Tourism Development and the Restructuring of

Social Reproduction in Central America

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Introduction

Tensions between contemporary neoliberal development and social reproduction are beginning to gain attention both in the IPE literature and development policy-making. Feminist political economists have identified the specific ways in which the global restructuring of production has 'reprivatised' the labour of social reproduction (Bakker 2003), leading to an 'increasing emphasis on individual responsibility for, and informalization of, social reproduction' (Bakker and Silvey 2008: 8). Some have suggested an emerging 'depletion' of social reproduction in the global economy (Hoskyns and Rai 2007). This paper uses these insights to explore a 'current moment of global political-economic development' (Bakker and Silvey 2008: 5-6) – tourism in Central America – and the consequences of such development for social reproduction. The research was motivated by curiosity into the 'micropolitics and minutae of the everyday' (Silvey 2008: 112) and stems from the feminist insight that global processes are not merely 'received' by local actors, but that local processes and small-scale actors might be seen as 'the very fabric of globalisation' (Freeman 2001: 1009). I focus on two communities which have experienced over twenty years of tourism development: Placencia in Belize and Monteverde in Costa Rica. Drawing on extensive qualitative research, the paper demonstrates how residents in these communities understand the changes that have taken place in social reproduction. I use the available data on social reproduction in Central America to provide

the context and in-depth qualitative interviews to explore questions of how tourism development has restructured social reproduction.

The paper is situated in two gaps in the IPE literature: the impact of tourism development and empirical studies of social reproduction in the global South. Despite becoming a primary development strategy for a large number of low income countries, tourism is relatively under-researched in IPE (Ferguson 2007). Research has explored labour flexbilisation in the cruise ship industry (Chin 2008, 2008a); tourism and reterritorialisation in the Middle East (Hazbun 2004); and the political economy of tourism representation in South Africa (Cornelissen 2005). Contemporary debates in tourism studies offer a contribution to understanding the political economy of tourism development (see, for example, Brown and Hall 2008). However, such work has been largely un-recognised in IPE discourses. Despite the substantive influence of tourism on the global economy and the restructuring of global production, there is little research that explores the specific impact of tourism development on social relations and in particular social reproduction. Central American countries have been at the forefront of the promotion of tourism as a development strategy. Across the region tourism forms a substantive component of donor support, national development policies and 'poverty reduction' strategies. As the most established tourism destinations in the region, Costa Rica and Belize are appropriate cases for exploring the specific type of development brought about by tourism. They have also provided opportunities for policy-makers across Central America to reflect on past experiences of tourism development and have shaped the ways in which contemporary tourism development policy is made in the region.

The other space this article hopes to fill is in the literature on social reproduction. Recent research on the global restructuring of social reproduction is beginning to make a substantive contribution to IPE on a conceptual and theoretical level (Bakker and Gill 2003; Bezanson and Luxton 2006; Bakker and Silvey 2008; LeBaron, this volume). Despite this growing body of theoretical work, empirical studies are currently somewhat scarcer. In part this is due to the difficulties in recording and measuring social reproduction (as discussed in

detail below). Recent research has tended to focus on post-industrial countries such as Canada (Luxton 2006) and Japan (Hanochi 2003). Other research employs a global perspective, such as that on 'transnational motherhood' in Canada (Arat-Koç 2006) or Ecuadorian domestic workers in Spain (Herrera 2008), exploring the intersection between crises of social reproduction in different national contexts.

However, the geographical focus of this research has tended to be on post-industrial countries with particular state formations. As Acharya argues in her analysis of social reproduction in Nepal, the focus of much of this literature has been with the *withdrawal* of the state, and relatively little research has been carried out in countries in which the state has had a less significant role in providing social reproduction (Acharya 2008: 57). As such there is space within the literature for more detailed explorations in a context such as Central America. This paper takes two countries – Costa Rica and Belize – in which the historical role of the state in providing social reproduction has been negligible. The starting point is therefore a qualitatively different concern from analyses of (re)privatisation of social reproduction. Rather, the concern here is over how actors in tourism communities in Central America negotiate the tensions between development and social reproduction in a context of minimal state provision.

In order to explore these issues, the analysis is presented in two main stages. I begin by offering a working definition of social reproduction, one which encapsulates not only those processes usually considered 'economic' such as paid work and tangible consumption, but goes beyond these criteria to include other elements of social life. The aim here is to set out the analytical approach of the paper, and to demonstrate the challenges of researching social reproduction due to its diverse nature in terms of activities and of actors. This is followed by a brief overview of current literature on the restructuring of social reproduction in a global and Central American context in order to contextualise the empirical research. I then introduce the case studies - Placencia and Monteverde - along with a discussion of the gendered relations of production specific to tourism in these communities. This sets up the

specific political economy characteristics of the case communities in order to establish the relationship between tourism development and social reproduction.

The second part forms the main body of the paper – the empirical analysis of the perceptions and perspectives of community residents and tourism workers on the impact of tourism development. Two key themes from the research are addressed: reproductive labour in the household; and childcare and parenting. I demonstrate how social reproduction has been restructured by the flexibility required from work in the tourism industry. Two distinct types of responses to this restructuring are identified here. On the one hand, a set of informal responses in which certain tasks become marketised in order to facilitate women's work in tourism production. On the other, more formalised responses in the form of tourism development policies which aim to promote increasing tourism development with minimal impact on social reproduction. I focus on an Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) funded project which promotes women working within the home and argue that this is an example of regional development policy efforts to resolve tensions between tourism development and social reproduction. In the concluding comments I argue for a renewed focus on progressive and sustainable responses to the restructuring of social reproduction.

Defining social reproduction

Analyses of social reproduction in IPE have demonstrated the co-constitutive nature of the relationship between production and social reproduction and its integral role in global political economy (see Steans and Tepe, this volume). However, definitions of what social reproduction consists of and how we understand it are by no means uniform within the literature. An appropriate place to start in defining social reproduction is with the discipline of feminist economics, which has identified the artificial separation of 'productive' paid labour carried out in the market and 'reproductive' unpaid labour carried out in the home or community - usually by women – in the forms of parenting, domestic tasks and other types

of social care (Waylen 2000). This is not to suggest that men do not perform unpaid 'reproductive' labour. Of course, many men make a contribution to childcare, household labour and community work. However, the majority of such work globally is carried out by women. Failure to acknowledge the importance of this labour to the workings of any economy leads to a partial and biased picture of 'work' (England and Folbre 2003). As Diane Elson argues, unpaid labour is vital to understanding political economy as such work 'produces vital inputs for the public and private sectors: a labour force available for work and a variety of intangible social assets' (Elson 2000: 80). Reproductive economic activity is work that is required for the maintenance and survival of healthy, happy producers and consumers – that is, unpaid work that is vital to ensure social reproduction. The distinction between paid and unpaid work is helpful for this analysis as it sets out the challenges of carrying out research into social reproduction. Although systems for calculating this kind of unpaid work do exist – such as time-use surveys and Household Satellite Accounts - these have on the whole not been taken up by governments. As Hosykns and Rai demonstrate, the UN's System of National Accounting - the key global accounting methodology - has proven stubbornly resistant to feminist calls for the inclusion of unpaid work (Hoskyns and Rai 2007).

