Developing sustainable tourism

The case of Manuel Antonio and Texel

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This publication explores sustainable development of tourism in two regions. One in Costa Rica: Manuel Antonio/Quepos. One in the Netherlands: the island of Texel. The study aims at comparing perceptions, practices and strategies in the two regions. It analyses developments and practices in terms of planning, organization and design of sustainable development of tourism in both regions.

Information on these perceptions, practices and strategies was gathered from people in Texel and Manuel Antonio/Quepos through household surveys, interviews and workshops with stakeholders, in order to:
- Review and compare perceptions of actors towards sustainable tourism development in Manuel Antonio/Quepos and Texel;
- Assess in which way and to what extent tourism development in Texel and Manuel Antonio/Quepos has been participative and how participation of various stakeholders can be enhanced;
- Review and compare strategies and practices for sustainable development and to find out to what extent these strategies and practices are transferable from the Dutch to the Costa Rican context and vice versa.

The study also generates learning effects for other regions in the world coping with socio-cultural, economic and environmental consequences of tourism.

Tourism, sustainable development, Sustainable Development Agreement, the Netherlands, Texel, Costa Rica, Manuel Antonio/Quepos

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Preface

Since the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), the concept of 'sustainable tourism' has been acknowledged worldwide. One global mechanism, that was developed to contribute to sustainable development, is the Sustainable Development Agreements (SDA). The Netherlands and three partner countries, Benin, Bhutan and Costa Rica adopted a SDA. Since 1995 programs have been developed and projects undertaken to promote sustainable development and to establish new relationship patterns among the aforementioned countries.

The SDA between Costa Rica and the Netherlands includes a bilateral tourism program that began in 1996. Since that time, it has resulted in approximately twenty projects in Costa Rica. Further, several bilateral projects have been completed. This report outlines the results of a bilateral project undertaken by the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO) in Costa Rica and Wageningen University and BUITEN Consultancy from the Netherlands. The comparative differences and similarities of sustainable tourism development in two regions (i.e., Manuel Antonio/Quepos in Costa Rica and the island of Texel in the Netherlands) are given. Although the two regions differ significantly in context, many of the issues are similar. The comparisons given clearly demonstrate the role of sustainable tourism development as a global issue. Global is within the context of both regions addressing similar questions pertinent to planning, organisation and design of tourism. The interest is also global in that dynamics of tourism development in both regions are affected by international flows of capital, images, values, ideas and, of course, people.

In the tradition of SDA, this report addresses economic, ecological (environmental) as well as the social aspects of sustainable tourism development. The philosophy guiding this project and the development of this report clearly reflect the principles of SDA: reciprocity, equity and participation. Reciprocity has been achieved through researchers from both countries having worked closely together in every step of the research process. Equity has been achieved since Texel and Manuel Antonio/Quepos were analysed from a Dutch as well as Costa Rican viewpoint. Finally, participation was guaranteed through interviews with representatives of public and private organisations (including NGOs), a household survey and workshops. Preliminary results of the study were discussed in workshops in both regions to secure feedback from parties involved in, or affected by, strategies for sustainable development.

Both countries work diligently to develop tourism in a sustainable way. This report illustrates some of the drawbacks as well as the accomplishments thus far. It reveals not only possible strategies for sustainable development of tourism in Texel and in Manuel Antonio/ Quepos, but also the extent to which these strategies are transferable to other regions in the world. In this sense, the report provides an inspiration for the future, not only in Costa Rica and the Netherlands, but in other countries as well.

Walter Niehaus
Minister of Tourism of Costa Rica

Acknowledgements

This report is the result of a year of intense co-operation among five researchers from two countries, Costa Rica and the Netherlands. In the true spirit of the principles of the Sustainable Development Agreement between Costa Rica and the Netherlands, we worked together in every step of the research process. Based on an initial idea of the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO), the proposal, execution of research, and the writing was complementary from start to finish. The bi-lateral nature of the project has created an important added value as it included not only a 'northern' perspective on 'southern' development, but the reverse as well.

Participation of stakeholders was guaranteed through interviews with public and private organisations in the two regions and through workshops. By discussing alternative development options with local stakeholders, we hope to influence future practices and discussions. We would like to thank those interviewed and all the participants of our workshops for sharing their ideas with us.

We are grateful to Ecooperation and Fundecooperación, the two national mechanisms implementing the Sustainable Development Agreements. They commissioned this project and showed great interest in the proceedings and results.

We would like to thank Liesbeth Kelder and Wies Buijsrogge, who assisted us in executing the household survey. Rain and even snow did not keep them from visiting nearly 500 houses on Texel. Similarly, but in much better weather conditions, young people from the community of Coopesilencio executed the survey in Manuel Antonio/Quepos: Yanory León Jara, Erick Blanco, Juan Carlos Bejarano, Carlos Grajal, Kenneth Núñez, Dunnia Bejarano, Mauren Bejarano, Ricardo León and Miguel Grajal. Asdrúbal Chacón and Ronald Barboza carried out the surveys in the rural communities. We would like to thank them all. Without them we would have no data.

Also a thank you to our colleagues at FLACSO in Costa Rica, at Wageningen University and BUITEN Consultancy in the Netherlands for their support and comments on earlier versions.

Finally, as we are not native English speakers, Donna Isaac edited our final draft. We are grateful for the great care she gave to editing our final manuscript.

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English summary

Scope of the project

This publication explores sustainable development of tourism in two regions: Manuel Antonio/Quepos in Costa Rica and the island of Texel in the Netherlands. The project focuses on *comparing* the perceptions, practices and strategies of actors in Manuel Antonio/Quepos and Texel as well as the economic significance of tourism with respect to employment and income. It also aims to determine to what extent strategies for sustainable development are interchangeable.

The project includes household surveys, interviews, and workshops with stakeholders. The perception of sustainability and how it is acted upon by these parties guided the research process. Stakeholder participation is an important component of sustainable development processes.

When comparing sustainable development of tourism in both regions, similar issues play a role. At the same time, however, the context for tourism development is quite different. This is reflected, for example, in the nature of the tourism sector. By placing discussions on sustainable tourism development within a framework of the globalisation of tourism, the experiences in the case study areas can be placed in a broader perspective. By comparing experiences in both regions, the project intends to generate deliberate learning for other regions in the world coping with the socio-cultural, economic, and environmental consequences of tourism.

Comparing the Netherlands and Costa Rica: reciprocity

In 1994 the Netherlands and Costa Rica signed the Sustainable Development Agreement. As part of this SDA a tourism programme was designed in 1997. This project is part of the programme. One of the principles of this Agreement is "reciprocity" with the underlying belief that sustainable development should be a process by which both countries learn from each other's experiences.

This principle of reciprocity can be taken very literally, to mean that interesting initiatives in one area can be a source of inspiration for the other region. Such ideas have been introduced to local actors and have become part of discussions on further tourism development through the organisation of workshops in both regions. When the principle is taken further, it can also be understood as a joint development of sustainable tourism through exchange of experiences among actors in both regions. This can be achieved by linking actors of similar views for joint project development. While such "linking"

could not be achieved within the context of this project, the ideas for fruitful exchange have been generated on the basis of our findings.

The project is also reciprocal in another way. It is the joint product of Costa Rican and Dutch researchers. The bi-lateral nature of the project has created an important added value as it has included not only a 'northern' perspective on 'southern' development, but the reverse as well.

The case study areas

The context for tourism development in Costa Rica is quite different from the Netherlands. Both case-study areas differ widely from each other in many respects. However, within this diverging context, the development paths of the two selected also reveal some parallels.

Texel in the Netherlands and Manuel Antonio/Quepos in Costa Rica are both more or less geographically isolated regions. Texel is isolated because it is an island. Manuel Antonio/Quepos is a relatively out-of-the-way area with only one direct road connection with the Central Valley (San José). Both areas have a history of tourism development and the spatial scale of tourism development is to some extent comparable. In each case tourists are attracted by a mix of nature and beaches.

Both areas are confronted with a number of similar problems as well. They must deal with the continued pressure of tourism on nature, an increasing number of tourists, and the appropriation of land for the development of tourist resorts. Both share the ambition to develop tourism in a sustainable way and to cope with a growing influence of newcomers in tourist development.

In order to be better able to compare developments in both regions, the primary issues are related to four sustainability margins, which are relevant for continued tourist development.

Sustainability margins

In our research we discern four "margins" which are relevant when discussing sustainable tourism development. These margins are profit, risk, ecological and socio-cultural (see Figure 1)(Dam, 1997).

The vertical axis represents the more traditional margins for tourism development. Tourism as a profit making business must link up with the principles of economics and profit making, within the margins of risk. The profit margin is defined in terms of customer benefits that include products an enterprise or a tourism region have to appeal to the market in order to be able to function. The risk margin is defined in terms of liability and accountability. It is closely related is the issue of

politics. Apart from the political and legal aspects, the risk margin also may be extended to cover moral liability. Here the risk margin touches the socio-cultural margin.

Profit margin

Socio-cultural margin

Ecological margin

Risk margin
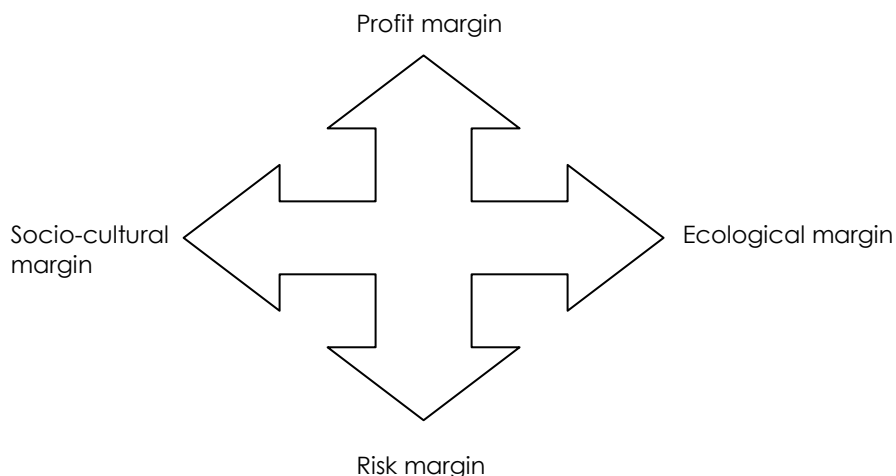
Figure 1   The four margins

The two other margins, the ecological and socio-cultural margin, are particularly relevant when discussing sustainable tourism development. The ecological margin refers to the *environmental* consequences of tourism. This issue relates to two fundamental discussions: the impact of tourism on the environment in terms of depletion of water, soil and air, and the material and symbolic transformations of landscape, in the broadest sense, by tourism. The socio-cultural environment, that includes stakeholders and public groups, is designated as public acceptability. The latter is concerned with emotional responses as well as the public image.

In applying this model, one not only addresses the impacts of sustainable tourism, but also how it strengthens or obstructs sustainable development in general.

Sustainable development of tourism in the case study areas

On Texel and in Manuel Antonio/Quepos, tourism is an important economic sector. It generates between 19 and 30% respectively of direct employment[1]. It can be assumed that over half of the "other" employment also depends on tourism.

The local population in both regions is well aware of the economic importance or even the possible over reliance on tourism. Though the negative impacts of tourism on both daily life and the environment are mentioned, with 'everything considered', approximately three-

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[1] See paragraph 3.1 for further explanation.

quarters of the people in both regions (fully) agree[2] that tourism has a positive influence on the area. This indicates that the social base for tourism development is strong. At the same time, there is a need to give attention to the negative aspects and the vulnerability of the sector.

In terms of sustainable development of tourism, several issues have been identified which are relevant to both areas. These issues are related to the four margins previously identified (see Figure 2). The character of these issues, however, differs between the two regions.

Profit margin

**Quality of employment
Local ownership**

Environmental impacts

Socia-cultural margin

Ecological margin

Local participation and control

Land use conflicts

Risk margin
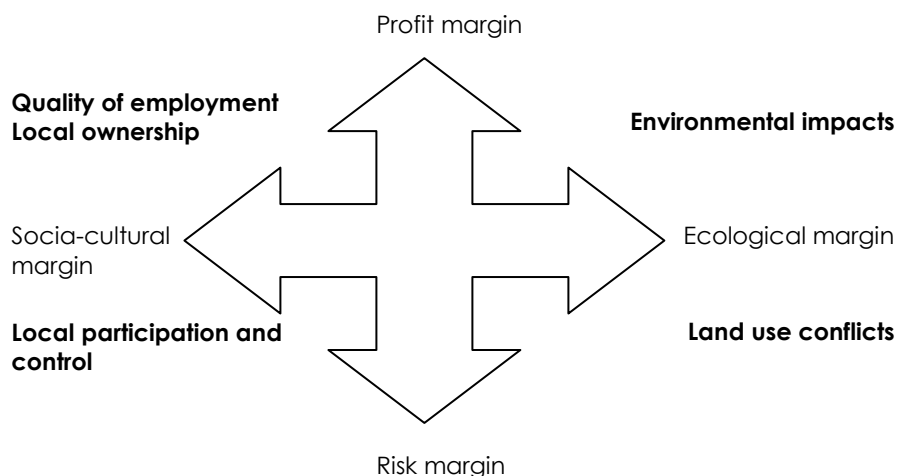
Figure 2   The five issues

Starting on the top right hand side of the model, the environmental impacts of tourism receive attention in both regions. Both in the Netherlands and in Costa Rica, a seal for environmental management of hotels has been introduced. In both the case study areas some hotels take action to introduce such management systems. At a local level, environmental issues play an important role in the discussion. The focus of the discussion however differs for each area. This is due to differences in the national contexts of policies and regulations. In Manuel Antonio/Quepos, elementary provisions, such as a well-functioning sewage system are still lacking. On Texel, such basic provisions are all present, due to nationally institutionalised regulations. Discussions on Texel are far more focused on the possibility for innovation in the field of environmental management (i.e. self-sufficiency in terms of energy provision, development of a tidal power plant). In this way, Texel is looking to strengthen its image of a "green" island.

Looking at land use conflicts, the status of the national park and the conflicts over land uses are principal issues in both areas. The

[2] See Note 33.

protected status of Manuel Antonio National Park is contested by many different claims from within that include former land owners to whom the park is still indebted and from without by new tourism developments at the fringe of the park. On Texel, discussions related to the status of the National Park have been largely resolved. At the present time, the future of the agricultural land is heavily debated. This is an important issue for the agricultural sector as well as the tourism sector. Agricultural fields are considered an important characteristic of the Texel landscape and sheep are the tourist symbol of the island. Over the next twenty to thirty years, the land use and landscape of Texel will be determined by the future of the agricultural sector.

A third issue, which has been identified, is local participation and control over tourism development. Discussions on the impacts of tourism on liveability and local identity can, to a large extent, be traced back to the lack of a voice in development issues. Civil society in Manuel Antonio/Quepos has not yet gained any say in tourism development so far. On Texel, while many legal possibilities to exert democratic control exist, locals do not frequently use these.

On the upper left side of the model the quality of employment and local ownership are crucial issues for sustainable development of tourism. In Manuel Antonio/Quepos local ownership and control is limited, unemployment is high, and the quality of employment in tourism leaves much room for improvement. On Texel, many tourism facilities remain in local hands and unemployment currently is non existent. Improving the quality of employment in tourism on Texel can be strategically important to attract sufficient workers during the high season.

In sum, analysing sustainable development of tourism in the two regions reveals that on Texel issues on *the right side of the model* (ecological margin) are emphasised far more. Organisations on Texel primarily focus on the reconciliation of the profit and ecological margins within a legal context. Although discussions on issues reflected in the left side of the model are not completely lacking in the discussion, these do not receive a similar degree of attention.

In Manuel Antonio/Quepos discussions on sustainable tourism development are less focussed and are not yet institutionalised. Activities of some actors can be placed at the right side of the model. The major part of the local "civil society," however, is concerned with issues related to *the left hand side* of the model (socio-cultural margin). Discussion tends to focus on the lack of local ownership and local control. At the same time few attempts are made to translate this into specific actions at the local level.

A major difference between both regions is the role of the local government. Legal regulations for nature protection exist in both

regions, but are enforced in different ways. This is related to the different roles of the civil society and the dissimilarity in the strength of the institutions at the local municipal level in both regions. In Manuel Antonio/Quepos, local people and local organisations are not well informed and consequently have hardly any influence on political decision-making. The local government policy seems to lack institutional strength and mainly benefits the large international tourism businesses. While on Texel lack of control of regulations is also an issue, the situation has improved due to pressure of local action groups. These groups are much better informed. The local newspaper, the *Texelse Courant*, plays an important role in building awareness and sensitising local people about the issues.

Strategies for sustainable development

Several strategies for the sustainable development of tourism have been discussed with local stakeholders and are mentioned in the report.

With respect to strategies for tourism and sustainable development, the principle of "reciprocity" has generated some new outlooks. This is particularly true for some of the initiatives which were undertaken on Texel and which can be interesting to apply in Manuel Antonio/Quepos. Examples of these initiatives are the so-called 'moratorium' (upper limit to the number of tourism beds) and development of regional products. The moratorium has shifted discussions on Texel from quantitative to qualitative improvement of tourism development. Regional products have strengthened the link between tourism and the local economy, and have had a positive impact on the regional image. Such concepts can be interesting to extend to Manuel Antonio/Quepos as well.

Finding examples from Manuel Antonio/Quepos to Texel are more difficult. One example of "good practice" in the Manuel Antonio region is Coopesilencio, a co-operative community initiative for tourism development. Such a concept would, however, be difficult to apply in the Dutch context, where co-operative structures are rare. Another good example at the national level is the Costa Rican Sustainable Tourism Certificate for tourism enterprises. This seal includes not only environmental, but economic and social sustainability criteria as well. It is a more integrated approach to sustainable management for hotels than the Dutch "Milieubarometer" seal, which only includes environmental aspects.

When reciprocity is taken further, in terms of jointly developing strategies for sustainable tourism, other opportunities exist. The above paragraph has argued that emphasis on Texel is on the right hand side of the model addressing ecological sustainability. It would be particularly beneficial to the scope, if it were broadened to issues of

liveability, quality of employment, and especially local ownership and control. Socio-cultural issues are not completely absent. These are particularly stressed by the civil society in Manuel Antonio/Quepos and 'Tien voor Texel'. But tangible products and projects in this field are rare.

Hence, in both cases, more attention to economic, cultural, and political empowerment is relevant. A joint project focusing on these issues would be an interesting continuation of the current project. Issues such as local ownership and control over development need to be addressed, as well as the role of local government. Different types of roles for the local government are possible. These include being *director, partner* or *referee* (Berkers et al, 1996). Which role should be taken depends on the local situation. It has been argued that the government on Texel should act more as a 'director', not only enabling existing networks but also guiding them to solutions. In Manuel Antonio/Quepos, the government is too much a partner with particular interests and not enough of an independent referee. It should take care of the division of tasks between the public and the private interests, while improving the balance between facilitating private initiatives, on the one hand and keeping private parties within the limits of the law, on the other.

Conclusion

This research has demonstrated that it is possible to meaningfully compare tourism developments in two completely different contexts. The communities researched differ in many respects, but are at the same time confronted with similar difficulties and challenges. Some of the solutions and practices, which have been developed to overcome these difficulties, are interesting to transfer to other regions as well. From the point of view of sustainable tourism development it would be desirable to promote further exchange of experiences and to develop joint projects with local parties in both areas.

Such projects should preferably go beyond the currently fashionable 'tourism centric approach'. Instead discussion and action should become more focussed on the question *how impacts of globalisation through tourism can be accommodated at the local level in such a way that tourism strengthens sustainable development*. In this way, by addressing the relation between tourism and sustainable development more generally, real "strategic" issues can be tackled.

Spanish summary

El alcance del proyecto

Esta publicación explora el desarrollo sostenible del turismo en dos regiones: Manuel Antonio/Quepos en Costa Rica, y la isla de Texel los Países Bajos. El proyecto se focaliza en las percepciones, estrategias y prácticas de actores en Manuel Antonio/Quepos y Texel.

El proyecto apunta a la comparación de esas percepciones, prácticas y estrategias de actores en Manuel Antonio/Quepos y Texel, así como también la significación económica del turismo en términos de empleo e ingresos. También aspira a averiguar hasta qué punto las estrategias de desarrollo sostenible son intercambiables.

El proyecto incluye encuestas de hogares, entrevistas y talleres con personas claves. El proceso de investigación ha sido guiado por la percepción y la actuación de estas personas respecto de la sostenibilidad.

La participación de las personas clave se considera un componente importante del proceso de desarrollo sostenible.

Comparando el desarrollo sostenible del turismo en ambas regiones, se encuentran temas similares. Al mismo tiempo, el contexto para el desarrollo del turismo es altamente diferente, lo cual se refleja, por ejemplo, en la naturaleza del sector turístico. Al colocar las discusiones sobre el desarrollo del turismo sostenible dentro de un marco de globalización del turismo, las experiencias en las áreas de los casos de estudio están ubicadas en una perspectiva más amplia. Al comparar, entonces, las experiencias en ambas regiones, el proyecto también aspira a generar efectos de aprendizaje para otras regiones del mundo haciendo frente a las consecuencias socio-culturales, económicas y ambientales del turismo.

Comparando los Países Bajos y Costa Rica: reciprocidad

En 1994 los Países Bajos y Costa Rica firmaron el Acuerdo sobre Desarrollo Sostenible. Como parte de este ADS, se ha concebido un programa de turismo en 1997. Este proyecto es parte de dicho programa.

Uno de los principios de este Acuerdo es la "reciprocidad": el desarrollo sostenible debe ser un proceso en el que los dos países aprendan de las experiencias del otro.

Este principio de reciprocidad puede ser tomado muy literalmente, significando que iniciativas interesantes en un área pueden ser fuente de inspiración para la otra región. Al organizar talleres en las dos regiones, estas ideas han sido introducidas a los actores locales y se volvieron parte de la discusión sobre el futuro desarrollo del turismo. Si llevamos el principio más allá, también puede ser entendido como una contribución al desarrollo del turismo sostenible a través del intercambio de experiencias entre actores de las dos regiones. Esto puede ser alcanzado a través de ligar actores (similares) para proyectos de desarrollo conjuntos. Este "vínculo" no podría ser alcanzado dentro del contexto de este proyecto, pero se han generado ideas con base en los resultados para lograr un intercambio provechoso.

El proyecto también es "recíproco" en otro sentido: es el producto conjunto de investigadores costarricenses y holandeses. La naturaleza de bilateralidad del proyecto ha creado un importante valor agregado al incluir no sólo una perspectiva "nórdica" del desarrollo "sureño" sino también al revés.

Las áreas de los casos de estudio

El contexto para el desarrollo del turismo en Costa Rica es bastante diferente del de los Países Bajos, y ambas áreas de casos de estudio se desvían en muchos aspectos. Dentro de este contexto divergente, las sendas del desarrollo de las dos áreas seleccionadas también revelan algunos paralelos.

Texel en los Países Bajos y Manuel Antonio/Quepos por el lado Costarricense, tienen una historia del desarrollo del turismo y la escala espacial del desarrollo del turismo es hasta cierto punto comparable. En cada caso los turistas se ven atraídos por una mezcla de naturaleza (Parque Nacional) y playa.

Ambas áreas están confrontadas con un número de problemas similares. Tienen que enfrentarse a altas presiones del turismo sobre la naturaleza, a números crecientes de turistas y a la apropiación de tierra para el desarrollo de negocios turísticos. Ambas tienen la ambición de desarrollar el turismo de una forma sostenible y deben enfrentar una creciente influencia de "recién llegados" en el desarrollo turístico.

Con el fin de poder comparar mejor los desarrollos en ambas regiones, los temas de interés se relacionan con cuatro márgenes que son relevantes para el desarrollo sostenible.

Márgenes de la Sosteniblidad

En nuestra investigación diferenciamos cuatro "márgenes" que son relevantes cuando se discute sobre el desarrollo del turismo sostenible. Estos márgenes se denominan "ganancia", "riesgo", "ecológico" y "social" (Dam, 1997).

Margen de ganancias

Margen social

Margen ecológico
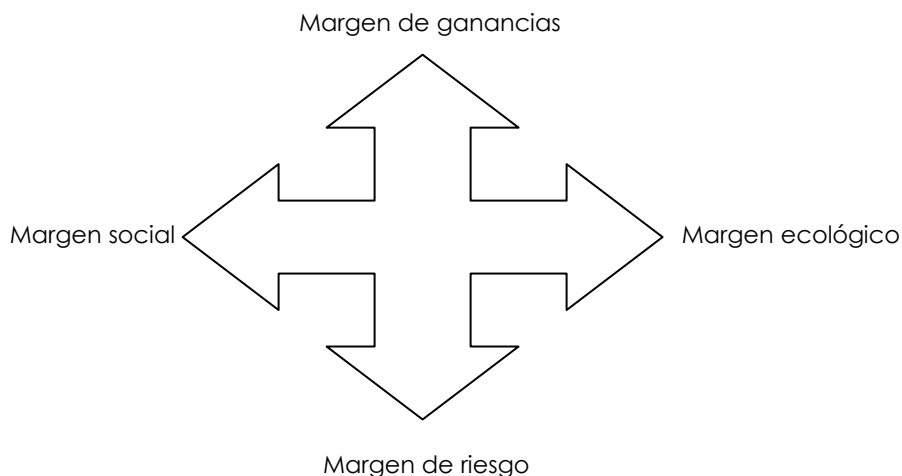
Margen de riesgo

Figura 1   Los cuatro márgenes

El eje vertical representa los márgenes "tradicionales" para el desarrollo del turismo.   El turismo como un negocio lucrativo, se acopla con los principios económicos de ganancia, dentro de los márgenes de riesgo.   El margen de ganancia está definido en términos de los beneficios para el cliente: los productos (de una empresa o de una región turística) deben orientarse al mercado para poder funcionar.   El margen de riesgo se define en términos de probabilidades y responsabilidades. Muy relacionado con lo anterior está el tema de la política. Aparte de los aspectos políticos y legales, el margen de riesgo también puede ser extendido a la responsabilidad "moral". Aquí es cuando el margen de riesgo toca el margen social.

Los otros dos márgenes, el ecológico y social, son particularmente relevantes cuando se discute sobre el desarrollo del turismo sostenible. El margen ecológico se refiere a las consecuencias *ambientales* del turismo.   Este tema se relaciona con dos discusiones fundamentales: el impacto del turismo sobre el ambiente en términos de agotamiento del agua, suelos y aire, y las transformaciones materiales y simbólicas del paisaje (en el sentido más amplio) por el turismo. El ambiente socio-cultural, incluyendo a personas claves y grupos públicos, está designado como aceptabilidad pública. Esto último también está implicado con respuestas emocionales e imaginería pública.

Al aplicar este modelo uno debería no sólo discutir la producción del turismo sostenible, sino también de qué manera el turismo fortalece (u obstruye) el desarrollo sostenible en general.

El desarrollo sostenible del turismo en las áreas de los casos de estudio

En Texel y en Manuel Antonio/Quepos, el turismo es un sector económico importante. Genera respectivamente un 19 y un 30% del empleo directo[3].

La población local en ambas regiones está muy consciente sobre la importancia económica o quizás de la (sobre) dependencia del turismo. A pesar de que se mencionan los efectos negativos en la vida diaria y en el ambiente, "en general", alrededor de tres cuartos de las personas en ambas regiones están de acuerdo (plenamente) con que el turismo tiene una influencia positiva en el área. Esto indica que la base social para el desarrollo del turismo es fuerte. Pero al mismo tiempo, es necesaria una mayor atención a los aspectos negativos y a la vulnerabilidad del sector.

En términos de desarrollo sostenible del turismo, se han identificados varios temas que son relevantes en ambas áreas. Estos temas están relacionados con los cuatro márgenes que han sido identificados. Sin embargo, el contenido de estos temas difiere entre las dos regiones.

Margen de ganancias

Calidad del empleo
Propiedad local

Impactos ambientales

Margen social

Margen ecológico

Participación y control

Conflictos de uso de la tierra local

Margen de riesgo
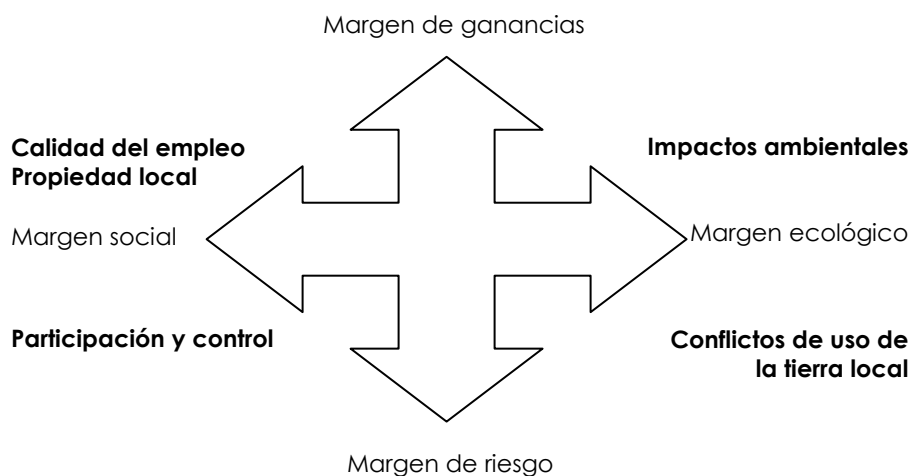
Figura 2   Lascinco temas

Comenzando arriba a la derecha del modelo, los impactos ambientales del turismo reciben la atención en las dos regiones. Tanto en Costa Rica como en los Países Bajos, se han introducido sellos para el manejo ambiental de hoteles. En las dos áreas de

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[3] Véase apartado 3.1 para la explicación

estudio algunos hoteles toman acciones para introducir dichos sistemas de manejo. A un nivel local, los temas ambientales juegan un papel importante en la discusión. El foco de esta discusión es diferente en las dos áreas; esto se debe a las diferencias del contexto nacional (políticas y regulaciones). En Manuel Antonio/Quepos, todavía faltan provisiones elementales, como un sistema de alcantarillado que funcione bien. En Texel, todas estas provisiones básicas ya existen, debido a las regulaciones institucionalizadas nacionalmente. Las discusiones en Texel están más focalizadas en la posibilidad de innovación en el campo del manejo ambiental (autosuficiencia en términos de provisión de energía, desarrollo de una planta mareomotriz). En este sentido, Texel está tratando de fortalecer su imagen de isla "verde".

Con respecto a los conflictos de uso de la tierra, el estatus de Parque Nacional y los conflictos sobre el uso de la tierra, son temas principales en las dos áreas. El estatus protegido del Parque Nacional Manuel Antonio es cuestionado por todo tipo de demandas desde adentro (antiguos dueños de la tierra a quienes el Parque todavía les debe por concepto de indemnizaciones) y desde fuera (nuevos desarrollos turísticos en los límites del Parque). En Texel, las discusiones sobre el estatus del Parque Nacional han sido ampliamente resueltas. Actualmente, se debate el futuro de las tierras agrícolas. Este es un tema importante tanto para el sector turístico como para el de la agricultura. Los campos agrícolas son considerados una característica importante del paisaje de Texel y las ovejas son el símbolo turístico de la isla. El uso de la tierra y el paisaje de Texel de los próximos 20 a 30 años será determinado por el futuro del sector agrícola.

Un tercer tema que ha sido identificado es el la participación y control local sobre el desarrollo del turismo. Las discusiones sobre el impacto del turismo en la calidad de vida y en la identidad local pueden, en gran medida, no tener una voz en los temas de desarrollo. La sociedad civil en Manuel Antonio/Quepos no ha ganado todavía voz en el desarrollo del turismo. En Texel existen muchas posibilidades legales para ejercer el control democrático, pero no son utilizadas frecuentemente por los locales.

En la parte superior izquierda del modelo, la calidad del empleo y la propiedad local son temas cruciales para el desarrollo sostenible del turismo. En Manuel Antonio/Quepos la propiedad y el control locales son limitados, el desempleo es elevado y la calidad del empleo en turismo deja mucho espacio para el mejoramiento. En Texel, todavía muchas de las facilidades turísticas están en manos locales y el desempleo prácticamente no existe. El mejoramiento de la calidad del empleo en turismo en Texel puede ser estratégicamente importante para atraer suficientes trabajadores en la temporada alta.

En resumen, analizando el desarrollo sostenible del turismo en las dos regiones, se puede ver que en Texel los temas del lado derecho del modelo (margen ecológico) son más enfatizados. Las organizaciones en Texel se focalizan primariamente en la reconciliación entre los márgenes de ganancia y ecológico dentro de un contexto legal. A pesar de que las discusiones sobre temas reflejados en el lado izquierdo del modelo no son muchas, éstos no reciben la similar cantidad de atención que los otros.

En Manuel Antonio/Quepos las discusiones sobre el desarrollo del turismo sostenible están menos focalizadas y todavía no están institucionalizadas. Las actividades de algunos actores pueden ser colocados en el lado derecho del modelo. Sin embargo, la mayor parte de la "sociedad civil" local se preocupa por temas relacionados con temas ubicados en la parte izquierda del modelo (margen social). Las discusiones tienden a focalizarse en la falta de propiedad y control local. Al mismo tiempo, en el ámbito local, no se realizan grandes intentos por transformar esto en acciones específicas.

Una mayor diferencia entre las dos regiones, lo constituye el rol del gobierno local. Las regulaciones legales para la protección de la naturaleza existen en ambas regiones, pero se aplican de diferentes maneras. Esto se relaciona con los diferentes roles de la sociedad civil y con la desigualdad en ambas regiones en el fortalecimiento institucional de las municipalidades locales. En Manuel Antonio/Quepos, las personas y organizaciones locales no están bien informadas y consecuentemente no pueden tener influencia en el proceso de toma de decisiones políticas. La política de gobierno local parece carecer de fortaleza institucional y beneficia principalmente a negocios turísticos internacionales. A pesar de que en Texel también es un tema la falta de control de las regulaciones, la situación ha mejorado debido a la presión de grupos de acción local. Estos grupos están mejor informados. El periódico local, el Texelse Courant, juega un papel importante en sensibilizar a las personas locales.

Estrategias para un desarrollo sostenible

Se han discutido varias estrategias para el desarrollo sostenible del turismo con personas claves locales y están mencionadas en el reporte.

En términos de estrategias para el turismo y el desarrollo sostenible, el principio de "reciprocidad" ha generado algunas nuevas perspectivas. Esto es particularmente cierto para algunas iniciativas de Texel que puedan ser interesantes de aplicar en Manuel Antonio/Quepos. Ejemplos de esto pueden ser la así llamada "moratoria" (límite máximo del número de plazas turísticas) y el

desarrollo de productos regionales. La moratoria ha contribuido a lograr un mejoramiento cualitativo del desarrollo turístico. Los productores regionales han fortalecido el vínculo entre el turismo y la economía local y tiene un impacto positivo sobre la imagen regional. Dichos conceptos pueden ser interesantes de desarrollar en Manuel Antonio/Quepos.

