

**Masculinities and Intimacies: Performance and Negotiation in a Transnational
Tourist Town in Caribbean Costa Rica**

by

Kristofer Maksymowicz

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University of Manitoba

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Table of Contents

<i>Abstract</i>	iii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	iv
Preamble:	1
Part A - Good Vibes:.....	1
Part B - Hot Puerto Viejo Nights – Today’s Hits, Yesterday’s Classics:	4
Chapter 1 - Introduction:	8
Chapter 2: Theoretical Underpinnings – Subjectivity, Performance, and Relationality in a Transnational Tourist Town	27
2.1 – Yet Another Preamble - A Note on Theoretical Underpinnings:	27
2.2 – Theoretical Underpinnings - Post-Modernism, Performativity, and the Production of Sexuality:	29
2.3 – Augmenting Butler – Multiple Hegemonies, Intramasculine Mobility, and the Divisibility of the Subject:	34
2.4 – A Quick Note on the Contextualization of Ethnographic Data Within Anthropology, Latin American/Caribbean Studies, and Masculinities Studies:	40
2.5 - Methodology and Ethics:	41
Chapter 3 – Questioning Hierarchies of Desirability - Touristic Intimacy Between Foreign and Caribbean Men:	48
Part A - Vignette – My Baby Ran Away With a Rasta Man:	48
Part B: Questioning Hierarchies of Desirability - Touristic Intimacy Between Foreign and Caribbean Men:	53
3.1 – The Articulation of Hierarchy:.....	53
3.2 – Introducing Hegemony, Heterogeneity, and Homosociality:	59
3.3 – Conclusion:.....	67
Chapter 4 – Reiterating Performances of Western Masculinity:	69
Part A – Vignette – “Jah-Bless Sounds an Awful Lot Like Job-Less”: Poker Nights in Puerto Viejo.....	69
Part B - Reiterating Performances of Western Masculinity:	73
4.1 – Theorizing Repudiations as Materializing Performances:	73
4.2 – Climbing Hierarchies 1 - Repudiation:	77
4.3 Climbing Hierarchies 2 – Local Women:	81
Chapter 5 – Wanting to be Desired for Being a Good Man, Not What it Brings: Intimacies Between Foreign Men and Local Women:	84

Part A - Vignette – “Go ask your father for money...and tell him if he doesn’t have the passports, he’s sleeping in the bodega!”	84
Part B - Wanting to be Desired for being a Good Man, Not What Being a Good Man Brings:	87
Conclusions:	96
Appendix A:	104
Appendix B:	110
Appendix C:	111
Bibliography	113

Abstract

In Puerto Viejo de Talamanca, a transnational tourist town located on the Caribbean coast of Costa Rica, masculinities are expressed and embodied in multiple ways as a result of particular interactions that take place at the convergence of the global and the local. This thesis interrogates the masculine performances of Western tourist men in the context of a hierarchy of desirability complexly located at the intersections of sexuality, tourism, and globalization. Specifically, I argue that tourist men construct their masculinities in contestational and oppositional ways to those of local Caribbean men - constructions mediated through their homosocial encounters with men (both local Caribbean and foreign men), as well as their heterosexual intimate relationships with local women – in order to increase their statuses as more sexually desirable subjects in Puerto Viejo’s sexual landscape.

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Preamble:**Part A - Good Vibes:**

During the reflexive turn in anthropology, works of ethnography were realized to be somewhat fictitious (as containing both elements of truth and elements of fiction) and always partial (Clifford and Marcus 1990; Rabinow 1979; Hastrup 1999, etc.). The performance of writing about the lives, words, thoughts, and emotions of culturally and temporally situated actors in meaningful, yet, informed ways, then, is no easy task. Names and features are changed to protect anonymity, but this is, of course, not the total extent of the fictions that are created. As anthropologists, we can only write about what we see and experience, and only in ways that our positions as cultural subjects allow us to do so (not only because of how we see, understand, and interpret, but also because of how we are seen, understood, and interpreted by the people who allow us to work with them). The Puerto Viejo that I have come to know and experience is one very different than others may describe. It is based on my positions as a twenty-something, white, Canadian, and heterosexual privileged male. This thesis, then, is the product of such positioned and partial experiences, conversations, and observations. It is in no way meant to be totalizing or representative. It is, however, in no way unrepresentative either.

As human beings we experience the world through our bodies. An incomprehensible amount of synapses trigger the sights, smells, textures, sounds, tastes, and feelings that we experience on a daily basis. But, these experiences cannot be entirely attributed to biological processes, as meanings are applied to them by very different people, and in very different ways. My research, which is focused on Western tourist masculinities as they

apply to various forms of touristic intimacies, intended to catch a glimpse of what such embodiments meant in Puerto Viejo, as well as how they played out. Put simply, I wanted to get an idea of what it felt like, and meant to be a Western man living in the town, especially in the aforementioned touristic contexts. Admittedly, it was through such corporal experiences that I came to know a great deal about Puerto Viejo and the men I worked with – not everything, as it was through formal and informal interviewing that I was able to somewhat understand what I was experiencing meant to these men – but a great deal.

Such an approach seems appropriate both in terms of theory and practice. In Puerto Viejo, which is located on the Caribbean coast of Costa Rica in the Province of Limón, the notion of ‘vibes’ is a central discourse. The concept of vibes, however, is difficult to put into words. Puerto Viejo is described by those living there as having ‘good vibes’. Here, good vibes encompass the slow and relaxed way of life, the ways of speaking of local populations, the smell and taste of fresh fruit, the crashing of waves, and the properties of marijuana to name a few, all of which combine in complex ways to produce particular and embodied feelings and performances. Vibes, however, are not something that can be understood completely in terms of cerebral processes – vibes need to be felt and performed as much as the feelings they produce need to be understood. It is for this reason, then, that I choose to begin my thesis, not with a formal introduction, but with a vignette (and why I will continue to include them throughout this thesis). It is through this story (and others like it) that I hope to allow the reader to catch a glimpse of what being in Puerto Viejo was like for me (and what it felt like – a great deal of the time), and for some of the men that graciously allowed me to work with them.

The following story, then, happened countless times. It also never happened; at least, it never happened exactly how it will be relayed (for reasons having to do with memory, positionality, interpretation, combination etc.). Such a detail, however, detracts little from what a descriptive work of ethnographic fiction can provide (see, for example, Frank's works of ethnographic fiction in *G-Strings and Sympathy: Strip Club Regulars and Male Desire* 2002). More than just ethnography as fiction, ethnographic fiction allows the writer to take a shopping list of events, places, people, sights, sounds, and happenings, and roll it into a package that is true, yet untrue, but highly informative none the less. It is my hope, then, that by combining pieces of ethnographic data into short works of fiction, I can adequately connote part of what the 'vibe' of Puerto Viejo encompasses, something which took me a great deal of time to figure out, but is essential to understanding such a place. ⁱ

Part B - Hot Puerto Viejo Nights – Today’s Hits, Yesterday’s Classics:

I often wonder if my fieldwork was just a dream. At times, the transnationality of Puerto Viejo seems almost unreal. It is, however, very real. On any given night, Ben (a tall, thin, twenty-something Canadian man) and I would sit on the beach, talking under a corrugated iron roof next to a store owned by a Chinese migrant, while waiting for the evening’s events to unfold. This night was no different.

As Ben and I sat drinking cheap, canned Cuba Libres and smoking even cheaper local cigarettes, we talked about foreign men’s lives in Puerto Viejo to the sound of rolling waves.

“You know, man...” Ben said, his voice thinning as he inhaled a cigarette. “Today was the first fucking day I saw you feel Puerto.”

My interest piqued, I prompted Ben to tell me more. “Dude, what are you talking about?”

“Today, on the boat, man. You anthropologists think you’re the only people that watch what’s going on. Remember, today on the boat? You were leaning on the front, arms hanging over the side, a cracked Cuba in your hand. You were sitting there with your eyes closed, feeling the sun, the wind, and rolling with the waves, man. You never used to do that. You were feeling Puerto today. Feeling what it is all about.”

“Hmm,” I said, almost stunned. Had I really changed that much since I got here? Didn’t all vacationers embrace the sun in such a way?

After thinking about what Ben had said, though, I realized that he was right. Much like Ben, I hadn’t worn a shirt or shoes in days. My body was deeply tanned, I walked more

slowly, I was more relaxed, and I was beginning to understand what the draw of Puerto Viejo was for the men I worked with. I was beginning to figure out what these men experienced on a daily basis (or, as much as I could, at least, as every time I came to such a realization I was inclined to write it down or academicise it, and as I was often reminded of my position as an anthropologist by these men).

By ten o'clock, however, our conversation, and the crash-sizzle of the Atlantic Ocean, was being drowned out by the thumping of Reggae music emanating from the Rasta coloured, open-air bar 100 meters down the dirt road. As bonfires light up the faces of dreadlocked Caribbean men, local women, and international tourists drinking and smoking weed on the beach, we knew that the night was about to begin. We packed up the rest of our alcohol, and hailed a cab. Five minutes and 2000 Colones (about four dollars) later, we arrived at our destination, having passed by a flurry of hotels with organic-sounding names, street vendors, and international restaurants.

The entrance to Orange Sunset was like many along the road towards Manzanilloⁱⁱ, sporting a gravel path lined with thick green trees that seamlessly mixed development with jungle. As we walked into the clearing, our legs spattered with dirt kicked up by our sandals, the dimly lit bar came into view - its orange walls glowing a little brighter than normal (an effect that could have been caused by the new, strategically placed lights scattered about the property, but most likely the product of the early effects of alcohol).

Pushing through a sea of bodies and a haze of smoke (a notion I still cannot wrap my head around as the bar was open-air), Ben and I made our way behind the counter.

"Coucou..." A young Turkish woman with a French accent said, kissing us on the cheek. "You guys are just in time, Shay is about to start spinning!"

As Ben and I grabbed our drinks, the lights became dim and an Australian DJ with an Israeli name took an improvised stage, made from empty beer crates and shabby, black and silver sheets. Pulling back her long, dreadlocked hair, she placed an expensive pair of headphones over her head, covering only one ear, and began spinning a mixture of reggaeton, hip-hop, and international electronic dance music.

In an instant, a galaxy of bodies began to collide. In the middle of the club, tourist women from all over the world danced and were chatted up by Caribbean men, their pink shoulders offset by white tan lines bouncing as they giggled at the men's local accents and romantic pick-up lines. Near the bar, expatriates wearing t-shirts from one another's businesses talked about their days, the coming rainy season, their local girlfriendsⁱⁱⁱ, local hustlers, and last night's card game. Other groups of tourists congregated throughout the dance floor and the clearing, talking, smoking, and dancing with each other, their bodies and faces covered with a thin layer of sweat and grime that would have been unattractive in their home countries, but in Puerto Viejo was common-place and acceptable. Sticky – Hot – Sexy - Puerto Viejo Nights.

As Ben and I made our rounds through Orange Sunset, chatting with various people about whatever, dancing and drinking, I began, once again, to think about what Ben had said earlier that night. The heat, the sweat, the smoke, my callused feet, the transnationality, all bound together to produce a particular 'vibe' that encompassed being in Puerto Viejo; an idea that I was beginning to wrap my head around and recognize – and in different places and at different times. Such evenings embodied this notion perfectly. Like rolling with the ocean and embracing the sun, such nights were part of what being in Puerto Viejo felt like. Good vibes.

As the night wound down, couples began to leave for the night, and soon, Ben and I were left chatting with the owners and finishing the last drink of the night. Our clothes sticky and covered with sweat, we decided to make our way home for the evening. As we stepped out of the jungle path and onto the road, the sun was beginning to reflect on the azure ocean. Joking about the hour, we lit cigarettes and began the short walk home.

Chapter 1 - Introduction:

This thesis is about masculinities. For anthropologists working in and through post-modern, queer, and post-feminist theoretical orientations, the notion that masculine gendered and sexual subjectivities are unstable, always in flux, situational, disciplined, and relational carries a great deal of currency (Foucault 1991; Butler 1990; Cornwall and Lindisfarne 1994; Imms 1996). But in an era characterized (for some at least) by global tourism, migration, and cultural globalization, such notions begin to matter in new and important ways, as different people from different places come together through such processes. This thesis, then, includes detailed ethnographic data specific to time and place. My sincere hope, however, is that it will do more than that by contributing to conceptual questions regarding the linkages between gender, sexuality, race, and the body in places where the global and the local converge.

My fieldwork consisted of approximately six months living in Puerto Viejo de Talamanca, Costa Rica. The thesis explores the expression and embodiment of Western tourist masculinities as they apply to various forms of touristic intimacies, a notion I discuss in more detail later. Upon my arrival in Puerto Viejo, however, I was told that a more productive fieldwork project could be conducted on the Pacific Coast of the country, as tourist men didn't 'hook-up' all that much in the town, that is, in comparison to local Caribbean men^{iv}. But, this notion, even before I realized that touristic intimacies involving foreign men were, in actuality, quite common, piqued my interest. Local men, after all, are not the only men performing masculinity and sexuality in Puerto Viejo. This thesis, then, is about exploring the expression, embodiment, and narration of masculine and intimate

performances in a place where it is discursively said that they do not exist, and through what global processes (specifically, those that occur at the intersections of sexuality, tourism, and globalization) such subjectivities take shape. To engage in some of these questions, however, a little bit of contextualization must first take place.

Approximately four and a half hours by bus from the capital city of San José^v, Puerto Viejo de Talamanca is a small, transnational, tourist town located on the Caribbean coast of Costa Rica, in the Province of Limón. Although the influx of international tourists to the town is relatively recent, the transnational character of Puerto Viejo is not. Originally an eighteenth century campsite for turtle fishermen traveling from the Nicaraguan coast and the Panamanian island chain, Bocas del Toro, Puerto Viejo was later populated by Afro-Caribbean migrants recruited from the surrounding Caribbean islands for the purposes of railway construction and the shipment of coffee (Palmer 2005: Frohlick 2007, 2008, 2009). These migrants (slaves? Palmer and Molina 2004), mostly from the island of Jamaica (Frohlick 2007), stayed in Costa Rica to continue working in the transnational world of banana production after the completion of the railway.

As noted by Frohlick (2007), Afro-Caribbean populations living in the Limón Province “formed a kind of cultural enclave that was very different from the dominant Latino culture in the highlands of Costa Rica” (2007: 146). This notion is made very visible, even today, through street vendors selling Jamaican *pati* on the sides of roads, Bob Marley music played in local restaurants and bars, and palm trees decorated with red, green, and gold Rastafarian stripes^{vi}. The characterization of Puerto Viejo as a “cultural enclave,” however, has a long history in, and of, itself. Specifically, it is one located in the construction

of a Costa Rican national identity associated with “exceptionalism” within Latin America (Rivers-Moore 2007).

Prominently displayed in tourism guidebook representations and Internet travel resources, Costa Rica is often described as “The Land of Peace,” and “the oldest democracy in Latin America with over a hundred years of political stability.”^{vii} Such is the basis of Costa Rica’s exceptionalism within Latin America. While it is true that “Costa Rica has never been consumed by the civil strife, militarism, and the race-based oppression characteristic of its neighbours,” and that “it is the only country to have enjoyed uninterrupted political democracy over the past fifty years...[t]he mantra of Costa Rican exceptionalism can also prove disconcerting” (Palmer and Molina 2004: 1). Embedded within such claims to exceptionalism are discourses which link Costa Rica’s political and civil stability to a cohesive national identity, in particular, a dominant one in which the nation is seen to have a ‘white’ and ‘pure’ racial heritage (Frohlick 2007; Palmer and Molina 2004; Harpelle 1993). Such a notion not only set Costa Rica apart from the rest of Latin America, but, according to Palmer and Molina, created xenophobic and discriminatory attitudes towards non-white groups living in the country (2004: 2). These attitudes are still present even today. This concept becomes increasingly prevalent when considering Puerto Viejo’s predominantly black, Caribbean population, which forms a minority in Costa Rica, comprising approximately three percent of the population.^{viii}

On the Atlantic coast, such discriminatory and xenophobic attitudes manifested themselves through legislation and structural incarceration. For example, in an attempt to consolidate a national identity forged throughout the Central Valley, provisions were made within the Limón province where the Spanish language was forced onto English-speaking,

Afro-Caribbean populations. Such legislation, in combination with the region's underfunding and the nation's history of Catholicism, means that Puerto Viejo (and the Limón province more generally) is one of the most marginalized areas within Costa Rica. Today, abortion remains severely restricted and the town's (and nation's) valence of sexual secrecy means that little sex education is present. Furthermore, high profile drug crimes in the port city of Limón, in concert with such attitudes, serve to frame Puerto Viejo as a dangerous and problematic location. Tourists are often discouraged from visiting the region, if not explicitly warned not to, except for those looking for an off the beaten track experience.^{ix} The town's and province's, pristine, natural beauty, however, fits well within the county's eco-touristically driven campaigns, most notably Costa Rica's "No Artificial Ingredients" campaign. Thus, Puerto Viejo is positioned complexly within, and outside of the country's formal tourism initiatives (Rivers-Moore 2007; Frohlick and Johnston 2010).

In 1976, a road was constructed from the capital of San José, through the Limón province to Puerto Viejo, effectively opening up the area to the rest of the country. Shortly after this, during the country's increase in tourism and development, North American and European ecotourists began making their way to the area seeking a more 'naturalized' experience of Costa Rica in contrast to all of the commercialized, big hotels that were being built on the Pacific coast (Frohlick 2008: 22; Anderson 2004). North American and European women formed part of this initial, and particular, wave of tourists, some of whom partnered with and/or married local men and became long-time residents. These women have been the focus of an ongoing research study in Puerto Viejo currently being conducted by Dr. Susan Frohlick.

As Frohlick's (2008) research suggests, many of these women (often solo travelers) made their way to Puerto Viejo looking for an 'authentic' and 'naturalized' Caribbean experience, like other tourists. For many tourist women, this 'authenticity' included the touristic consumption of, not only, the physical landscape, but also a 'cultural' one - specifically, one "marked by blackness and exoticness which was said to be lacking from the rest of 'white' Costa Rica...The bodies of local black men, their clothing, deportment, lifestyles, and ways of talking are all part of the 'Caribbean' landscape that is constructed as an eroticized and racially marked paradise" (Frohlick 2008: 23). Early in the 1990s, some tourist women began to use cash, food, goods, and sometimes plane tickets as payments and gifts to local men (through which the men develop cosmopolitan identities) with whom they were having sex (Frohlick 2008: 23). These practices have persisted. Today, economic-sexual relationships between local men and female First World tourists play out in a multiplicity of ways including, but not limited to, one-night stands, vacation flings, long-term/long-distance relationships, and sometimes marriages (Frohlick 2008: 23). These relationships, however, are anything but straightforward.

When First World female tourists arrive in Puerto Viejo, they enter into a complicated matrix of competing, hybrid, overlapping, and religiously underpinned ideas regarding sex, sexuality, and gender. As noted earlier, as a Catholic nation, Costa Rica's formal legislation is one that advocates against pre-marital sex, does not make room for sex education, and one that has made abortion an illegality (except in certain restrictive circumstances). The town of Puerto Viejo, however, is, for the most part, Protestant, featuring a multiplicity of different denominations. For example, the town is home to Baptists, Seventh Day Adventists, Apostolic groups, and Evangelicals, all of which exert

similar (although not exactly commensurable) sanctions against non-procreative sex and sexual desire, and which are decidedly against homosexuality (Frohlick 2008: 23). Long-term foreign residents and First World tourists brought New Age spirituality and yoga to the region, which, ironically, has begun factoring into the region's appeal as a 'naturalistic' tourist destination. Female tourists engage in yoga retreats and natural healing, and often talk about powers, crystals, natural eating, energy work, meditation, and astrological signs, all of which are described in terms of connections to the earth, naturalness, and 'vibes'.