Although a vital conceptual tool for influencing policy agendas, the notion of 'unpaid work' does not fully define social reproduction. To conceptualise social reproduction exclusively as unpaid labour carried out by women is to deny its 'dynamic' characteristics, in that most of the work involved 'can be taken up by various actors and instutitions' (Bezanson and Luxton 2006: 3). As feminist research on migration has documented, much social reproductive work in post-industrial countries is carried out by migrant domestic workers (Momsen 1999; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2004). Moreover, as Hoskyns and Rai point out, there also needs to be an acknowledgement of 'sexual, emotional and affective services (such as are required to maintain family and intimate relationships)' in any analysis of social reproduction (Hoskyns and Rai 2007: 300). 'Unpaid work' therefore comprises a substantial component of what is meant by social reproduction. However, it does not encapsulate the 'fleshy, messy and indeterminate stuff of everyday life' (Katz 2001: 711). To suggest that all the activities involved in social reproduction can be accounted for and quantified is to

neglect the more intangible aspects of social and economic life. The paper employs this broader understanding of social reproduction in order to explore some of the key themes of the research including personal relationships, parenting and changing values.

Global restructuring and social reproduction

As argued in the introduction, the majority of recent research in this area has been carried out in countries where the state has assumed at least some responsibility for social reproduction. State and community childcare initiatives in social democratic Western European countries offered incentives for women to enter the labour market in greater numbers, taking up paid work in addition to unpaid reproductive labour (Lewis 1992, Orloff 1996). However, as Chavkin argues, these benefits 'implicitly accept the gendered division of responsibility for childrearing and domestic life' and have 'left women staggering under the double burden'. The response to which, she suggests, has been that women have 'voted with their feet', by delaying marriage and not having children (Chavkin 2008:162). Moreover, as social reproduction has been reprivatised in these countries, such a 'shift' has become more problematic. These insights are useful for the analysis of the global restructuring of social reproduction but need to be thought through slightly differently when addressing countries in the global South. Feminist research carried out in the 1980s concluded that the drastic cutbacks in state services and subsidies through structural adjustment programmes transferred the costs of social reproduction from the state onto private households and communities, where most of the work was taken up by women and girls (Kanji 1991; Momsen 1991; Chant 2006; Razavi 2007). We now turn to an analysis of the impact of global restructuring on relations of social reproduction in Latin America and the Caribbean.

A variety of processes have contributed to the reformulation of relations of social reproduction across Latin America and the Caribbean, breaking down the traditional 'nuclear family' and facilitating a wider range of household arrangements. These broad

changes are summarised in a recent ECLAC Report, which noted that 'fewer families conform to the traditional nuclear model and the functions carried out in families and households have been modified by the fact that most women now participate in the labour market and by the cultural transformations ushered in by modernity' (ECLAC 2006: 34). Chant (2002: 546) argues that such changes can be attributed to 'increased access to contraception, demographic ageing, the relaxation of social and legislative restrictions on divorce, the growth and consolidation of women's movements, and the influences of neoliberal restructuring'. Regional trends towards female-headed households, lower fertility rates and increasing use of contraception are to a large extent reflected in Belize and Costa Rica. For example, in urban areas of Costa Rica female-headed households accounted for 23 per cent of all households in 1990 and 28 per cent in 1999 (CEPAL 2001).[1]

The average the number of children women have has declined drastically over the decades. In Belize, the total fertility rate - measured in average births per woman - between 1970-75 was 6.3, falling to 3.2 for the period 2000-2005. In Costa Rica, rates are lower: 4.3 and 2.3 for the same time periods. One way of understanding this is the prevalence of contraception among married women. Between 1999 and 2004, 47 per cent of married Belizean married women ages 15 to 49 were using contraception. This was significantly higher in Costa Rica, at 80 per cent.[2] These changing norms no doubt account for some of the changes in case study communities outlined below. However, the aim here is to explore the particular ways in which tourism development interacts with these regional trends, and to understand in specific detail how it has contributed to the restructuring of social reproduction.

Tourism development and gendered production in Costa Rica and Belize

Tourism has become a foundation of economic development for all Central American countries[3]. In 2007 in Belize, tourism accounted for 30.7% of national export earnings, 12% of GDP and 8.9% of total formal employment. In Costa Rica, the figures were 16.1% of

exports, 6.8% of GDP and 5.3% of formal employment (ILO 2007: 10).[4] Given that these figures do not take into account the informal economies involved in tourism, the economic impact of tourism on these countries is substantial. Tourism development policy in Costa Rica and Belize in the 1980s was premised on creating an enabling environment for foreign direct investment (FDI) in the industry in order to generate employment and foreign exchange earnings. In Costa Rica, the Fiscal Incentives Law of 1986 attracted investment from multinational hotel chains during the 1980s and 1990s. In Belize, FDI has been more focused on the high-end market of luxury resorts and condominium developments,[5] exemplified by properties such as the US film director Francis Ford Coppola's two resorts.

However, these large-scale projects tend to be the exception and do not represent a clear picture of the nature of tourism in Costa Rica and Belize. The tourism sector of each country has been made up predominantly of small and medium-sized enterprises, usually owned by local people or expatriate residents. In Belize, 80 per cent of the members of the Belize Tourism Industry Association (BTIA) are Belizean nationals.[6] Belize has a total of 550 hotels, each with an average of 10 rooms, reflecting the small-scale nature of the industry and the kind of tourism product offered to visitors to Belize. In Costa Rica, small and medium-sized enterprises make up 80 per cent of the tourism sector.[7] 'Small-scale' here does not necessarily mean low value, as these countries cater to a wide range of tourists, from backpackers seeking budget accommodation to the most high-end luxury 'boutique' travel experiences. The predominant characteristics of the tourism industry in Costa Rica and Belize are its small-scale nature and appeal to 'niche' markets such as adventure tourism, cultural tourism, nature tourism and archaeological tourism. This is in stark contrast to the mass tourism development characteristic of many Caribbean countries and the Caribbean coast of Mexico.

Monteverde is as a well-established tourism destination situated inland at a height of 1440m. The area has experienced twenty years of tourism development, and is the primary 'eco-tourism' destination in Costa Rica. Monteverde is made up of seven different communities, the main centre being Santa Elena where the majority of the participants

were interviewed. The population of the seven communities is approximately 8000, and they receive 200,000 visitors per year. The key tourism activities in the area are the Monteverde and Santa Elena Cloud Forest Reserves, and the increasingly popular 'canopy tours' and 'sky walks' in the cloud forest. Before tourism, Monteverde was a dairy community made up of small family farms. Most local families owned a small piece of land which they would tend themselves, hiring additional casual labour when necessary. Women's work during this era was predominantly unpaid on the farm and in the household. Although households were generally able to meet their basic needs during this time, they relied heavily on women's unpaid work to eat and live cheaply. In 1975, a cheese factory opened providing an alternative source of employment for local people – including a small number of women - and bringing an industrial element to dairy production. However, the real change to the political economy of the area came with the introduction of ecotourism around 1985, when a few hotels were opened and the Monteverde Cloud Forest Reserve was established. Following this, the tourism industry developed at a rapid pace.

