….es un pulmón realmente para el ambiente.

While only a few people explicitly stated the park had an influence on their lives, and more stated it had a utilitarian effect on their environment and therefore their lives, the rest of the participants said the park had actually very little to do with their daily life.

Many of these participants simply responded with a resounding no when the PI asked if the parked played any role in their daily lives and a few theorized why that might be.

"No, no it has nothing to do with my life."

No, no tiene nada que ver mi vida (Estera).

"No. There isn't any influence"

No. No hay influencia (Daniel).

"Nope, nothing."

No. Nada (Ezekiel).

"In no way because I didn't even know it existed. Until today."

Para nada porque ni siquiera existía. Hasta hoy (Ella).

One of the participants even expressed frustration and resentment towards the park and park officials. Samuel owns a restaurant between the entrance of Carara National Park and Quebrado Ganado. He expressed frustration and hopelessness about the lack of tourist flow to his restaurant, which he attributed to the mismanagement of Carara National Park. While he said Carara did have influence on his daily life, it wasn't necessarily a positive one, as he struggles with the disinterest visitors to the coast have in visiting Carara National Park and, as a result, his restaurant. In fact, he wanted Carara National Park to be a much, much bigger part of his life through an increase of Carara's tourism draw. Samuel gets at a common theme that was elucidated a number of times throughout my interviews with participants. That is, while tens of thousands of visitors

88

(both national and international) come to the central Pacific coast every year, oftentimes to stay in nearby Jacó, the pull is not Carara National Park but rather the beach amenities of the coast.

> "Someone goes to Carara and it doesn't matter to the Costa Rican guy because there isn't…there isn't publicity. Neither do I attend to the salaries of the people working there because very few people do work there. The park has nothing to do [with my life]."

> *Se va a Carara y no importa el chico Tico porque no hay como…como se llama…publicidad. Tampoco es como yo atiendo mucho a los salarios de la gente que trabaja ahí porque es muy poco. El parque no tiene nada que ver.*

Oscar, the owner of the bike shop, also said that the park had little to do with his life and offered an explanation of why the park garnered so little interest from tourists.

> "I feel like there is a total lack of information….a lot of visual symbolism/information for the tourist. Like, that there are animals there, things that are attractive to see, to return and say 'oh look there's a national park, let's go and check it out.' I feel like the park doesn't exist. Like, you pass and see some trees. But, not because… look…for a national park…it isn't….there isn't good publicity. There isn't any information. There isn't anything."

> *Siento que falto mucha información…mucho símbolo visual para los turistas. Digamos, de que alla hay animales, cosas como que sea*

atractivo, volver y decir 'ah mira que es un parque nacional y vamos a

entrar.' Siento que no existe el parque. Como que usted pasa y ve un poco

de arboles. Pero no porque…mira…que un parque nacional, no, es

como…no hay buen publicidad. No hay información. No hay nada.

Still, when asked what demographic of people visited the park most frequently, all thirty participants definitively and quickly answered the "tourists."

"Tourists, of course."

Turistas, por supuesto (Daniel).

"Carara is for tourism, not for national tourism."

Carara esta para el turismo no es para el turismo nacional (Ezekiel).

"Ohhh the foreigners. Of course"

Ahhhh, los extranjeros. Por supuesto (Karen).

While most of the participants had never visited the park before, the PI wanted to determine what their primary reasons for visiting would be if they ever did so. The PI asked this question to further understand how migrants used and viewed the park; to understand if their settlement around Carara National Park was intentionally and opportunistically linked to the park itself. An overwhelming majority simply answered that they would visit the park for recreational purposes and to be closer to nature, echoing the very reasons international tourists would seek it out and the reason why it was founded in the first place.

"I love nature."

Me encanta la natureleza (Ana).

"Ahh…this…to enjoy nature, animals, the rivers, and to see a little of the biodiversity that they have there."

Ahh…este..disfrutar la naturaleza, los animales, los ríos, y ver un poquito de esa biodiversidad que hay ahí (Karen).

