

**Local Masculinities beyond Images: Youth, Fatherhood, and Tourism in the
South Caribbean of Costa Rica**

by

Carolina Meneses Zamora

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
The University of Manitoba
In partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Anthropology
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg

Copyright©2017 by Carolina Meneses Zamora

Abstract

The main objective of this thesis is to gain a better understanding of how local young men living in Puerto Viejo de Talamanca, a small Afro-Caribbean tourism town in Costa Rica, imagine, perform, and negotiate masculinities and fatherhood, in particular, through the diverse intimate encounters they establish with tourist women. To meet this objective I utilized a “youth-centered” approach, which stressed a participatory methodology. By using a combination of photovoice and visual anthropology, participants were asked to take and comment on photographs relevant to their understandings and everyday performances of masculinity and fatherhood in relation to tourism.

To address the dynamic and complex linkages between global tourism, youth, masculinities, and fatherhood I draw upon the theoretical contributions in the anthropologies of youth, critical theories of masculinities and fatherhood, and theories regarding the commodification of intimacy, many of which, in their contemporary formulations, are underpinned by theories of gender performativity.

Acknowledgments

This thesis came to life thanks to the support and collaboration of several persons who I will like to thank and publicly express my deepest appreciation for their diverse contributions to this project. First, I will like to acknowledge the central contribution of the seven men I worked with: Sahim, Carlos, Pablo, Edwin, William, Kerlin, and Félix, thank you all for the time invested during my fieldwork. I will be forever grateful to you for sharing with me your daily lives and experiences. Muchas gracias Sahim, Carlos, Pablo, Edwin, William, Kerlin, y Félix por el tiempo que invirtieron en este proyecto. Siempre les estaré agradecida por compartir sus experiencias y sus vidas conmigo. Sin ustedes, esta tesis no hubiese sido posible.

Susan Frohlick, there are no words to describe how thankful I am with you for all your support, advice, and patience. I hope you know that through the years you have become more than an advisor to me. Gracias for always giving me the space to find my own voice in this process, and for making me feel that my insights to your research are valued and appreciated. I'm profoundly thankful with life for that "pool" meeting some years ago in the Caribbean. Who would have known it was going to bring us here! Excited to see what is next.

Rob and Jocelyn, thanks not only for your great comments and suggestions to this thesis but also because you both had believed in me at moments when I was in self-doubt about my academic skills.

I will also like to thank the incredible group of people that I have the luck to have in my life. My amazing family and friends in Costa Rica who I have missed so many times in the last years, and with whom despite the distance, I always feel close. Mami, Papi, Gogui, Diego, Sebas, Cuqui, Nanda, Karla, Lulis, Mery, Memo, Pri, each of you, in different ways, are family to me and I'm deeply grateful for having you around. We have walked different moments of life together and I'm pretty sure that no matter where or how, we will keep doing it for a long time. Thanks for hundreds of text messages and Skype calls.

Also thanks to my loved ones in Canada. Emily, Estella, Jen, Josh, Mariana, Marta, Maxime, and Shan. Your support, solidarity, and love have been the best surprise of this – sometimes- challenging time in Winnipeg. I honestly could not have made it without you. I'm very blessed to have this amazing "multicultural Canadian" family. I will always cherish the many good memories we have built together during the last years.

And last but not least, I will like to thank the beautiful Caribbean of Costa Rica. Forever grateful for allowing me to experience some of the best days I have lived so far, and for showing me that dignity, hope, resistance, and beauty has many different forms.

Finally, I will also like to acknowledge that my research was funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC).

Dedicated to Mami y Papi. Thanks for years and years of love and support

Para Mami y Papi. Gracias por tantos años de amor y apoyo

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgments	ii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Figures.....	vi
<i>Chapter 1- Introduction</i>	1
Wolaba’s Tuesday night: “On the Waves”	3
Background - Sueños Forjados Entre Selvas.....	6
Costa Rica, Global Tourism, and the Caribbean - <i>El Caribe te Llama, Vívelo Hoy-</i>	9
<i>Chapter 2- Literature Review and Theoretical Framework</i>	16
Hegemonic Masculinities and Fatherhood in Latin America; Race and Sexuality; and, the Commodification of Ethnic Identities in Global Tourism	16
Hegemonic Masculinities and Fatherhood.....	17
Race and Sexuality	20
Commodification of Ethnic Identities in Global Tourism	23
Theoretical Framework	27
Global Tourism and the Construction of Gendered, Racialized, and Sexualized Subjectivities in the Caribbean of Costa Rica	27
<i>Chapter 3- Methodology. Masculinities and Fatherhood beyond Images</i>	32
Visual Anthropology and Photovoice	34
Photovoice	37
Photographing Masculinities: “White Snob Feminist” and other Negotiations.....	38
Fieldwork Practicalities and Politics	43
One Dollar for Picture?	49
Analysis and Interpretation.....	51
Conclusion.....	53
<i>Chapter 4 - Performing Masculinities and the Commodification of “The Caribbean Identity”</i> ..	55
Puerto’s Local Youth Gendered Subjectivities and the Theory of Performativity.....	55
Gendered Subjectivities – The Effects of Performances.....	56
The Performance of Hegemonic Masculinity	59
Carlos: “You Need Balls to Surf Huge Waves”	59
Commodification of the “Caribbean Identity”	63

Edwin: You Like My Hair, but Why Don't You Like Who I Am?	65
Conclusion	69
Chapter 5 - When Money Comes into Play: Intimate Encounters, Economics, and Masculinity 72	
Kerlin: "This is How, in This Place, New Friendships Start"	72
The Commodification of Intimacies and the Representation of Tourists' Gendered Subjectivities	75
The Shared House: Being (More or Less) Manly	79
Sahim: Transnational Travel and the Negotiation of Masculinity	86
Conclusion	88
Chapter 6- Fathering and Masculinities: "The Blood's Negotiations"	91
"Being a Bad Father Is Not a Male Thing"	92
Negotiating Fatherhood: Foreign Women, la Pensión (child support) and Other Practicalities	97
Félix: Tourism and Pregnancies, "When the Party Gets Serious"	100
Conclusion	107
Chapter 7 – Conclusions: Didn't You Want a Better Future Too?	109
Pablo: Ask Me Again in Ten Years	110
One More Picture and We're Done	117
References	121
Notes	130
Appendix 1	134
Appendix 2	138

List of Figures

Picture 1: Surfing.....	59
Picture 2: The Bikes	63
Picture 3: The Hair	67
Picture 4: Friendships	72
Picture 5: The Shared House	80
Picture 6: The Room.....	83
Picture 7: Lucky Night	86
Picture 8: The School	95
Picture 9: The Street	98
Picture 10: The Bar.....	100
Picture 11: The Boats	105
Picture 12: La Soda	110

Chapter 1- Introduction

After spending four months in Puerto Viejo (Wolaba), a small tourism town located in the South Caribbean of Costa Rica, province of Limón, there I was on my last Tuesday night in town, forcing myself to go to the bar.¹ Apart from my personal attachments to the place and to my closest friends, that Tuesday evening I felt ready to leave. Those feelings were very different from what I experienced in September 2014, when I said goodbye to the place where I lived and had considered my home for ten years, and to which I came back from December 2015 to April 2016, as an anthropology graduate student aiming to “do” research.

The research that brings this thesis to life is driven by my interest in gaining a better understanding of Puerto Viejo’s local young men’s social relations and experiences, and the multiple effects that global tourism has on them. By “local” men I am referring to men who were born or have lived most of their lives in the Caribbean region of Costa Rica, and whose identities can be addressed as a mix of African, Latin American and Caribbean backgrounds (Frohlick 2013b). My curiosity about this topic started in 2006 when, after finishing my undergraduate studies in sociology, I decided to move and live the “dream life” at the beach. At that time, as a *chepeña* (that is how people in Puerto Viejo call those who come from the capital) in my early twenties, it did not take me long to realize (and experience) how transnational intimacies became central constituents not only of men’s lives but also of the everyday dynamics of the town and the rest of its inhabitants. Through the years, I heard countless stories of local male friends’ adventures and often not so- funny experiences with tourists and foreign women. I witnessed many times how local men left town to travel to North America or Europe and how, after a couple of months abroad, most

of them came back to Puerto Viejo. In the best cases they came back, with exciting stories about new experiences, to their own small businesses (many times sponsored by their foreign girlfriends), or to their previous beach lifestyle. Sometimes, the girlfriend returned to Costa Rica with the local man and it was not surprising when some of the girlfriends also returned to town with the news of a new child. However, the outcomes of these trips were not always the expected ones. Occasionally, some men were honest enough to share stories about their personal struggles with classism and racism experienced out of their Caribbean home, a region that was “paradise” to them because they did not have to deal to the same extent than “outside” with these issues. Either way, it is impossible to ignore the influence that the mere possibility of establishing some kind of relation with a foreign woman has on the formation of local masculinities. It is common to hear in Puerto how some of these men are pictured as “gigolos” who take advantage of foreign women. However, I consider that with the exception of few men who clearly identify themselves as “gigolos,” this categorization limits the anthropological understanding of the complex historical, social, and cultural dynamics that converge and shapes these diverse intimate encounters and, ultimately, local men’s lives (Anderson 2004; Frohlick 2007, 2013).

The main aim of my anthropological thesis is to gain a better understanding of how local young men living in Puerto Viejo imagine, perform, and negotiate masculinities and fatherhood, in particular, through the diverse intimate encounters they establish with tourist women. To do so, I posed the following research questions:

1. In the context of global tourism and transnational intimacies, how do local young men perform masculinities in their social practices and everyday lives?

2. In which ways do intimate encounters with tourist women influence local young men's understandings of their masculine subjectivities and also their understandings about local and foreign women's femininities?
3. How do local young men negotiate their understandings and performances of masculinity through commoditized intimacies with tourist women and, in particular, their own notions of fatherhood? How are the men's interests in procreation and having babies with foreign tourist women bound up with ethnicized-racialized and commoditized masculinities?
4. Specifically, how are ideas of fatherhood and fathering practices bound to their notions of masculinity?

As I will further detail in Chapter 3, *Masculinities and Fatherhood beyond Images*, I aim to get a better understanding of the issues interrogated in these research questions by utilizing a qualitative approach. Specifically, I relied on an ethnographic methodology and in some of its classic methods, participant observation and open-ended interviews to conduct my research. Furthermore, I utilized photovoice, a Participatory Action Research (PAR) method, within a more broadly visual anthropological framework as part of the youth-centered methodology in which this research is grounded.

Wolaba's Tuesday night: "On the Waves"²

Even though this topic and the dynamics of the town were not new for me, during the last couple of weeks of my fieldwork I started to feel overwhelmed. To be able "to survive" in Puerto, as a local friend used to tell me, you need to learn how to deal with the intensity of the place. Sometimes, during my fieldwork visit, I got the feeling that the place was consuming my energy, especially because of the several nights out spent at the bars.

Therefore, on the last Tuesday evening of my fieldwork I was ready to say goodbye, but not before experiencing Puerto Viejo's nightlife one last time before I returned to Canada.

When I arrived at On the Waves, the bar was already crowded, mainly by enthusiastic and noticeably drunk tourists moving on the dance floor. Music was loud and, as I expected, it was not roots reggae music, but instead was the latest North American hip-hop and Jamaican dancehall hits.³ I managed to get into the bar and asked for a beer. While chatting with some of my friends, I saw Sahim dancing and flirting with a blonde girl who looked like she might be from some North American or European country.⁴ A mix of thoughts flashed through my mind: Just a couple of days before, Sahim and I had been talking and working together with the photographs for this study. One night while drinking together in one of the bars in town, he told me how much he was in love with his foreign girlfriend, who was currently in Germany, and I was convinced when he claimed his fidelity and commitment for her. So the image of him with another foreign women that I was looking at that very moment did not make sense to me. However, I was not surprised or shocked by what I was observing. As I will address through this thesis, Caribbean local masculinities have been constructed historically on specific racialized and sexualized understandings of masculinity that are centered on notions of hyper-sexuality and infidelity (De Albuquerque 1998; Kempadoo 2004). So at that moment I thought, "Nothing new, Sahim is like all other Caribbean men."

Undoubtedly, my thoughts at that moment were mediated by the value judgments I have built about local men through my personal experience as a former inhabitant of the town. They were also mediated, as I will further detailed in the methodology section, by the ambiguity and relationality of my positionality in town as a "non-black" Costa Rican woman from the capital, who used to live in Puerto, and then moved to Canada. That night,

however, what was intriguing for me was the way in which he had presented himself in our interview. Maybe he had lied during our conversations, or perhaps he had not. Possibly, certain behaviours that seemed contradictory to me were not contradictory for him. I did not have time to articulate my thoughts about his apparent flirtations with a woman who was not his girlfriend when Sahim walked towards me. He pointed at my forehead with his hand simulating a gun—and “shot” me. Visibly upset because this was not the first time he did so, I told him he needed to stop. He apologized and explained how this gesture, which signified a threat of violence to me, was actually his way of showing love and respect to me before my departure. The next day during my five-hour bus ride back to San José, while I wistfully looked through the bus window at the sea, the exuberant jungle, and the banana plantations all around me, I reflected on the complexity of meanings embedded in Sahim’s performances at the bar on Tuesday night.

As I will argue throughout this thesis, just like the rest of the young men with whom I have had the opportunity to spend time during my fieldwork, Sahim’s performances of masculinity were informed by the ways in which Costa Rican-Caribbean men have been, historically, and in contemporary times, racialized, commoditized, and exoticized in global tourism markets. In this thesis, by presenting insights about the lives of seven local young men of Puerto Viejo I attempt to demonstrate how, for Afro-Costa Rican youth, tourism has come to mean more than an opportunity to integrate in the formal and informal economies of the tourist activity or a means to meet women. For the participants I worked with, tourism is all of the above and, as well, is a central context in which they understand, perform and negotiate masculine subjectivities. By outlining the diversity and complexity of each of their stories, which include narratives as well as photographs, I attempt to stress the participants’ agency in their everyday lives and in the negotiations that

occur in the intimate encounters they sustain with tourist women and, for some, in their experiences as fathers. In doing so, I expect to challenge some of the dominant ideas about Caribbean or Afro-Costa Rican men, which are stereotypically racialized and fixed categories such as “hustlers,” “gigolos,” “lazy men,” “bad fathers,” “heartless,” and so on (Anderson, 2004; Frohlick 2013b, 2015). Furthermore, I intend to frame not only Sahim’s story but also those of the other participants, which they shared kindly with me about themselves, tourist women, and tourism in general, by contextualizing their stories and experiences within the social, cultural, and economic processes and histories of the Caribbean of Costa Rica.

Background - *Sueños Forjados Entre Selvas*⁵

I start this section by describing historical conditions shaping the province of Limón, as it exists today. These conditions are central to the understanding of Puerto Viejo’s history and the ways in which specific notions about race in Costa Rica, and specifically in the province of Limón, have strongly influenced the town’s social relations over the years (Caamaño 2007; Sharmen Leigh 2001).

As in other Latin American countries, race in Costa Rica is a diverse and complex construct (Wade 2009). Undoubtedly, most of the Costa Rican population is a mixed of indigenous, black, and Spanish. However, the “lightness” of the skin color of some Costa Ricans, compared to other Central Americans, has been historically used as a distinction of “whiteness” from the rest of the region. Within the country, these distinctions have operated and continue to operate as racial differentiators between the inhabitants of the country’s seven provinces.

In this sense, both as a construct to justify racism against “non-white” populations and as a marketing strategy in the global tourism market, “blackness” played (and continues to play, as I will argue further on through this thesis) a central role in the settlement, social organization, and tourism development of Puerto Viejo.

Puerto Viejo is located about 36 miles from Limón city, in one of the country’s poorest provinces also called Limón that exhibits deep racial, social, and economic inequalities vis-à-vis the rest of Costa Rica. These inequalities have been historically shaped in close relation to the ethnic and cultural specificities of the area. These particularities were initially forged throughout European colonization and, subsequently, in the construction of a Costa Rican national identity. Both of these processes were largely based on racial and religious ideologies that privileged ideals of “whiteness” as well as Catholic religious beliefs within the Costa Rican population (Meléndez and Duncan 1974; Palmer 1994; Senior 2007; Frohlick 2013b). These ideals, distant from reality, were the basis that systematically ignored, denied, and invisibilized the presence of Indigenous groups who settled before the colonial period along with the country’s emerging black population.

Even though Wolaba was originally inhabited by Indigenous groups and turtle fishers (Palmer 1994), local history was greatly influenced by Limón’s labour conditions and, in particular, the racial conflicts experienced by black immigrants during the second half of the nineteenth century (Senior 2007). In the 1880s, labour migrants mostly from Jamaica, but also from Cuba, Barbados, Nicaragua, Colombia and Panamá, came to the country as a labour force for one of the most representative projects of the newly liberal Costa Rican state—the construction of the railway from the capital city of San José to

Limón, the main port of the country (Meléndez and Duncan 1974; Palmer 1994; Senior 2007). Many of those workers were segregated in Limón and, subsequently, settled and worked for the United Fruit Company (UFCO), a North American banana company that monopolized the commercialization and transportation of the fruit (Meléndez and Duncan 1974; Palmer 1994; Senior 2007).