Placencia is located at the bottom of a long peninsula. The village's open access to the sea and reef made it well placed to take advantage of the marine life and strategic access to the major ports of the country. The current population of the village itself is around 800, but the nearby villages of Seine Bight and Maya Beach take the total population of the peninsula up to 2000. Forty two hotels are registered with the local Tourism Industry Association. Unlike Monteverde, Placencia was a wealthy community long before the tourism boom of the 1980s. The abundance of marine life attracted families from all over Belize during the early twentieth century, who established a highly profitable fishing industry with national and international trade links. This was an almost exclusively male-dominated industry, and paid work for women was scarce. During its fishing heyday, Placencia began to receive a small number of visitors. As more people learned of the appeal of the peninsula's white sand beaches and exceptional diving and snorkelling, Placencia's tourism industry began to grow rapidly. Initially local people with property in the village would open up small hotels, restaurants and shops to serve the growing number of visitors, alongside the newly established North Americans with whom they were effectively in competition. Women's labour started to become in demand as waitresses and cleaners. Over the last few years a growing number of investment projects have been undertaken by large US and Canadian

companies looking for 'the next unspoilt paradise' of Central America and the Caribbean. These include projects such as condominiums, large-scale tourist resorts and retirement villages, which are spreading up the peninsula through the villages of previously neglected Seine Bight and Maya Beach. These projects and the growing number of small-scale enterprises have created a high demand for women's paid labour. Taken together, the communities of Placencia and Monteverde serve as interesting cases for exploring the impact of tourism development on social reproduction.

Who works where and how in Monteverde and Placencia

Before turning to a more detailed analysis of the gender dimensions of work in these two communities, it is useful to first provide a brief overview of women's work in Central America in order to contextualise the discussion. It is difficult to offer an accurate picture of gendered production in Central America as very few countries' labour surveys cover the majority of women's work. For example, official statistics state that agriculture is a male-intensive activity, with women contributing only 17% of labour. However, as Jasmine Gideon has found, in coffee production – the key export crop – women play a central role, providing up to 70% of labour during harvesting time (Gideon 1999: 8). In terms of the services sector, women only register in official statistics as providing 36.9% and 49% of the formal and informal workforce respectively. However, as Gideon points out, these figures are artificially low as they do not account for the substantial amount of unpaid labour carried out in household-based activities. A study carried out by UNDP in Guatemala in 1995 taking unpaid labour into account using time-use surveys found that women's average daily working hours were 11.3, in contrast to men's 9.6, concluding that women's average work burden 17% greater than men's (UNDP 1995). Further research has shown that women in female-headed households in Central America work longer hours than those in male-headed households in order to fulfil their productive and reproductive needs (Elson et al. 1997). This brief overview of the available statistics sets the backdrop for exploring the gender dimensions of tourism work in more specific detail.

Many of the structural features of work in the global tourism industry are replicated in Placencia and Monteverde. Tourism businesses require a large pool of temporary labour to be drawn upon in times of high demand, made up of predominantly young and/or female workers (ILO 2001: 48). Other features of the industry include high staff turnover, long working hours, subcontracting, 'flexible' working conditions, the prevalence of 'casual workers' and seasonal variations in employment (ILO 2001: 56-63). As in the global tourism industry, the vast majority of employment available in Monteverde and Placencia is in low-skill tasks such as waiting tables, cleaning and cooking. The timetables required to serve tourists mean that employees necessarily must be willing and able to tailor their lives to these anti-social shifts.

Relations of production in tourism development communities remain profoundly unequal in terms of gender, ethnicity, social class and nationality, again reflecting global trends (Kinnaird, Kothari and Hall 1994; Kinnaird and Hall 1996). The abundance of work in tourism and related industries has attracted migration from neighbouring towns and villages suffering from high unemployment and under-employment. A widely-held - though not necessarily justified - perception of higher wages in tourism compared to agriculture has attracted national inward migration to these communities.   In addition, immigrants from Nicaragua (to Costa Rica) and Guatemala and Honduras (to Belize) have arrived in the hope of finding informal work in tourism-related services. This high immigration has created a new 'tier' of workers, who tend to sleep in the lowest quality accommodation and work in hyper-flexibilised tourism activities such as construction (men) and handicrafts or paid reproductive services (women), as will be explored in more detail below.

Local women in the case study communities tend to work as cleaners, cooks, waitresses and receptionists – carrying out traditionally 'female' reproductive tasks.   Findings from the case studies concur with global patterns in that the majority of women workers in tourism are in flexible, low-paid and low-skill positions with little prospect for advancement or mobility (Sinclair 1997). The antisocial hours required make it very difficult to work in tourism and care for a family at the same time. In the new economic climate both parents

(or in many cases the single female parent) are required to work in order to make ends meet. The low wages paid for women's work in tourism, however, make this an increasingly challenging task. In Placencia, for example, the average monthly wage for a woman working in a bar, restaurant or hotel is approximately US$400, while rental costs in the centre of the village are approximately US$300-400 per month. As such, local women tend to be locked into low-paid, low-skill jobs which demand increasing time flexibility and a 'service' mentality.

Those jobs considered to be the most rewarding by community residents in terms of status and working conditions are guiding and diving. These tend to be held by local men, with some exceptional women breaking the mould. Out of about one hundred and fifty registered guides in Placencia, only three are women.[8] Likewise in Monteverde, only three of over sixty qualified guides in the Reserves are women, and one of these is from the US.[9] Many of the men interviewed expressed the view that this was 'not a suitable job for women', quoting reasons such as 'women don't want to be out in the rain all day'; 'a woman couldn't take a group of men into the Reserve'.[10] Such stereotyped opinions about the gendered nature of work in tourism are not restricted to male respondents. Local women of all ages, including young girls, expressed the opinion that guiding and diving were 'not for women'. Reasons were offered such as 'women don't like the jungle as much as men'[11] or 'women don't like the water enough'.[12] Even though clients on diving and other tours are predominantly female, local attitudes persist that this kind of work is not suitable for women. Despite the structural hierarchies embedded in work in tourism such as low-pay, low-skill and flexibility, the women workers interviewed in all three communities in general viewed their work extremely positively.[13] They argued that it was a much better life for women than alternative sources of paid work, such as agricultural work in the dairy or citrus fruit industry.[14] We now go on to explore these tensions and perceptions in relation to the impact of tourism development on social reproduction.

Restructuring social reproduction in Placencia and Monteverde

Within the broad context of global and regional change in relations of social reproduction, there is nevertheless merit in analysing in-depth cases. Also, as argued above, there are specific characteristics of tourism development – in particular the high demand for women's 'traditional' reproductive labour - which make it a pertinent case for the exploration of social reproduction. The analysis presented here is based on six months field research in Central America between September 2005 and April 2006. During this time interviews were carried out with a wide range of participants - tourism workers, community representatives, young people, policy makers and tourism business owners. The interviews were semi-structured and based around an exploration of people's perceptions of how 'work life' and 'family life' had been changed through tourism development. Overall, tourism development has generated some substantial changes in social reproduction in these areas as well as some continuities. The main themes that emerged from the research were: increasing contestation over unpaid labour within the household; lack of adequate childcare provision; and a widely held view that family life had 'declined' through tourism development. In spite of these changes in social reproduction, attitudes about women's responsibility for social reproduction remained salient. This sets up a potential conflict between the process of tourism development and its impact on social reproduction, a tension which I explore in detail here.