"First, because, I've never been there. Second, because- um- it says it is a park but the parks in San José also say those are parks and they aren't. They don't have parks with wildlife so I want to see what it is all about."

Primero, porque no lo conozco. Segundo, porque diay—dice el parque pero como en San José dice parque no es parque. NO hay parque de animals me gustaria conocer para ver que es (Jose).

"The…for me, it would be. Recreation."
El…para mi, seria. La recreación (Suzy).

"To get to know it because it is a park I have never visited. Yea, I would like to go."

Conococerlo porque hay uno…digamos, eso es un parque nunca he ido. Si, me gustaria ir (Derek).

"More than anything, for nature."

Ehm, mas que todo por la natureleza (Don Julio).

91

Finally, the PI ended the interview with a discussion of the importance of Carara in the local area and asked most of the participants if they thought Carara drew migrants to the area. Some (n=6) participants talked about how it positively benefits the cleanliness of the environment and maintains the natural flora and fauna in the area. Many more (n=24) people said that Carara has little impact on their life and the life of their community. Instead, these participants asserted that coastal development played a greater role in attracting tourists, and because of that, prompted internal migration to the area.

> "This air is cleaner, healthier, it is a visual condition. Cleaner and the condition…this… the noise contamination is less than other places. The people who live around a park are totally different than the people who live in the city. Totally different."

> *Este es un aire mas limpio, mas sano, es una condición visual. Mas limpio y una condición…este…de contaminación sonora menos que otros partes. Totalmente diferente la gente que vive alrededor de un parque al gente que vive en la ciudad. Totalmente diferente (Mauricio).*

> "The scarlet macaws pass right in front of here [her house], we don't have to go to the park to see animals."

> *Las lapas pasan por aquí afrente, no tenemos ir al parque para ver los animales (Elena).*

> "In no way."

> *No para nada (Oscar).*

"People almost never talk about the park- about Carara. It's like if…it's because the people come for the beach. That is including the tourists, if you see a tourist around here, they are all talking about how they are going to the beach- they go to Jacó to go to the beach. But very few people, almost no one I have heard that says "ah, well I'm passing through the area to go to Carara with my family."

La gente casi nunca la gente hablar del parque-del Carara. Es como si fuera..es que la gente viene mucha por la playa. Incluso los turistas, si ve un turista que viene aquí, habla mucha que van para la playa- que van para Jacó a la playa. Pero muy pocos, casi nunca escuchaba, digamos, alguien que diga a "ah es que andaba paseando en Carara con mi familia". Eso turismo se va a la playa. Y la gente que vive aquí, menos (Eric).

Jose definitively pinpointed the origin of tourism to the area.

"It has more to do with the question of the hotels than the park. I believe that 100% of people who travel in vehicle to this zone drive directly past with everything they need for the beach. But nobody brings anything to go to the park. O, very little, really, from what I've seen of the tourism. Maybe they come with a tour…"

Tiene mas que ver con el cuestión de los hoteles que del parque. Yo creo que cien [por centaje] personas que viajan en un vehículo para esta zona todos pasan con lo necesario para la playa. Pero nadie traer nada para ir

al parque. O, muy poco, verdad, es algo del turismo que lo visita. Que ya esa viene quizá que un tour lo trae de….

Jessy: "Mmhmm. A tour that combines the elements of the area…but no one, not a lot of people come here only to see the park—o come to the zone…"

Mmhm, un tour que combina elementos de este área. Pero nadie-no mucha gente va por aca solamente para ver el parque- o vienen a esta zona…

Jose: "Yea, yea. Almost no one. The people are looking for---let's go to beach! That's how it is."

Si. Si. Casi no. La gente busca- vamos a la playa! Que paso.

Others continued to express the idea that the park did not play a significant role in their decision to migrate, their daily lives, or in attracting tourism to the area.

"It (the park) has no importance in my life."

No tiene importancia en mi vida (Samuel).