Over time, these immigrants brought their families or formed new ones, giving birth to a new generation of Afro-Costa Ricans. However, Jamaican immigrants and Afro-Costa Ricans did not fit into Costa Rican national imaginaries and actually were not even considered Costa Rican citizens (*Ticos*) until 1950 (Senior 2007).⁶ The black population was made invisible and segregated because they were not “white” as Costa Ricans liked to imagine themselves. Also, they did not share the same language (they were English-speakers in a Spanish-speaking country and region), religion (most were Protestants within a Roman Catholic nation), traditions (they professed their loyalty to the British Empire), and education level with the rest of the country (Meléndez and Duncan 1974).⁷ These differences have been used to justify diverse forms of political, social, economic, and educational exclusion. Over the years, exclusion has translated into high levels of poverty, crime, and violence as well as low levels of literacy among residents of the province. Therefore, it is not a surprise that Limón occupies the lowest positions in the social development and economic indexes issued by Costa Rican government (see for example, MIDEPLAN 2013; Estado de la Nación 2015).

As I will describe in the next section, at present, and as part of the positioning of Costa Rica as a tourist destination, the South Caribbean communities experienced, to some degree, different conditions compared to the rest of the province. But that does not mean

that they escape social exclusion. In the next paragraphs, I look in detail at the new and diverse patterns of social exclusion and racism that global tourism has produced (and keeps reproducing) in the country, and in the Caribbean region specifically.

Costa Rica, Global Tourism, and the Caribbean -*El Caribe te Llama, Vívelo Hoy*- ⁸

During the second half of the twentieth century, Costa Rica's economy was based on agricultural production and export of coffee and bananas (Flores 2004). Starting in the 1980s Costa Rica became one of the first global ecotourism destinations, emerging from science tourism in Costa Rica and growing environmentalism in the west (Honey 2003). Since 2000, tourism has grown at a tremendous pace to become the country's largest industry, generating more income than both of their main agricultural products together (Flores 2004). The governmental efforts directed by the Costa Rican Tourism Board (ICT), whose principal function is to increase international tourism flows to the country, have paid off and the country has positioned itself as one of the main tourist destinations in Latin America and the Caribbean (Flores 2004). As a matter of fact, in 2015, the tourism sector grew three times more than the national economy, generating earnings for US \$ 2,882.4 million (<http://www.estrategiaynegocios.net>). However, tourism expansion and development has been regionally concentrated in the Central Valley and the Pacific coast of the country.⁹ Thereby the Caribbean coast, where my fieldwork took place, has significantly less tourist growth than the main regions of the Central Valley and the Pacific coast, despite its vast natural beauty and cultural diversity (Christian 2013). In this respect, in comparison to the large-scale tourism growth of the Pacific coast, Puerto has followed a pattern based around smaller-scale and independently operated tourism development. For this reason, the area "has experienced an influx of small-scale cultural and eco-tourism that

attracts youth backpackers, volunteers, and work abroad students in their 20s and 30s from the United States, Canada, and Europe into quotidian spaces of Afro-Caribbean residents” (Frohlick 2013:1). Eventually, through the years, this type of touristic development has become Puerto Viejo’s greatest strength, attracting tourists who want to experience “the Caribbean” (Anderson 2004; Frohlick 2013b).

According to Anderson, in global tourism, imaginaries about “the Caribbean” are transnationally constructed, and strategically used by the tourists, but also by local inhabitants as identifiers that “informs notions of self and belonging” (2004:25). Free of massive and fancy resorts, the South Caribbean of Costa Rica generates a “roots- local” vibe, associated with the historical presence of the Jamaican Afro-Caribbean culture in the area including its music, food, and architecture (Frohlick 2013). In the past decades, and in addition to Puerto Viejo’s local inhabitants and business owners, the Costa Rican Tourism Board (ICT) has also recognized the increasing popularity of the Afro-Caribbean culture, along with the Bribri and Cabécar indigenous cultures, mostly amongst North American and European tourists interested in experiencing closer and more intimate connections with local cultures (Frohlick 2007), and has begun to promote the region based on those imaginaries.¹⁰ In this sense, “the Caribbean” is picture and marketed by several social actors as “one place” (Anderson 2004), with a “simple and relaxed atmosphere” (Frohlick 2013b, 2013c), inhabited by “vibrant, exotic, and laidback” local populations.

This “roots-local” vibe that has made Puerto Viejo and the South Caribbean in general an increasingly popular tourist destination is something difficult to put into words, because it is something you experience when you are there. My friend Max, a local taxi driver, used to describe it in terms of experiencing one of the most beautiful world’s

landscapes through your body and heart: “*mae*, is the reggae music rhythm, the smell and the taste of the ocean mixed with coconut, *chile panameño*, and fish while you ride your bike through the bumpy and sometimes dusty streets around town feeling you are in paradise, no matter if you are all sweat or broke.”¹¹ ICT’s publicity campaign “*El Caribe te Llama, Vívelo Hoy*” reminds me of Max’s feelings about Puerto Viejo. The Caribbean of Costa Rica is a “little piece of paradise” that claims to be fully lived and felt.

In the last decades, more people than ever before have decided “to live and feel” in the South Caribbean region of Costa Rica. Apart from a growth in the number of visitors, the South Caribbean also experienced an increase in its foreigner resident population.¹² In addition to Costa Ricans from other provinces, Panamanians, Nicaraguans, and also “expats” mostly from North America and Europe, have made this place their home.¹³ As a result, Puerto Viejo’s local culture and landscape have become a “hybrid mix” (Frohlick 2007:147) where different realities and scenarios converged. Undoubtedly, the presence of a variety of dining options from different world cuisines, mixed with Caribbean restaurants and bars playing reggae music all day long, the increasing popularity of spaces for practicing yoga, and the multiple and diverse lodging options, among other factors, give the place a “cosmopolitan” vibe (Frohlick 2007, 2013b, 2013c; Maksymowicz 2010). However, this “cosmopolitanism” also hides other realities, especially for the poorer and less educated local population who had to deal with limited access to public services, underpaid jobs, price inflation, and total dependence on the employments generated by the tourist activity (Molina 2007).

For some of the eldest residents of the town, with whom I have had the opportunity to talk when I lived there, it was since the early 1970s when former tourists and foreigners,

who fell for the natural beauty of the place and the “relax and simple” way of living, decided to stay.¹⁴ Since then, tourists and foreigners have influenced the town’s local cultural practices, as well as the area’s daily economic and social relations.

As illustrated by Palmer (1994), already in the 1980s residents had strong opinions about what they saw as the negative impacts of tourism on the community. Many people distrusted the arrival of tourists because, in their opinions, it was changing local social practices regarding alcohol and drug consumption, sexuality (some local people believe that tourism promoted promiscuity), religion, use of leisure time, and what they considered a different attitude towards hard work. For the eldest residents, tourism negatively affected people’s attitudes toward work because the activities related to tourism in opposition, for example, to agricultural activities were considered as an “easy way” to make money. In their words, these conceptions shaped the aspirations of the youngest, turning them into “tourists’ parasites” (Palmer 1994:338). As mentioned above and despite these negative opinions, tourism became the principal source of income for the residents, principally after the 1990s, when the agricultural sector was weakened by governmental neoliberal policies. It was also during this decade when Puerto Viejo experienced a “land boom” of sales (Frohlick 2013a, 2013c).

According to Flores (2004), although “70% of the inhabitants of Puerto Viejo were born there, foreigners who became part of the population in the last decade, account for 60% of the property in all the tourism development” (2004: s31). This reconfiguration of the land ownership mostly dispossessed younger generations, who were left without the security of subsistence of their previous generations. As stated by Frohlick “local families without land to fall back on require cash incomes but are dispossessed by tourism

economies dominated by white/*mestizo* Costa Ricans and foreigners” (2013b: 2). In this regard, the young Afro-Costa Rican population currently face realities characterized by limited access to basic infrastructure, formal education and training, and stable sources of employment (Frohlick 2013a). Therefore, youth participation in criminal activities, principally those associated with robbery and drug trafficking, appears to have been occurring at an escalated rate, according to anecdotes I heard repeatedly during my fieldwork. These activities are also linked to the economic dynamics of the region as a tourist destination because tourists become victims of robbery and are also an important market for drug selling. Within this context, youth “have turned to tourists to provide them with cash and commodities (such as electronics, fashionable clothing), durable ties (marriage, interracial bicultural children), and aspirations for the future (housing, international travel, and out-migration)” (Frohlick 2013a: 2). With the aspiration of solving not only basic needs but also improving social and economic mobility, youth engage with foreign tourists in a range of intimacies, navigating “the already racialized and exoticized contact zones of global tourism” (Frohlick 2013a: 2). It seems that by participating in these economies of intimacy, these young men seek to reverse, in some way, the systemic inequalities of which Costa Rican-Afro Caribbean population have historically faced. At the same time, they claim their opportunity to be part of globalization (Frohlick 2013a). As argued by Frohlick, “both providing an alternate means to adulthood as well as extending youth in new ways, global tourism brings different valuations of youth and youthfulness into local cultures and thereby modifies, and commoditizes, youth” (2013a:1). In this sense, I consider that local men’s participation in globalization, particularly as boyfriends, lovers, and husbands of tourist women, and also as fathers of the children resulting from these

encounters, as well as their resistance to be “passive actors in the game,” is changing what it means to be a local young man in the South Caribbean of Costa Rica.

It is because of these particularities mentioned above that I expect this research to add new understandings about the dynamics of racialization and the commodification of gender identities, performances, and subjectivities taking place in transnational tourist destinations. My aim is also to contribute to current anthropological debates regarding the diverse impacts of global processes in specific populations (see Comaroff and Comaroff 2009; Frohlick 2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c, 2015; Kempadoo 2004; Lorway 2015). I also expect this academic work to make significant amendments to understanding the agency of youth, something often overlooked in research (Wulff 1995; Bucholtz 2002; Amit and Dyck 2012). Finally, I intend to engage the findings of my research to broader discussions happening at the local, and the national level in Costa Rica, as well as in the wider Caribbean, about Afro- Caribbean youth.

After I provide an introduction and the background to my research, in the following chapters I present, based on the participant’s photographs and their narratives, the main findings of this study. In Chapter 3, Masculinities and Fatherhood beyond Images, I provide a detailed description of the youth-centered methodology used in this research, as well as a review of my principal research method, photovoice and visual anthropology. The decision to devote an entire chapter to the discussion of the methodological approach is based on the centrality of the photographs taken by the participants in this research, and also on the potentiality, argued through this thesis, for the method as an effective research strategy with young people. In Chapter 4, Performing Masculinities and the Commodification of “The Caribbean Identity,” I look to the diverse ways in which the

participants enact and perform their gendered subjectivities with the aim to provide insights into their meanings of masculinity. In Chapter 5, *When Money Comes into Play: Intimate Encounters, Economics, and Masculinity*, I examine the multiple ways in which intimacies and economies intersect within the diverse intimate encounters taking place in Puerto Viejo, between local young men and tourist women. I also show how the participants navigate through, and negotiate, their understandings of hegemonic masculinity when they establish relationships with foreign women, who potentially allow them to access new forms of social and economic capital. In Chapter 6, *Fathering and Masculinities: “The Blood’s Negotiations,”* I turn my attention to the negotiations taking place when these transnational unions result in pregnancies and offspring. In doing so, I examine how these relationships shape local young men’s politics and moralities of parenting. Finally, in Chapter 7, *Don’t You Want a Better Future Too?*, I reflect on some of the main findings of this research, regarding the ways in which local young men living in Puerto Viejo imagine, perform, and negotiate masculinities and fatherhood in the context of global tourism. Finally, I discuss the potentialities and limitations experienced by using photovoice within a broader framework of visual anthropology as the main research method, and raise the issue of the local youth’s perception of the “future,” as a significant matter for further research.

Chapter 2- Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Hegemonic Masculinities and Fatherhood in Latin America; Race and Sexuality; and, the Commodification of Ethnic Identities in Global Tourism

This research builds on wider bodies of anthropological work in three overlapping areas: gender identities and masculinities (Connell 1995; Cornwall and Lindisfarne 2003; Elliston 2004; Elias and Beasley 2009), masculinities and fatherhood in Latin America (Gutmann 2003, 2006; Kulick 1997; Lancaster 2002; Menjívar 2010; Viveros Vigoya 2003) and, the commodification of ethnic identities in global tourism (Pruitt and La Font 1995; Frohlick 2013a, 2013b, 2013c; Lorway 2015; Comaroff and Comaroff 2009).

I start my literature review by making reference to hegemonic masculinity, a central concept in theories of gender. It is useful because it illuminates, on the one hand, how ideologies are created to define “successful ways of being a man” (Cornwall and Lindisfarne 2003:3) in specific contexts while, on the other hand, other masculine styles are regarded as socially and culturally inappropriate (Cornwall and Lindisfarne 2003). I also draw on several ethnographic works conducted in Latin America (Gutmann 2003, 2006; Kulick 1997; Lancaster 2002) that provide valuable insights about the diversity and fluidity of gender identities and changing forms of fatherhood in Latin America. This research also interrogates how colonialist constructions about Latin American masculinities influence the diverse ways in which masculinities are formulated in the present. Closely related, I examine debates that place “Caribbean” masculinities at the center of its analysis, with the aim of exposing how tourism as a primary agent of contact between different cultures (Pruitt and La Font 1995) mediates and commodifies performances and reinterpretations of ethnic and racialized masculinities.

Hegemonic Masculinities and Fatherhood

In the 1980s, R. W Connell, an influential scholar in gender, proposed the concept of hegemonic masculinity. According to Carrigan *et al.* (1985) and Connell and Messerschmid (2005), hegemonic masculinity arose as a response to the critical analysis of sex role theories. Sex role theories were widely used to explain and analyze the topic of men and masculinity, which until then was largely considered as a stable and universal category. Eventually, through the conceptualization of hegemonic masculinity, the notion of one fixed and “natural heterosexual” masculinity was critically debated. Based on Gramsci’s conceptualization of hegemony, Connell (2012:13) stated, “Hegemony refers to cultural centrality and authority, to the broad acceptance of power by those over whom it is exercised.” In this sense, hegemonic masculinity does not equate to violent masculinity, and is not “a fixed character type, always and everywhere the same” (Connell 1995:76). Rather, through the articulation of social practices, hegemonic masculinity operates as a normative framework in which ideas, fantasies, and desires about ideal masculinities are expressed. Patterns of hegemony are subjected to contestation and may be displaced and modified by “subordinate variants” of masculinities (Cornwall and Lindisfarne 2003:3). This conceptualization also recognizes and problematizes the existing power relations and subordination of women to men, and the opposition between the “feminine” and the “masculine” on which gender identities are commonly based.

Later critiques of the concept of hegemonic masculinity refined the concept to acknowledge the existence of multiple masculinities. These days the emphasis of the analysis is placed on the plurality of hegemonic masculinities in existence, and on the conflictual relations between diverse masculinities. Elias and Beasley (2009:289) also

suggest rethinking hegemonic masculinity as a “political ideal, as a discourse,” which implies considering the material conditions in which hegemonic masculinities arose, as well as the discourses and ideologies on which people based their representations about masculinity. Similarly, Elliston (2004: 624) also stresses how the categories of women and men are “unstable and varying cultural productions and discursive resources that gain their meanings in and through social practices, historical contingencies, and conflictual negotiations.” By stressing the contested and fluid nature of gender identities (Elias and Beasley 2009), these scholars contributed to a broader understanding of hegemonic masculinities as social categories that are constructed and reproduced, but also negotiated, and resisted by individuals in specific contexts in their daily life practices.

With a similar poststructuralist approach to Elias and Beasley (2009), Lupton and Barclay (1997) examine how the category of fatherhood has been conceptualized in social scientific literature. According to them, for several decades fatherhood was presented as “a set of quite fixed and individualistic characteristics” (Lupton and Barclay 1997:15). This perspective, referred to as “the father role identity,” shared similarities to the “sex role theories” widely criticized by feminist scholars. In opposition to this idea about fatherhood as a unique and stable category, Lupton and Barclay, who based their empirical research in interviews with Australian fathers, instead argued, “fatherhood is a continually changing ontological state, a site of competing discourses and desires that can never be fully and neatly shaped into a single ‘identity’” (1997:16). As a dynamic category, fatherhood also involves “oscillation back and forth between various modes of subject positions even within the context of a single day” (Lupton and Barclay 1997: 16). Following similar theoretical principles to those of Lupton and Barclay (1997), in his ethnographic account

about Mexican men, Gutmann (2006) attempts to understand what it means to be a man in Mexico City. He posed questions such as: What do they say and do to be men? What relation does being a father have to do with being a man? (Gutmann 2006). Gutmann concluded that male identities are continuously contested and have different meanings to “different people at different times” (2006:27). He also argued that the continuous negotiation of gender identities men experienced in their daily lives generates a diversity of meanings about masculinity and fatherhood.

The literature about masculinities in Latin America is also critical to my research. According to Viveros Vigoya (2003) and Menjívar (2010), the growth of research in the late twentieth century in the region reflects some main transformations in gender relations that have occurred. In this area characterized by profound social, political, cultural, and economic transformations, these changes in gender dynamics between men and women, and among men themselves, have disrupted some of the traditional attributes culturally assigned to Latin American men. As discussed by Gutmann (2003, 2006), Fuller (2012), Lancaster (2002), and Viveros Vigoya (2003), to understand Latin American masculinities and their notions about fatherhood it is critical to recognize the diversity and the fluidity of the meanings and practices of men and gender identities. With this aim, these authors critically examine the set of meanings, representations, behaviours, and attitudes that have been associated with men, manhood, and fatherhood in the region.

For Guttman (2003:3), homophobia, misogyny, and machismo have been the “dominant male ideological expressions” of the hegemonic masculinities in Latin America. Machismo, arose in Latin American societies as a way to characterize the prevailing unequal gender relations within these societies, marked by men’s domination of women

(Gutmann 2003). Also, according to Lancaster (2002), machismo as hegemonic masculinity produces and circulates values and ideal masculinities just as it structures power relations between and among men. Similar to many other societal contexts, in Latin America hegemonic masculinity or machismo has been constructed in opposition to femininity and also in an opposition to homosexuality (Lancaster 2002). Although “the organization and distribution of men and masculinities occurs in distinct ways throughout the region and is constrained by pre-existing gender relations” (Gutmann 2003:4), in Latin America historically these restrictions have been contested and disputed by several social actors, principally women and gay men (Gutmann 2003; Viveros Vigoya 2003; Fuller 2012).