Furthermore, Rastafarian ideas have also entered the picture and made their way to the region through "reggae and dancehall music heard in the clubs and hawked by street vendors" (Frohlick 2008: 24). These notions, many of which are based in, and taken from, the Bible, act in ways that naturalize male promiscuity (Lake 1994), as well as position women's labour and sexuality as subordinate to that of a dominant masculinity (Frohlick 2008: 24). A tenet of Rastafari that has to do with sex without the use of prophylactics is also strongly articulated in Puerto Viejo, where women continually have to negotiate condom use when in engaging in sexual activity with some of the local men. This complex hybridity of religious belief, which is situated around notions that regard sex and sexuality as reproductive in nature, as male pleasure, and as temptation and sin, serves to characterize women as impure, polluted, as 'Empresses' in the service of their 'Emperors' (through physical, emotional, and sexual labour) (Lake 1994), as seductresses, as sinners, as sluts, and as sexual beings who cannot be trusted (Frohlick 2008). As previously noted, however, local Caribbean men are not the only men performing masculinity in Puerto Viejo, and it is on this point that my research begins to move in a different direction and gain significant importance.

In Puerto Viejo, masculinity is expressed and embodied in a multiplicity of ways as a result of particular interactions that take place at the intersections of sexuality, tourism, and globalization. In the town, the category “men” is one that encompasses multiple groups of people including Western men of various nationalities, local men who claim a Caribbean identity, and indigenous men. To complicate this issue, often, local men are separated along racially differentiated lines, and grouped into “white” and “racially pure” masculine categories (or *Tico* masculinities), “black,” Afro-Caribbean masculine categories, indigenous masculinities, as well as many mixed race masculinities (Frohlick 2007). Such racialized divisions, however, are extraordinarily complex, as context is very important in Puerto Viejo.

Because the term *Tico* can refer, simply, to a Costa Rican national identity, most local men consider themselves to be Ticos in some respect. But, as noted in the above paragraphs, Caribbean and indigenous men living in Puerto Viejo often fall outside of this identity consolidated in the Central Valley of Costa Rica. Thus, when speaking about themselves as Costa Ricans, such men were inclined to use the term *Tico*, but would often also differentiate themselves from the dominant “white” Costa Rican class when appropriate by referring to themselves as Caribbean men, black men, or, in the case of indigenous men, though tribal terms (BriBri, for example). The complexity of mixed-raced masculinities also requires specific attention to detail, as different combinations of people produce distinct racial categories, some of which change generationally.

Like tourist women in Puerto Viejo, Western men have their own stories regarding their original arrivals and subsequent stays in the town. Following the construction of the road from San José to the Limón Province in 1976 (Palmer 2005), a small number of

Western surfers trickled into Puerto Viejo looking for the next big and unknown wave. What they found was Salsa Brava (translated as brave sauce). Located on the east side of Puerto Viejo on the road to Manzanillo, surf websites describe Salsa Brava, which is thick, fast, and dangerous (featuring sixteen foot swells when in season over dangerous reef and strong rips) as “totally epic” and for “pros or kamikazes only.”^x As I came to realize, such descriptions were right. In fact, my initial arrival in Puerto Viejo during the summer in July, 2009, was preceded by a four and a half hour bus ride from the capital, in which the bus was overloaded with boards and surf fanatics from across the globe. On the ride over, I was told that over the next few days Salsa would be at it’s peak and was still drawing tourists. During the first few days of my fieldwork, I sat and watched surfers attempt the wave, returning to the shore with bruises, scrapes, broken boards, and broken bones. “Totally epic” and for “pros and kamikazes” indeed.

As rumours of the wave’s reputation spread (much to the dismay of the purist surfing old guard still present in the town) more surfers poured into the area, some of which stayed, began buying property, opening hotels and restaurants, and in some cases, partnering with local women. In an ironic twist, one of the older expatriate men I worked within Puerto Viejo told me that it was old surfers who began the practice of ethno-sexual liaisons between foreigners and locals (which Caribbean men have subsequently ‘taken over’). Regardless of how true such notions may be, this initial influx of surfers marks the beginning of a Western male touristic presence in Puerto Viejo.

Although, as noted above, Salsa Brava is still attracting tourists to this day, it is not the only phenomenon that brings Western tourist men to live in Puerto Viejo. Complexly located within the region’s appeal as a naturalistic and anti-consumerist tourist destination

(linked to eco-tourists and First World female tourists previously mentioned) (Frohlick 2007), as well as Costa Rica's 'exceptional' status within Latin America in terms of democratic and political stability (Palmer and Molina 2005), tourist men's more recent narratives for taking up residency in Puerto Viejo had much to do with removing themselves from Western neo-liberal and militaristic politics. As most of Costa Rica's tourism revenue comes from American tourists (approximately 38.6% as noted by the Instituto Costarricense de Turismo in 2008)^{xi}, there was a pervasive discourse regarding tourist men voluntarily removing themselves from the United States during the then Bush-led administration. Such notions were made explicitly clear in men's narratives, as well as physically embodied through the wearing of items such as t-shirts that boasted Costa Rica's lack of a formal military, and Rastabama^{xii} and Obama '08 campaign t-shirts.^{xiii} Furthermore, like female tourists, men also describe the natural beauty of the jungle, the friendliness of local populations, the slow and relaxed lifestyle, and good vibes more generally as motivators for moving to the town.

Similar to local men, Western men also do not comprise a homogeneous group. Divisions are made within this group of men along numerous and cross-cutting lines. Such divisions include those related to nationality, age, affluence, and duration of stay in Puerto Viejo. This study tended to focus on expatriate men who had lived in the town from anywhere between three months and twenty years. The decision to concentrate my efforts on expatriate tourist men living in Puerto Viejo, rather than on those simply passing through as fleeting tourists, has much to do with my own positionality as an anthropologist, as well as with issues related to ethnographic methodologies (methodologies pertinent to this project will be described in significant detail in the chapter that follows). In fieldwork,

and anthropological approaches to ethnography more specifically, anthropologists rely on a number of methodological tools to produce deep, informed, and meaningful data (See Bernard 2006; Hamersley and Aitkinson 2007; Dewalt and Dewalt 2002). A spectrum of interviewing techniques ranging from informal conversations to formal interviews, participation, and observation, all combine in order to produce the highly informative and rich data necessary within (and that characterizes) the discipline of anthropology. In order to produce such data, however, a great deal of time and emotional effort must be invested (both by anthropologists and the people they work with). In fact, it is through such efforts that anthropology is often set apart from other disciplines. The strength and depth of data is dependant on high levels of rapport and trust, which are facilitated by such long temporal engagements. Such notions are amplified in the context of research investigating highly sensitive subjects, including sexuality, gender, and intimacy, all of which are relevant to this thesis. Conducting ethnography with fleeting tourists in Puerto Viejo, then, would raise a number of methodological concerns, particularly with regards to obtaining the highly sensitive and informed data that was sought throughout this project.

Furthermore, as I was interested in a wide range of touristic intimacies including heterosexual encounters between foreign men and local women (a diverse group in and of itself with articulations similar to those of local men), as well as homosocial interactions (foreign men interacting with each other as well as well as with local men), such an approach also seemed to make sense. Although it may have been easy enough to gather data on the one night stands engaged in by fleeting tourists, other intimate arrangements such as long-term/long-distance relationships, marriages, and dating would have been missed. As I surmised, and later confirmed, such encounters were integral to the formation

of masculine gendered and sexualized subjectivities of men in Puerto Viejo, and much important data would have been lost if too much time was spent engaging with fleeting tourists.

This thesis, then, is the product of detailed ethnographic methodologies through which I observed, interviewed, and participated in the daily lives of approximately twenty-five Western tourist men of various nationalities living in Puerto Viejo. Although the terms “tourist” and “expatriate” are used loosely and interchangeably throughout this thesis, the meaning of such terms requires unpacking in Puerto Viejo. Men in Puerto Viejo tended to refer to themselves as both “tourists” and “expatriates”, depending on the trajectory and topics of the conversations I had with them. As the men I worked with were all living in Puerto Viejo (and thus not fleeting tourists^{xiv}), their self-characterizations as tourists were operationalized in order to differentiate themselves from local, Caribbean populations, who were understood to be “authentic” locals by the men I worked with. Here “authentic” locality has much to do with being Caribbean. For instance, even men who had children with local women, were still reluctant to call themselves local, and preferred the term “tourist” when self-identifying. Those who were referred to, and self-identified, as “expatriates”, were those who had come to Puerto Viejo for the purposes of removing themselves from problems they saw in the Western world. Such problems were mostly described in the context of political and neo-liberal, of which the then Bush-led administration was of particular relevance. The ages of these men ranged between eighteen and sixty years. Even so, as noted above, vast differences existed within these overlapping categories, as men came from many walks of life and countries, were of different age and affluence, and who had differing degrees of formal education.

Most of the men who participated were within the ages of twenty-two and thirty. Although each participant was very different, a large portion of the men involved in the study were local business owners or employed at local businesses owned by expatriate men^{xv}. Their affluence, was relative both in terms of local men (in relation to whom such men were quite wealthy) and other expatriates living in Playa Chiquita and Punta Uva (who were considerably more rich than the men I worked with), who were the proprietors of luxury hotels and upscale restaurants, and with whom the men I worked with had limited contact. Furthermore, a number of the men I worked with were involved with local women, sometimes in complexly transactional ways, having engaged in one-night stands, dating, and long-term relationships and marriages. Such relationships existed in spite of, and alongside, discourses and narratives that negated the prevalence of intimacies between foreign men and local women. These notions had much to do with the way in which Puerto Viejo is framed as a sex tourism destination in which female tourists engaged in fluid, sexual and emotional exchanges with local men. So, where does all of this go? And what does all of this mean?

As noted in the beginning of this introduction, this thesis is about the expression and embodiment of Western tourist masculinities at the intersections of sexuality, tourism, and globalization, in the specific context of various forms of touristic intimacies. Drawing of Foucault's work in *The History of Sexuality* (1990), Judith Butler's work on performativity articulated in works such as *Gender Trouble* (1990), *Bodies that Matter* (1993), and *The Psychic Life of Power* (1997), and recent forays into masculinity studies (for example see Cornwall and Lindisfarne 1994; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005), I suggest that masculine gendered and sexualized subjectivities are multiple and anything but stable. In opposition

to humanist claims arguing for the development and stability of gendered and sexualized cores, the theoretical framework that underpins this thesis posits that the appearance of such 'cores' is the result of stylized repetitious acts. These ideas will be discussed in greater detail in the chapter *Theoretical Underpinnings*. In contrast to misreadings and critiques of Butler, which overemphasize the degree to which actors can engage in 'free play' within such gendered and sexualized performance theories, I also suggest that intelligible gendered and sexual subjectivities are simultaneously, in a sense, predetermined through cultural matrices that are highly disciplined, regulated, and durable (Butler 1990; Foucault 1990) (although some degree of play can still take place). In transnational contact zones like Puerto Viejo, where ideas of manhood are multiple, contested, cross-cultural, often oppositional, and based on racialized and ethnic stereotypes, notions of legibility, discipline, and relationality begin to matter in new and important ways, as different people come together. The research question that underpins this thesis, then, interrogates how Western tourist masculinities are shaped, influenced, and affected at this particular intersection of the global, the local, the translocal, the transnational, and the national (i.e. through multiple scales of scales of connection, networks, social organization, and assemblages of identity).

When Western tourist men arrive in Puerto Viejo, like female First World tourists, they find themselves in a place characterized by overlapping, competing, hybrid, and religiously underpinned ideas regarding gender, sex, and sexuality. Unlike foreign women, however, foreign men find themselves in a place in which they often feel that their masculine and sexual subjectivities are undesirable. As one man in my research population put it, "In Puerto Viejo, white men just don't get laid all that much. They are at the bottom of

the sexual totem-pole.” Men’s narratives, in concert with wider discourses circulating in Puerto Viejo that further suggest foreign men are not engaging in intimacies with either foreign or local women, place foreign men in an interesting position. In a town framed on the desirability of Caribbean men, in terms of both local and foreign women, how are foreign men expressing and embodying their masculine and sexual subjectivities, when the bodies of local black men, their ways of speaking, dressing, interacting, and racialized discourses regarding their sexuality seem to overshadow those of tourist men? And through what relational and intersubjective processes, mediated by global tourism and cultural globalization, do such expressions and embodiments take place? Finally, what do the occurrences of multiple masculinities and hegemonies mean in the context of wider assumptions linked to the relative power and mobility of Western men who engage in touristic ethnosexual practices? These are the questions that underlie this thesis, and which, I hope, it will address.

For Western tourist men living in Puerto Viejo, relational and intersubjective interactions often take the form of a wide range of touristic intimacies. Although people travel for a multiplicity of reasons (beaches, sand, sun, surf, ecological diversity, new food etc.), one of the major motivations for tourism has to do with desires for alterity. While alterity can incorporate experiencing different geographical landscapes, it can also encompass desires to engage with different people and in intimate ways. More than just sex and sexual encounters, touristic intimacies can encompass a multiplicity of interactions including those linked to sexual and erotic encounters, but also those related to proximity with both other tourists and local populations, interacting socially with Others in touristic spaces, taking tours with local guides, employment, the forging of friendships, and the

sharing of foods, to name a few. As noted by Frohlick (2007), following Harrison (2003: 51), 'touristic intimacy' is a concept that "articulates the way travel enthusiasts seek intimacy (as a particular kind of sociability that is often eroticized and intensified) through worldliness and a displacement from home...[It is] thus part of a larger quest for connection that tourists seek in crossing international borders and is also a moral discourse that serves to justify international travel as a means through which cross-cultural understandings are gained" (152). In Puerto Viejo, it is through many of these intersubjective touristic intimacies facilitated by global tourism that Western tourist men expressed and embodied their masculine and sexual subjectivities.

In the analysis that follows, this thesis considers a number of relational and intersubjective interactions between Western tourist men and those living in Puerto Viejo, through which such touristic intimacies are performed and the masculine subjectivities of foreign men were shaped, mediated, and negotiated. Here, specific attention will be paid to heterosexual intimate encounters between Western men and local women, heterosocial/sexual encounters between foreign men and foreign women, homosocial relationships between foreign men, as well as homosocial relationships between foreign men and local men (as fellow surfers, employer and employee relationships, as friends, as service providers and patrons, etc.). Finally, it is through such examinations that I conclude that Western tourist men perform their masculinities in consciously oppositional ways to those of local men, while simultaneously considering what such performances do in the context of their intimate, heterosexual relationships with local women – relationships that many tourist men struggled with or avoided because of perceived inauthenticities related to desire and the acquisition of money, goods, or residency. To clarify this notion, I further

suggest that such oppositional constructions underpin Western tourist men's attempts to revalidate (in often racialized and sometimes, derogatory ways) aspects of their masculinities linked to sexuality, specifically, those that are challenged in a place framed by the desirability of local Caribbean men and the undesirability of tourist masculinities. Finally, this thesis interrogates the ways in which desire (and being desired properly) is instrumental in the formation and articulation of Western tourist masculinities in Puerto Viejo. I hope this will become clearer as I proceed.

The following chapter provides a detailed analysis of the theoretical frameworks operationalized in interpreting the data contained within this thesis. As previously noted, drawing on Butler, Foucault, and recent applications of such theories in the study of masculinities, I will more fully articulate the performative and unstable characters of sex, gender, and sexuality. Furthermore, I hope to more clearly articulate the relational, disciplined, and intersubjective nature of such subjective formations. The chapter then moves on to suggest that such an approach to investigating masculinities in Puerto Viejo is relevant, both in terms of theory and practice. As masculinities are multiple in Puerto Viejo and as tourist masculinities are directly affected by intimate encounters with other foreign men, local men, and local women, a relational theory of performativity seems highly appropriate for interpreting such data. Finally, the chapter will also situate my research within wider studies of masculinity within Latin America and the Caribbean, most notably those conducted by Matthew Guttmann and Stephen Gregory, both of whom consider the effects of global tourism and cultural globalization on masculinities in such destinations.

Beginning with a short vignette entitled, *My Baby Ran Away with a Rasta Man*, Chapter Three explores hierarchies of masculine desirability in Puerto Viejo, as well as

discourses and narratives that suggest that Western men do not engage in sexual relationships with local women. The chapter then goes on to discuss how Western tourist men were perplexed by such occurrences, as many saw themselves as performing a more desirable masculinity in comparison to local Caribbean men. In terms of work ethic, education, affluence, monogamy, avoiding domestic violence, and not engaging in 'hyper-sexual' behaviour, Western men saw themselves as superior to Caribbean men, whose laidback lifestyles, bodies, and perceived naturalness made them attractive to women. Such perplexities were derived from a number of homosocial relationships between local and foreign men, including, but not limited to employer/employee relationships, surfing together, interacting/watching each other in bars and clubs, and service provider/client relationships. Furthermore, this chapter investigates the reactions of Western men to other foreigners who performed masculinity in more 'Caribbean' ways (to the extent that this was possible for obvious reasons having to do with race), many of which were negative, and for which tourist men were repudiated or laughed at^{xvi}. The chapter concludes by positing that foreign men express and embody their masculinities in consciously oppositional ways to those of local Caribbean men.

Chapter Four begins with another short vignette entitled, *Jah-Bless Sounds an Awful lot Like Jobless*, which describes a poker game in which tourist men relate stories about Caribbean men they encountered throughout their day. The chapter then goes on to describe how homosocial relationships between groups of tourist men act as places and spaces in which performances of "proper" masculinity are affirmed and reiterated. In particular, this chapter discusses how poker nights, in which the stakes are so high that most local, Caribbean men can't afford to attend, create such spaces in which Western men

can get together in groups by themselves because of their relative economic privileges. During such opportunities, some Western men take advantage of their time together and reiterate proper displays and performances of masculinity by making jokes at the expense of Caribbean men, thus characterizing Caribbean men as performing what Butler (1993) has termed abject subjectivities. Especially relevant were some men's narratives (interpreted, here, as specific types of performances), which described the differences between "good" and "bad" locals. These narratives were often anchored in Caribbean men's abilities to perform masculinity in more Westernized ways (i.e. working hard, not cheating on their girlfriends, not engaging in domestic violence, engaging in safe sex, to name a few).

Chapter Five begins with a vignette entitled, *Go Ask Your Father for Money...and tell him if he doesn't have the passports he's sleeping in the bodega!*, which relays men's feelings of inauthenticities when they suspect that they are being desired for their wealth by local women. The chapter then goes on to explore tourist men's relationships with local women (Tica, Afro-Caribbean, indigenous, and many mixed race women) and the ways in which their constructions of masculinity are performed in such contexts. After discerning that relationships between foreign men and women were common in Puerto Viejo, contrary to discourses that negated their prevalence, discourses regarding the authenticity of relationships between such groups arose. Assertions that local women were only after foreign men's money were common, and as such, foreign men described and exercised caution when engaging in relationships with local women. This chapter describes the difficulties that some men experienced when having to deal with such suspicions and realities (which often caused such relationships to "fail", as men wanted to be desired for

what they described as performing masculinity in more Western ways (in opposition to local men), but not for what such performances brought them.

Finally, the thesis ends with a concluding chapter, reiterating themes that appeared throughout the thesis, regrounding the work in the aforementioned theoretical constructs, and tying together threads in order answer my research questions, which have to do with the ways in which Western tourist men express, embody, and perform their masculine sexual subjectivities in a place where they often perceive themselves less desirable when compared to local Caribbean men, and through what touristic intimacies (mediated by global tourism and cultural globalization) such performances take place.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Underpinnings – Subjectivity, Performance, and Relationality in a Transnational Tourist Town.

2.1 – Yet Another Preamble - A Note on Theoretical Underpinnings:

As suggested in the introduction to this thesis, the term “men” in Puerto Viejo encompasses multiple groups of people including fleeting tourists, expatriates of various nationalities, Afro-Caribbean men, Tico men, Indigenous men, as well as many men of mixed-race. Throughout my ethnographic fieldwork in Puerto Viejo, as the nuances, variability, and contradictions within and between these groups of sexualized and gendered subjects became illuminated, I was exposed to a world of cross-cultural, contesting, and relational performances of masculinity that different men embodied in very different ways. As such performances of masculinity varied greatly across and within groups of men (as well as in relation to other men) a post-modern, performative approach to conceptualizing sex, gender, sexuality, and the linkages between them, thus seems highly appropriate.