"There still isn't…there isn't a lot of influence on mi [the park]. Or rather, in general there still isn't much influence. Including to other people. My friends say "ohhhhh how beautiful is that that you live near a beach", they never relate Carara to where I live. Or they say, where is Quebrado Ganado….after Tarcoles and before Heredia. Never would you say "look, after the national park." It isn't a point of reference. It doesn't exist.

94

Nobody knows where it is. I live near Jacó, not the park. Everyone knows Jacó."

Todavía no hay….no hay mucha influencia en mi. Sea, todavía, en general no hay influencia. Incluso la gente. A mis amistades "ay que lindo vive cerca de la playa" la gente nunca me relaciona a Carara. O lo dice, donde queda Quebrado Ganado…ah si después de Tarcoles y antes de Herradura. Nunca dice "mira después del parque nacional". No es un punto de referencia. No existe. Nadie sabe donde esta. Yo vivo cerca de Jacó no del parque. Todos conocen Jacó (Karen).

"The beach attracts more people than the park."

La playa atrae mas personas que el parque (David).

"I feel like the park is asleep. Or, that nothing is being done to draw attention to this park."

Yo siento que esta dormido el parque. O sea, el que no esta haciendo para jallar esa parque (Pedro).

Eric discussed the role the park plays for the town of Quebrado Ganado. He asserted that Carara National Park does not nearly affect the town as much as a neighboring resort, Punta Leona.

Eric: "I don't believe it is that important for the town. For me, yea, for these situations [his work with animals as a vet]. But, but…

95

No creo es tan importante para el pueblo. Para mi, si, para estas situaciones [su trabajo con animales]. Pero, pero…

Jessy: "Because many people don't work there…Do you think that there is a strong relationship between the town and Carara?"

Jessy: Porque muchas personas no trabaja alla… ¿Usted piensa que hay una relación muy fuerte entre el Pueblo y Carara?

Eric: "No, no there isn't a strong relationship. However when you've been talking to me about the national park I was thinking about myself. But, considering the point of view of the town, no."

No, no hay una relación fuerte. De hecho cuando usted me hablaba del parque nacional yo lo pensaba para mi. Pero pesnadno desde el punto de vista del pueblo. No.

Jessy: "Yea, there isn't any work…"

Jessy: Si. No hay trabajo…

Eric: "There is no work, neither do the people here talk about Carara. They talk about Punta Leona [a large, member only condominium complex nearby]. Because…this place, it is a place that employs a lot of people from Quebrado Ganado. Villa Caletas [a hotel nearby] too. This is a place that is very close to here and that employs a lot of people."

No hay trabajo, no hay ni siquiera que ellos hayan andado que la gente de aquí habla de Carara. Aquí la gente habla de punta leona. Porque es lugar, es un lugar que queda mucho trabajo la gente de Quebrado Ganado. Las

96

Galletas también. Es otro lugar que está muy cerca que dan muchísimo trabajo a la gente.

And, as previously demonstrated, most the participants moved to the area seeking both work and a lifestyle change, the dialogue with the following participants demonstrates that the economic pull is not attributed to the park but to coastal development.

I think what makes people come to this zone is work. Men and women. This could be a factor for them to stay here…well there is an economic pull that is Jacó and…and…this coastal develop zone.

Pienso lo que la que se hace venir la gente a esta zona es trabajo. Hombres y mujeres. Esto podría ser un factor porque queda ahí…digamos hay un PULL económico que es Jacó y…y…esta zona es desarrollo de la costa (Don Julio).

"Here its…the pull of attraction is—it is the hotels, yep, the hotels [along the coast]."

 Aquí es…el pulo de atracción es—son los hoteles, si, los hoteles (Oscar).

"The place that is the most well known [here] is Jacó."

El punto que mas conoce es Jacó (Suzy).

They [tourists] like the beach better—not the park."

Les gusta mas las playas- no el parque (Mauricio).