Encontrar ejemplos al revés, es un poco difícil. Un ejemplo de "buena práctica" en la región de Manuel Antonio/Quepos es Coopesilencio, una cooperativa con una iniciativa comunitaria para el desarrollo del turismo. Un concepto tal, sería difícil de ser aplicado en el contexto holandés.

Otro ejemplo bueno a un nivel nacional es el Certificado para la Sostenibilidad Turística para hoteles, del Instituto Costarricense de Turismo. Este sello incluye no solo criterios ambientales, sino también sociales y económicos. Es un instrumento más integrado para el manejo ambiental de los hoteles que el del los Países Bajos denominado "Milleubarometer" (barómetro del ambiente), que incluye sólo aspectos ambientales.

Si llevamos la reciprocidad un poco más allá, afloran otras oportunidades en términos de desarrollar estrategias conjuntas para el turismo sostenible.

Se ha argumentado anteriormente que el énfasis en Texel está situado en la parte derecha del modelo (sosteniblidad ecológica). La discusión se beneficiaría si el ámbito fuera ampliado a temas como calidad de vida, calidad del empleo y especialmente propiedad y control locales. A pesar de que los temas socio-culturales no están completamente ausentes, y son particularmente recalcados por la sociedad civil de Manuel Antonio/Quepos y "Tien voor Texel", los productos y proyectos tangibles en este campo son raros.

Por lo tanto, en ambos casos, es relevante darle más atención al empoderamiento económico, cultural y político. Un proyecto conjunto focalizando en estos temas podría ser una continuación interesante del presente proyecto. Temas como la propiedad y control locales sobre el desarrollo deberían ser dirigidos. Asimismo, el rol del gobierno local es un tema muy importante. Son posibles identificar diferentes tipos de roles para el gobierno local, incluyendo *director, socio o árbitro*. Cuál de los roles debería ser tomado depende de la situación local. Se ha argumentado que en Texel el gobierno debería actuar más como "director", no sólo apoyando a redes existentes sino también guiándolas hacia soluciones. En Manuel Antonio/Quepos el gobierno es demasiado socio (de intereses particulares) y definitivamente no es un árbitro independiente. Debería ocuparse de la división de tareas entre el sector público y el privado, mejorando el equilibrio entre la facilitación de iniciativas

privadas por un lado y el mantenimiento de las partes privadas dentro de los límites legales.

Conclusión

Esta investigación ha demostrado que sí es posible comparar una localidad turística ubicada en un país del Tercer Mundo con una localidad turística emplazada en un país del Primer Mundo. La investigación ha enriquecido los conocimientos y la comunicación de dos equipos de investigadores (as) de los dos países, donde se ubican las experiencias que se han comparado. En este sentido, esta investigación "globalizada" es originaria y pionera. Ojalá que en el futuro se pueda profundizar y mejorar estas experiencias de investigación. Esto no quiere decir que las comunidades comparadas hayan resultado iguales, sino que tienen importantes rasgos susceptibles de comparar. En términos de prácticas enmarcadas en lo que se conoce como turismo sostenible hay en ambas localidades experiencias que rescatar, pero también asimismo mucho que avanzar para acercarse hacia una practica más equilibrada del desarrollo turístico. Avanzar en el intercambio de experiencias en las comunidades turísticas aquí estudiadas para reforzar lo positivo y superar lo negativo, para aprender mutuamente sería deseable para avanzar hacia el turismo sostenible. Igualmente sería pertinente continuar con procesos de investigación participativa que contribuya con la implantación de un turismo más sostenible no solo en estas comunidades sino en los dos países que forman parte del convenio bilateral; Holanda y Costa Rica.

Dutch Summary

Doel van het project

Deze publicatie verkent duurzame ontwikkeling van toerisme in twee regio's: Manuel Antonio/Quepos in Costa Rica en het Waddeneiland Texel in Nederland. Het project richt zich op het vergelijken van percepties, praktijken en strategieën van actoren in Manuel Antonio/ Quepos en op Texel. Hierbij wordt ook aandacht besteed aan de economische betekenis van toerisme (in termen van werkgelegenheid en inkomen). De vergelijking van beide gebieden heeft tot doel te achterhalen in hoeverre strategieën voor duurzame ontwikkelingen uitwisselbaar zijn.

Het project omvat een enquête onder huishoudens in beide gebieden, interviews en workshops met sleutelpersonen. Het onderzoeksproces wordt geleid door de inzichten in duurzaamheid en hoe verschillende partijen daarmee omgaan. Participatie wordt gezien als een belangrijke voorwaarde voor en onderdeel van duurzame ontwikkeling.

De vergelijking van ontwikkelingen op het gebied van (duurzaam) toerisme in de beide regio's laat een aantal opmerkelijke parallellen zien. Tegelijkertijd zorgt het verschil in context ook voor grote verschillen. Door de discussies over duurzame ontwikkeling van toerisme te plaatsen in het kader van globalisering, worden de ervaringen in de onderzoeksgebieden in een breder perspectief geplaatst. Door ervaringen in beide regio's op deze manier te vergelijken, beoogt het project leereffecten te creëren voor andere regio's in de wereld die geconfronteerd worden met sociaal-culturele, economische en ecologische gevolgen van toerisme.

Vergelijking van Nederland en Costa Rica: wederkerigheid

In 1994 tekenden Nederland en Costa Rica het "Duurzame OntwikkelingsVerdrag" (DOV). Een onderdeel van het DOV is het Toerisme Programma dat sinds 1997 van kracht is. Het onderhavige project vormt onderdeel van dit Toerisme Programma.

Eén van de principes van het DOV is 'wederkerigheid'. De onderliggende gedachte hiervan is dat duurzame ontwikkeling geen éénrichtingsverkeer is, maar een proces waarin beide landen leren van elkaars ervaringen. Het principe van wederkerigheid kan letterlijk worden genomen, in de zin dat interessante initiatieven in het ene gebied een bron van inspiratie kunnen zijn voor het andere gebied. In dit project zijn de mogelijkheden voor deze vorm van wederkerigheid

verkend tijdens de workshops. Met lokale partijen in beide gebieden is gediscussieerd over mogelijke alternatieve toekomstige ontwikkelingsrichtingen, die ontleend zijn aan initiatieven in het andere gebied. Daarnaast kan het principe van wederkerigheid ook worden opgevat als gezamenlijke verdere ontwikkeling van duurzaam toerisme door uitwisseling van ervaringen tussen partijen in beide gebieden. Dit laatste kan worden bereikt door partijen die zich met een vergelijkbare problematiek bezighouden te laten werken in projecten. Een dergelijke samenwerking kon niet binnen dit project worden gerealiseerd, maar op basis van onze bevindingen zijn hiervoor wel een aantal ideeën gegenereerd.

Het project is ook wederkerig op een andere manier. Het is het gezamenlijke product van Costaricaanse en Nederlandse onderzoekers. Het bilaterale karakter van het project heeft een belangrijk toevoegende waarde. Het geeft niet alleen een 'Noordelijk' perspectief op ontwikkeling in 'het Zuiden', maar ook vice versa.

De onderzoeksgebieden

De context voor toeristische ontwikkeling in Costa Rica verschilt aanzienlijk van de Nederlandse situatie. Deze verschillen zijn evident en kunnen makkelijk worden geduid: klimaat en natuurlijke gesteldheid, gemiddelde inkomensniveau en levensstandaard, de wijze van ruimtelijke ordening, culturele verschillen tussen bewoners en toeristen, enzovoort.

Binnen deze verschillende contexten is er ook een aantal parallellen aan te wijzen in de ontwikkelingsrichting van de twee geselecteerde gebieden.

In beide gebieden heeft de toeristische ontwikkeling al een zekere geschiedenis doorgemaakt en de ruimtelijke schaal van toerisme is tot zekere hoogte vergelijkbaar. In beide gebieden worden toeristen aangetrokken tot een mix van natuur en strand.

Ook waar het gaat om problemen is sprake van een aantal dezelfde aandachtsvelden: een voortdurende druk van toerisme op natuur, een toenemend aantal toeristen en de toe-eigening van land voor de ontwikkeling van toerisme. Beide regio's delen the ambitie om toerisme op een duurzame wijze te ontwikkelen en het hoofd te bieden aan de groeiende invloed van 'nieuwkomers' in toerisme.

Om ontwikkelingen tussen beide regio's beter te kunnen vergelijken, zijn de belangrijkste aspecten van toerisme ontwikkeling binnen vier marges van duurzaamheid geplaatst.

Marges van duurzaamheid

In ons onderzoek onderscheiden we vier marges van duurzaamheid: 'winst', 'risico', 'ecologie' en 'sociaal-cultureel' (zie Figuur 1)(Dam, 1997).

Winst marge

Sociaal-
culturele marge

Ecologische marge

Risico marge
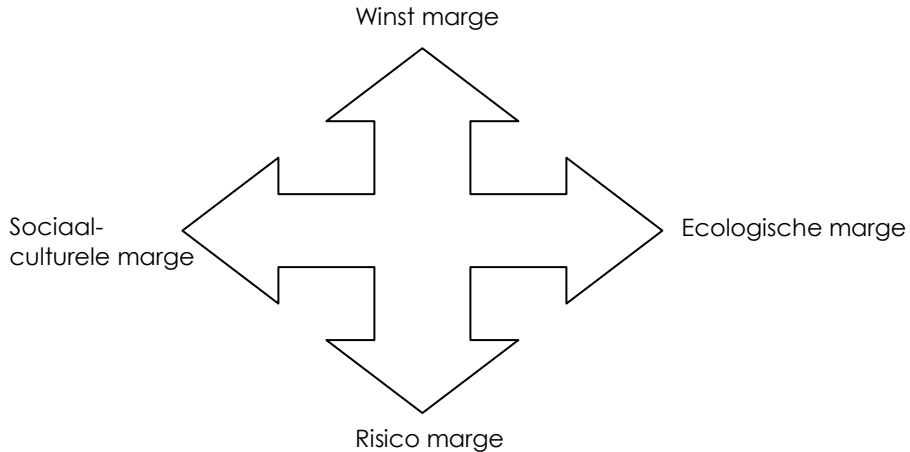
Figuur 1   De vier marges

De verticale as vertegenwoordigt de meer 'traditionele' marges van toerisme. Hier wordt toerisme beschouwd als een winstgevende onderneming, die probeert te werken volgens economische principes en binnen een risico marge. De winst marge wordt gedefinieerd in termen van behoeftenbevrediging van consumenten. Een bedrijf of een toeristische regio moeten aantrekkelijk gevonden worden door de markt om te functioneren. Bij de risico marge gaat het om betrouwbaarheid en aansprakelijkheid. De risico marge is sterk gerelateerd aan politieke en juridische kaders. Behalve politieke en juridische aspecten, spelen ook het morele aspect en maatschappelijke verantwoordelijkheid een rol in de risico marge. Hier raakt de risico marge aan de sociaal-culturele marge.

De horizontale as, de sociaal-culturele en ecologische marge, spelen een belangrijke rol in de discussie over duurzame toerisme ontwikkeling. De ecologische marge verwijst naar de gevolgen van toerisme voor het milieu. Twee fundamentele discussies liggen hieraan ten grondslag: de discussie over de invloed van toerisme op het milieu (met name water-, bodem-, en luchtvervuiling) en de discussie over de materiële en symbolische transformatie van het landschap in brede zin door toerisme. Voor wat betreft de sociaal-culturele marge gaat het om de acceptatie van ontwikkelingen en zeggenschap hierover. Sociale acceptatie wordt bepaald door de sociaal-culturele omgeving, inclusief sleutelpersonen en lokale groepen.

Toepassing van dit model betreft niet alleen de ontwikkeling van duurzaam toerisme, maar ook de mogelijkheden van toerisme om bij te dragen aan duurzame ontwikkeling in bredere zin.

Duurzame ontwikkeling van toerisme in de onderzoeksgebieden

Toerisme is een belangrijke economische sector op Texel en in Manuel Antonio/Quepos. Toerisme genereert respectievelijk 19 en 30% directe werkgelegenheid[4]. Er kan worden verondersteld dat tevens meer dan de helft van de overige werkgelegenheid afhankelijk is van toerisme.

De lokale bevolking in beide gebieden is zich goed bewust van het economische belang van de toeristische sector. Ook realiseren ze zich het gevaar van een te grote afhankelijkheid van toerisme. Hoewel in beide regio's ook de negatieve invloeden van toerisme op het dagelijkse leven en het milieu worden ervaren, geeft "alles overziend" ongeveer driekwart van de ondervraagden aan dat toerisme een positieve invloed op het gebied heeft. Met andere woorden, er is sprake van een sterke sociale acceptatie van toeristische ontwikkeling. Tegelijkertijd is er behoefte aan aandacht voor de negatieve kanten van toerisme en de kwetsbaarheid van de sector.

Er zijn verschillende aandachtsvelden geïdentificeerd die relevant zijn voor duurzame ontwikkeling van toerisme in beide gebieden. Deze aandachtsvelden kunnen worden gerelateerd aan de vier onderscheiden marges (zie Figuur 2). Hoewel dezelfde aandachtsvelden relevant zijn voor zowel Manuel Antonio/Quepos als voor Texel, verschilt de manier waarop en de mate waarin de problematiek speelt per gebied.

Winst marge

Kwaliteit werkgelegenheid
Lokaal eigendom

Milieu invloeden

Sociaal-
culturele marge

Ecologische marge

Lokale participatie en controle

Landgebruik conflicten

Risico marge
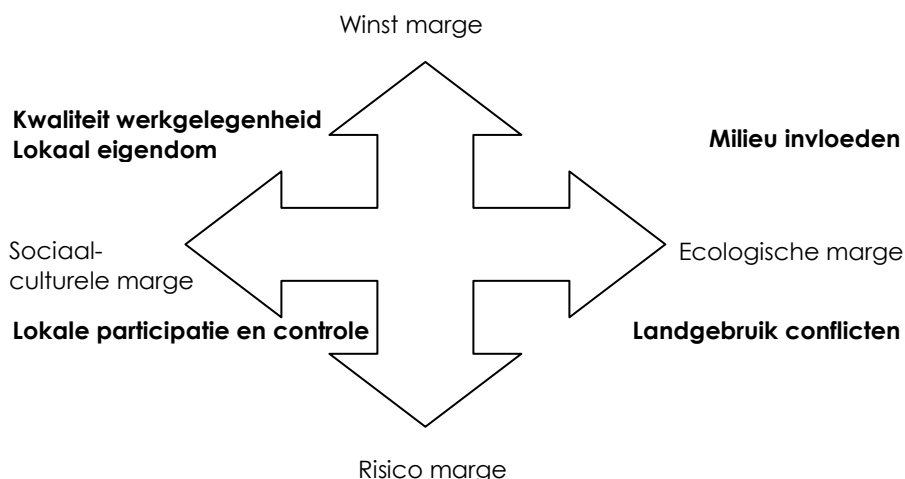
Figuur 2   De vijf probleemvelden

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[4] Zie paragraaf 3.1 voor uitleg.

Allereerst wordt – rechtsboven in het model - het aandachtsveld "toerisme en milieu" onderscheiden. Hieronder valt bijvoorbeeld milieumanagement door toeristische bedrijven. Zowel in Nederland als in Costa Rica bestaat een keurmerk voor milieumanagement in toeristische bedrijven. In beide onderzoeksgebieden is dit keurmerk inmiddels toegekend aan een aantal op dit gebied actieve bedrijven. Op lokaal niveau spelen milieuproblemen een belangrijke rol in discussie. De discussie verschilt echter in beide gebieden, wat onder andere samenhangt met verschillen in nationale wetgeving en beleid.

Het ontbreekt in Manuel Antonio/Quepos bijvoorbeeld nog aan een goed functionerend riolerings- en afvalverwerkingsysteem. In de workshops en interviews wordt dit dan ook genoemd als een belangrijk aandachtspunt. In Nederland zijn dergelijke basisvoorzieningen wettelijk geregeld. De discussie die op Texel worden gevoerd richt zich met name op technologische verbeteringen en innovaties op het gebied van milieumanagement (zoals zelfvoorziening in energie bevoorrading of ontwikkeling van een getijden energiecentrale). Zo probeert Texel haar imago van 'groen eiland' te versterken.

Het tweede aandachtsveld heeft betrekking op het landgebruik. In beide gebieden is sprake van conflicten die hiermee samenhangen. In Costa Rica wordt de beschermde status van Manuel Antonio Nationaal Park aangevochten. Van "binnenuit" wordt het land opgeëist door voormalige landeigenaren, die nog steeds niet zijn afbetaald. Van buitenaf oefenen nieuwe toeristische ontwikkelingen aan de rand van het park steeds grotere druk uit op het ecologische evenwicht. Op Texel staat het nationale park als zodanig niet meer ter discussie. Waar het gaat om landgebruik staat momenteel vooral de toekomst van de landbouw centraal. Deze toekomst is niet alleen belangrijk voor de agrarische sector, maar ook voor toerisme. De weilanden vol schapen worden beschouwd als een belangrijke karakteristiek van het Texelse landschap en het schaap is het toeristische symbool van het eiland. De toekomst van de agrarische sector zal bepalen hoe het landgebruik en landschap van Texel zich in de komende twintig tot dertig jaar zullen ontwikkelen.

Een derde aandachtsveld is lokale participatie en zeggenschap over toeristische ontwikkeling. Discussies over de invloed van toerisme op leefbaarheid en lokale identiteit zijn voor een groot deel terug te voeren op een gebrek aan invloed op en zeggenschap over toeristische ontwikkeling. De lokale gemeenschap in Manuel Antonio/Quepos heeft tot nu toe nog geen inspraakmogelijkheden in de ontwikkeling van toerisme. Op Texel zijn er diverse (wettelijke) mogelijkheden om controle uit te oefenen, maar er wordt weinig gebruik van gemaakt door de lokale bevolking.

Linksboven in het model worden kwaliteit van de werkgelegenheid en lokaal eigendom genoemd als aandachtsvelden. In Manuel Antonio/Quepos zijn maar weinig toeristische bedrijven in handen van lokale bewoners, is de werkloosheid hoog en laat de kwaliteit van de werkgelegenheid in toerisme te wensen over. Op Texel zijn veel toeristische bedrijven nog steeds in handen van "Texelaars". Er is op dit moment bijna geen werkloosheid op het eiland en in de zomer is het lastig om aan voldoende personeel te komen. Het verbeteren van de kwaliteit van de werkgelegenheid in toerisme kan een strategisch belangrijk aandachtspunt zijn voor Texel om voldoende werknemers aan te trekken in het hoogseizoen.

Uit de analyse van duurzame toeristische ontwikkeling in de twee gebieden, blijkt dat in de discussie op Texel vooral aandacht is voor de rechterkant van het model (de ecologische marge). Organisaties op Texel richten zich met name op het creëren van "win-win" situaties tussen economie en ecologie, binnen het bestaande wettelijke kader. Hoewel aandacht voor leefbaarheid, lokale participatie en werkgelegenheid niet geheel ontbreekt in de discussie over (duurzaam) toerisme, ligt de nadruk toch vooral toch vooral op de aandachtsvelden aan de rechterkant van het model.

In Manuel Antonio/Quepos zijn de discussies over duurzame toeristische ontwikkeling minder gefocused en nog niet geïnstitutionaliseerd. Activiteiten van sommige partijen kunnen aan de rechterzijde van het model worden geplaatst. Het grootste deel van het lokale maatschappelijke middenveld houdt zich echter bezig met zaken die vooral aan de linkerkant van het model kunnen worden ondergebracht (de sociaal-culturele marge). De discussie lijkt zich te concentreren op het gebrek aan lokaal eigendom en zeggenschap. Er worden echter nog weinig pogingen ondernomen om deze discussies om te zetten in concrete acties en projecten op lokaal niveau.

Een belangrijk verschil tussen beide gebieden is de rol van de lokale overheid. In beide gebieden bestaan wettelijke regelingen voor natuurbescherming, maar ze worden op verschillende manieren geïmplementeerd. Dit hangt samen met de verschillende rollen die het maatschappelijk middenveld in beide gebieden speelt en met de mate waarin de lokale overheid ontwikkelingen kan afdwingen en controleren. In Manuel Antonio/Quepos zijn lokale bewoners en organisaties niet goed geïnformeerd over ontwikkelingen, waardoor zij nauwelijks invloed kunnen uitoefenen op politieke besluitvorming. De lokale overheid is weinig daadkrachtig en lijkt vooral de grote internationale toeristische ondernemingen te ondersteunen. Hoewel ook op Texel veel wordt geklaagd over het gebrek aan handhaving, is de situatie wel verbeterd onder druk van lokale actiegroepen. Lokale groepen op Texel zijn – in tegenstelling tot de Costaricaanse collega's - goed geïnformeerd, wat voor een belangrijk deel te danken is aan

het bestaan van de Texelse Courant. Deze krant speelt een belangrijke rol in de lokale discussie en roert zich in alle zaken die het eiland aangaan.

Strategieën voor duurzame ontwikkeling

In het rapport worden diverse strategieën voor verdere duurzame ontwikkeling van toerisme geschetst. Over deze ontwikkelings-richtingen is tijdens de workshops van gedachten gewisseld met lokale sleutelpersonen.

Het principe van wederkerigheid heeft enkele nieuwe inzichten opgeleverd. Dit gaat met name op voor enkele initiatieven op Texel die interessant zijn om toe te passen in Manuel Antonio/Quepos. Voorbeelden hiervan zijn het zogenaamde 'slaapplaatsenplafond' (een maximum aan het aantal slaapplaatsen op Texel) en de ontwikkeling van regionale producten. Het slaapplaatsenplafond heeft ertoe geleid dat de discussie zich minder richt op kwantitatieve groei, en meer op mogelijkheden voor kwalitatieve verbetering van toerisme. Regionale producten hebben de relatie tussen toerisme en lokale economie versterkt. Ook hebben deze producten een positieve invloed op het imago van het eiland. Dergelijke concepten zijn interessant om verder te ontwikkelen in Manuel Antonio/Quepos.

In Manuel Antonio/Quepos blijkt het moeilijker om voorbeelden te vinden die toepasbaar zijn voor de Texelse situatie. Een goed voorbeeld in de regio is de coöperatie 'Coopesilencio'. Coopesilencio is een lokaal samenwerkingsinitiatief gericht op de (gezamenlijke) ontwikkeling van toerisme. Helaas is dit concept moeilijk te vertalen naar de Texelse situatie omdat het idee van coöperaties niet echt (meer) leeft in Nederland. Een ander goed voorbeeld in Costa Rica, maar dan op nationaal niveau, is het Costaricaanse 'Duurzaam Toerisme Certificaat' voor hotels. Dit keurmerk omvat niet alleen ecologische maar ook economische en sociale duurzaamheidscriteria. Het is een meer geïntegreerde benadering dan de Nederlandse 'Milieubarometer', die alleen milieuaspecten omvat.

Als het principe van wederkerigheid wordt opgevat in de zin van "gezamenlijke verdere ontwikkeling van toerisme" biedt het nieuwe perspectieven voor uitwisseling van ervaringen en gezamenlijke projecten.

Zoals eerder gezegd, ligt op Texel de nadruk op ecologische duurzaamheid, de rechterkant van het model. Meer aandacht in de discussie voor zaken als leefbaarheid, kwaliteit van de werkgelegenheid, en met name lokaal eigendom en zeggenschap zou een waardevolle aanvulling betekenen vanuit het oogpunt van duurzaamheid. Ook in Manuel Antonio/Quepos ontbreken tastbare

produten en projecten op sociaal gebied. Daarom is het in beide gebieden van belang dat meer aandacht wordt besteed aan economische, culturele en politieke *empowerment*. Een gezamenlijk project gericht op deze aspecten zou een interessant vervolgproject zijn van het huidige project. Zaken als lokaal eigendom, zeggenschap en de rol van de lokale overheid zouden hierin een plaats moeten krijgen Voor wat betreft dit laatste kan nog worden opgemerkt dat de lokale overheid verschillende rollen kan vervullen, van regisseur of medespeler tot 'scheidsrechter'. Welke rol de overheid op zich neemt, is afhankelijk van de lokale situatie. Op Texel zou de gemeente meer de rol van regisseur op zich moeten nemen, en duidelijke beslissingen moeten nemen over de gewenste richting van toekomstige ontwikkelingen. In Manuel Antonio/Quepos, is de lokale overheid nu teveel de medespeler van bepaalde belangen en te weinig een onafhankelijke 'scheidsrechter'. Ze zou meer aandacht moeten hebben voor een duidelijke scheiding tussen publieke en private belangen. Een belangrijke taak is het bevorderen van de balans tussen het faciliteren van private initiatieven aan de ene kant en het handhaven van de wettelijke kaders aan de andere kant.

Conclusies

Dit project heeft laten zien dat het mogelijk is om toeristische ontwikkeling in twee heel verschillende contexten op een zinvolle manier te vergelijken. Er zijn grote verschillen tussen beide onderzochte gebieden, maar tegelijkertijd worden ze geconfronteerd met vergelijkbare problemen en staan ze voor vergelijkbare uitdagingen. Oplossingen die zijn gevonden, zijn in een aantal gevallen ook interessant om toe te passen in andere gebieden. Vanuit het oogpunt van duurzame ontwikkeling zou het wenselijk zijn om verdere uitwisseling van ervaringen tussen beiden gebieden te bevorderen en om gezamenlijke projecten te ontwikkelen met partijen uit beide gebieden. Deze projecten zouden bij voorkeur een stapje verder moeten gaan dan het duurzaam ontwikkelen van toerisme. Ze zouden zich vooral moeten richten op de vraag hoe op *de gevolgen van globalisering door toerisme op lokaal niveau op zó'n manier kunnen worden opgevangen dat toerisme kan bijdragen aan duurzame ontwikkeling.* Op die manier – door de relatie tussen toerisme en duurzame ontwikkeling centraal te stellen – kan echt worden gewerkt aan strategische projecten.

1   Introduction

During the 1950s and 1960s, tourism was considered a marginal addition to existing local economies and societies. The widespread assumption was that the impact could be accommodated by the use of existing factors of production. In any case, these were considered 'clean activities' in terms of their physical impact. Economic, socio-cultural, and cultural consequences of tourism were considered to be generally favourable, or at least not disadvantageous (Theuns, 1989).

The growth of tourism during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s undermined earlier assumptions about the impact of tourism. An increasing volume of international tourism characterises this growth, as well as a changing pace of development. For example, world tourism grew by an estimated 7.4% in 2000, its highest growth rate in nearly a decade, and almost twice the rate of 1999 (WTO, 2001). The tourism industry also shows increasing complexity. The tourism product now consists of a variety of components, 'manufactured' by a variety of 'producers.' These range from trans-national tourism companies to the local souvenir shop owner, and products, which are gradually consumed by many different types of tourists, at various places and times.

These global developments have given rise to a discussion on issues such as 'limits to growth', 'carrying capacity', 'liveability,' and 'sustainable development'. Interest groups, public, private as well as non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are questioning the extent to which tourism development can be labelled sustainable.

In this publication discussions on sustainable development of tourism in two regions are explored. One region is in Costa Rica: Manuel Antonio/Quepos. The second, the island of Texel, is in the Netherlands (see Box 1). The report analyses developments and practices in terms of planning, organisation and design of sustainable development of tourism in both regions. By comparing developments in these regions, it also seeks to generate some learning curve from which other regions in the world coping with the socio-cultural, economic, and environmental consequences of tourism might benefit.

1.1   The Sustainable Development Agreement

This project is part of the Sustainable Development Agreement (SDA) between Costa Rica and the Netherlands. This bilateral treaty was conceived of in 1992, announced at the United Nations Conference in Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro later that year, and signed in 1994. While much of the work in both countries

began in 1993, Costa Rica ratified the SDA in 1995 and the Netherlands in 1996.

The SDA was a radical initiative that attempts a new type of development co-operation between northern and southern countries. The intend is to create new patterns of relationships between the signatory countries and among the civil society organisations within the signatory countries. Implementation follows three principles adopted by the Agreement:

- *Participation* of a multiplicity of institutions and people in the process, including four segments (public and private organisations, universities, and non-governmental organisations);
- *Equality* among partners, to create a more equal relationship compared to 'traditional' development co-operation;
- *Reciprocity* whereby partner countries should contribute to each other's development.

A recent evaluation (ITAD, 2001) concluded that the contribution to sustainable development in the two countries has been significantly lower than envisaged at the outset of the agreements. However, the evaluators also concluded SDA produced several remarkable initiatives with a potential to make a contribution to the goals initially set. Those initiatives to influence policies, the principle of participation, and the contribution of SDA to the understanding of sustainable development among the public and policymakers have been particularly promising.

One of the initiatives within the SDA between Costa Rica and the Netherlands was the formulation of a tourism program. At the instigation of Costa Rica, tourism was included as one of the themes in the treaty. A tourism programme was created in 1997, after three years of consultations, workshops, written draft reports, and discussions among the stakeholders in both countries[5]. The program takes a different approach from the 'mainstream' approach to sustainable tourism. It stresses the potential contribution of tourism to sustainable development, not the negative impacts. The program is "not primarily about sustainable tourism but about tourism that contributes to sustainable development and its dimensions (...) It is not the tourism process itself that will be judged on its sustainability, but the contributions of tourism to the sustainable development process as a whole. As a consequence tourism development will be appraised by its contribution to more general development goals, like poverty alleviation, participation or even empowerment" (Man, 1997). This method has created opportunities for an integrated approach towards tourism and has increased the impact of the projects (Dutch and Costarican Technical Committee on Tourism, 1997: 2). The program discerns three main issues:

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[5] In the second half of 2001 the program will be evaluated and results will be discussed at a conference in 2002.

- development of sustainability criteria and indicators for tourism;
- industry professionalisation;
- tourism as an instrument for community and rural development.

This project is a part of the tourism program and its intent is to contribute to the objectives of the Agreement and of the Tourism Program. It particularly focuses on *reciprocity* and on *tourism as an instrument for (community and rural) development*, without disregarding the other principles. This issue will be addressed as we focus on the question of how tourism can contribute to sustainable development.

The principle of reciprocity can be taken very literally, meaning that interesting initiatives in one area can be a source of inspiration for the other region. By organising workshops in both regions, such ideas have been introduced to local actors that we hope can become part of future discussions on tourism development. When taking the principle further, it can also be understood as a joint development of sustainable tourism through exchange of experiences among the actors of both regions. This can be achieved by linking those actors with similar professional backgrounds for joint project development. Such "linking" could not be achieved within the context of this project. But it is the intent of the project to develop ideas for fruitful exchanges on the basis of the research findings.

The project is also "reciprocal" in another way since it is the joint product of Costa Rican and Dutch researchers. The bi-lateral nature of the project has created an important added value as it included not only a 'northern' perspective on 'southern' development, but the reverse as well.

1.2   Tourism and sustainable development

Sustainable development of tourism is fraught with difficulties, as it is hard to define in objective terms (Hunter, 1997, Duim, 2001). Sustainability implies making choices.   Research can substantiate these choices and hence provide a solid basis for policy intervention.

Sustainable tourism is a complex and multi-faceted notion (Caalders et al, 1999). This research utilises the so-called 'corporate response model to the macro-marketing environment' to conceptualise this multi-dimensionality (Dam, 1997). This model differentiates among four "margins" within which enterprises, or tourism regions in this case, operate. These margins are "profit", "risk", "ecological" and "socio-cultural".
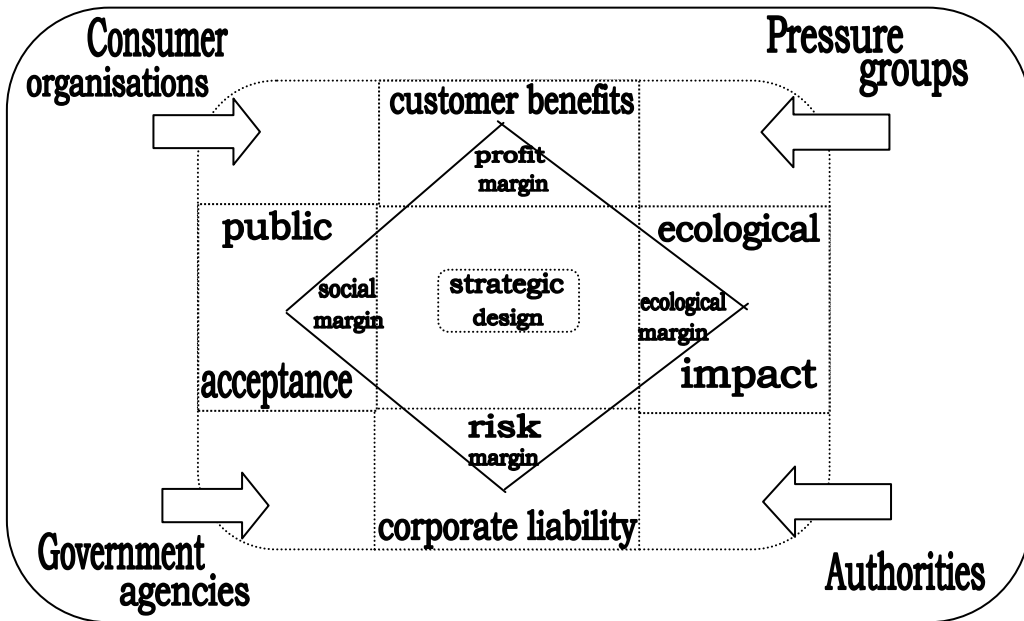
Figure 1.1   Corporate response model

Four margins

The vertical axis – profit and risk - refers to "*traditional*" practices. Profit and risk are those marginal boundaries within which enterprises (the tourism sector, a tourism region) operate. The *profit* margin is defined in terms of customer benefits: products have to appeal to the market for a firm or a region to be able to function and compete. Destinations should be attractive for tourists. In the case of a region, however, customers are not only tourists. Local people in need of employment, local producers offering products to the tourist or tourism companies and investors are also considered clientele. The *risk* margin is defined in terms of liability and accountability. Legal regulations are important aspects of this margin. Closely related is the issue of politics, which is virtual *terra incognita* with regard to tourism (Hitchcock et al, 1993). In this report, the political situation in the two case study areas is an important component of the analysis. Apart from the political and legal aspects, the risk margin also may be extended to cover 'moral' liability. Here the risk margin touches the socio-cultural margin.

The two other margins on the horizontal axis are particularly relevant in the discussion of *sustainable* tourism development. These are the ecological and socio-cultural margins. The *ecological* margin refers to the environmental consequences of tourism. This issue relates to two fundamental discussions: the impact of tourism on the environment with respect to the depletion of water, soil and air, and the material and symbolic transformations of landscape in the broadest sense (Ashworth and Dietvorst, 1995). The *socio-cultural* environment, including stakeholders and public groups, is designated as public

acceptability. This is related to emotional responses and the public image. The discussion focuses on the social and cultural 'costs and benefits' of tourism development (see for instance Kadt, 1992 and Wood, 1993). Both margins on the horizontal axis indirectly influence enterprise - or regional - tourism development. Although the macro-environment itself has no voice, the macro-environmental influences are expressed by various pressure groups.