However, as a young graduate student recently returned from a first-time fieldwork experience, the temptation to over-determine my findings within a theoretical framework is strong. My experiences, and those that I observed and had relayed to me by the men that allowed me to work with them, do not fit squarely into neatly packaged theoretical boxes. Human experience, after all, is not so simple and often not packaged so eloquently. At the risk of soundings cliché, I would like to note that for every instance I found such theoretical packages useful and accurate, I found others that challenged (or at least required an expansion of) those packages - but enough about packages. In spite of all the discussions about prompting, interviewing, observing, and taking fieldnotes described in the

multiplicity of methods classes I took throughout my undergraduate and graduate degrees (see Bernard 2005; Dewalt and Dewalt 2002; Hammersley and Aitkinson 2007), the best preparatory advice I received before embarking on my fieldwork came in the form of an informal conversation with my advisor days before I was about to leave. As I sat with my advisor in a West End café discussing last minute business and tying up loose ends before my departure, she told me, in not so many words, to drop theory (an aspect of anthropology in which I have always been strong and had a particular interest in) and to embrace the fieldwork process. I was told to let my fieldwork unfold in more organic ways, that is, to think less about how particular moments and events would fit into a theoretical framework, and more about how they played out, and what they meant to the men I worked with. Theory, I was told, after all, should unfold from, be challenged by, and expanded by ethnographic data. Put simply, theory comes from the ground up and should not determine everything that anthropologists see (although I maintain that it is somewhat impossible to not think through events theoretically, especially after years of training and exposure).

It is on this note, then, that I proceed with this chapter and the rest of this thesis with the utmost caution. Although many of the narratives, stories and events I was privy to can be interpreted adequately through recent post-modern and performance based theoretical frameworks, as noted earlier, many could not, or at least, not in their current states as expansion, rethinking, or augmentation of certain aspects is required. Such is the relationships between ethnography and theorization. Ethnographic data, in many ways, is meant to develop, push, and expose the limitations of theoretical constructs. It is my hope, then, in what follows, to contribute in some way to such labours. Therefore, in an

attempt to not over-determine the lives of the men I worked with through over-theorization, when appropriate, this thesis will attempt to address shortcomings located in the theoretical constructions mobilized in the interpretation of the data contained within it.

2.2 – Theoretical Underpinnings - Post-Modernism, Performativity, and the Production of Sexuality:

The publication of Judith Butler’s seminal work, *Gender Trouble* (1990), initiated a new trend in anthropology regarding the theorization of sex, gender, and sexuality. In contrast to earlier feminist discourses located in humanistic strains of scholarship, sex, sexuality, and gender, rather than existing as solidified and consolidated cores, were considered to be identities constantly being performed through stylized and reiterated acts (1990). For Butler, “gender ought not to be construed as a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts follow: rather, gender is an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a stylized repetition of acts” (1990: 140). Butler’s theory, however, as briefly noted above, extends such notions to realms of sex and sexuality. Unlike earlier feminist and humanist approaches to gender, which characterized it as a cultural interpretation of anatomical sex in order to challenge notions that regarded “biology as identity”, Butler suggests that sex itself is a gendered category. Through the separation of sex and gender, previous accounts engaged in a naturalization of sex, and, in particular, the heterosexual matrix. For Butler, this naturalization is problematic, as she suggests that the seemingly immutable character of sex is, in actuality, produced, and ought to be understood “as the effect of the apparatus of cultural construction designated by gender” (1990: 10). Likewise, Bratton, in her discussion of third wave feminism, echoes this notion when considering performative theories, arguing that performance theory “defines gender

as the effect of discourse, and sex the effect of gender” (2006). It is, however, the same stylized repetitions that consolidate and naturalize the heterosexual matrix that also allow for a degree of indeterminacy and malleability. Here, as noted by Bratton, although performance theory “defines gender as the effect of discourse, and sex as the effect of gender”, this theory is also “characterized by a concern with the productive force rather than the meaning of discourse and by the privileging of ambiguity” (2006). Put simply, it is this constant reiteration that is both the basis for gender’s (and sex’s) indeterminacy, as well as the naturalization of the heterosexual matrix. It is, however, on this note that Butler’s theory of performance is often grossly misinterpreted, as the discipline and repudiation involved in maintaining such matrices is often overshadowed by the ambiguous and often libratory aspects of Butler’s theory.

Following its publication in 1990, Butler’s, *Gender Trouble*, was met both high acclaim, strong criticism, and was often misinterpreted. Butler’s critics maintained that *Gender Trouble’s* constructionalist and performative approach positioned gender as something that could be taken off and put back on as easily as a shirt (Weston 1993). They also took further issue with ways in which the theory was appropriated in order to celebrate its seemingly limitless and creative possibilities for resistance (to cause gender trouble as Butler so eloquently put it).^{xvii} Retrospectively, however, even without considering the evolution of Butler’s work and her responses to such criticisms in future books, such critiques seem unwarranted and misrepresentational.

Although Butler’s work can often seem cryptic and impenetrable, *Gender Trouble* makes clear that stylized, repetitious performances are places in which “Gender Trouble” can be creatively produced, as well as those in which the heterosexual matrix can be

reinscribed. This productive/repressive (or disciplined) notion of discursive power is derived, most notably from the work of French philosopher, Michel Foucault. Not to be confused with a productive/repressive oppositional binary, Foucault suggests that where “where there is power, there is resistance” (1978), an often debated notion which suggests that points of power, rather than being characterized completely by repression and discipline, can also act as places for creative productions and materializations. Foucault’s most notable discussion of this appears in his 1978 work, *L’Histoire de la Sexualite*, where Foucault discusses the ways in which sexuality and pleasure can be creatively constructed at such intersections. First published just five years before his death, during what many scholars have termed Foucault’s final era of scholarship (and preceded by his work on governmentality and disciplinary power – both of which are considered to be separate eras of his work), Foucault’s *History of Sexuality* considers the nuances and intertwining aspects of his formulations of power in all three eras of his scholarship. Although the genealogy of Foucault’s work spans such vastly different (yet intertwining) formulations of power (from power as disciplinary, to power being inculcated so that people discipline themselves, to power as a potentially productive force), there is one commonality that runs through all three areas of his scholarship: Power is positioned as a relational phenomenon – that is, not as something that is exerted in a totally downward fashion, but as something that also manifests itself horizontally through various forms of social relations, and sometimes, even, in an upward motion in the case of governmentality.

When reconsidering the criticisms that Judith Butler’s work, *Gender Trouble*, received, especially those which contested the work on the basis that Butler’s performative approach left the constructions of gender and sex too open-ended (for example one claim

suggested that in Butler's account, gender appeared to be something that could be taken off and put back on as easily as an article of clothing), it becomes important to consider the extent to which Butler is influenced by, and utilizes Foucault's theoretical constructions. As noted previously, Foucault's account of the manifestations of power are diverse, overlapping, intertwining, and strictly relational. Given that the performativities of both gender and sex in *Gender Trouble* rely heavily on, both, the relational aspects of gendered and sexed identities, as well as the multiple manifestations of power outlined by Foucault (specifically, however, those related to creative and productive manifestations), it would seem highly, unlikely, then that Butler would ignore the disciplinary aspects of power linked to gendered and sexed materializations. In fact, such notions would have to be present in Butler's account, as it is explicitly noted in *Gender Trouble* that as gender and sex are necessarily performed through repeated stylized actions (which, as noted earlier allow for play within such constructions as they are never solidified), such stylized actions can give the appearance of an immutable and consolidated core - which is often difficult to deviate from because of repudiation and discipline.

Regardless of such inconsistencies, however, Butler's critics, in part prompted the publication of her 1993 work, *Bodies that Matter*. In addressing such critiques, Butler, in following with Foucault's theoretical labours, expands on her ideas, which suggest that the "very notions of 'men' and 'women', as one of many oppressive binaries are *regulative ideals* [emphasis added] which produce inequalities" (Cornwall and Lindisfarne 1994: 41). It is here, Butler suggests, that the materializations that occur as a result of gender and sexed performances, mean different things when performed by different bodies. Again, here, in contrast to earlier feminist and humanist debates, the body, rather than being a

culturally neutral surface of which gender is an interpretation, is one that is already disciplined, regulated, normalized, and laden with culturally specific meanings. What is this produced, then, according to Butler, is a hierarchy of bodies – where certain bodies matter more than others. For Butler, “bodies that matter more than others” are those in which gender, sex, and sexuality, for lack of a better term, “line up” in culturally intelligible ways. So, for example, for male bodies, a properly performed masculinity and heterosexuality intertwine in the materialization of a subject that is culturally intelligible, recognized, and thus one that matters. When human beings perform genders and sexualities in ways that do not line up, rather than materializing into culturally recognized subjects, Butler suggests that, instead, abject, or unintelligible (non-subject) bodies are materialized.

Drawing from, and expanding on, structuralist scholarship published in the mid-nineteen sixties, most notably the work of Mary Douglas (1966) in *Purity and Danger* (which analyses and outlines the concepts of pollution and taboo^{xviii} in terms of structural categorizations), Butler goes on to suggest that abject subject positions are threatening as they fall outside of such “exclusionary matrices” (1993), and thus, call into question the natural and immutable characters of them. It is at this point, however, that the complexities of Butler’s theoretical constructions most strongly emerge. Here, both legible and illegible bodies are subject to discipline and repudiation. In fact, the formation of recognizable subjectivities requires it. As noted by Butler:

“the exclusionary matrix by which subjects are formed” also requires “the production of a domain of abject beings, those who are not yet ‘subjects’, who form the constitutive outside to the domain of the subject. The abject designates here precisely those ‘unlivable’ and ‘uninhabitable’ zones of social life which are

nevertheless densely populated by those who do not enjoy the status of the subject, but whose living under the sign of the 'unlivable' is required to circumscribe the domain of the subject" (1993: 3).

Here, the truly relational character of performance theoretical orientations is most explicit.

Regardless of the necessity of abject bodies for the materialization of legible subjects, the threat of the "specter of illegibility and abjectivity" (1993) (and thus the perceived naturalness and immutability of gender and sex) is great. As noted by C. J. Pascoe, in her book, *Dude, You're a Fag*, bodies that materialize outside of disciplined and exclusionary matrices are, in addition to being denied a subjectivity because of their illegibility, often, the recipients of further repudiation, abuse, harassment, and violence. In her study of high school masculinity, Pascoe carefully outlines how the term "fag" is deployed by those threatened by abjectivity, in ways that simultaneously discipline and repudiate those who do not adhere to masculinities prescribed by the heterosexual matrix, as well as act as reiterated performances that reinscribe and consolidate normative masculinities of the men that deploy them (a term, very often, accompanied by violence and further degradation). It would appear, then, that abject bodies do more than just define and circumscribe the realm of the thinkable, as they threaten the realm of normativity, while simultaneously embodying a place in which that threat can be managed through often horrifying and damaging disciplinary actions and repudiations, which ironically, reinscribe the very matrices that they threaten.

2.3 – Augmenting Butler – Multiple Hegemonies, Intramasculine Mobility, and the Divisibility of the Subject:

Although the divisibility of the subject is implied in both *Gender Trouble* and *Bodies that Matter*, the texts themselves tend to position the division between legibly recognizable subjects and abject bodies in relatively oppositional terms – that is, there are bodies that matter and others that don't. If I were to venture a guess as to why such a method would be used, I would suggest that Butler's motive is political, in that it draws strict attention to the obvious, and often, horrifying problems and realities created when certain bodies are disallowed from materializing, and sometimes, further repudiated, abused, disgraced, and humiliated because of such illegibilities. Again, this is only a guess, as I do not wish to attempt to speak for Butler. Without trying to do a disservice to those who suffer most from illegibility, and although this notion is implied within Butler's work, I feel that it is necessary to state, explicitly, that time, context, and situationality matter immensely in the materialization of relational subjects. Put simply, the same person can occupy different subject positions at different times, or even multiple subject positions at the same time. Furthermore, such a notion also suggests that people can move between positions that matter more or less, as well as embody differently mattering positions simultaneously. Such a notion becomes increasingly important when considering spaces in which multiple gender performances (like Puerto Viejo) are present, be this in the form of multiple hegemonies, contestation, opposition, and cross-cultural/cross-boarder interactions. With regards to masculinities studies, this concept has been theorized by Imms (2000: 160; also see Connell and Messerschmidt 2005), who operationalizes the term "intramasculine mobility", "a concept whereby individuals may occupy both dominant and oppressed subject positions, thereby effectively creating inconsistencies and contradictions within and between hegemonic discourses" (160).

Such notions, thus, become increasingly important when considering what transpires in Puerto Viejo de Talamanca. As previously noted, Puerto Viejo is a place where masculinity is expressed and embodied in multiple ways as a result of particular interactions that take place at the convergences of the global, the local, and the translocal. Much like the quotation taken from Imms (2000:160) in the previous paragraph, Puerto Viejo is a place where a multiplicity of masculinities come into contact. In the town, numerous hegemonies collide as masculinities are performed in oppositional, contesting, and culturally different ways as a result of the town's transnationality. For the men I worked with, the notion of intramasculine mobility was a prevalent one, as they constantly negotiated their positions as legible subjects in certain arenas, and having their subjectivities threatened in others. It may seem strange to think of predominantly white, Western tourist men in Puerto Viejo as, at times, occupying what can be considered subordinate subject positions (and sometimes, as subjects in which their identities and masculinities are constantly threatened). It is, after all, their relative privilege that allows such men to travel to Puerto Viejo, extend their stays in the town, and, in some cases set up businesses there. Contrary to assumptions regarding tourist men's relative political economic statuses in such destinations (and the seeming limitless power that is thought to go along with that status), the privileges granted by economic status, race, and nationality are not the only ones that crosscut and intertwine in order to form subjectivities. As it should be obvious, by this point anyways, gender, sex, and sexuality are also variables that enter into these complex performances and in culturally contingent ways.

As noted in the introduction to this thesis, when tourist men arrive in Puerto Viejo, they enter into a place where Western tourist women engage in situational forms of sex

tourism with local Caribbean men (Frohlick 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010). In the town, the bodies of local Caribbean men, as well as their performances of masculinity (which include their ways of speaking, dressing, and laid back life-styles) are modes of alterity for which tourist women desire them (amongst other ethnic and racialized stereotypes). Such notions, in concert with others in the town that suggest Caribbean men are also desired by Caribbean women, help to create a pervasive discourse in Puerto Viejo echoed by foreign men and women alike. This pervasive discourse suggests that Western tourist men are unable to “get laid” even in spite of the realities of the town uncovered by my fieldwork, which suggested that foreign men do, in fact engage in sexual/romantic relationships with women – both foreign and local. Such relationships are hidden. Regardless of the validity of such claims, however, they disconcerted many Western tourist men, often to the point of anger and outright confusion.

As masculinity and sexuality are deeply intertwined, such expressions of anger and confusion were often interpreted through discourses considered as affronts to the validity of Western men’s masculinities. Their perceived undesirability was confounding, because many of the tourist men in the town understood themselves to be performing masculinity in more “proper” and “acceptable” ways. In terms of circulating discourses, the bodies and gendered performances of Western tourist men were considered less desirable, that is, they mattered less in what was often referred to as the town’s “totem pole” of desirability and sexuality. Such men felt their privilege and the full materialization of their subjectivities in spaces related to economics, mobility, and nationality, but felt their masculinities threatened in spaces related to sexuality, discursively, to a point where their sexualities were said to not matter at all in the town (or at least very little). The remainder

of this thesis, then, will explore the ways in which some Western tourist men attempted to reconstitute themselves as valid sexual and gendered subjects in the context of a town where Caribbean men are highly desired for their masculine and sexual performances, attempts, which were often difficult and problematic for me, as an anthropologist, as they often relied on racialized stereotypes and the reassertion of their masculinities through discourses, narratives, and performances that involved repudiation and making jokes at the expense of Caribbean masculinity. Thus, notions of abjectivity and legibility are complicated in spaces like Puerto Viejo, as such polarizations obscure how differently constituted hegemonies come into contact.

As masculinity in Puerto Viejo was, very often, in contestation, Western men jostled for position in ways that often constituted Caribbean masculine performances as abject. Such ideas were often derived from foreign men's homosocial experiences with Caribbean men, and reaffirmed through constitutive performances expressed through informal conversations with myself and with one another, in exclusive gatherings and safe spaces, and, upon the arrival of the anthropologist, in interviews (i.e. homosocial interactions between Western tourist men). The effects, and interconnections, of foreign men's performances of masculinity on their sexual subjectivities was further complicated when considering their intimate relationships with local women. As previously noted, foreign men often complained that they could not "get laid", in spite of their proper performances of masculinity. Such performances, however, as I was to find out, did in fact attract numerous Caribbean and *Tica* women. When entering into such relationships, foreign men often became concerned that such relationships were based on the things that performing

masculinity brought such men (relative wealth, businesses etc.), not on the performances themselves. Such notions will be discussed in explicit detail as this thesis progresses.

This use of performance theory, however, does not attempt to downplay the ways in which local, Caribbean men are abjectified in the absolute sense of the term. As noted in the introduction, many Caribbean men are, after all, at the very margins of Costa Rican social and political economies. Such abjections were amplified in the context of repudiations directed at them, which will be described in detail later in this thesis. In describing White, heterosexual, and relatively wealthy tourists as experiencing their sexual subjectivities as challenged in Puerto Viejo, however, I wish to complicate the ways in which such tourists are understood and assumed to have unfettered mobility and power. For the men I worked with, “picking up and leaving” Puerto Viejo was, often, not an option, as subsistence wages, passport difficulties related to theft, and local girlfriends often restricted their mobility. With regards to the sexualities of Western men in the context of abjectivity, I do not wish to be understood as suggesting that such men are totally and absolutely abject, especially in contrast to the ways in which Caribbean men experience abjection. Rather, I wish to illustrate that Puerto Viejo is a transnational tourist destination with a particular, historically situated matrix of sexual desirability, on which these men are positioned quite low. In the town, their bodies and masculinities do matter less as a result of these particularities. As I will attempt to show, however, the transposability of White, masculine power, is great. Tourist men are able to negotiate their relative positions within sexual hierarchies in the town as a result of this transposability, in often horrifying and derogatory ways, which further serve to position local Caribbean as abject beings. I hope that this will become clearer as I proceed.

2.4 – A Quick Note on the Contextualization of Ethnographic Data Within Anthropology, Latin American/Caribbean Studies, and Masculinities Studies:

Although the body of literature directed at masculinities studies in anthropology is increasing, there is still little attention being paid to masculinities and their expression, embodiment, mediation, and performance in the context of gender, (hetero)sexuality, tourism, and touristic spaces. As a result of this gap in attention, the literature on masculinities and sexuality in touristic settings is incredibly sparse. Furthermore, ethnographic research that does explore such occurrences, tends to do so with a focus on masculinities expressed and embodied by local men who are sex providers. Examples of such works include Mark Padilla's (2007) book on the Caribbean tourist pleasure industry, which focuses on the multiple expressions of masculinity with regards to male sex workers in Boca Chica, in the Dominican Republic. In addition, Frohlick's work (2007, 2008, 2009, 2010), which focuses on the negotiation of intimacy between local Caribbean men and tourist women, secondarily explores such aforementioned masculinities. Finally, Denise Brennan's (1998) work in the Dominican Republic, as well as the work of Pruitt and Lafont (1995) are also contributions which explore such themes.

Furthermore, studies that do focus on the masculine and sexual subjectivities of tourist men, much like other studies exploring the linkages between sexuality, gender, and tourism (including Padilla's work), tend to be, almost exclusively, centered on transactional and commercial modes of sexual exchange. A notable example of this is Stephen Gregory's (2003) work on male pleasure, masculinity, and sexuality in the Dominican Republic, which outlines the political economy of masculinity in such transactional exchanges. Such deficiencies in scholarship related to the study of masculinities at the intersections of

sexuality, tourism, and globalization render my study unique, important, and relevant, as very few anthropological inquires have focused on the masculine sexual subjectivities of tourist men in ways that go beyond the above described trends. Finally, much of the scholarship done on Western men in sexualized and gendered tourist spaces has much to do with such men's relative political economic statuses. As a result, such studies are relatively under-nuanced with regards to the ways in which power, as it intersects with mobility and sexuality can be limited, challenged, and complicated.