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The past four chapters have presented a case for understanding migrants'
motivations to move to the border of Carara National Park. Based on ethnographic
methods, including cultural consensus analysis, semi-structured interviewing and data
analysis, this chapter will conclude with final thoughts and assertions regarding gender
and migration to Carara National Park. First, presents the original hypotheses driving this
thesis research and discuss whether or not the hypotheses were upheld or disproven based
on the data. Then, this chapter opens to a wider discussion on the intersection of
migration, gender, and conservation.

Hypothesis and Research Questions

The hypothesis of this thesis was that men and women shared a single cultural
model of migration to the park peripheries and that there would be intracultural variation
as seen by varying degrees of knowledge of that model. The results of CCA conclude that
there is not a shared cultural model for this group of individuals regarding their
motivations to migrate. Further, when separated into gender groups, neither men nor
women shared a cultural model of migration. This group did not rate the aggregate terms
in a similar manner and therefore did not share consensus on which terms or ideas were
most and least important in their decision to migrate.

However, when I looked at the terms individually, which CCA does not, we can see a different trend emerging. When each of the 55 terms from the likert was tested for means, the highest rated terms in a migrant's decision to migrate was "tranquility" followed by "peace" and "countryside." A similar outcome was apparent in the results of the test for mode. The terms "safety" and "tranquility" were the most frequently scored terms by both men and women in the sample. While the likert data does not individually ask the participants in this study if these concepts were important in their decision to migrate and instead seeks to determine if these words are important concepts for migrants in general, it does become qualitatively more relevant when compared to the results of the qualitative data regarding individual motivations to migrate. A large number (number=12) of the participants in this study stated that their primary reasons to migrate were related to a desire to live in a more tranquil place. Another large group of participants (number=11) cited work *and* tranquility as major motivator in their decision to migrate and only six participants did not reference lifestyle amenities in their decision to migrate. This data therefore answers the following research questions 2) do men and women report that they migrate to the buffer zone of Carara National Park for different reasons; are men motivated more by economic reasons than women? The findings conclude that men and women migrate for similar reasons; the majority of the participants cited tranquility as the most important motivator. Work was important, however, when comparing their job satisfaction from their previous job to the current job, many participants asserted that while they were economically more satisfied with their previous job they were much more happy with the work environment of their current job.

99

This bolsters the idea that even migrants in the sample who cited migrating for tranquility and work were prioritizing their environment over pay and therefore migrating primarily for lifestyle amenities as opposed to better economic outlooks. The data was inconclusive in regards to research question 3) regardless of the reasons to migrate and the jobs available (including tourism), men and women who entered into the labor force would be employed in different types of jobs and employment sectors. The participants held many different jobs across many different industries. There was no particular trend in regards to gender, besides women who did not work in comparison to men. As was previously discussed, this discrepancy is representative of the national average of women in the workforce, and cannot be attributed to anything directly related to their decision to migrate to the buffer zone of Carara National Park.

Finally, the research questions 4) to what extent does the idea of the park play into the reasons for migrating and 5) what is the role of the park in the daily lives of migrants were definitively answered by the findings of the qualitative data. The migrants in this sample did not connect their decision to migrate to their new communities to the proximity of Carara National Park. Besides just four participants, the rest of the sample did not report that the park had anything to do with their daily lives except for generating clean air by acting as an air filtration system.

Limitations

While the PI feels confident that the data and conclusions drawn from this project are the product of careful research and analysis, there were some limitations to the study. The PI believes the greatest constraint of this project was time. The nature of ethnographic methods is predicated on spending an in depth length of time within the

research communities. While the PI's team visited the research sites on numerous occasions, the PIonly dedicated approximately one month to collect quantitative and qualitative research for this project. The PI feels that she missed out on understanding the complexity of the communities she worked within, as well as potentially missing out on informants that would have supplemented or challenged these findings. Additionally, the PI believes that living outside of the three communities was also a limitation the PI could have had a more nuanced experience if she had lived amongst the study's informants. As well, the PI believes she could have found more information out about the history of the communities and coastal development in the area but was constrained by time.