Analysing sustainable development of tourism

In applying the above model for analysis of sustainable tourism, a great deal of thought is required. Two issues are of particular interest. First, literature devoted to economic, political, socio-cultural or ecological consequences of tourism have long been within the framework of a normative cost-benefit analysis. However, oversimplification and an *a priori* normative stance on what is 'good' and what is 'bad' for tourism should be avoided. Referring to *economic* impact studies, Theuns (1989, p. 205) argued that making sweeping statements in which *the* benefits of tourism *per se* in *the* developing countries are praised or *the* costs are criticised, gives evidence of unacceptable simplification. The impacts that result from tourism development may differ both according to the type of tourism and the institutional setting in which the development takes place.

There has also been a shift away from such simplifications of tourism within the frameworks of modernisation and dependency theories in *cultural* studies. Studies now tend to focus on people as active and strategic users of culture, participating in contexts, where no single set of cultural interpretations has an inherent claim to truth or authenticity. As Wood (1993, p. 66-68) has claimed, tourism has its own peculiar dynamics which make it an interesting and challenging field of study, but its impact is always played out in an already dynamic and changing cultural context.

Similarly, value judgements, for example, on *ecological* impacts of tourism are specific to particular contexts, whether cultural or political. In other words, although ecological criteria for sustainability might seem fixed or objectively determined, they are in fact related to specific areas of reality in which interest and values are produced and established (see also Caalders et al, 1999). It is therefore essential to acknowledge that our environment, in general (and nature in particular) is not only confronted with physical impacts of tourism and recreation, but perhaps more importantly – it is confronted with a register of meanings. These divergent meanings held by various interest and pressure groups, government agencies and various parts of the tourist industry, need to be acknowledged in order to understand the conflicts and tensions surrounding the issue of sustainable development of tourism (see Clark et al., 1994, Duim, 1997a).

Second, in applying the model one should not only discuss the production of sustainable tourism, but also how tourism can strengthen or obstruct sustainable development in general. In other words, there is a distinction between a so-called 'tourism centric' and an 'extra parochial' paradigm (Hunter, 1995). In a tourism centric approach emphasis is on avoiding 'tourism to destroy tourism'. Care must be taken to preserve natural and cultural assets, as these are important tourist attractions. In terms of Dam (1997), a tourism centric approach first of all includes the design a strategic overall package; offering customer benefits, corporate liability, and taking into account both ecological impacts and social acceptability. Only by careful product and policy development, and acknowledging and balancing these four margins, can a region achieve a sustainable position within its tourism macro-marketing environment. In practice, however, tourism development usually only deals with some of the margins and even those to only a limited extent. It is a real challenge to undertake such a strategic design in its entirety.
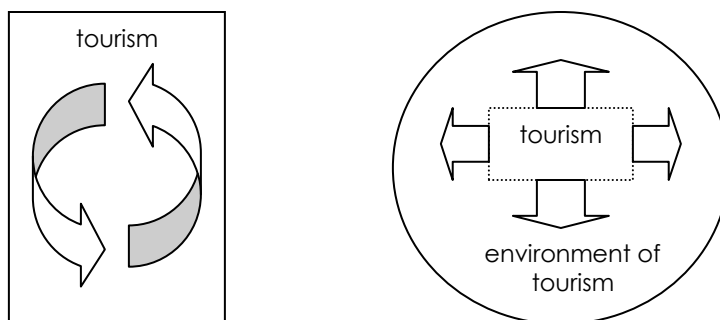
Figure 1.2   Tourism centric and extra parochial paradigm

An 'extra parochial' paradigm begins with the questions how and to what extent can tourism contribute to sustainable development in general. Hunter (1995: 163) in particular stresses the importance of such a broad approach, whereby the contribution of sustainable tourism is re-conceptualised primarily in terms of tourism's contribution to sustainable development. According to Hunter, 'under all circumstances, the resulting principles of sustainable tourism development are also principles of sustainable development' (see also: Mowforth and Munt, 1998). As stated in the previous paragraph, the SDA stresses this extra-parochial approach.

In our analysis we evaluate tourism development in terms of both types of paradigms. The four margins defined in the model of Dam will serve as a guideline.

1.3   Tourism and globalisation

The discussion on tourism development is not only closely related to the concept of sustainable development but also to the concept of globalisation. Both concepts received increasing attention through a diverse body of literature in the 1980s. Tourism development is, perhaps, even one of the clearest expressions of globalisation. In a study such as this, comparing two regions in highly different national settings, a link to globalisation helps to put local tourism developments into perspective.

Following McGrew (1992) and Mowforth and Munt (1998), globalisation can be summarised as the multiplicity of linkages and interconnections that transcend societies which make up the modern world system. It defines a process through which events, decisions, and activities in one part of the world can come to have significant consequences for individuals and communities in quite distant parts of the globe. Tourism enables goods, capital, people, images, culture, pollutants, drugs and beliefs to all flow easily across territorial boundaries.

Globalisation is not a recent phenomenon. Texel and Manuel Antonio/Quepos have been interconnected with the rest of the world for centuries (see Chapter 2). However, the process is currently taking place at an unprecedented pace.

McGrew (1992: 68) captures the richness of the concept by stating:
> "*On the one hand the concept of globalisation defines a universal process which generate a multiplicity of linkages and interconnections between the states and societies which make up the modern world system: the concept therefore has a spatial connotation. Social, political and economic activities are becoming 'stretched' across the globe, such that events, decisions, and activities in one part of the world can come to have immediate significance for individuals and communities in quite distant parts of the global system. On the other hand, globalisation also implies intensification in the levels of interaction, interconnectedness, or interdependence between the states and societies, which constitute the modern world community. Accordingly, alongside the 'stretching' goes a 'deepening' such that, even though … everyone has local life, phenomenal worlds for the most part are truly global.*"

Tourism development in Manuel Antonio/Quepos and Texel illustrate this process of 'deepening' and 'stretching', which is also characterised by considerable complexity. While globalisation creates

new forms of trans-national organisations, it also divides and fragments communities, both within and across traditional boundaries. And although globalisation facilitates concentration of power, wealth or decision making authority, it also generates powerful decentralising dynamics as communities or individuals attempt to get greater control over the forces which influence their 'fate'. In sum, globalisation needs to be understood as a contingent and dialectical process in the sense that local factors can significantly influence its course so as to embrace contradictory dynamics (McGrew, 1992).

Just as with sustainability, globalisation is multidimensional. Here too, economic, cultural, environmental, and political decentralisation issues are at stake. *Economic* globalisation conveys the manner in which economic relationships and flows have been stretched across the globe. Of particular interest is the way and extent to which local and regional economies have integrated and modified economic globalisation through tourism. Tourism is exemplary for trans-national investments and the way local economies are endangered or strengthened by these trans-national investments is an important topic for research. *Cultural* globalisation focuses on the question whether tourism, through its images, people, and values increases homogenisation and westernisation of culture. Or by contrast whether it encourages the reassertion of cultural identity at localised levels (Meethan, 2001). Tourism is reflected in discussions focussing on aesthetics, architecture, cultural loss or enrichment, leisure-patterns and lifestyles, and in social relations among tourists and between tourists and locals. Globalisation of *environmental issues* above all has resulted in the emergence of vociferous debates over the environmental sustainability of tourism (Mowforth and Munt, 1998).

Tourism is blamed for pollution of rivers and beaches, depletion of resources or even the depletion of the ozone layer. At the same time, one can point at increased support and opportunities for protection of nature through tourism, for example by the international support, both material and symbolic, for nature conservation (Duim and Philipsen, 1995). And, just as with the sustainability debate, discussions on globalisation lead to *political* questions concerning centralisation and decentralisation of power, distribution of capital, protection of cultures and the environment, and the like.

Because of the processes of globalisation, similar developments and influences can be found around the globe. At the same time, local reactions to globalisation differ and this can therefore help explain the various ways in which tourism development works out in different places. In this report we will seek to analyse the perceptions and practices of local actors within the context of the of globalisation process.

1.4   The research

This project is primarily built around the concepts of sustainable development and globalisation.

Its aims are to: *compare perceptions, practices and strategies of actors in Manuel Antoni/Quepos and Texel as well as the economic significance of tourism in terms of employment and income*. It also *anticipates determining to what extent strategies for sustainable tourism development are interchangeable.*

The model of Dam (1997) is used for identifying themes related to sustainable development of tourism and for comparing developments in Manuel Antonio/Quepos and Texel. Consequently, the local situation in Manuel Antonio/Quepos and Texel is also addressed from the perspective of globalisation. The analysis addresses how the tourism-induced flows of people, capital, images, beliefs and the like are perceived and appreciated by locals and how these are affecting sustainable development of tourism in the case study areas. An analysis of the economic impacts with respect to both employment and household income is part of this.

Box 1. The case study areas

Although the contexts for tourism development in Costa Rica and the Netherlands are quite different, the development paths of the selected regions reveal interesting parallels.

Texel in the Netherlands and Manuel Antonio/Quepos in Costa Rica are both more or less geographically isolated regions. Texel's isolation is because it is an island. Manuel Antonio/Quepos is relatively out-of-the-way and has only one direct road connection with the Central Valley. Moreover, both areas have a history of tourism development, and the spatial scale of tourism development that is, to some extent, comparable. In each case a mixture of tourist accommodations/attractions exist.

Moreover environmental pressure/interest groups question the sustainability of tourism development. Both areas are confronted with a number of similar problems as well. They have to deal with a high pressure of tourism on nature due to an increasing number of tourists, as well as the appropriation of land for the development of tourist resorts. Both have the ambition to develop tourism in a sustainable way and to cope with a growing influence of 'newcomers' in tourist development.

Perceptions, practices and strategies

In analysing tourism development, this study pays specific attention to the *perceptions, practices and strategies* of actors at the local level. These are the entrepreneurs, administrators/politicians, inhabitants and interest/pressure groups. The study also focuses on the way these perceptions, practices and strategies are judged by other actors within the specific regions.

Tourism is analysed as a social system, which binds or integrates regulated types of action of individuals, institutions, organisations and companies (offering accommodation, transport, food or excursions, giving information etc.) and of course the tourists who spend their leisure time in time and space (see Poel, 1999). To understand how tourism 'works' it will be analysed on a local level, taking into account that 'global' forces are also at stake.

Existing structures are produced and reproduced through, in this case, tourism practices. Practices are regulated types of action (Poel, 1999) which, in this case, support or hinder sustainable development of tourism. However, every practice also includes the privilege of change, that is: doing 'things differently (better) than before' or even 'doing better things'. By this approach, tourism can be directed towards sustainability (Duim, 2001). It is through channelling money, staff, knowledge and information, relations, ideas, laws and the like in another direction, that sustainable development can be achieved[6]. When this is done in a deliberate way, one can speak of a *strategy*. In other words, in this study, a strategy is defined as a set of practices by individuals or organisations deliberately aimed at strengthening or obstructing the sustainable development of tourism. In order to carry out a strategy, money, laws, staff, knowledge, and relations are put in practice.

This study also analyses how the tourism induced flows of people, capital, images, beliefs and the like, are *perceived and appreciated* by locals and how these are affecting ideas of sustainable development of tourism in the case study areas. Differing perceptions of sustainable tourism development become particularly evident in discussions, which is why these are part of the analyses as well. Our analysis particularly focuses on *local discussions* of sustainable tourism, the extent to which particular actors dominate these discussions, and which strategies and practices are applied that might stimulate or obstruct sustainable development. In this way, the project also evaluates how and to what extent tourism development in Texel and Manuel Antonio/Quepos has been participative and equal. As different interest and pressure groups, government agencies and

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[6] As a consequence, the distribution of these instruments is an important factor to take into account; it also reveals how power is distributed.

various parts of the tourist industry hold different meanings on what makes up sustainable tourism, the participation of stakeholders is regarded as an essential precondition for sustainable development. It is the intent of participation that it prevents a few powerful actors from appropriating tourism development, thus excluding a whole range of different visions on tourism and sustainability. In our conclusions we evaluate to what extent such has been the case in both areas so far and in what way participation can be improved.

Research aims and methods used

In sum this study aims to:
- *Assess the economic importance of tourism development in Manuel Antonio/Quepos and Texel in terms of employment and household-incomes;*
- *Review the perceptions of actors towards tourism development in Manuel Antonio/Quepos and Texel;*
- *Compare economic impacts and perceptions and link these to the globalisation debate;*
- *Assess in which way and to what extent tourism development in Texel and Manuel Antonio/Quepos has been participatory and how participation of various stakeholders can be enhanced;*
- *Review and compare practices and strategies for sustainable development of tourism and find out to what extent these strategies and practices are transferable from the Dutch to the Costa Rican context and vice versa.*

The following methods are used:
- *Literature and document research* of notes, reports of organisations and political institutions and newspapers to reveal perceptions, strategies and practices.
- *Interviews* with administrators, entrepreneurs, managers of holiday resorts, politicians and representatives of interest/pressure groups to reveal perceptions, strategies and practices as well as linkages among the actors.
- *Household surveys* to measure the perceptions and economic importance of tourism development. In (Appendix 2) a detailed explanation of the procedures is to be found
- *Cross-national observation:* the Dutch and Costa Rican researchers visited both regions to analyse tourist development in both regions, to compare strategies and practices of various actors, and to assess transferability of strategies and practices for sustainable development of tourism.
- *Three workshops.* One at the start of the project to establish the parameters for the research in Netherlands and Costa Rica. Two workshops after the fieldwork in which results were discussed and compared. Local interest groups in both regions have been included in the project from the start to guarantee public participation in the research process.

Household surveys, interviews, and workshops with stakeholders were used to gather information on perceptions, strategies and practices of people in Texel and *Manuel Antonio/Quepos*. Hence, their 'definition of the situation' (i.e. *their* problems) guided the research process.

1.5   Further reading

The next chapter highlights the geographical, economic, socio-cultural and political situation in the two regions, as well as the history of tourism development. It provides the context for the results of the household surveys, which are presented in Chapters 3 and 4. Chapter 3 discerns the economic importance of tourism in the two regions in terms of employment and income. Chapter 4 summarises the perceptions and opinions of people living in *Manuel Antonio/Quepos* and Texel. Finally, Chapter 5 evaluates tourism development in terms of the four margins defined in the model of Dam (1997). Chapter 6 concludes with the main results of this study and uses the general principles of sustainable development to challenge the conclusions. Finally, the study proposes future projects.

2. The case of Manuel Antonio / Quepos and Texel

This chapter presents both regions in more detail. We highlight the geographical, economic, socio-cultural, and political contexts (paragraphs 2.1 and 2.2) and analyse the development of tourism in both regions (paragraphs 2.3 and 2.4). Finally, similarities and differences are discussed in paragraph 2.5.

2.1   Background and history of Manuel Antonio/Quepos

The area of Manuel Antonio/Quepos is situated 150 kilometres south of San José as the crow flies (see Figure 2.1). It is part of the lowland coastal plain of the Central Pacific region. Quepos town is situated seven kilometres away from Manuel Antonio National Park. The Quepos district belongs to the Aguirre Canton and measures, overall, 22,289 km^2 (IFAM, 2001).

Figure 2.1 Map of Costa Rica

Physical geography

According to the 2000 census of the National Institute of Statistics of Costa Rica (INEC, 2000) the Canton of Aguirre has 20,180 inhabitants of which 52.6% are men (see Table 2.1). The central district Quepos is the most populated district of the Canton, accounting for 74.1% of the total population of Canton.

Table 2.1   Population of the Aguirre Canton

Districts of Aguirre	Total	Men	Women
Quepos	14,948	7,783	7,165
Savegre	2,942	1,480	1,262
Naranjito	2,490	1,343	1,147
Total Aguirre Canton	**20,180**	**10,606**	**9,574**

Source: INEC, 2001

A characteristic feature of the Canton of Quepos is the ravines that range from 100 to 800 meters above sea level. The entire region is criss-crossed with rivers and streams descending from the nearby mountains and hills towards the sea. The main rivers are Naranjo, Paquita, Barú and Savegre. The latter is the largest river in the area and one of the cleanest of Central America. Approximately 35% of the land, which includes most of the coastal area, is flat. The exception is the area that surrounds and is 10 km south of the city of Quepos. Here, rocky hills which are not suitable for cultivation are found. This area also contains the most beautiful beaches of the region and perhaps of the entire country, such as playa Manuel Antonio and Puerto Escondido.   There are small rocky islands along the coast, some with altitudes of 45 meters, such as Mogote Island.

The region has a typical coastal climate that is rainy and warm. The dry season or "summer" is the warmest period and lasts from January to March. The "winter" or rainy season lasts from April to December. October and November are the wettest months. The average precipitation is approximately 3827 mm a year. The average temperature ranges from 8-16°C (for night-time) to 24-27.5°C (at day-time). In the mountains surrounding the Quepos region, which are over 800 metres high, the climate is colder.

The region is known for its forests and soils, which are humid to very humid. At one time large mangrove forests surrounded the beaches. The wood was used as fuel and at present the amount of forested area has been drastically reduced. Prior to settlement and plantation development, there were no natural deforested areas on the coastal plain. Due to the creation of grazing lands, logging activities, and agricultural plantations, deforestation has occurred right up to the borders of the national park" (Hicks, 1996: 46). Nevertheless, flora has also been enriched by human introduction of species such as teak. However, much of the original fauna has disappeared due to

civilisation pressing forward and uncontrolled hunting. Species have become extinguished or have disappeared into the nearby mountains seeking shelter. Prior to 1940, tapirs, wild pigs, deer, pacas, pumas, bears and a wide variety of monkeys inhabited the area. At present, many of these have disappeared from the area, particularly the large mammals. There still are monkeys, squirrels, sloths, bats, rats, armadillos, foxes, lizards, otters, forest turtles, birds and reptiles. The more deforestation and population have encroached, the more rapidly these animals have decreased in numbers or disappeared entirely. Those not dangerous or appetising have more chances of survival. Marine fauna is still quite varied, and rich in the protected marine area. These include sharks and turtles (see also Largaespada, 1976: 3-5).

History[7]

Various tribes of Indians have lived in Quepos. The Spanish Conquerors recorded the existence of a native ethnic group when they arrived in what is today Quepos. These were the Quepo Indians, also known as 'Cuchiras' (Blanco and Lipperts, 1995: 29). Juan Vásquez de Coronado visited them in 1536 and according to his estimates there were approximately 1500 people. In 1699 Cebacas Indians from the Osa Peninsula were brought to the region, which was a common practice at that period in history. New ethnic mixes were created not only during the conquest, but also during the colonial period. Life for indigenous populations was harsh, due to labour conditions, physical abuse, and relocation.

By 1718 only eight native families remained in the area. And in 1746 the last Indians were taken to Boruca (200 kilometres from Quepos). The indigenous origins of the present Quepos have vanished. Since that time, 150 years of solitude have enveloped Quepos. There are no historic chronicles from the middle of the 18th century until 1907. At that time, accounts were made of about 300 people living in the area between the rivers Savegre and Parrita.

Modern history of Quepos begins with the banana production and the founding and operation of a company, Pirris Farm and Trading Company. This Company was founded with mainly Costa Rican capital and was managed by Mr. Aghathon Lutz, who was of German origin. In 1927 the "Pirris" was responsible for the first transport of bananas from Parrita-Quepos. This consisted of a shipment of 19,000 'racemes,' the harvest of banana trees, to Los Angeles and San Francisco in the United States. Beginning with this period, Quepos was and still is linked to the world economy. The Pirris Farm and Trading Company owned 900 hectares of cultivated land and started the first

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[7] In 1976 Largaespada wrote a very interesting monograph on the Canton of Aguirre. Most of the historical data in this report were taken from that publication.

local 'employment revolution' since it needed to recruit approximately 1000 workers, coming from both Panama and Nicaragua.

In 1937 the Pirrís sold its operation to the United Fruit Company, since reorganised as the Banana Company of Costa Rica. This company resumed the banana production in this region of the country. The "Compañía" (Company), as the local and Costa Rican people called it, was responsible for the introduction of the most important economic and social changes that ever affected the area. In 1938 the company signed an important contract with the government, known as the 'Cortés-Chitenden' contract. As a consequence of this contract, a railway and complementary infrastructure were established.

Banana production was at its height between 1938 and 1945. During these years approximately one and a half million racemes were exported per year. In 1941 exports reached a high of 296.000 *racemes*. Four thousand hectares were cultivated, representing 90% of the plain land of the future Quepos Canton. This generated employment of approximately 1200 jobs. People from the "outside" of Quepos occupied all these jobs. Many were from Guanacaste and Nicaragua. It would be inaccurate to speak of a "quepeño", as most workers were immigrants.

Since 1945 a process of production diversification started with the plantation of African palm ([8]). In 1955 the banana cultivation stopped entirely and the last shipment took place in 1956.

There are no clear accounts as to why the Company decided to change to production of the African Palm. There are many assumptions, however, based on local legends and lore. Four stories are the most popular. A tropical storm destroyed the crop, which could be tied to the story of the great flood, which inundated the plantation. A third possibility is a labour strike, which infuriated the Company. The Company asserts that the "mal de Panamá" marched into the west coast and destroyed the crop. The fact is that the Company, after trying other crops, such as cacao and material woods, decided to introduce the African Palm (Mundis, 1997: 8).

From a social perspective, the enclave banana economy had many impacts. The managers and higher-level employees of the Banana Company lived in a "zona americana" (American zone), occupying

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[8] Banana production only lasted 30 years (1927-1956) but consequences were profound. According to Largaespada (1976: 12) "...this situation (of the banana enclave) has left very deep treads and they may or may not disappear after many years or never. Many people, situations, events and processes have been and are the products of the enclave situation and of the Banana Company" (Authors' translation).

the higher lands around Quepos from where they had a panoramic view of Quepos town. There they lived with unusual comfort as compared with the majority of workers. These workers lived in the so-called "barracones" made of many little houses inside the same building. Between these two extremes there were two other housing units as well as social-occupational strata. These represented a district for the so-called Central American "mandadores" or foremen, and the second zone included the houses of Boca Vieja, where the railway and repair shop workers lived.

The development of labour organisations has illustrated the social polarisation. Some of the labour organisations, like the Syndicate of the Banana, were affiliated with the national left syndicate. Similarly the Industry Workers of Quepos, founded in 1950, affiliated themselves with the General Workers Central (CGT). This syndicate (under another name), with 600 members, played a major role in a strike that lasted eight days in 1975.

The social impact of the Banana Companies in Quepos has been immense. More than 10,000 people came to Quepos because of the activities of the Company. The Population Census data of 1950 indicate a population of 10,456 people.

Within this historic context, Aguirre Canton was founded in October 1948. According to the executive decree, the name of Aguirre was in honour of Mr. Rolando Aguirre Lobo (1918-1948) who played an prominent role in the National Liberation army campaign of 1948 (IFAM, 2001). Thus the official name of the Canton of Quepos became the Aguirre Canton. The clearly political connotation is not accidental. The Canton was founded in the same year of the so-called "Revolution of '48" that gave the National Liberation Party a victory and raised José Figueres (father) to the height of national politics.

The founding of the Aguirre Canton and subsequently the municipality marked a new historic period in Quepos. This was the period of the social and economic intervention of the State. Although this occurred throughout the entire country, its particular characteristics derive from this Canton.

The decline of banana production coincided with the strengthening of the Costa Rican State. The National State was filling the void left by the Banana Company. Important parts of the social and economic institutions that operate today in Quepos are post-1948. In 1950 the National Bank of Costa Rica was created. In 1955 the National Council of Production was established in Quepos and in 1972 ownership of the pier transferred from the Banana Company to the State. During this period services such as health, schools, water, and electricity were all transferred to the State.

The last contract between the Banana Company and the State was signed in 1964. This was, however, part of an exit strategy since this document officially arranged the transfer to the State of some administrative buildings like the pier, the airport, 'comisariatos,' which are little grocery stores selling oil, cans, corns, liquor etc. and many farms.

In summary, the following historic periods are distinguished:
- The indigenous period and consequent Spanish colonisation, lasting until 1746;
- The "solitude" phase, from 1746 until the beginning of the 20th century (150 years of isolation);
- The period of the banana enclave, from 1927 until 1964;
- The State intervention period, beginning in 1964 until the first structural adjustment plans in the early 1980s;
- Tourism development.

Economy

The actual economic structure of Quepos combines both the past and the present. That is, it combines agriculture and fishery, State intervention, and a growing tourism industry.

Within the agriculture – industrial field the African palm stands out. Currently it occupies a considerable part of the land where once the bananas were cultivated. The largest company today is called "Palma Tica" and it owns the larger part of the processing plants. It currently generates 850 jobs, a little less than the banana companies previously generated. Still it constitutes a source of work for immigrant labour force. A student research report indicates about 300 Nicaraguans work for the company (Miller, 1998: 106).

Another important economic activity is fishery, generally organised through small or informal enterprises. However, there is one important company, Martec, which exports fish and generates about 128 jobs.

On the other side, the present state institutions in Quepos not only have a political or institutional significance, but are also economically important. They constitute one of the main employers of the region, in areas such as education, health, energy, and administration in general. For example, Quepos Hospital employs 250 people. In the education sector approximately 125 teachers are working. The Municipality generates 39 jobs.

Finally, according to estimates made under the framework of this study (see next chapter) tourism generates approximately 1000 direct jobs. Tourism is, in fact, replacing the vacuum left by the demise of the Banana Company.

Culture

Community leaders of Manuel Antonio/Quepos perceive themselves as culturally 'weak'. Some believe that it is a 'town without identity'. They, themselves, do not have a very strong cultural identity like the people in the Caribbean. People coming from the Central Valley and travelling to Limón, or other regions of the province, often feel like they have entered another country.

The Quepoan believe that they even do not share the identity of the people of Guanacaste, who have a very rich folklore based on cattle raising and the role of the plainsman or "sabanero"([9]). Middle aged Quepoan comfort themselves by saying that the Quepos culture shares general features of the Costa Rican culture, but has no distinct characteristics.

According to Largaespada (1976: 32), Quepos is a place without a distinct local culture: "It is impossible to talk about local folklore because it does not exist. On this score, what is practised is the folklore of the Central Valley and Guanacaste."

With the influx of tourists, the social and cultural life of Quepos has begun to change. Those who perceive Quepos as a place without its own culture are worried. They fear a 'cultural loss' brought about by foreign values and patterns of life as a result of tourism.

The younger Quepoan do not seem to worry too much about this loss. Rather, they already are sons and daughters of the new 'tourist profile' of Quepos. They are filled with pride because so many people from all over the world have visited Quepos. They actually tend to regard the cultural contact not as a cultural loss but as a multi-cultural interchange, and even as a cultural enrichment. In this way, little by little, a new cultural identity is emerging through the subsistence economic base of Quepos that is due to tourism.

However, there is not necessarily only one new cultural identity. There are many and they keep changing. Starting from a common national background, that is the Costa Rican, Quepos first built its identity around the bananas. Later, the influx of other people and other economic practices influenced cultural development. Today, Quepos has begun to model itself culturally as a tourist destination.

Political situation

The municipality is the main political-administrative institution of the Aguirre Canton. The institute undertakes a major part of the local affairs, executing construction permits, territorial tax collection, and

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[9] The sabanero is in charge of cattle breeding, managing horses, strings and spurs. He wears a particularly clothing, like a wide brim hut and boots.

the development of public infrastructure. Some years ago Costa Rica introduced a decentralised administrative scheme, which transferred power to the municipalities. Municipalities suddenly became more powerful. The most important instrument of the municipality is the 'Plan Regulador'. This document strongly influences the type of development. However, the Aguirre municipality has not yet implemented such a plan for the whole canton, while there are two regulating plans for the Playa Espadilla and Playa Matapalo. By the end of 2000 the municipality had approved the first. According to the National Geographic Institute and many local organisations as ASOMUFACQ, *Comité de Lucha*, *Cámera de Turismo* and the *Consejo Local Ambiental*, the plan has many irregularities. For example, there is no demarcation of the public zone, which means that public areas are left within private terrain. Some areas designated for the construction of infrastructure are affecting mangroves. There are many little mangroves, especially in Espadilla Beach, which are affected by faecal pollution, solid garbage deposits, and wetland desiccation.

This has resulted in controversial reactions from all the active members of the community and from MINAE itself. This group has not been asked to collaborate in the design and contents of the Plan (interview with the Cámara de Comercio, Industria y Turismo de Aguirre, 2000)

The municipal council consists of five aldermen; three from the national governmental party, Social Christian Union Party (*PUSC*) and two from the National Liberation Party (*PLN*). These are the main political parties in Costa Rica. Until now no local political party has materialised as in other Costa Rican municipalities. The mayor oversees the executive branch of the municipality, who is in turn elected by the aldermen. Beginning in 2002, it is purposed that people elect the mayor directly. However, at this point civil society is very affected by the lack of "local governing". The local municipality is malfunctioning (see Chapter 5).

In addition to the Municipality, Quepos has an extended organisational and institutional network. Traditionally in Costa Rica there is a strong civil society. There are many organisations and institutions that have significance in the local daily life. After elections, often strong political parties are reduced to a minimum expression. Local organisations play a much more permanent role in daily affairs. Of particular importance are the local development associations (see Box 2.1). But there are many other local organisations as well, that include youth, sport and social organisations under the organising arm of the churches or syndicates both in the public and private sectors.

2.2   Background and history of Texel

Texel is an island situated in the northwest of the Netherlands, in the so-called "Wadden area", the Dutch shallows. In physical-geographical terms, the Dutch shallows are part of a more elaborate wetland area, which includes the Wadden islands located north of Germany and west of Denmark. Texel is the westernmost island of this group (see Figure 2.2).

Physical geography

The island is approximately 16,000 hectares in size and has a regular population of 13,450 inhabitants (2001). The main village is Den Burg, with a population of approximately 7000. Other villages include Oosterend (1400 inhabitants), Oudeschild (1275), De Cocksdorp (1250), De Koog (1220), Den Hoorn (965) and De Waal (400). The total area of the municipality of Texel is much larger, almost 59,000 hectares, since a large part of the Wadden Sea and North Sea falls under jurisdiction of Texel.

The number of young children is decreasing, while the number of elderly people (over 65) is growing. Slightly over one in every four

inhabitants has lived on the island for less than 20 years and slightly over one in every eight inhabitants has lived on the island for less than 10 years (Buijvoets, 1994).

Nature and landscape on the island are varied. Much of the dune-area in the western part has a protected nature area status (approximately 4000 hectares). The rest of the island is mainly used for agriculture (dairy cows, sheep, bulbs, and some arable farming of crops). Geologically, Texel dates back to the Pleistocene age. A mix of stone, loam and gravel was pushed forward by ice and was left behind after the ice age. The 'Hoge Berg' is a residue of that period.

Figure 2.2 Map of the Netherlands

The southern part of the island, still called 'the old land' was shaped during the Holocene age. In the 13th century, dunes were moulded along the sea side coast. Little by little land was recovered from the sea, especially during the 19th century when the polders in the north of the island were created. Later that century part of the island was forested (1897-1921), mainly for production of wood. Today forests have a recreational function and are part of protected areas on the island. The island continues to be on the move: the sea 'takes and gives'. Supplementary sand in the dune area helps to protect the island from the sea, as well as high dikes on the eastern side. On the southern side a seven-kilometres sandbar, 'De Razende Bol,' will sooner or later become part of the island.

Texel has a typical sea climate, having in summer (June-August), on average more sunny hours and less rain than the rest of the Netherlands. Average temperatures in the summer are around 20 degrees Celsius, and around zero in wintertime (December-February).

Flora and fauna are not as abundant as in Costa Rica. But water, climate, soil, wind, flora, and fauna taken together make nature part of the attraction of Texel.

Texel is part of the wetland ecosystem Wadden Sea covering the northern coast of the Netherlands, Germany, and the western coast of Denmark. In the wetlands around Texel different species of 'tidal-flat' birds can be found, like different kinds of waders (oystercatcher, redshanks, curlews, sandpipers, bar-tailed godwits), the Brent geese, ducks (like eiders), gulls (as the herring gull and black-headed gull) and terns. Texel has its own high-tide escape area attracting many birds, migratory as well as birds staying year-round. This area has some characteristic flora, like salt marsh plants (sea lavender and sea meadow grass for example) and flora of tidal flats like sea lettuce. The common seal and grey seal are also found in the wetlands around Texel, mainly on the northeastern side of the island.

The Wadden Sea once was rich in mussel and cockle banks but presently these are hardly to be found around Texel due to fishery. New policies and special projects have been initiated to re-introduce this element in the vicinity of the island.

The publications of Jac. P. Thijsse, which date back to the beginning of the 19th century, are well known. He worked on the island as a teacher for 25 years and was impressed by the number of plants and birds. Many of his ideas on nature conservation were revolutionary at the time and today are generally accepted. He promoted Texel in the early 19th century as a paradise for naturalists: "*In the whole world no landscape more important than the dunes can be found. In terms of greatness and originality the landscape of the North Sea island equals mountain ranges*" (in: Fey, 1992:13)

History

Evidence has been found of early settlements dating back to 8000 – 4500 years BC. In writings from the early Middle Ages, the name 'Insula Texel' appears for the first time. By that time farmers and fisherman mainly populated the island. Later Texel became an important stop for ships coming from places like Amsterdam or Enkhuizen along the former Zuiderzee. The *Rede van Texel* (the 'Roadstead' of Texel) became a popular stopover for ships. In 1574 the fortress 'De Schans' was built to protect this route[10].

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[10] The fortress is now being restored and will become part of an attraction celebrating 400 years VOC in 2002.

The Golden Age, during the 17th century, did not only bring prosperity to Holland, but to Texel as well. The ships of the *Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (VOC; Dutch East-Indian Company) left from Amsterdam for Asia, stopping in Texel on their way. Due to unfavourable winds, ships sometimes had to wait weeks before sailing. In the meantime sailors traded goods or made fun ashore in Oudeschild. Sailing was not a very safe enterprise and in some years almost 2000 ships were given refuge. On the 24th of December 1593, approximately 150 ships were hit by a storm. Forty-four ships sank and approximately 1000 people were killed. The declaration of bankruptcy of the VOC in 1799 and the construction of the North Sea Canal in the 19th century, connecting Amsterdam directly to the North Sea, marked the end of the Golden Age for Texel. Fishing and agriculture, especially in the polders constructed during the middle of the 18th century, became the dominant subsistence base for nearly a century. In 1907 *Texels Eigen Stoomboot Onderneming* TESO (Texels Own Steamboat Company) took over the services of a shipping company from Alkmaar. The emotional and financial involvement of the people of Texel with TESO was and still is great (Ginkel, 1995). The larger part of the company's shares is still in the hands of the inhabitants of the island. The increasing transport of people and goods facilitated economic growth, especially through tourism. The island became culturally, economically, and politically more and more related to the rest of the Netherlands.