Mohammed (2004) and Gutmann (2006) articulate a main challenge in avoiding generalizations in the study of Latin Americans masculinities. In anthropology, several ethnographies have demonstrated that there is no “stable set of determining and essential gender qualities that can adequately capture the situation for the region as a whole” (Gutmann 2006:9). For example, the analyses of “*cochones*” in Nicaragua (Lancaster 2002) and “*travestis*” in Brazil (Kulick 1997) demonstrate how different cultures in Latin America elaborate different meanings and practices regarding gender identities and sexual practices bound up with ethnicity and racialization.

Race and Sexuality

Lewis (2003) suggests that any analysis about gender identities in the Caribbean should question how Caribbean masculinities are understood: Are we speaking about black men? Are we speaking about men residing in specific geographic spaces? Or, are we making reference to some cultural significations attributed to specific groups of men who live or were born in some specific country or region? As Kempadoo (2004: 6) suggests, we should

understand “the Caribbean identity” as “a sense of belonging that has been forged through particular history and shaped by continual intercultural transculturation and negotiations between various sociocultural groupings.” With a similar approach, Frohlick suggests that Caribbean-Costa Rican can be understood as a “hybrid category for racial /ethnic and nation-based identities” (2013b:135). These identities can be addressed as a mix of African, Latin American and Caribbean backgrounds (Frohlick 2013b, 2013c). This category has a predominantly black influence because of several processes of migration and diaspora that began in the nineteenth century with the arrival of black Jamaican labour migrants (Palmer 1994; Frohlick 2013b). It has also been built in opposition to the ideals of “whiteness” historically attributed to Costa Rican inhabitants (Frohlick 2013b, 2013c), and are often commoditized by local residents and that sell as a touristic product sold by national and local authorities. In this sense, taking into consideration the fluidity and diversity of such a category, the deconstruction of Caribbean-Costa Rican masculinities entails a critical examination of stereotypes and universalistic paradigms associate with them, with the aim of allowing “diversity to explain different historical and social experiences” (Mohammed 2004:45).

I rely on Frohlick’s (2013b) conceptualization of Caribbean-Costa Rican men, with the aim of emphasizing the hybrid character of this construction. To avoid reifying these categories, I draw upon postcolonial theory that pays attention to the historical ways in which stereotypes about Caribbean gender identities arose. Those stereotypes have been built as part of a global system of power, where “colonized people are projected as a body rather than mind, much as the colonized world was seen as a raw material rather than as mental activity and manufacture” (Nurse 2004:16). In this sense, the representation of

colonized people has been linked, according to Lupton (1995:7), to certain kinds of subjectivity, defined as “a sense of self or self-identity” that are privileged in certain historical moments. Modernity is the historical moment when privileged notions of self-control and conscious individuals form the basis of subjectivity. In consonance with this version of subjectivity in the Enlightenment or Cartesian model of mind/body dualism (Lupton 1995), the mind is linked to rationality and control of the emotions, but also with humanity, culture, (white) males, reality, the private, and the self. It is expected from the civilized body to be “controlled, rationalized and individualized, subject to conscious restraint of impulses, bodily processes, urges and desires” (Lupton 1995:8). At the same time, this model linked the space of the body to femininity, animalist, and nature. In this understanding, the body is seen “as possession or an instrument of consciousness, subject to the control of external forces and needful of careful training and discipline” (Lupton 1995:7). People are expected to conduct themselves in a “civilized” manner, by controlling and rationalizing impulses, emotions, desires, urges and bodily processes (Lupton 1995).

According to this model, Caribbean masculinities (often associated with blackness) are categorized in the space of the body. As described by Lewis (2003), black bodies have been related to passion and the impossibility of the human being to control the emotions. In the case of black men they have been frequently visualized as “powerful, exceedingly promiscuous, derelict in his parental duties, often absent from the household and, if present, unwilling to undertake his share of domestic responsibilities” (Lewis 2003:107). Nurse (2004) argues that this construction of the other as different, exotic, and “non-rational,” and incapable of controlling his instincts, can be considered one of the main sources for hegemonic masculinity. In this sense, it is possible to argue that even though, black

masculinities are often associated with ideals of hyper masculinity, at the same time, in the Cartesian model of mind/body dualism, black masculinities are subordinated and feminized, since they also become sexualized and represented as the “non- rational subjectivity.”

Specifically, in her ethnographical study in a South Caribbean community in Costa Rica, Anderson (2004) argues, “Euro- American (post)colonial ideology has tended to link the black male with naturality and sexuality” (2004:32). For example, in the case of Cahuita, the community where her study took place that is located in the same southern Caribbean region as Puerto Viejo and about 10 kilometers away, she found a connection between the appropriation by the local men of symbols related to Rastafarism, and tourist women’s ideals’ about Rastaman’s naturalism and sexuality, and “an equivalence among Rastafarian/Caribbean/black, which merge into a signifier of black male sexuality” (Anderson 2004:32). In the case of Cahuita, the way in which locals and tourists appropriate and represent Rastafari’s identities fits into the division addressed by Lupton (1998) between the body and the mind. In this context, those representations are associated with the space of the body because tourist women portray local men and also local men have represented themselves as black, passionate, strong, and sexually virile.

Commodification of Ethnic Identities in Global Tourism

As argued by Nyanzi et al. (2005:557), “narratives about black sexualities reveal an enactment of myths about the black body... metaphors and idioms of unlimited virility and dynamic manhood.” As mentioned above, in the case of Puerto Viejo, these narratives are continuously reinforced and reproduced not only by local men and tourist women but also by tourism markets and governmental institutions that direct the country’s tourism

advertisements (Anderson 2004). So, my question is: How do these postcolonial classifications come into play in the global tourism industry?

Comaroff and Comaroff (2009) and Lorway (2015) have addressed the issue of the commodification of ethnicity in African touristic contexts. Because Caribbean and African contexts share certain similarities, in addition to important differences, regarding the centrality of racial constructions around blackness in both contexts, this literature is helpful to my analysis. For Lorway (2015:107), “the cooption of bodies that are ‘closer to nature’ in the marketing schemes of tourism companies produces ethnicity as a consumable cultural product; the ‘benefits’ of which are available to local tourism companies.” In this sense in touristic contexts, representations of ethnicity not only rely on racist colonial imaginaries but also are an attempt to commodify identities for consumer economies, cultivating economic dependencies that are similar to those present in colonialist processes (Elliston 2004). For Elliston, these “processes promote regimes of value that privilege cash labor and the market economy, and in so doing introduce alternative pathways to status and new definitions of status itself” (2004:623). Nevertheless, as claimed by Elliston (2004) and Comaroff and Comaroff (2009), the analysis of the processes of commodification of ethnic identities should not be economically deterministic. Because of the multiple intersections between transnational economic relations and other historical, social, and cultural aspects we must pay attention to the specificities of the context in which these processes take place.

As mentioned before, my research acknowledges the diversity and hybridity proposed by Frohlick (2013b, 2013c) for the category of Caribbean-Costa Rican. According to Anderson (2004) in the case of the South Caribbean of Costa Rica, “the use of

‘Caribbean’ gives us insight into the politics of identity at play inside and outside the village, and is borne out particularly in the contested use of the image of the Rasta” (2004:25). For Anderson, the category of Caribbean can also be understood as “an ideational notion enacted through politics of aesthetics, food, and body” (2004:25). In this sense, as detailed in Chapter 4: Performing Masculinities and the Commodification of Caribbean Identities similarly to Jamaica, in Puerto Viejo, the reggae-rasta aesthetics play a central role in men’s identities and performativity. According to Pruitt and La Font (1995), in contexts of tourism, Rasta identity is attractive to men involved in the touristic industry “because it provides a model of masculinity that is not dependent upon disbursing cash” (1995:432). The style also enhances “masculine” characteristics that are highly valued in ideals of hegemonic masculinity such as strength and power.

Historically, in addition, the Caribbean has been portrayed in the global imaginary of tourism as an exotic destination. Simultaneously, a hypersexual image has been constructed about its population (Kempadoo 2004; Sheller 2003). As mentioned above, these constructions, based on colonial imaginaries have triggered in the tourist industry the market for sexual work and other sexual-economic exchanges between local populations and tourists (Cabezas 2011; Sheller 2003; Pruitt and La Font 1995). These constructions have also triggered the incorporation of intimate relations in the structures of the global tourism industry (Cabezas 2011; Frohlick 2007, 2013c). These intimacies, whose nature is transnational because of the patterns of mobility and flows of capitals involved, refers to “social relationships that are- or give the impression of being- physically and/or emotionally close, personal, sexually intimate, private, caring or loving” (Constable 2009:50). In this sense, as the scholarship of transnational intimacies have demonstrated,

the relationships forged between locals and tourists often involve complex forms of “commodified intimacies” or “intimate labour,” in which intimacy intertwines with money and material goods (see Constable 2009; Cabezas 2011; Borris and Parreñas 2010; Frohlick 2007, 2013b, 2013c). Over the past three decades, this conflation between the private-the intimate-and the public-the market-has become the focus of analysis in anthropological studies because it allow us to look closely to the diverse and fluid linkages forged through the neoliberal processes of the global economy, and people’s every day practices and understandings of their social interactions with other individuals (Borris and Parreñas 2010; Padilla et al. 2007; Constable 2009). As argued by this body of scholarship, even though it is necessary to situate the analysis of those relations in a hybrid global context, it is also central for the analysis to take into consideration that those exchanges are “cross-cut by entrenched political-economic differences and social inequalities related to factors such as race/ethnicity, class, gender, and sexuality” (Padilla *et al.* 2007: xiii-xiv).

Therefore, how does the commodification of Caribbean identities act in the romantic and intimate relations that local men establish with tourist women in Caribbean destinations? According to Pruitt and La Font (1995:422), whose research took place in Jamaica, these relations illuminate “the links between economic status and dominance in gender relations and contradicts conventional notions of male hegemony.” Oftentimes Caribbean men involved in the intimate markets hold less economic and social capital than the tourist women they transact with; in order to appeal to the foreign women, then, local men elaborate on *stereotypical* features, articulating “women tourists’ idealizations of local culture and masculinity, transforming their identity in order to appeal to the women and capitalize on the tourism trade” (Pruitt and La Font 1995:422).

Specifically in the case of Puerto Viejo, Frohlick (1997, 2007, 2013b, 2013c) has written about the intersection of intimacy, economic interactions, and sexual activity between tourist women and local men in the community. She argues that “new erotic subjectivities and transnational intimate relations are being forged in hybrid and fluid places like Puerto Viejo” (Frohlick 2007:139). To explain those dynamics, she uses the concept of “fluid exchanges,” because it allows us to “comprehend the fluidity and corporeality of these relationships” (Frohlick 2007:139). For the author, Puerto Viejo’s local men are positioned outside of hegemonic masculinity and, in comparison to tourist women, they have limited access to diverse capital and mobility. However, local men “used sexual knowledge and masculine privilege to ‘give’ intimacy freely as well as to bargain for payment and acquired cosmopolitan identities” (Frohlick 2007:139). In the case of these intimate encounters taking place in Puerto Viejo, it is possible to note how the commodification of Caribbean-Costa Rican identities impacts the construction of gender identities, and challenges traditional understandings of hegemonic masculinity. Drawing upon stereotypical representations of blackness and the reggae-rasta culture, local men find in the tourism economies, and in the erotic-sexual relations they forged with tourist women, an opportunity to access diverse forms of social and economic capital to which they have previously had limited access.

Theoretical Framework

Global Tourism and the Construction of Gendered, Racialized, and Sexualized Subjectivities in the Caribbean of Costa Rica

In order to understand the dynamic and complex linkages between global tourism, youth, masculinities, and fatherhood, I draw upon theoretical contributions in the anthropology of youth (Wulff 1995; Bucholtz 2002; Amit and Dyck 2012), critical theories of masculinities

and fatherhood (Carrigan *et al.* 1985; Connell 1998; Connell and Messerschmid 2005; Lupton and Barclay 1997), and theories regarding the commodification of intimacy (Zelizer 2009; Borris and Parreñas 2010; Cabezas 2011), many of which, in their contemporary formulations, are underpinned by theories of gender performativity (see Butler 1990). Here, gendered, racialized, and sexualized subjectivities appear as relational, situational, disciplined, and fluid constructions enacted in particular power-laden contexts. A performativity framework is appropriate for undertaking this research given my interest in shifting and produced gendered and sexualized subjectivities occurring in the context of cross-cultural touristic encounters.

This research looks to assess the intimate encounters between local men and tourist women in Puerto Viejo not only in terms of what Nyanzi *et al.* (2005) defined as the “Babylon Syndrome,” which refers to highly fantasized third world young men’s aspirations to travel abroad, but also to better understand how global tourism shapes young people’s subjectivities and gender identities. In describing men who have sex with men and/or male sex workers’ erotic desires within an African context, Lorway (2015) uses the term “foreigner fetish narrative” to show how exchanges and relationships with foreigners are an option to escape poverty and, more importantly, are also complex dynamics that shape people’s subjectivities.

According to Lupton and Barclay (1997), masculinities and fatherhood must be analyzed as a sociocultural phenomenon. Following the theoretical poststructuralist approach proposed by these scholars, in this research I understand these categories as existing through social and cultural processes, and not as entities that exist apart from them. In this sense, this research recognizes and takes into consideration the interrelationships

between masculinities and fatherhood but also pays attention to their relation to other constructed categories, for example, femininity and motherhood (Connell 1998; Lupton and Barclay 1997). By deconstructing those categories, and as mentioned above, drawing upon the poststructuralist approach and Judith's Butler work on performativity, this study acknowledges that our gendered identities, rather than being the expression of some kind of fact or essence about ourselves, are the effect (rather than the cause) of our performances (Butler 1996). This study also acknowledges "the importance of language and visual images for constructing and constituting understandings of reality and subjectivity" (Lupton and Barclay 1997:4). Subjectivities, defined as "the varying forms of selfhoods by which people experience and define themselves" (Lupton and Barclay 1997:8), are mediated among other factors, by discourses (verbal, written or visual) that construct, enable, and constrain our "knowledge of the world" (Lupton and Barclay 1997). To that effect, what it means to be a "real man" or "good father" depends on the sociocultural and political contexts in which those discourses are generated and reproduced (Lupton and Barclay 1997).

By interrogating the influence that the gendered phenomenon of global tourism (Casey and Thurnell-Read 2014) has in those discourses and in young local men's gendered subjectivities, I seek to gain a better understanding of touristic activities of the region not only as an industry, or a business, but as a "powerful cultural form and process which both shapes and is shaped by gendered constructions of space, place, nation and culture" (Casey and Thurnell-Read cited in Aitchinson 2014:1). These scholars comment on how "sexualized tourist encounters have long been a means to reveal complexities relating to gender and power inequalities" (Casey and Thurnell-Read 2014:7). However, as stated

throughout this thesis, my aim is not to reduce the relations between local youth and tourist women to merely sexual encounters, but to interrogate how the commodification of these relations is understood and experienced by young local men of Puerto Viejo. As stated by Frohlick (2013b, 2013c), these intimate relations expose complex social constructions not only of sex, but also of sexuality and desire. In this sense, these relations are to be recognized (or not) by local youth as “livelihood strategies,” that is, as opportunities to access economic and social capital that historically have been out of reach for them. The myriad of possibilities and negotiations that procreating with a foreigner woman may represent for local youth are going to be analyzed in this research as possible forms of “commodified intimacies” and “intimate labour” (Borris and Parreñas 2010).

Based on Marx’s classic definition of “commodification,” which makes reference to “the process of assigning market value to goods or services that existed in pre-capitalist societies outside of the market,” (Constable 2009:50) several scholars draw on the terms of “commodified intimacies” and “intimate labour” to explain the commodification of social relations in capitalist societies (Constable 2009). As I mention in the literature review section, by stressing the multiple interconnections between the economic and intimate spheres in people’s lives, these terms allow us to have a better understanding of the ways in which social relations have also entered the market, especially in the era of globalization and transnationalism (Zelizer 2009; Borris and Parreñas 2010; Cabezas 2011; Constable 2009). This intermingling between the private and the market “stands in supposed contrast to Marx’s nostalgic ideal of the ‘social character’ of familial labor in pre-capitalist peasant families” (Constable 2009:54).

Therefore, economic activities, money, and intimacies are often related in people's daily social practices in a wide range of variants (Zelizer 2009; Borris and Parreñas 2010; Cabezas 2011; Constable 2009). These intersections suggest that unlike common perceptions, rational and sentimental domains of the individual are not mutually exclusive (Zelizer 2009). By addressing these intimate relations in terms of the interconnections between these two spheres, or as "commodified intimacies," (intimacies that are mediated in some degree by the exchange of money or some other goods) (Borris and Parreñas 2010), I look forward to gaining a clearer view of the ways in which intimacies and economies intersect in the encounters forged between youth and tourist women in Puerto Viejo.

Chapter 3- Methodology. Masculinities and Fatherhood beyond Images

This research relies on an ethnographic methodology, which is “a cornerstone in the anthropology of youth” (Frohlick 2013a:4), and in some of its conventional methods, namely, participant observations and semi-structured interviews (Madden 2013). However, it was the utilization of photovoice as a way for meaningfully and creatively engaging local youth in my research, in combination with the other methods mentioned above, that allowed me to closely experience and understand in-depth the complexity of meanings embedded in the participants’ performances and their understandings in the context of global tourism about masculinity, fatherhood, and tourist women. This is because of the capacity that visual representations have in showing not so much intrinsic meanings, but rather those socially created in specific contexts (Banks 2001).