On a similar note, due to time constraints and the fact that the communities the PI worked within were separated by up to 45 miles and the PI did not have access to a car, the PI regrettably had a fairly small sample size. Ideally, the PI would have wanted to interview more participants. The PI does believe that the time it took to complete the interview was arduous for the participants. The PI oftentimes interrupted participants while they were preparing dinner, working, or spending time with family. The interview usually took no more than 30 minutes but even that amount, and the varying tasks the PI asked the participants to complete, took up precious time. While these limitations seem abundant, the PI believes that the quality of the data produced through this study was based on thorough and deliberate research and analysis.

A larger sample size could provide more statistically sound analysis. The PI is also aware that there are other statistical tests and the analyses that could have been run. This includes: an exploration of the lack of consensus in the CCA results by parsing out the data along other lines than gender, such as time spent in community; chi square tests

by grouping ratings into two categories and comparing by gender; and adjusting the p-value to a lower threshold of significance for the Mann Whitney test.

Discussion

This project set out to understand the role gender played in a migrants' decision to move to the 10 kilometer buffer zone of Carara National Park and to draw comparisons between this trend and larger international trends in migration. Specifically, this study sought to answer the following questions.

- Are the motivations behind migration the buffer zone of Carara National Park different for men and women? Are men more economically motivated than women?

- Do men and women fulfill different employment sectors upon migrating, if both men and women are economic migrants?

- To what extent does the idea of the park or nature play into the reasons for migrating?

- What is the role of the park in the daily lives of men and women?

A number of very important conclusions come from this research. First, while Wittemyer et al. (2008) anticipated the role of the park to be a deciding in migrants' decisions to move to park peripheries, in this park we see that the park had very limited impact in this group of migrants' decisions to migrate to Carara's periphery. The primary reason for migration in this group was to seek a better life— a more tranquil setting to raise their children, to work, and to be closer to nature. Further, the work of most of the migrants is not characterized or defined by the existence of the park. Instead, it is influenced by the

102

jobs created by coastal development and associated primarily with the beach destination of Jacó, which upholds Hoffman's (2011) similar conclusions. Tourism to the park is low in comparison to the number of tourists that come to the area to access the beach; the tourism that does arrive to Carara National Park does so with tours based out of Jacó and very rarely impact the local economies and lives of residents in Orotina, Quebrado Ganado, and Tarcoles.

These communities, and the participants who live in them, are largely uninvolved in the economy of the park. It was widely evident that these participants felt the park had nothing to do with their lives, livelihood or their decision to migrate. This is where a political ecological approach is exceedingly important in understanding trends in human behavior that ultimately impact the environment. The economic context of the area in which Carara National Park is located draws people to the area. More specifically, the participants moved to the buffer zone of Carara National Park because it was cheaper, safer, and more tranquil than the city that drew them to the area, Jacó, which does not sit inside the buffer zone. In a sense, the participants in this study settled accidentally into the buffer zone of Carara National Park; they sought peace and tranquility outside of Jacó and that happened to be located within the 10-kilometer buffer zone of Carara. If we do not view the specific economic and social contexts of each individual park, we cannot truly understand the impact parks have in drawing migrants to the buffer zones.

The necessity in approaching the human-environment relationship through a consideration of the political, social, and most notably in this case, economic context in which this relationship persists is exemplified by the threats to biodiversity Carara faces. Wittemyer et al. (2008) hypothesize that the infrastructure, services, and resources of

national parks draw migrants to live in the buffer zone; to take advantage of work and resources that are a byproduct of the park economic and ecological environment. This, in turn, could threaten biodiversity; as more and more people move to the 10 kilometer buffer zone, population pressures could threaten flora and fauna inside the park. While this is certainty a concerning possibility, the problem is that the blame for biodiversity loss falls exclusively into the hands of the industrious, resource-seeking migrants. And, while population growth at the border of Carara National Park could threaten biodiversity, migrants are not actively drawn to the area because of the park. Instead, they come to access opportunities generated by coastal development and by the demand international tourism creates for labor. It is the massive industry of tourism, be that eco-tourism or not, that brings tourists to the border of Carara National Park and consequently, migrants as well. Conversely, it is the tourist industry that both creates the demand for national parks and puts demand upon the biodiversity inside the parks. So, while a small number of migrants, many seeking jobs in a tranquil and peaceful environment move to the park periphery, they do so to service the massive amount of tourism that visits the coast—and the park—every year. If population growth at the border of national parks threatens biodiversity then biodiversity loss is as much attributed to the people relocating permanently to the area as to the reason why they are moving there in the first place; tourism.