Economy

Within half a century tourism has become the main source of income for the island. Currently it directly employs approximately 25% of the total population (see also next chapter). However, it is generally acknowledged that the indirect impact and dependency on tourism is much higher. According to some sources, about 75% of the population is dependent on tourism (see also Grontmij, 1994). In terms of gross turnover, tourism accounts for about 200 million Dutch guilders, compared to 120 million for agriculture and 70 million for fisheries (WLTO/KAVB, 2000).

Agriculture is the second source of income on the island and occupies half of the territory. By contrast with agriculture in much of the Netherlands, intensive livestock breeding industry is almost non-existent. In line with developments in the rest of the country, employment in this sector is decreasing with the number of farms having decreased from 160 in 1985 to 112 in 2000 (WLTO, 2000).

Fisheries have a long history on the island. Just as with agriculture, it is currently under pressure. On the one hand this is due to restrictions with regard to catch, on the other through enlargement of scale. The fleet currently consists of 27 North Sea cutter yachts, employing nearly 160 people.

Table 2.2　　　　　Distribution of employment on Texel

Sector	Number of people working on Texel (January 1999)	
	Less than 15 hours	More than 15 hours
Agriculture, fishery and forestry	199	697
Industry	49	338
Construction, Trade and repair	237	1137
Hotel and catering	218	931
Transport	60	279
Financial institutions and services	315	653
Public administration and services	1	350
Education, health, social and other services	276	789
Total	**1355**	**5174**

Source: LISA, 1999

Two research institutes on the island, *Nederlands Instituut voor Onderzoek der Zee* (NIOZ; Netherlands Institute for Sea Research) and *Alterra* (Dutch centre of expertise on rural areas), also provide employment, as does the local government. Other important employment sectors are construction and commerce. Both these latter sectors are heavily dependent on tourism.

Culture

Both the Constitution of the Dutch Nation State and growing globalisation have integrated Texel into Dutch and world society. But they have also strengthened the sense of local identity on the island.

The dialectics between global and local culture and identity have led to a variety of styles and identities on Texel. People from Texel are generally proud of their island. Green-black flags and stickers at the back of cars symbolise a 'Texel-feeling', just as all kind of local traditions, museums and folkways do. More modern ways of expression are used to distinguish Texel from the 'Overkant' (mainland). This includes the marketing of products from Texel as 'real Texel product', the founding of a local party called 'the Interest of Texel' (Texels Belang) and of a local action group called 'Ten for Texel'. All are expressions of the wish to preserve and strengthen local identity.

However, the idea that people from Texel have a homogeneous local cultural identity can also be considered a well-preserved myth (Ginkel, 1995). On the one hand, in reference to *Overkanters*[11], they indeed

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[11] Literally: 'those from the other side', referringto people from the mainland. Depending on the context, it can also refer to people living on Texel, but not born there; or even to people that are not stemming from a 'genuine' Texel family, with roots going back several generations.

display unity, but on the island many types of symbolic borders have been created. For example there are 'genuine' people of Texel, people of Texel and import people. There are differences among inhabitants of the various villages. Every village has its own character and mentality. De Koog appeals to the tourists, Oudeschild a fisherman's village, Den Hoorn is predominantly an agricultural community, Oosterend is considered devout with five churches for 1400 inhabitants, and Den Burg is the administrative and commercial centre with no clear cultural identity. Even within villages symbolic borders have been created, based on membership within families, class, occupation, religion, political party, sex, or place of origin.

More and more *Overkanters* and/or retired people are coming to live on the island. These share the nostalgic feelings of living on an island, while at the same time introducing values, norms and life styles from elsewhere. The result is a cultural fragmentation that becomes at the same time a search for identity. An important binding element in this process is the local newspaper *Texelse Courant*. This newspaper is read by almost everyone on the island.   It is the medium through which all local issues are discussed. As Ginkel (1995: 52) states: "There is unity in variety, but still unity. To outsiders people from Texel exhibit a harmonious picture of their island society, although it is a façade. Social and symbolic boundaries are always created relative to 'significant others'. Members of a community gain their self-esteem and –assurance by contrasting with others, especially in a wider context. However, those who are not chauvinistic will never be accepted or feel at home" (Authors' translation).

Not surprisingly there is opposition to as well as support for tourism development on the island (see next chapter). The recent complaints about the overflow of tourists on the island have historic roots. Already during the 18th and 19th centuries people were complaining about the loss of local culture (Ginkel, 1995).

Political situation

The Board of the municipality of Texel consists of three alderman and an independent mayor (appointed by the Crown for a period of six years). Members of the local council are chosen every four years. Members of the municipal council come from different political parties like Christian Democrats (*CDA*), Green Left (*Groen Links*) and a local party *Texels Belang*. Other parties represented in the Council are the Labour Party (*PvdA*) and Liberals (*VVD*). In the 19th Century, politicians from Texel governed Texel. But in the 20th Century laws and regulations from the mainland have more and more come to influence local processes of decision-making (Ginkel, 1995: 33). Many major decisions are made at the national or even European level. This is especially true with respect to the future of the agricultural sector will be determined

on a European or even global level, unless farmers on Texel manage to define their own fate (see Chapter 5).

Box 2.2   Tien voor Texel

According to *Tien voor Texel* ("Ten for Texel"), Texel must be and remain beautiful, it deserves not an 8 but a 10. Tien voor Texel was founded in 1992. A former alderman and some other islanders successfully opposed the building of a 36-meter-high hotel in De Koog, while the spatial plan allowed a building with a maximum height of 13 meters. Since then Tien voor Texel keeps a critical eye on every new plan or development on the island. Nearly 240 inhabitants of the island support the association. Its mission statement is simple: preserve the strengths of the island (openness and variety) and don't follow the delusion of the market, as it will lead to 'more of the same'. The main action points are to safeguard the maximum amount of sleeping places on the island and to preserve the number of camping sites. The association argues against the exchange of camping places for second homes. It also makes a plea for extensive agriculture as the best way to preserve the landscape on the island.

Tien voor Texel is not as belligerent as 'Comité de Lucha' in Manuel Antonio/Quepos (see Box 5.14). Some of those interviewed admitted a lack of vigour and vision of the organisation. Nevertheless, it plays a significant role on the island. Entrepreneurs sometimes ask *Tien voor Texel* for support for new developments to prevent lengthy juridical procedures that the association can initiate. The association recently began a discussion on the impacts of tourism on liveability (see paragraph 5.3).

Although the local municipality offers many opportunities for participation, involvement in local politics is low. A recent poll by the *Instituut voor Publiek en Politiek* in 2001 indicates that many people do not have an opinion on or are dissatisfied with the performance of the municipal board and political parties. One of the most interesting findings of this survey was that locals testify that politicians should be more content-oriented. Arguments are preferable to political rhetoric. Almost 60% of the people accepted board members to differ in their opinions from the official point of view of their own party.

The village committees offer another means of contact between politics and citizens. Every village, except Den Burg, has a village committee. Despite the small size of the island and the number of villages, members of these committees are not well known, as is the case with members of the municipality board. Here again, most people were ignorant of or were unenthusiastic about the functioning of these committees (Instituut voor Publiek en Politiek, 2001).
The *Lindeboom Overleg* provides a more influential way of contact between municipality and civil society. This is an informal gathering between mayor, alderman and some major stakeholders on the island. Meetings, however, are closed and membership is restricted.

Apart from this, many associations and interest groups exist on the island. The *TVO* (Texel Association of Entrepreneurs), *TVL* (Texel Association for Accommodation), the Texel branch of *Horeca Nederland,*the *VVV* (Foundation Texel Promotion), *Stichting Duurzaam Texel* (see Box 5.11) and *Tien voor Texel* (see Box 2.2) are particularly important for tourism.

2.3   Tourism development in Manuel Antonio/Quepos

Tourism development in Manuel Antonio/Quepos began during the 1960s. Even in the late 1950s regular communication with the rest of the country was not easy. Roads were almost non-existent. There was a small railroad between Quepos and Parrita and at low tide small aeroplanes of the Alpa Airline could land a small plane in the beach in front of Main Street. Tourists, almost exclusively Costa Rican, visited the area from January to March.

During the mid 1960s a road was build from San José to Quepos and a 7-hour bus connection was established. The area around Quepos soon became recognised as one of the most beautiful places in the country. In 1972 the national government created the Recreational Park, preserving one of the few remaining areas of natural coastal vegetation on the Pacific slope. People began to come to Manuel Antonio Park to camp on the beaches and to enjoy the ocean. Quepoans with money started a hotel or a restaurant. Several years later, the area was reclassified as a National Park in an attempt to protect it from the damage caused by tourism (see also Box 2.5).

In the 1980s a colony of Americans built homes and started businesses at Manuel Antonio. The tourist industry at this time consisted of a 'gringo bar' called *El Barba Roja*, a few luxury villas at *La Mariposa*, some rustic cabins, and a beachfront bar called the *Mar y Sombra* (Quepolandia, 2001). Soon the tourist industry began a tremendous growth. The road from Quepos to Manuel Antonio was paved in 1980 and shortly thereafter electricity, water, and telephone became available. Also in 1980, *Sansa Airlines* DC-3 began servicing the area. More people began to arrive to open businesses, such as hotels, restaurants, and shops, and visitation to the park began to increase. (Mundis, 1997: 8). Tourism grew from about 31,027 visitors in 1980 to 128,287 in 1989 (Hicks, 1996: 47). In 1985, the *Ley de Incentivos* stimulated foreign tourism development through tax exemptions, of as much as 50%, for certain tourism companies during the first ten years of business[12].

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[12] This law still stands. Only one article (article 11), dealing with incentives for hoteliers, was cancelled in 1992 and completely abolished in 2000, after a Comptroller General's report gave an account of numerous irregularities (Pashby, 2000a).

Quite suddenly, a primarily agrarian economy, in an area with little or no infrastructure and with a population having little or no education in marketing and business management, had to contend with over a hundred thousand tourists a year. By 1993 tourism increased yet another 50%. Visits to Manuel Antonio National Park numbered a record 181,947. That year is commonly referred to as the year tourism "boomed."

Box 2.3   Cabinas Pedro Miguel and Hotel Karahe

The development of micro-enterprises in Manuel Antonio/Quepos can be illustrated by two examples: José, owner of Cabinas Pedro Miguel and Cecilia Lutz, owner of one of the largest hotels (approximately 34 rooms).

José, a real pioneer, started his family business some 20 years ago by building cabins. Beginning with only five rooms, today he offers fourteen rooms. A double bed room costs around $ 20 to 30 (or USD) and an eight-person cabin is a slightly more expensive. This buys you a real 'room with a view.' The only things you can see gazing through the wire gauze of an insect screen are the tropical rainforest and the Pacific. José needs no promotion; his guests will come anyway.

Cecilia Lutz owns one of the largest hotels of Manuel Antonio. Her German grandfather started a banana plantation sixty years ago and became one of the largest landowners in the area. After raising her children Cecilia started her hotel 20 years ago, just as José. The hotel now consists of thirty-four rooms and guests pay two to three times as much as for José's cabins. Cecilia employs fifteen to twenty people, including two guards. She promotes her hotel, Karahé, through the Internet, by visiting holiday trade fairs and through travel agencies.

Where Cecilia is an active member of the local hotel association fighting against corruption and increasing violence, José is involved in community development programmes aimed at empowerment, education, and environmental conservation. Each is, in his and her own way trying to cope with, as José describes it, the third cultural invasion. After the Spanish conquest and the banana companies, tourism is now overrunning Costa Rica in general and Manuel Antonio/Quepos in particular. "Not the tourist themselves are the biggest problem, although their environmental consciousness leaves a lot to be desired. The biggest problem are foreigners who use Manual Antonio/Quepos as a 'laundry', laundering their money".

Source: Personal interviews in Duim, 1997b

Today, the 7-km road from Quepos to Manuel Antonio is extensively developed. According to the Chamber of Commerce, visitors have approximately 70 different accommodation facilities such as hotels, cabins, and guesthouses and more than 80 restaurants to choose from, 60% of them owned by foreigners (Hicks, 1996: 47; see also

Cabout, 2001). Of the 59 kilometres of total coastal area, 50 km are in hands of people from outside Costa Rica (Fundevi-ICT-SPN, 1993: 12).

Table 2.3   Visitors of Manuel Antonio National Park

Year	Total visitors
1980	31,027
1985	44,013
1990	131,011
1991	152,543
1992	165,584
1993	181,947
1994	128,023
1995	90,681
1996	104,807
1997	114,892
1998	131,448
1999	143,520
2000	157,401

Source: From 1979 to 1997: Morera, 1998: 61; from 1998 to 2000: MINAE

The seventy hotels, pensions, cabins etc. in Manuel Antonio/Quepos together amount to approximately 1100 rooms. This figure does not include the informal sector. Although some tourists point at Manuel Antonio/Quepos as the 'Benidorm' of Costa Rica, it is still small-scale business with accommodation on average of less than 20 rooms.

Manuel Antonio/Quepos has scattered development with no planning due to the general lack of government assistance, local inexperience in business, lack of zoning and the influx of foreign investment (Hicks, 1996: 47). The Espadilla beach has been the focal point of numerous land-use conflicts. During the past years, the public zone of Espadilla Beach has been overrun by more than twenty-four tourism enterprises like hotels, restaurants, fruit and handicraft sellers. However, in August 2000 a revised Regulating Plan of the Espadilla Beach has been approved. According to local organisations, such as the Environmental Council and the Fight Committee, environmental law upholds this new regulating plan. They are continuing to dispute the irregularities (see also Box 5.14 and paragraph 2.1)

Box 2.4   Beach Park Imperilled by Overdevelopment

Bulldozers and dynamite are used to clear forested hillsides. A rare, endangered monkey species is driven out of its habitat. Sewage drains into a beachfront lagoon. Illegal development is sprouting up in protected coastal lands. Large parcels of land are marked for sale in the middle of the National Park. These are some of the abuses in and around the popular National Park of Manuel Antonio, one of the most scenic stretches of Costa Rica's central Pacific Coast. Local environmental authorities, business-owners and nature-lovers are extremely worried (...). At the root of the problem, critics claim, is a local government that openly flouts the law and turns a blind eye to violations (...). In the hills, overlooking Espadilla beach at Punta Quepos point prized for its spectacular views, dynamite has been used to carve out a niche in a partly-forested hillside to build a luxury house to entertain Hollywood stars (...). The most glaring evidence of recent development are two half-built three story blocks of apartments on a former wetland, immediately adjacent to the border of the National Park and 250 meters from its entrance.

Source: Escofet, 1999a in the Tico Times

Downtown Quepos has expanded as well. The town, once built and occupied by the Banana Company, is now home to a variety of restaurants, bistro's, bars, coffee shops, boutiques, and souvenir shops. It has survived great economic, social, and cultural change (Mundis, 1997: 8). Nevertheless it remains a port; in fact fishery is still an important economic activity in the region.

At present, tourism represents one of the main economic activities of the Manuel Antonio/Quepos area. Although guided tours and sport fishing have become very popular among tourists, the main motivations for a visit are nature, sun, the beaches, and the nightlife offered. National Park Manuel Antonio is one of the main attractions.

Box 2.5   Manuel Antonio National Park

The Manuel Antonio National Park is located 7 km south of Quepos City. It was created by Law No. 5100 of November 15, 1972, under the name of "Recreative National Park Manuel Antonio Beaches". The initial surface was 280 hectares. In 1978 it changed into National Park Manuel Antonio and in 1980 the park extended to 682.7 hectares of land and 55,000 marine hectares. In December 2000 the National Park was extended to nearly 1800 hectares of land and approximately 55,210 marine hectares including of El Rey Beach, situated south of Manuel Antonio, between the mouths of the Naranjo and Savegre Rivers (see also Wolkoff, 2000).

Until 1968 Manuel Antonio NP was a farm owned by a Costa Rican. Various exploitations damaged nature. After 1968 the farm was sold to foreigners who limited access to the area. This provoked a lot of retorts of the local and national community. As a result, a meeting was organised in Quepos and there locals decided to accept the initiative of turning Manuel Antonio into a National Park. However, financial compensation was not straightened out. Almost half (46%) of the park's original 683 hectares are still in the name of the original owners –some of which have already reasserted their rights to their land – because the government has not paid its debts on seven expropriated properties, a debt equal to $ 920,000, But despite the creation of a trust fund for the purpose of paying off this debt in 1997, the funds remain untouchable due to a conflict between the Municipality and the Environment Ministry on the representation of the board that will manage the fund. The real issue at stake is who will have the majority of vote over the 50% of revenues from ticket sales that are now being deposited in the trust fund (Dulude, 2001; Wolkoff, 2000).

Despite these conflicts, the National Park still is a little biological island in the middle of agriculture, cattle breeding and tourist development. Part of the forest is in the process of regeneration. It is one of the most beautiful National Parks of the country and certainly one of the most visited, with 157,401 tourists by the end of December 2000 of which a 41% were national and a 59% were foreign tourists (MINAE, 2000).

Manuel Antonio National Park is a life zone of very humid tropical forest. It protects drums of primary forest, secondary forest, wildlife, mangroves, beach vegetation and marine environments.
(continued on next page)

Box 2.5 continued

The main attractiveness of the park consists of the rich bio-diversity. In the tropical forest 109 species of mammals and 184 of birds can be found. Some of them are animals such as pizotes (*Nasua narica*), sloths with two and three fingers, racoons, whiteface monkeys, titi monkeys endemic and endangered species), guatusa (*Dasyprocta punctata*) and birds like toucans, pelicans, fishing sparrowhawk, guaco (*Herpetotheres cachinnans*) among others. Lizards, snakes and numerous insects can also be seen in the Park. The main vegetation is guapinol negro (*Cynometra haemitophylla*), cedro maría (*Calophyllum brasiliens)*, guapinol blanco (*Hymenaea courbaril*) balsa (*Ochroma lagopus*), peine de mico and 18 hectares of three different kind of mangroves. Characteristic beach vegetation consists of manzanillo (*Hippomane mancinella)* which has a milky substance and poisonous fruits, the almendro (*Dipterix panamensis*), the roble sabana (*Tabebuia rocea*) and the cocoa tree (Fundevi-ICT-SPN, 1993: 18-22).

The beautiful beaches are also of interest for visitors. In fact the beach of Manuel Antonio acquired the blue ecological flag, which proves environmental and sanitary quality of the beach and also that environmental education is in place. It is considered one of the most beautiful and unspoiled beaches of the world.

The park has well designed and maintained trails to Punta Catedral, Puerto Escondido, Playa Gemela, Mirador de Puerto Escondido and the Catarata Trail, the main attractions of the park.

The main environmental problem of the park consists of an incomplete organisation of the tourism development. According to Mr. Manfredi, the Director of the MINAE Office at Quepos, the National Park limits the entrance of visitors in high season up to 600 visitors per day. On Mondays the park is closed. However, the garbage produced and the food given to the wild animals are causing a lot of problems.

The National Park manages three programs. The Environmental Education Program aims to create environmental conscience in nearby local communities. The Protection Program guarantees a minimum level of physical and biological human produced changes. Finally, the Administration Program tries to involve local communities, private as well as public organisations, in the planing and development of the area (Acuña and Araya, 1993: 100- 102).

2.4   Tourism development on Texel

As early as the beginning of the 18th century, travellers frequented Texel (Ginkel, 1995). According to travel reports of Egmond van der Nyenburg and Heyman the people on Texel were "*thrifty, restrained in tacking food and profit seeking*" (in: Ginkel, 1995: 11; Authors' translation).

By the end of the 19th century, modern tourism had begun. In 1896 a beach pavilion was opened in De Koog and two years later the first 'Guide for Texel' was published. In 1908 a beach hotel in De Koog opened and in the same year locals founded what is called *Vereniging voor Vreemdelingenverkeer* (VVV), a local tourist information office (Barnard and Rommets, 1998; Ginkel, 1995).

Since the Second World War, the tourism sector has grown tremendously (Ginkel, 1995). This is especially true during the 1960s, when the number of visitors as well as number of tourism beds on the island 'boomed' (Hpart, 1990). Within ten years time, the number of registered beds increased from approximately 14,000 in 1960 to 33,000 in 1970 (Hpart, 1990: 5). An increase in the number of campsites was responsible, for the most part, for this growth.

Against this background, the municipality of Texel issued the first 'Basic Plan on Recreation' in 1974. The plan stipulated the maximum number of tourism beds as 47,000. This figure is still used by all parties on the island as a reasonable 'ceiling' for tourism growth (see Chapters 4 and 5). The number of tourism beds currently amounts to approximately 43,000.

Figure 2.3   Number of tourist beds and overnight stays on Texel 1960-2000
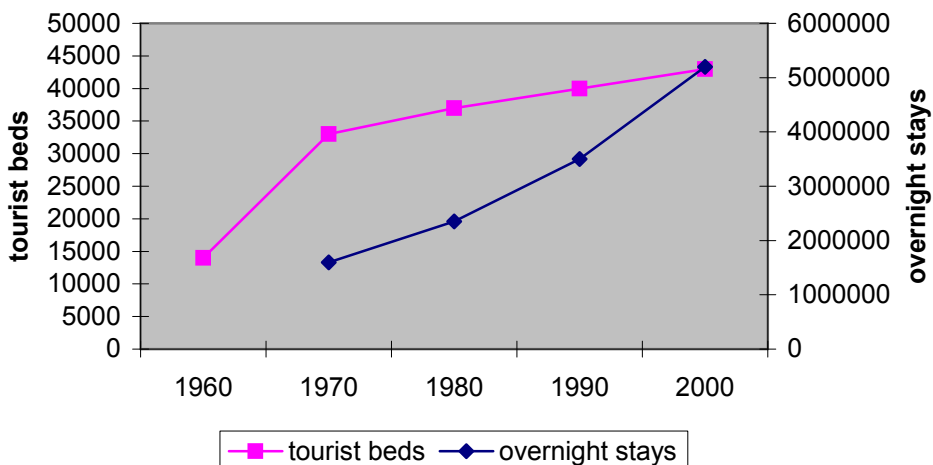
Box 2.6   Hotel Opduin

Hein Wuis was forced to stop farming during a severe winter in 1928, when all the bulbs were frozen. He rented Huize Duna from an aunt to start a small tourism business for six guests. Three years later he built Pension Opduin with eleven rooms, one bathroom and two toilets. The business expanded slowly over time and six annexes were eventually opened. After the Second World War, his son Harry began working in the Pension after completing Hotel School. When he was around twenty he took over the business and expanded it with a second hotel with thirty-two rooms, each with private toilet and bathroom. Reconstruction and additions followed, that included new rooms, a swimming pool, one of the first hotels with a swimming pool in the Netherlands, and a luxurious lounge. Today it is Texels' top hotel with four stars. The hotel has always had a love-hate relationship with the nearby campsite and the village of De Koog. Clientele of the hotel and of the campsites in De Koog have always been quite different. Guests of Opduin have tended to look down at the campsite. As a local, however, Wuis has always committed himself to Texel and its tourism development by taking part in a number of local associations and committees.

Source: Personal interview and Timmerman (2001)

The levelling in the growth of tourism beds does not imply stability in tourism development in general. The importance of the sector in terms of turnover rate and employment has continued to grow. Since the second half of the 1980s, the number of overnight stays on the island has increased. From 1985 to 1990, the numbers grew from 2,37 million to 3.5 million (Grontmij/BCI, 1994; based on figures of TESO[13]). This implies an increase of nearly 50% in five years time[14]. Estimates of current overnight stays are approximately 5,7 million (EIM, 2001). According to EIM nearly 1,14 million people visited the island in 2000, of which 828,000 were tourists. The average length of stay is seven

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[13] Figures on the number of overnight stays vary; TESO figures, based on the amount of boat tickets sold (estimate of 3 people per car on average) are generally higher compared to figures based on municipal tourism taxes.
[14] Government figures indicate a similar growth, but a lower overall number of stays: from 2,529,000 in 1988 to 3,508,000 in 1992: an increase of about 35%.

nights. Germans stay on average 9.9 nights on the island and account for 45% of all overnight stays. Dutch tourists, on average, have shorter visits (5.6 nights). While the average group size is three, most groups consist of two persons. Tourists spend Dfl. 41,- per day, on average, on the island (excluding costs of ferry and lodging).

Growth has been possible, due to among other things, a change in accommodation types: bungalows have replaced accommodation capacity in campsites. In 1998, campsites made up approximately 42% of tourism beds and bungalows/summer houses about 38% (Gemeente Texel, 1998). Geographically tourist accommodation concentrates in De Koog, which is situated half way along the island on the West Coast, and De Cocksdorp, located in the North. Smaller bungalow parks, camp sites, and hotels are scattered all around the island.

Provincial and municipal policy aims at improving the quality of attractions and accommodation and the tourism environment in general that includes the landscape and nature. Another goal is to lengthen the tourism season. This is the only way in which tourism numbers can grow, while improving the general occupancy rate and the yield rate of tourism accommodation.

The main attractions on the island are the beaches, dunes and forests. In summer, tourists especially frequent the beaches near "De Koog". Other parts of the dune area tend to be quieter. Facilities on the beaches, such as the pavilions, kiosks, beach houses, and parking places are generally quite good. There are both good opportunities and infrastructure for walking, horse riding, and cycling, all of which are available in some of the forests, particularly "De Dennen."

The villages are another important tourist attraction, especially the typical centres of Den Burg and Den Hoorn. Local markets are frequented and the villages offer general facilities like shops, a theatre, and bars/restaurants. De Koog, in particular, offers a number of restaurants and bars, which are aim especially at tourist clientele. During the summer period, the harbour in Oudeschild is always crowded with visitors. The other villages also have visitors, but these are mainly part of a walking or cycling tour.

The main tourism attraction on the island, in terms of visitor numbers, is the Ecomare, the nature-education centre. In 1990, there were 216,000 visitors (Grontmij/BCI, 1994). Currently over 320,000 people a year visit the centre. Other museums on the island include the Agricultural and Wagon museum, Texel Aviation museum, Antiquities Room and Beachcomber museum.

2.5 A Comparison of tourism development in Manuel Antonio/Quepos and Texel

There are obvious differences between the two regions, in terms of geography, history, economy, culture, and the political situations. Such differences have had their influence on the way in which tourism has developed in each area.

In Texel, tourism has grown more or less organically and it is embedded in the local economic structure. There are many linkages between tourism and the rest of the local economy (see also next chapter) and the 'cultural distance' between tourists (mainly Dutch and German) and locals is not so large, although complaints about tourists are as old as tourism development. In 1955 a vicar already wrote: "*the typical qualities of Texel are more and more disappearing*" (In: Ginkel, 1995:33).

In Manuel Antonio/Quepos, people were much more 'run over' by tourism, as it is a fourth phase in modernisation (after the Spanish conquest, the transformation in agriculture by Banana and later Palm production, and the state intervention during the sixties and seventies). Although locals have tried to get "a piece of the cake," the real tourism boom was introduced and nurtured by people from the Central Valley and by foreigners (from the United States and European countries such as Germany). Tourists come from all over the world, not only from Costa Rica or from neighbouring countries. The impacts on Manuel Antonio/Quepos are much more vigorous, despite the fact that the ratio between tourists and local inhabitants is far more favourable. On Texel the ratio is around 62:1 (828,000 tourist/13,400 locals), while in Manuel Antonio/Quepos it is nearer 18:1 (200,000 visitors and a population of around 11,000[15] in Manuel Antonio/Quepos). Though the tourism /population ratio can give an indication of tourist pressure, it is obvious that it does not reflect the true impact in these cases. Structures have developed on Texel which make it possible to accommodate more tourists with far less impact. This is also related to the fact that the structure of the tourism sector is quite different. On Texel most of the overnight stays are in campsites and bungalows, while in Manuel Antonio/Quepos tourists are accommodated, for the most part, in hotels and lodges.

Though the differences are obvious, similarities can also be found. In both regions, the combination of nature and beaches provide the main tourism attractions. The opening up of Texel as a tourism destination has been greatly influenced by the famous 'Verkade'-

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[15] This number excludes people living in the rural outskirts of the district. See also footnote 15.

albums[16] in which Jac. P. Thijsse dwelled about the natural beauties of the island: "The spacious and pure dunes in brilliant sunlight or heavy rains of Western storms …. A walk on Texel is one of the nicest things in the world one can do" (In: Fey, 1992). Such appreciation by nature lovers has led to the creation of the "National Park Dunes of Texel", which means that about a third of the island is protected area. In addition to nature, the beach has become an important attraction. Seaside visitors on Texel are also referred to as 'seumerfleugels' summer birds. Most tourists mention both beach and nature as among the reasons to visit the island. Research by Ankersmid and Kelder (2000) clearly demonstrates this bipartite motivation, as 66% of the visitors score on both motives. Only 9% are motivated only by nature.

Costa Rica is also renown for its natural beauty and bio-diversity. The development of international tourism can, to a large extent, be attributed to the interest displayed by biologists, geologists, soil scientists, geographers, and other scientists in the natural resources of Costa Rica. This interest has increased steadily since the 1970s and has lead to initiatives in the field of nature conservation. During the past two decades more than a quarter of the surface area of Costa Rica has been designated as protected either as a national park or as a private nature reserve. Thus consciously or unconsciously, a large number of tourist attractions have been created in this way. In addition, the results of scientific research have spread, for example, through stories, newspaper articles, television and magazines that include *The National Geographic*. These are among the main reasons why Costa Rica has assumed a market position as one of *the* eco-tourism destinations (Laarman and Perdue, 1989; Rovinski, 1991; Inman, 1998; Duim and Philipsen, 2002). For Manuel Antonio/Quepos, in particular, the motivations of visitors are a combination of nature, such as the Manuel Antonio National Park, and the tropical beaches found in the area. The same research of Ankersmid and Kelder (2000) demonstrated that both nature and sun/sea motivated the majority (61%) of tourists. While only 17% of those surveyed indicated the visit to be one of a purely 'nature tourist'[17].

Chapters 3 and 4 will illustrate that the surveys and the interviews indicate the existence of more similarities and greater differences between both areas.

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[16] In 1927 the Royal Verkade Factories in Zaandam published a book of Thijsse on Texel. Pictures illustrating the text were to be found in products of Verkade (like cookies) and could be included in the albums. In 1988 Verkade reprinted the album.

[17] Elands (2001) mentions different figures, based on a survey of Heykers and Verkooyen (1997) which uses a different methodology compared to Ankersmid and Kelder. She asserts that 22% of the tourist in Manuel Antonio/Quepos are to be considered as 'nature tourists' and 21% as 'nature & sun and sea tourists', while in 2 of the other 4 types of tourist she discerns, nature plays an important role.

3 The economic importance of tourism

As previously shown in Chapter 2, tourism plays an important role in the economy of both regions that make up this study. In order to get a more detailed picture, the household surveys included questions about occupation and income. The main points of the surveys are summarised below. Further information on the samples and representativeness can be found in Appendix 2.

The economic impacts of tourism for a region do not only depend on the total amount of money tourists spend on tourism facilities. It also includes the money spent by the entrepreneur on sales and assets or capital, the so-called multiplier effect, and those expenses that are induced, generated by the employees of the tourism facilities and their suppliers. In addition to these cumulative, positive, effects, the leakage of money also play an important role at a local level. The more intervention by non-local entrepreneurs, the less money will stay within the region.

It is assumed that greater community integration in tourism leads to increased economic benefits, and that implies a higher local economic multiplier (Cater, 1994). On the other hand, community integration does not prevent excessive leakage of income per se. Leakage can be limited if use is made of local products and services.

3.1 Employment

Tourism is generally known as being labour intensive. One of the major impacts of tourism at the regional level is job creation. In this paragraph direct employment is calculated based on the results of the household surveys.

The total number of people with a job in Manuel Antonio/Quepos is 414 out of a total of 328 households surveyed. This averages 1.3 people per household who are working. On Texel, 250 people in the 234 households surveyed have a job, representing 1.1 per household. The average age of Costa Rican labourers is almost 36 years old, while the Dutch are, on average, 42 years old. People working in the tourism and recreation sector tend to be younger compared to people working in other sectors of the economy (see Tables 3. 3 and 3.4).

For the purpose of this research, the labour market has been divided into three sectors. This distinction relates to the economic history of

Manuel Antonio/Quepos (see Chapter 2). It also reflects, however, the present economic structure of Manuel Antonio/Quepos. The 'traditional' sector includes, among others, agriculture, fishery, paid housekeeping, the informal sector, and work in organisations with two or less workers. The second group, called 'Estatal/Formal', includes employment generated by the government and by businesses of three or more employees. Tourism is the third and relatively 'new' sector covering work in the hotel and catering industry and in leisure services.

In Manuel Antonio/Quepos the traditional sector generates 46% of the total employment and the 'Estatal/Formal' sector covers 24% of the employment. Tourism contributes 30% to the employment in Manuel Antonio/Quepos. In all cases we have referred to direct employment. A similar distinction made for Texel indicates the following percentages for the 250 working members of the household: 17% are farmers or fishermen (agriculture, fishery, and 'else'), 64% work in 'Estatal/Formal' sectors that include governmental organisations, trade, industry, construction, transport and services, and 19% works in the recreation and tourist industry. The traditional sector on Texel is obviously much smaller than in Costa Rica, while the public and private sectors have a longer history on Texel.
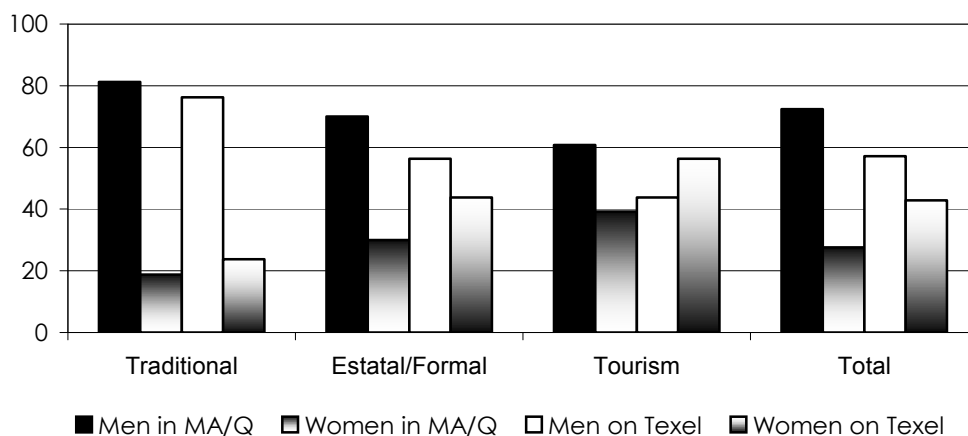
Figure 3.1   Working men and women over sectors[18]

Considerations about employment in tourism on Texel

When presenting the results of our questionnaire on Texel, some discussion arose with regard to the number of people working in tourism. The figures found in our survey were considered far too low, in spite of the fact that they match those of official statistics. The representational factor of the survey was thus disputed. The fact that

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[18] Division over the three labour sectors in percentages (significant at 0.05).

the representation of the respondents was quite satisfactorily tested in several ways could not even convince the critics[19].