Unpaid labour within the household

The changing dynamics of production in Placencia and Monteverde have led many women to question power relations within the household. Women in case study communities have begun to request help from men with domestic tasks, with varying degrees of success. In both communities, tourism development has generated a shift from complete male control over money. Before the tourism era women were almost entirely dependent on male family members – husbands, fathers or sons – to provide money for their upkeep and family maintenance. Although women carried out a large amount of unpaid work both within the home and in agriculture, there were few opportunities for paid work. This pattern was

typical of the control men had over women's lives, the supply of money being one of the key mechanisms preventing women from leading independent and individual lives. In Placencia, men would traditionally return from fishing every 10-14 days, deposit a proportion of their income with their wives, then return to fishing.[15] Often this would involve extended visits to Belize City to spend a proportion of their money on recreation, only returning a small percentage of their original income to their wives to cover household expenditure.[16] In response to this situation, the women of the village got together and demanded the establishment of the Fishing Cooperative in the 1970s to allow them greater control over their husbands' movements and income.[17] Along with the increasing availability of work and demand for women's labour in the tourism industry, women's access to money in Placencia has grown considerably, to the point that many women have been able to establish independent lives free from the economic control of men.

Likewise in Monteverde, the traditional patterns of male control over money have been broken up by the new economic opportunities available to women through tourism development.[18] Although women were active in traditional dairy production, they did not tend to be paid for this work and were considered to devote their labour through 'altruism' and family loyalty.[19] The restructuring of household economic power away from total dependence on male income has opened up new power dynamics within the home, whereby women can claim greater rights and independence due to their increasing economic contribution. This is reflected in extensive research into household dynamics across Latin America and the Caribbean (Safa 1995, 1995a).

Researching domestic relationships is notoriously difficult, and presents a unique set of challenges for the feminist researcher (Ackerly, Stern and True 2006). However, many respondents were happy to discuss their personal experiences of attempting to shift the power balance within the household. In general, women tourism workers argued that Central American men want to be 'king of the house',[20] meaning that traditional attitudes about women's unpaid work remain the norm. Growth in women's labour force participation in Latin America and the Caribbean has usually occurred with 'little or no

alleviation of their domestic responsibilities' (Chant 2002: 551). However, with the increasing demands on women's time and energy from work in tourism development, many women have been forced to ask for help from their male partners, children and other family members in order to keep the household running. In Monteverde, where women had been requesting help for several years, it was argued that men were beginning to take some responsibility for household tasks.[21] Some male respondents also were reasonably reflective about the changes in domestic life, but in general remained resistant to domestic tasks.[22] Men's contribution to reproduction in Monteverde was usually described as 'they might make breakfast sometimes or help out at the weekends'[23] or 'occasionally men will share the tasks'.[24] Despite men's continued resistance to sharing responsibility for social reproduction, in general respondents in Monteverde perceived small changes to be taking place. For example, one woman argued that women had certainly become less 'servile' in their behaviour in the household, and would no longer accept being treated in this manner.[25]

In contrast to Monteverde, women in Placencia tend to be more vocal and powerful at the community level. However, as pointed out by the Belizean Deputy Women's Minister Kathleen Pate, Belizean women 'may have big mouths but they are not in control' – meaning that although women may appear outspoken in public, this does not necessarily translate to broader power in the household.[26] Despite growing influence at the community and economic level, women in Placencia have found it difficult to challenge male authoritarianism in the home. On the whole women tourism workers were reluctant to describe men as 'sexist', instead suggesting that they were merely 'lazy'. The enduring *machismo* of Belizean men has certainly been challenged to some extent by working women. One woman tourism worker, for example, suggested that 'men will help look after kids but not do the washing'.[27] As in Monteverde, the cultural change has been relatively slow, and seems to be taking more effect on the younger generation. A teacher (and former head teacher) at Placencia School explained that young boys are expected to help in the home, and that this was reflected in their behaviour in school.[28]

To some extent it can be argued that the balance of power in the unpaid household economy is being redressed in Monteverde and Placencia. Despite a constant power struggle over domestic responsibility, in many ways men are being forced to change their habits. However, inequality in the household is significantly stratified by class and ethnicity. In Belize, for example, successful middle-class Creole women argued that they felt confidence to articulate their demands to their partners and male family members.[29] Likewise in Monteverde, it was suggested that middle-class educated women were much more likely to confront their partners about the sharing of domestic tasks.[30] As such, challenges to male power in the household need to be understood as mediated through different gendered norms and through social class, ethnicity and nationality.

One of the key themes of respondents from both case study communities when discussing issues of power within the home was the difficulties facing men in dealing with shifting power relations. Across Latin America and the Caribbean the widespread incorporation of women into the workforce has had an impact on traditional models of men's masculinity and roles. In some cases this has caused a 'backlash' by men such as desertion and increasing violence (Chant 2002: 553-555). However, in the case study communities the widespread availability of employment and income-generating opportunities for both men and women has largely avoided this situation for the time being. That is not to say, however, that women's changing economic roles have not had an impact on men's lives. In Monteverde, respondents discussed how women's personal development changes men's lives and makes things 'more difficult for them'[31] and that men are frightened of losing power in the home.[32] Although generally reluctant to discuss these matters frankly, Belizean men argued that family life had 'declined' since the fishing era.[33] These fears have manifested themselves in a number of different ways. One male respondent in Monteverde suggested that the changes in household power relations had led to increased domestic violence, as men became increasingly frustrated with women's 'neglect' of the family.[34] In Placencia, changes in family life have not been well tolerated by the elite families of the village, meaning that single mothers and other alternative living arrangements are not well supported by the community.[35]

Despite substantive changes in family and household arrangements, gender inequality in the unpaid household economy in Placencia and Monteverde has remained a salient feature of society. Although many women have attempted to redress the power imbalance in the household, success in this area has tended to be on an *ad hoc* basis, and has not promoted a significant cultural shift in Placencia and Monteverde. As argued here, the changes brought about by tourism development have challenged certain patterns of relations of social reproduction such as the balance of household income and the distribution of domestic tasks. Nevertheless, although women have entered the tourism workforce in large numbers, they are still perceived to retain primary responsibility for the unpaid work of the household. Nowhere are these expectations more pronounced than in attitudes to childcare and parenting, which we now move on to discuss in detail.

Childcare for tourism workers' children

Childcare and parenting have not been the focus of much research in the field of IPE. However, as Alison Watson (2004: 4) argues, 'understanding how children are affected by, and themselves affect, the emerging global economy and society is crucial to being able to understand both the present and future dynamics of the international system'. Children's lives have been significantly influenced by tourism development, in particular in terms of how they are cared for. With their mass influx of into tourism employment, women have been forced to look for childcare arrangements for their children, particularly after school and in the evening when many tourism workers are required in their jobs. The absence of the female parent from the household in the evening has dramatically changed the lives of young people and challenged traditional notions of parenting.