This thesis sought to compare the gender characteristics of human migration to the border of Carara National Park to international gendered trends in migration. The majority of modern international migration is credited to economic self-improvement. While economic migrants weigh their options carefully and consider many factors in the

decision to migrate, their primary concern is economic betterment. Women are equally likely to be economic migrants as men in our international economy now (Pedraza 2003). In this analysis, gender had little impact on a participant's decision to migrate to the buffer zone of Carara National Park. Both men and women moved to the periphery of the park in search of a better life. In this sense, this migratory trend does very closely mimic international gendered trends in that men and women are both motivated to better their lives for themselves and their family. Instead of an economic motivation, as is the case with migration in general on an international level, men and women in this group are migrating internally to search out a healthier, more peaceful, and more tranquil life in a country setting. In contrast to international trends, men and women did not move for economic purposes; many participants in this study noted that finding a job, no matter where you live is integral to your livelihood, but moving to *this particular place* was not primarily motivated by economic purposes. Instead, it was first the lifestyle amenities of this rural setting and second the proximity to a stable coastal economy that draws migrants to the area.

The majority of the participants, as evidenced through the qualitative and quantitative results, reported seeking a better quality of life, tranquility, and a better place to raise their family as their primary reasons for migrating. While the attributes of gender in international migration (in that men and women are both actors in the decision to migrate) are mirrored in the gender characteristics in this study, the reasons for migrating differ drastically. Instead, the reasons for migrating in this trend most closely mimic the urban to rural migration trend referred to as amenity migration, which most often occurs on a national level in wealthier countries in the global North. Amenities refer to the

105

geologic amenities in the form of natural resources and lifestyle amenities and are usually derived from the presence of these natural amenities such as beautiful vistas and lush forests. Terms such as "tranquility" and "quiet" and "peace" are commonly linked to the idea of "countryside" and "rurality" in this study, which align with the common reasons amenity migrants elsewhere move to amenity rich locations. In many ways, we see a strict duality persisting in this type of migration; city vs country, nature vs civilization, peace vs chaos, tranquility vs unrest, healthy vs unhealthy. The idea that nature is separate from civilization persists in Costa Ricans' imaginations as much as it does in the United States and the National Park system that was founded on this very idea.

However, what differentiates migration to the buffer zone of Carara National Park to other instances of amenity migration is the combination of seeking out a beautiful place to live while also finding work. Amenity migration is usually characterized by wealthy, second home owners desiring to live in a beautiful location in which to recreate, but in this case migrants are just as much beholden to their desire to access an amenity rich location as they are to their economic well-being. The migrants in this study are seeking the best of both worlds; they seek beautiful and tranquil areas to live, but they also seek these locations based on their access to viable local economies, which in this case is located in Jacó.

Migration to the buffer zone of Carara National Park in this study is characterized by a new vision of rurality held by lower to middle class Costa Ricans. This new rurality drives decisions about how to access a rural lifestyle through proximity to nature in an amenity rich location while maintaining a connection to urbanity through the reliance upon wage labor. In this way, Wittemyer et al. (2008) is correct in asserting that migrants

106

are drawn to the buffer zones of parks to access ecosystem services. While migrants who moved to the buffer zone of Carara National Park did so without the intent to live near a national park, they are aware of the value of its amenities in the form of the trees, water, animals, and peaceful vistas that characterize the towns inside Carara's buffer zone. In this regard, Wittemyer et al. (2008) are partially correct in their assertion that parks draw migrants to live in buffer zones because of services like clean water and fresh air that they provide.