The discrepancy can largely be explained by differences in definition on what should be included in the notion of 'tourism industry'. In our definition, the tourism sector included all those working in the hotel and catering industry (including all lodging facilities) and in leisure services. They include only direct employment. In our survey 19% of all people with a job in those households surveyed had a job in tourism. Of the respondents themselves, 23% worked in the tourism sector. Representatives of the tourism sector on the island insisted that the figure was closer to 75% dependency on tourism that included indirect employment. This figure, while it is generally accepted, does not seem to be based on any research or available reports. Below, we will try to shed more light on tourism-related employment and give an estimate based on available figures.

Official employment data (LISA, 2001) indicates that 22% of all jobs on Texel are in tourism ('hotel and catering industry' and 'culture, recreation and sports'). These figures refer to the number of jobs offered by enterprises or institutions on the island and differ from the survey. The jobs available may be offered to people living off the island resulting in the differences. LISA figures, which are gathered through a questionnaire to all enterprises, traditionally have high responses. However, it should be noted that questionnaires have as a reference date the 31st of December, which means that seasonal employment in tourism is not included in the data.

Table 3.1   Direct employment in tourism and leisure services on Texel

	tourism	total	% in tourism
Questionnaire – all persons in the household with a job	48	250	19
Questionnaire – respondents with a job			23
full time jobs (LISA) – over 15 hours per week	1107	5174	21
all jobs (LISA)	1424	6529	22

Source: Survey LISA, 2001

The seasonal demand for employment in tourism is estimated to be at least 1000 jobs (interview with the Job Centre). This is a substantial number. Scholars, students and other people attracted from the 'Overkant' fill a large part of these jobs. A part of this group is included in the questionnaire as 'student.' Nevertheless, from the point of view of employment figures, LISA can be assumed to under-represent total employment in tourism. Taking into account that other sectors will also have some seasonal demand and weighing the fact that tourism

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[19] It appeared that the survey is largely representative in terms of household composition; with regard to the individual respondents, some categories were slightly over- or underrepresented (see also Appendix 2).

overall has far more part-time employment compared to other sectors, we assume that tourism is responsible for an additional 10% employment, amounting to 32% overall.

With regard to indirect employment, dependency on tourism can indeed be expected to be considerable. Employment on the TESO boat, for example, (listed in official statistics under "transport") is to a large extent tourism-related. The number of shops on the island is much larger than the average in municipalities of similar size. The fact that "construction" is well represented on the island is also due to the tourism industry. Of course, some sectors have no relation with tourism, such as the NIOZ. This list can be extended, but as no data exist, any figure remains conjecture. If the estimate of 75% direct and indirect employment proves to be accurate, this would imply that over 60% of the "other" (non-tourism) employment is dependent on tourism. This may very well be possible.

Considerations about employment in tourism in Manuel Antonio/ Quepos

Prior to the survey, data on employment in tourism in Manuel Antonio/Quepos were not available. Data can therefore not be compared to other sources. As the survey is representative of the total population, the data can be considered accurate. Based on survey data, tourism seems to be a slightly more important economic sector (with 30% employment) in Manuel Antonio/Quepos as compared to Texel[20].

In terms of the visitor–employment ratio, there is a large difference between Texel and Manuel Antonio/Quepos. On Texel between 1424 and 2424 people employed in tourism service over 800,000 visitors; a ratio between 330 and 560 tourists per 'job'[21]. In Manuel Antonio/Quepos, about 1364 people work in tourism for around 200,000 visitors yearly: this means that almost 150 visitors create one job[22]. The difference becomes even more striking when the average stay of visitors is taken into consideration. In Manuel Antonio/Quepos, visitors generally stay only a few nights (1 to 3 nights on average; In: Ankersmid et al, 2000) as compared to averages of a week on Texel. When one considers jobs per overnight stay, the difference becomes

[20] However, one must take into account that the survey on Texel covered the entire island, whereas in Manuel Antonio/Quepos it focused on the 'urban' population in the central district of Quepos (including Manuel Antonio). The rural 'outskirts' have not been included in the questionnaire. In this area 2,625 houses are registered on the census maps, representing about 11,000 inhabitants.
[21] Full-time, part-time and seasonal jobs have been included in this figure. It does not represent full-time equivalents (ftes)! If full-time equivalents were considered, the figure would be even higher.
[22] In this estimation people working in tourism but living outside the central district of Quepos have not been taken into account.

even larger. This can be attributed to differences in income and labour productivity in both countries and can generally be found in comparisons between Northern and Southern countries.

Table 3.2   People working in tourism in Manuel Antonio/Quepos

Number of inhabitants	11,000	
Average number of people per household	4.1	
Average number of people working per household	1.7	
participation rate	1.7/4.1	0.4
participation numbers	0.4 x 11,000	4,400
percentage working in tourism	31	
persons working in tourism	4400 x 0.31	**1,364**

In terms of indirect employment, dependency on tourism can be expected to be considerable in Manuel Antonio/Quepos as well. Taxi drivers, for example, owe a considerable part of their income to tourism. Most of the fish, consumed locally, comes from the local fishers and local shops will also benefit from tourism. On the other hand, linkages between tourism and agriculture are limited.

Table 3.3   Characteristics of people employed in Manuel Antonio/ Quepos

Manuel Antonio/ Quepos	Tradi-tional	'Estatal/ Formal'	Recrea-tion and Tourism	Total	Signi-ficant[23]
	(n=189)	(n=100)	(n=125)	(N=414)	
Sex (%)					
-Men	81.2	70.0	60.8	72.4	yes
-Women	18.8	30.0	39.2	27.6	
Age (average)	35.4	36.8	34.7	35.5	no
Education (average in years)	6.9	9.6	7.7	7.8	yes
Monthly income (US$ rate= 315,12)	337.00	419.62	346.67	360.03	no
Working hours (per week)	61.4	54.2	54.4	57.5	yes
Number of years working (average)	6.8	9.4	2.9	6.3	yes

[23] Chi Square for nominal and ordinal variables. Anova test for interval variables.

Table 3.4   Characteristics of people employed on Texel

Texel	Tradi-tional	'Estatal/ Formal'	Recrea-tion and Tourism	Total	Signi-ficant[24]
	(n=42)	(n=160)	(n=48)	(N=250)	
Sex (%)					
-Men	76.2	56.3	43.8	57.2	yes
-Women	23.8	43.8	56.3	42.8	
Age (average)	46.4	42.1	39.8	42.4	yes
Education[25]					yes
-primary	7.1	1.9	12.5	4.8	
-LBO	26.2	11.9	16.7	15.2	
-MBO	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	
-HAVO/VWO	4.8	11.9	10.4	10.4	
-HBO/WO	11.9	24.4	10.4	19.6	
Working hours (per week)	47.5	35.1	34.7	37.1	yes
Number of years working (average)	22.7	11.1	9.2	12.7	yes

Almost 17 percent of the labour force (population age equal to or over 10 and under 66) of Manuel Antonio/Quepos is unemployed. According to the Costa Rican Office of Statistics and Census the official unemployment in the Central Pacific region is almost 7% (July 2000). It appears that unemployment in the Manuel Antonio/Quepos is much higher compared to the rest of the Central Pacific region, although this unemployment may be partly seasonal.

For Texel unemployment is very low, with only five people of those surveyed looking for a job. This reflects official statistics (CBS), which state there is no registered unemployment on the island. An interview with the job centre revealed that unemployment also consists of frictional unemployment, and several cases 'beyond mediation'.

3.2   Some other characteristics of employment

In both regions the traditional sector is the domain of men. Our research found men execute more than three-quarters of the jobs. In non-traditional sectors the role of women is substantial, although participation of women in the labour process is substantially higher in the Netherlands compared to Costa Rica. In Manuel Antonio/Quepos women make up more than one third of the tourism labour force and on Texel as much as 56%. These figures reflect more general trends on gender and labour.

[24] Chi Square for nominal variables. Kendall's tau for interval variables.
[25] LBO and MBO are forms of secondary profession oriented education. HAVO/VWO stands for lower and higher forms secondary education preparing for subsequent studies at a HBO (professional university) or WO (science oriented university).

World-wide, women are concentrated in clerical, sales and service jobs. Nearly half of all female employees in developing countries are found in this segment. Women in most developing regions have been shifting out of agriculture and into services, especially the lower-paying jobs in community, social and personal services and in trade, restaurants and hotels (Mehra et al, 1999).

Education

In Manuel Antonio/Quepos, the highest educated people work in the 'Estatal/Formal' sector. They enjoy on average almost 10 years of education (9.6 years). A significant difference exists for the average number of years of education for the specific sectors. Tourism has a mid-level position. The same applies for Texel, although the overall educational level on Texel is much higher: almost 95% of the population followed at least secondary education. For Manuel Antonio/Quepos only 27% of the people finished at least secondary education (those with over 10 years of education). In the traditional sector the educational level is on average much lower. However, on Texel, more people with only primary education enjoyed a job in the tourism industry.

Working hours

Differences in the average number of hours a week people work in the different sectors are also statistically significant. In Manuel Antonio/Quepos employees in the traditional sectors work significantly more hours a week compared to those in the other two sectors (61 in the traditional sector as opposed to 54 hours a week in the other two sectors). The same trend applies to Texel, although people on the island work fewer hours a week, on average, than their colleagues in Manuel Antonio/Quepos. The average workweek in the Netherlands is 37.1 hours. People in traditional sector work average almost 48 hours and in tourism they work an average of 35 hours (significant at $\alpha=0.01$). The number of hours in tourism might be lower compared to the other sectors because tourism jobs are more often part-time and/or seasonal.

Job mobility

Respondents were also asked how many years they had already worked in their current position. The average was almost 13 years for the Dutch working people surveyed. Among the three sectors statistically significant differences exist. People working in the traditional sector (agriculture and fishery) work for significantly more years at the same place (23 years on average). People in the recreation and tourism sector work only 9.2 years (on average) and people in the 'Estatal/Formal' sector 11.1 years in the same position.

Compared to Texel, respondents in Manuel Antonio/Quepos on average work fewer than six years at the same place. People working in tourism in Manuel Antonio/Quepos, especially, have not yet worked for long periods in their jobs (on average only three years).

Respondents were also asked in which sector they had previously worked. This data is available for only 165 of the 250-working people in the Dutch survey. The others did not have another job prior to their current one. Almost two-thirds of the Dutch people who worked in tourism and recreation (n=32) shifted to 'Estatal/Formal'. Nearly one third of them stayed within the tourism industry, but changed work environments.

Of those who worked in the traditional sector (n=34) on the island, only one-fifth stayed in this sector. Exactly half of them shifted to the 'Estatal/Formal' segment and almost one third are now working in the tourism sector. Those working in the 'Estatal/Formal' sector (n=99) are especially unwavering. More than 70 percent stayed in this sector when they changed jobs. Unfortunately similar data are not available in Manuel Antonio/Quepos.

Overkanters and Nicaraguans

In the above, the high seasonal demand for employment in tourism on Texel was already mentioned. At least 1000 scholars, students and guest workers are needed to run the tourism business during the summer (see also next chapter). They all come from the *Overkant*.

In the economy of Manuel Antonio/Quepos the position of Nicaraguans deserve special attention[26]. According to Miller (1998) most Nicaraguans in the area work in agriculture outside Quepos. They live in and around towns such as Damas, Paquita, Londres, Silencio, San Cristóbal, Mata Palo, and Llorona. Although Palma Tica, owned by Nicaraguans, does not hire any legal migrant workers, their contractors do. And there likely are illegal Nicaraguan workers in tourism too. Although there does not seem to be a particular seasonal migration pattern of people in search of work in the tourism industry, there are many Nicaraguans working in low-skill and thus low-paying jobs. Nicaraguan women primarily cook for and clean the hotels and Nicaraguan men work in hotel construction.

It appears that Nicaraguans are accepting the work that Tico's are not willing to do. They accept jobs, salaries and working conditions with which Tico's do not agree. A cumulative impact of this development advances the continuous decrease of the value of labour in tourism.

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[26] In the survey almost seven percent of the people interviewed were born in Nicaragua.

3.3   Income

In Manuel Antonio/Quepos, income from tourism ranges between the traditional sector with the lower incomes, and the 'Estatal/formal' sector, with higher incomes. Although these differences are not statistically significant. On average people working in tourism earn almost US$ 347 (109,242.99 Costarican colones) a month.

Interestingly in households where nobody works in tourism, on average 1.1 people have a job. In households with someone working in tourism on average 1.7 people have a job. The average household income in the first category is US$ 453 (142,768 colones) in the latter it is US$ 547 (172,420 colones). Apparently, although not statistically proven, tourism offers additional work and income for many households.

The average total income of Costa Rican households included in this research (N=328) is US$ 483 net a month (152,110 colones at an exchange rate of 315.12 colones for a $). The average monthly income of the working people within these households (N=414) is US$ 360.

Income is also related to work hours. People working in the traditional sector work more hours a week than people in other sectors. Based on Table 3.3 the following fees per hour can be deduced.

Table 3.5   Average salary in Manuel Antonio/Quepos

Sector	Fee per hour in colones	Fee per hour in US$ [27]
Traditional sector	432	1.37
'Estatal/Formal'	611	1.94
Tourism sector	501	1.59
total	**495**	**1.57**

The income for people working in the tourism sector in Manuel Antonio/Quepos is directly related to years of education. The more years of education, the higher the income. Costa Rican respondents with secondary education or less earn half as much as people who completed secondary school followed by higher education.

Unfortunately similar data is not available for Texel. In the Dutch culture it is not acceptable and hence not possible to ask for detailed information on incomes. In the questionnaire (see Appendix 3) only broad income categories were presented. The net household income of most of the respondents from Texel lies between US$ 1000 to US$ 1400 net a month (that is Dfl 2500 to Dfl 3500 at an exchange rate of Dfl. 2.50 for a $ 1.00).

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[27] These differences in fee per hour are not statistically significant (exchange rate of 315.12 for a $).

As with the results in Costa Rica, differences in level of income per household between the various sectors are not statistically significant. The net income per month is higher for people working in the 'Estatal/Formal' sector than for people working in other sectors.

In the Netherlands the minimum wage for people working in tourism is US$ 1000 gross a month (Dfl 2500 for people of 23 years and older which equals circa US$ 730 (Dfl 1823) net a month, depending on household situation, length of contract, and other work. For Costa Rica the official minimum wage for a receptionist is US$ 265 (83,614 colones) and for a waitress, servant or tourist guide US$ 245 (77,055 colones) net a month.

3.4   A comparison with Cahuita

Fortunately we are able to compare the results of Manuel Antonio/Quepos with data from Cahuita[28]. Students of the University of Amsterdam (Kröger et al, 2001) applied the same methodology in their research in Cahuita as in Texel and Manuel Antonio/Quepos[29]. After a short introduction of Cahuita, employment and income characteristics show the economic importance of tourism in Cahuita.

Cahuita

Cahuita is a small village with almost 2000 inhabitants, located in the north east of Costa Rica along the Caribbean Sea. The first inhabitants of Cahuita were fishermen from Panama and Nicaragua. By the end of the seventeenth century they came to hunt turtles and trade with the indigenous people from the Talamanca Mountains. In the middle of the 19th century people from Jamaica migrated to the Caribbean coast of Costa Rica. They came to build the railways from Limón to San José. According to the Costa Rican constitution, these migrants were not allowed to stay overnight in the highlands. Only after a change of the constitution in 1949, people of Jamaican origin were allowed to settle outside the province of Limón. Presently, the province of Limon still counts more people of Jamaican descent as compared with other Costa Rican provinces (they make up approximately 2% of the Costa Rican population and 33% of the population of Limón)[30].

In the beginning of 20th century, Cahuita was a relatively rich region due to its cacao plantations. After a cacao disease destroyed the

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[28] This comparison helps to put the findings in Manuel Antonio/Quepos into perspective, as specific economic data on tourism on a regional or local level in Costa Rica are lacking.
[29] This research was also supported by Ecooperation and Fundecooperación.
[30] See also Hellingwerf (1996) and Schaardenburgh (1995) for more information on tourism development in Cahuita.

crop, the farmers of Cahuita had to look for alternative income-generating activities. Many cacao plantations were transformed into banana plantations. Banana companies like Dole and Chiquita were important employers for the local population during the seventies and eighties. It was also during this period that tourists began to visit the Caribbean Coast. While the big banana companies withdrew their activities from the Talamanca region (because of the high salaries in Costa Rica compared to its surrounding countries), the importance of tourism development in Cahuita increased.

One of the tourist attractions of Cahuita is the National Park situated on a peninsula bordering the village. Cahuita National Park was founded in 1978 and consists of more than a thousand hectares of wet tropical forest and around 23,000 hectares of marine ecosystems, including coral reef. The Park, the beaches and the typical 'Caribbean' culture make Cahuita a popular tourist destination.

Nevertheless, tourism in Cahuita is less developed compared to Texel and Manuel Antonio/Quepos. Cahuita National Park generated slightly more than 47,000 visitors in 1999. Unlike Texel and Manuel Antonio/Quepos, tourists do not necessarily stay overnight in Cahuita. Many tourists visiting the Park stay overnight in the neighboring village of Puerto Viejo, where more high-class accommodation is available. Accommodation in Cahuita is basically small-scale, consisting of so-called 'cabinas'. Cahuita has only three or four luxury hotels where groups of tourists are welcomed.

Employment

Although tourism generates more and more jobs in Cahuita, the agricultural sector still plays an important role as the main income-generating activity. Out of the 210 households interviewed in Cahuita, 316 people are employed. This is an average of 1.5 people working per household. This number is slightly higher than in either Manuel Antonio/Quepos (1.3) or Texel (1.1). The main reason for this difference lies in the fact that only households with at least one person with a job were interviewed in Cahuita. This difference in sampling needs to be considered when comparing the results.

The traditional sector generates 43% of the total employment in Cahuita. The so-called 'Estatal/Formal' sector accounts for almost 30% of the employed people. Tourism offers jobs to 27% of the 316 people working. These percentages are comparable with those of Manuel Antonio/Quepos (46%, 24%, and 30%).

Characteristics of people employed in Cahuita

As was the case for Manuel Antonio/Quepos and Texel, men dominate the traditional sector in Cahuita, although labor

participation of women in Cahuita is higher than in Manuel Antonio/Quepos. Almost three-quarters of the people working in the traditional sector are men. This dominance of men is even stronger in the 'Estatal/Formal' sector. Fewer than 20% of employees in this sector are women. For the tourism sector, participation of women is much higher with more than half of the people working within the tourism industry being women.

Looking at the educational level of the working people in Cahuita, they appear to have enjoyed one year less education than those in Manuel Antonio/Quepos (almost eight years on average compared to nine years on average) have. Ten percent of the people of Cahuita have no education at all. People working in the tourism sector are the highest educated, followed by those working in the sector 'Estatal/Formal'.

People in Cahuita work fewer hours per week than in Manuel Antonio/Quepos, but still more than in Texel. The average number of years that people work is approximately seven years. For people working in the traditional sector it is two years more and for people working in the tourism sector it is almost two and a half years less. People working in tourism are also younger compared those working in the other sectors.

Although the tourism industry developed in only the last two decades in the region, the labor history of the people working in tourism in Cahuita, in most cases, is comparable with the tourism industry itself. An explanation for this could be the relatively quick job shifts within this sector compared to the two other sectors.

Table 3.6   Characteristics of people employed in Cahuita

Cahuita	Tradi-tional	'Estatal/ Formal'	Recrea-Tion and Tourism	Total	Signi-ficant[31]
	(n=135)	(n=94)	(n=85)	(n=314)	
Sex (%)					
-Men	74.1	80.6	47.1	68.7	yes
-Women	25.9	19.4	52.9	31.3	
Age (average)	40.4	35.6	33.9	37.4	Yes
Education (average in years)	7.1	8.4	8.6	7.9	Yes
Monthly income (US$ rate=315.12)	222.00	252.30	483.30	295.50	Yes
Working hours (per week)	46.7	43.3	48.9	46.3	Yes

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[31] Chi square for nominal and ordinal variables. Anova test for interval variables.

Income

As in Manuel Antonio/Quepos, people in Cahuita were also asked to specify their monthly income. On average, people working in the tourism business have the highest monthly income compared to the other sectors. However, it should be noted that this income is even more dependent on seasonal work in Cahuita as compared to Manuel Antonio/Quepos and Texel. Also, the average income of people working in Cahuita is lower than the average income of people working in Manuel Antonio/Quepos. This is with the exception of those working in the tourism industry. Calculating the fee per working hour, an 88-cents/per dollar difference per working hour appears for people working in tourism (see Table 3.7). More than half of the people working in tourism in Cahuita is on the payroll of a private enterprise. Foreigners own the majority of these private enterprises (57%). Thirty-five percent of those working in tourism have their own tourism business. This latter fact, in particular, probably explains to a large extent the income differences between both regions.

Table 3.7 Average salary in Cahuita and Manuel Antonio/Quepos

Sector	Fee per hours in colones		Fee per hour in US$[32]	
	Cahuita	Manuel Antonio/ Quepos	Cahuita	Manuel Antonio/ Quepos
Traditional	375	432	1.19	1.37
'Estatal/Formal'	460	611	1.46	1.94
Recreation/Tourism	778	501	2.47	1.59
Total	**504**	**493**	**1.60**	**1.57**

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[32] At a US dollar rate of 315.12

4　Opinions on tourism

Sustainable development of tourism is a disputed concept, which reflects the interest of those involved. To assess the local perceptions and discussions on tourism development and the extent to which it is considered 'sustainable', an important part of the household survey consisted of collecting opinions on tourism development in the regions in general and related government policies in particular. In many respects people from Texel and people from Manuel Antonio/Quepos had identical views. However, when it comes to the role of the local government, the Dutch and Costa Rican respondents differed in opinion.

4.1　Identical opinions

The two surveys showed remarkable analogies between both regions. On many issues respondents had similar ideas.

Table 4.1. Identical opinions in Manual Antonio/Quepos and on Texel[33]

Statement	Opinion[34]	Manuel Antonio/ Quepos (in %)	Texel (in %)
Identification with the region	(fully) agree	79	88
Tourism has changed daily life*	(fully) agree	81	77
Valuation of this change*	(very) positive	54	51
Too much economic dependency on tourism	(fully) agree	91	69
Number of beds should be limited	(fully) agree	57	83
Tourism contributes to liveability*	(fully) agree	79	72
Construction of hotels seriously affects the environment	(fully) agree	65	54
Tourism causes many problems	(fully) disagree	28	46
Tourism is well adjusted to the landscape	(fully) agree	63	51
Everything considered, tourism has a positive influence*	(fully) agree	73	79

 * significant identical at $\alpha=0,01$

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[33] Note: the percentages given in the Tables and discussed in the text represent combined percentages of those surveyed who agreed and fully agreed or are positive and very positive. These are denoted as (fully) agree and (very) positive, etc.
[34] Opinions of the majority of the people, including non-response.

Identification

People in both areas identified themselves strongly with the region. Many people on Texel described themselves as 'authentic from Texel' (24%) and valued space, peace and quietness and nature of the island (25%). Of course, family ties also contributed to the affinity with the region. As shown in the next paragraph, approximately 44% of the people on Texel consider that tourism does not strengthen the local identity, whereas 39% has the opposite opinion.

Most of the respondents on Texel (79%) considered themselves to have another 'culture' as compared to *Overkanters*. The friendliness and 'island mentality' were often referred to as typical from Texel. People working in tourism believe tourism strengthens local identity two times more often than people working in other sectors, although this difference is not statistical significant (at $\alpha=0,05$).

While more than three-quarters of the Costa Rican respondents identified themselves strongly with the region, in Manuel Antonio/Quepos people considered themselves 'different' to a lesser extent (55%). Twenty-three percent, on the other hand, did not have an opinion or did not give answer. The main reason given for identification with Manuel Antonio/Quepos, is 'feeling at home'. The other aspects include the beauty of the place, having a job, and the presence of tourism.

More than half of the people in Manuel Antonio/Quepos experiences a different local culture as compared to other regions in Costa Rica. According to these respondents, the main reason for this difference in culture is the result of foreign influence ('and particular characteristics of the local people'). The cultural distinction that is identified has more to do with tourism development than with the presence of some traditional, pre-tourist, values and costumes.

Change

More than three-quarters of the respondents in both regions believe that tourism has considerably changed the daily life. Only half of the respondents in both regions consider this change (very) positive; while one third is neutral. In Manuel Antonio/Quepos close to 10% and in Texel approximately 16% of the population has a (very) negative feeling about these changes. Everything being considered, a large majority believes tourism has a positive influence. Those Costa Rican respondents without work in tourism, expressed a more neutral opinion in this matter compared to those with a job in the tourism industry.

Box 4.1   Opinions in Cahuita

Compared to Manuel Antonio and Texel, people in Cahuita are more positive about the impact of tourism. In fact, more than 90% of the respondents in Cahuita were (very) positive. Tourism is still seen as a welcome alternative income-generating activity after the cacao disease (see also paragraph 3.4). Those who valued the change negatively approximately 10% referred to changes that included loss of traditional values, competition between tourism enterprises, and the settlement of foreigners.

Just as in Manuel Antiono/Quepos a majority of the respondents in Cahuita (84%) even believe that tourism strengthens the local identity and approximately 86% (fully) agreed that that tourism contributes to the livability of the region). Although almost 95% of the people in Cahuita (fully) agree that the locally the economy is too dependent on tourism, many people do not feel this is problematic at the moment. Most people (88%) would even like an increase in the number of tourists during the low season to guarantee an income during that period.

Respondents in Cahuita still see tourism development as positive. This is also reflected by the fact that more than three-quarters of the people (fully) disagree with the statement that tourism causes many problems, which contrasts with Manuel Antonio/Quepos. Here more than 45% of the people have the opinion that tourism causes many problems. The difference scale and stage of development in the two Costa Rican regions can explain this difference in opinions.

Source: Kröger et al, 2001

On Texel people have a positive opinion about the increase of wealth, infrastructure, and liveability that result from tourism development. At the same time, they believe there is too much economic dependence on tourism. Apart from that, their main concerns are the hectic, bustle and increase of traffic due to tourism, especially during the summer season.

Approximately one out of ten respondents suggested a limit to the amount of tourism and hence the construction of tourism facilities in an effort to overcome this bustle. When asked explicitly, more than 80% were against increasing the existing ceiling of beds on the island.

In Manuel Antonio/Quepos tourism is believed to be the cause of many more problems. More than 45% believe that tourism is causing many problems, and only 28% (totally) disagree with this statement. Drugs and prostitution are considered to be (very) problematic by more then three-quarters of the respondents. People in Manuel Antonio/Quepos experience too great an economic dependency on tourism. Respondents working in tourism are far more certain of this fact than other respondents.

A majority of the Costa Rican respondents is convinced that tourism contributes to the liveability of their region. Those working in tourism are even more convinced.

Design

Although the majority of people in both regions consider tourism to be well adjusted to the landscape, a majority also believes construction of hotels seriously affects the environment. Tourists visiting the region have the same opinion. In Manuel Antonio/Quepos half of the tourists and in Texel one-third of the tourist believe that construction of facilities occurs at the expense of green space (Ankersmid and Kelder, 2000).

On Texel many initiatives have been taken to improve this situation, especially through the activities of the Foundation for Sustainable Texel (see Box 5.11). In Manuel Antonio/Quepos some hotels have introduced environmental management (see next chapter)

4.2   Different opinions

The Dutch and Costa Rican respondents differ in opinion especially with respect to the role of the local government.

Table 4.2   Different opinions between Manual Antonio/Quepos and Texel

Statement	Opinion[35]	Manuel Antonio/ Quepos (in %)	Texel (in %)
Valuation of local policy	(very) negative	54	20
Valuation of local tourism policy	Don't know	42	13
Governmental policy should change	Yes	77	47
Too much external influence on tourism	(fully) agree	89	31
In favour of increase of tourism in low season	(fully) agree	84	42
Tourism strengthens local identity	(fully) agree	89	39

Local Policy

Manuel Antonio/Quepos is especially vulnerable to political crises. Valuation of local policy is low. Only 6% of respondents are positive. But perhaps even more important, many people are ignorant or even uninterested. When asked about their opinion on tourism policy, more

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[35] Opinions of the majority of the people, including non-response.

than 40% did not know or did not give an answer. Although more than three-quarters of the people believe that local policy should change, more than half of the people believes that opportunities for participation in local policy are lacking. They also believe external influence on tourism is too high. The main reasons for dissatisfaction are 'passivity' of the municipality, corruption, and no support of community development. When asked about the local tourism policy, respondents believe the municipality does not support tourism development and their services lack quality.

The friction with local policy culminated recently in a take over of the municipality (see Box 4.2).

Box 4.2   The taking of the municipality

On Tuesday November 21st of 2000, a group of 20 neighbours of Quepos went at 1:00 p.m. to the Municipality of Aguirre to participate a Municipal Council session. The visitors had a document in which they were petitioning for the withdrawal of the present municipal leaders. The council refused to receive them, concluded the session in five minutes, and left the municipality.

In view of this situation, one of the women announced she would not leave the building unless the Council would take note of their criticism. Everyone else immediately approved the idea. The occupation of the Municipality became a fact. This was an extraordinary event in the political history of this Municipality and of the majority of the Municipalities of the country.

It was not a planned but a spur-of-the-moment take-over. Most people present were leaders of important social organisations. Together they founded the 'Fight and Defence Committee of the Aguirre Canton', the so-called 'Comité de Lucha' (see Box 5.14).

In the five-page document they concluded: "*we demand the withdrawal of all the council*". According to the members of the Fight Committee, the Council is corrupt and manages poorly. Many of the problems relate to tourism development itself: such as the assumed sale of the public zone situated at the entrance of the Manuel Antonio National Park.

At 4:00 o clock in the afternoon the Municipality closed its doors as usual, leaving those people inside. Through media exposure the occupation of the Municipality became known throughout the rest of the country. Some proposed to close roads and bridges, but that plan was rejected. In the evening people crowded in front of the Municipality building.
Finally, the evening of the next day, the leaders of the Fight Committee decided to leave the building. Many supporters, burning candles as a sign of solidarity, received them. The occupiers did not achieve their goal, but gained a lot of public awareness.

The municipality crisis did not refer to a specific matter. What was put in doubt was political legitimacy. In this context, the problems that were experienced within the tourism policy were in addition to and not the main cause of the crisis.

On Texel opinions on local policy are milder. More than 34% judge the local governmental policy, in general, positively and almost 20% judge it as (very) negative. More than 40% of the respondents approve of the local tourism policy. Generally speaking people on the island are very well informed on political issues. The local newspaper *Texelse Courant* plays an important role in familiarising people with local issues.

Criticism on the island is concentrated on the 'policy of tolerance,' making exemptions to the rule of the local government. Respondents point at illegal construction of tourism facilities and on *ad hoc* authorisation to build these structures. However, one-quarter of the respondents acknowledged that the government recently has taken initiatives to improve this situation.

Other important political issues mentioned were the lack of housing and the one-sided focus on tourism (see also Chapter 5). The Dutch respondents also do not approve of the new emphasis by the municipality of Texel on 'elite' tourism, rather than the more traditional forms of tourism, like camping.

More than 40% of the respondents gave ideas to change the current policy of the Municipality. The issues mentioned most often are making the policy clearer and building houses for local people. In addition, issues focused on limiting the number of tourists visiting the island, or at least hold the status quo to the limit of 47,000 beds and improving the traffic situation on the island.

In contrast to Manuel Antonio/Quepos, people from Texel do not consider the influence of 'people from the other side' (*Overkanters*) on tourism to be too large (see Figure 4.1). However twice as many people born on the island as people born elsewhere consider the impact of *Overkanters* to be too large. The lower the net household income, the more people experience too much impact from outsiders.
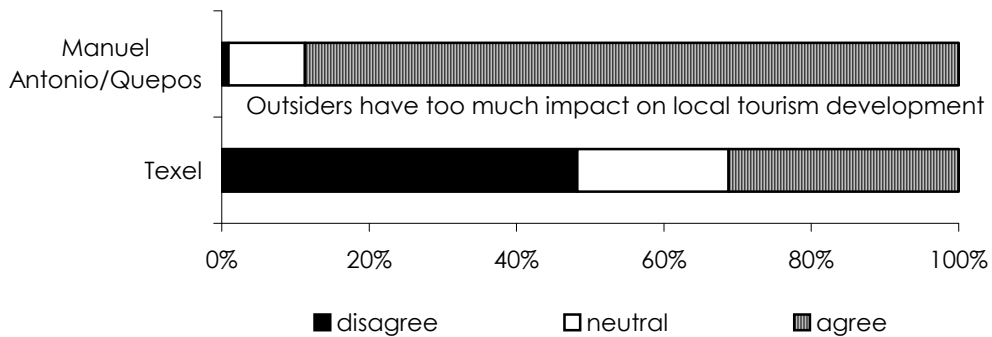
Figure 4.1   Statement on influence of outsiders

Seasonal character of tourism

Not surprisingly on Texel fewer people (42%) are in favour of an increase of tourism during the low season than in Manuel Antonio/Quepos (84%). Obviously, people working in tourism on Texel are more in favour of adjusting seasonal influences than others. The latter would like to have the island for a couple of months 'for themselves'. Almost half of the people on the island would not like to see tourism increase during the low season! People born on the island support this idea even more.

In Manuel Antonio/Quepos almost everyone favours more tourists throughout the year, although respondents who are not working in tourism are a bit less positive. Economic reasons are the prevailing reason for the positive attitude.

5 Sustainability issues

In this chapter, local discussions on sustainable tourism development are contrasted with the so-called 'corporate response model to the macro-marketing environment' (Dam, 1997) introduced in Chapter 1. This model distinguishes four margins relevant to the discussion of sustainable tourism development.

Profit margin

Socio-cultural margin

Ecological margin

Risk margin
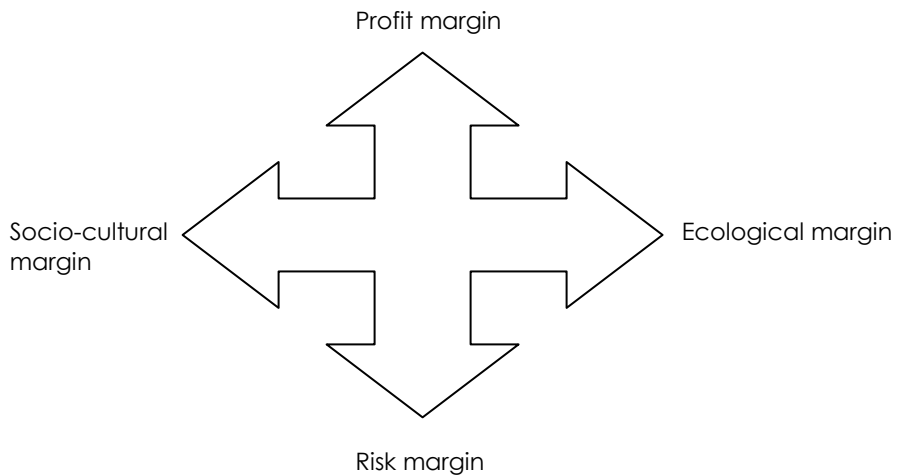
Figure 5.1   The four margins

Impacts on the physical environment, flora and fauna, are designated as the ecological margin. The socio-cultural margin refers to the socio-cultural environment. This includes stakeholders and public groups and is concerned with public acceptability. The risk margin embraces the political environment and relates to corporate liability. The profit margin is the market environment and is concerned with customer benefits.