This is not to say, however, that the field of masculinities studies and anthropology are devoid of scholarship that can help to underpin and inform such a project; even if little has been produced on the explicit connections between (and nuances embedded within) sexuality, tourism, globalization, and masculinities. In fact, much scholarship has been produced within anthropology and masculinities studies that address such issues in the contexts of global processes (such as cultural globalization), as well as the performance of multiple masculinities in local, translocal, national, and transnational contexts. Examples of such works include Matthew Guttman's exploration of multiple masculinities in the context of Mexico's multiple hegemonies (1997), as well as Jose Limón's (1994) work located in the Mexican-American south of Texas. Such occurrences, then, render my project highly original while simultaneously fitting within a wide body of literature already published on masculinities in Latin/America and the Caribbean, as well as within the anthropologies of sexuality, gender, and tourism. As the rest of thesis unfolds, I hope to find a place within such bodies of literature.

2.5 - Methodology and Ethics:

The fieldwork component of this thesis employed a traditional anthropological ethnographic approach. Prior to departing for the field, ethics approval was sought through the Joint Ethics Review Board at the University of Manitoba, in Winnipeg Canada. In compliance with the ethical approval for this project, no covert research was carried out throughout the duration of my work in Puerto Viejo. To clarify, all research participants were made aware of their involvement in the study through informed consent. Informed consent was sought through two direct methods. First, informed consent forms (see Appendix A) were provided to those who wished to participate in the study. Such forms contained detailed information regarding the purposes of the project, how data given by participants was going to be used, how anonymity would be maintained through the use of pseudonyms and the coding and physical protection of data, and that the participant could withdraw from the study at any time without penalty. I would continue to be their friend, for instance, if they did not wish to participate further or to retract the data they had provided.

As the nature of conducting ethnographic fieldwork in tourist and informal destinations, however, can be complicated by such informalities (Dewalt and Dewalt 2002; Fluehr-Lobban 1998), the slow and relaxed pace of life, and in this case, the proximity to water. As I was often spending time with participants in or on the ocean thus making pen and paper consent forms difficult, seeking informed consent through the use of written documents was often cumbersome and uncomfortable for those living in Puerto Viejo. To remedy this, where appropriate, informed consent was also sought verbally with contact information being relayed at a later point through the use of a pre-approved verbal consent script containing all of the same information located in the consent forms (see Appendix B).

Verbal consent was of particular importance in seemingly informal interactions during which occurrences in Puerto Viejo were discussed, as it allowed me to gather meaningful and useful data in ethical ways, particularly, in situations where pulling out a pen and jotting notes would have been impossible but where informed consent was necessary. Furthermore, using verbal assent often put my research participants at ease and held much more social currency. Finally, because the nature of informed consent is tenuous and in constant need of reestablishment (AAA 1998; Dewalt and Dewalt 2002; Hammersley and Atkinson 2003), I was careful to make sure that participants were aware of all instances in which data was being collected, thus making the negotiation of consent an ongoing and ethical process.

As I was to find out, however, proper ethical conduct in anthropological fieldwork often extends past what is contained in review board forms, as expectations cannot prepare one for what actually may transpire in the field. As noted by Frohlick (2008) in her article, *Negotiating the Public Secrecy of Sex in a Transnational Tourist Town in Caribbean Costa Rica*, gossip, secrecy, and rumours run rampant in Puerto Viejo. Noting the ways in which gossip has been theorized as an embodied practice that “draws people closer and establishes intimacy” (Frohlick 2008; also see Van Vleet 2003), Frohlick also makes mention of having to avoid getting tangled up in layers of gossip in order to ethically negotiate the public secrecy of sex in the town. My experiences in Puerto Viejo were similar, as I often found myself having to dodge becoming complicit in stories about people living in the town. Furthermore, as “slipping up” (Frohlick 2008) was also a strong concern of mine it was necessary to try and avoid gossip all together in order to maintain an ethical standard appropriate for such intimate and sensitive research.

The fieldwork component of this project, then, began with an initial five-month block of research beginning in July of 2009. After a short break from the field, I returned to Puerto Viejo for another month of fieldwork towards the end of January, 2010. Breaking my research into two components was instrumental in accessing information and data related to differences in seasonal flows of tourism (regarding amounts of tourists, what activities tourists took part in as the rainy season has large impacts on such things), mobility, and touristic development more generally^{xix}. Furthermore, my regress from, and eventual return to, the field allowed me to step back from my data, to think about and interpret what I was seeing, as well as gave me an opportunity to locate gaps in my research that, most likely, would have been missed had I not taken the time to return home briefly.

Conducting ethical research in Puerto Viejo, then, required a number of methodological tools conventionally encompassed by the term “participant observation”. My time in Puerto Viejo was filled with participating in the daily lives^{xx} of Western tourist men living in the town, observing their behaviours, and engaging with them through a spectrum of interviewing techniques. Regarding participation, I spent numerous hours and days with men accompanying them surfing, scuba diving, working with them, watching television, playing cards, eating and, simply, chatting. Engaging with men in numerous aspects of their lives such as those described above meant that I was able to get a good sense of what being in Puerto Viejo felt like, as well as perform masculinity in the town with the men I worked with. Observations were, obviously, part and parcel to such occurrences, but can be extended to watching the daily ongoing of Puerto Viejo more generally (for example observations ways of dressing, walking, speaking and interacting

with one another and with others in the town). Finally, regarding interviewing, as noted in numerous social sciences methodological textbooks (most notably Bernard 2006; Dewalt and Dewalt 2005; Hammersley and Atkinson 2005), interviewing in anthropology requires a spectrum of interviewing techniques ranging from informal conversations to semi-structured interviews, all of which incorporated prompting methods in order to help research participants expand and substantiate their narratives.

As sexuality is, often, very difficult to talk about (for both the researcher and those in the research population), I waited approximately two to three months before engaging participants in more formal, semi-structured interviews in order to cultivate adequate rapport and comfort. Much like other research mediated encounters that I engaged in with participants, informed consent was established prior to beginning interviews, making sure that my interlocutors understood that their participation was voluntary, anonymous, and that the interview and their participation could be stopped or withdrawn at any time without penalty.

Furthermore, because the nature of ethnographic fieldwork is influenced by contextual factors (especially when talking about sex), very close attention was paid to such factors in my conversations and interviews with men living in the town. Of particular importance, here, was my own positionality as a white, heterosexual male tourist in his mid-twenties. As noted by Killick in his article, *The Penetrating Intellect*, anthropologists enter into research sites with established and historically shaped notions regarding foreigners and how they are interacted with (1995). Puerto Viejo is no different. For example, in Puerto Viejo, my particular subject positions greatly facilitated my interactions with Western tourist men and women as we shared many commonalities, including age

similarities and home countries. But I was also limited in how I was able to interact with local Caribbean men and women; a notion related, in part, to a history of modes of sociability between foreigners and local Caribbean populations^{xxi}. Furthermore, much like my discussion of gossip in the town, in Puerto Viejo, interviewing, more generally, required careful attention regarding how I was being positioned and interacted with, and for what purposes. As my rapport and position in the town changed over time, such notions also become temporal ones. I was initially met with suspicion, distrust, and often annoyance, as many new tourists in the town often are. Vast touristic flows in the area over time have created guarded dispositions and aversions to intimacy. As I developed rapport and a reputation with men in the town, however, I soon became a confidante, a friend, and sometimes, a pawn, as some men attempted to manipulate my opinions, engage me in gossip, and limit my mobility and interactions. Rather than attempting to neglect such subjective positions, following Kulick (1995), I was careful in considering what such occurrences meant to my research and the ways in which paying attention to the researcher's own subjectivity can also be a place for productive outcomes. In the end, doing so taught me a great deal about the ways in which different men interacted together in Puerto Viejo, and for what purposes.

Also, I paid strict attention to the location and times that interviews were conducted. Specifically, locations and times were chosen that were comfortable, safe, and suitable for both the researcher and participants so as not to cause either party any discomfort, distress, or interference with regards to business hours, work, and other relationships such men engaged in.

On that note, data collection derived from participant observation, various contextual factors, and my own positionality, focused on widely circulating discourses regarding masculinity and sexuality, as well as numerous physical performances, embodiments, and narratives. The analysis that follows in successive chapters describes and theorizes such findings in detail. I now move to a discussion regarding the oppositional and contested ways that Western tourist men articulate their masculinities in the context of a town where their sexualities are located relatively low within the town's hierarchy of desirability. In the chapter that follows, I argue that it is through expatriate men's homosocial interactions with local men that such oppositional constructions are articulated.

Chapter 3 – Questioning Hierarchies of Desirability - Touristic Intimacy Between Foreign and Caribbean Men:

Part A - Vignette – My Baby Ran Away With a Rasta Man:

My heart was pounding as I arrived at the candle-lit entrance to Monita Bonita's. The heavy rain had knocked out the power to Puerto Viejo and the surrounding areas. The increase in robberies during the rainy season had me nervous as I biked through the dark stretches between my cabina and the restaurant in town. The three-mile stretch was notorious for muggings, and the pot-holed road made the journey stressful for those with loose bicycle chains that fell off at the first sign of an uneven surface. The erratic darting, right, then left, the slowing down and the speeding up required to avoid the deep gravel pits made the road seem dangerous enough. But the pitch black and the mystery of the jungle, which always seemed suspicious at night (even when the sparsely placed lights were on), amplified my unease. Thinking back to my first days in Puerto Viejo, my willingness now to negotiate the road alone surprised me. Upon my arrival, rumours of violence, theft, and muggings had confined me to the lobby bars of hostels and hotels – even in town, which was often brightly lit and densely populated. It was surprising to think about how much I had grown and changed as a result of my fieldwork; going out after dark and facing my discomfort was just one such example.

Catching my breath, I entered the restaurant, unsure of where I was supposed to be. A young Caribbean man working the counter pointed me upstairs.

“Up the spiral,” he said, his dread-locks bouncing as he laughed at my confusion. “The rest of the band is here already, and ready to play. If the power ever comes back on, that is.”

“Thanks,” I said, making my way past him and up the staircase to the second floor. “Hope they’re not too mad I’m late!”

“Its all cool, everything irie, Caribbean time,” he said, “No power means no music...*Pura Vida*, right? But when it comes on I want to hear some of that Rock ‘n’ Roll shit you white boys like.”

“Cool,” I said. “I’ll do my best.”

As I came off of the staircase, a sea of candle lit faces came into view, all of which were sitting, drinking, eating, and laughing in the powerless restaurant. Like most upscale places in Puerto Viejo, the restaurant was fashioned with cheesy décor and irregularly shaped tables, chairs, and railings made from local trees; the warmth and romance of their stained finishes was almost intoxicating in the shallow glow of the candles resting on top of them. The tables were full of wealthy expats and some tourists, a few of whom were female and treating local men to internationally inspired fusion cuisine. The setting seemed to sum up Puerto Viejo in a nutshell, superficially, at least.

While lighting a cigarette and making my way to the bar, the restaurant’s owner flashed me a smile. Mona was in her early sixties, thin, and had a raspy voice, which seemed not to suit her incredibly happy disposition. She had moved to Puerto Viejo a few years back with her husband, Theo, in the hopes of opening a restaurant and spending her free time on the beach. The realities of the town, and the lulls in tourism during the rainy seasons, however, sometimes made this dream difficult. Hoisting myself onto a high bar

stool beside Theo, and across from Mona, who was serving drinks, I began to make small talk and excuses for my tardiness.

“Don’t worry about it, bro.” said Theo, rubbing his grey mustache and adjusting his bright yellow board shorts (a look that would have been odd for a grandfather in his sixties in Canada, but in Puerto Viejo seemed normal, and in place). “You better start getting set up though, the power should be on any minute now. I’ll have Mona bring you a Cuba and some food. Thank God for these propane stoves, hey?”

The band sat in a tight corner of the restaurant next to an improvised stage, smoking cigarettes and dividing a ball of strong hash given to them as a tip from Theo. The three of them were a motley crew, made up of an old hippie in his sixties sporting a long grey ponytail and a tie-died t-shirt, a middle aged, American musician who never wore shoes, and a homeopathic healer from Detroit. As they busied themselves breaking up the hash to be added to a nearby joint, I approached them and tapped Che on the shoulder.

“Kris, you made it!” He said, a big, stoned grin on his face. “We were getting a little worried about you.”

“I told you I would be here.” I said. “A promise is a promise. Did you talk to Mona and Theo about pay for tonight?”

“Fifteen thousand each (about thirty American dollars), plus food and booze...pretty sweet deal if you ask me. Best and fastest money guys like us can make in Puerto Viejo. The kit is in the corner there, hurry up, we’re going on as soon as the power comes back on.”

“Che was right”, I thought to myself as I walked over to the disassembled drum set. In town where the going wage for odd jobs like serving and cleaning was about one

thousand colons an hour (about two dollars), fifteen thousand, food, liquor, and some hash for three or four hours of work seemed like a particularly good deal.

The drum set I was to use for the evening seemed to fit well in Puerto Viejo. It was pieced together from a variety of different kits, most likely whatever Che could get his hands on, and the steel hoop rims, stands, and cymbals were covered in a thin layer of rust catalyzed by the salty ocean air. The bass drum was improvised, and in actuality, was an old suitcase with a microphone thrown inside of it. The suitcase was covered in stickers, one a Rasta flag with the Lion of Jah standing proudly in the middle, another a half peeled banana with marijuana buds exploding from inside it, and finally, one that simply said "legalize it" in bright orange capital letters. As I finished tightening the last badly rusted bracket, I picked up a pair of worn sticks. Trying not break them because they were expensive and hard to come by, I hit the snare. The lights flashed on.

"Thank God!" Yelled Che. "I really needed the money tonight, let's get this show on the road."

After a quick sound check, Che turned to me. "I'm going to start tonight with a song you haven't played with Los Rayitos. I wrote it myself, it's about Puerto Viejo. Actually, it's an old Jimmy Buffet song about Jamaica, but I changed the lyrics because it fits here too. Lot's of stories like it. Just play a straight calypso beat and watch me for the stops. You'll like this one," he said, with a grin on his face, adding,, "Especially considering why you're here in the first place and all."

After some introductory banter, Che looked at me and nodded. "One, two three, four," he shouted, and we began to play. At first, I couldn't figure out what Che had meant by bringing up my anthropological identity seconds before we were about to play. But then,

through an old, crackling monitor, jimmy-rigged to work with extra wires and some duct tape, I heard Che's rewritten lyrics come through. His voice was raspy from years of smoking and drinking, staples of life in Puerto Viejo. I smiled, as he sang:

Down the way where the nights are gay
And the sun shines daily on the mountaintops
I took a trip on a Tico bus
But when I reached the coast I made a stop

Now I'm sad to say I'm on my way
Won't be back for many days
My heart is down my head is turning round
I had to leave a little girl in Limón town

I tried to fight hard as I can
I prayed, I begged, and I cried a lot
But the Puerto boys they be too much man (holds his hands up to suggest penis size)
I cried so hard till she made me stop

Well I'm sad to say I'm on my way
Won't be back for many days
My heart is down my head is turning around
Cause my baby ran away with a Rasta, mon!

Part B: Questioning Hierarchies of Desirability - Touristic Intimacy Between Foreign and Caribbean Men:

3.1 – The Articulation of Hierarchy:

The preceding narrative is telling in a number of ways. In addition to providing details regarding the daily lives of people living in Puerto Viejo – for example the threat of robbery, the frequent and numerous power outages as a result of poor infrastructure, the uniformity of the décor, the weed – it highlights a pervasive discourse in the town, specifically, one to do with masculinities. The vignette culminates with a description of an old, white hippie singing a song about a man lamenting the loss of his girlfriend to a well-endowed Rasta man during a visit to the town. The song, originally a Jimmy Buffet recording about the draw of beach boys in Jamaica, was real and resonated strongly with overtones regarding masculinity as a entity that exists in the plural, as relational, as contestational, and as unstable (Butler 1990; Cornwall and Lindisfarne 1994; Foucault 1979). Different groups of men are featured in the song and are discussed in ways that reflect a hierarchy of desirability. It does, however, do more than that, as it describes events, discourses, and attitudes specific to Puerto Viejo and other Caribbean destinations. In particular, the attraction of Western women to Caribbean men, which tourist men often explained through aggravated, stereotyped, and racialized discourses is addressed. But more on this later.

As noted numerous times throughout the thesis, Puerto Viejo is a place in which First World, female tourists engage in situational forms of sex tourism with local black Caribbean and Costa Rican men (Frohlick 2007, 2008, 2009). Often, such women are drawn to the alterity of the town, which includes the bodies and performances of local Caribbean

men. Foreign women in Puerto Viejo describe the lean muscular bodies of Caribbean men, shaped by hours of practicing surfing and playing sports. Furthermore, men's dark skin tones, their natural lifestyles (which include fishing, getting coconuts, etc.), their ways of speaking, and styles of love-making (real or imagined through racialized stereotypes), were all referenced as points of attraction in the conversations that I had with tourist women involved with local men. Such desires and discourses impacted masculinities in Puerto Viejo in a number of ways.

As noted by Frohlick in her article *Fluid Exchanges*, Caribbean men learn and perform their masculinities in the contexts of such desires (2007). According to Frohlick, young Caribbean men hear stories and anecdotes touted by older men, "and learn about sexuality bound up with race and ethnicity at a relatively early age through encounters with foreign women that transpire in the context of local practices of sex and sexuality" (2007: 149). Such encounters facilitate the acquisition of a "cumulative knowledge about the sexual preferences, practices, and desires of visiting women from diverse backgrounds and nationalities" in the specific context of "racial stereotypes and ethnosexual desires...which play out such that the men imagine themselves as hypersexual black men because in part this is how they are imagined by the tourists" (2007: 149). Put another way, in Puerto Viejo, local Caribbean men learn about sexuality through encounters with tourist women who arrive in Puerto Viejo armed with globalized naturalizing discourses regarding black masculinity, which situate them as "virile, masterful, and attractive" (Frohlick 2007: 150; Kampadoo 2004) erotic Others. Such colonizing discourses are, in part, appropriated and played with by local men, and creatively deployed in ways that enter into complex, dynamic, and fluid erotic and intimate exchanges between foreign

women and local men (exchanges in which cash, food and sometimes plane tickets are given by foreign women in exchange for sex and intimacy).

As noted by Frohlick, such practices have numerous implications for other people living in the town. One such area researched by Frohlick is the effect of such fluid exchanges on local women, “who not so much suffer a loss in terms of losing potential lovers as the [Caribbean] men shift their erotic interest to foreign women, but that the local women suffer increasing invisibility” (2007: 150). Another group of people affected by such encounters are foreign men, as noted above, whose lives are the particular focus of this thesis.

When I first arrived in Puerto Viejo, as a first-time fieldworker, I dove into my field site with the expectation that research would take place almost immediately and that ‘the field’ would automatically fall into my lap (Gupta and Ferguson 1997) . The pervasiveness of discourses characterizing Puerto Viejo as a place only for ethnosexual liaisons between tourist women and local men, however, was strong and, initially disconcerting. Put simply, upon my arrival, it appeared that the only kind of relationships occurring at the intersections of sexuality, tourism, and globalization were those involving the two aforementioned groups. Many of my initial introductions were met with questions regarding the feasibility of the project. Tourist men were said to not hook up with women in Puerto Viejo, local or otherwise. One such example came from a Turkish woman in her mid twenties, who had lived in France for most of her life. She initially made her way to Puerto Viejo on vacation with her sister. Like many other expatriate residents in the town, she stayed because of the good vibes, relaxed lifestyle, and beautiful scenery. Although she became one of my closest friends in the town, her initial response to my identity and my

project was one of dismissal and confusion, both of which were based on circulating discourses that emphasized cross-cultural, cross-boarder relationships between tourist women and local men, and negated the existence of such relationships between foreign men and local women. For example, Erica said:

“What you are looking for, here, in Puerto Viejo, it doesn’t really exist. It is more the foreign women having sex with and paying the local guys...that’s the way it works around here. Foreign guys, they hook up and everything, but not much at all, really. Only if they get lucky...there are a few that marry the local women, but mostly they just try to fuck the odd tourist at Rocking J’s, but even so, that is pretty difficult when the girls head off to the bars in town...where all the local guys hang out, I mean. Johnny’s Place, Baby Yaga, it is really hard to pick up girls there with the local guys...If I were you, I would go to San José and check out some of the brothels where lots of the tourist men go. Or to the Pacific side, like Jaco, those are places where tourist men get laid, not here in Puerto Viejo. Here, it’s all about the Rasta guys.”