As part of the larger project led by Dr. Frohlick, my research is qualitative and based on a “youth-centered” methodology, which stresses the use of participatory methods directed towards skirting the adult-centric assumptions so often couched within research on youth (Bucholtz 2002). In an effort to let my theoretical positioning drive my methodological approach I argue that it was fundamental to my research to utilize methods capable of stressing the participants’ agency. Furthermore, I aimed to actively integrate the participants, and not to position them as merely “objects” for data collection. In this sense, the “youth-centered” methodology conducted in this research, principally through the use of an altered version of photovoice, aligns with a main principle in the anthropology of youth. This theoretical approach focuses on the agency of young people and their cultural practices (Bucholtz 2002) and acknowledges that youth is not merely a transitional category or a preparatory stage for life, but “life itself” (Amit-Talai and Dyck 2012).

By centering the analysis on the ways in which masculinities and representations of fatherhood, as “dynamics projects of the self” (Lupton and Barclay 1997:12), are understood, performed, and negotiated by Afro-Costa Rican young men in the context of global tourism and transnational intimacies, I firstly aim to offer a portrait of life happening “here-and-now” (Bucholtz 2002) for seven young local men of Puerto Viejo, who were ,between the ages of 18 to 35 years of age when I conducted fieldwork from December 2015 to April 2016. Their lives continue to occur and change while I write this thesis. Even though I acknowledge the flexible and contestable nature of youth as a social category that varies across contexts, and as a category that “foregrounds age not as trajectory, but as identity” (Bucholtz 2002:532) I based the selection of the participants’ age range on the definition of youth used by the Costa Rican legislation. I did so in order for my research to fit into the country’s context, but also to take into consideration other legal and ethical implications involved when working with minors under 18 years old. Secondly, by following a youth-centered methodology based on photography, I expect this thesis to contribute to the body of academic work that aims, through the use of participatory methods, to look beyond the adult-centric assumptions that often underpin research on youth (see Amit-Talai and Wulff 1995; Bucholtz 2002; Delgado 2015). Instead of addressing the ways in which Afro-Costa Rican youth may be “saved or improved,” this study is focused on youths’ voices, experiences, and perspectives (Bucholtz 2002). In doing so, I hope my academic work will challenge some of the most common stereotypes about Afro- Costa Rican population and local young men in Puerto Viejo that are historically constructed and, contemporarily, marketed by the Costa Rican tourism industry.

By no means do I expect this thesis to be considered representative of all Puerto Viejo's Afro-Costa Rican youth; however, nor is it unrepresentative. In Clifford's (1986) words, this research is a "partial truth." Specific individuals in specific moments constructed the photographs and their stories, meanings, and representations that I present here. And it is in this specificity, in this intersection between the participants' stories and somehow, my own story, and the readers' own interpretations, where I find the theoretical and methodological potentialities and challenges of this study. My commitment is to stay as truthful as possible to the stories, meanings, and representations that these young men kindly shared with me.

Visual Anthropology and Photovoice

Even though photovoice, or community-based photography, as it is referred to by some scholars (Mitchell 2011), is a contemporary research method, the relationship between anthropology and visual mediums (mainly film and photography) dates back to the late nineteenth century (Banks and Ruby 2011; Pink 2004, 2007). Early fieldworkers, empowered with recording devices, often informed colonialist projects and reinforced colonial representations of native inhabitants, thereby objectifying those populations (Pink 2006; Poole 2005). In this sense, for an extended period, ethnographic photography and film were understood and used within the social sciences, as visual representations *per se*, or illustrations of people's cultural practices and realities, and not as a method, or as a useful tool for anthropological analysis (Pink 2006; Banks and Ruby 2011). According to Pink (2006), it was not until the 1970s that visual anthropology emerged as a trustworthy academic undertaking concerned about "the use of visual material in anthropological research" and "the study of visual systems and visible culture" (Banks and Morphy 1997:

1). The sub-discipline faced, however, serious questionings regarding its objectivity, representativity, and systematicity as a method for data collection (Pink 2007). These criticisms were based not only on positivist anthropological epistemologies, which privileged ideas of objectivity, scientific rigor, and realism but also on the conventional practices of anthropological representation—the written text and the verbal presentation (Pink 2006).

In the 1990s, several sub-disciplines of visual, sensory, and applied anthropologies started to discuss more in-depth the anthropological interests in the sensory experiences and phenomenology. These debates influenced the discipline as a whole and stressed the interconnectedness between these fields (Pink 2006; Banks 2001; Banks and Ruby 2011). The critical reflections that took place during that time were inspired by the “writing culture debate,” or “crisis of representation,” led by several academics such as Clifford and Marcus (1986) and Geertz (1988). Pink (2004, 2006, 2007) argued that the “crisis of representation” not only influenced the scholar’s reflections about the traditional research methods, and the anthropological representation—the written text—but also contributed to bring reflexivity, a topic that was already present in visual anthropology debates, to the core of the broader anthropological project during the postmodern turn. Thus, since the beginning of the twenty first century, reflexivity has become a key issue for visual anthropology and also for qualitative social research in general.

As stated by Pink (2007:23), the reflexive approach “recognizes the centrality of the subjectivity of the researcher to the production and representation of ethnographic knowledge,” as well as the diverse power relations that mediate the research processes and the individual experiences. In this sense, this approach does not claim the recognition of

subjectivity as a mechanism we can use to “neutralize” the influence of different elements of our identities in our work. Neither is it a strategy to prevent the “biases” these elements might produce in the accounts we make about individuals, cultures, and societies. Rather, the reflexive approach underlines the necessity of taking into consideration that “reality is subjective and is known only as it is experienced by individuals” (Pink 2007:24). That is to say that as researchers we must be aware of the ways in which we position ourselves and negotiate our own identities in the field, and in the relationships we establish with other people. Ultimately, this awareness should be reflected on the production and representation of our anthropological work, as it enables a better and closer understanding of the realities people are living (Pink 2007).

In addition to the issues previously described, the currently ongoing concerns in visual anthropology center around three main topics: “boundary crossing and collaboration; the use of new (digital) media; and a recognition of a full sensorium” (Banks and Ruby 2011:14). It is in this context, and as a response to the critiques of ethnographic representation mentioned above, that visual ethnographers have increasingly embraced the use of participatory approaches, such as photovoice and its adaptations (Gubrium and Harper 2013; Mitchell 2011; Pink 2004). This growing attention placed on collaborative research is directly linked to the consolidation of the reflexive approach, because this approach highlights the “relationship between the subjectivities of researchers and informants that produces a negotiated version of reality” (Pink 2007:24).

Another key topic to have emerged with the growing acceptance of reflexivity and participatory approaches is related to ethical issues. By recognizing the existing power relations (and negotiations) that mediates the relationship between researchers, participants,

and other institutions involved in the research process, new ethical considerations have arisen. In the case of visual research those concerns are related to the disclosure of the participants' identities, the potential harms (or conflicts) that the material or the participation in the research might produce, the permission to reproduce the images, and the ownership of the visual material. They are also linked to the ways in which the images are creating several representations in diverse audiences.

Photovoice

Photovoice is a participatory action research (PAR) method that looks via photographs for an active and critical participation of community members, and in the reflections that are made about them and their social realities (Wang and Burris 1997; Wang 1999; Delgado 2015). The method was largely developed by Wang and Burris (1997), whose work with health and women in rural China was highly influenced by Freire's and Boal's action research on literacy in Perú (Gubrium and Harper 2013; Delgado 2015). In using photovoice, images can contribute to generate diverse information that sometimes is hard to put into words (Wang and Burris 1997; Wang 1999; Thomson 2008; Mitchell 2011; Delgado 2015), at the same time that photovoice enables the researchers to "look through the eyes of the participants" (Mitchell 2011:57). Photovoice also aims to highlight the politics of representation in photography, as marginalized populations can be empowered with cameras and granted the opportunity to actively present and share knowledge.

Specifically in research with youth, the use of technology and cell phones often are appealing because of the sense of familiarity that youth have with technological devices (Delgado 2015). Furthermore, images hold the potential to facilitate creative spaces, communication, and discussions about power imbalances in young people lives, just as the

participatory nature of the method helps to balance out some inequalities between researchers and participants (Delgado 2015). This is because as a method for data collection, photovoice potentially leaves more power in the participants' hands than a conventional interview due to the central role that participants have in the fieldwork as the photographers and, to a lesser extent, as the interpreters of the images.

For two main reasons I found the method's participatory nature suitable for my research: First, it allowed me to access high-quality information. Second, it allowed me to build rapport with the participants and develop a more horizontal relationship between us. However, I reflect on its challenges for even though my methodology is based on some of photovoice's main principles (that is, community-generated photography, elicited narratives and participant voice), I found imitations to these principles in practice. For example, one limitation is the limited scope that this research can have on wider audiences or policy makers (Gabrium and Harper 2013), one of photovoice's main aims. The limitations and challenges I experienced by using photovoice, as well as the "gap" I experienced between the theory and the practice by naming the use of visual methods in this research, are addressed in more detail in the concluding chapter. In practice, I utilized a version of photovoice adapted to my individual project, for photovoice comes out of an applied interdisciplinary research context, and with the politics and theories of visual anthropology in mind.

Photographing Masculinities: "White Snob Feminist" and other Negotiations

After the ethics protocol of this study was approved by the Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board of the University of Manitoba, Canada, I started to spend time with each participant taking photographs of places, objects, and (non-identifiable) persons they considered

significant in their daily lives as men in Puerto Viejo. Afterward, by conducting open-ended interviews, I encouraged conversations to find out more in detail about the context, the stories behind those images, and the participants' reasons to prioritize and select some of them.

Following the reflexive approach stressed by several scholars such as Madden (2013), Pink (2007), and Banks (2001), I acknowledged ethnographic methodology as an embodied practice, in which we use our bodies' experiences and senses to record and produce ethnographic knowledge. Thereby, it is necessary for me to recognize the significance of different elements of my identity in the photographs and stories that bring this thesis to life. These are not only mediated by the participants' subjectivities but also by my own subjectivity and my personal story as a community member. Certainly my positionality as a Costa Rican non-black woman, a student in my thirties, and (former) town resident shaped the ways in which the participants situated me during my fieldwork, and also the ways in which I situated myself in relation to them (Pink 2007).

As a former inhabitant of the town fieldwork had a particular connotation for me. I arrived to Puerto as an anthropologist a few days before Christmas. This feeling was overwhelming. I thought to myself, Carolina you are home. Very quickly, the familiarity of the spaces, the people around, the language, and the reggae music made me feel joyful. Every passing day I felt more connected with the town's social interactions, but also with my "old beach-self." For many years my identity was based significantly on common performances shared by people who live in Puerto. And after a couple of weeks, I felt reconnected with some of these commonalities. For example, my own performativity represented on the way I dressed, my tanned skin, my daily eating habits (*pipa* in the

morning, rice and beans for lunch, patty in the afternoon), and my slow pace to walk in town, reminded me of my life before moving to Winnipeg, Canada.¹⁵ After all, Puerto was “my” town too; I felt I belonged because, for a decade, I walked those beaches on a regular basis. Despite my reconnection to a place I felt a strong sense of belonging, one night while having a drink with some friends I was involved in a situation that made me reflect about my “new” positionality in town. Some local guys were sitting with us. One of them, Daniel, introduced his new girlfriend, Sara, a sweet German girl in her early twenties. After three rounds of *chili guaros* shots, Sara told her boyfriend she was going home.¹⁶ Because Daniel was just starting the party, he therefore replied to her that she could leave if she wished [but he was going to stay]. Politely, the young woman said good-bye and started her bike ride under pouring rain. I was just saying how brave she was for biking into the jungle alone under those conditions of darkness and rain, when Daniel started flirtatiously touching another girl’s leg. “Come on, stop!” I said to him. “You can still see your girl on the road, hold yourself, and be a bit respectful of her.” His response left me astonished,

Carolina, get the fuck out of here with your white-Canadian feminist bullshit. If you do not remember how things work here, go back. But if you stay, stop acting like a white-snob feminist. I’m just joking, and you are overreacting. My girl knows who I am and you are just fucking up my night.

Some of the other local friends tried to calm him down, but it was too late. He was already upset and expected me to apologize. A part of me thought, strategically, for my research I should say sorry. Instead, I decided not to. It took him at least one hour to stop talking about what happened. Although I felt uncomfortable, I managed to remain in the bar for the rest of the evening.

The next morning, while sipping a cup of coffee in a nearby beach-town famous for its surfing, I realized that in order to get the most out of my fieldwork I needed to embrace the advantages of “becoming an ethnographer” in my town, and this included a main challenge posed by my “new condition” as a female student of a Canadian university and a member of an international research team. This challenge was also related to what I thought as my own racial ambiguity. Was I a “white- snob feminist” in Puerto Viejo? Could this moniker been levelled at me before I spent time living in Canada? How could this be even possible if I’m not “white”? How can I be considered to be “white” in Puerto, if in Canada I’m a “brown” person, a visible minority, and person of colour? I don’t see myself as white; yet in Costa Rica obviously some people see me as white while in Canada, my whiteness fades again and becomes brown-ness. All these questions that came to my mind allowed me to reflect about the relational and shifting aspect of race, both for me and for the participants.

According to Madden (2010), developing research in places known to the ethnographer has several advantages for the research including the sense of familiarity that the researcher will experience in the field and the prior contextual knowledge of the social context. In my case, I daresay that the previous knowledge I had about the town, and more importantly, the social networks and contacts I had built during my ten years of living in Wolaba played a central role in my research. Not surprisingly, as in other locations, local people in Puerto Viejo are quite reserved when allowing outsiders to gain access to their “real” private lives. In a town where Afro-Costa Rican identities are commodified in a daily basis, some people are reluctant about showing “their soul.” As Phil, a young Afro-Caribbean man in his late twenties, who identifies himself as a “gigolo” told me, “You can

buy my food, my music, even my body, but I am not selling my deepest secrets to your university.” He said this to me while rejecting my invitation to participate in the project. In this sense, knowing some people previously was an advantage for me. However, being “a local” did not mean I was exempted from struggling, sometimes with discomfort, distrust, and rejection. This was especially true when I realized that in order to get closer access to young men I needed to move out of my comfort zone, which meant talking to people I did not know, or with whom I had disagreements in the past. In addition, another challenge related to my sense of familiarity with the field was my predisposition as a participant-observer to take for granted valuable aspects and details of people’s interactions and activities that felt common to me. To try and prevent myself from not seeing those taken-for-granted aspects of local culture, I wrote detailed daily fieldnotes, where I reflected on what I used to consider obvious. For example, I wrote down many things related to young men’s bodily practices, their interactions with other men, and the ways and the spaces in which they interacted with tourist women and with children.

In a town where there is always something going on during the night, bars became my allies for building rapport with some of the participants. They also turned out to be one of my biggest personal challenges, in terms of negotiating my positionality as a woman in my thirties. Sometimes, I found myself too tired or else overwhelmed with all the action going on during the night. Occasionally, some of the guys I was talking with tried to hit on me and I had to figure out ways of negotiating my heterosexual femininity while talking about my research project. While I was used to such interactions before, Wolaba’s bars can be perceived as threatening. Fights, drug sellers, and gun shootings are occasionally part of the evening occurrences in town. The “discos” are a combination of a seemingly relaxed

environment with music, alcohol, and, for some people, illicit drugs such as marijuana, ecstasy, and cocaine. Even though these spaces, in which there are not many formal rules about how to behave, allowed some people to experience an embodied sense of freedom, they can also become tense spaces. Often fights between locals, or locals and tourists, made the party end abruptly. However, during my fieldwork, and despite these occasional tensions, I was able to remember why some people fall in love with the party scene of Puerto Viejo, as I did several years ago. By spending time dancing in front of the ocean, listening to the contagious reggae rhythms, I shared countless beers, “after party-rice and beans,” and laughs with old and new friends. And it was around these “happy moments” when I established more personal connections with some of the participants. Several times I found myself telling my life story to some of them in the middle of the dance floor, or seated in an improvised seat next to a street food vendor. What I soon realized, during these conversations, was the obvious fact that not everyone knew about my academic and professional training. In this regard, I experienced the challenge of presenting myself to the participants as a reliable professional so that they could trust me enough to share intimate experiences that otherwise would be off limits to me.

Fieldwork Practicalities and Politics

All fieldwork demands the negotiation of positionality as well as practicalities including formal and informal ethics (Madden 2010). These practicalities helped in my challenge to be seen in a new light, that is, as a researcher. Although an institutional ethics board requirement, informed consent forms turned out to help me in establishing a professional rapport with participants while carrying out fieldwork in a very casual environment. I discussed this process with the men who agreed to participate (see Appendix A). These

forms contained clear and detailed information (in Spanish, see Appendix B) about the objectives of my study, the ways in which the data was going to be used, the secure storage of the information collected from them, and also the option they have to withdraw from the study without any consequence or prejudice. I also discussed confidentiality and anonymity with them. Following the University of Manitoba ethics board requirements, I emphasized the impossibility of taking pictures in which non- participants were recognizable as well as their option to take pictures of themselves or any feature that might lead to their recognition.