Paragraphs 5.1 to 5.4 present these four margins from the perspective of local discussions, practices and strategies. They present possible alternatives and the feasibility of these alternatives. The emphasis within both regions is on a number of issues that are particularly relevant when discussing sustainable of tourism.   These include economic dependence on tourism, local ownership, good employer ship, local products, liveability, local identity, preservation of nature and landscape, environmental management, planning and control, and finally a shared vision and limits to tourism growth. These issues are in many cases positioned at the interface between adjoining margins. Therefore, the synergy and conflicts that arise between margins due to issue interactions will be specifically addressed. For example, introducing environmental management systems (see 5.3) for

entrepreneurs deals with the ecological as well as the profit margin. The Dutch experiences have taught us that practices aimed at reducing environmental impacts need to pay off if they are to be successful.

In paragraph 5.5, the findings will be evaluated and regional differences will be addressed.

5.1   The profit margin

As the corporate response model indicates, customer satisfaction is the basic rule for all economic activity. However, in the tourism business, profit maximisation and capital accumulation are the dominant forms of operation (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). Tourism enterprises and their associations in Manuel Antonio/Quepos as well as Texel try to increase their market share and/or try to sell more product-elements (like souvenirs, excursions, food, by offering higher quality at a higher price etc.) per tourist. Principally, profit maximisation is restricted within the legal context, although some entrepreneurs are taking the 'risk' of violation of laws and regulations, or crossing ethical borders.

From a sustainability perspective, maintaining consumer benefits and profit maximisation is also influenced by the margins reflected in the horizontal axe of the corporate response model. Environmental issues (see 5.3), as well as public acceptability (see also 5.2), are at stake. The combination of profit making and sustainability, especially in a regional context, leads to new challenges. In the two case study areas, economically oriented sustainability strategies should focus on preventing dependency or over-reliance on tourism and on strengthening local "ownership" with local participation, good employer ship and the linkage between tourism and local economy, especially with respect to local products.

Box 5.1   Consumer benefits
Generally speaking tourists to Texel are very satisfied.   According to EIM (2001) tourists graded Texel with 8,2 out of a possible ten. In terms of sustainability, tourists are equally pleased with Texel. Recent research by Ankersmid and Kelder (2000) showed that Texel was judged positively on most sustainability criteria. Only a minority of the respondents considered high prices (by 36%), too much construction at the expense of green space (by 33%) and loss of traditional culture (24%) as problematic. In Manuel Antonio the situation is considered more precarious. More than half of the tourists (58%) pointed at the encroachment upon local culture. Other problematic issues were the construction at the expense of green space (50%), high prices due to tourism (41%), and too much foreign influence in the development of tourism (34%).

Economic dependence on tourism

In both regions there is a threat towards the development of an economic mono-culture. As highlighted in Chapter 3, a large part of the regional economy in both areas is directly or indirectly dependent on tourism. However, external influences that are either political or economic can have great impacts on the volume of tourists.

Box 5.2   External influences on tourism

Some examples are illustrative to show the dependence of tourism on external influences. The killing of two US students in Costa Rica in 2000 was widely covered in newspapers in the United States, and had impacts on tourism arrivals (Pratt, 2000). As political stability in other Central American countries increases, Costa Rica increasingly has to compete with other, less expensive, nearby destinations.

In Europe, for example, the reunification of Germany led to a decrease in the number of German tourists to the Netherlands. This is particularly true in the area of water-related tourism. The lake-regions in Eastern Germany now compete with the Dutch water sports areas.

In this respect Manuel Antonio/Quepos is more vulnerable due to its dependence on long haul markets such as the US and Europe. Texel, on the other hand, recruits most of its tourists from nearby destinations such as Germany and the Dutch mainland. Moreover, many of the visitors to Texel own their own holiday cottage or bungalow. This assures a certain volume of yearly visits.

A general strategy to diminish dependency on tourism would be to try and broaden the economic base, which is easier said than done. A possible strategy would be to try and diversify the tourism product in order to attract a broader range of visitors. This would make the area less dependent on one particular country of origin or to changes in consumer taste. On Texel, further development of cultural tourism would be an option that fits in this strategy. When relating the issue to a broader perspective on sustainable development, it can also be approached from a different angle, i.e. what can tourism contribute to sustainable economic development and to diversification of the economy? A general answer would be to better integrate tourism into the local economy in order to generate more local multiplier effects. This can be done, for example, by creating more linkages with agriculture (see also below). On Texel, the development of a research institute in the field of sustainable tourism and activities related to sustainable building ("DuBo") has also been proposed. Apart from having a positive impact in terms of economic multipliers, this strategy, it must be realised, can also increase dependence on tourism.

Local ownership

Local ownership is very often seen as a way to stop the expropriation of profit. In this sense, it leads to empowerment at the local level. An interesting example of "good practice" on Texel is TESO (see Box 5.3). While Coopesilencio in Manuel Antonio/Quepos, is an excellent example (see Box 5.5).

Box 5.3   TESO

An important example of ownership is the TESO company (Texels' Own Boat Company), which operates the boat ferry to the mainland, and which is in majority in the hands of the Texel population. This company was founded in 1907 and started to operate a regular ferry connection in 1908. The foundation of the company was a reaction to the high prices charged by the boat company, which previously operated the ferry, and was located in Alkmaar on the mainland. The fact that TESO generated enough starting capital, as well as the fact that it is still in majority a Texel-based company, can be ascribed to the strength of the local identity of people from Texel (van Ginkel, 1995)[1].

Apart from such examples of good practice, the general situation particularly in Manuel Antonio/Quepos is not evaluated very positively. The large influence of foreigners was one of the main concerns expressed in the household survey in Costa Rica. Almost ninety percent (88%) of the respondents considered this a (major) problem[36]. On Texel the corresponding percentage was only 31% (see Chapter 4). This contradiction has much to do with the history of tourism development in these two regions. In Manuel Antonio/Quepos, tourism developed through initiatives of *Gringos* or other foreigners and people from San José, while islanders have controlled tourism development on Texel for a long time (see Chapter 2).

With respect to questions of ownership, the impression is that many tourism companies on Texel are still in the hands of local entrepreneurs and hence 'leakages' are smaller than in many other tourism regions.

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[36] Note: as in the previous chapter, the percentage represents those who believe this is a problem and those who believe it is a major problem.

However, there are at least three developments that endanger local ownership and control. First, Dutch or German *Overkanters* own most of the bungalows in parks and the holiday homes. Second, the system of franchising is already quite common on the island and will increase in the future. Many 'local' companies have already become part of larger tourism 'chains'. Finally, a growing number of companies are in the hands of *Overkanters* as well. According to some of the interviewees, it can be expected that a number of the larger companies, which are still in the hands of people living on the island, will move into external hands when they come on the market. Thus, it can be expected that national or even trans-national investments will increasingly affect product development on Texel in the future, since prices of these companies will be too expensive for inhabitants to afford.

In Costa Rica, the main obstacles prohibiting local ownership and control are the *lack of knowledge, information and communication*, the *lack of a consistent and supportive tourism policy and the lack of money.* For Costa Ricans starting a business in tourism presents quite a task. Interest rates can go as high as 40%, similar percentages are passed on by travel agencies offering services to individual enterprises. Not surprisingly, it is not Costa Ricans but more and more foreigners who start operating tourism business in Costa Rica, since they have easy or at least easier access to lenders (see Duim, 1997b; Cabout, 2001).

Although these problems are larger in Manuel Antonio/Quepos, in Texel interviewees also referred to the lack of young people able to take over businesses. Many leave the island for education reasons and never come back as they find other and usually better jobs on the mainland. The catering industry, in an effort to try and interest youngsters for a job in the tourism sector, has developed activities in the field of education. In Manuel Antonio/Quepos, more specialised education and tourism training could help improve the position of locals in the tourism industry. This, as well as a consistent tourism policy, at the national as well as local level, can ultimately strengthen small local entrepreneurs[37] (see also Cabout, 2001).

However, local ownership can also conflict with principles of sustainability. Usually opportunities for local ownership are not equally accessible, leading to 'local elites' (Meethan, 2001). Our fieldwork at least created the impression that on Texel, as well as in Manuel Antonio/Quepos, elites exist who own considerable parts of the land and tourism infrastructure (see also Box 5.4).

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[37] Within the framework of the SDA, in 2001 a bi-lateral project started aiming at strengthening the role of small scale tourism entrepreneurs in tourism. Results are expected in 2002.

Good employer-ship

According to the International Labour Organisation ILO (2001), 220 million people currently work in tourism. This is a worldwide ratio of 1 out of 10 jobs in tourism. Generally speaking working conditions in this sector are still meagre (De Volkskrant, 2001). The conditions for working in the tourism industry and the quality of tourism jobs closely relate to socio-economic sustainability. This is particularly true in developing countries, where the fact that local people only work in the lower segments in the tourism industry is often criticised. More generally, the seasonal character of many tourism jobs as well as working conditions (i.e. late hours), have given tourism the image of a bad employer.

To be able to evaluate tourism in this respect, a comparison with alternative sectors should be made. In Manuel Antonio/Quepos, monthly wages in tourism are comparable to those in other sectors, based on our survey. As discussed in Chapter 3, in terms of earnings per hour, the tourism sector scores in between the 'Estatal/Formal' sector and the traditional sector. In financial terms, tourism can be considered an 'average' employer. In terms of weekly hours worked, as well, tourism scores significantly better (i.e. fewer working hours) compared to the traditional sector. However, it should be noted that these figures are averages.

The quality of tourism employment is also an issue. The difference in status between local and foreign personnel is a particularly important topic. The question of quality of employment plays an important role in local discussions on tourism development as became clear during the workshops which were held in Manuel Antonio/Quepos. Improving the

quality of local employment in tourism is not at all easy. Tourism programmes should start with improving scholarship levels and promoting local employers to gradually occupy higher and possibly management positions. Local organisations need to have information and exercise control over the system of wages.

On Texel, the issue of employment has become particularly prevalent due to recent 'overheating' of the labour market. There is a lack of employees, especially in the high season, on the island. The problem is not restricted to Texel, but is a general problem for the tourism sector throughout the Netherlands.

Box 5.5   The Development of a Dream: Coopesilencio R. L. and Tourism

Coopesilencio R. L. is a community organisation founded in 1973 by a group of farmers "without land" who decided to fight for a better quality of life for themselves, their families and children. After taking a deserted farm, property of the Banana Company, the government of Costa Rica transferred this land to them with the stipulation to develop a co-operative.

Coopesilencio is situated 35 km Southeast from Quepos, on the road to Dominical bordering the Savegre River. From the beginning Coopesilencio has been a self-managed co-operative, and its mission or main purpose has been and still is to "*yield social and economic development for the families, by operating productive projects and by protecting the natural environment under a collective work mode.*"

It is composed of 70 families, with a total population of about 360 people, who combined have 28 years of work and progress in terms of housing, health and education. Nowadays 49 people are members of the co-operative, of which 5 are women. The co-operative has 940 hectares of land destined for productive activities like forestry, oil palm plantations, primary and secondary forest conservation, turnip and fruit plantations for self-consumption, human settlement and development of agro-ecotourism. Besides, the co-operative facilitates little farm owners of the Cantons of Aguirre and Parrita in accessing economical resources and obtaining Forest Protection Certificates. Through this the Co-operative plays a leading role in the region. Its legitimacy is highly recognised in the neighbouring communities. **(continued on next page)**

Box 5.5 continued

The agro-ecotourism project was initiated in 1996 and consists of a rustic lodge of 10 rooms with a total capacity of 56 people. It has a restaurant, also constructed in the same palm roof style, from where it is possible to enjoy a wonderful view of the palm plantation and, in sunny days, of the beach.

The agro-ecotourism project is managed by the co-operative and includes a biological reserve with trails to the waterfalls and to the wildlife rescue and liberation centre. This programme has been carried out for the last 4 years, especially with the *Ara macaw*, which is in danger of extinction. Nowadays birds fly free and near the lodge. The bird population has been growing thanks not only to the programme but also to the people who became aware of the importance of conservation of wildlife. Now, Coopesilencio is the only organisation in the region that is authorised by MINAE to receive, take care and liberate captured or ill animals. Deer, monkeys, toucans, parrots and tepescuintles (*agouti paca*) are also seen at the Centre.

One of the aims of the Co-operative is to give women the opportunity to work and improve their quality of life. That is why mostly women work at the Lodge. They have been trained in different areas in order to provide good service to the visitors.

Coopesilencio R. L. is part of a National Network of Agroecotourism Organisations called Cooprena R.L. (www.agroecoturismo.net) whose main objective is to represent and commercialise the tourist product of the six member organisations.

According to the Job Centre (personal interview) at least 1000 people are needed every high season to fill in all the extra jobs in tourism on the island (restaurants and bars, hotels and bungalow parks). Every year it becomes more and more difficult to find people who can fit these jobs. Competition with other sectors (retail, ICT, care) is fierce. The main obstacles are the low quality of jobs, the seasonal character of the employment and the low wages. One of the strategies which may help overcome the friction on the labour market is to adopt a policy of 'good employer-ship'. Such a strategy is particularly needed with regard to the seasonal workforce. Little attention is currently paid to the relation employer-employee and the working conditions, especially in the lower segments of the labour market. An active policy to link personnel could help to improve the situation. More flexibility and opportunities to combine work and vacation on the island might help to interest new groups. Where currently employers on the island consider one another to be competitors on the labour market, a joint strategy for the island (e.g. by the Tourist Office, the Job Centre or one of the associations) might prove to be more rewarding overall. Whereas Texel now promotes itself as a green and sustainable island to potential visitors, it could try to create an image of a 'pleasant workplace' for potential workers. At the same time, some related problems should be tackled to make this strategy rewarding. The lack of housing on the island, in particular, affects temporary tourism workers, and needs to be addressed.

Box 5.6   Lack of housing

By the end of 2000 over 300 households on the island of Texel were looking for a house. This is three times as many as in 1997. The waiting period for renting a house is almost three years. Owner-occupied houses are also not frequently for sale or are too expensive and only *Overkanters* can afford them. The national and provincial government restrict new housing development in order to protect the open landscape. Combined with a lack of high skilled labour, young people from Texel tend to leave the island looking for better housing and employment opportunities elsewhere.

In box 5.7 an example of two strategies which are already being employed (one on a company level and one on the level of the Horeca Association) are presented.

In addition to a joint strategy to attract seasonal workers, based on the notion of good employer-ship, general improvement of the labour conditions would improve the image of the sector. The creation of more year-round jobs for higher qualified personnel, by promoting cultural tourism, establishing an Institute for Sustainable Tourism could add to this as well.

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Box 5.7   De Krim and Horeca Nederland

Holiday Park 'De Krim' on Texel yearly pays around 5.5 million guilders in salaries to 150 employees, of which 60 work year round. The 90 seasonal workers are recruited from (hotel and tourism) schools and the like. Two staff members take care of personal affairs year round. To be able to accommodate the staff in high season 7 houses, 12 apartments, and 35 caravans are provided for lodging. By organising come back weekends and giving training facilities De Krim tries to bond staff to the company.

The Association of Hotels and Restaurants (Horeca Nederland) has started hospitality training for people working in the sector on the island of Texel. In a 'Master' course people combine study and work. For the students from secondary schools, introductory days were organised during which they can experience and 'taste' working in the hotel- and restaurant-sector.

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Local products

Generally speaking, sustainability is considered to increase with more linkages between tourism and other economic sectors. One specific type of linkage is the use of local products by the tourism industry.

In Manuel Antonio/Quepos linkages between tourism and other economic sectors, such as agriculture and fisheries, are still weak. Few handicrafts are even produced in the region. Most of the handicrafts are imported from the rest of the country or even from abroad. One exemption to the rule is the initiative of hotel Si Como No to promote and sell local art and handicraft.

The improvement of linkages is an anticipated task in the perspective of sustainable development. Strategies need to be developed to link local fishery and (organic) agriculture to tourism, through hotels and restaurants and to include rural communities in the tourism development of the region. Coopesilencio is a very good example of this concept (see Box 5.5). Another example is found in the Savegre River basin. The five- year-old ARAUCARIA project, financed by Spain, aims at agro-ecotourism development in rural communities.

On Texel many initiatives are taken to stimulate the production of 'real' Texel products[38]. These include:
- the 'Stichting Stimulering Texelse Producten' (Foundation for the Stimulation of Texel Products), composed of the municipality, the agricultural sector and some entrepreneurs;

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[38] Texel could provide many examples of 'linkages' which are illustrative for Manuel Antonio/Quepos. A bilateral exchange would facilitate the transfer of knowledge. See also Chapter 6.

- the 'Vereniging Texels Produkt Promotie' (Texel Association for Product Promotion);
- the 'Stichting Waddengroep' (joining agrarians of the whole Wadden area).

These initiatives are aimed at tourists as well as the general public. Members of the Stichting Waddengroep sell products in shops all over the Netherlands. The other two organisations focus mainly on the market on Texel.

The Foundation for the Stimulation of Texel Products supports new entrepreneurs. One of the projects of this foundation is to stimulate the production and consumption of lamb meat on the island. Lambs and sheep are an important 'symbol' for Texel, but restaurants import lamb meat, for the most part, from New Zealand. For several years attempts have been made to create a new production chain which includes local farmers, slaughtermen, butchers, distributive traders, and restaurants. The project aims at increasing yearly sales from 1500 to 6000 to 7000 lambs (*Texelse Courant*, June 29, 2001). Implementation, however, is hampered due to the significantly higher prices, the lack of sufficient year-round supply, and particularly the competition among local parties.

The second Association combines approximately 22 producers from the island promoting their products. These products:
-   are based on a recipe originating from Texel; or
-   consist of base material which, for at least 75%, comes from the island or is for at least 75% produced on the island.

Producers range from restaurants, shops selling by-products of sheep (wool, bedspreads) or Texel beer and of course 'Juttertje', the liqueur based on a Texel' recipe[39]. A survey showed that the turnover of 32 producers of local products (members as well as non-members of the association) is around 22 million guilders a year (around 9 million $), creating approximately 85 full time jobs. The non-food products based on sheep wool and milk make up the most important part. For all producers of local products on Texel, around 50, a yearly turnover of 34 million guilders (approximately 13.6 million $) has been estimated (Stichting Waddengroep, 2000). The Association has additional value in terms of public relations. For example, 70,000 brochures are distributed on the island as well as the mainland each year. Only 10 out of 37 producers sell their goods outside Texel (of which only two sell outside the Netherlands). Increased selling outside Texel would be an opportunity to extend the reputation of Texel.

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[39] In a souvenir-shop in Den Burg it is even possible to buy 'nude beach sand' for a dollar and a half per little pot.

Shop selling by-products of sheep

From the point of view of sustainable development, the Stichting Waddengroep is the most interesting of the three. In the Dutch Waddenarea so called 'Wadden products' are manufactured. These are mainly dairy products originating form the island or the first 25 kilometres of mainland bordering the Wadden Sea. At least 51% of the ingredients should originate from this area. Products are environmentally friendly, originating from organic or bio-dynamic farms. Sint Donatus is the main selling point on Texel (see Box 5.8), but products are sold in around 450 shops in the Netherlands as well as Belgium.

Box 5.8   Sint Donatus

Sint Donatus, a biologic-dynamic farm in Den Hoorn, started in 1975. Mrs. Rijsselberghe from the Hague bought the land, after which her son started with farming, inspired by anthroposophic principles. Today 135 products are fabricated, varying from milk, yoghurt, and ice cream to wine and cake. The farm is 60 hectares large, half of which is used for arable farming. On the other half the 50 cows annually produce 320,000 kilograms of milk.

The area is managed in a natural way, giving rise to abundant flora and fauna. Visitors can take a look at the farm, make an excursion on the farm, buy local or "Wadden" products in the shop, or drink a cup of tea, while the children are playing in the playground.

5.2   The socio-cultural margin

Households as well as stakeholders are effected by tourism in their daily lives and hence public acceptability of tourism is at stake. In both regions tourism development is widely discussed. These discussion focus on questions of liveability and local identity.

Liveability

As long as there is tourism in the two regions, socio-cultural impacts of tourism have been discussed (see Chapter 2).

Invited by *Tien voor Texel*, Lengkeek and Velden (2000) explored the feasibility of a so-called 'liveability-impact-assessment' (LIA), comparable to the well-known Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA)[40]. Although often used to demarcate the 'quality of life', the concept of liveability is not well defined (see also Spyskma, 1996 and Boomars and Hidding, 1997). Various options for characterising liveability are viable, for example by means of objective criteria that are affirmed and monitored by politics, or by looking at opinions and perceptions (as in Chapter 4 of this report[41]). In the latter approach liveability relates to the feeling of loosing control and infringement of values and norms.

Chapter 4 showed that on Texel, as well as in Manuel Antonio/Quepos, intrusion of values and norms is at stake. People considered changes induced by tourism as often too radical, feelings of safety are disturbed, individual freedom of action is considered more restricted, control over developments is absent or there are no instruments or 'reserves' in place to accept and adapt to the changes that are taking place.

These *reasons* for some of the dissatisfaction are more noteworthy than the percentages found in Chapter 4. An important variable, that is explained, is the so-called 'appropriation value' (Lengkeek and Velden, 2000). People 'confiscate' and become familiar with a place, thus it becomes 'their' place, 'their' island. In Chapter 2 we already stated that members of a community gain their self-esteem and – assurance from comparison with others, especially in a wider context. Complaints about *Overkanters* or *Gringos* have been heard throughout time. Nevertheless these complaints need to be acknowledged.

A good understanding of the grounds for discontent is the first step to solve problems, even if it reflects the frustration of a few. As Lengkeek and Velden state (2000: 15) part of the solution is the *recognition* of the problem and the creation of *trust* in the process to resolve the problems. It is exactly because trust is lacking in Manuel Antonio/Quepos, as expressed by the foundation of the *Comité de Lucha* (see Box 5.14) that explains the belligerent way they opposed the municipality (see also Box 4.2). This can be partly explained by the lack of consideration on the side of the local government.

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[40] Wijk (2000) has executed a study on the application of EIA in Costa Rica.
[41] The opinion statements in this survey partly derived from the results of the explorative study of Lengkeek and Velden(2000).

On Texel the issue of liveability is particularly voiced by *Tien voor Texel*. Time and again *Tien voor Texel* has put liveability on the political agenda of Texel. The results of the study of Lengkeek and Velden (2000) were not welcomed by some parties and were even sneered at. "*People should not complain as tourism is the major source of welfare on the island*" was one of the reactions.

However, the municipality eventually took the report more seriously as they contracted a consultant to make a structure plan for the island, which integrates 'social aspects' and 'liveability'. By doing so, however, they again shelved the issues and postponed making their own choices (see also paragraph 5.4), that has been the case in the Texel 2030 process (see Box 5.15). This process offered the municipality an opportunity to take a position, which they did not do.

Box 5.9   Liveability Impact Assessment (LIA)

In principal there are two variants of LIA, a *pro-active* and *reactive* variant. In a pro-active scenario, possible alternatives for development are reviewed in terms of liveability. In the reactive variant specific policy plans are assessed in terms of liveability. In both cases, however, interactive planning is essential.

Source: Lengkeek and Velden (2000)

Local identity

Closely related to the issue of liveability is the concept of local identity. Local identity consists of localised forms of knowledge and (assumed) privileges based on some notion of attachment to place and people. Local identity however, is not given, fixed, or essential. To think of communities as homogeneous entities is to assume that everyone in a specific locality will have the same 'sense of place'. However, while some people may have a clear sense of attachment, others may not (Meethan, 2001: 140-141).

In Manuel Antonio/Quepos there seems to be at least two identities. One 'traditional' that is founded in the agricultural history of the region and another a 'modern' that reflects the influence of tourism and the media. The younger people are especially attracted by the enticing offers of the tourism culture. Just as in Western European cultures, they are actively employing consumer goods to forge their own cultural ideas.

Although Texel experiences similar processes, traditional values are also preserved by so-called *Overkanters* who see the island as a refuge from the harried live in the rest of Western Netherlands. The attachment to and the living on Texel are romanticised and tourism is seen as a form of disturbance of this imaginary world. The

consequence is resistance towards 'external' and 'large' developments, whether it be modern windmills on Texel or as in both cases a new Marina.

On Texel, for example, the discussion focuses on the placement on windmills. Studies have shown that modern windmills could provide for nearly all energy consumption on the island. The existing, small, windmills near Oosterend, must be replaced by approximately 20 windmills to be self-supporting. However, windmills, seen as symbols of modernisation, are not supposed to fit in the landscape. In all likelihood, the discussion on the island will be settled as most discussions are by a compromise of 5 or 10 windmills.

In Manuel Antonio/Quepos, discussion focuses on side effects of tourism like drugs, prostitution and criminality. But large external developments, like the marina are also problematic. Although the project is discussed every day, hardly anybody is well informed on its complexities and details. The resistance seems to date back to the time of bananas. The owners of the foreign companies used to live in secluded areas, not accessible for Tico's. Today the fear exists that like the enclaves as in the time of the bananas, new tourism enclaves will emerge. The plans of the Barcelo-group and of Marinas Canarias S.A. are especially seen as a red rag to a bull.

Box 5.10   Mega-Marina Plan

Marinas Canarias S.A. plans are to construct a new marina, which would welcome as many as three cruise ships and 800 boats at a time, offering as many as 5000 jobs in the area. Organisations like ASOPROQUEPOS and the *Comité de Lucha* protested against this development and in September 2000 the ICT Marinas Commission had lodged objections as the plans violate the Law of Marinas because of possible environmental destruction.

Earlier that year, a Marina Hotel, bar and restaurant, valued at $ 131,000, located near the port of Quepos, was demolished according to a decision by the Puntarenas Tribunal.

According to the public prosecutor, the construction of the Hotel is another example of violation of the marine Zone Law and a clear case of municipal corruption.

Source: Pashby, 2000b and 2000c

In other words, the discussion on local identity not only refers to symbolic, but also material culture. Tourism could lead to standardisation, but it can just as well lead to revival of local identities in a material sense. Caalders et al (2000) recently presented a strategy to stimulate so-called 'time-space specific tourist innovation'.

'New' products in the tourist sector are often based on ideas and concepts that have proven to be economically successful in other sectors. This means that investors face fewer risks than they do with new formulas, but at the same time tourist locations become standardised. Standardisation can give rise to consequences for those who develop tourist product themselves. If tourist destinations can no longer be distinguished from other places by their special features, the only way in which competition can be stimulated is through the pricing mechanism. As far as the tourist is concerned this results in the welcome fact that prices remain low. For those offering tourist products, however, it means decreasing profit margins. There is a great danger that the destination becomes caught in a downward trend within the cycle of product development. In their article, Caalders et al (2000) examined how far a form of tourist development can be stimulated that is more closely related to the "special characteristics" of particular locations and places and to local identity. A similar form of development, according to Caalders and Philipsen, must be innovative and not be simply an extension of nostalgic feelings or an idealised vision of the past ('old craft markets').

In other words, the critical question is which experience of time and space should be decisive in time-space specific development. The legitimacy of each image of time and space can be supported by arguments. Bringing together and stimulating a dialogue among the different parties involved in tourist developments is essential. It is also important that these discussions take place on the basis of specific product proposals.

Typical houses of 'bananeros'

On Texel search- and choice workshop in the frame work of Texel 2030 (see Box 5.15) and later 'design workshops' have been organised in which specific product ideas were discussed[42]. More recently people on Texel attempted to preserve so called 'stolpen' ('covered farmhouses') by transforming them into apartments for tourists. By doing so farmers are able to restore these typical Texel farms, receive some additional income and prevent the wealthy *Overkanters* to take

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[42] Outcomes are to be found on the (Dutch) web-site www.kustopdekaart.nl. Look for 'Resort Recreation: Texel'

over. The municipal council even discussed the use of part of the reserve of 2000 beds to make this idea a reality (see paragraph 5.4).

In a workshop in Manuel Antonio/Quepos, for example, the idea of using the concept of the typical houses of 'bananeros' as an input for time-space specific innovation was discussed (see photo). But the recently established restaurant and handicraft-shop in the form of an old aeroplane (see photo), could also give insight into the time and space specificity of tourism development in Manuel Antonio/Quepos.

Restaurant and handicraft-shop

5.3   The ecological margin

Many studies on tourism and sustainable development concentrate on the environmental issues. In the borderline area between the profit and ecological margins, environmental management is a topical issue. The preservation of nature and landscape predominately deals with this borderline between the ecological and risk margins, although on Texel the economic prospects for the agricultural sector also play a significant role.

The preservation of nature and landscape

On Texel, the once conflictual relationship between nature, agriculture, and tourism is not as it once was. For example in 1981 farmers protested against the intention of creating a national park by 'delivering' 20,000 litres of manure to the municipality. Today, the tourism sector, in particular, acknowledges the importance of nature and landscape on the island as a main attraction. Natural areas and the national park are well safeguarded by national laws and regulations.

Nevertheless there still remain the 'cultural differences' between the three domains, especially between the agricultural sector and nature conservationists. For example, the agricultural sector is seen by the tourism sector as more reactive than pro-active.

Discussions on land use today concentrate on three issues:
- The broadening of agriculture in general and camping at farms in particular;
- The preservation of 4000 hectares of grass land on the island;
- Multifunctional land use.

As the future of agriculture in Europe in general and on Texel is dubious, two strategies are favoured. A number of the farmers prefer scaling up, which is contested by the tourism sector as well as the nature conservationists. The other strategy focuses on ideas and projects for broadening agriculture. In principal there are various ways to do so:
- Offering auxiliary (tourism) products and services (varying from offering lodging on the farm, selling local products (see paragraph 5.1), and offering services (excursions, meals, hiring out rooms, storage for caravans etc.);
- Nature and landscape management by farmers;
- Biological or ecological ways of farming.

Increasing the number of camping places at farms on the island is much contested by the tourism sector. They fear the unfair competition and/or lack of quality offered by farmers.

Nevertheless the assistance of the tourism industry versus agriculture seems essential. For example, the covenant on Texel to safeguard 4000 hectares of grassland on the island is endangered. This grassland is considered to be typical for the island, just as the sheep that graze these lands. The grassland is part of the tourist image and attraction of the island. However, the agricultural sector is not able to stand by this covenant and looks for more profitable ways of farming, like floriculture.

Examples of multifunctional land use are also to be found on the island, for example between nature conservation and tourism. De Krim (see Box 5.7) plans an extension of the current golf link to 18 holes in an ecologically friendly manner. Nature conservation organisations and the management of De Krim together provide an integrated plan, which suits both interests.

As we have seen in Chapter 2, the relationship between tourism and nature conservation in Manuel Antonio/Quepos is still more troublesome (see for example Boxes 2.4 and 2.5). Although tourism has helped to create community awareness with respect to the importance of nature protection, tourism has also had environmental impacts. Due to the lack of planning and control there have been a lot of 'exemptions of the rule' in construction hotels and restaurant. Laws on zoning and land use planning have been violated by hotels looking for the best view on the sea in the hilly and steep terrain of Manuel Antonio/Quepos. Homogeneity on style and design is also

lacking, as well as respect for the environment on which these buildings are constructed. Finally, in Chapter 2 we already highlighted the problematic situation on Playa Espadilla (see Box 2.4).

Environmental management

Environmental management in tourism is a topical issue. The tourism industry creates more and more self-regulation schemes. Mowforth and Munt (1998:208) recently expressed their doubts about the 'practicality' of many of these 'self-regulation' schemes of the tourism industry. According to Mowforth and Munt, "self-regulation led by bodies such as the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) and the World Tourism Organization (WTO), whose stated aims are the promotion of the tourism industry rather than restraining it, is likely to lead to policies which pursue profit making in a business world, where profit maximisation and capital accumulation is the dominant form of operation". In Europe alone almost 50 different types of eco-labels and awards exist for hotels, camping sites, destinations, tour-operators and others (Font and Buckley, 2001) Notwithstanding general and usually legitimate critique, the better examples among these initiatives do create environmental benefits (as well as economic gain). An example of 'good practice' in the Netherlands is the so-called "Environmental Monitor" (Milieu-barometer) of the Recron, the National Association of Recreation Entrepreneurs (Recron 2000). The number of enterprises involved is still limited but growing. Such 'green' measures are important from the point of view of the entrepreneur since they are also cost saving in the long run. The best example from Costa Rica is the Certificacion de Sostenibildad Turistica (CST). See also Box 5.13.

On Texel the implementation of environmental management in tourism has been accelerated by the work of the Stichting Duurzaam Texel (Foundation for Sustainable Texel), founded in 1997. Acting first as Workgroup Sustainable Tourism, it later developed into a Foundation looking at sustainability of the entire island (see Box 5.11).

In Manuel Antonio/Quepos the issue of environmental management is still more precarious. Only four hotels are familiar with the CST-concept (see Cabout, 2001) of which Si Como No has an extensive environmental management programme (see Box 5.12).

The lack of waste water treatment is especially serious and is endangering the national park. Nevertheless initiatives have been taken to improve the situation. For example, ASOPROQUEPOS promotes environmental behaviour of local populations as well as companies. It collects garbage with trucks that are recycled. However, not all hotels are participating in this project. ASOPROQUEPOS also educates people by means of brochures. Their device is 'rechazar, reducir, reutilizar y reciclar'[43]. On the primary school level, there are also environmental education programmes (Godding, 1998). The Comité de Vecinos has done some projects in which garbage of some hotels was collected and security on

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[43] Reject, reduce, reutilize, recycle (Authors' translation)

beaches was provided for as well. The environmental education, protection and conservation programmes of the national park are also important (see Box 2.5). But all these efforts are not supported enough by the Municipality, which should be the central actor leading the process of sustainable development of tourism.

Box 5.12   Hotel Si Como No

One of the most expensive and renowned hotels in Manuel Antonio is Si Como No. It also tries to excel in environmental management. Si Como No was one of the few hotels in Manuel Antonio to acquire the CST (Costa Rican Sustainable Tourism Certificate). It has energy efficient air conditioners, solar heating panels, farm-grown wood and non-toxic resins. Garden mulch is produced from the kitchen's organic waste and a custom-designed water management system allows well water to be used for landscaping and converts sewage into fertiliser through bio-digesters. A nature trail and butterfly farm is under construction on the premise of the hotel.