Such notions were echoed by numerous people that I encountered in Puerto Viejo, almost all of whom tried to direct me to the Pacific side of Costa Rica, where the more “hard core” male sex tourists (I use “hard core” here in opposition to “vanilla” sex tourists – i.e. put, simply those who engage in varied forms of sex tourism including romance tourism) engaged in explicit cash-for-sex exchanges with local Costa Rican women (Sanchez-Taylor 2001). I was often told “You would be better off doing a project there. There are actually foreign men having sex” in such locations, as one man living in the town put it. Such statements, however, require qualification as they were, in fact, highly nuanced, cryptic, and contextual.

I prompted tourist men in Puerto Viejo about such comments and discourses, usually with humorous questions such as, “Well, if you’re not having sex, what do tourist men do all the time?” Their responses usually involved a rearticulation of what “not getting

laid” actually meant. In fact, for most men I worked with, not getting laid was an overshadowing of their sexual relationships by those having to do with foreign women and local men, as well as a relative term used in relation to the amount of women tourist men saw local men with. For many Western tourist men, such rearticulations usually took the form of a compartmentalization of the multiple masculinities articulated and performed in Puerto Viejo, and an organization of such categories into a hierarchy of desire with regards to both foreign and local women. To clarify this statement, differences within groups of men were ignored when placed in the hierarchy, so that groups of men were differentiated in terms of race only, and not more complicated internal divisions such as those related to age, affluence, attractiveness etc. My fieldnotes, my first encounter with such hierarchical organizations came in the form of a conversation with another musician in the town, who I initially met through a connection made by my advisor.

The beginning of my relationship with Richard was tenuous to say the least. Richard was a little more than twenty years my senior and the difference in our age made our conversations seem paternalistic, which was something that I was not used to during my research, as most of the men I worked with were born within a few years of me. I often felt uncomfortable talking about sex and sexuality with him. As we became closer friends through playing music together, the awkward nature of our conversations subsided, and soon we were able to converse in meaningful ways (or differently meaningful ways). Richard had lived in Puerto Viejo for six years when I met him. He was of medium height, a little over weight, and kept his hair short for reasons, I assume, had to do with hiding his age. He owned a local tour agency that struggled during the low seasons. He augmented his living by playing music for extra cash and free meals. One afternoon, during a break

between sets, I sat with Richard as he ate his food-as-pay while I smoked cigarettes.

Prompting him to tell me more about hierarchies of desirable masculinities in Puerto Viejo, jokingly, I asked Richard what it is, exactly, that men do if they are not having sex in Puerto Viejo. With a smile on his face he responded:

“We embrace the good challenge...no, I’m just kidding...It’s not like foreign men are not having sex at all. Foreign men are definitely having sex. I mean, the space allows for it. Lot’s of people are on vacation, it’s easy to talk to everyone, a lot of drinking, lot’s of partying. In fact, there is more opportunity here than there would be back home, wherever that may be in the Western world. But when sex for foreign men gets talked about like that, it’s a comparative thing, you know? Almost like a totem pole of which men the women want to sleep with the most in this town. You have the Rasta guys on the top, women find them really attractive, they’re the cream of the crop and they get it, too. Under them you have the Tico guys. And under them, you have tourist men, who kind of jostle for position with the Bri Bri men. That’s just the way it works here. Going down from the top, everybody seems to get less women.”

Likewise, Stan, an expatriate who had to moved to Puerto Viejo for reasons having to do with removing himself from the then, Bush led, American administration, told me that:

“Down here in Puerto Viejo, women are into the local guys. That is what they are here for. It’s not like we never get laid, but local men are just wanted more and there is so much competition it is sometimes difficult with them [local men] around. This goes for local women too. Local guys seem to get their pick of them too. You have to be really aggressive if you even want a chance... you have to change your approach, but that is a whole other story.”

The intricacies of the hierarchy that James and Stan described were, in some ways, very real in Puerto Viejo, even regarding my own experiences in the town. Playing music in Puerto Viejo, I had had plenty of opportunities to meet and go out with women. But for several reasons, I always found myself thinking that if I were to directly compete with a

local Caribbean man for the attention of a particular woman, I would probably lose out. Not all men in Puerto Viejo, however, took the light and joking attitude that James had toward the high desirability of Caribbean men in the town (in terms of both local and foreign women) or the anthropological approach that I took. For many men, the thought, discourses, and realities of such competitions were very troubling, as many foreign men felt their masculinities to be threatened, and abhorred the thought of being passed over for men that they perceived as expressing and embodying less “proper” masculinities.

3.2 – Introducing Hegemony, Heterogeneity, and Homosociality:

Although Richard’s hierarchical “totem pole” is useful for thinking through the ways in which masculinities were discussed in Puerto Viejo, as well as the intimate link between masculinities and sexuality (in particular, the ability to be dominant with regards to attracting and having sex with women), its simplicity and compartmentalization resonates strongly with early models of hegemony (and hegemonic masculinity – which have undergone significant critique - see Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Put simply, the concept is far too cryptic to accurately reflect the realities of life for men embodying masculinities in Puerto Viejo, as men’s positions within the hierarchy of desirability were often contingent on other factors related to differences within groups of men.

As noted by Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), in their article *Hegemonic Masculinity*, the concept of “hegemonic masculinity” has been criticized along numerous lines. Such critiques have been voiced in opposition to models such as the unilinear one articulated by James, which are said to oversimplify the relationships between dominant and subordinate aspects of subjectivity by articulating a single pattern of power (2005: 847) In Puerto Viejo Caribbean men and foreign men occupy different positions of power at

different times, not any single hierarchy of power. Furthermore such oversimplifications also tend to essentialize and reify different oppositional groups. The realities of Puerto Viejo, rooted in the town's transnationality, however, were those related to a multiplicity of cultural hegemonies regarding masculinities. Worth noting here are those that were constantly in competition for women, as well as those related to high degrees of variation within the hierarchized groups of men themselves - a point to which I will return later in this chapter.

In Puerto Viejo, tourist men often encounter cross-cultural variations in masculine hegemonies through homosocial relationships with local Caribbean men. These homosocial relationships encompass numerous touristic intimacies. As I explain in the Introduction touristic intimacy includes more than, simply, sexual relationships. Such intimacies include such social relations as surfing together on the pristine white sand beaches located just a few kilometers from the town, employer and employee relationships (which are often articulated along the lines of Western tourism men employing local men in their businesses), customer and service provider relationships, and co-competition for women in bars and clubs. As noted by Frohlick, Western constructions of "hegemonic masculinity are based on men as high-income earners" (2007: 151), which are, often, thought to be achieved through education, and an honest and strong work ethic. For many tourist men living in Puerto Viejo, notions of what it meant to be a "man" were consistent with such conceptualizations of "proper" masculinity, even in spite of the difficulties that many tourist men had in actually obtaining high incomes in the town due to subsistence wages and seasonal lulls in tourism. As "work and financially supporting one's family are central defining features of masculinity" (Gutmann 2003: 13) in Latin America as well, "many

Caribbean men in Puerto Viejo are thus situated outside of hegemonic masculinity in this regard, although not in other ways – particularly with regard to homophobia, machismo, and misogyny” (Frohlick 2007: 151).

Men in both Caribbean and expatriate groups were, thus, often performing masculinities outside of their respective hegemonic discourses. This is not a surprise (as noted by Connell and Messerschmidt (2005)), as very few men are actually able to perform masculinity in hegemonic ways for a variety of reasons related to socio-economic position and due to gender variation). Western men I worked with, however, were able to rely heavily on aspects of their subjectivities related to their described work ethics and educations in order to achieve some measure between hegemonic Western masculinity. Furthermore, articulations and narratives regarding the importance of a good work ethic and education were often made in contrast to local Caribbean men, who often had not attended highschool, and who participated in the informal economies of selling tours, drugs, and romance to tourists, and therefore were at the margins of the local economy. Such notions, however, require qualification, as well as an explanation of the ways in which sexuality intertwines with masculinity in Puerto Viejo and with Western masculinities more generally.

As noted by C. J. Pascoe in her book, *Dude, You're a Fag* (2007), Western masculinity is deeply intertwined with sexuality. In the book, Pascoe expertly articulates how the term “fag” is not always deployed in white, high school masculine performances to repudiate homosexuality. “Fag” certainly was deployed in such ways, however, for reasons I soon discuss. For Pascoe, the term “fag” is a fluid one in actual social practice and often represents an indication of some form of perceived gendered failure at masculinity.

Homosexuality, too, represents such a “failure” to some (2007: 14). According to Pascoe, other “failures” at which the term was directed include lack of sexual knowledge, experience, prowess, and domination with regards to women. For the many of the young, adolescent, American men in Pascoe’s book, then, the inability to have sex with women and to gain experience through such interactions was often interpreted as a failure of masculinity and masculine performances. Such notions bear strong similarities to narratives regarding Western tourist masculinities in Puerto Viejo. However, because the contexts are different, such notions are complicated by interactions with differently raced bodies, as well as different modes of hegemony than the Midwest United States.

As the ability to “get women” is a central feature in both Western and Caribbean masculine hegemonic discourses although in very different ways (for example see Guttman 2003 and Pascoe 2007), much discussion takes place in Puerto Viejo regarding the town’s characterization as a destination in which black, Caribbean men are sought after sexually. Most relevant to this thesis, are the ways in which some Western tourist men described feelings of confusion, and sometimes anger, for embodying masculinities that they perceived as being more “proper” with regards to their interpretations of hegemonic masculinity that did not align with the town’s alleged sexual hierarchies of desirability. Many of these notions were derived from various forms of homosocial touristic intimacy, where foreign men engaged in a variety of relationships with local men. For example, one afternoon, I went swimming with Stan, an American man in his thirties who had lived in Puerto Viejo for about five years at the time of my arrival. He was in possession of a graduate degree, and in addition to leaving the United States for he political reasons mentioned earlier had come to Puerto Viejo for its scenery, relaxed way of life, ecological

diversity, and a change of pace from American living – all makers of a particular upper-middle class progressive attitude..

As we chatted informally while hanging on the edge of a dock, we watched three French tourists sun tanning on their stomachs on the nearby beach^{xxii}. The three were young and good looking by our North American standards.. After commenting to me on their good looks, Stan suggested that we head over to the beach to engage them in conversation with hopes of having them join us in town for a drink. As we swam over to them, however, Stan was horrified to see that the three tourist women were approached that very moment, by two young, physically fit, and dreadlocked Caribbean men. The men immediately chatted them up, much to the pleasure of the girls and to Stan's disdain. Turning to me as we wandered onto the beach and now feeling dejected, Stan said:

“Fuck it! We don't have a chance now...I bet they'll only fuck black guys down here. What we should do is go down there and ask them questions about the books they're reading in front of the local guys. I mean, what the hell would they have to talk about. I don't get the attraction of these local guys. With the ones I work with, they don't work that hard when they do show up, they don't like to work, and they have nothing to talk about but surfing and weed. Why so many women get involved with them is beyond me. That doesn't even begin to take into account all the cheating and domestic violence and all of that. That shit happens all over the place. You go to clubs with the guys, they're there with a different girl every night. Their local girlfriends put up with that....I don't know why, probably the language barrier and that they don't know if we are staying or not. I don't know. But, I mean, last week we were at the Corner Bar, one of the local guys at the bar was beating the shit out of his wife right in front of the place. Yet, the women keep flocking to them. I just don't get it.”

Tourist men also articulated similar notions when they were questioned about the differences between Caribbean masculinity and Western masculinity as it was expressed in the town. Often, these articulations were predicated with careful statements calling the

heterogeneity of Caribbean masculinity into the equation; an attempt to avoid homogenizing Caribbean men and racial stereotyping more generally. Regardless, such statements were very telling in that they often used dramatic polarizations, which compartmentalized local men into “good” and “bad” categories. “Good” usually had to do with performing masculinity in ways that were described as being more acceptable, or more Americanized ways.

For instance, one night, to the sound of rain, I sat with Ben (previously described in the vignette *Hot Puerto Viejo Nights*) on the second floor of the beach house we were renting together. Sitting at opposite ends of a old, badly-worn, plastic patio table and separated by my tape recorder, I asked Ben to discuss some of the differences that he noticed between Caribbean and Western masculinities in the town. Blowing smoke through the rusted iron bars that protected the house from theft, he began:

[Ben]: Well that is kind of a loaded question. I really don't want to sound racist here, so you have to understand that all Caribbean men are not the same, if you know what I mean?

[Kris]: No, that makes a lot of sense. Can you tell me about that then...the differences that you see between Caribbean men, and how that may play into the ways masculinity is different here for different people?

[Ben]: Well, you have to remember that this place is like anywhere, there are 'good' and 'bad' locals...and I guess that is the same for foreign men as well. But, I mean, you have Caribbean guys like Memo, who have all their shit together. You know his story, he has a rough history, but he got himself out of it, he has drive, he works hard, provides for his family. I'm not worried about him coming over and ripping off my iPod, or trying to fuck my girlfriend. He treats his wife well, doesn't fuck around on her, picking up some tourist every night, doesn't beat her...that is what I mean when I say one of the good locals, or, I guess, a good guy more generally.

Here, performing masculinity in “good” ways meant relying on more Westernized modes of embodiment. Such metaphors rely heavily on strong work ethics, honest labour that does not involve stealing or hustling, monogamy, having a “healthy” sexual appetite (in opposition to a hypersexual one), and not engaging in domestic violence; behaviours in which Caribbean men (but sometimes Western men – a point to which I will return) were described as embodying in more or less substantial ways. Such groupings, thus, compartmentalized men into “good” and ‘bad’ categories.

However, although heterogeneity was often mobilized in order to avoid racial compartmentalization. Yet in an ironic contradiction, racialized stereotypes were common tropes in expressing the reasons for tourist women’s initial interest in categorically “bad” Caribbean men. Common racialized stereotypes regarding the alleged hypersexuality of Caribbean men(see Kempadoo 2004), specifically, the “pervasive, longstanding ideology that holds that Caribbean people possess hyperactive libidos and overly rely upon sexuality as a marker or identity” (Kempadoo 2004: 7). Also noted were tropes regarding the alleged size of black men’s penises drawn from longstanding rumours popularized by racialized internet pornography and mass media.^{xxiii} Many Western tourist men used these stereotypes to attribute the desires of foreign women for local men as no more than desires for rhythmic sex “big black dick”. Although the aggression and penetrative power associated with the penis are typically masculine affirming discourses (see Emily Martin’s article *The Sperm and the Egg*), when aligned with the hyper sexualized discourses associated with Caribbean men, such racialized stereotypes serve to further the “improprieties” and pathologies linked with Caribbean masculinity in Puerto Viejo. For

example, in the town it was common to hear phrases such as, “tourist women are with these guys for the BBD...the Big Black Dick”. Here, Stan suggested that:

“I’m really not sure why women stay with the local guys though. I mean, it gets kind of pathetic, watching the hustlers at the bus station trying to pick up a new girl every day, like sex is the only thing that matters. You watch these guys play the ‘numbers game’, they have local girlfriends, tourist girlfriends but it still isn’t enough. It just gets to a point where chasing tail all the time instead of working is just silly. This goes for the foreign guys who act like this as well, too.”

Stan’s narrative is important for a number of reasons. Firstly, and most obviously, it condemns the hypersexuality often associated with local men, most notably around the bus stop, a focal point of action in Puerto Viejo. The bus stop is where local hustlers sit and watch tourist women come off of the bus from San Jose in order to begin their seductions at the women’s first arrival. Secondly, Stan’s inclusion of foreign men in his narrative points to another phenomenon occurring in Puerto Viejo. Foreign men are also engaging in such practices although, to a significantly lesser degree because of issues related to race and repudiation by other tourist men, a notion that will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

Before proceeding to the next chapter, however, I want to stress that not all men in Puerto Viejo shared such observations and opinions. Some of the men I worked with, who engaged with local men in intimate relations such as good friendships, took issue with such oppositional constructions of masculinity. It should also be noted, that close friendships between foreign and local men were uncommon, as cultural differences made such interactions difficult to forge and maintain. From my observations, many of the relationships between foreign and local men seemed somewhat superficial, or mediated

through employment relationships. As one woman I interviewed put it, “it is difficult for foreign men to have the same types of relationships that local men have with each other...it simply doesn’t happen” (again, such notions were given currency through my observations and interactions with foreign and local men). Furthermore, many tourist men were also highly sensitive to cultural differences regarding the ways in which masculinities are articulated and accepted, and thus were less critical and more open-minded to the multiple expressions of masculinity and sexuality in the town. Even so, the hierarchized discourses around sexuality and masculinity circulating around Puerto Viejo were important and affected a number of men, and in different ways and at different times, and it is these occurrences that I am most interested in.

3.3 – Conclusion:

As noted earlier in the chapter, such masculine discourses and oppositional constructions are articulated through observations made in the context of homosocial interactions, as Western tourist men wrestle with the interaction of contesting hegemonies of “proper” masculinity. Confused, and sometimes angered, by circulating discourses and occurrences that characterized their sexualities as lower down in the town’s hierarchy of desirability, such men described their emotional responses to me in informal conversations and formal, semi-structured interviews. Such notions add substance to the idea that although tourist men arrive in Puerto Viejo as a result of their relative Northern-based power and mobility vis-à-vis other men, subject position is cross-cut by many variables. In Puerto Viejo, particular histories, ongoing, and sexual landscapes serve to position tourist men relatively low in a discursive hierarchy of desirability by some measures and in some circles. In the chapters that follow, I argue that such narrations underpin performances by

which some Western men attempted to construct their masculine sexual subjectivities in more desirable ways. Building on Butler's work on repudiation and abjection (1993; 1997), I attempt to explore the ways in which Western tourist men reconstitute their arguably threatened sexual subjectivities through embodiments that are performed in multiple ways derived from other, more dominant, aspects of their masculine subjectivities, most notably those involving their socio-economic positions within Puerto Viejo. I hope that this will become clearer as I proceed.

Chapter 4 – Reiterating Performances of Western Masculinity:

Part A – Vignette – “Jah-Bless Sounds an Awful Lot Like Job-Less”: Poker Nights in Puerto Viejo.

It was 8:45 when I finally made my way through the canopied entrance to Orange Sunset. Pulling my bicycle through the loose gravel, I parked it against a nearby wall and ascended the small staircase that led into the front foyer of the bar. In the middle of cool tile floor stood and improvised poker table made from stacked beer crates and shaped, thin plywood. The cover, instead of card felt, was made from two green sheets that were taped together. They were stained and worn, and had all together too much friction for playing cards on. Walking up to the bar, Nile cracked me a beer, and gave me a fist bump, a classic masculine greeting in Puerto Viejo.

“Ready to start your dealer training tonight?”, he said, pushing one hand through his long hair, the other pulling his sweaty t-shirt away from his chest.

The local design on it slapped back onto his wet body despite the effort.

“Hope you had a good rest, it’s gonna be a long game, lot’s of people are going to stop by tonight. Let me know if you’re feet start hurting and I’ll take over for you.”

“Cool, man.” I said, “Let’s get this show on the road.”

Over the next hour, Nile and I sat across from one another at the shabby table going over dealing tricks, chip values, and ways to keep the game moving fast to maximize that amount of hands played and thus the size of the tip jar, which was split evenly between the dealer and the house. In the background played a mixture of Brit pop and North American

rock. These songs, Nile said, reminded him of home, even though he didn't particularly want to go back.

"You have to remember to keep the game moving as fast as you can," he reiterated. "We have these games three times a week and I really want them to catch on. We don't make a huge amount of money on them...not like the bar nights...but enough to keep the lights on and out of the hole, if you know what I mean? But if I can get enough interest to have two tables going, it will be money."