Anonymity turned out to be an aspect of the research where participants exerted agency that I did not expect. Surprisingly, only one of the participants decided to use a pseudonym. The rest of them chose to disclose their identities. As I would later find out during my fieldwork, most of them shared the same idea: Anonymity was an admittance of shame, while displaying their bodies and faces allowed them to show self-respect. I became more clearly aware of this meaning associated to anonymity while discussing my study with Kerlin, the first person who agreed to participate in my project. While drinking a beer in front of the ocean on a beautiful Sunday afternoon, he asked me, “If this research is about me, how come I am not going to be in the photographs?” Then he added, “I have nothing to hide, I am proud of myself and can show my face anywhere.” I must admit that at that moment, I had romanticized the participants’ will of displaying their faces in the photographs as an assertion of their agency and active participation in the study, without having a deeper understanding of the practical and ethical implications that these identity disclosures entailed. I became more aware of these implications when I came back to Winnipeg, and started to write this thesis. I realized that, when it comes to showing their

photographs and writing about the participants' private lives, or their "not so legal" activities, I am publicly exposing them to several audiences. These audiences include not only academic readers but also the participants' friends, romantic partners, their children, and the rest of the local community. Because Puerto Viejo is a small town where many residents know each other, it is feasible that even if I use pseudonyms, some people will be able to recognize some features of the participants in the photographs and their stories.

In this regard, although I received their consent and explained the implications of participating in this study, I cannot anticipate the short and long-term repercussions that these disclosure can have in the community or in the participants' private lives. In this sense, I faced a dilemma upon asserting the participants' agency through their decision of disclosing their identities, or providing some sort of anonymity around topics that might trigger conflict. To meet this challenge, after I returned to Winnipeg after fieldwork, I contacted some of them through Facebook, to share my concerns regarding issues of confidentiality and anonymity. Their general response pointed to their trust in me to discern when and how to disclose their identities. "Just don't fuck me over," said one of them. As stressed by Madden (2010), the whole ethnographic research process, from the planning stage, to the material we decide to include and exclude, as well as the ways in which we decide to present it, posits ethical decisions for the ethnographer. Thereby, I show awareness about how the disclosure of the participants' identities in some of the photographs and the narratives presented in this thesis is mediated by ethical decisions I made with the aim of avoiding any damage to them, or as my interlocutor, said, not "fucking them over." In other words, I decided to provide anonymity for some topics that, in my opinion, might represent personal ethical entanglements for the participants. For

example, I do not mention their names or show pictures where they could be identified for issues related to drug sales, infidelity to their partners, and intimate details of their relationships.

Related to anonymity, another practicality I did not anticipate was being involved in the participants' photographing of their daily lives. After my conversation with Kerlin, I realized that, opposite to what I had initially planned, I needed to consider the option of "being present" with participants in the processes of them shooting the pictures. While writing my research proposal I did not consider this possibility because most of the literature consulted about photovoice did not state the participation of the researcher while the participants take the photographs. However, Kerlin's insights about my presence during the shootings were a great reminder for me about the centrality of flexibility when it comes to develop ethnographic research (Madden 2010; Pink 2007). Even though I read enough academic material to be confident about "the way" to develop the methodology, it was in the field, right there, talking to real people where I found and negotiate the most suitable methods for working and develop my methodology.

Nevertheless, although I was worried in the beginning as it turned out getting involved in the shooting of some of the images enhanced the quality of my data. It gave me the opportunity to strengthen trust bonds, and enabled meaningful conversations while spending time with the participants biking or walking around town finding the locations or objects they wanted to photograph. This way of working in a kind of partnership or collaboration also allowed me to gain access to some of the participant's private and significant spaces, such as houses and personal businesses, which were integral to me, gaining a better understanding of the context of their photographs and the rhythm of their

daily lives. In some cases, it also allowed me to meet some of their family members, including some of their kids.

With Kerlin, Felix, and Sahim, the sessions started by meeting at a popular bar in town, which at some moments felt like my office because of the countless hours spent there during my fieldwork.¹⁷ William and Edwin invited me to come over to their houses, where they felt more comfortable to talk and take the pictures. In the case of Carlos and Pablo, our meeting points were two of the popular beach spots close to Wolaba. Even though there were some variations on the ways I worked with each of them, in all the cases the initial dynamics was similar. We first sat on the sand, drank a beer, or shared some food while we discussed their understandings about masculinity and the locations, places, or objects they were willing to photograph. These discussions were guided by the following question: What does it mean to you to be a man in the town of Puerto Viejo? After my first interview with Kerlin, I realized that this was not going to be an easy inquiry for the participants to respond. In fact, it would not be an easy question for any other individual in another context or field site to answer. The difficulty in answering this question, as I will further detail in Chapter 4: Performing Masculinities and the Commodification of “The Caribbean Identity,” is related to the ways in which gender identities are naturalized and normalized. However, despite the initial limitations, this question ended up being of great utility to my research. This is because it opened a space for the participants to reflect about their gendered identities as Caribbean- Costa Rican men before deciding which photographs to shoot. “I have an idea, let’s walk around town so I can see and remember places and things that are important for me before answering your question,” suggested Sahim after I met him at the bar. “Is your lucky night, you will gain lots of popularity in

town after people see you walking around with me tonight,” he added, while lighting a cigarette and laughing out loud. Our walk started at “*los botes*,” (the Boats) an area between the main street and the ocean, packed with craft vendors offering their products to tourists. After several stops to say hi to some people, we turned to the “back of town,” which is mostly inhabited by local families. When we passed through “the ghetto,” Sahim shared his child memories about those streets. He said he wanted a picture of the school and one of the soccer field, adding “I want to take them in the morning, because now is too dark and I want to show light, you know, enough of thinking about this area as the dark part of town.”

My walk with Sahim that night, and also our meeting next morning to photograph these locations, reflects several issues that are central for my research. First, it exemplifies the advantages for me of “being present” while taking the photographs. It facilitated rapport and allowed us to have casual conversations, which added great value to my understandings about his life story. Second, it illustrates the ways in which the participants become involved in the logistic and technical aspects of shooting the photographs. As Sahim, the other six young men decided when and how to take the pictures. In most of the cases, we used my cell phone (or theirs in a few occasions). I took all of the photographs in which the participants appear (except for picture 1 which was shot by Carlo’s friend while he was surfing), after carefully following their specific instructions about lightening and angles, and they took the rest of the pictures themselves.

Since we were using a cellphone camera, a very simple and “cheap” alternative for photovoice, I encouraged them to take as many pictures as they required. However, for the analysis they were asked to present seven images, and then to prioritize the three most

meaningful for them. I decided the number of photographs per participant based on the space and time limitations of this thesis.

One Dollar for Picture?

According to Pink (2007:41), the use of visual methods demands the ethnographer to be informed of “both local photographic conventions and the personal meanings and both economic and exchange values that photographs might have in any given research context.” In this regard, as a researcher but also as a community member, I have always been curious about Puerto Viejo’s visual culture and its photographic local conventions. The natural beauty of its landscape makes the South Caribbean the “perfect spot” for the “perfect picture,” according to the prevailing beauty standards of the tourism industry. Tourists, but also locals, are constantly trying to capture with their cameras and cell phones, the place’s exuberant wildlife, its amazing sunsets and sunrises, and its stunning coast. Surfing photographs have also become part of the town’s visual culture. Commonly, surfing photographers are hanging around the popular beach spots trying to capture that magic moment when a surfer rides the perfect wave. Local surfers are aware of the politics of visual representation in the surfing world, and they know that if they are in the right place, they can be captured by one of those lenses. As Carlos explained to me one day when I went to see him teaching some surfing classes to a group of French tourists, a good photograph, especially for the younger ones who aspired to take surfing to a more professional level, could mean new opportunities for sponsorships, presence in national and international surfing magazines, and popularity in the national, and international surfing scene.

On the other hand, the vibrant and also roots-and relaxed way of living of locals, associated to their ethnical background, has also become “something” tourists want to photograph. This Othering or “tourist gaze” whereby tourists create difference through the act of looking (Urry and Larsen 2011) caused discomfort and anger in some inhabitants, who refuse to be objectified as a souvenir commodity. However, for some of them (especially the poorest ones), pictures are means to get some extra money. As Arthur told me one day while selling me a *pipa*, “If these gringos want a picture of me they have to pay one dollar for picture. For two dollars, I will let them hold my *machete*.” Thus, photographs play different roles in the daily lives of local residents and their interactions with tourists. In the case of the surfers, for example, they might represent an opportunity for economic and social mobility. For other townspeople, photographs turn out to be an annoying reminder of the politics of ethnical representation in the tourism industry. Lately, photographs have also been used by a collaborative communal initiative, the South Caribe Roots Archive, a project feature by the Rich Coast Project that aims to “documents the people, places, and events in southern Caribbean Costa Rica, through family photographs and stories” (www.therichcoastproject.org).

In this sense, in the town’s visual culture, photographs hold diverse and dynamic meanings that are produced and reproduced not only by the person who takes the picture, but also by the representations that are constructed at the local and transnational level about the place and its inhabitants. Consequently all the visual processes involved in the process of taking these photographs, from thinking about what to shoot until the actual visual images and its presentation, should take those multiple meanings into consideration. Ultimately, the photographs that I show in this research should be understood as the

product of the participant's and the place's visual culture, and its photographic conventions (Pink 2007).

In brief, by proposing the use of photographs as one of the main methods of my research, I am acknowledging several factors. First, the participants' age range ("youth"), the place's visual culture, and its photographic conventions make photography a viable methodology. Second, the potentiality of images in social research to work as "vessels" in which specific local cultures and social settings become visible (Pink 2007) make photography a means to align with my research objectives to challenge stereotypes and provide space for their own narratives and experiences to be seen and heard. For example, as the following chapters show, some of the pictures taken by participants resemble a typical Costa Rican-Caribbean postcard: for instance, a beautiful sunny day at the beach or a typical image of a surfing magazine; and, Carlos holding his surfboard in front of the ocean in a famous surfing area. Some other photographs reflect meaningful concepts for the participants, such as "the street," "family," and "home." Finally, it was not only the contents of the images that enriched my understandings about what it means to be young men living in the southern Caribbean of Costa Rica, but also the analysis of the context in which they were taken.

Analysis and Interpretation

As noted above, each of the participants was asked to take at least seven pictures that were representative for them regarding what it means to be a young man, and a father (for those who have children) in the context of global tourism and transnational intimacies in Puerto Viejo. After taking the photographs, they were asked to prioritize the three most important images for them. Once they ranked their pictures, I conducted open-ended interviews to

learn more about the in-depth meanings they were attributing to the images, and also the reasons why those pictures were important for them. In this sense, the main questions that directed our conversations were: Why did you take this photograph? And why it is important to you as a young man (and a father) of Puerto Viejo? Remarkably, these two questions generated very rich and relevant narratives for my research. Sometimes, the participants talked directly about why they chose a particular image over other ones, or explained the meanings they tried to represent in the photographs. In other occasions, they used the pictures as a reference to tell me an anecdote or a story about their childhood, their experiences with tourism, foreign women, or some other of their daily life situations.

At the end of my fieldwork, I found myself with a substantial amount of material: Photographs, narratives, and fieldnotes. With the aim of finding an “explanatory framework between the particular and the general” (Madden 2013: 18), I followed what Madden (2013) called a recursive or grounded analysis. In this way, I first transcribed the recorded interviews, and organized the photographs prioritized by the participants into thematic groups related to the performativity, negotiation and commodification of their gendered subjectivities, and parenthood experiences. In doing so, I found some similarities and also differences, between the participants’ notions and their experiences related to tourist women, masculinity, and fatherhood. Based on those commonalities and differences, I established some categories that seemed significant for the participants. Even though as in other photovoice projects, the participants in my project did not actively participate in the data analysis, I attempt to acknowledge their contribution by only using in the analysis the photographs they prioritized, and not those ones that better fit my research interests. The analysis that follows in the next chapters attempts to describe and theorize those findings.

Sensitive to the wider issues in visual anthropology more broadly (Pink 2007), I gave thought to the usage of photographs in my thesis. With respect to the size of the images being included in the thesis, I decided on their size based on my aim to create a dialogue between the image and the writing text, as long as the image did not compromise the privacy of third persons. This is the main reason why the photographs do not appear in the thesis in the same size format. I also show awareness about how the narratives that I present in this thesis are mediated by the translation I made of the participant's interviews. I did not include the original Spanish citations in the text, because of space limitations in this document. However, besides making an effort to carefully translate, as true as possible, the "participants' voices" to English, I also aimed to stress "their voice" by showing the original Spanish citations in the endnotes. I added them when I considered that they could enhance some significant meanings, or expressions, which might have been lost in the translations I made.

Conclusion

In conclusion, my fieldwork in general, and specifically, the content of the photographs shown in this research, are the outcome of a negotiation between the participants and me. These images that I have chosen to appear in the thesis combine both my intentions as a researcher, and my academic demands, and the ways in which the participant's imagined themselves as men and/or fathers, and wanted to be represented. According to Pink (2007) these kinds of negotiations are a central aspect of collaborative research in social sciences.

As mentioned above, these negotiations also involved my shifted positionality, from a town inhabitant from *Chepe* (San José) to a graduate student in a Canadian university. In this sense, when Daniel accused me of being a white-snob feminist, he brought up not only

his discontent against me and my opinions about how to “respect” his girlfriend but also his broader understandings (and feelings) about gendered identities and the racialized power dynamics that often come into play in town, between the black and mixed race locals and the others, the “white ones.” Following Gardiner (2002), statements about how these critiques should also be part of the debates in the feminist literature on masculinities, I consider that at that moment, for Daniel, I was more than merely a woman telling a man in front of other people how to act regarding his foreign girlfriend and critiquing his masculine-hegemonic behaviours. Somehow that night, Daniel felt I was betraying the local culture by giving him a speech that, in his opinion, was nothing more than “white feminist bullshit.” After all, “that’s how we, Caribbean men are, like it or not, but do not try to change it,” he told me. In this sense, I consider that I found in the horizontality stressed by the youth- centered methodology conducted in this study, a “safer space,” to navigate around the issues posed on Daniel’s accusations, my “new” positionality in town, and my feminist standpoint. This is because during the time spent with the participants shooting and discussing the photographs, and after my experience with Daniel, I had the opportunity to learn how and when to separate my personal experiences and opinions, for example by letting the participant’s narratives to unfold without judging or interrupting them. However, thanks to the rapport built through my fieldwork, I also managed to express to them my disagreement or discomfort with certain situations. When possible, I confronted some of their ideas and tried to open spaces to discuss controversial issues related, for example, to gender and race. I think that they appreciated my attitude, although a bit challenging sometimes. I acknowledge their ability to think critically. I also acknowledge that these moments of honest disagreement served to close the gap between researcher and research subjects, turning our relationships into a more horizontal and friendly ones.

Chapter 4 - Performing Masculinities and the Commodification of “The Caribbean Identity”

Puerto’s Local Youth Gendered Subjectivities and the Theory of Performativity

In this chapter, by closely looking at the diverse ways in which the participants enact and perform their gendered subjectivities, I intend to provide insights into their meanings of masculinity. I am interested in understanding how, through their narratives and bodily practices enacted in the different social interactions that take place in town, local young men perform their masculinities. In doing so, I outline the centrality that the notion of “Caribbean identity” has in these performances and I interrogate the interrelation between these enactments and the tourist activity. With this aim, and drawing on the theory of performativity’s definition of “gender as the effect of discourse” (Morris 1995:567) I specifically look at how the construction of local men’s gendered subjectivities has been (and continues to be) historically and culturally informed by colonial discourses about black masculinities and ideals of hegemonic masculinity, as well as how it has also more recently been informed by the discourses produced by global tourism and tourists about “the Caribbean” and its populations.

As I will illustrate in this chapter by presenting some of the participants’ photographs and narratives, local men performed these representations as a way to commoditize their “Caribbean-ness” and engage in intimate encounters with tourist women. At other moments, local young men resist and contest those stereotypical discourses and representations created about Black-Caribbean men, as a way of asserting agency in their daily lives. In both of these performances, heteronormativity is deeply embedded within the social milieu and heterosexism is widely accepted and justified (Frohlick 2007). In this

sense, the privilege of heteronormative practices in town demonstrates how constructions of gender and sexuality in Puerto Viejo are informed by a gender binary that does not leave much room outside of the restricted- heterosexual “women” and “men” categories.

Before presenting some of the participants’ images and narratives related to the performance of their masculinities, I will briefly discuss Judith’s Butler performativity framework, which is helpful for examining the connection between these performances and the production of gendered and sexualized subjectivities in the context of cross-cultural touristic encounters. It is not my intention to oversimplify Butler’s meticulous anti-essentialist analysis about gender, sex, and sexuality and the linkages between them. However, for the purposes of this chapter I center my attention on her main statements about how gendered subjectivities are socially produced through discourses and performances.

Gendered Subjectivities – The Effects of Performances

As mentioned in Chapter 3 asking the question, “What does it mean to be a man in the town of Puerto Viejo?” was tricky for me during my fieldwork. A common denominator across all of the interviews was the look given to me, as if to say, “What are you talking about?” when I posed this question. The participants’ first reaction exemplifies how most of the times we do not consciously think about our gender identities in our daily life. This is because we have normalized and naturalized specific gender norms and behaviours we believe are the “essence” of who we are (Morris 1995). Those naturalizations are so deeply embedded that it is hard for us to start to articulate them. However, Butler’s theory of performativity argues that gendered identities, rather than being the expression of some

kind of fact or essence about ourselves, are the effect rather than the cause of our performances (Butler 1996).

Perhaps one of Butler's principal, and more controversial, contributions to the body of scholarship concerned with the theorization of gender has been how she extended these notions to the realms of sex and sexuality. She argues that "sex itself is a gendered category" (Maksymowicz 2010:29) that represents ideal constructions of masculinity and femininity that our bodies need to incorporate in order to "fit" with cultural norms that privilege certain appearances of masculinity and femininity, while prohibiting and excluding others (Butler 1990). For Butler, as explained by Cameron and Kulick (2006), the categories of "woman," "man," "the masculine," and "the feminine" are not "pre-existing attributes of individuals that their behaviour 'expresses', but are actually brought into being, and then sustained through the repeated actions an individual performs" (2006:8). In this sense, gender is not a fixed category but a "set of repeated acts" (Butler 1990:33) that consolidates an impression of being a "woman" or a "man," which are categories that respond to a gender binary and to a prevalent heterosexual matrix.