Box 5.13   Costa Rican Sustainable Tourism Certificate

The Certification in Sustainable Tourism Programme (CST) is a product of the Costa Rican Tourism Institute (ICT). This eco-label is an institutional scheme introduced within the National Strategy for the Development of Sustainable Tourism, and is a part of the government's national and regional programme which seeks to manage development of Costa Rica in a sustainable manner. The main objective of the CST is:

> To turn the concept of sustainability into something real, practical and necessary in the context of the country's tourist competitiveness, with the aim of improving the way in which the natural and social resources are utilised, to motivate the active participation of the local communities, and to support the competitiveness of the business sector.

CST is regulated by the Costa Rican National Accreditation Commission and consists of a scale of five levels of sustainable tourism achievement. This programme seeks to address the problem of some companies claiming to be behaving in a sustainable manner, when in actual fact they are not. This is achieved by providing reliable information on the companies that are really making progress in producing a sustainable tourist product.
(continued on next page)

Box 5.13 continued

Participation in the programme is entirely voluntary and is open to all hotels, inns, bed and breakfast services, and cabins in Costa Rica, without restriction on their location (near the beach or the mountains, etc.) or their size. There is no cost to the companies to join the CST or for the initial evaluation. The only initial requirement is completion of an application form. CST was designed to provide an advantage to tourism sector businesses based on how much they comply with a sustainable model of natural, cultural, and social resource management. In order to assess this, four fundamental aspects are evaluated:

1. *Physical-biological*: interaction between the company and its surrounding natural habitat.
2. *Infrastructure and services*: management policies and the operational systems within the company and its infrastructure.
3. *External clients*: interaction of the company with its clients in terms of how much it allows and invites the client to be an active contributor to the company's policies of sustainability.
4. *Socio-economic environment*: interaction of the company with the local communities and the population in general.

For each of these aspects, specific questions are asked to help evaluate how much the company complies with a series of standards previously established for the social, environmental and economic fields. Each of the questions refers to a factor of sustainability with which the firm should comply in order to qualify for the different stages or levels of achievement. The final rating will be assigned to the company in question according to the lowest level achieved in any of the four fields evaluated. To measure these levels, the CST programme uses a rating system on a scale of 0-5, in which each number indicates the relative position of the firm in terms of sustainability. Level 1 shows that the company has begun acting in a sustainable manner, and each level thereafter shows that the company is using more advanced sustainable measures.

The CST system is designed to include a number of incentives for the companies, which improve as the company receives a higher rating. Such incentives may include international and national publicity and promotion, specifically designed for the CST; training for its personnel; and priority participation in various world tourism fairs and events, etc.

Source: Font and Buckley, 2001

5.4   The risk margin

Risk margin is defined in terms of liability, judicial as well as 'moral'. Chapter 4 showed that local policy is a topical issue in both regions, although the extent varies. Local action groups as *Tien voor Texel* (see Box 2.2) or *Comité de Lucha* (see also Box 5.14) try to pursue misdemeanours. For example the local newspaper *Texelse Courant* plays an important role in informing inhabitants on relevant issues. Three topical issues are related to the 'legal' margin: the infringement of existing laws and regulations, the lack of a shared vision, and the possibilities that exist to restrain growth.

Planning and control

In the Netherlands an extensive system of planning in general and spatial planning exists. Some consider the country to be over-regulated. Due to an elaborate system of spatial planning all construction and land use changes are subject to democratic procedures of decision making.

In spite of this, one of the main complaints of households, as well as organisations on Texel, was the lack of monitoring or control of existing regulations and laws.

On Texel many exemptions to the rule are taking place. In the national Law for spatial planning a procedure under Article 19 allows the local government to issue a permit allowing an inhabitant to have a variance of the zoning plan. On Texel this procedure is applied far more often than in comparable municipalities in the Netherlands. In 2000, 24 major exemptions of the rule were approved. Respondents dislike this tolerance on the part of the municipality and plea for a stricter enforcement of the rules and regulations (see also Chapter 4). Generally speaking, due the small scale of the island in terms of people, the municipality and people are closely tied. According to a study by the University of Groningen this weave has its disadvantages as well: the interdependence between political parties, local administration, civil servants and population possibly influences integrity and objectivity (Texelse Courant, 19-01-2001).

In Manuel Antonio/Quepos problems seem more severe. In previous chapters some of the conflicts have already been highlighted (see for example Boxes 2.4 and 4.2).

Even on a ministerial level, the relation between the Municipality and other local and national stakeholders is considered a problem. Until now the Municipality has refused to collaborate not only with the local NGOs, but also with the Instituto Costaricense de Turismo (ICT), The Ministry of Tourism of Costa Rica. The local Municipality has even boycotted projects of the ICT as promoting local festivals, training of

local lifeguards, and introducing policeman on bikes. This situation has resulted in a lot of anger and the establishment of a so-called Fight Committee (see Box 5.14).

This 'resistance' of the local government in Manuel Antonio/Quepos, however, should not be regarded as a 'typical' consequence of the process of decentralisation in Costa Rica.

Since the middle of the nineties efforts have been made, as part of the State Reform process, to decentralise the public administration in Costa Rica. In spite of the complexity of the decentralisation process, one of the specific and accepted consequences of decentralisation is municipal strengthening. In practice the financial aspects of decentralisation (the collection of territorial taxes) have received much more attention than the organisational and political dimensions (see Rivera, 1998 and 2000). As a consequence, Costa Rica has not yet moved far from a centralist model of public management. And few municipalities have been able to fulfil their legal obligations in the field of spatial planning especially with respect to tourism planning an essential steering instrument. In many cases technical expertise, political will and/or money is lacking.

Although in Manuel Antonio/Quepos two spatial plans ('Plan Regulador') for the beach area have been made, they are much-disputed (see paragraph 2.1). The manner in which the government expresses its power and the partners they choose in acquiring this power, does not deserve any award for merit either (see Box 4.2). On the contrary, much has to do with capitulating for the international flows of money and power.

In this respect, based on studies in Santa Cruz, Golfito and Osa (all in Costa Rica), Hein (2002) reveals that local and regional administrative and political institutions are not yet fit to co-ordinate and control (tourism) developments. He pleas for a process to strengthen the institutions of the local municipalities in Costa Rica: "More precisely, a certain political, administrative and legal substantiality is needed, in order to guaranty an effective supervision of the rules regarding the construction and management of tourist investitures. Only with an active civil society, can the local population reach satisfactory warranties with international investors (almost always economically dominant) about the convenience and co-operation between them and big tourist projects".

Box 5.14   Comité de Lucha

The Fight and Defense Committee of the Aguirre Canton was founded in 1999. The Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Tourism, ASOPROQUEPOS, The National Infancy Patronage and the Woman, Family and Community Association of Quepos, (ASOMUFACQ) are amongst the members. Some of the better known leaders are Julia Vargas (ASOMUFACQ) and Albán Brenes Núñez.

The organisation is seen as the most belligerent organisation of Quepos. In January 2000 this Committee lead a strike to point the finger at the possible disappearance of Manuel Antonio National Park due to the lack of payment to landowners. As a result a trust was established (see Chapter 2). They also occupied the Municipality in November 2000 and they stopped plans to build a Marina in Quepos. Not only to reject it, but also to support the activities which are in accordance with the environmental and social laws of the country. Nowadays, they keep an eye on the activities of the Municipality. They are considered the real 'prosecutors' of Quepos.

A shared vision

Obviously in both regions there are many opinions and ideas, but a 'shared' vision on the future is lacking. The weave between people and administration on Texel, as discussed in the previous paragraph, and the specific local culture, has another consequence: focussing on small issues and overlooking long term planning (Texelse Courant, January 19, 2001). Many respondents complained about the lack of vigour from the side of the municipality. As one of the interviewed argued: "*Texel is the archetype of the Dutch 'poldermodel', everybody talks with everybody, but no (radical) choices are made.*"

An illustration is the way the municipality dealt with the Texel 2030 process. The tourism sector instigated the process as an attempt to end the policy of 'small decisions'. The process of Texel 2030 forced the municipality to make decisions about the future of the island. As they showed reluctance to do so, they opened the door for a counter-reaction on the part of the agricultural sector (see WLTO, 2000) which felt threatened by the process Texel 2030[44]. Although the Process Texel 2030 was very promising from the start, it did not break through the impasse (see Box 5.15). As a consequence, in 2001 the municipality contracted with a consultant again to make a blueprint for the future. And again local organisations were asked to participate in the process. The municipality decided again to '*run with the hare*

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[44] A possible explanation is the strong representation of the agricultural sector in the municipal council and the lack of representation from the tourism sector.

and hunt with the hounds' as one of the interviewed described the situation on the island.

However, while the lack of decisiveness is much discussed, it suits the interest of others. In both regions the structure is less homogeneous than is often thought. Some vested interests may benefit from the fact that in both regions policy leaves room for coalitions and arrangements, which eventually can be beneficial as well as detrimental to the region. Sometimes local actors suit the action to the word and do not wait until local policy-makers made up its mind. Political inertia leads to civil action. However some of these developments can also have irreversible impacts on the region, leading to processes in which 'tourism destroys tourism' (Hunter, 1995) or only the interests of the powerful are given consideration.

In the next chapter we will argue that sometimes the local government should not only be partner or referee, but *director* as well. Based on a compelling vision of the future, the government mobilises, organises and directs the participation of public and private partners. The procedures for drawing up plans and for negotiation are open and transparent and weaker parties are empowered through, for example, information or subsidies to participate. Manuel Antonio/Quepos and even Texel, however, do not (yet) meet this standard.

A moratorium

One of the most interesting instruments for planning is the so-called ceiling of beds ('slaapplaatsenplafond'), suspending quantitative growth. Originally in 1974 set at 47,000, and adjusted to 45,000 (for the period 1998-2002), now 43,000 are filled up. There is still a reserve of 2000 beds.

In the last three decades substitution has taken place. During that period the total number of beds grew from 35,000 (in 1972) to 43,000 in 2000. Growth took place mainly in bungalows and apartments at the expense of camping places.

The moratorium on Texel has not been contested, but as some of the interviewed argued: "*what will happen if the ceiling is reached*?" A continuation of the moratorium is easy as long as there is still a reserve. Moreover, the island location makes maintaining this moratorium easier. The other Wadden islands have similar ceilings[45]

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[45] For example Ameland has a ceiling of 27,000 beds, Terschelling of 21,500 and Schiermonnikoog of 4,000 beds.

Box 5.15   Process Texel 2030

An important feature in recent Texel policy making was the 'Process Texel 2030'. This process included a 'search-conference' to discuss possible future developments for the island Texel. In this discussion tourism played a key role. The conference, initiated by the Texel Tourism Board, brought together different experts both from the mainland and the island (like environmental planners, nature conservationists, tourism experts, farmers and people from cultural institutions). The conference resulted in four different scenarios for the future. These scenarios were presented to and discussed with the local community of Texel during a 'choice conference' at the end of which the local community was asked to give their preferences. Texel 2030 aimed at an integrated portrayal of the future of Texel. The result of the process, a scenario called 'Texel Unique Island', pictures an 'ideal' situation on which new policies and decisions are supposed to be based. It should give more direction to short term planning and policies.

The project was very promising in terms of participatory planning. However, it was not the success it presumed. Although people from the island, especially from the tourism sector initiated the project, experts from the 'Overkant' were very dominant. For many people from Texel the issues at stake were too abstract, scenarios too extreme, and the time frame (2000-2030) too long. Furthermore, the municipality as anticipated, was ambivalent and did not take a leading role. And afterwards they did not really implement the ideas. Although a considerable number of people from Texel were involved in the process, including students from secondary schools, it was not perceived by everyone as a process 'owned' by the islanders. This was also confirmed by the results of our research. Although the local newspaper and television announced the Texel 2030 events for weeks, only half of the people interviewed in our survey were aware and informed of this process. Only 17% answered the question whether their voice was heard. Two-thirds of this group felt that their opinion was not taken into account.

Apart from the symbolic function a moratorium has on Texel (it binds several sectors with conflicting interests), it also forces people to think not only in terms of quantity, but also in terms of quality. If growth is not established through larger numbers (apart from lengthening the season), it should result from increasing quality. However, attracting tourists who would like to pay more for higher quality also has a drawback: people with lower incomes, favouring camping places, should also be able to visit the island. In Chapter 4 it was already noted that not all Dutch respondents approve of the new emphasis by the municipality of Texel on 'elite' tourism rather than on the more traditional forms of tourism, like camping.

The concept of a 'moratorium' received great interest during workshops in Manuel Antonio/Quepos. Despite the decentralisation of the public administration in Costa Rica, it is not likely that a moratorium in that region will be established. The interests of the local municipality seem to go in other directions.

5.5   Comparison between regions

In this chapter, sustainable development in Manuela Antonio/Quepos and on Texel have been related to the four margins recognised by the corporate response model (Dam, 1997). In both areas similar issues are relevant, although the tenor of these issues as well as the contexts of Texel and Manuel Antonio/Quepos are quite different. In the figure below, we have summarised the issues discussed in this chapter in terms of five general areas of attention: environmental impacts of tourism, land use conflicts, local participation and control, quality of employment, and local ownership.

Profit margin

Quality of employment
Local ownership

Environmental impacts

Socio-cultural margin

Ecological margin

Local participation and control

Land use conflicts

Risk margin
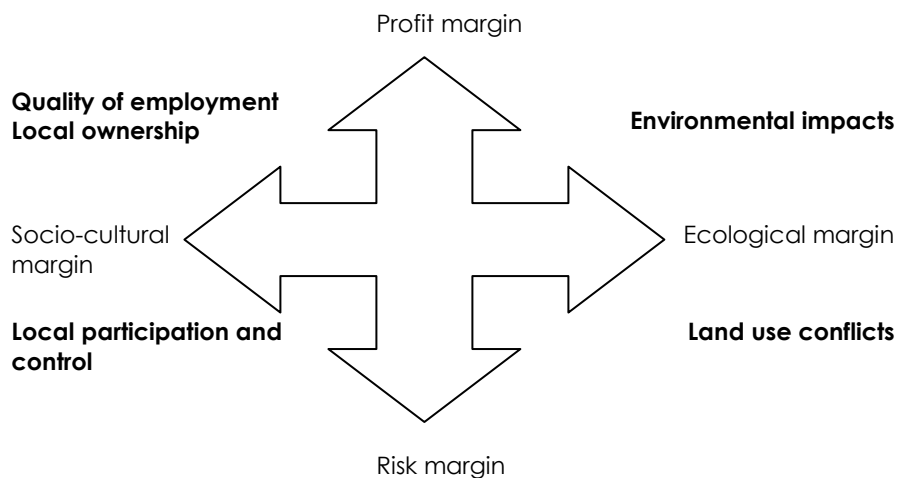
Figure 5.2   The five issues

1. Environmental impacts of tourism

Issues on environmental management receive attention in both regions. However, the context is quite different, as many more nationally institutionalised regulations apply on Texel. Discussions on Texel are also much more focused on the possibility for innovation in the field of environmental management (i.e. self-sufficiency in terms of energy provision, development of a tidal power plant). In this way, Texel is trying to strengthen its image of the "green" island. In Manuel Antonio/Quepos, elementary provisions such as a well-functioning sewage system are still lacking. An example of "good practice" in terms of sustainable management of hotels in Costa Rica is the Certification in Sustainable Tourism Programme (CST), a product of the Costa Rican Tourism Institute (ICT). In the Manuel Antonio/Quepos area, some hotels have taken action to introduce such a system of environmental management, but this is only done at an individual level.

2. Land use conflicts

In both regions, discussions on the status of the national park and the conflicts over land use link the ecological to the risk margin. The protected status of Manuel Antonio National Park is contested by all kinds of claims from within (former landowners to whom the park is still indebted) and without (new tourism developments at the fringe of the park). On Texel, discussions related to the status of the National Park have been largely resolved. Much more emphasis is now placed on the future of the agricultural land. This is an important issue for the agricultural sector as well as the tourism sector, as agricultural fields are considered an important characteristic of the Texel landscape and sheep are the symbol of the island. The land use and landscape of Texel will be determined by the future of the agricultural sector during the next twenty to thirty years.

3. Local participation and control

Linking the socio-cultural to the risk margin requires local participation and control over tourism development. Issues such as liveability or local identity in fact are to be traced back to the lack of a voice in development issues. Civil society in Manuel Antonio/Quepos has not as yet gained any say in tourism development. The process of decentralisation in Costa Rica may open up all kinds of possibilities to strengthen local democracy, but it also bears the risk that the current political crisis in Manuel Antonio/Quepos will be deepened. On Texel there exist many legal possibilities to exert democratic control, but locals do not frequently use these. It would seem that things are often dealt with in an informal way or not thoroughly discussed in order not to suppress assumed unanimity on the island. For example, the very inspiring process of Texel 2030 (see Box 5.15), ultimately did not result in political choices, because central issues were not decided.

4. Local ownership and quality of employment

On the upper left side of the model the relation between employer and employee seems crucial. Local support for tourism development largely rests on the economic dependence on tourism, which in both cases is very high: between 19 to 30% of the people directly - and probably some 70% indirectly - depend on tourism[46]. In Manuel Antonio/Quepos local ownership and control is limited, unemployment still high, and the quality of employment leaves much room for improvement. On Texel, many tourism facilities are still in local hands and unemployment is currently practically non existing. Improving the quality of employment in tourism on Texel can be strategically important to attract sufficient workers during the high season.

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[46] See paragraph 3.1 for further explanation.

Evaluation of practices and strategies of actors in both areas reveals some striking differences. In discussions on sustainable tourism development in Texel issues on *the right side of the model* are more emphasised. Organisations on Texel primarily focus on the reconciliation of the profit margin with the ecological margin within a legal context. The Foundation for Sustainable Texel is doing precisely that by executing projects in the field of energy saving, sustainable construction, and mobility. In addition, some organisations and initiatives can be identified at the left-hand side of the model. The action group "Tien voor Texel" can be situated on the lower left side of the model, since it is concerned predominantly with issues of local control. The discussion on the future for tourism (Texel 2030) also paid attention to issues on this side of the model. Although socio-cultural issues are not completely absent from the discussion, they do not receive a similar amount of attention. In terms of actual products and projects, the emphasis is unquestionably on issues represented by the right hand side of the model.

In Manuel Antonio/Quepos discussions on *sustainable* tourism development are less focussed and as yet not institutionalised. Following the Costa Rican initiatives in the field of environmental management, some hotels adopted the Costa Rican Sustainable Tourism Certificate. With respect to the National Park, the issues of water pollution and disturbance are discussed. Land use conflicts are also an important issue for the Park, which even received attention at the national level (see for example Escofet 1999a and 1999b and Dulude, 2000).

The major part of the local "civil society" is, however, concerned with issues related to *the left-hand side* of the model. Discussion tends to focus on the lack of local ownership and local control. At the same time few attempts are made to translate this into specific actions at the local level.

6 Advancing sustainable tourism development: conclusions and discussion

In this chapter, the main findings are summarised and evaluated. First, paragraph 6.1 recapitulates the main conclusions of the case studies and evaluates the current situation. Subsequently, in 6.2 the urge for new and more fundamental strategies is discussed. Finally, in the last paragraph some proposals for future projects are presented.

6.1 Conclusions

In terms of perceptions, sustainability issues, practices and strategies, the comparison between Manuel Antonio/Quepos and Texel revealed some striking differences as well as similarities.

Perceiving consequences of globalisation

Tourism induces a global flow of people, capital, ideas, and images. In Manuel Antonio/Quepos and Texel the consequences of this process are clearly visible. For example, in the second half of the 20th Century tourism has become the most important economic sector. It generates respectively for each region, approximately 19%, and 30% of direct employment[47]. But it may very well be possible that more than half of the 'other' employment depends on tourism as well. In both regions, the economies have been fundamentally transformed through tourism.

People in both regions are very much aware of the economic importance or even over-reliance on tourism for their region, as well as the impacts of tourism on daily life. More than three quarters of the respondents in both regions believe that tourism has changed life (considerably). However, only half of the people consider this change of daily life to be (very) positive[48]. In Manuel Antonio/Quepos, especially, tourism is believed to be causing problems. Compared to Manuel Antonio/Quepos, Texel seems to have coped better with the impacts of globalisation. The position of both countries in the world system, the way tourism has been historically integrated in the local context and economy and the differences in the political system,

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[47] See paragraph 3.1 for further explanation.
[48] Nevertheless, 'everything considered' around three quarters of the people in both regions (fully) agree that tourism has a positive influence. See Chapter 4 for more detailed information.

seem to be the most important variables to explain the overall differences. In Manuel Antonio/Quepos, the rapid and, by and large, unplanned and *ad hoc* way of development, often the result of speculative entrepreneurship, and lack of democratic control and processes, have revealed some of the more significant consequences of globalisation. Although the Spanish and the 'bananeros' already infiltrated Manuel Antonio/Quepos long before tourism, it was tourism that particularly led to an incoming flow of information, capital, people and cultures.

The increasing interconnectivity, increasing economic 'depth' and the extension of commodity relations suppose that the local is being subsumed into a wider economic and cultural framework. While this is undeniably occurring, globalisation is also a reassertion of the local and giving it a greater degree of prominence (Meethan, 2001). This particular research project is just one example. In other words, globalisation is not only about internationalisation of businesses and cultures, but also about the acknowledgement of the region or locality as the basis for social interaction and focus of both political and social identity. For example, people on Texel would like us to believe that there is unanimity on the island and all kinds of symbols signify the wish to differentiate them from the 'Overkant' (mainland). Similarly, in Manuel Antonio/Quepos the global flows of ideas, people and subsequent technologies could link the local discussion and networks to the global context. The first steps have been made in this research project. In interviews and workshops in Manuel Antonio/Quepos and by linking and comparing the experiences of Texel and Manuel Antonio/Quepos, not only horizontally, but also vertically, partnerships have been created which deserve a follow up.

Sustainability issues

Based on the results of the household surveys, interviews and workshops, not only consequences of globalisation but also some common areas of attention for sustainable development of tourism in both regions were discerned. These issues reflect the four quadrants of the model of Dam (1997) (see Figure 5.2).

Each of these issues plays an important role in local discussions on sustainable tourism development in both Manuel Antonio/Quepos and on Texel. However, as Chapter 5 illustrates, the tenor of these issues differs between the two regions. Moreover, evaluation of practices and strategies of actors in both areas reveals some striking differences. In discussions on sustainable tourism development in Texel, issues on *the right side of the model* are emphasised more. Although discussions on issues reflected in the left side of the model are not entirely absent, they do not, as yet, receive a similar amount of attention.

In Manuel Antonio/Quepos the discussion on *sustainable* tourism development is less focussed. However, the major part of the local "civil society" is mainly concerned with issues related to the left-hand side of the model. Discussion tends to focus on local ownership or the lack thereof and local control. At the same time few attempts are made to translate this into specific and tangible actions at the local level.

Practices

Various organisations, associations and people represent the various margins in the model of Dam (1997). Each of them has their own perspectives on sustainable development of tourism. 'Sustainable development of tourism' is a contested concept that is 'socially constructed' and reflects the interests of those involved. As a consequence there is no agreement on the exact nature, content and meaning of sustainability as different interests have adopted and defend their own 'language' (discourse) of sustainability (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). This is reflected in the practices of organisations in Manuel Antonio/Quepos and Texel.

The profit margin is central in the practices of tourism entrepreneurs. Profit maximisation and capital accumulation is the leading principal. Influenced by the CST in Costa Rica, the 'Environmental Monitor' in the Netherlands and the programs of the Foundation for Sustainable Texel, some of the entrepreneurs are now, based on considerations of profit making, incorporating the ecological margin in their daily practices. However, typical examples of taking care of the socio-cultural margin, for example improving the quality of employment or addressing the issue of liveability, are still rare.

One of the reasons is that the ecological margin is well represented and voiced by pressure groups, of which there are a number in the two regions. They are very well institutionalised and supported, especially in the Netherlands, by an extensive system of laws and regulations. Land use conflicts, therefore, are easier to mitigate although procedures can be very time consuming. The socio-cultural margin, however, is far less represented. In Texel particularly 'Tien for Texel' articulates feelings of discontent, but they are not very well accepted by the dominant elites on the island. However, 'Tien for Texel' effectively uses legal instruments and the local newspaper to defend their case. As the perceived problems in Manuel Antonio/ Quepos were and are still not being taken seriously or heard at all, the *Comité de Lucha* is now angrily articulating the feelings of dissatisfaction. These feelings are first of all directed to the local municipality, whose practices are considered poor. Undoubtedly Manuel Antonio/Quepos faces a political crisis with its legitimacy being questioned. On Texel criticism is limited to the 'policy of

tolerance', making exemptions a rule, and the indecisiveness in major issues at stake.

Strategies

The comparison between the two regions also revealed some existing strategies for sustainable development of tourism which are transferable. First of all the concept of a 'moratorium', as applied in Texel, received much attention in Manuel Antonio/Quepos as well. It forces one to think not only in terms of numbers but also in terms of quality.

Second, the deliberate attempts to link tourism to other sectors of the economy, especially agriculture by creating regional products, is an important strategy towards sustainable development. Although the results in Texel are promising, elaboration is necessary, especially in view of the difficult situation the agricultural sector finds itself. In Manuel Antonio/Quepos similar initiatives are still lacking, although there is some potential.

Third, the Foundation for Sustainable Texel is an interesting experiment to put the concept of 'sustainable tourism' firmly on the agenda. It is questionable however, if they must adhere to their limited scope (on the borderline of the profit and ecological margin). In the two case study areas it seems essential to incorporate the socio-cultural margin as well.

Last, the Certification in Sustainable Tourism Programme (CST) in Costa Rica and the 'Environmental Monitor' in the Netherlands are both strategies which already have the attention in other the countries as well.

Although interesting strategies in terms of sustainable tourism have been found in both regions, it seems legitimate to conclude that the overall balance in terms of results is still meagre. While fully acknowledging current practices and strategies, we feel that these are mainly concerned with a so-called 'tourism centric approach' to sustainable development. Instead discussion and action should become more focussed on the question *how impacts of globalisation through tourism can be accommodated at the local level in such a way that tourism strengthens sustainable development*. In this way, by addressing the relation between tourism and sustainable development more generally, real "strategic" issues can be tackled.

6.2   Discussion: the way forward

In terms of Dam (1997) a tourism centric approach includes the design of a strategic overall package, offering customer benefits, corporate liability, ecological impact and social acceptability. Only by carefully designing product and policy development, which acknowledges and balances the four margins, can a region achieve a sustainable position within its tourism macro-marketing environment. In practice however, as we have seen, most of the time *some* of the margins are dealt with, and then only *partially*. It is a real challenge to complete fully such a strategic design.

Even more challenging is to implement an approach, which ideally not only meets the criteria of sustainable tourism but supports sustainable development in general and meets the requirements of inter- and intra-generation equality (see Hunter, 1995).

For example on Texel one might question what the rational is of introducing over 1000 people as season labourers from the 'Overkant' in order to be able to receive the tourists in the peak season. Or one might question the current contribution of tourism to the preservation of the agricultural landscape, which still is negligible. In Manuel Antonio/Quepos one might question the way in which tourism development could lead to 'empowerment' of local groups, economically as well as politically (see also Furst and Hein, 2002). As we have seen, none of the discussions and practices, let alone strategies, in the two regions are as yet framed in terms of this more fundamental discussion.

The role of the local government

Integrating these kind of positions requires more willingness on the part of local governments and organisations to shift from traditional modes of policy making and implementation towards embracing more direct forms of participatory democracy, new forms of democratic dialogue, and accountability. According to Carley and Christie (2000: 293) these new forms should draw diverse stakeholders into deliberation on complex choices about how to bring about the sustainable and holistic regeneration of communities and local economies, and to move towards sustainable production and consumption. It also demands a process of public education and genuine 'empowerment' of citizens on a large scale to motivate more people to take up the opportunities for a more direct engagement in decision making.

In other words, the complexity and fluidity of the process of sustainable development of tourism calls for organisations to acknowledge their interdependency among themselves and with the government. It also means the 'enabling' state gives strategic

guidance and creates "conditions to unlock innovation in the private and community sectors, often by devolving responsibility within a broader framework which encourages information flow about societal options" (Carley and Christie, 2000: 65).

But even the 'enabling' state can play various roles. Generally speaking three roles are distinguished (Berkers et al, 1996):

- The role of *director*. Based on a compelling vision of the future, the government mobilises, organises and directs the participation of public and private partners. The procedures of drawing up plans and negotiation are open and transparent and weaker parties are enabled (with for example information or subsidies) to participate;
- The role of *partner*. Through public-private partnerships, regions are developed and professionalism is supported. There is more focus on implementation than development of vision (as in the case of the government as director);
- The role of *referee*. A strong division of tasks between the public and private ask for a government which on the one hand keeps private partners within the limits of the law, but on the other hand removes obstacles for private initiative.

Which role to choose? There is no one "best" solution although utilisation of acting networks seems an essential ingredient. But networking as such is no panacea. As we have seen in our case studies, not all problems are responsive to consensus–building, as the path to sustainability is marked by clashes of values, which may not always or will only be resolved by mediation or stakeholder consultation. Sometimes determined leadership and tough (self)regulation is needed as well.

Therefore, depending on the context, the definition of the situation regarding sustainability and tourism, and the political situation, governments can play various roles. On Texel the government is blamed for not being enough of a referee (see Chapters 4 and 5). More importantly however is the fact that there is still not one comprehensive and compelling vision that has been worked out. They hesitated to make use of the outcomes of the Texel 2030 process. Despite all the memoranda on the island, there are still many different visions and not one shared vision on the future of the island. The island calls for a 'director' which not only enables existing networks but also guides them to solutions. In Manuel Antonio/Quepos the government is too much of a partner (of particular interests) and definitely not enough of an independent referee. Following and implementing existing rules and regulations and facilitating participation of all parties involved, including NGOs, seems to be the first assignment for the local government in Manual Antonio/Quepos. More generally, institutional strengthening of the local municipality and council seems compulsory in both regions. One might question the feasibility of dealing with 'global issues' created by the influx of respectively

200,000 tourists in Manuel Antonio/Quepos and more than 800,000 in Texel by a municipality designed for dealing with local problems related to a population of only approximately 15,000 people.

Therefore in the last part of this chapter there are recommendations on proposals for additional bilateral projects. These are directed towards the development of new strategies.

6.3 New avenues in the Sustainable Development Agreement

This comparative research revealed ample opportunities for future projects[49] directed towards sustainable development of tourism. Obviously, these should follow the principles of the SDA based on equality, reciprocity and participation. In a recent evaluation of the SDA, reciprocity is considered the most innovative and original of the SDA principles and participation the most successful. Participation in the "Costa Rican experience of the SDA has been of considerable importance and is possibly the greatest positive element of the whole SDA work" (ITAD, 2000: 7).

Reciprocity and participation could be worked out in :
- A bilateral project in which various stakeholders exchange their perspectives, knowledge and expertise. Linking *Sint Donatus* with *El Silencio*, *De Krim* with *Si Como No*, the Association for Local Development with the Foundation for Sustainable Texel, the manager of the Manuel Antonio National Park with *Ecomare* (see various Boxes), and last but not least, representatives from the two municipalities as well as the intermingling of representatives from the various sectors could create important learning effects. The impact would be not only for the two regions but in other regions in the world as well;
- In projects aimed at 'local empowerment'. In both regions a lively civil society exists. For various reasons their participation in the process of design and decision making in tourism development still leaves much to be desired. Bilateral activities should address issues such as economic empowerment (local ownership and control, strengthening of small scale entrepreneurs), cultural empowerment (linkages between the local and the tourism culture) and political empowerment (new forms of democratic participation);
- Action research projects in which researchers together with relevant networks discuss sustainable development of tourism. For

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[49] In these projects especially the 'social margins' should be tested. These aspects are largely neglected in the Netherlands and hence should be addressed. In Costa Rica the social margin, in particular, provides a fertile area for developing sustainable development of tourism.

example, combined 'design workshops' in which time-space specific options for tourism developments (accommodation, attractions), new forms of networking aimed at linking tourism, agriculture and nature, or environmental management systems can also be probed. These design workshops are collaborative endeavours in which groups of practitioners work together to better understand their own practice, to increase their awareness of the impacts of their practice, and of their control over the situation in which they work[50].

In a preceding study (see Duim and Caalders, 2000) we already argued that the SDA opens new avenues for sustainable development of tourism. Although the desire to realise tangible results in the short run by supporting many different small projects is understandable and sound, it is questionable if only this strategy would be favoured by the SDA. This particular research project has paved the way for further projects focussing on the question how the process of sustainable development of tourism could be organised and facilitated and how new strategies for sustainable development of tourism can be implemented

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[50] See for example Brown in: Carley and Christie (2000)

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List of abbreviations

CST   *Certificación para la Sostenibilidad Turística*
(Certification for Sustainable Tourism)

CBS   *Centraal Bureau voor Statistiek*
(Statistics Netherlands)

DOV   *Duurzame OntwikkelingsVerdrag*
(Sustainable Development Agreement)

EIA   Environmental Impact Assessment

FLACSO   *Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales*
(Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences)

ICT   *Instituto Costarricense de Turismo*
(Costarican Tourism Institute)

ILO   International Labour Organisation

MINAE   *Ministeria de Ambiente y Energía*
(Ministry of Environment and Energy)

LIA   Liveability Impact Assessment

NGO   non-governmental organisation

NIOZ   *Nederlands Institute voor Onderzoek der Zee*
(Netherlands Institute for Sea Research)

PLN   *Partido Liberación Nacional*
(National Liberation Party)

PUSC   *Partido Unidad Social Cristiana*
(Social Christian Union Party)

SDA   Sustainable Development Agreement

TESO   *Texels Eigen Stoomboot Onderneming*
(Texels Own Steamboat Company)

TVL   *Texelse Vereniging voor Logiesverstrekkers*
(Texels Foundation for Accommodation suppliers)

TVO   *Texels Verbond van Ondernemers*
(Texels Association of Entrepreneurs)

UNCED   United Nations Conference in Environment and
Development

VOC   *Verenigde Oost-Indische compagnie*
(Dutch East-Indian Company)

VVV   *Vereniging voor Vreemdelingenverkeer*
(Foundation Promotion the Netherlands)

WLTO   *Westelijke Land- en Tuinbouw Organisatie*
(Agri- and horticultural organisation West Netherlands)

WTTC   World Travel and Tourism Council

WTO   World Tourism Organisation

Profile of researchers

René van der Duim studied tourism at the Institute for Tourism and Transport Studies in Breda and sociology at Tilburg University. He was a lecturer in leisure and tourism studies at the Institute in Breda (1978-1985) and worked at the Foundation for Outdoor Recreation in The Hague (1985 – 1994). Since 1991 he lectures and directs research projects at the Department of Environmental Studies, Socio-spatial analysis Group (see: www.wau.nl/rpv), Wageningen University, the Netherlands. His research focuses on the relation between tourism and sustainable development, specifically in the Netherlands, Costa Rica and Kenya. E-mail: rene.vanderduim@users.rpv.wau.nl

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Luisa van Duynen Montijn studied tourism at the the Faculty for Economic and Social Sciences of the National University of Mar del Plata in Argentina. She is finishing her Masters in Ecotourism at the Polytechnic University of Madrid (Spain). After her work with FLACSO, assisiting in different research projects, she now works as a consultant at Cooprena R.L. (a Costarican co-operative consortium of agro-ecotourism initiatives; see www.agroecoturismo.net).