After some more lessons, Nile and I organized the chips into 10,000 colons values (about 20 American dollars). This was the standard initial buy in at the table, although many men bought in multiple times depending on how quickly they lost or how much extra money they had that week^{xxiv}. We set out the ashtrays and the coasters, while Erica, the hostess, brought extra chairs from inside.

With the few minutes we had left, Nile and I sat on stools at his bar. We talked as we waited for the evening to begin.

"I guess this is a pretty good gig for you, dealing here, I mean. You get to listen to all of the expat men you want to talk to in one easy place, you know they will always be here, you can get to know them better, that kind of thing."

"For sure." I responded, "I really couldn't ask for much more. It was a good idea for me to start coming here. Shit, my research pretty much runs on these poker nights."

Nile was right. For the last twelve weeks, I had been attending poker games at the bar that entertained, almost exclusively, Western expatriate men living in Puerto Viejo. Through such encounters, I had built strong friendships, developed significant rapport with

different men from all over the area, and collected loads of data. Poker, interestingly enough, became one of the most important happenings in my fieldwork project.

By ten thirty, nine men between the ages of seventeen and fifty, mostly from the United States, Canada, and Europe sat around the table smoking cigarettes, passing around curiously long joints, and drinking beer and shots. The sweat from the bottles stained the table even through the cork coasters. They were comprised of people from various walks of life and different socio-economic positions. They all had different origin stories regarding their arrival, and subsequent, stays in Puerto Viejo. As they waited for the game to begin, they played with their chips, discussed the day's events, and laughed and joked as they asked one another about their businesses and jobs.

Like most night's, opening play was slow. Erica sat on a speaker in her usual corner slowly bringing out drinks and food, listening to the quiet banter and passing time checking facebook and writing e-mails. But as the drugs and alcohol set in for some, and as stacks thickened and thinned for others, the men began to play more erratically and the night sped up. Into the early hours of the morning, men called each other out, kept each other honest, made jokes amongst themselves, and pushed each other around with coloured clay chips. By two o'clock, after several re-buy in's, there was close to six hundred dollars on the table. During the next half hour of play, as flop sweats turned to rivers in the thick, Caribbean air, the men grew in need of a break. With thirty minutes until the next hand, Kyle, who had stories in spades, began talking about his day.

"Funny story," he began. "This morning, just before six, I was walking down the jungle path on my way to work."

With a smile already cracking in the corners of his mouth, Kyle flashed me a look that told me that I should pay strict attention. Inhaling his cigarette, he took a drink, exhaled and continued.

“So I’m walking, right, and out from the beach comes one of the local guys with some tourist girl tying up her bikini top and shaking the sand out from her bottoms. They had just fucked, no doubt about it.”

“What the fuck else is new?” Ben chimed in.

It was a story he had heard numerous times living in the town. “Tourist meets some local surfer dude at Johnny’s, likes his abs and dreads, gets nailed on the beach...welcome to Puerto Viejo. This place runs on stories like that.”

“Get fucked! I’m getting to the punch line you ass hole. Too bad you don’t play cards as well as you run your mouth.” Kyle snapped back, obviously angered by the comment. “Just shut-up and listen.”

Ben, quieting down, let Kyle continue.

“So I’m walking past these two, right? And the surfer dude is holding the girl’s hand. But as we cross paths, he holds out his other fist.”

“You gave him a bump, didn’t you? It would be pretty fucking rude if you didn’t. It would also be a shitty end to a story,” Dash interrupted, the puca shells around his neck bouncing as he laughed at the thought of pissing Kyle off.

“Yeah, I gave him a bump, you little piece of shit,” Kyle replied, rolling his eyes. “But when I did, he was like, Jah-Bless.”

“What’s so funny about that?” Dash piped in again, smiling. “Like I said, this story sucks.” He was proud of himself for interrupting Kyle in an antagonistic way that was common amongst friends in the town.

Ignoring Dash, Kyle finished. “So, after he said Jah-Bless, I couldn’t help but think why this girl was with him. I mean, doesn’t Jah-Bless sound an awful lot like Job-Less?”

Part B - Reiterating Performances of Western Masculinity:

4.1 – Theorizing Repudiations as Materializing Performances:

In the preceding chapter, I suggested that some Western tourist men in Puerto Viejo construct their masculinities in oppositional and contested ways to those of local, black, Caribbean men in the context of a culturally situated and discursive sexual hierarchy of desirability forged through processes of tourism and cultural globalization. In particular, I suggest that the town’s hierarchy of desirability is in some ways, interpreted as a threatening by the men I worked with, wherein some men found themselves confused and angered by such discourses mediated through their homosocial interactions with local men. In this chapter, I argue that such realizations underpin repudiative and performative embodiments acted out by expatriate men (specifically those that involve making fun of Caribbean men) in an attempt to reassert their subjectivities and increase their status as desirable sexual subjects. I hope that this will become clearer as I proceed.

In his article, *No* (2005), Don Kulick expertly articulates the differences between performances and performativity. Noting that the terms are not the same in spite of the confusion that followed the publication of Butler’s *Gender Trouble*, Kulick states, “the

difference is this: performance is something that the subject does. But performativity is the process through which the subject emerges” (2005: 61; Butler 1993: 2, 7, 95). Kulick, following Butler, goes further to suggest “that performativity theory insists that what is expressed in or performed in any social context is importantly linked to that which is not expressed or cannot be performed” (2005: 61). Such a definition, then, means that a multiplicity of embodiments can act in reiterative ways that allow for such materializations^{xxv}. Ways of dress, hairstyles, performances of sexuality, ways of speaking, to name a few, can all contribute to the emergence of the subject.

According to C. J Pascoe (2007), however, included in such constitutive performances are repudiations themselves. Although Pascoe’s work centers on the deployment of the term “fag”, she notes how using the insult actually functions on two distinct, yet intertwined, operative levels. The first of these levels has to do with repudiation as discipline, where those with illegible (and thus threatening) subjectivities are either pushed into compliance or made completely abject through such processes. The second level considers the performative act of making fun, or joking, itself. For Pascoe, using the term also acts as a performance through which masculinity is consolidated and subjects materialize. It is on this note, then, that insults and jokes such as the one articulated in the above passage become increasingly important to this thesis and to masculinities in Puerto Viejo more generally.

As noted in the theoretical chapter of this thesis, however, Butler’s straightforward description of subject and abject positions is complicated by the multiple discourses of masculinity in Puerto Viejo. When beginning to approach this thesis, I became increasingly concerned about how it was, exactly, that I was to characterize tourist men living in the

town. This became most evident in the context of Butler's theory of performativity. Were the men I was working with abject with regards to sexuality and discursive hierarchies of desirability? Were they not? Were they simply threatened by illegibility? If they were abject, how was I to make sense of the repudiations they performed? What was I to do with their relative economic power in the context of subject/abject polarizations and multiple hegemonies? It is on this notion that Butler's theoretical framework is weak. My question challenges the applicability of "abjectivity" as a key concept in queer theories of gender and sexuality to heterosexuality. Further discussion is warranted here.

The application of the subject/abject dichotomy becomes significantly more complicated when considered in contexts where masculinities and hegemonies are multiple, contestational, and constantly jostling for position. For Western men in Puerto Viejo, Butler's specter of illegibility (1993) is insufficient in explaining why such men perform jokes and insults such as those described in the above vignette. In *Bodies that Matter*, Butler suggests that, perhaps, a persistent "collective disidentification [with regulatory norms by which sexual difference is materialized – here, I suggest raced difference can also be included] can facilitate a reconceptualization of which bodies matter, and which bodies are yet to emerge" (1993: 4). For all of *Gender Trouble's* and *Bodies That Matter's* (1990) post-modern talk of locating persistent creative spaces in which "gender trouble" can be made, however, their lack of discussion regarding the divisibility of the subject with regards to multiple hegemonies and locations of power is a point of concern^{xxvi}. Where multiple hegemonies exist, such persistence may not be necessary. The processes through which this happens, however, may be problematic and derogatory. It is true that some tourist men in Puerto Viejo generate creative solutions to their relatively

low position within the town's hierarchy of desirability by growing dreadlocks, playing up their local status within Puerto Viejo. Some men locate themselves within the surf culture.^{xxvii} At the same time Western tourist men refer to more powerful and hegemonic aspects of their subjectivities in order reconstitute themselves as sexually desirable subjects within the town. In contrast to the libidinal, creative, and often, still marginalized ways that "trouble" can be made within the sexualized and gendered hierarchies described by Butler, not fully constituted subjects can also engage in reconstitutive performances that often take the form of racialized and derogatory repudiations drawn from other areas of their subjectivities. Poker nights in Puerto Viejo are one such example. It would seem, then, that abjection must be investigated in the context of other aspects of subjectivity and hegemony in cultural contact zones such as Puerto Viejo. In particular, this is because masculinities are contested, cross-cultural, and often oppositional in the town, and as doing so renders bodies that seemingly matter less in a new light. Again, this is not to do a disservice to those who suffer most from abjection. In Puerto Viejo, local Caribbean men are still marginalized in numerous and substantial ways. These include those related to structural and spatial marginalization discussed in the introductory chapter, by foreign men through repudiation (discussed in detail in the next section), and in terms of heterosexuality and "normality" more generally (with regards to assumptions of hypersexuality and big penises). They are abject in the absolute sense of the term. I am suggesting, however, that abjection is not so simple in areas where multiple hegemonies collide and jostle. Although I have been labouring the notion that white, touristic power is complicated in Puerto Viejo with regards to sexual hierarchies, the section that follows is a further comment on the transposability of white, masculine power, as tourist men rely on

aspects of their subject positions in order to further abjectify Caribbean men and increase their low position on the “totem pole” of desirability. Hopefully this will be come clearer as I proceed.

4.2 – Climbing Hierarchies 1 - Repudiation:

In the above vignette, Western tourist men gather and participate in a poker game where the stakes are simply too high for most local, Caribbean men to participate. With a minimum buy-in of approximately twenty American dollars, such games become spaces to which Caribbean men do not have access. Tourist men, through homosocial and “endogamous” interactions could tout jokes directed at Caribbean masculinity in ways that acted as reiterated performances that reconstituted themselves as desirable sexual subjects. Much like the men featured in Pascoe’s ethnography (2005), the performance of such insults was both an attempt to characterize local men in abject ways, as well as an attempt to make their sexualities matter, more, in Puerto Viejo’s hierarchy of desirability. Exclusive homosocial interactions between Western tourist men, however, were not the only spaces in which the men I worked with reiterated such performances. Some men took more direct approaches with regards to such embodiments, specifically, by touting jokes and attempting to assert themselves as more desirable sexual subjects in contrast to Caribbean men when trying to pick up women.

For example, one evening I sat with Evan on a couch in the foyer of a backpacking hostel located on the edge of town. As we smoked cigarettes and laughed about the tile mosaics that made up the walls, two women, one French, one Spanish, approached the tour desk we were camped next to. Evan, admiring their physical features, nudged me and told me he was “going in”.

After a few minutes of talking and flirting, Evan returned to the couch with the women and said, “These two lovely ladies are going to let us buy them a drink. Where should we take them?”

In response to Evan’s question, I remarked that we should go into town and drink and dance at one of the local discos. Disapprovingly, Evan looked at me. In a tone that told me he was slightly annoyed, he suggested that we stay at the hostel’s bar because a band was about to begin, the drinks were cheaper, and it was closer to the home we shared.

As the two girls walked together in front of us, Evan leaned in and whispered into my ear, “The fuck you doing man, we can’t take them into town if we want to hook up. We’ll have no chance.”

As we sat in a booth at the hostel bar, Evan asked the women what their favourite part of Puerto Viejo had been up until that point. Quickly, the woman from Spain answered, “The surf lessons, definitely the surf lessons. Our instructor was so cool and nice. He was really hot too.” Her response set Evan off:

“Shit, did he have anything else to talk about besides surfing and smoking weed? I mean, the guys down here are cool to hangout with for an afternoon like that, but a lot of the girls that come through here don’t really know much about them other than that they surf and smoke. Most of these guys don’t really do all that much, except try to hustle tourist women. A lot of the guys beat up their girlfriends, steal from people, cheat on women, or just try to find a new one everyday. They give the sweet lines and look good, but there is a lot going on in Puerto Viejo that people coming through here don’t really know about.”

Evan’s description of the sexual relationships between local Caribbean men and tourist women echoes that of Stan’s, outlined in Chapter Three. Reflecting on Stan’s narrative, which was used to illustrate the ways in which some Western tourist men construct their

masculinities in oppositional ways to those of Caribbean, I now suggest it contained a quote that is of particular relevance here. Specifically, when Stan saw women who were reading on the beach being approached by local men, he suggested that we go up to the women and ask them about their books in front of their suitors. The similarities between Stan's narrative and Evan's response are striking. But, they require significant unpacking.

In considering both narratives in the context of Pascoe's (2005) scholarship on the multiple functions of repudiation, much can be revealed. First, both narratives operate in ways that render local masculinities as abject. In both narratives, men describe aspects of local masculinities that they characterized as being less proper performances. As noted elsewhere in this thesis, such improprieties include the lack of formal work engaged in by local men, deviant hypersexuality in the form of seeking out different tourist women every night, domestic violence, a lack of education and intelligence, and finally, not adhering to monogamous behaviours. Such narratives, conversations, and repudiations, however, do more than render local masculinities abject. They operate in ways that reconstitute Western men as desirable sexual subjects in Puerto Viejo. After all, Evan, like Stan, was not simply trying to warn women about the 'improprieties' he saw in Caribbean expressions of masculinity; they were trying to get laid. Joking and repudiation by some expatriate men in Puerto Viejo, then, must also be interpreted as reiterated performances that constitute them as sexually desirable subjects in the context of a town where their sexualities are said to matter less in a hierarchy of desirability.

I note here that such repudiations were not solely directed at local Caribbean men in Puerto Viejo. As hinted at earlier in this chapter, Western tourist men who acted in ways that can be considered "more Caribbean," as it was sometimes put, were, too, subject to

insults expressed in the same multi-functional ways. Although, as noted by Frohlick (2007, 2008), that the attractiveness of Caribbean men to foreign women is intricately bound up with race, Frohlick describes other aspects of Caribbean masculinity that foreign women also noted as being attractive and desirable qualities^{xxviii}. As discussed ad nauseum throughout this thesis, such performances include the dropped down board shorts, dreadlocks, ways of speaking, natural living, and a slow and relaxed pace of life. During one of my interviews with Ben, he described how Western men in the town sometimes appropriated some aspects of these performances for the purposes of attracting women.

For example, Ben told me that:

“A lot of it doesn’t just have to do with the dark skin and rumours of the big, black dick. I mean, a lot of the white guys around pick up on some of this stuff and women seem to like it. It doesn’t work as well, obviously, because a lot of it has to do with being black, but, I mean, lot’s of white guys will grow out the dreads, surf a lot, dress the part, act really chill, that kind of thing. Women seem to find that pretty attractive too, even though the men aren’t Caribbean in terms of skin colour.”

The degree to which Western men engaged in such behaviours, however, played a significant factor in the acceptance of them by other expatriate men. Such behaviours were accepted so long as they were not combined with other performances of Caribbean masculinity characteristic of some local men in Puerto Viejo. These behaviours included hustling, working informally, engaging in complex material-sexual exchanges with tourist women (in particular those related to tourist women housing expat men, taking them out for dinners, buying them gifts in subtle exchanges for sex and romance), squatting, and hypersexuality. In the previous chapter, I relayed a conversation I had with Ben in which he described the differences between “good” and “bad” locals, where he noted that such

notions “go for foreign men as well.” Similarly, during an interview with Stan, I was told that:

“I mean, it’s not just the Caribbean guys. A lot of people, kind of play up this local Puerto Viejo style, or that type of guy. What we call the Rastatutes, do better and there are definitely more of them, they get women to buy them stuff, cover their bills that kind of thing. But there are a couple of foreigners who get away with that kind of stuff too, because it works down here. But to me, like, my definition of being a man is earning your own keep and supporting yourself. Hustling isn’t doing that. Staying out till two in the morning every night so you can’t work, working every tourist girl for some cash, having sex with different women for that purpose isn’t doing that. It doesn’t matter what colour you are. Dirt bags are dirt bags.”

Here, Stan’s narrative is very telling. Again, in this excerpt taken from an interview, Stan is refusing to associate with the “Caribbean” masculinity to achieve two things. He is both, abjectifying men who do not perform masculinities in “proper” ways, while simultaneously constituting himself as a particular kind of masculine subject. Furthermore, although he notes that some tourist men in Puerto Viejo are engaging in performances outside his notions of propriety - of what a “man” should be like - he notes that it is Caribbean men, after all, who are improper.

4.3 Climbing Hierarchies 2 – Local Women:

Up until this point in this chapter, however, such repudiations as performativity^{xxix} have centered on the efforts of Western tourist men attempting to increase their status as sexually desirable subjects with regards to tourist women. When prompted about the potential reasons for local women’s interest in Caribbean men versus foreign men,

expatriates suggested that it was because of language barriers and the uncertainty of tourist men's duration of stay in the town. Drawing back on Kulick's (2005) definition of performativity, specifically, as special types of performances that constitute subjectivity, I further suggest that learning Spanish and adequately determining the desire to stay in Puerto Viejo (by setting up restaurants and businesses or staying for long periods of time), are strategies that raise men's positions in the eye's of local women. According to a number of men in the town, however, such notions were necessary in combination with other aspects of Western masculinity, most notably through which they constructed their oppositional masculinities (possessing high levels of education, a strong work ethic, relative wealth etc.) in order to be able to engage in intimate relationships with local women. For example, in a conversation I had with Mike, an American man in his mid-twenties who was the proprietor of a local restaurant and who had dated numerous local women, he explained,

"I mean, when we come down here the women already want us. It's Latin America, Right? They see us with the cool clothes, the cars and trucks. We're educated, we work hard, and we have money. That is really important...that image of the good North American man that can give them something more. But to really land one of these local girls, you have to speak the language and kind of show that you are staying here. I mean, I got this thing [Mike raises and twirls his hands referring to his diner], so they know I am invested. But I also speak the language and I can talk to them and all that. Before all of this, I really didn't get involved with local women."

Here, Mike's narrative, in addition to reiterating the importance of being a "good" and "proper" man, draws upon common tropes regarding women with diminished resources in tourist destinations as attracted to, and engaging in, relationships with foreign men for the

purposes or generating better lives for themselves (see Brennan 2004). Unlike many of these studies, however, Mike's narrative also incorporates the notion of language learning and adequately determining length of stay through the establishment of businesses, and not engaging in fleeting touristic behaviours. This notion is very important in Puerto Viejo, as the town is not discursively known for relationships between foreign men and local women, and as Puerto Viejo is often a place where touristic flows are uncertain. Regardless, Mike's narrative makes clear how performativity also factors greatly into the ways in which tourist men make themselves desirable to local women by speaking the local language and embodying "proper" performances of masculinity, both of which are strategies to gain the interest of local women.

In the chapter that follows, I consider the disjuncture between circulating discourses characterizing Western tourist men as undesirable sexual subjects, and actual behaviours and sexual practices in the town. Drawing on narratives regarding their intimate encounters with local women, I explore the ways in which the masculinities they embody, those that some expatriate men laboured in order to constitute themselves as more desirable sexual subjects within the town's hierarchy of masculinity, create problems within such cross-boarder intimacies. Men find themselves being desired not for their masculinities per se, but what such masculinities promise. Many men had great difficulties with this disjuncture.

Chapter 5 – Wanting to be Desired for Being a Good Man, Not What it Brings: Intimacies Between Foreign Men and Local Women:

Part A - Vignette – “Go ask your father for money...and tell him if he doesn’t have the passports, he’s sleeping in the bodega!”

On a day during my fieldwork where I had little to do but wait for the night to come and begin my research, I fumbled my way out of a taxicab at the end of a jungle road. The soft ground was wet with rain. The backs of my legs were spattered with bits of grey mud kicked up by my sandals on the walk to the car. Surrounded by jungle, wet, and hung-over, I trudged my way towards a large wooden gate made from awkwardly spaced pieces of wood and let out a loud whistle. Two dogs came running down the driveway. The lock clicked on the gate, opened by the push of a button from inside the house, and I was inside.