Butler's (1990) conceptualization of gender not as a fact or a consolidated category, but as "an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a stylized repetition of acts" (1990:28) is based on the concept of performativity, elaborated by the philosopher of language J.L Austin (1962). This concept refers to the fact that "certain utterances, which he [J.L Austin] labelled 'performative' did not *describe* pre-existing states of affairs, but rather brought those states into existence" (Cameron and Kulick 2006:8, original italics). Based on Austin's concept, Butler (1996:112) defines performativity as "the discursive mode by which ontological effects are installed," which

means that, in particular, the speech act through repetition and recitation “brings into being that which they name” (Butler 1996:112). Simply put, gender performativity is “the process in which difference and identity are constructed in and through the discourses of sexuality” (Morris 1995:569). And it is through these discourses and the repetition of acts that we emerge and become subjects (Kulick 2005). Or as stated by Butler (1993:7), “Subjected to gender, but subjectivated by gender, the ‘I’ neither precedes nor follows the process of this gendering, but emerges only within and as the matrix of gender relations themselves.” In her book, *Bodies That Matter* (1993), Butler uses the example of the proclamation, “It’s a girl!” as an initiatory performative, an utterance that performs an act, which is the beginning of a process of “girling” the female subject. In this regard, Butler (1993:232) argues that as a symbolic power, “girling” a subject “governs the formation of a corporeally enacted femininity that never fully approximates the norm.” This means that with that performative act of “girling,” the female subject becomes a set of norms that the subject performs in order to qualify as a subject, the “proper” gendered subject. Butler (1993: 232) also states that, “femininity is thus not the product of a choice, but the forcible citation of a norm, one whose complex historicity is indissociable from relations of discipline, regulation, punishment.” These “proper” gendered subjects are those whose sex and gender performances adhere to the gender binary and the heterosexual matrix.

My aim is not to make generalizations because, as discussed by several scholars, there is not one specific answer to the question of masculinity, i.e. there is not “one way of being a man,” or rather, there is not a specific set of bodily practices that defines who is a man and who is not (Butler 1990; Connell 1995; Elias and Beasley 2009). In fact, it would be reductionist to uniformly portray the participants’ enactments of masculinity, because

there are many ways of performing gendered subjectivities. Also I do not intend to state that all young men in Puerto perform their masculinities in the same ways. Thus, in the following paragraphs I show some of the photographs taken by two participants: Carlos, an 18 year-old surfer, who has lived all his life in the town and aspired to become a professional surfer, and Edwin, a 30 year-old man from Limón city who moved to Puerto Viejo in his early twenties and owns a bike rental business. Their images and narratives illustrate some of the dynamic and complex linkages between global tourism and the performances of youths' gendered subjectivities in the Caribbean of Costa Rica.

The Performance of Hegemonic Masculinity

Carlos: “You Need Balls to Surf Huge Waves”

Picture 1: Surfing



Carlos prioritized picture 1 as his first image. He did not hesitate when I asked him to choose the photographs he considered best represented him. “I’m all about surfing” he told

me, while we chatted sitting under a palm tree in a popular surfing spot near Puerto. One night while walking in town, I got the courage to ask if he wanted to participate in the research and he told me to look for him at that surfing spot. A couple of weeks later, we met on the beach on a beautiful Friday sunny morning to take the photographs. I did not know him, and I must admit that I had the preconception that he was going to have a bit of an “attitude” because of his popularity in the surfing scene. I was wrong. Carlos was nicer and more “down to earth” than I thought he would be. As he stated, he was “all about surfing.” Our conversation and also the photographs he took were closely related to the surfing topic. That day, apart from carrying out the photovoice method, we spent some time “watching the waves” to see if I could take a “good picture” of him surfing. But that Friday the ocean was very flat and we could not get the photograph Carlos wanted. He decided to wait and handed me picture 1, which was taken by another surfer, a couple of days after our meeting at the beach. As I explained in the previous chapter, Carlos’s desire to get a good surfing photograph is closely related to the politics of visual representation in the town and the surfing scene. As a surfer who is sponsored by a North American store, he is willing to be and used to being photographed and it is through those visual representations that he also performs his gender.

Picture 1 shows him surfing a wave and, according to him, this sport produces some of the feelings that better represents him as a man: Adrenaline. Carlos told me that it is also an activity that requires physical strength, which is another of the features he associates with his manhood. In this regard this is what he said about the photograph,

I like to feel the adrenaline, the fear, I like it a lot. Feeling the power of a wave is like taking away the fear of anything ... and I don’t know, surfing is for

everyone but honestly is very manly, lots of adrenaline, and lots of strength. So you need to have *los huevos* (the balls) to surf huge waves.¹⁸

This narrative about the adrenaline, the strength, and the “need of balls” to surf a big wave was also shared by the other participants who practice this sport regularly. It exemplifies how certain characteristics, like physical strength and an adventurous spirit, are often related to ideals of hegemonic masculinity (Messner 1990). It also illustrates how in Puerto Viejo the enactment of these ideals of hegemonic masculinity through the “repetitive act” of surfing and expressing its performances through constant conversations about it, is one of the main performative characteristics of young Caribbean masculinities. Similarly to what Carlos told me, surfers are “all about surfing.” As it was possible for me to observe while participating in the town’s daily life dynamics, young men’s constituted performances are frequently expressed through conversations related to the wave’s quality and the upcoming sets and also in their anecdotes about their best surfed waves and the surfing lessons they give to tourists.

It is necessary to highlight that surfing is not only one of the principal sources of income for local young men, who often work as surf instructors and rent boards to tourists at the most popular beaches, but also an activity that allows them to establish contact with tourists and tourist women (Frohlick 2013a). Furthermore, local men have an opportunity in the water while surfing and at the beach “to shift existing power relations and circumvent dominant expectations of identity performances” (Malam 2008:585). In this regard, it is in those spaces among others in town where these young men, who have experienced diverse forms of political, social, economic, and educational exclusion, can enact empowered identities and negotiate them (Malam 2008). This is because, as I mention earlier in the

thesis, local men's performances are highly commoditized and idealized by globalized discourses of the "erotic other" in the tourism market, especially by foreign women (Frohlick 2007, 2013c; Maksymowicz 2010). In other words, even though Black-Caribbean men occupy marginal positions due to the historical-systematic discrimination and exclusion of black populations within and outside of the country, in the context of global tourism, specifically in spaces like the beach, Caribbean-Costa Rican men are able to reverse those subject positions (Malam 2008) and perform an alternative variant of non-white hegemonic masculinity. In this sense, commonly in Puerto Viejo young men's positionality in the hierarchy of multiple hegemonies does not depend on their access to economic capitals (Pruitt and La Font 1995; Frohlick 2013) but in articulating their performances around tourists' idealizations and desires for touristic intimacy (Frohlick 2007). As noted by several scholars (Frohlick 2007, 2013, 2013b, 2013c; Maksymowicz 2010; Anderson 2004; Kempadoo 2004), those transnational exchanges are informed by colonial ideologies about black bodies, which are linked to "naturalness and sexuality" (Kempadoo 2004: 32). In this sense, the "surfer's muscular- strong body" fit in those imaginaries and illustrates how 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" (Maksymowicz 2010:33). In the case of local men's bodies, these are strongly related to racialized representations about the "black-non-white body," as a space where their ideals of hegemonic masculinity and the tourists' desires converged.

Commodification of the “Caribbean Identity”

Picture 2: The Bikes



Edwin prioritized Picture 2 as his first photograph because it portrays his bike rental business, which is central for his understandings of masculinity. This is because it not only generates income but also has allowed him to meet a lot of tourists and foreign women. He took this photograph when I came to his house, where he also runs his business, on a Monday night in April. I arrived at 6:00 pm, and by then, at the end of the day, tourists returning rented bikes constantly interrupted our conversation. Edwin and his “assistant,” a local teenager, were continuously checking on the bicycles and making sure they were returned in good condition. I asked if I should come another day, but instead, Edwin told me to relax, drink a beer, and wait for him. So that was what I did. I went to “*la pulpería*” (the corner store) next to Edwin’s house and bought a couple of drinks for us. I sat down on one of the hammocks placed on his patio and waited until the flow of tourists stopped.

While waiting, I looked at the street through the house's fence, which was painted with the rasta colors, red, yellow, and green, and listened to the reggae music Edwin was playing in his house's living room. In addition to the coloured fence, the rest of Edwin's place, as well as the name of his business, made reference to popular aspects of the reggae-rasta culture which, as mentioned in the introduction section of this thesis, is highly commoditized as part of "the Caribbean experience" by several other social actors involved in the tourism industry, such as business owners and touristic governmental institutions (Anderson 2004).

Although "the Caribbean identity" is a category highly commoditized by multiple social actors involved in the transnational exchanges taking place in touristic communities like Puerto Viejo, in academia several authors have stressed the problematic nature of defining it as a fixed or closed category because it has been forged through particular historical processes and integrated by diverse sociocultural groups (Kempadoo 2004; Frohlick 2007, 2013c). Clearly not limited to reggae and "rastas," but highly influenced by the tourists' idealizations, the "Caribbean identity" in Puerto Viejo can be understood as an "ideational notion enacted through politics of aesthetics, food, and body" (Anderson 2004:25) that has been historically influence by notions about "Blackness" and black populations. In the case of the young local men I worked with, these politics of identity, which are also conflicting and shifting, as shown by Edwin's next photograph of his hair and his explanation of why he decided to cut his dreadlocks, are strongly based on the reggae-rasta culture and on their notions of self and belonging to "the Caribbean." As stated by several scholars (see Pruitt and La Font 1995; Anderson 2004; Frohlick 2007, 2013c), the reggae-rasta aesthetics plays as well a central role in the transnational intimate encounters happening between Afro- Caribbean men and Euro-North American women.

Often, local men appropriate and elaborate on symbols and looks related to it to appeal to the foreign women idealizations of Caribbean masculinity and capitalize on those stereotypical features (Pruitt and La Font 1995). Local men not only deploy those idealizations in order to have access to those transnational exchanges, but such idealizations are also central constituents of the performativity of local men's gendered subjectivities. As noted by Frohlick (2007), when referring to Puerto Viejo's young local men: "[they] imagine themselves as hypersexual black men because in part this is how they are imagined by the tourists" (Frohlick 2007:149). However, local men sometimes also resist those racialized representations, for example, by cutting their dreadlocks.

Edwin: You Like My Hair, but Why Don't You Like Who I Am?

I was about to finish my beer while looking through the "rasta fence" when Edwin came and sat on the other hammock next to me. We started to discuss the photographs he wanted to shoot. While our conversation unfolded, he talked about how his business represents not only his main source of income, but also the materialization of some of the dreams he had while growing up in a poor neighborhood in the city of Limón, where he moved with his mother when he was seven years old. When explaining to me his reasons to choose picture 2 as his first image Edwin told me,

I grew up in a poor neighborhood in Limón and always wanted to come and live in Puerto Viejo...I wanted to live in a place in front of the sea, to wake up and listen to the waves, grab my boogie board and jump into the ocean... In Limón life is hard, you get a shitty job or sell drugs, and those are your options. So in comparison here it is easy, not hard at all. Here you survive with anything, and you need nothing...When I first moved I did not have a job, and did a lot of things, met a lot of surfers, party a lot, met lots of tourist women and met a Spanish man with whom I started this business which would never succeed in Limón, but here, allows me to have some sort of the life I dreamt, cause I practically go and surf whenever I want.¹⁹

As in Edwin's case, it is because of these "promising" conditions that young people from Limón city and other locations often emigrate to Puerto, driven by the myriad of formal and informal opportunities that the tourism activity potentially represents. Within these opportunities lies the possibility, especially for young men, of meeting foreign women and establishing diverse kinds of intimate, sexual and romantic relationships with them. In this regard, Edwin believes that by moving to Puerto Viejo he radically changed his destiny from what he considered was going to be a harder and much more limited life in Limón city. In his opinion, the foreign people he met in Puerto Viejo have represented a radical change in his world view and in the way he relates to other people, especially women, because he perceives them as "more open minded than Costa Ricans." In terms of the circulating discourses in town, this perception about foreign women as "more open minded" is a very common one between local men and one of the main reasons that the participants pointed out for their "preference" for foreign women over Costa Ricans.

Amongst all these changes he also highlighted how his physical appearance slightly changed after moving to Puerto and getting into a surfing- partying- meeting girls routine, a set of "repetitive acts" that are central for the performativity of masculinity in town. In his words, "I was surfing a lot, so yes let's say I was in a good shape. And I was also partying at night, always meeting lots lots lots of girls. It was a crazy life during two or three years until I decided to take it easy. I stop going out so much and I stop meeting so many people."²⁰ It was during this time of "taking it easy" and after he began his business that Edwin cut his dreadlocks, which he had started to grow when he first moved to Puerto. The conversation about his dreads came up when Edwin suggested that I photograph him with

some of his hair he cut one day before my visit, as shown in Picture 3, and he prioritized it as his third image.

Picture 3: The Hair



While explaining the reasons for selecting this photograph, Edwin told me that at the beginning when he first moved to Puerto his hair “favoured” him a lot with foreign women, which made him feel “manlier.” This was because he realized how his hair was the center of attention in many of the conversations and encounters he had with tourists and tourist women and through it he was able to perform ideals of “Caribbean masculinity.” However, after some years he got tired of its weight and of all the attention he received so he started to gradually shorten it, until one day he just cut it all. In his words,

I wanted to have dreadlocks, and I took care of my hair and honestly got a very nice rasta. Everybody told me that my rasta was very pretty, very pretty and that mine was one of the best rastas in town. But after a while all that flattery people told me made me wanted to cut it. All day long tourists telling me oh I

love your hair, oh I love your hair, I was tired. Also the girls, I love your hair. I love your hair. But I started to think why don't you like who I am, or my smile, or my eyes? ²¹

Edwin's photograph and his narrative about his hair assert the centrality that his "rastas" have on his gender performativity and his claim to be considered "more than the guy with the nice rasta." After some years, his hair, which at some point facilitated his interactions with tourist women, because through it he was able to perform the expected aesthetics for a local man, started to feel like a limiting feature for his gendered self. This was because he realized how people, especially tourists, defined his identity through the repetitive flattering discourses about his dreads, and as he got older and economically more independent he became more aware of this objectification. In this sense, cutting his dreads appeared to be a way to resist those representations and symbolically claim autonomy and agency: In his business, he can talk to and meet lots of women, so it seemed that the dreads were not necessary anymore. In this regard, he told me, "This is the place where I have met more girls in my life [the bikes rental]... and, I don't know, maybe cutting my dreads *me quitó pegue* (made me less appealing), because yes it influences but honestly I don't care, I am who I am, and I have my swag."²²

In this regard, Edwin's narrative about his decision to cut his hair and the act of doing it is not only a performance through which he contested those representations but also became a performative act constituent of his changing gendered subjectivity. This was because it allowed him to challenge the typical image of the "local rasta guy" at the same time that it allowed him to assert his masculinity and build himself in opposition to those stereotypical images. However, even though Edwin cut his hair and now he has other "resources available" to perform his gendered subjectivity he still relies, as mentioned in

previous paragraphs, on some features of the Caribbean reggae-rasta culture to perform his masculinity (“his swag”) and to run his business, which demonstrates the centrality that the category of “Caribbean identity” has for the dynamics of his daily life.

Conclusion

As argued by Butler (1988), identity is a performative process in which gendered subjects are made “through a stylized repetition of acts” (Butler 1988:519). Historically, in Puerto Viejo the performativity of local men’s gendered subjectivities has been profoundly influenced by colonial discourses about Caribbean populations and Afro-Caribbean men. However, men’s ideals of hegemonic masculinity and racialized representations have been laden with new meanings and implications for their gendered subjectivities due to tourist activity, the commodification of “Caribbean identity,” and the possibilities for local men to participate in intimate exchanges with foreign women.

According to Frohlick (2007), local men in Wolaba learn and perform their masculinities in the context of the tourists’ racialized representations about Black-Caribbean men and ethnosexual desires. These ethnosexual desires understood as “the desire for black men by white foreign women and desire for white foreign women by black men” (Frohlick 2007:141) are rooted, for both local men and foreign women, on narratives about “the other.” For foreign women, those desires are based on racialized representations and colonial imaginaries about Black-Caribbean men. In the case of local men, those representations about foreign women are central constituents of local discourses about gender and sexuality. As stated by Frohlick (2007), local youth in Puerto Viejo grow up hearing stories about their relatives and their experiences with tourist women, and it is in this context how they “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” (Frohlick 2007:149). As represented through Edwin’s hair narrative, discourses learnt about what tourist women like or not, and also about how a local man should look and act like, to appeal and be part of these cross-cultural encounters become “repetitive acts” that play a central role in the construction and performances of youth’s gendered subjectivities.

In this chapter, I have also pointed out how the participants’ understandings about masculinity are also closely related to ideals of hegemonic masculinity where notions of strength and power are performed through narratives like “you need balls to surf huge waves” and also through certain aesthetics that enhances “masculine” characteristics that are highly valued in global tourism markets. Carlos’s surfing picture exemplifies the performance of these ideals of hegemonic masculinity. Surfing, as a “repetitive act,” has become one of the main performative characteristics of young Caribbean masculinities in town, because, as Carlos told me, “surfers are all about surfing.”