Nanda Ritsma completed her studies in tourism and recreation at Wageningen University in 1998. After her study she spent a year in Kenya surveying the consequences of tourism development for the Masaai in the Amboseli region. Since January 2001 Nanda works at BUITEN Consultancy (see www.bureaubuiten.nl) in Utrecht, the Netherlands. E-mail: nanda.ritsma@bureaubuiten.nl

Appendix 1

List of persons and organisations interviewed

People interviewed on Texel

Mr. P. Bakker, alderman of the municipality Texel
Mr. F. Blanken, Foundation '10 voor Texel'
Mrs. N. Bloksma, Foundation 'Duurzaam Texel'
Mr. Prof. H. Brezet, Technical University Delft
Mr. W. Brons, hotel en catering industry, Horeca NL
Mr. P. van Heerwaarden, real estate agent on Texel
Mr. J. Hin, local association for agriculture and horticulture, WLTO
Mrs. A. Koorn, central employment exchange (Den Helder)
Mr. J. Kuiper, centre for wetlands Texel, EcoMare
Mrs. L. Lugtmeijer, Tourism Board Texel, VVV
Mrs. A. Meijer, province of North Holland
Mr. G. Nieuwland, Foundation '10 voor Texel'
Mr. A. Oosterbaan, employee EcoMare/member of council (GrL)
Mr. J. Rab, chairman local association for entrepreneurs, TVO
Mr. M. van Rijsselberghe, ecological farm St. Donatus
Mr. Le Roux, municipality Texel
Mrs. R. van der Tempel, ecological farm De Noordkroon
Mr. Teisman, hotel and catering industry, Horeca NL
Mr. M. Warnaar, director bungalow centre 'De Krim'
Mrs. M. Wintermans, employment exchange Texel
Mr. R. Wortel, ferry services organisation Texel, TESO
Mr. H.P. Wuis, chairman local association for accommodation, TVL

People interviewed in Manuel Antonio/Quepos

Mr. Russ Jensen, Vicepresident of the Cámara de Comercio, Industria y Turismo de Aguirre

Mr. Walter Baker, treasurer of the Cámara de Comercio, Industria y Turismo de Aguirre

Mr. Erick Asch, spokemann of the Grupo Manuel Antonio

Mr. Jesús Alberto Fallas Zúñiga, president of the Asociación de Guías Locales de Aguirre (AGUILA)

Mr. Rolando Artiñano Ortiz, president of the Asociación Nacional de Operadores de Transportes Acuáticos (ANOTA)

Mr. José Rafael León Mora, manager of COOPESILENCIO R.L

Mr. José Matey Fonseca, coordinator of the Consejo Local Ambiental

Mr. Albán Brenes Núñez, vicepresident of the Comité de Lucha y Defensa por el Cantón de Aguirre

Mr. Erick Vilchez Murillo, secretary of the Comité de Vecinos y Empresarios de Manuel Antonio

Mr. Gerardo Chavarría Orozco, president of the Asociación Cámara de Pescadores de Quepos

Mr. Oscar Chevez, president of the Asociación de Desarrollo Integral de Quepos

Mr. José Alberto Vargas Agüero, president of the Asociación de Desarrollo Integral de Manuel Antonio

Mr. José Alfredo Grajal Gamboa, treasurer of the Asociación de Desarrollo Integral de La Unión de Santo Domingo

Mr. Juan Carlos Barahona, administrative manager of the Asociación de Taxistas de Quepos

Mr. Víctor Hugo Rodríguez, first member of the Asociación de Taxistas y Choferes de Quepos-Manuel Antonio

Mrs. Julia Vargas Molina, president of the Asociación Mujeres, Familia y Comunidad de Quepos (ASOMUFACQ)

Mrs. Maribel Barboza Mena, member of the Asociación de Mujeres de El Silencio (ASOMUSI)

Mr. Víctor Hugo Chavarría, Executive Director of Fundación CORROHORE

Mr. Uladislao Alvarado Chávez, Executive Director of the Asociación Pro –fomento del Proyecto Productivo de la Subregión de Quepos (ASOPROQUEPOS)

Mr. José Antonio Salazar, co-director of the Oficina del Parque Nacional de Manuel Antonio

Mr. Giovanni Acuña Quirós, municipal president, Municipalid ad del Cantón de Aguirre

Appendix 2

Samples and response of household surveys

The Dutch survey

A random sample of 300 households on Texel was taken from a database containing all addresses on the island. The sample thus included addresses both in- and outside the seven villages on the island. The surveys were conducted during two weeks in February, both during weekdays and on Saturday. If nobody responded the door, the next (and second-next) house to the left and to the right were visited. This usually generated a response.

A total of 520 people have been asked to participate in the survey. In the end 234 people filled in the questionnaire. This results in a total response of 45% in the Dutch household survey.

The 234 respondents are representatively divided over the different villages. Respondents of al age groups are well-represented in the survey. When comparing the respondents to the entire local community (older than 19 year) on Texel, it appears that people in the age of 50 to 69 are somewhat over-represented compared to the total population. As the results did not show significant differences in response between younger and elderly respondents, results have not been standardised.

Age (in percentages)	Texel (CBS, 2000)	respondents (N=234)
20-29 years old	13.8	9.4
30-39 years old	20.1	19.6
40-49 years old	20.9	15.4
50-59 years old	19.8	24.4
60-69 years old	11.0	17.5
70 year and older	14.4	13.7

There is a small overrepresentation of women in the Dutch survey: 58% of the respondents are woman against 51% of the population on Texel. The survey is also not completely representing the different political preferences of the people according to their votes of the last municipality elections in 1998.

Votes on local political parties (in percentages)	Texel (CBS, 2000)	Respondents (N=186)
CDA	21.0	19.9
PvdA	12.6	13.4
VVD	17.0	25.3
D'66	7.1	15.1
Groen Links	17.8	14.0
Texels Belang (local party)	24.5	12.4

The Costarican Survey

The Costarican sample is taken out of 2625 households living in the built up area of Quepos. This quantity of households has been determined by a manual count of houses identified on maps used for the National Census in 2000. A total of 328 people are interviewed in the district of Quepos including Manuel Antonio. The household survey does not include rural areas in the district but covers 11 areas: Quepos Centre, Manuel Antonio, Cocal, Boca Vieja, Punta Naranjo, Finca Anita, La Inmaculada, Precario el Consejo, Colinas del Este, Lourdes and Llamaron.

Because of the way of sampling, the survey can be considered representative for the registered households in the area. With regard to representativity of individuals, it can be concluded that with a total number of individuals of 10,763 the average number of people living in a household is 4.1 in the Quepos district. In the Costarican survey this average is 4.0.

Appendix 3

Questionnaire Texel

Vragenlijst onderzoek Manuel Antonio - Texel

Respondent = persoon die op Texel woont, behorende tot het betreffende huishouden, ouder dan 18 jaar.

Indien men niet thuis is of als men niet wil meewerken, buren links proberen (2x), daarna rechts (2x) van oorspronkelijke adres van steekproeflijst. Pas na de vijfde deur afwezig of weigering, ga je naar volgende adres van de steekproeflijst.
Geef dit proces aan op de steekproeflijst (invullen van A dan wel W, en huisnummer uiteindelijke respondent)!

Introductie van enquête:

De Costaricaanse Faculteit voor Sociale Wetenschappen (FLACSO), Buiten, Bureau voor Economie & Omgeving en Wageningen Universiteit doen een vergelijkend onderzoek naar toerisme en duurzame ontwikkeling van toerisme in Manuel Antonio (Costa Rica) en op Texel.

Het doel van dit onderzoek is een bijdrage te leveren aan het op een duurzame wijze ontwikkelen van toerisme in beide gebieden.

Via deze vragenlijst willen we informatie verzamelen over de werkgelegenheidssituatie op Texel en de rol van de gemeente in de toeristische ontwikkeling. Verder willen we graag uw mening horen over een aantal belangrijke onderwerpen met betrekking tot de ontwikkeling van toerisme op Texel.

Het afnemen van de vragenlijst zal ongeveer een half uur in beslag nemen.

ALLE GEGEVENS WORDEN STRIKT VERTROUWELIJK BEHANDELD.

Indien respondent wil meewerken, geef dan nog een korte introductie van vragenlijst:

De vragenlijst bestaat uit verschillende delen en is zo ingedeeld dat er een vergelijking met Costa Rica kan plaatsvinden. Allereerst zal ik enkele vragen stellen over de samenstelling van uw huishouden, d.w.z. alle personen die in dit huis wonen en die gezamenlijk een huishouding voeren.

Daarna wil ik graag meer weten over de werkzaamheden van de personen in uw huishouden.

Uiteindelijk zullen we het gaan hebben over uw verbondenheid met Texel en uw mening over de ontwikkeling van toerisme op Texel en het gemeentebeleid van Texel.

Heeft u nog vragen voordat ik met het afnemen van de vragenlijst begin?

Respondentnummer: (achteraf in te vullen)

Naam interviewer:

Datum interview:

Dorp/plaats interview:

Binnen/buiten bebouwde kom:

Deel A   Samenstelling huishouden

De vragen in dit deel en het volgende zijn vrij uitgebreid. Dit is om te achterhalen of iemand werkzaam is in de toerisme-industrie. De uitgebreidheid van deze vragen is om een goede vergelijking met het onderzoek in Costa Rica mogelijk te maken. In Costa Rica is namelijk nog weinig onderzoek gedaan naar de werkgelegenheidssituatie in toerisme.

Allereerst wil ik graag de samenstelling van uw huishouden weten.

Vraag 1. Hoeveel personen in huishouden?	Vraag 2. Is dit persoon een man of een vrouw?	Vraag 3. Wat is de leeftijd van deze persoon?	Vraag 4. Wat is het opleidingsniveau (hoogst behaalde opleiding) van deze persoon?	Vraag 5. Wat is de hoofdactiviteit van deze persoon?
N.B. Omcirkel het nummer van respondent!!	1 = man 2 = vrouw	0 t/m 98 99 = onbekend/ geen antwoord	1=lager onderwijs 2=lager beroepsonderwijs (LBO, LTS, LHNO) 3=middelbaar algemeen voortgezet onderwijs (MAVO, MULO) en middelbaar beroepsonderwijs (MBO, MTS, MEAO) 4=hoger algemeen voorbereidend wetenschappelijk onderwijs (HAVO, VWO, HBS, Atheneum, Gymnasium) 5=hoger beroeps- en wetenschappelijk onderwijs 9= geen antwoord/onbekend	1 = werkzaam (loondienst, eigen bedrijf, onbetaalde arbeid in familie bedrijf) 2 = werkzoekend 3 = huisvrouw/man 4 = gepensioneerd 5= studerend/scholier 6= anders, t.w....... (bvb. vrijwilligerswerk) 9= geen antwoord/ onbekend
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				

2

Deel B.1   Werkgelegenheidssituatie

Voor ieder lid van het huishouden die (on-)betaalde arbeid verricht (Deel A, vraag 5, categorie 1) een formulier invullen!!! Vul het eerste formulier in voor de eerst genoemde werkzame persoon uit vraag 5, et cetera. Indien nodig, extra delen B aan deze enquête toevoegen.

Vul eerst ter controle opnieuw de persoonsgegevens in uit Deel A.

Vraag 1 (nummer):
Vraag 3 (sekse):
Vraag 4 (leeftijd):
Vraag 5 (opleidingsniveau):

Nu wil ik graag enkele vragen stellen over de werkzaamheden van alle leden van het huishouden die (on-) betaalde arbeid verrichten. Voor elk van deze leden zou ik graag een antwoord op de volgende vragen willen hebben.
Laten we beginnen bij (eerste 'werkzame persoon' bij vraag 5, deel A genoemd)....

1. **Wat is uw (zijn/haar) beroep?**
    ....
    ....
    ....

2. **Is hij/zij, bent u werkzaam in loondienst of als zelfstandige**
    (Omcirkel het gegeven antwoord)
    1. in loondienst bij een privé-onderneming
    2. in loondienst bij (semi-)overheid
    3. als zelfstandige werkzaam, zonder personeel
    4. als zelfstandige werkzaam, met personeel
    5. noch in loondienst, noch als zelfstandige t.w. ....
    9. geen antwoord/onbekend

3. **Hoe lang heeft u (hij/zij) deze werkkring al?**   .... jaar

4. **Hoeveel uren per week gemiddeld werkt u (hij/zij)?**   .... uren per week

5. **In welke sector bent u (is hij/zij) werkzaam?**
    (Omcirkel het gegeven antwoord)
    1. landbouw
    2. visserij
    3. industrie, nijverheid, openbare nutsbedrijven
    4. bouwsector
    5. groothandel / detailhandel (winkels)
    6. café / restaurant
    7. logiesverstrekking (hotel, bungalowpark, camping, kampeerboerderij e.d.); incl. hotel/restaurant, hotel/café e.d.
    8. transport
    9. commerciële dienstverlening (bank en verzekeringswezen, advocaat, arts, computerbedrijf e.d.)
    10. overheidsinstelling (gemeente of provincie)
    11. andere niet-commerciële dienstverlening (onderwijs, wetenschappelijke instelling, kerk, publieke omroep, e.d.)
    12. recreatie en toerisme (anders dan bij 6 en 7; bvb. museum, attractiepark)
    13. anders, t.w. ....
    99. geen antwoord/onbekend

3

6. **In welke sector was u (hij/zij) hiervoor werkzaam?**
   (Omcirkel het gegeven antwoord)
   1. landbouw
   2. visserij
   3. industrie, nijverheid, openbare nutsbedrijven
   4. bouwsector
   5. groothandel / detailhandel (winkels)
   6. café / restaurant
   7. logiesverstrekking (hotel, bungalowpark, camping, kampeerboerderij e.d.); incl. Hotel/restaurant, café/restaurant en dergelijke
   8. transport
   9. commerciële dienstverlening (bank en verzekeringswezen, advocaat, arts, computerbedrijf e.d.)
   10. overheidsinstelling (gemeente of provincie)
   11. andere niet-commerciële dienstverlening (onderwijs, wetenschappelijke instelling, kerk, publieke omroep, e.d.)
   12. recreatie en toerisme (anders dan bij 6 en 7; bvb. museum, attractiepark)
   13. anders, nl. ………………..
   99. geen antwoord/onbekend

7. **Hoeveel personen werken in uw (zijn/haar) bedrijf/organisatie? (huidige baan/werk)**

   ………………….. personen   99.   geen antwoord/onbekend

8. **Waar bevindt zich uw (zijn/haar) werkplaats?**
   (Omcirkel het gegeven antwoord)
   1. op Texel   9.   geen antwoord/onbekend
   2. op het vaste land
   3. elders, t.w. ………………

9. **Is de eigenaar van dit bedrijf een:**
   (Omcirkel het gegeven antwoord)
   1. inwoner van Texel   9.   geen antwoord/onbekend
   2. inwoner van Nederland
   3. buitenlander

10. **Indien bij vraag 5, 7, 8 of 9 "geen antwoord/onbekend" is ingevuld, mogen wij dan de naam van dit bedrijf noteren?**

    ………………………………………………………………………………………………..

    (Omcirkel hieronder of het om een bedrijf op het gebied van recreatie en toerisme gaat)
    1. bedrijf op gebied toerisme, recreatie, horeca e.d.
    2. niet op dit terrein

4

Deel C.   Vragen over Texel

De volgende delen (C, D en E) moeten alleen voor de respondent worden ingevuld!!!
Vul eerst ter controle opnieuw de persoonsgegevens in uit Deel A.

Vraag 1 (nummer):
Vraag 3 (sekse):
Vraag 4 (leeftijd):
Vraag 5 (opleidingsniveau):

De volgende vragen gaan over uw relatie met Texel.

1.   **Waar bent u geboren?**
     (Omcirkel het gegeven antwoord)
     1.   op Texel *(ga naar vraag 3)*   9.   geen antwoord/onbekend *(ga naar vraag 3)*
     2.   elders in Noord Holland
     3.   elders in Nederland
     4.   in het buitenland, t.w...........................

2.   **Indien u niet op Texel bent geboren, hoe lang woont u al op Texel?**

     ....   jaar

3.   **Voelt u zich verbonden met Texel?**
     (Omcirkel het gegeven antwoord)
     1   helemaal niet   9.   geen mening/antwoord
     2   een beetje
     3   evenveel wel als niet
     4   redelijk veel / nogal
     5   heel erg

4.   **Waarom? Kunt u dit antwoord toelichten?**
     ....
     ....
     ....

5.   **Vindt u dat de Texelaars een andere lokale cultuur hebben dan 'Overkanters'?**
     (Omcirkel het gegeven antwoord)
     1   ja   9.   geen mening/antwoord
     2   nee

6.   **Waarom? Kunt u dit antwoord toelichten?**
     ....
     ....
     ....
     ....

7.   **Vindt u dat het toerisme het leven op Texel heeft veranderd?**
     (Omcirkel het gegeven antwoord)
     1.   helemaal niet *(ga naar deel D)*   9.   geen mening/antwoord *(ga naar deel D)*
     2.   een beetje (nauwelijks)
     3.   gedeeltelijk
     4.   veel
     5.   totaal veranderd

7

8.   Kunt u aangeven op welke manier Texel door toerisme is veranderd?

………

………

………

………

9.   Hoe waardeert u deze veranderingen?
(Omcirkel het gegeven antwoord)

1.   zeer negatief   9.   geen mening/antwoord *(ga naar deel D)*
2.   negatief
3.   neutraal *(na toelichting naar deel D)*
4.   positief *(na toelichting naar deel D)*
5.   zeer positief *(na toelichting naar deel D)*

Waarom? Kunt u dit antwoord toelichten?

………

………

………

………

10.   Wat kan worden gedaan om deze situatie te verbeteren?

………

………

………

………

11.   Wie zou dat moeten doen?

………

………

………

………

8

Deel D. Meningen over het gemeentebeleid

Nu wil ik u graag enkele vragen stellen over het gemeentebeleid.

1. Hoe waardeert u het gemeentelijke beleid met betrekking tot de ontwikkeling van Texel?
    (Omcirkel het gegeven antwoord)
    1. zeer negatief *(hieronder toelichten)*   9.   geen mening/antwoord
    2. negatief *(hieronder toelichten)*
    3. noch negatief, noch positief (neutraal)
    4. positief
    5. zeer positief

    Indien (zeer) negatief, waarom?
    ....
    ....
    ....

2. Hoe waardeert u het gemeentelijke beleid met betrekking tot de <u>toeristische</u> ontwikkeling van Texel?
    (Omcirkel het gegeven antwoord)
    1. zeer negatief *(hieronder toelichten)*   9.   geen mening/antwoord
    2. negatief *(hieronder toelichten)*
    3. noch negatief, noch positief (neutraal)
    4. positief
    5. zeer positief

    Indien (zeer) negatief, waarom?
    ....
    ....
    ....

3. Vindt u dat het gemeentelijk beleid in bepaalde opzichten moet veranderen?
    (Omcirkel het gegeven antwoord)
    1. ja   9.   geen mening/antwoord *(ga naar vraag 5)*
    2. nee *(na toelichting naar vraag 5)*

    Waarom wel/niet?
    ....
    ....
    ....

4. Indien ja, in welke opzichten moet het gemeentelijk beleid veranderen?
    ....
    ....
    ....
    ....

5. Vindt u dat de gemeente voldoende rekening houdt met de mening van burgers?
    (Omcirkel het gegeven antwoord)
    1. ja   9.   geen mening/antwoord
    2. nee

    Eventuele toelichting:
    ....
    ....

9

6   **Kent u het proces Texel 2030?**
(Omcirkel het gegeven antwoord)
1.   ja   9.   geen antwoord
2.   nee

7   **Vindt u dat uw mening voldoende tot haar recht is gekomen in het proces Texel 2030??**
(Omcirkel het gegeven antwoord)
1.   ja   9.   geen mening/antwoord
2.   nee

Waarom wel/niet? Kunt u uw antwoord toelichten?
……………………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………

8   **Vindt u dat de gemeente in voldoende mate toeziet op de handhaving van beleid?**
(Omcirkel het gegeven antwoord)
1.   ja   9.   geen mening/antwoord
2.   nee

Waarom wel/niet? Kunt u uw antwoord toelichten?
……………………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………………

9   **Mag ik vragen op welke partij u heeft gestemd bij de laatste gemeenteraadsverkiezingen (in 1998)?**
(Omcirkel het gegeven antwoord)
1   Texels Belang
2   CDA
3   PvdA
4   Groen Links (incl. Groenen)
5   VVD
6   Overig, t.w. ……………
7   niet gestemd
9   geen antwoord

10   **Kunt u aangeven in welke categorie het totale netto inkomen van uw huishouden valt? Het gaat om het inkomen na aftrek van loonbelasting?**
(Omcirkel het gegeven antwoord)
1.   minder dan fl. 2500- netto per maand
2.   tussen fl. 2500,- en fl. 3500,- netto per maand
3.   tussen fl. 3500,- en fl. 5000,- netto per maand
4.   meer dan fl. 5000,- netto per maand
9.   geen antwoord/onbekend

10

Deel E. Stellingen over toerisme op Texel

Tot slot wil ik u graag enkele stellingen voorleggen.
Kunt u aangeven of u met deze stelling geheel eens, eens, oneens of geheel oneens bent?

(Vul het nummer 1, 2, 3, 4 of 5 in de betreffende kolom;
1. geheel mee oneens
2. mee oneens
3. noch eens, noch oneens
4. eens
5. geheel mee eens)

	helemaal niet mee eens	niet mee eens	neutraal	mee eens	helemaal mee eens
	1	2	3	4	5
1. 'Overkanters' hebben te veel invloed op de ontwikkeling van toerisme op Texel					
2. Het zou goed zijn als het aantal toeristen in het laagseizoen zou toenemen					
3. Toerisme versterkt de lokale identiteit van Texel					
4. De economie van Texel is te veel afhankelijk van toerisme					
5. Het slaapplaatsenplafond van 47.000 bedden kan wat mij betreft worden verhoogd					
6. Toerisme draagt bij aan de leefbaarheid op Texel					
7. De bouw van hotels, bungalows gaat ten koste van natuur en milieu					
8. De toeristische ontwikkeling op Texel is goed ingepast in het landschap					
9. Toerisme zorgt voor veel overlast op Texel					
10. Alles overziend heeft toerisme een positieve invloed op Texel					

Heeft u nog vragen of opmerkingen naar aanleiding van de enquête?
....
....
....

Hartelijk dank voor uw medewerking!

11

Appendix 4

Questionnaire Manuel Antonio/Quepos

**FACULTAD LATINOAMERICANA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES (FLACSO)
SEDE COSTA RICA**

**INVESTIGACION: TURISMO SOSTENIBLE EN HOLANDA Y COSTA RICA. Los
casos de Texel y Manuel Antonio**

ENCUESTA DE HOGARES

La Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, FLACSO, Sede Académica de Costa Rica, la Universidad de Wageningen y el BUITEN Consultancy (estos últimos organismos holandeses) están realizando un estudio sobre el impacto del turismo en Manuel Antonio-Quepos en comparación con la Isla Texel en Holanda. Con este estudio se quiere elaborar un informe que contribuya a promover políticas que fortalezcan a las comunidades y sus organizaciones ante los cambios que está provocando el turismo . Por ello le agradecemos su colaboración. SU NOMBRE SE MANTENDRÁ EN LA MAS ESTRICTA CONFIDENCIALIDAD.

**ENTREVISTAR AL AMA DE CASA O CUALQUIER ADULTO QUE SE
ENCUENTRE EN LA VIVIENDA EN EL MOMENTO DE LA VISITA**

Nota: Tener presente la siguiente definición de hogar: " es la persona sola o grupo de personas con vínculos familiares o sin ellos, que contribuya a un presupuesto común y participa de la alimentación". Una vivienda puede estar ocupada por uno o varios hogares. (Solo se encuesta un hogar por vivienda)

Comunidad: _____

Boleta No. _____ Encuestador (a) _____

Fecha _____

Boleta completa _____ Incompleta _____

Dirección exacta _____

MODULO A: COMPOSICION DEL HOGAR

LINEA No.	NOMBRE	RELACION DE PARENTESCO	SEXO	EDAD	ESCOLARIDAD	CONDICION DE ACTIVIDAD
Encierre en un circulo el número de línea correspondiente a la persona que suministra información.	Anote el nombre de todos los miembros del hogar. Comience con el jefe del hogar.	Cuál es la relación de cada persona con el (la) jefe (a) del hogar? Jefe(a)............01 Esposa(o) o Compañera(o)..... 02 Hijo(a) .... 03 Yerno o nuera..... 04 Nieto(a)............ 05 Padres o suegros..06 Otros familiares.... 07 Servicio doméstico y sus familiares....... 08 Pensionista.......... 09 Otros no familiares............10	Hombre...1 Mujer.... 2	Anote la edad en años cumplidos. Anote 00 para los menores de 1 año.	Cuál es su último grado o año aprobado? (Solo para personas de 5 años o más)	Ocupado(a).........1 Desempleado(a)....2 Quehaceres domésticos..........3 Estudiantes...........4 Jubilados o Pensionados........5 Otro(especificar)....6 (Solo para personas de 10 años o más)
01						
02						
03						
04						
05						
06						
07						
08						

(Utilice otra hoja si hay mas de ocho miembros)

2

MODULO B: EMPLEO

(PREGUNTE SOLO SOBRE LAS PERSONAS CUYA CONDICIÓN DE ACTIVIDAD, DECLARADA EN EL <u>MÓDULO A</u>, ES DE OCUPADO (A). UTILICE CUESTIONARIO (MODULO B) DISTINTO PARA CADA PERSONA).

No de boleta:_____ Nombre: _____

PARA USO DE FLACSO			
jefatura	sexo	edad	escolaridad

1. ¿ En qué consiste su trabajo?: _____

_____

2. ¿ En ese trabajo es: (LEA OPCIONES)

Empleado/a de empresa privada [1]   Empleado/a público/a [2]   Cuenta propia [3]

Patrono con personal a cargo [4]   Trabajador/a familiar no remunerado/a [5]   Empleado/a doméstico/a [6]

Otro/a [7]

3. ¿ Hace cuántos años tiene ese trabajo?:_____

4 a. ¿ Cuántos días trabaja habitualmente por semana?:_____
4 b. ¿ Cuántas horas trabaja habitualmente por día?:_____

5. En ese trabajo, ¿ cotiza al seguro social?:   Sí [1]   No [2]

6. ¿ Qué produce o a qué se dedica el establecimiento en que trabaja?: _____ [   ]

7. ¿ Cuántas personas trabajan en ese establecimiento?

8. ¿ Dónde se localiza este establecimiento?:_____

En el M.A-Quepos [1]   Fuera de M.A.- Quepos en este país [2]

En el extranjero [3]

4

EN CASO DE TRABAJAR EN UNA EMPRESA PRIVADA O FAMILIAR

9. ¿ Cuál es el nombre de la empresa?:_____   ☐

10. El (la) dueño(a) de esta empresa es de:

De M.A-Quepos ☐ 1   Fuera de M.A.- Quepos
                          pero de Costa Rica ☐ 2

Extranjero ☐ 3

11. ¿Dónde trabajaba anteriormente? (INDICAR LO QUE PRODUCIA O A LO QUE SE
    DEDICABA ESE ESTABLECIMIENTO DONDE TRABAJABA)_____
_____
_____
_____

MODULO C: IDENTIDAD

PARA USO DE FLACSO			
jefatura ☐	sexo ☐	edad ☐	escolaridad ☐

1. ¿Dónde nació usted?: _____

En el mismo ☐ 1 En otro municipio ☐ 2
municipio   de la misma prov.   ¿Dónde?_____.

En otro lugar ☐ 3
del país   ¿Dónde? _____.

En el extranjero ☐ 4   ¿Dónde? :_____

2. EN CASO DE NO HABER NACIDO EN MANUEL ANTONIO-QUEPOS. ¿Hace cuántos años que vive en Manuel Antonio-Quepos?: _____

3.¿ Hasta qué punto se siente identificado con este lugar?: (LEER OPCIONES)

Nada ☐ 1

Un poco ☐ 2

Más o menos ☐ 3

Mucho ☐ 4

Totalmente ☐ 5

4.¿Por qué? : _____
_____   ☐

5. ¿ Siente Usted que la gente de Manuel Antonio – Quepos tiene una cultura diferente de la que existe en otros municipios?

SÍ ☐ 1   No ☐ 2   NS/ NR ☐ 3

6.¿ Por qué?: _____
_____   ☐

7. El turismo, ¿Piensa usted, qué ha impactado la vida de este lugar? (LEER OPCIONES)

Nada | 1 |

Un poco | 2 |

Más o menos | 3 |

Mucho | 4 |

Totalmente | 5 |

8. ¿De qué manera? : _____
_____ | |

9. EN CASO DE RESPONDER 2, 3, 4, 5. EN LA PREGUNTA 7, ¿ Cómo valora este impacto? (LEA OPCIONES):

Muy malo | 1 |

Malo | 2 |

Neutral | 3 |

Bueno | 4 |

Muy bueno | 5 |

10. ¿ Por qué?: _____
_____

12. EN CASO DE RESPONDER "MALO" O "MUY MALO" EN LA PREGUNTA 9, ¿Qué se debería hacer para que esto mejore ?_____.
_____.
_____.

12. ¿Qué institución, organización o persona sería la responsable de trabajar en esta situación? (Es decir en la indicada en la pregunta anterior) _____.
_____.

MODULO D: PERCEPCIONES SOBRE LA MUNICIPALIDAD

1. ¿Cómo valora el papel de la municipalidad respecto al desarrollo de la comunidad? (LEA OPCIONES)

Muy Malo [1]   ¿Por qué? _____

Malo [2]   ¿Por qué?_____

Regular [3]   Bueno [4]   Muy bueno [5]

NS/ NR [6]

2. ¿Cómo valora el papel de la municipalidad respecto al desarrollo del turismo? (LEA OPCIONES)

Muy Malo [1]   ¿Por qué? _____

Malo [2]   ¿Por qué?_____

Regular [3]   Bueno [4]   Muy bueno [5]

NS/ NR [6]

3 ¿Considera que la municipalidad debería cambiar en algún aspecto?

Sí [1]   No [2]   NS / NR [3]

4.¿ Por qué?:_____   [   ]
_____

5. En caso de contestar "SI", en ¿Cuál aspecto debería cambiar?_____
_____

_____.

6¿ Ofrece la municipalidad posibilidades de participación a los miembros de la comunidad?

Sí [1]   No [2]   NS / NR [3]

7. ¿Ha participado usted en alguna actividad organizada por la municipalidad durante este año?

Sí | 1 | No | 2 | NS / NR | 3 |

8. En cuál _____

_____.

MODULO E : INGRESOS DEL HOGAR

1. ¿ Cuál ha sido el ingreso efectivamente recibido EN EL ÚLTIMO MES por los miembros del hogar ya sea por salario (cuando se trate de asalariados), o bien, de ganancias o utilidades (excluidos los gastos de operación), cuando se trate de patronos(as) o cuentapropistas?

LLENAR EL SIGUIENTE CUADRO SOBRE INGRESOS

NOMBRE (Empezar por el (la) jefe(a)	INGRESOS	PERIODICIDAD	APORTE AL HOGAR

2.¿Qué otros ingresos recibe el hogar ya sea por pensiones, arriendos, remesas u otro tipo?

Tipo	Monto	Periodicidad
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

MODULO F. OTRAS PERCEPCIONES SOBRE EL IMPACTO DEL TURISMO

1. La influencia de extranjeros en el desarrollo del turismo en Manuel Antonio – Quepos es muy grande. (LEER OPCIONES Y MARCAR SEGUN CONTESTE)

___1_____I____2_____I___3_____I___4_____I___5_____I
Totalmente   En desacuerdo   Neutral   De acuerdo   Totalmente de
en desacuerdo   acuerdo

2. Se debería incrementar el número de turistas en la temporada baja. (LEER OPCIONES Y MARCAR SEGUN CONTESTE)

1	2	3	4	5
Totalmente en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Neutral	De acuerdo	Totalmente de acuerdo

3. La economía de Manuel Antonio – Quepos es muy dependiente del turismo. (LEER OPCIONES Y MARCAR SEGUN CONTESTE)

1	2	3	4	5
Totalmente en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Neutral	De acuerdo	Totalmente de acuerdo

4. El turismo fortalece la identidad de Manuel Antonio – Quepos. (LEER OPCIONES Y MARCAR SEGUN CONTESTE)

1	2	3	4	5
Totalmente en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Neutral	De acuerdo	Totalmente de acuerdo

5. La región de Manuel Antonio - Quepos debería limitar la expansión del número de habitaciones. (LEER OPCIONES Y MARCAR SEGUN CONTESTE)

1	2	3	4	5
Totalmente en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Neutral	De acuerdo	Totalmente de acuerdo

6. El turismo en Manuel Antonio – Quepos contribuye a mejorar la calidad de vida de la población. (LEER OPCIONES Y MARCAR SEGUN CONTESTE)

1	2	3	4	5
Totalmente en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Neutral	De acuerdo	Totalmente de acuerdo

7. La construcción de hoteles, cabinas, etc. se realiza a expensas de la naturaleza y el medio ambiente. (LEER OPCIONES Y MARCAR SEGUN CONTESTE)

1	2	3	4	5
Totalmente en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Neutral	De acuerdo	Totalmente de acuerdo

8. El turismo en Manuel Antonio - Quepos es causante de muchos problemas. (LEER OPCIONES Y MARCAR SEGUN CONTESTE)

1	2	3	4	5
Totalmente en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Neutral	De acuerdo	Totalmente de acuerdo

9. Las construcciones turísticas en Manuel Antonio – Quepos están acordes con el paisaje. (LEER OPCIONES Y MARCAR SEGUN CONTESTE)

1	I 2	I 3	I 4	I 5 I
Totalmente en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Neutral	De acuerdo	Totalmente de acuerdo

10. El turismo en Manuel Antonio - Quepos es causante de que haya mucha drogadicción y prostitución. (LEER OPCIONES Y MARCAR SEGUN CONTESTE)

1	I 2	I 3	I 4	I 5 I
Totalmente en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Neutral	De acuerdo	Totalmente de acuerdo

11. Considerando todos los aspectos, el turismo tiene una influencia positiva en Manuel Antonio – Quepos. (LEER OPCIONES Y MARCAR SEGUN CONTESTE)

1	I 2	I 3	I 4	I 5 I
Totalmente en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	Neutral	De acuerdo	Totalmente de acuerdo

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CONCLUYA LA ENTREVISTA Y
AGRADEZCA LA ATENCION
```

Observaciones:_____
_____
_____
_____
_____