That being said, it is important to revisit Wittemyer et al.'s (2008) conceptualization of population growth at the borders of national parks as it applies to the case of Carara National Park in general. Wittemyer et al. (2008) acknowledge that a localized and contextualized understanding of migration to park peripheries is important in understanding why population growth is accelerating. In the case of Carara National Park, this localized understanding provides conclusions that both challenge and deepen Wittemyer et al.'s (2008) conclusions on population growth inside buffer zones. First, the results of this thesis demonstrate that PAs do not exist in isolation. They exist in relation to broader social, economic, and cultural processes. In Carara's case, the coastal area surrounding the park is a product of events that allowed for the massive tourism industry to define the economic makeup of the area and, in turn, to attract migrants to the buffer zone of the park. While Wittemyer et al. (2008) focus primarily on direct economic stimulation and access to infrastructure due to the park itself as being drivers of migration, it is decidedly not the case for Carara. Instead, coastal development is the economic driver of the region, and consequently, the driver of migration to Carara's buffer zone. In other words, Wittemyer et al. (2008)'s explanation of migration to the

107

buffer zones of parks is too simplistic in it's causality, as evidenced in Carara's case. Parks may cause migration, but they also exist within broader economic contexts and studies on population growth to the buffer zones thus require nuanced approaches in regards to scale.

Conclusion

This project contributes to the literature on migration, gender, and conservation. In response to statistical analyses demonstrating population growth at the borders of national parks across the global south, this project contributed an anthropological and contextual understanding of the motivations of migrants to move to the buffer zone of Carara National Park in Costa Rica. Using both qualitative and quantitative anthropological methods through cultural consensus analysis and semi-structured interviewing, this project found that both men and women migrated to the border zone of the park in search of tranquility and peace, as well as work related to the tourist destination of Jacó. This project helps local park officials, officials from the community development associations in the buffer zone towns, and amenity migrants themselves to work together to encourage the amenity lifestyle while also contributing to economic growth in the area.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

English Interview Guide

CASE ID _____   Location: _____   Date:_____
_____ Contacted Through: _____   Read Informed
Consent?
Over 18? YES /NO (If "NO", end interview)
Gender: Male   Female

I. Basic Information
1. How old are you?

2. Marital Status?

3. Do you have children?
    If so, how many?   What are their ages?

4. Do you work?
    If so, what do you do?
    What is your household income?

5. Where are you from?
    Were you born there? YES NO

6. How long have you lived here?

II. Rating Exercise

Please tell me whether or not each of these is important or not important to **people** migrating to this area. **(0=Not important, 1=Important)** Now, please tell me if each one is **(0=really not important, 1=not very important, 2=neutral, 3=important, 4=really important)** for migrants' who move to this area.

	TERMS	0/1	0-4		Terms	0/1	0-4		Terms	0/1	0-4
1	Safety			20	Services			39	Agriculture		
2	People			21	Culture			40	Commercial Business'		
3	Tranquility			22	Education			41	Food		
4	Work			23	Drugs			42	Delinquency		
5	Climate			24	Unemployment			43	Overpopulation		
6	Beach			25	Prices			44	Highways		
7	Social Environment			26	Medial Services			45	Poverty		
8	Tourism			27	Alcoholism			46	Farm Life		
9	The Park			28	The Government			47	Traffic		
10	Animals			29	Garbage			48	Robbery		
11	Quality of Life			30	Pollution			49	The Economy		
12	Volcano			31	Water			50	Self Improvement		
13	Peace			32	Prostitution			51	Recreation		
14	River			33	Centrally Located			52	Electricity		
15	Cleanliness			34	Family			53	Bank Services		
16	Living in Beautiful Place			35	Commodities			54	Nature		
17	Insecurity			36	Transportation			55	Super Markets		
18	Healthy			37	Noise						
19	Violence			38	Sports Areas						

III. Semi-structured Interview

<u>Decision to Migrate</u>

1. Why did you decide to migrate here?

2. Where there other factors that contributed to your decision to migrate?

3. Did you know anyone in the community before you decided to migrate?

118

4. Did you have family here before you moved here? Who were they? Do they still live here? Did they also migrate from your home?