By performing and elaborating on traditional and appealing representations of hegemonic masculinity and stereotypical aesthetics and representations of Black-Caribbean masculinities such as dreadlocks, physical strength and attractiveness, virility, and laid-back attitudes, local men are able not only to assert their masculinity but revert in different spaces in town the subject positions they often occupy. These shifts in their positionalities while surfing or at the beach exemplify the centrality of space and context for the understanding of masculinities (Malam 2004). In Edwin’s case, the appropriation and later “rejection” of his dreadlocks as part of the performances of his masculinity as a local Caribbean man also illustrates the fluid and situational nature of those performances

(Butler 1996; Malam 2008). In this sense, it seems that the participants' decision to enact or not the "rasta look" was related somehow to the fact that after living for a couple of years in the town he became the owner of a small business, which represented a shift in his positionality with other local men and also with tourist women.

Chapter 5 - When Money Comes into Play: Intimate Encounters, Economics, and Masculinity

Kerlin: “This is How, in This Place, New Friendships Start”

Picture 4: Friendships



In Wolaba, money-related issues are part of the everyday exchanges between tourist women and local men. Kerlin prioritized Picture 4 as his second picture, because according to him, it indexes the way “friendships” between local men and tourist women tend to start—by having some drinks or sharing a meal. As he told me while he was explaining this image, “Here, when you go to a bar, this is what you always see, the wallet, a bottle, a juice. And this is an expression, how can I tell you? Of a new contact... this is how, in this place, new friendships start.”²³ This photograph of a wallet and refreshments on a beachfront café table thus tells more than a particular story about the normalcy of money as

a form of exchange in intimate relations with tourist women. He took this picture because for him it shows a very common scenario. For my research it became an important image because of how it reveals uncommon knowledge within the local community that contradicts and challenges the common perception, explained in the introduction section, about economics between foreign women and local men as “gigolos” or “hustlers.”

According to Kerlin, sometimes foreign women expect men to pay for their bar and/or restaurant bills, especially if the women are temporarily living in Puerto. Even though this situation might be normalized as a heteronormative practice, for some people in town, the idea of a local man paying instead of the tourist woman may be surprising. Although the occurrence of a local man buying a tourist women a drink or meal is an “uncommon situation,” it nevertheless challenges a popular myth about Caribbean men “hustling” or “sponging” off foreign women’s wealth (Brennan 2004; Frohlick 2013b). Kerlin’s story, related to his photograph, shows that the gendered economic dynamics are not always as people picture it, and are tied to sociality (and not only erotics and sexual exchange).

Kerlin and I met in town a couple of hours before he took picture 4 in “Noa” a sea-front bar, where we stopped after taking a long walk along the town’s seashore. We were shooting other pictures, especially of the coral reef, one of Kerlin’s favorite memories of his childhood, when we decided to take a break from our “research duties” and fight the humidity with a beer. While drinking those beverages that appear in the photograph he told me this next story to explain why this was an important photograph for him:

One time I met a super good-looking Italian girl. We just started to chat for a bit on the street, and she asked me out a couple of times, so I finally agreed... She wanted us to go for some Italian food, and she picked [out] the most expensive Italian restaurant in Cocles. But I thought, okay, it is not like I asked her out. When we arrived there she asked for a bottle of wine and everything...

when the bill arrived she wanted me to pay, and I was like no way, I don't have to... she got so offended and mad at me... can you believe it? Now she doesn't say hi to me anymore.

As mentioned above, Kerlin's anecdote challenges prevalent notions about the regularity in which foreign women "always" pay. Closely related to this point, his story also challenges the idea that Euro-American women do not expect local men to reproduce traditional performances of hegemonic masculinity. It also reaffirms, as stated by Frohlick (2013b), that commonly foreign women are not willing to participate in a direct-monetary exchange for transnational romance or sex with local men. One of the reasons why Kerlin's photograph and his story is important is because it hints at how sexualized and racialized masculinities play a central role in foreign women's heterosexual interracial romantic attractions to local men and, in turn, the role that money plays in the negotiation of love and intimacy. Kerlin's anecdote also shows how these negotiations around money are likely to triggered conflicts between local men and tourist women, which are managed in different ways by those involved.

Frequently in people's everyday practices, their identities are shaped through myriad processes involving economic activities, money, and intimate relations (Zelizer 2009; Borris and Parreñas 2010). As stressed by Zelizer (2009), these intersections suggest that the economic and sentimental domains of people's lives are not mutually exclusive. Rather, these domains are often connected. In this chapter I provide a glimpse of how intimacies and economies intersect within the diverse intimate encounters that have occurred for the participants in their interactions with foreign tourist women. I also interrogate the ways in which these encounters operate as "commodified intimacies," which means, intimacies that are mediated to some degree by the exchange of money or some

other goods (Borris and Parreñas 2010). With this aim, I draw on some of the photographs taken by Kerlin, William, and Sahim, and also on their narratives about the photographs, to show how young local men of Puerto Viejo “negotiate” their understandings of masculinity in the give-and-take of commodified intimacies. Particularly, I center the attention on how the young men navigate those negotiations when they are involved in short or long-term relationships that potentially allow them access to economic and social capital that has been historically out of their reach.

As stated throughout this thesis, these understandings are strongly related to ideals of hegemonic masculinity, normative femininities, and commoditized Caribbean gender identities, at the same time as they sometimes contradict these ideals. Thus, I argue that gender identities continually negotiated by my interlocutors in their daily lives animated a diversity of meanings the men held about their masculine subjectivities. As I will show in the following paragraphs, by highlighting William’s and Sahim’s photos and stories, and other participants’ narratives, these economic “gives” in the reciprocal exchanges with foreign tourism women take various forms, including cooking, helping the women with their Spanish, providing them with “a local, cultural and natural experience,” and “satisfying them in bed.”

The Commodification of Intimacies and the Representation of Tourists’ Gendered Subjectivities

While conducting fieldwork, I realized that “commodified intimacies” in Puerto Viejo are mediated not only by the representations that tourist women have about local men, but also by the representations that young local men have about foreign women, which are in opposition to the representations they have about Costa Rican women. In this sense, as

stated by Frohlick (2013b), the intimate encounters that take place in Puerto Viejo expose, for both parties involved, complex social constructions and performances of gender subjectivities, sex, sexuality, and desire. To my surprise, none of the participants directly mentioned the possibility of receiving monetary gain or international travel as the reason why they prefer to establish intimate relations with tourist women than with local women. Instead, I repeatedly heard them say that, differently than Costa Rican women, foreign women are “more open-minded,” “more relaxed,” “more supportive,” “less difficult,” “easier to take to bed,” “crazier for sex,” “less jealous,” “more liberal,” and “funnier.” For example, Edwin has never had a Costa Rican girlfriend since he started seeing girls nearly twenty years ago. For him, he avoids them because he stereotypes all Costa Rican women as *Ticas* “[who] think they are way too important... I have no time to waste on them.”²⁴ Similarly, Sahim assured me that after the experience he had with the mother of his children, a local woman, he would “never ever live again with a woman from here.”²⁵ For Felix, the main issue that differentiated foreign and local women was that local women expect local men to commit to a monogamous relationship. As he explained, even if they know “who you are and the things you do... they still want a long-term committed relationship,” in opposition to foreign women, who “just come here to visit, they know they are here to party, *desmadre*, (no moderation) and then they leave, and you never see them again.” And for him, after his break up with a Norwegian woman with whom he had a relationship for four years and a child, the short temporality of these intimate encounters with tourists was ideal. In his words, “long-term relationships are not for us [making reference to local Caribbean men], they are not suitable to Puerto’s lifestyle.”²⁶

In this way, at some point in their lives all the participants were involved in relationships with foreign women and have confronted situations in which they occupied diverse positions within these intersections of intimacy and economics. Sometimes they have benefited from their partners' economic status, which is understood by the participants as support. This perception of foreign women not only as less jealous but also as more caring and more supportive than Costa Rican women seems to be one of the principal reasons why the majority of the participants prefer to establish relationships with tourist women. These characteristics, which historically have been related to traditional "female" roles of care and protection (Connell and Messerschmid 2005), seem to be more important and decisive for the participants than the connections foreign women might represent outside of Puerto Viejo. It also seems to be more decisive than the access to diverse capitals (land, housing, technological devices, and other material goods) that these women might also represent. For example, in William's opinion, "foreign woman likes to be there for the Caribbean man, supporting him. She wants the Caribbean man to be fine, economically. She wants him to have something and if she can and she has, she would support him."²⁷ He explained to me that this does not mean he wants his girlfriend to pay for everything. For William, it means that in emergency situations (like losing his job) it is very comforting to have some sort support from somebody else. Similarly, in Sahim's opinion, "foreigners help you because they are likely to do so, they feel something for you and think *ras*, let's help him with something."²⁸ As one participant explained in reference to being the recipient of a foreign woman's money, providing financial support "is the normal thing you do when you care for someone, right?" As mentioned above, the majority of participants repeated this notion of support. Some assured me that they do not feel ashamed in accepting help when they need it, and that it does not matter if support comes from a woman or a man. In

this regard, that night we got together in his bike rental business, which he started with a foreigner male business partner, Edwin told me,

Why should I feel bad for accepting some help? If I'm having a bad time, if I need something, some help, and she can and wants to help me, why should I feel bad? I have met a lot of people who are highly interested in helping others. And this help might not be strictly economic, it can be another kind of support. And help is help, and any kind is important. We must value that another human being cares about our well-being, isn't that right?²⁹

But they also considered that local men contribute with non-monetary capital in these relationships. Contrary to some stereotypical representations of local men, where they are portrayed as “gigolos” who take advantage of tourist women, the participants see themselves as “doing their part.” Their experiences challenge the myth that tourist women “always” have money, especially those women who decide to stay for a long time in town. In some cases, the kind of support that local men provide is monetary or within the economic domain. For example, when they provide accommodation or long-term housing or take their foreign girlfriend on a fishing tour, or give them surfing classes, these are activities for which tourists would normally have to pay.

However, on some occasions, participants' understandings about these economic negotiations with foreign women rely on stereotypical representations of Black- Caribbean sexuality and discourses about global inequality including presumed wealth of tourists from the global North. As one of them mentioned,

Why should I be ashamed if the girl wants to pay for my things? Is not that I am asking for it. I have my money that I earn by working hard. But if I see that she has money and wants to spend it with me, why not? She is on holidays, she comes from a country with money, and I am some kind of guide in this journey that might become the more exciting sexual experience of her life.³⁰

In this sense, even though this narrative was not very common among the participants, it shows how on some occasions, by drawing upon stereotypical imaginaries of Caribbean men, for example as “great lovers,” local men commoditized their Caribbean gender identities to justify the financial support they receive from foreign women. This quote also suggests that local men sometimes perceive themselves more as “facilitators of unforgettable experiences” than merely hustlers willing to take the tourists’ money.

Finally the participant’s narratives exemplifies that being the recipients of financial support does not mean that local men are economically fully dependent on tourist women, because they also have other sorts of income that most of the time are also related to the tourism industry.

The Shared House: Being (More or Less) Manly

Around 11:00 am on a Friday morning in March, I got on my bike and started pedaling towards Puerto’s neighbouring town, to meet William, who had, the day before when I called him to see when he wanted us to meet, invited me to his place for lunch. One week before, William and I had coffee in “Caribbean Times,” a popular coffee shop close to his house. I had asked him to be part of my research. Not only did he accept my invitation, but he immediately suggested that I visit him at the house he shares with his girlfriend from Spain. At first I had hesitated. I was worried and not sure if his girlfriend would agree with this idea. However, I accepted when he reassured me in our phone conversation that she was happy about my visit, even though she was not going to be present.³¹

On my way to William’s house that day, I was thinking about the local politics of friendships between local men and women in town. Some questions came to my mind:

What did his girlfriend think of my visit? What would the neighbours think? Deep in these thoughts, I saw him walking along the gravel road. We said hello, and I got off my bike and walked with him towards his house. He was carrying some groceries for our lunch and kindly welcomed me to his place. I didn't have a chance to worry any longer about the issue of his girlfriend's reaction to me. We reached their house in no time. The structure of his house followed a typical wooden-Caribbean construction mixed with fibrolite material.³² The main room was located in the second floor, while the bathroom, kitchen, and the open-air dining room were on the main or first floor. I sat at the table while he finished the food he was preparing. When our lunch, a Spanish dish, was ready, he joined me and we soon started our chat to decide which photographs he wanted to take as a participant in the photovoice project.

Picture 5: The Shared House



This photograph of his house was the second image William chose to represent as that which “being a man” means for him. Before shooting the image, and as our conversation unfolded, he told me about his job situation at that time in his life. He was unemployed. Although he used to work as a kitchen assistant in a popular restaurant in the area, he had recently lost his job. According to him, the new owners of the place, a foreign couple, did not respect Costa Rica’s labour regulations. They made their employees work for less than the legal minimum wage, and they did not pay for any of the mandatory health benefits required by Costa Rican legislation. In his words,

Oftentimes they discounted me hours from my pay cheque because they decided to send me home earlier. Okay, I let it pass a couple of times, but one day I just got tired. It was raining and I came home frustrated. My girlfriend was here and she asked me what was wrong. I was so mad, and she just told me to quit. And I was like, ‘Yes, fuck them, they come to my country and treat me like shit. *‘Ni que yo fuera un muerto de hambre mop.’*³³

For William, the lack of cash flow due to his unemployment meant that he had to transform or renegotiate his masculinity within the relationship he had with his foreign girlfriend. By taking a photograph of his house, he was able to express this transformation to me by using an image along with a narrative. For him, “being a man” was related to the capacity of paying the household bills. In his words,

As a man you have a responsibility every month to pay the rent of your house... pay the electricity, the water, the cable bill... keep the backyard clean. Then these things make me a man, make me responsible. Just because I lost my job I am going to stay in the house sleeping... waiting for my woman to come and give me money... you need to keep moving.³⁴

And when he did not have a stable job, he felt he had to find alternative ways to make money, and also be productive in the household, for example, doing occasional

maintenance work for a friend who manages a popular hostel, and making sure that the house is clean and the food is ready for his girlfriend when she comes from work.

Interestingly, since the moment I arrived to the dwelling they lived in together, I started to better understand why it was so important for William to show me the house where he was currently living. I noticed not only how comfortable he was in his space, but also how proud he was of the house renovations he had made on his own. These renovations included painting the whole house and also rebuilding the garden.

In this sense, in the absence of a regular income to pay the household expenses, William found different ways to reassert his masculinity, for example by doing house renovations, “men’s work.” Despite these reassertions, William re-described himself as having less economic power than his girlfriend. In his words, “she is the boss of the house when it comes to make decisions because she is the one who works.” This designation of power with economic income meant, for example, that when he was unemployed he felt he needed to ask for her “approval” to go out and party with his friends. Sometimes that meant that he didn’t go out. As William explained, “If she is feeling sick, or you know, I know her, if I tell her, babe, I’m going out and I see she is not happy about it then I just prefer to stay here, just to avoid fights.” However, this situation did not allow him to feel comfortable or that he found to be ideal. Instead, he felt ashamed and “less manly.” As he told me, “Lots of men here love women to pay for their things, but I don’t. In that sense I’m like the foreigner women, more open-minded. She invites me sometimes; then I pay sometimes. I prefer when things are more equal, because if she is the only one paying, I feel smaller than her.”³⁵

While finishing our lunch, William talked about the meanings he attributes to his bedroom, which is shown in the next picture (Picture 6) and that he prioritized as his third image. For him, as I will explain in more detail, the room is an intimate space where he can also reassert his masculinity.

William “Welcome to My Room: The Place Where the Magic Happens”

Picture 6: The Room



Before we went to the second floor to take Picture 6, William asked, almost like making fun of me: “Carol, wanna come and see where the magic happens?” I accepted, once again, thinking how his girlfriend would feel about it. After all, I was “trespassing” on somebody else’s private space as the bedroom was shared, not William’s alone. While he was shooting photographs, I took a quick look around and waited on the balcony. Once he finished, we went back to the open-air dining room where continued our conversation about his reasons to present this photograph.

During our talk, William mentioned to me how the bedroom was one of his favourite spaces in the house. In his words, “This is the area of my house that I like the most... because firstly, is where I can rest... because is my private area where I can watch the soccer game, and the area where I have sex with my woman, privately, do you get me?”³⁶

William’s narrative and his photograph made reference to two central aspects of his understandings about masculinity: sports and sex. As stated in Chapter 4, “male valued” characteristics such as domination, competition, physical strength, aggression and force are often associated with ideals of hegemonic masculinity (Messner 1990). But in William’s account, sports are also related to the possibility of having a “time out” from his household duties and to some degree, from his relationship. As he told me, “I’m always trying to be a good boyfriend, always trying to keep my girlfriend happy because she also does the same for me, but honestly, sometimes I just want to watch a soccer game, relax, smoke a joint, and forget about responsibilities.”³⁷

In this sense, his room becomes a place where he can feel as a “free man.” But also where, through sex, he feels like a “man,” recuperating the masculinity “lost” for having less economic means than his girlfriend. Thus, for him, masculinity is also related to the idea of having a “good performance” in bed. “I’m all about equality, but I will not lie, [it] is nice to be the boss in bed,” he said while rolling a joint and laughing, showing a great smile. When I interrogated him about what it means to be “a boss in bed,” he carefully thought through his response, then answered, “It means knowing how to make love well, be passionate, make the woman have orgasms, and respect her when she does not want to have sex... without running out of the house looking for another woman.”³⁸

In his opinion, most of the Caribbean men in town misunderstand the significance of being a good lover. For him, these misunderstandings are partially created because of the existing myths around the size of the black male penis. “They think that being a good lover is related to have a big dick ... and have sex all day and all night... here is easy to feel you are a great man, after all you have everything, you have Puerto, and you have the girls all around you.” Likewise, for William, these misconceptions are often reproduced by female visitors who seem to “believe in the myth” and also are “seduced” by the “movement that Caribbean men have.” As he told me,

It doesn't matter if you have a small or a big one. They [women] come here looking for the Caribbean men not only for the size, but for the movement they have, you understand? They like to dance reggae, so when women watch them they think, *uy ese mae* (that guy) has a movement that for sure makes him spectacular in bed.³⁹

William's words reveals his understandings about how Caribbean men are exoticized and misrepresented through a series of discourses that have been created around them, where their “natural physical attributes” or their looks (for example, their dreadlocks) are highlighted and highly commodified by other local men and also tourists. William's opinion about the ways in which Caribbean men are racialized, commoditized and exoticized in global tourism markets was also shared by the rest of the participants. Even though some of them disagree with some of these characterizations, for example Edwin who cut his dreadlocks (see Picture 3 in Chapter 4), in some cases they also draw on them for their own benefit. As I will detail in the last section of this chapter, some of these benefits might be related, for example, to travel opportunities that local men can access when they establish a relation with a foreign woman. By looking at the next picture (Picture 7), a significant image for Sahim because it shows the place where he met his German

girlfriend, I aim to discuss the ways in which intimacy, economics, and masculinity are interconnected in the context of global tourism.