In Placencia and Monteverde, women workers stated that their first choice would always be to leave children with relatives after school.[36] If women did not have available family

members, they would often ask neighbours to look after their children. However, as more and more people have become involved in tourism employment, the availability of family and neighbours for 'free' childcare has significantly diminished. In both Monteverde and Placencia, community leaders argued that most people no longer had anyone to rely on for permanent childcare, leaving working mothers few options.[37] In particular, single mothers may find it even more difficult as they are unable to share childcare responsibilities with a partner.[38] In Placencia it was generally agreed that children over the age of seven or eight were considered capable of looking after themselves and their younger siblings.[39] Children under school age were the most difficult to find childcare for. Women who could not rely on family members struggled to work in the day time. However, as many jobs in tourism such as bar and restaurant work require evening shifts, often older (usually female) siblings would provide this childcare role after school. Overall, there was no perceived threat to young people in terms of safety, as people in Placencia tend to 'be one big family'.[40] Likewise in Monteverde, children tended to be left unsupervised for long periods of time while their parents were at work.[41] In both communities, this has meant that large numbers of young people are hanging around the streets or the beach, looking for entertainment. These somewhat makeshift childcare arrangements have generated mixed reactions among community members. In Placencia, many of the respondents felt that this was an excellent life for children: meeting a wide range of different people and enjoying lots of personal freedom.[42] Young people in Monteverde discussed how they enjoyed the independence this offered.[43]

However, despite the potentially positive influence of increased freedom for young people, in general respondents in both communities were concerned about the effects of such a dramatic change in childcare arrangements. Both men and women responded in a socially conservative manner to questions about how tourism development had affected 'family life'. Some respondents discussed the perception that women had obtained 'too much freedom'[44] under the new arrangements, and that they had 'forgotten their responsibilities' to the family.[45] These changes were attributed to women's entry into the tourism workforce – that is, material change in the social relations of production. In Monteverde, men argued that children have 'lots of possessions but no family atmosphere'[46] and that

'nobody is doing the work of the family'.[47] A teacher and former head-teacher of Placencia School discussed the disciplinary issues arising out of the lack of structured parenting and childcare in the village. She suggested that children are 'not getting the discipline they need from home' and that parents are 'not doing much beyond providing for their children'.[48] Although some men were beginning to take up certain aspects of childcare – for example by remaining in the house in the evening rather than going out - there was little change in the overall expectation that this was women's work.

Other than disciplinary issues, changing family structures were also blamed for a wide range of 'social problems' relating to consumption habits and changing behavioural patterns. For example, adults in Monteverde suggested that the lack of family guidance was causing young people to 'go off the rails' and 'have no boundaries'.[49] In Placencia the reactions were similar – one woman suggested that 'it is not good for girls to be going out in the evening' and that the lack of communication within families was 'why girls are getting pregnant'.[50] Negative responses were not limited to older people in the case study communities. In many cases, young people also identified a relationship between the rearrangement of parenting and the changes taking place in young people's lives.[51]

The impact of tourism development on social reproduction in Monteverde and Placencia can be summarised in three ways: tensions over responsibilities for domestic work in the household; challenges to traditional parenting and childcare arrangements; and negative responses to these changes by many community members. Across the majority of respondents - male and female and including many women tourism workers - there was a widely held consensus that the sphere of reproduction remained firmly 'women's work'[52]. As Molyneux notes, in spite of the ways in which gender divisions have been modified in Latin America by women's mass entry into the workforce, these attitudes and assumptions have proved 'remarkably universal and enduring' (Molyneux 2006: 426). Complaints about the 'disintegration of the family' were common during the research process. The prevalence of traditional attitudes to the gender dimensions of reproduction is in many ways in conflict with the kinds of changes brought about by tourism development. As such,

although tourism development has forced a creative rearrangement of social reproduction, this has not been accompanied by a shift in attitudes towards unpaid work and social provisioning. This sets up the notion of a contentious and contested relationship between tourism development and social reproduction, which we now go on to explore in more detail.

Resolving the 'social reproduction dilemma'?

These tensions are fundamental to understanding the impact of tourism development on social reproduction. In both Monteverde and Placencia it was argued that the amount of time parents had available for their children was not sufficient to develop healthy, happy adults. Only in very rare circumstances have community organisations – and never the state - stepped in to fill such gaps. At the time this research was carried out, community leaders in Monteverde were planning a large complex to provide young people with somewhere to meet and get involved in social activities after school.[53] In Placencia, a group of women calling themselves *Women Making a Difference* have got together to provide after-school activities for young people such as homework clubs and arts and crafts workshops.[54] These kinds of responses echo similar programmes across Latin America, such as women's neighbourhood associations in Peru (Blondet 2002). Although such community-based childcare initiatives are the exception, they demonstrate how people within case study communities are beginning to recognise the need for community provision of childcare and taking action to address this.

However, in general the task of providing quality childcare and parenting has 'dropped out' of socioeconomic activity. What is meant by this is that a variety of socially necessary tasks are no longer being performed within these communities. The restructuring of social reproduction towards market activity means that certain services and tasks have been reordered – that is, people's economic priorities have had to change. That is not to say that parents care less about their children, or love them any less, but that the time available for

the provision of these intangible economic services is lessened by the market pressures caused by the reorientation of material life towards tourism production. An emerging 'depletion' of social and economic resources can be identified (Hosykns and Rai 2007). The evidence of this in Placencia and Monteverde is found, for example, in the consistent perception that young people's ambitions and aspirations have been limited, rather than expanded, by tourism development. Feminists have shown that the transfer of women's time from unpaid work in reproduction to paid work in production leads to a 'gap' in reproductive provisioning, as women are no longer unconditionally available to provide services for 'free' in this sphere (Elson 1992, 2000). This 'gap' in reproductive provisioning was a key issue discussed by members of both communities. It was argued consistently that the focus of people's lives had now turned to work in tourism, and that family life – or home life - had been diminished as a consequence.

Having established the ways in which tourism development restructures social reproduction and that this creates what we might call a 'gap', we now go on to explore to what extent such a gap is 'filled'. What kinds of responses to these changes have taken place, and what are the implications of these? In order to do this, I set out two clear types of responses and discuss their capacity for resolving what we might call the 'social reproduction dilemma' (Bedford 2007). First, I detail a growing trend for market provision of reproductive services and the forms this has taken in Placencia and Monteverde. Second, I explore recent tourism development policy in Central America which explicitly aims to minimise the impact on social reproduction, focussing on a specific IADB project .

'Contracting out'

Reflecting global trends, the gaps caused by restructuring have opened up certain reproductive services to the market. In Placencia and Monteverde, those women who can afford it have begun to 'contract out' reproductive services such as housework, cleaning and cooking. As noted above, there is a substantive literature on social reproduction from a

transnational perspective, exploring migration across large distances and its relation to reproductive provisioning (Young 2001; Herrera 2008). However, much less has been written on migration to (relatively) poor countries in the global economy from (relatively) wealthier ones. Migrant women from Nicaragua and Honduras, along with indigenous Mayan women from poorer areas of Belize, provide many of these 'contracted-out' services. This creates a situation of not so much transnational but *regional in-country migration* to meet the growing social reproduction needs of tourism communities. As Arat-Koç notes, this abundance of migrant labour can decrease pressure for change in gendered power relations in the home or state policy, as to some extent the social reproduction dilemma is 'fixed' by migrant women's work (Arat-Koç 2006: 89).