5. Why did you choose this location instead of some other pace?

6. Do you think men and women migrate for the same or different reasons?

Employment History

7. Are you currently employed?

8. Where do you work now?

9. Did you work before you migrated? If so, where?

10. Is the job you held before you migrated similar or different to the one you hold now? In what ways?

11. Do other migrants you know have similar or different jobs?

12. Are you satisfied with your job now?

119

13. Where you satisfied with your job before you migrated?

14. Overall, do you think you are more or less satisfied with your job here than with your job before you migrated?

Role of the Park and Lifestyle

15. Would you say that your current job is related to Carara National Park in any way?

16. Have you ever visited Carara National Park? If so, how many times?

17. Did you know about Carara National Park before you migrated? Had you visited the park before you moved here? If not, when did you find out about Carara National Park?

18. How close do you live to Carara National Park?

19. What would be your primary reason for visiting the park?

20. Who do you think visits the park the most?

120

21. What are the primary reasons for someone to visit the park?

22. Do you think the park influences your daily life in any way?

23. Did you live near a National Park before you migrated?

24. How do you feel about living in close proximity to a National Park?

25. Do you think living near a National Park impacts your lifestyle in any way?

26. If you had to migrate to another location would you consider moving near a national park again?

APPENDIX B

CONSENT FORM

<u>Consent Form for Rating and Semi-structured Interview</u>

Title: "Gendered Analysis of Migration to the Edges of Costa Rican National Parks."

You have been asked to participate in a project conducted by Jessy Arends. Jessy Arends is a master's student in the Anthropology and Middle Eastern Cultures department at Mississippi State University. Ms. Arends' study is part of a larger project conducted by Dr. David Hoffman, who is an assistant professor in the Department of Anthropology and Middle Eastern Cultures at Mississippi State University. Dr. Hoffman is Ms. Arends' thesis advisor.

The investigators are interested in human migration to the border of Carara National Park. The co-investigator is interested in the differences in motivations between men and women who migrate to the 10 kilometer periphery of Carara National Park. The co-investigator will ask you questions about your decision to migrate to this area. First, the co-investigator will ask you questions about specific terms relating to migrants and migration. You will be asked to rate the importance of these terms in a migrant's decision to migrate. Next, the co-investigator will ask you a series of short questions in a format called a semi-structured interview.

Your participation in the study is voluntary and you will not receive any payment for your participation in the interview. There are no emotional or physical risks associated with your participation in the study. There are no direct benefits for you for participating in this study; however, a better understanding of human migration to the border of Carara National Park could improve the governmental policies for migrants and their needs. You have the right to refuse to participate in the study and can end the interview at any moment. In addition, if you do not like a question you are not obligated to answer it and you may ask that the investigators do not use one, some, or all of your answers in their results.

The co-investigator will record your answers in the semi-structured short answer portion of the interview. The co-investigator will safeguard the recorded section of the interview in a secure computer with a password and will destroy the recording after transcribing and translating the interview. It is expected that no one but the investigators will be able to connect you to your answers because your answers will remain confidential because there will be no personal connection between you and your answers. Please note that the data from this project will be stored at an entity of the State of Mississippi and for this reason it could be revealed if it was required as part of a lawsuit. The funds for this project come from a grant that the National Science Foundation of the United States government awarded to Dr. David Hoffman.

If you have any questions or concerns about the study, please do not hesitate to contact Jessy Arends at the following address:

Department of Anthropology and Middle Eastern Cultures

P.O Box AR

Mississippi State

MS, 39759, USA

Or through email: jaa353@msstate.edu

Or cellphone: 001-612-720-6336

I am giving you this copy for your personal record keeping