As I stepped onto the patio, Aaron stumbled out of the bedroom of an open-air house, wearing nothing more than a pair of checkered pajama pants, a red baseball cap, and a necklace decorated with turtle bones. Aaron often wore little more than that because he liked to always be working on his tan.

“The fuck you want?” He shouted, jokingly, with an unlit cigarette hanging out the side of his mouth. He turned around and sluggishly waved me into the kitchen.

“You bring the booze?” He mumbled, while lighting his cigarette. “It’s your turn.”

I shook the plastic bag filled with beer and canned Cuba Libres. Perspiration from the bag splashed onto my leg. “Well, then...it looks like we got ourselves a plan for the afternoon.” He said, smiling.

Aaron was a 27 year-old, Canadian man from British Columbia. When I met him, he had been living in Puerto Viejo for almost five years. He was tall and thin, but had a small

beer-belly that pushed out a little farther than the waist of his pants. Lazy afternoons drinking beer and watching television were activities that I often shared with him during my six months in Puerto Viejo.

Walking into the foyer of the house, I smelt the food that Aaron had cooking in anticipation of my arrival. Chorizo sausages, eggs, and heated tortillas were all we ever ate, and I was beginning to know the smell well.

“I made the regular. I’d tell you not to complain, but even I’m getting sick of this shit.” Aaron, said. “What you want to do tonight?”

“Ladies night at Johnny’s could be an option, or we could just chill at Mango for a while.” I responded, hoping he would pick that latter.

“Mango would be better, too many locals at Johnny’s. But, fuck, whatever, food’s ready.”

Putting down his cigarette for the moment, Aaron brought two plates over to the couch we were about to spend our afternoon on. Flicking on the television, he searched through the channels in the hopes of finding something both entertaining and in English. We decided on a subtitled version of the Hollywood film, *Gladiator*.

As we sat eating, drinking, and watching television, I began to think about what such days meant to my fieldwork, and to my life more generally. In the six months that I have been in the town, Aaron had quickly become one of my best friends. We had much in common, enjoyed spending time together, and I had changed as a person as a result of spending so much time with him. I had learnt a lot about Puerto Viejo through him, especially on days like this one, where we did little but talk and joke around. I felt bad knowing that I was leaving in just a few short days, returning to a world that he no longer

thought about, or didn't care to think about. Sensing my sadness to leave, Aaron turned to me:

"Fucking shitty you're leaving bro. I'm going to miss you. You better come back here and visit." Knowing that I would, we joked about the times we had spent together and the ridiculous ones we were sure to enjoy in the future. Still, the mood was sad.

After about an hour of chatting, Aaron brought up my anthropological identity in a joking way, something that he did often.

Laughing, he said, "I'll give you one more thing to write down in your paper before you head back to Winnipeg. See this chick on the T.V.: she's Tica."

Still watching *Gladiator*, Aaron was referring to an actress playing the lead character's wife that was currently on screen. In the scene, the actress was standing with her son in what looked to be an endless field of wheat, while her husband approached in the distance. Leaning over to her son, she whispered into his ear, "go to him."

While the boy ran to his father on screen, Aaron cupped his hands around his mouth as if he was shouting after the boy. Acting as a stand-in for the Tica actress, Aaron improvised an extended script for the scene, which he later explained was actually taking place in Puerto Viejo. Pretending that the lead actor was, instead of a gladiator, an expatriate man living in Puerto Viejo and married to a Tica woman, Aaron began shouting:

"That's right, go to your father and ask him for money...and tell him, if he didn't bring those American passports, he's sleeping in the bodega!"

Laughing to himself, Aaron turned towards me. "See, just like Puerto Viejo. Remember, never marry a Tica. They're only after your money."

Part B - Wanting to be Desired for being a Good Man, Not What Being a Good Man Brings:

Up until this chapter, a focal point of this thesis has been the discursive hierarchy of desirable masculinities in Puerto Viejo de Talamanca. As previously noted, however, in the town, there is a significant disconnect between narratives suggesting that Western/Northern tourist men are not engaging in sexual encounters with woman, local or otherwise, and actual ongoings. In Chapter Four, I suggest that the articulation of the notion “not getting laid” is, in actuality, highly nuanced. It does not explicitly mean that expatriate men are not having sex. Rather, in comparison to local Caribbean men, such men are having less sex as a result of their relative position in the town’s discursive hierarchy of desire. In this chapter, I build upon efforts in previous chapters. Previously, I explored the constructions of masculinities embodied by some tourist men, specifically, those derived from performative repudiations rooted in their homosocial encounters with Caribbean men as well as other performances regarding “proper” masculinity, I now explore the ways in which tourist masculinities operate in the context of foreign men’s intimate encounters with local women. Specifically, here, I argue that in spite of Western/Northern tourist men’s efforts to construct themselves as “proper” masculine and sexual subjects in Puerto Viejo, in the context of intimacies with local women, such performances and embodiments were problematic, as tourist men found themselves being desired for what their masculinities produced, rather than for such masculinities themselves.

The reasons for my decision to focus my attention on the intimate, cross-cultural relationships between tourist men and local women in this final chapter of my thesis (instead of focusing on intimate relationships between tourist men and tourist women) are

two fold. First, as noted in the introduction to this thesis, there are certain methodological concerns when investigating some tourist-tourist relationships, as anthropological methodologies rely on long-term, detailed, and embedded research techniques (Hammersly and Atkinson 2007; Bernard 2005; Dewalt and Dewalt 2002). As a result of the fleeting nature of most tourist's visits to Puerto Viejo, this would have been an impossibility. Second, researching intimacies between expatriates (or at least tourists who engaged in long-term stays in Puerto Viejo) is, simply, of less interest to me.

My success in initially navigating the disconnect between discourses linked to the sexualities of tourist men and their actual, on-the-ground embodiments, was brought about through time. After a few months of work, my initial fieldwork disposition went from one of dejection, which was rooted in the thought that I had come to Puerto Viejo to look at sexual and gendered subjectivities that seemed not to exist, to one of hope. In spite of widely circulating discourses that negated the prevalence of any type of relationship between tourist men and women, and especially local women, one meeting turned into an introduction with someone I could work with, then another, and like a large game of telephone, the field opened up to me. By three months in Costa Rica, I had more than enough men to work with and interview, and those men had stories about other men who they encouraged me to talk to. By my fourth month of field work I became overwhelmed with how many of these types of relationships existed in a place where they were so, incredibly, hidden. Such relationships and intimacies, I was soon to find out, however, were fraught with complications, as Western/Northern tourist men's narratives began to fill the digital space of my tape recorder and the sheets of my fieldnote journals.

In spite of all of the efforts that Western/Northern men put into becoming more desirable sexual subjects through numerous forms of complex “cultural seduction” (Campbell 2007: 262), their attention and concerns to larger and widely circulating discourses regarding their relative economic statuses in contrast to local women was never far behind. In her article, *Pathos of Love in Puerto Viejo, Costa Rica: Emotion, Travel and Migration* (2010), drawing on Campbell (2007), Susan Frohlick suggests that “cross-boarder attractions – such as sex tourism and cross-boarder marriages – are implicated in wider contexts of unequal political and economic power and ‘cultural seductions’” (Campbell 2007; Frohlick 2010: 394). For Campbell (2007), whose work focuses on American men playing up their Westernized, less macho masculinities in combination with “their generosity and wealth”, and Mexican women’s agency in “playing up their devotion to family and their sexual availability” (Frohlick 2010: 394), cross-boarder attraction, then, is a multi-directional street in which agency, and “culturally situated modes of seduction” (Frohlick 2010: 304) take place. Such occurrences bear a striking resemblance to the ways in which Western/Northern men in Puerto Viejo increase their statuses as more desirable sexual subjects in the town’s hierarchy of desirability, specifically, through repudiations of local men, the emphasis they place on their performances of more “proper” Westernized masculinities. These performances include working hard, making money, monogamy, not engaging in domestic violence, dressing nicely to name a few. Also important here was tourist men’s ability to speak Spanish and have women know that they were staying in Puerto Viejo for an extended period of time. For example, drawing back on my interview with Mike, as we sat in his apartment in downtown Puerto Viejo he told me that:

“With local women, if you speak the local language and they know you are going to be staying in Puerto Viejo long enough for them to get to know you, you can attract them. I mean, they see the ways we dress, the stuff we have, and the places we eat. I mean, all of that comes from the way we work, the way we do business, and they see that. How could they not? Like, in my business, I have a few local women working for me. I treat them good, pay them well, you know, just be a good guy...that’s how I get to know them and how I have started dating a lot of the local girls.”

Adding substance to the ways in which such multi-directional cross-boarder seductions take place, however, I refer to an interview I conducted with Dash in his jungle bungalow approximately a kilometer outside of Puerto Viejo. Dash was, by far, the youngest Western/Northern tourist man I interviewed. Having moved to Puerto Viejo with his parents who had opened a local business, at the age of eighteen, he now lived alone off of money that his parents had provided for him through their business while they spent a year in the United States. He was good looking, sporting a stylish buzz-cut, and was usually well dressed in American made skater clothes that were unavailable in Puerto Viejo. On afternoon, as we sat on his couch eating chicken casados, watching television, and conducting an interview, he told me about the ways in which he was attracted to local women in Puerto Viejo.

“ I mean, the chicks down here, they’re so hot. But it is more than too, if that makes sense. Like the girl I am with now, I met her in one of the sodas and we went to the bar. She was grinding on me with that body...so sexy. Got something to with that Caribbean blood we hear so much about. But, what I mean is, like, local women are different than women back home. When she comes over here, she makes sure I am well fed, she pays lots of attention to me, plays with my hair. Just makes me feel really good.”

Here, Dash describes qualities intricately bound up with race, through which he finds local women to be attractive in the town. The bodies of local women, the naturalized discussion

of their movements, their bodies, sexiness, and domesticity all come together as a specific, and culturally located discourse on attraction and seduction. Like Caribbean men in the town, local women, too perform Caribbean-ness and Latin American-ness, in particular ways, specifically, those that “involve the ‘play of fantasy and imagery’ (Campbell 2007: 276), the manipulation of cultural representations, the erotic construction of the other and the performance of [gender, racial] stereotypes” (Frohlick 2010: 394).

At this point, however, it becomes increasingly important to note that the seemingly utopian and unproblematic ways in which both Mike and Dash relayed their experiences with local women are not ordinary or typical in Puerto Viejo. In fact, more often than not, the performances of local women are viewed with much uncertainty and suspicion, notions that, even in spite of all the effort men put into constructing themselves as “proper” masculine for the purposes of attracting such women (a process by which numerous contradictions emerge), create significant problems for Western/Northern tourist men involved in such ethno-sexual, cross-boarder intimacies.

For many tourist men, widely circulating tropes (and the sometimes realities) regarding local women in Puerto Viejo, and those in the Western world more generally regarding Latin American and Caribbean women, were constant points of concern when discussing their intimate encounters in the town. The first of these tropes to be discussed here, has to do with notions of authenticity, local women’s motivations for engaging cross-boarder, ethno-sexual intimacies with foreign men, and issues related to the concept of “entrapment” (Frohlick 2010: 393). Considering research by scholars such as Denise Brennan (2004), Frohlick notes that recent research has explored the ways in which “low-income, under-skilled women, often single mothers, in Cuba and the Dominican Republic

engage periodically in sex work in order to gain spatial and social mobility, notably migration to Europe and North America, unavailable to them by any other means” (Frohlick 2010: 393). In Brennan’s work, she expertly articulates the ways in which such women perform intimacies (and love) in particular contexts in order to become the girlfriends of wealthier, foreign men, with the intentions of increasing the quality of their lives. Brennan’s work, ultimately, complicates such phenomena by problematizing and blurring the boundaries between strategic and emotional performances of love. Specifically, she notes that they are not, necessarily mutually exclusive (2004: 96), the presence of hegemonically Western notions of romantic love are prevalent in the narratives of Western/Northern men living in Puerto Viejo (as well as others in the town, most notably, First world, female tourists – see Frohlick 2010). For many men in the town, suspicions that they were being desired for what their masculinities procured them, rather than for the performances themselves was highly problematic. Such suspicions often resulted in the characterization of local women as money-hungry, inauthentic, and devious. Such a statement may seem contradictory in light of previous narratives contained in this chapter, given that men noted how their styles of dress and business could be used to attract women. However, they were, at the same time, articulated in several different ways. For example, one afternoon I was sitting with Ben on our patio, smoking and discussing his relationships with local women in the town:

“The best piece of advice I can give you in Puerto Viejo is stay away from the local women. They will try and fuck you out of everything you have. It has happened to me and I have seen it happen too many times to other people. I mean, there is a difference between a local liking you for being a good guy [here Ben was referring to holding down a job and supporting a family] and nailing you because she wants a new dress. Fuck, I’m not going

to be anybody's ATM. It's not the Bank of Ben. Or, I'm not some ticket to getting a green card."

In a similar fashion, Dash, commenting on one of his ex-girlfriends, noted how his suspicions that she was only hanging around him for his steady supply of marijuana and cash led to numerous arguments between them ultimately, his doubt about her intentions caused the relationship to end.

He notes:

"I used to date this girl down here, really cool and sweet at first. But after a while, I kind of got suspicious as to what her motivations were for dating me. Like, she would come over and ask if I had any weed or petty cash. If I said that I didn't, it always seemed like she would make up some excuse to get out of there. It became pretty hard for me to tell if she wanted to hang out with me, or if she only wanted to smoke. I couldn't handle that so I broke it off."

Economic suspicions linked to the realities of cross-border relationships in Puerto Viejo, as well as wider tropes regarding Latin American and Caribbean women were not the only ones, however, that caused Western/Northern men to be distressed and suspicious. I draw here on Kampadoo's (2004) discussion of hypersexuality and Caribbean populations, which investigates the "pervasive, longstanding ideology that holds that Caribbean people possess hyperactive libidos and overly rely upon sexuality as a marker of identity" (7). I suggest that many tourist men also took issue with both the realities, and specter of, infidelity that they commonly associated with Caribbean-ness. Again, here, such notions acted in ways that placed incredible amounts of stress on Western/Northern tourist men, which was, often, enough to cause their relationships with local women to end. For example, as I sat with Frank on the beach, he told me about an evening in which he went looking for his local girlfriend as they were supposed to spend time together, finding her at

one of the local discos making-out with one of her ex-boyfriends, who was a local Caribbean man:

“You know, last night, my and my girl were supposed to chill. She was going to come by and were we’re going to make dinner and hang out, or whatever. But like, it’s nine o’clock, she’s two hours late, but I think, you know, Caribbean time so I don’t really worry. But at like eleven I decided to go out and look for her. I rolled past Johnny’s place and there she was with her ex, fooling around. I guess it’s a Caribbean thing, they need lots of action. But I’m not from a place like that. You know, you are with one person and that’s it. That’s not cool to me, why does she need to be going back to her ex if she is supposed to want to be with me, I just don’t get it.”

Although such occurrences often caused relationships between Western/Northern tourist men and local women to end, some did become long-term cross-cultural relationships and marriages. Very few, however, lasted very long. Such relationships, however, were articulated along very different lines as men talked about the difficulties in managing such stressors, and in some ways, exercising patience in order to see “where the relationships went.” As I was told by Nathan, a man in his sixties who had lived in Puerto Viejo for almost thirty years and had been married to a local woman for approximately twenty of them:

“You sort of have to understand that that’s how things kind of work down here. People down here see things differently. There is a chance that when you get involved with a local woman it is for a different reason than what we think of back home. But that doesn’t mean it can’t turn into something real. I mean, people get married for all kinds of reasons back home, why should we be idealists here?”

Even so, Western/Northern men’s difficulties with such notions seemed to be quite prevalent, often, to such a degree that they refused to engage in relationships with local women. For all of their efforts to perform masculinity in more “proper” ways, and elevate

their statuses as sexually desirable subjects in the town, process which included oppositional constructions, repudiation, mundane performances such as working hard, and engaging in monogamy, to name a few, being desired properly (i.e. for being a good man, not for what it produces) was part and parcel to such embodiments. In the very short concluding chapter that follows, I summarize the themes presented in this thesis, as well as suggest that strict attention must continue to be paid to the disciplined and durable ways in which subjectivities are ingrained. Aspects of post-modernity are evident in Puerto Viejo in the form of multiple masculinities, multiple hegemonies, the “free play” engaged in by some tourist men,. However, as I have also attempted to demonstrate, adherence to familiar discourses and embodiments, such as properly embodying masculinity and properly performing desire are also prevalent. I hope that this will become clear in the concluding chapter.

Conclusions:

This thesis has been about masculinities. More than that, it interrogates the ways in which Western tourist masculinities are expressed and embodied at the intersections of sexuality, tourism, and globalization in a transnational tourist town located on the Caribbean coast of Costa Rica. Armed with desires for alterity, Western men make their way to Puerto Viejo seeking various forms of touristic intimacy, which are very often also eroticized. Tourist destinations, however, are themselves, characterized by “sexual histories and modes of sociability” (Frohlick 2007: 163). Thus, although Western men enter into and stay in Puerto Viejo by virtue of privileges granted to them by certain aspects of their subjectivities (specifically those characterized by class, socio-economic status, race, and mobility), such aspects of subjectivity are cross-cut by those related to sexuality and desirability - which take up new meanings and articulations upon their arrival. As multiple hegemonies and masculinities come into contact in Puerto Viejo, Western men find themselves positioned relatively low within the town’s hierarchy of desirability. As noted, such positions are sometimes so low that tourist men’s sexualized and gendered subjectivities are said not to matter at all, in that they are completely undesirable. Ironically, it is through such touristic intimacies that often motivate and justify travel that tourist men learn about the differences between their masculinities and those of Caribbean men. The results of such observations often perpetuate angered and confused dispositions, as tourist men see themselves as performing masculinity in more “proper (read American) ways.

Motivated by such observations, tourist men attempted to reconstitute themselves as more desirable sexual subjects within the town’s hierarchy through numerous performances including repudiation, the playing up of Westernized masculinities, and

language learning and displays of locality, more generally. In the context of their intimate encounters with local women, however, despite tourist men's efforts to become more sexually desirable, such men found themselves being desired for reasons that they, too, understood to be "improper". The improprieties linked to such desirings were those that had to do with local women's motivations for dating and engaging in intimacies with foreign men for the purposes obtaining money, items, and better lives for themselves, as well as their abilities to perform intimacies for such purposes (see Campbell 2003:394).

In summation, I suggest that the lives and embodied subjectivities of Western tourist men living in Puerto Viejo are highly complicated and more nuanced than many may think. Although their relative political economic, raced, and mobile statuses have generated much scholarship regarding the exploitative and unchecked power of white, male tourists in locations like Puerto Viejo, my research, which is underpinned by theories of performativity complicated by notions of the divisibility of the subject, multiple hegemonies, and intra-masculine mobility, attempts to illustrate that the realities may be much more complex. When tourist men arrive in Puerto Viejo, they must negotiate locally constituted sexual, gendered and hierarchized terrains of desire forged, in many ways, by global tourism. Their abilities to do so are tenuous negotiations and contingent on many things including men's tolerance for criticism (in the case of Western men who play up aspects of Caribbean masculinity who are repudiated because of such performances), their willingness and ability to engage in racialized and repudiative performances (such as those men who jest and make jokes at the expense of Caribbean men), and finally, like Frank's narrative featured at the end of the last chapter, their abilities to wait out relationships and "see where they go", or rethink the meanings of such desires and relationships. Like the

tourist women described by Frohlick in Puerto Viejo, Western men in the town perform their masculinities and sexualities in a place where “desires for normative and transgressive sexual relations are often highly charged and socially consequential” (Frohlick 2007: 163; Mankekar and Schein 2004: 358).

At this point, however, a discussion regarding the limitations of the theoretical framework operationalized in this thesis is warranted. As noted throughout, the characterization of Western, heterosexual, and relatively wealthy tourist men as abject in Puerto Viejo may be somewhat problematic. Specifically, because of the politics and stakes located within Queer and performative theories of gender, the use of the term tends to generate interpretations of who is, and who is not, abject in absolute terms. In an attempt to not overshadow the marginalizations faced by Caribbean men, in the context of Puerto Viejo and masculinities, it should be made clear that local men are those who occupy truly and absolute abject positions. Such positionings are a result of wider social and political economic issues within and outside of Costa Rica (which have been discussed in this thesis), as well as those linked to repudiation and joking at the expense of Caribbean in Puerto Viejo itself.