As demonstrated above, the commodification of women's 'traditional' skills has become a key part of tourism in Central America. These skills have gained a clear market value – not just in tourism work, but also in providing social reproduction for tourism workers who no longer have time to perform such work themselves as unpaid labour. In Placencia and Monteverde a large number of privatised social reproduction services have sprung up. Examples of these include: domestic workers providing in home services to wealthier women; informal provision of services such as laundry and take away food for workers; and small businesses dedicated to providing low-cost domestic services to tourism workers. This has created an interesting and complex situation in which very low paid women are providing domestic services for women tourism workers, who also work in low-paid, insecure conditions. Moveover, often these tourism workers are carrying out social reproductive services *for tourists*, such as cleaning, cooking and providing 'hospitality'.

There is not space to explore these ideas in detail in this paper, but they may provide fruitful avenues for future empirical research. What is clear is that certain tangible aspects of social reproduction – predominantly domestic tasks such as cooking, cleaning and laundry – have been 'contracted-out' by tourism workers to poorer women, often migrants. However, as argued above, reproductive activities should be understood as made up not merely of concrete tasks, but also of the more intangible social and economic needs of love, affection,

empathy and discipline. These are the elements of life traditionally ignored by economists (Gibson-Graham 2003; Ferber and Nelson 2003). Thus while neoclassical economic approaches may be able to account for the 'relocation' of domestic tasks such as washing, cooking and cleaning to the market – as has taken place in the case study communities - such emotional services are more difficult to quantify. Moreover, as Bezanson and Luxton remind us, it is not 'neutral' to shift the balance of work of social reproduction between the institutions of market, state, households and community (Bezanson and Luxton 2006: 7). Although in the case of tourism development communities a certain number of reproductive tasks are being provided as marketised commodities, the more intangible aspects of social reproduction present a more complex challenge. We now turn to an analysis of how this complexity has been addressed in tourism development policy.

Responses in Latin American development policy

Feminist arguments about the impact of neoliberal development on social reproduction have not gone entirely un-noticed in policy spheres. Indeed, such insights have been used in many situations by economists and policy-makers to argue for a return to 'family values' and the nuclear family as the central unit of social organisation (Hao 1996, Mason 2007). In many ways these types of arguments show an awareness of the gendered nature of economics. By arguing that 'traditional' family structures should be maintained (or restored), policy-makers are demonstrating an understanding of the vital contribution made by the sphere of reproduction to sustain consumption and production (Folbre 1994). Maxine Molyneux's work, for example, shows how Latin American social policy has not been *gender-blind*, but has rather employed 'gendered conceptions of social needs, ones which were familial, patriarchal and paternalistic' (Molyneux 2006: 427). In OECD states, there is a growing acknowledgement of the need to develop policies that maintain birth-rates and a tacit acceptance that 'societies must assume some social reproductive responsibilities if they want to self-perpetuate' (Chavkin 2008: 164). As Tinker argues, the recognition by mainstream economists and policy-makers of women's economic roles has made a critical difference to understandings of gender in international development policy and practice

(Tinker 2006: 299). The question to explore here is whether these types of policies can be understood as promoting 'progressive forms of social reproduction' (Bakker and Gill 2003: 18), or whether they merely reproduce implicit biases about social reproduction being 'women's work'.

Many development institutions – in particular the World Bank – have acknowledged the contentious relationship between neoliberal development and social reproduction and have responded with policy initiatives designed to tackle these. Two examples of contemporary development policy in Latin America are particularly illuminating in their attempts to overcome some of the tensions between (neoliberal) development and social reproduction. One such policy initiative is conditional cash transfers to single mothers, such as the extensive *Oportunidades* programme in Mexico. Despite its impressive record in meeting anti-poverty targets, it would be difficult to describe the programme as progressive in its attitude, as it relies on explicit assumptions about women's role in social reproduction, and actively reinforces such responsibilities (Molyneux 2006).

In contrast to the women-as-mothers approach to embedded in *Oportunidades*, the World Bank's focus on 'loving partnerships' takes a qualitatively different angle to resolving these tensions. Kate Bedford, in her detailed exploration of the Bank's attempts to solve the social reproduction dilemma in Ecuador, identifies a growing agenda of promoting men's contribution to unpaid reproductive labour. The Bank assumes that restructuring has generated 'an abundance of poor men sitting around with time on their hands, the perfect candidates for an apparently easy and universally empowering resolution of tensions between unpaid care and remunerated labour' (Bedford 2008: 92). These kinds of policies – embedded in New Poverty Agenda or post-Washington consensus approaches – demonstrate an emerging profile for 'social reproduction' programmes in contemporary development policy, in particular in Latin America. Such policies are highly problematic from a feminist perspective, as they continue to rely on heavily gendered notions about appropriate responsibilities for social reproduction. Whilst the 'balanced partnerships' approach may acknowledge the potential contribution of men's (unpaid) work to resolving

these tensions, it nevertheless generates 'a completely privatizing solution to the social reproduction dilemma' (Bedford 2008: 93). Moreoever, these 'privatising solutions' can serve to deflect challenges to the state to redress inequalities inherent in the political economy of contemporary development.

Social reproduction in tourism development policy

Attempts to 'plug' this gap in social reproduction can be identified in recent tourism development policy across Central America, within tourism ministries and development funding institutions. Tensions between tourism development and social reproduction were acknowledged by the policy-makers interviewed during this research programme. It was consistently argued that the family and household should ideally remain 'unchanged' by tourism development. Policy-makers within the regional tourism development institutions repeatedly asserted that tourism development policy should aim to preserve 'traditional' family structures, and stressed the importance of the nuclear family to development in Central America.[55] As argued above, Costa Rica is in many ways seen as the pilot for tourism in the region, and policy-makers have reflected extensively on what went 'wrong' and what went 'right' in the country's tourism development trajectory. Policy-makers across the region reported that the most negative consequences of tourism have been the breakdown of the family. As a consequence, the household and the family are becoming key targets of tourism development policy. This creates a narrow policy space in which the social reproduction dilemma needs to be addressed whilst at the same time promoting tourism as the foundation of Central American economic and social development.

Promoting the opening up of the household as a site of tourism activity in itself is one of the forms this response has taken. This is a kind of tourism whereby visitors are offered an 'authentic' experience of 'family life' in Central America, offering accommodation and food in the household. This type of service is seen as one of the key 'niche' tourism products by policy-makers in the region and is being promoted enthusiastically.[56] This kind of

experience also incorporates 'family' businesses such as hotels and restaurants, where tourists are provided with a 'genuine', 'traditional' Central American family experience. Running a small business can be understood as a way in which family and household life is converted into a tourist product. Many small hotels and restaurants offer their 'family' nature as a key selling point to tourists. Thus the idea of traditional family life becomes a feature of hotels, in which guests are invited to join in to a certain extent.

This aspect of Central American tourism has been explicitly targeted by development policies. The most prominent example is the US$1.95m IADB project Rural Community Tourism in Costa Rica and Replication in Central America (RCT). The RCT project is being hailed as a 'model' for tourism development, and as such is likely to have significant ramifications across the region. The project aims to provide families – *as family units* - with an income whilst providing a commodified 'experience' of traditional life to tourists.[57] In many ways this turns the home itself into a commercialised sphere, as women's reproductive activities are transformed from subsistence for family survival to income-generating and an attraction in themselves. This is a targeted policy with an explicit focus on social reproduction, as training in RCT purposely encourages women to think of themselves as *empresarias turísticas* (tourist business women) and to 'turn the unpaid reality of their daily life into a commercial service'.[58] In many ways part of the tourist product in such businesses is that tourists will be made 'part of the family' and 'receive traditional hospitality', implying the provision of reproductive services such as caring, kindness and warmth.[59] The commodification of household work as an authentic tourist attraction changes such work from 'free' reproductive labour to a marketised product, bringing commercial relations into the household without the need for women to 'neglect' their duties in social reproduction.

Tourism development projects expressly promote this kind of tourism, arguing that it encourages the retention of the nuclear family and 'traditional' ways of living.[60] Indeed, the promotion of tourism activity *within the household* is a growing phenomenon across Central America. Tourism development policy-makers in Central America are highly aware of the

tensions between increasing participation in tourism production by women and the provision of social reproduction in tourism communities. These policies circumnavigate difficult questions about the role of the state in social reproduction and push responsibility back onto 'private' households and women. It would be difficult to class these solutions as 'progressive'. Rather, by reinforcing the notion of women's ultimate responsibility for social reproduction, such policies can be more fruitfully understood as providing 'conservative' solutions to resolving the social reproduction dilemma.

Conclusions

Tourism development in Placencia and Monteverde has contributed to a significant restructuring of social reproduction, creating what I have called a 'gap'. Two types of responses to this have been identified here: the marketisation or 'contracting out' of certain activities; and the construction of policies which aim to minimise changes in social reproduction. Certain aspects of social reproduction have been marketised, with those women who can afford to do so paying for domestic services. There is some evidence to suggest a slight cultural shift, in that men are beginning to carry out some unpaid work, and one or two community initiatives are in place. In general, however, the unpaid work of the household has not been taken on board by male household members or community initiatives in any substantive manner. This sets up a conflict between tourism development and social reproduction. To some extent, this tension is recognised and acknowledged in contemporary tourism development policies in Central America. In an attempt to resolve this, policy-makers propose more gender-aware policies and projects which encourage women to be able to fulfil their duties in social reproduction, such as rural and community-based tourism and microenterprise production within the household. In my concluding remarks, I suggest that neither of these informal (i.e. market) or formal (i.e. policy) responses are a viable or progressive solution to resolving the social reproduction dilemma.

Marketisation is neither a sustainable nor universal solution to the tensions between tourism development and social reproduction. First, it is only available for those who are able to pay for it, and creates another tier of workers – often immigrants or indigenous people – for whom social reproduction is a constant challenge. Second, as argued above, social reproduction is not only composed of unpaid work. In fact, many aspects of social reproduction cannot be easily classified as work, for example love, relationships, patience, solidarity. Although these are essential aspects of any economy and society, they are not easily converted into market commodities to be provided by others. What this means is that these less tangible elements of social reproduction become depleted and undermined through tourism development, with potentially troubling implications for the longer-term impact on states, communities, households and individuals.

The recognition of the 'social problems' caused by tourism has contributed to the emergence of a socially conservative tourism development policy agenda. Rather than acknowledging the inequalities at the heart of processes of contemporary development, such policies look for a 'quick fix' by aiming to keep gendered inequalities 'static'. These policies both implicitly and explicitly reinforce notions of women's responsibilities for social reproduction, allowing attention to be deflected away from the state or the global economy and instead problematising women's economic independence as the root of the negative social consequences of tourism development. These policies preclude any serious challenge to gender inequalities, and to the ethnic, class and national inequalities that create the conditions for the marketisation of certain aspects of social reproduction.

These research findings reinforce the argument that 'many forms of socialized provision are still in play' and 'have yet to be fully liberalized' (Bakker and Gill 2003a: 35). In conceptual terms, there is a need for continued pressure for the recognition and valuing of social reproduction in IPE and the acceptance of its integral role in any economy, rather than as being 'outside of production' and therefore the private concern of individuals (in practice, women). In more concrete terms, what kinds of policies should be promoted in order to reverse the marginalisation of social reproduction? We need to continue to campaign for

the recognition that the state holds ultimate responsibility for social reproduction, reversing the tide of providing market solutions to every aspect of socioeconomic life. At the same time, we should support feminist projects seeking to build alternative economic relations based around social provisioning and solidarity. Supporting these campaigns and projects presents a challenge to the orthodoxy of the market understanding of 'development' which continues to undermine the possibility of a global economy which truly values the importance of social reproduction.

Notes

[1] These figures were not available for Belize.

[2] Human Development Index 2006

[3] The 1996 'Declaration of Montelimar' signed by representatives of the seven tourism integration countries (incorporating Belize and Panama) recognises tourism as a force for enhancing Central American global competitiveness, and increasing the diversification of economies (SGSICA 1996).

[4] Original data from World Travel and Tourism Council

[5] Interviews with Lloyd Enriquez, Registrar of Hotels and Tourism Accommodation, *Belize Tourism Board* (BTB), Belize City, 21st March 2006; Mike Banton, Belize Representative to *SITCA* and former President of *BTIA*, Belize City, 21st March 2006

[6] Interview with Andrew Godoy, Executive Director, *Belize Tourism Industry Association* (BTIA), Belize City, 21st March 2006

[7] Interview with Marco Tulio Picado, *Small and Medium-sized Enterprises Division*, Costa Rican Tourism Institute (ICT), San José, 20th October 2005

[8] Interview with Dwayne Young, President, *Placencia Tour Guides Association*, Placencia, 10th March 2006

[9] Interview with Elsa Batres Boni, *Monteverde Institute*, Monteverde, 19th September 2005

[10] Interview with Marvin Ovares, Ecotourism Teacher, *Santa Elena Technical College*, Monteverde, 28th September 2005

[11] Interview with Marvis Scott, Pupil, *Placencia School*, 14th March 2006

[12] Interview with Barbara Nunez, Cleaner, *Various Hotels*, Placencia, 13th March 2006

[13] The political implications of this tension for feminist research are discussed in detail in Chapter 1.

[14] Interviews with Sadie (surname not given), *Monteverde Institute*, Monteverde, 21st September 2005; Patricia Jimenez Castilla, co-founder of *Monteverde Women's Handicraft Cooperative* (CASEM), Monteverde, 21st September 2005; Various Participants, *Women Workers Focus Group*, Monteverde, 4th October 2005

[15] Interview with Carlton Young, Chair, *Fishing Cooperative*, Placencia, 8th March 2006

[16] Interview with Julie Berry, Manager, *Turtle Inn Dive Shop*, Placencia, 14th March 2006

[17] Interview with Carlton Young, Chair, *Fishing Cooperative*, Placencia, 8th March 2006

[18] Interviews with Marcony Suarez, Mayor, *Monteverde Council*, Monteverde, 20th September 2005; Various Participants, *Women Workers Focus Group*, Monteverde, 4th October 2005

[19] Interview with Various Participants, *Women Workers Focus Group*, Monteverde, 4th October 2005

[20] Interview with Lydia Villanueva, Member of *Placencia Chamber of Tourism*, Placencia, 1st March 2006

[21] Interviews with Sadie (surname not given), *Monteverde Institute*, Monteverde, 21st September 2005; Interviews with Jenny Peña, Gender Specialist, *Monteverde Institute*, Monteverde, 28th September 2005; Various Participants, *Women Workers Focus Group*, Monteverde, 4th October 2005