The use of the term with regards to Western tourist men within this thesis, however, is an attempt to get at the ways in which such men experience and make sense of their relatively low position on the town’s hierarchy of desirability. It is not meant to suggest an absolute abjectivity for these men with regards to subjectivity, sexuality, and desirability. Rather, it is meant to suggest that in terms of sexuality and desire, the bodies and masculinities of tourist men are positioned very low within a hierarchy of desire, where different men jostle for position. Their bodies and sexualities are seen as

undesirable - as mattering less – which has a significant affect on their lives. This notion is further complicated when considering that the high degree of currency carried by Caribbean masculine embodiments are often linked to racialized stereotypes regarding their penises, notions of rhythmic sex, and hypersexuality – notions which tend to further abjectify Caribbean men.

Furthermore, although it is their relative privilege that allows tourist men to come to Puerto Viejo, upon staying, their ability to leave is often assumed to be possible. Subsistence wages, lulls in tourism, common passport difficulties often related to theft, mean that tourist men's mobility, once they establish themselves in Puerto Viejo, is complicated. For many, the option to simply leave and exert themselves as dominant and desirable sexual subjects elsewhere, is simply not possible. That being said, the degree of transposability that White masculinity carries is substantial, as noted throughout this thesis. To reiterate, the use of abject with regards to tourist men in this thesis is not to connote an absolute abjectivity, but to suggest that their positions as valid and desirable sexual subjects are challenged given the town's specific sexual history. The limitations that go along with using the term, however, are understood.

Finally, this thesis is meant to act as a starting point for my PhD., in which I plan to return to Puerto Viejo and conduct more research on Western tourist masculinities. As my fieldwork came to a close, more and more of the nuances and layers of intricacy that characterize the subjectivities of tourist men in the town became illuminated. Because of limitations on time and space, however, I will have to wait to include such findings and complete a more in depth analysis. Regardless, this thesis acts as a useful seed study for a

PhD dissertation and contributes much to the meanings of gender and sexuality in spaces characterized by the coming together of different people from different places.

ⁱ Susan Frohlick's article *Negotiating the Secrecy of Sex in a Transnational Tourist Town in Caribbean Costa Rica* is also worth mentioning here, specifically, with regards to the ways in which it raises the issue of blending fact and fiction to represent transnational tourist spaces like Puerto Viejo.

ⁱⁱ Manzanillo is another beach town located approximately fifteen kilometers South of Puerto Viejo at the end of a road that runs along the beach, where residents and tourists often go for seafood. The road to Manzanillo runs between the ocean and dense jungle and is very bumpy and unmaintained. Numerous hamlets are located between Puerto Viejo and Manzanillo and will be referred to often throughout this thesis.

ⁱⁱⁱ Although Caribbean women were sometimes present at this bar, they tended to hang out, mostly, at the more reggae and Caribbean oriented bars located in Puerto Viejo proper, and thus, were often not present on such nights. Such separations made investigating relationships between foreign men and local women difficult, as interactions between them were somewhat "hidden", although quite common.

^{iv} The Pacific coast of Costa Rica, as well as various hotels located in its capital, San José, are known "hot spots" where foreign men can travel to participate in cash-for-sex exchanges with Costa Rican women, typically encompassed by the term "sex tourism". Throughout my fieldwork, Puerto Viejo was discursively described as being devoid of such practices, as well as devoid of any other types of intimate exchanges between foreign men and local women (Afro-Caribbean, Costa Rican or otherwise). I later found that such intimacies, were, in fact, quite common (although hidden) despite discourses negating their occurrence.

^v For a Map of the Limón Province in relation to San José, see <http://www.tide-forecast.com/locations/Limon-CostaRica>.

^{vi} Other manifestations of Puerto Viejo's distinctly Caribbean flavour include restaurants with names such as Jammin', Juice and Jerk Joints in Punta Uva and Playa Chiquita, and street vendors that sell flags, compact disks, bracelets etc. that are Rastafarian in nature.

^{vii} For example see <http://www.tourism.co.cr>, <http://www.travelcostarica360.com>, and <http://expatuniverse.com/index.php?pid=2&country=1>.

^{viii} Although only Caribbean migrants are mentioned here, it is also worth noting that indigenous populations, Nicaraguan migrants, and Mestizo populations living in Guanacaste have also been heavily marginalized by such spatial and structural impositions.

^{ix} Puerto Viejo is, in actuality, quite complexly situated as a tourist destination. Although the town, and the Limón province more generally, has a reputation for being dangerous, the town itself receives a lot of tourism. When speaking with taxi drivers and San José, I was often questioned as to why I would want to go there. Furthermore, many tourists visiting the area, often told me that they almost did not make it for fear of danger. The town's reputation as a rugged, ecotouristic paradise seems to deter some tourists, while attracting

a large body of those looking for adventure, wildlife etc., often, however, with a lot of ambivalence.

^x For example see

http://www.wannasurf.com/spot/Central_America/Costa_Rica/Caribbean/salsa_brava/
^{xi}

http://www.visitcostarica.com/ict/paginas/modEst/estudios_estadisticas.asp?idIdioma=2
^{xii} A Rastabama t-shirt was one with a picture of Barak Obama surrounded by Rastafarian stripes.

^{xiii} Such clothing was commonly sold and worn in Puerto Viejo. Many men in Puerto Viejo actively supported Obama's democratic campaign, and the shift from a Republican to Democratic government was a common discussion, even in 2009 when I first arrived in Puerto Viejo.

^{xiv} Fleeting tourists were often referred to as "passer-bys", or something to that effect, to connote that they were not living in Puerto Viejo, unlike the men I worked, who lived in Puerto Viejo, but would refuse to consider themselves local for reasons having to do with understanding "authentic" locality as having to do with Caribbean-ness.

^{xv} Such businesses included local restaurants and coffee shops, dive centers, tour agencies, hotels, and bars. Working at such establishments, or owning them, also exposed men to local men as employees or coworkers. Thus, homosociality was also derived from these subject positions.

^{xvi} Such performances involved gaining access to material resources through subtle and fluid intimate exchanges with tourist women, or having with too many tourist women.

^{xvii} For examples of this, the reader should consult the vast amounts of early literature on Internet Dating and Online Modes of Communication with a particular focus on gender, where performance theories were often used to celebrate the vastness (seemingly infinite more accurately) of gendered possibilities offered by the Internet etc.

^{xviii} Using a structuralist framework, Douglas highlights how beings and objects that fall outside of categorical paradigms appear to be unintelligible, and thus, threatening as they force us to challenge the categorical realities on which many people live their lives. By encountering such differences or unintelligibilities, our own identities are called into question, a notion that constitutes the core of the threat. The book then goes on to explore some of them many ways in which such beings and objects are dealt with, specifically, as treated as either sacred or profane, and then often destroyed, disciplined, etc. Douglas' work also appears heavily in literature on genocide, immigration, globalization, and has been in adapted ways, such as Butler's work, to augment discussions regarding gendered, raced, sexed, and sexualized subjectivities.

^{xix} To qualify this notion, often, my interlocutors would discuss how Puerto Viejo was booming in terms of touristic development. Although such notions were often met with suspicion and, sometimes, disdain, as much of the draw of the town is based on characterization of being minimalistically developed and pristine, the increase in business and tourist flows were simultaneously welcomed, although ambivalently. Regardless, in the time between my initial departure and my return, a number of new grocery stores were built and opened, as well as numerous restaurants. Such changes signaled a high rate of development.

^{xx}Activities related to participation in the daily lives of men in Puerto Viejo included eating and cooking with men, helping them at work, surfing with them, and spending time with them in various establishments over drinks and cigarettes, to name a few. All of these activities were extremely important to the development of the strong rapport, trust, and intimacy that underpin this project.

^{xxi} For example, with local populations, my abilities to interact were mostly mediated by transactional encounters such as buying surf lessons or taking tours, as interactions between local and foreign men were very much contestational and superficial. An exception, however, was my ability to play music, which allowed me to meet some local musicians. Even so, these interactions were limited to only a few men, and I often felt as if I was being taken advantage of in some ways, as many men often asked for little items like drum sticks, or for me to buy them a drink while we talked or prepared to play.

^{xxii} The informality of this situation required that I later ask Stan for his permission to use this conversation and event, which Stan granted me provided all of his identifying features were changed.

^{xxiii} For example Sex and the City episodes, sit-com jokes, and pornographic Internet sites featuring black men specifically because of such alleged endowments.

^{xxiv} It is important to note, here, that the 10,000 colons buy-in was very often a minimum, and furthermore, mostly just an initial bet. Many men spent far more in an evening, often upwards of a hundred American dollars or 50, 000 colons. The high price of competition meant that the stakes were usually too expensive for local Caribbean men to compete with. In fact, in my six months of living in Puerto Viejo, there were only two poker nights in which Caribbean men attended. Furthermore, the Caribbean men that did attend were considerably wealthier than the expatriate and tourist men that were there on a more regular basis.

^{xxv} Such embodiments are not infinite, however, as regulation occurs. See Weston 1993.

^{xxvi} Such notions have already been raised in both the chapter on theoretical underpinnings and homosociality between foreign and local men. My intention here, is not to downplay the sometimes horrible atrocities that those who are positioned as abject endure. Instead, I simply wish to convey that in the context of multiple masculinities, hegemonies, and points of power, where such subjectivities intertwine, bodies that matter less in some regards (for example white, Western tourist sexuality) may draw on other areas of their subjectivities in order to reconstitute themselves; often, ones that rely on reobjectification and less playful, inspiringly creative ways as those suggested in *Gender Trouble*.

^{xxvii} It is very important to note, here, that such creative responses to tourist men's relatively lower status in the town's discursive hierarchy of masculinity are, too, repudiated heavily and unwelcomed by tourist men who do not participate in such behaviours. Numerous men that worked informally (some of whom engaged in complex and subtle cash for sex exchanges), those who dressed 'to Caribbean', those that couch-surfed, and those that borrowed money often were also subject to such jokes and repudiation, although in different ways, which simultaneously positioned them as abject, while at the same time acted as reiterative performances for those who hurled such insults.

^{xxviii} Such notions were also part of my research, as I spoke to numerous tourist women about their attractions to local men in the town. I did not, however, focus too much attention on such factors, as they were more so a point of contextualization in Puerto Viejo.

^{xxix} Here, repudiation as performativity is meant to suggest that repudiation is a special kind of reiterated performance through which subjects can actually emerge. Such notions will be further articulated in the following paragraphs. Put simply, here, however, the phrase simply suggests that in addition to abjectifying subjects, repudiation can also function as constitutive.

Appendix A:

Consent Forms for Participation in the Research Project:

Masculinities and Intimacies: Performance and Negotiation in a Transnational Tourist Town in Caribbean Costa Rica

Researcher:

Kristofer Maksymowicz (University of Manitoba Graduate Student)

Contact Information: Kristofermaksymowicz@hotmail.com

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

Purpose of this Study:

The Purpose of this study is to examine the multiple ways in which masculinity is expressed and embodied in Costa Rica, as well as to examine the ways in which larger processes such as tourism and globalization effect such expressions of masculinity. In particular, relationships between Western/Northern tourist men and local women are being examined.

Your Participation in this Study:

You are being asked to participate in a study in which the researcher will participate in, and take notes on your daily activities, observe and take notes on your daily activities, and ask you questions about such activities. With regards to your participation in this project, the amounts of time required are varied, depending on your desired degree of participation in this study. You may commit as little or as much time to this study as you wish and may withdraw from the study at any point without penalty. Simply let the researcher know.

Please check as they apply to you:

I give consent to participating in this study, which includes the participation of the researcher in my daily activities, observation conducted by the researcher, and give the researcher permission to ask me questions about such activities.

Be advised that there is no penalty if you do not wish to participate in this study.

What Your Participation Will Do:

By choosing to participate in this study, you will have an opportunity to share your experiences with other people. Also, your participation will provide valuable information regarding masculinities and masculine sexuality in Costa Rica. As a research participant, you can receive copies of written reports, as well as updates on this particular study through regular or electronic

mail. These documents include interview transcriptions and any publications resulting from the information gathered as a result of your, and other people's participation.

Please indicate whether or not you would like to receive written reports and updates:

Yes, I would like to receive reports and updates from this study.

No, I would not like to receive reports and updates from this study.

Mailing or E-mail Address: _____.

Risks and Discomforts as a Result of Participation in this Study:

There are no intentional or foreseen risks that could arise as a result of participating in this study, other than those already present in your normal life. Risks that could result by providing data will be remedied by keeping strict confidentiality (see section below).

Maintaining Confidentiality:

To ensure that your participation and what you say or during the course of the researcher's participation and observation remains confidential, your real name will not be used in the final report or in any document constructed on the basis of the information gathered throughout this project. Instead, you will be given a pseudonym. The information and data produced throughout this project will be labeled with a coded identification number and not your name. The audio recordings made during interviews, should you agree to participate in them and be audio recorded, will be stored in locked filing cabinets along with any notes, transcriptions, and data. The researcher will be the only person with access to such documents. Electronic documents that contain personal information will be coded and password protected. Upon concluding this research project, the researcher will destroy all data.

Voluntary Participation:

Your participation in this project, at all times, is voluntary. You have the right to withdraw your participation at any time throughout this project no matter what the reason and without any penalty. You may also refuse to answer any questions both in interview contexts as well as informal situations. You have the right to stop participating in this study at any time. Just let the researcher know.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and /or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

Kristofer Maksymowicz – Researcher - +1 204 123 4567

Susan Frohlick – Supervisor - +1 204 123 4567

This research has been approved by the Joint-Faculty REB. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat at 474-7122, or e-mail margaret_bowman@umanitoba.ca. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Participant's Signature

Date

Researcher/ and or Delegate's Signature

Date

Informed Consent Forms for Interviews:

Masculinities and Intimacies: Performance and Negotiation in a Transnational Tourist Town in Caribbean Costa Rica

Researcher:

Kristofer Maksymowicz (University of Manitoba Graduate Student)

Contact Information: Kristofermaksymowicz@hotmail.com

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

Purpose of this Study:

The Purpose of this study is to examine the multiple ways in which masculinity is expressed and embodied in Costa Rica, as well as to examine the ways in which larger processes such as tourism and globalization effect such expressions of masculinity. In particular, relationships between Western/Northern tourist men and local women are being examined.

Your Participation in this Interview:

You are being asked to participate in an interview which the researcher will ask you questions about masculinities and sexuality in Costa Rica, and take notes on your responses, and will audio record your responses. With regards to your participation, the amounts of time required are varied, but the interview may take upwards of an hour. However, you may commit as little or as much time to this interview and you may stop the interview at any point without any form of penalty to yourself.

Please check as they apply to you:

I give consent to participate in a face-to-face interview that will be audio recorded.

I give consent to participate in a face-to-face interview that will not be audio recorded, but allow the researcher to take notes.

Be advised that your rights as a participant will not be affected if you do not wish to allow this interview to be audio recorded.

What Your Participation Will Do:

By choosing to participate in this study, you will have an opportunity to share your experiences with other people. Also, your participation will provide valuable information regarding masculinity and masculine sexuality in Costa Rica. As a research participant, you can receive copies of written reports, as well as updates on this particular study through regular or electronic

mail. These documents include interview transcriptions and any publications resulting from the information gathered as a result of your, and other people's participation.

Please indicate whether or not you would like to receive written reports and updates:

Yes, I would like to receive reports and updates from this study.

No, I would not like to receive reports and updates from this study.

Mailing or E-mail Address: _____.

Risks and Discomforts as a Result of Participation in this Study:

There are no intentional or foreseen risks that could arise as a result of participating in this study, other than those already present in your normal life. Risks that could result by providing data will be remedied by keeping strict confidentiality (see section below).

Maintaining Confidentiality:

To ensure that your participation and what you say during interviews remains confidential, your real name will not be used in the final report or in any document constructed on the basis of the information gathered throughout this project. Instead, you will be given a pseudonym. The information and data produced throughout this project will be labeled with a coded identification number and not your name. The audio recordings made during this interview, should you agree to be audio recorded, will be stored in locked filing cabinets along with any notes, transcriptions, and data. The researcher will be the only person with access to such documents. Electronic documents that contain personal information will be coded and password protected. Upon concluding this research project, the researcher will destroy all audio recordings.

Voluntary Participation:

Your participation in this project, at all times, is voluntary. You have the right to withdraw your participation at any time throughout this project no matter what the reason and without any penalty. You may also refuse to answer any questions both in interview contexts as well as informal situations. You have the right to stop participating in this study at any time. Just let the researcher know.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and /or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

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Participant's Signature

Date

Researcher/ and or Delegate's Signature

Date

**Appendix B:
Introduction Script for the Purposes of Informed Consent (Verbal):**

Hi. My name is Kristofer Maksymowicz and I am from the University of Manitoba, in Winnipeg, Canada. How are you today? As you may already know, I am doing research, here, in Puerto Viejo for my Master's thesis.

My research is about the ways in which Western/Northern tourist men think about their masculinity, and what it means to be and act like men, especially in terms of their intimate relationships with local women. After my research is finished, I will be writing a paper about what I find out. Is that something you would be interested in seeing?

If you would like, I am asking you to be a part of my research project. I will use the information that I gather by talking and hanging out with you to write my paper. At some point in the future, I may ask you to do an interview with me that may be audio recorded. Is that something that might be okay with you?

You do not have to do anything that you don't want to, and at any time you may ask that I stop taking information, remove you from the study, or not use some or any of the information you have provided and nothing will happen. Just let me know.

Also, I will not repeat any of the information that you give me to anyone else. Everything is confidential. When I write my paper, if I use any of the information you have given me, I will change your name and distinguishing features so as to protect your anonymity. Are you okay with all of this? Do you have any questions for me?

Appendix C:

List and Biographies of Key Research Participants:

Ben – A twenty-seven year old Canadian man who had lived in Puerto Viejo for approximately five years when I met him, Ben was my key research participant. As the proprietor of a local adventure tourism organization he was deeply plugged into numerous social networks in the town. He was tall, thin, and had a collage degree. I spent much of my time with Ben, mostly just sitting around or going for rides on his boat.

Nile – A British expatriate in his late twenties, Nile was the owner of a bar/restaurant located on the outskirts of town. Nile was well educated, driven, and was a savvy businessman. At the time of our meeting, Nile had been living in Puerto Viejo for approximately six years and in that time had had many local girlfriends.

Erica – A young woman from France living in Puerto Viejo, Erica had moved to the town three years back for the relaxed lifestyle, the natural and pristine scenery, and the Caribbean men. She was thin and beautiful and had worked many jobs in Puerto Viejo's service industry.

Stan – A local tour operator in his mid-thirties, Stan was highly educated and had left the United States for reasons that he said, had to do with the then Bush-led administration. Having lived in Puerto Viejo for four years, Stan had a local Costa Rican wife and was in the process of acquiring residency in Costa Rica.

Dash – The youngest participant in this study, Dash was eighteen and had moved to Costa Rica with his parents who were formally the proprietors of a local business. After his parents sold their business, Dash decided to stay in Puerto Viejo and make a life there. He was good looking, well off, and had numerous local girlfriends despite having lived in the town for so little time.

Mike – A restaurant owner in his earlier thirties, Mike moved to Puerto Viejo from the United States after taking a trip there with his brother several years back. Having lived in the town for a number of years, he was well known and well respected. In the time he had lived in Puerto Viejo had he dated many local women, had a local wife, and had numerous Caribbean friends as a result of his involvement in the community.

Frank – An American hotel owner in his mid sixties, Frank had lived in Puerto Viejo for approximately twenty-five years. He was married to a local woman from Nicaragua and had several children. He was very well respected in the community and highly respected. Although my contact was limited with Frank as a result of our age differences and responsibilities, he was very open and honest and I was able to learn a lot from him.

Adam – An American surfer in his mid forties, Adam had been living in Puerto Viejo for approximately twenty years. Through his narratives I learnt much about relationships with local women, as well as the arrival of surfers to the town after the completion of the road in 1976.

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