[22] Interview with Guillermo Vargas, Director of *Monteverde Agricultural Cooperative* (COOPESANTAELENA), Monteverde, 22nd September 2005; Victor Valverde, Member of *Monteverde Chamber of Tourism*, Monteverde, 26th September 2005; Carlos (surname not given), waiter, Monteverde, 27th September 2005

[23] Interview with Guillermo Vargas, Director of *Monteverde Agricultural Cooperative* (COOPESANTAELENA), Monteverde, 22nd September 2005

[24] Interview with Carlos (surname not given), waiter, Monteverde, 27th September 2005

[25] Interview with Jenny Peña, Gender Specialist, *Monteverde Institute*, Monteverde, 28th September 2005

[26] Interview with Kathleen Pate, *Belize Women's Department*, Belize City, 22nd March 2006

[27] Interview with Lydia Villanueva, Member of *Placencia Chamber of Tourism*, Placencia, 1st March 2006

[28] Interview with Marita Rowland, Teacher and Founding Member of *Women Making a Difference*, Placencia, 9th March 2006

[29] Interview with Kathleen Pate, *Belize Women's Department*, Belize City, 22nd March 2006

[30] Interviews with Sadie (surname not given), *Monteverde Institute*, Monteverde, 21st September 2005; Neri Gomez, co-founder of *CASEM*, Monteverde, 22nd September 2005

[31] Guillermo Vargas, Director of *Monteverde Agricultural Cooperative* (COOPESANTAELENA), Monteverde, 22nd September 2005

[32] Interview with Various Participants, *Women Workers Focus Group*, Monteverde, 4th October 2005

[33] Interviews with Glen Ford Eiley, President, *Village Council*, Placencia, 2nd March 2006; Carlton Young, Chair, *Fishing Cooperative*, Placencia, 8th March 2006

[34] Interview with Victor Valverde, Member of *Monteverde Chamber of Tourism*, Monteverde, 26th September 2005

[35] Interviews with Lydia Villanueva, Member of *Placencia Chamber of Tourism*, Placencia, 1st March 2006; Marita Rowland, Teacher and Founding Member of *Women Making a Difference*, Placencia, 9th March 2006; Julie Berry, Manager, *Turtle Inn Dive Shop*, Placencia, 14th March 2006; Shannon Ramirez, *Friends of Nature Belize*, Placencia, 16th March 2006

[36] Interviews: *Monteverde Institute*, Monteverde, 21st September 2005; Member of *Placencia Chamber of Tourism*, Placencia, 1st March 2006; Secretary and Receptionist, *Paradise Vacation Hotel*, Placencia, 10th March 2006; Manager, *Turtle Inn Dive Shop*, Placencia, 14th March 2006

[37] Interviews: *Monteverde Institute*, Monteverde, 21st September 2005; Member of *Placencia Chamber of Tourism*, Placencia, 1st March 2006

[38] Interviews: Member of *Placencia Chamber of Tourism*, Placencia, 1st March 2006; Secretary, *Village Council*, Placencia, 2nd March 2006

[39] Interviews: Member of *Placencia Chamber of Tourism*, Placencia, 28th February 2006; Member of *Placencia Chamber of Tourism*, Placencia, 1st March 2006; Secretary, *Village Council*, Placencia, 2nd March 2006; Member of *Placencia Chamber of Tourism*, Placencia, 7th March 2006

[40] Interview with Carlton Young, Chair, *Fishing Cooperative*, Placencia, 8th March 2006

[41] Iinterviews: Mayor, *Monteverde Council*, Monteverde, 20th September 2005; Gender Specialist, *Monteverde Institute*, Monteverde, 28th September 2005; Ecotourism Teacher, *Santa Elena Technical College*, Monteverde, 28th September 2005

[42] Interviews: Member of *Placencia Chamber of Tourism*, Placencia, 28th February 2006; Pupil, *Placencia School*, 14th March 2006

[43] Interview: *Ecotourism Students Focus Group*, Monteverde, 5th October 2005

[44] Interview: *Monteverde Institute*, Monteverde, 21st September 2005

[45] Interview: Member of *Monteverde Chamber of Tourism*, Monteverde, 26th September 2005

[46] Interview: Member of *Monteverde Chamber of Tourism*, Monteverde, 26th September 2005

[47] Interview: Member of *Monteverde Chamber of Tourism*, Monteverde, 28th September 2005

[48] Interview: Teacher and Founding Member of *Women Making a Difference*, Placencia, 9th March 2006

[49] Interview: Nurse, *Monteverde Clinic*, Monteverde, 20th September 2005
[50] Interview: *Belize Women's Department*, Belize City, 22nd March 2006

[51] Interviews: Waiter, Monteverde, 27th September 2005; *Ecotourism Students Focus Group*, Monteverde, 5th October 2005; Pupil, *Placencia School*, Placencia, 13th March 2006; Pupil, *Placencia School*, 14th March 2006

[52] Interviews: Member of *Monteverde Chamber of Tourism*, Monteverde, 26th September 2005; Waiter, Monteverde, 27th September 2005; Ecotourism student, Monteverde, 27th September 2005; Member of *Placencia Chamber of Tourism*, Placencia, 1st March 2006; Secretary, *Village Council*, Placencia, 2nd March 2006

[53] Interviews: Mayor, *Monteverde Council*, Monteverde, 20th September 2005; Member of *Monteverde Chamber of Tourism*, Monteverde, 28th September 2005

[54] Interviews: Secretary, *Village Council*, Placencia, 2nd March 2006; Teacher and Founding Member of *Women Making a Difference*, Placencia, 9th March 2006

[55] Interview with Mercedes Melendez de Mena, Director of Central American Tourism Integration Secretariat (SITCA); interview with Elena de Rivera, El Salvador Tourism Ministry
[56] Interviews with Jorleny Fontana, *Central American Association for the Economy, Health and the Environment* (ACEPESA), San José, 16th September 2005; Marcela Rodriguez, Director of *UNDP Funding Bid*, ICT, San José, 21st October 2005; Various Participants, *Rural Community Tourism Conference*, ICT, San José, 4th November 2005
[57] Interviews with Jorleny Fontana, *Central American Association for the Economy, Health and the Environment* (ACEPESA), San José, 16th September 2005; Marcela Rodriguez, Director of *UNDP Funding Bid*, ICT, San José, 21st October 2005; Various Participants, *Rural Community Tourism Conference*, ICT, San José, 4th November 2005

[58] Interview with Jorleny Fontana, *Central American Association for the Economy, Health and the Environment* (ACEPESA), San José, 16th September 2005

[59] Interviews with with Jorleny Fontana, *Central American Association for the Economy, Health and the Environment* (ACEPESA), San José, 16th September 2005; Marcela Rodriguez, Director of *UNDP Funding Bid*, ICT, San José, 21st October 2005; Various Participants, *Rural Community Tourism Conference*, ICT, San José, 4th November 2005

[60] Interviews with Marcela Rodriguez, Director of *UNDP Funding Bid*, ICT, San José, 21st October 2005; Digna Lorenzo, *Sustainable Tourism Department*, IHT, Tegucigalpa, 11th January 2006

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