Sahim: Transnational Travel and the Negotiation of Masculinity

Picture 7: Lucky Night



Similarly to Sahim’s photograph and his narrative about how this image represents how he met his girlfriend, many of the stories that the rest of participants shared related to meeting and partying with tourist women, which tended to happen on the dance floor and surroundings of the bar shown in Picture 7. Recently, especially on Saturdays and Wednesdays, the establishment’s “Ladies Nights” have been two of the most popular evenings to go out and party in town. In this sense, it is common for local men to meet tourist women there. Is also common that these encounters end up being “one night-

stands” or “short-term affairs.” However, in some cases, these party nights can become the beginning of “life –changing experiences,” as Sahim described the night, in 2014, when he met his German girlfriend. According to him, on the evening they met they fell in love because of a special connection they shared. Sahim wanted me to know how special their relationship was, assuring me that at the beginning this connection was not mediated by sex, but by a “deep understanding of each other, even though we were from different cultures.” Apart from these cultural differences, it did not take Sahim too long to realize that he and his girlfriend also have different financial situations. As stated by Frohlick (2007, 2013c, 2015), Maksymowicz (2010), and Anderson (2005), the intimate encounters happening in Puerto Viejo between Euro-American tourist women and Caribbean-Costa Rican men are commonly mediated by profound economic asymmetries between them. For example, in Sahim’s words, while he “struggled almost every month to find a job in construction or as a kitchen assistant” his girlfriend, who was also “struggling financially in her country because she is not rich either,” was able to come and visit him every six months. She was also capable of paying Sahim’s expenses for him to visit her. Details about his recent travel to Germany unfolded during our conversation about picture 7. In Sahim’s words,

One day we were just talking and I told her: *mi amor* (my love) on of these days I will go and visit you in Germany, you’ll see. She looked at me and she asked, do you really want to go? I said, yes for sure... six months later she called from Germany and told me: *mi amor*, I already have your ticket. You leave on the 9th of September at 7:00am. Then she sent me my papers, my ticket and everything else I needed. And just like that I left Puerto.⁴⁰

According to him, his worldview radically changed as a result of the two months he stayed in Germany. He learnt about other cultures and had the chance to open his mind to

new ways of living; he was also able to experience “what it really means to have money.”

With a lower financial status than his girlfriend, her family, and her friends, Sahim felt repeatedly intimidated in Europe.

I got intimidated by their living standards. When they told me, go, drive this Mercedes Benz ... or by the stupid amounts of money they spend in hotels and meals. That is something that obviously I couldn't afford, like paying four hundred euros for a six-person dinner. Obviously I couldn't afford that.⁴¹

However, he used what he considered his “social capital” to show appreciation and to negotiate his economically disadvantageous positionality at that time. To do so, he drew on some aspects of a stereotypical racialized representation of Caribbean masculinity. As Sahim expressed it, “But after a couple of weeks I told to myself: *mae* just enjoy, this is a once in a lifetime opportunity. Go out, be nice, be funny, cook them some rice and beans with chicken, and showed them why she fell in love with the *negrito* (black little man).”⁴² In this sense, for local men transnational travel might also represent a negotiation of their masculinity in terms of their disadvantageous economical positionality. It can also become a challenge in terms of facing cultural differences and also racism while visiting these countries. However, as in Sahim's case, these disadvantages or threats do not determine their perception of transnational travel with foreign women as a “life time opportunity.”

Conclusion

The photographs shown in this chapter are of great help for the understanding of the complex, dynamic, and sometimes contradictory intersections between money and intimacy in the encounters between local men and tourist women. Like Sahim, three other participants had traveled abroad with foreign girlfriends. Their travel experiences shared some commonalities, especially because of how the participants thought of these travels as

“life- changing opportunities” that allowed them to know “different ways of living apart from Puerto,” and open their minds “to different realities” to which they previously had limited access. In Sahim’s case, his girlfriend was “generous” enough to surprise him with an all-expense paid trip to Germany. However, other participants assured me that, even though the women’s friends and families provided in most cases the accommodation and food while they visited them, they paid for their plane tickets and other expenses themselves. Actually, some have traveled by themselves, and not only with or thanks to a foreigner woman. To do so, they saved money by selling weed or other drugs, while another participant sold some of the land he owned.

In this sense, the negotiations that took place for these travels to happen were diverse, and not always entirely mediated by the economic support of their foreign girlfriends. As well, negotiations of masculinity occurred in the social spaces where transnational travel happened, such as the middle-class lifestyles of acquaintances in Germany. As shown in this chapter, through the participants’ photographs and their narratives their daily lives and domestic situations challenged the prevailing myth of local men as merely “hustlers” or “gigolos.” Their images show the complex ways in which notions of gender and race are interconnected, and economic and non-economic negotiations are happening, in the intimate encounters taking place in Puerto Viejo between local men and foreign women. Even though sometimes men draw upon stereotypical representations of black and Caribbean sexuality to justify their girlfriends’ or lovers’ financial support, local men also find ways to make some contribution to the relationships. Sometimes their contributions entailed the negotiation of their understandings about hegemonic masculinity, for example, by assuming the role of taking care of the household.

In some other occasions, as I will argue in the next chapter, these negotiations were extended to other areas, for example, to the local young men's politics and moralities of parenting and their fathering practices.

Chapter 6- Fathering and Masculinities: “The Blood’s Negotiations”

As stated in the previous chapter, intimacies and economies intersect in various ways within the diverse intimate encounters occurring between local young men of Puerto Viejo and foreign tourist women. In this chapter, I turn my gaze to the multiple negotiations in which local men get involved when they become parents, especially as the fathers of children with foreign women. In doing so, and relying on the visual methodology that directs this thesis, I first aim to show the participants’ understandings about fatherhood and fathering practices are bound to their notions about “being a real man.” Secondly, I attempt to provide a glimpse of how “the reproductive forces of tourism” (Frohlick 2015:64), specifically those transnational unions which have resulted in pregnancies (Frohlick 2013b, 2015), are shaping local young men’s politics and moralities of parenting. Following the main theoretical principles state by Gutmann (2006) and Lupton and Barclay (1997) regarding the dynamic nature of the category of fatherhood, I argue that in the context of global tourism in Puerto Viejo, the continuous negotiations that local young men make of their gender identities are also generating a diversity of meanings related to their understandings about fatherhood. Even though becoming fathers seems to reinforce the participants’ perceptions of their hyper-sexual Caribbean masculinities, it has also represented new economic and moral responsibilities that might be difficult to achieve, especially when co-parenting with foreign women. Despite these difficulties, the participants perceived the common local men’s absence from their children lives as a “lack of manliness.” However, some of their everyday fathering practices seem to contradict their fatherhood ideals, which are related to more contemporary notions about fatherhood.

In this chapter, I present some of the photographs that are related to the topic of fatherhood taken by two participants: Sahim, who is the father of two young children with a local Costa Rican woman, and Félix, the father of a daughter whose mother is European. As I will explain in more detail, for both of them becoming fathers represented a “positive” and “natural” reinforcement of their masculine-heterosexual subjectivities. At the same time, they related the fatherhood experience to new (and sometimes unachievable) economic and “moral” responsibilities with their children and their partners. In the case of Félix, having a child with a foreign woman as their mother also entailed several negotiations regarding the child’s birthplace, the shared child expenses, the construction of a house, the place of permanent residence, and other economic arrangements related to the child and the mother when both of them went back to live in Norway. For Sahim, becoming a father entailed not only new economic responsibilities that he frequently perceived as difficult to fulfill due to the instability of sources of employment in the area, but also new moral responsibilities with his children. These moral responsibilities include showing interest in his children’s lives, teaching them “a good example,” and raise them well so in the future they “stay away from the street,” which means preventing them from getting involved in the criminal activities that so many local youth seem to be participating in.

“Being a Bad Father Is Not a Male Thing”

In Puerto Viejo, as in any other particular sociocultural context, notions of parenthood are mediated by specific discourses about what it means to be a “good” or a “bad father” (Lupton and Barclay 1997). It is possible to argue that, to some degree, these local understandings respond to traditional Latin American notions about fatherhood and hegemonic masculinity, where fathers, are positioned as economic providers and

disciplinarians (Sternberg 2000; Gutmann 1996; Viveros Vigoya 2003; Lancaster 2002). As I heard in some of the stories shared by the participants, understandings about fatherhood are also mediated, at times, by Euro- American women's ethnicized and racialized desires, of procreating bicultural, interracial babies (Frohlick 2015). For some local men, "fulfilling" these desires can be seen as an opportunity to travel or "keep" the girl with them, even though the participants agreed that this is a very "low" strategy that "real men" would never use.

Either way, there is a widespread perception amongst Costa Rican and foreign women that local Afro-Caribbean men have poor parenting skills. According to Lewis (2003), this notion of Caribbean men as "bad fathers" is predominant throughout the wider Caribbean region. Similar to Lewis's argument, in Puerto, this perception is based on the belief that local men are often not physically present and not actively involved in child-rearing and, particularly in the cases of local men who have children with foreign women who leave Costa Rica to raise the children elsewhere. Through the years that I spent living in the area, my perception of local men as "proud but absent fathers" was continuously reinforced by many stories I heard, and witnessed, where women (including foreigners) have to struggle, economically and in other spheres of their daily lives, to raise their children without any kind of support from the Costa Rican-Caribbean fathers.

Opposite to this perception, all the participants shared the ideal of being (or becoming in the future) caring, supportive, and responsible fathers. In this sense, their preconceptions and discourses about their current, or future, fathering experiences seem to be related to contemporary notions of parenthood, where men are expected to be more engaged in their children's upbringing than was expected in the past and where being an

engaged father is associated with notions about masculinity and being a “real man.” According to Gutmann (2006:79), commenting on contemporary Latin American societies, “being a dependable and engaged father is as central to *ser hombre* [to be a man], as any other component, including sexual potency.” Carlos put this slightly differently. One afternoon while we sat together watching a volleyball game at the beach, he said, “You have to be *bastante poco hombre* (much less than a man) to forget about your blood.” In other words, for Carlos, the men who do not get involved in their children’s lives are “less manly” than those who are responsible and “take care” of their biological children, “their blood.”

The participants’ understandings also seem to be influenced by their “thin threads of connection” (Frohlick 2015) with their own fathers. Five of the participants did not develop any type of relationship with their fathers and did not grow up around them. All agreed that they did not suffer from the lack of a paternal figure, because, as Carlos told me, “Who needs a father when you have a warrior as a mother?” Interestingly, I realized that when the majority of the participants think about fatherhood, they think in terms of providing their children (or children they hope to have in the future) with what they never got from their fathers: respect, support, love, and a stable- healthy emotional bond. Sahim represented some of these ideals when he took a photograph of the local public school (Picture 8) and prioritized it as his second image.

Picture 8: The School



For Sahim, this photograph represents to a great extent what fatherhood means to him, and also shows what he understands to be one of his biggest responsibilities as a father, which is “being present” in his children’s lives, even though they do not live together and he sees them every two weeks. In order to “be present,” Sahim tries to be aware of what is going on with their education at school, and tries to get involved in some school activities. While we discussed his reasons for choosing this photograph, Sahim revealed some of his main understandings about fatherhood. He said:

My responsibilities as a father is to help my children with whatever I can. Financially or mentally or physically, but to help them. Those are my duties. To teach them good habits, to always be there for them no matter what, and to never leave them alone. Never abandon them. That’s one of my biggest obligations, to never abandon my children... Also, to get involved in their lives so they can know I care about them and that they do have a father ...even though I don’t see them every day... If your child goes to school and comes

home and you don't ask him about homework, don't ask him how his day was at school, what did he learn today... and they just go out and play... And that becomes a routine, days and months are just going to pass and at the end what is going to happen is that my son can end up in the street, selling drugs. Or he can end up in prison. They can end up killing him. This is why things can be problematic here, because parents don't get involved in their children's lives... they do not raise their children well.⁴³

In this regard for him, “getting actively involved” in the lives of his two sons is important for their future well-being and can help them to stay out of “trouble in town.” However, for Sahim and other participants who are fathers, the difference between the ideals of fatherhood as a set of meanings and everyday fathering as a set of material practices was sometimes greater than they might like. From my observations, often contradictions arose between their aspirations and what they did. For example, when it came to seeing their children regularly or providing a regular dependable economic contribution, they sometimes failed at this. Some of the participants argued that it is difficult for local men to fulfill these economic responsibilities due to the lack of a stable income and the area's low wages and high cost of living, which is highly influenced by the price inflation due to the tourist activity. Also, as I will detail in further paragraphs, the negotiation of fatherhood when co-parenting with foreign women was also mediated by the unequal access to several resources that local men have in comparison to their foreign girlfriends.

In this sense, in some cases the participants' aspirations for being (or to be, in the future) dependable and engaged fathers might fall short, evidencing the contradictions and the practical difficulties that might arise between the ideals of fatherhood and their everyday fathering practices. These contradictions also reveal

how the notion of “being a real man” through the exercise of responsible parenthood is mediated by ideal notions that seem hard to achieve for some of the participants.

Negotiating Fatherhood: Foreign Women, la *Pensión* (child support) and Other Practicalities

In the time I have spent in Puerto Viejo, I became familiar with the common understanding that, when it comes to fathering experiences, local men navigate between two different but complexly intertwined scenarios, which depend on the origin of the child’s mother.⁴⁴

Yamil, a local rasta in his thirties and father of four children—two with a local woman and two with different foreign women—and I used to argue passionately about parenthood when he used to come for a beer to the bar where I used to work as a waitress. He believed it was “easier and better” to have children with foreigner women, because most of the time, he said, they did not demand that he be part of his children’s lives and the day-to-day child care and they did not threaten him with *la pensión* (child support). Because he was interested in “reproducing his blood” but not in being a present father, this idea of the mother as the primary parent without needing labour or financial support from the father was appealing to him. I remember becoming sceptical about what I considered to be Yamil’s contradictory position. It was hard for me to understand why somebody could be so openly uninterested in his children and so proud of them at the same time. I thought about Yamil and our past conversations while Sahim explained to me in detail the various meanings that Puerto Viejo’s main street had for him. The participant took picture 9, and prioritized it as his third image because for him, “the street” represents a central space that holds multiple meanings regarding ideals of hegemonic masculinity and local men’s politics of fatherhood.

Picture 9: The Street



First, for Sahim, the street is where local young men have to earn their peers' respect by demonstrating that they are not willing to "take shits" from others, which means that they have to show a strong character to be accepted and respected by other local men. Secondly, for the participant, the street also represents the current threat faced by local youth, who are constantly tempted to make easy money by getting involved in robbery and drug trafficking and other criminal activity in town. Interestingly, Sahim also stressed the meaning that "the street" has for local men regarding their experiences and responsibilities (or lack of) as fathers, as well as some of the existing differences between co-parenting with a foreigner or

with a Costa Rican woman. Through Picture 9, Sahim explained to me what he considers to be two different fatherhood scenarios in town. In his words,

For some men here, [it] is not the same to have kids with a foreigner than with a *tica*. You know that the *tica* is going to ask for *la pensión* (child support) and is going to make your life miserable, even put you in jail, if you do not deposit every month the money for your kids. But la *extranjera* (foreigner) she does not care about money, she is not going to chase you because most of the time she does not need your money. But I see a lot of men here that use that as an excuse to not help their kids and I think, what kind of man can walk with his face up knowing that he is not even buying his children, his own blood, a box of milk. Even worse, many locals here walked on the street, and *juegan de fresas* (try to pretend) on the bar inviting and buying alcohol while their kids are hungry in their houses... In my case I don't have *pensión*. I don't want it and I don't need it because I know those are my children and you shouldn't be chasing me to take care of my blood.⁴⁵

Thus, Sahim's image of "the street" seemed to point out to a differentiation in terms of the responsibilities and politics for local men when co-parenting with a foreigner, compared to when they have children with a Costa Rican woman. In his narrative, he referred to the fact that even though local men do not have to worry about the "threat of *la pensión*" with foreign women, fatherhood encompasses moral responsibilities. For him, this parenthood morality is related to the economic contribution to child support, regardless of the mother's nationality and her economic status. As I will illustrate in the next section, this morality was also shared by Félix, a 24 year- old bartender, who strongly related his parenting responsibilities with providing economically for his daughter.

Félix: Tourism and Pregnancies, “When the Party Gets Serious”

Picture 10: The Bar



Picture 10 shows Félix in “On the Waves,” a popular bar and restaurant where he works as a bartender. He chose this as his second image when prioritizing the photographs he presented. His selection of this photograph underscores the centrality of his workspace in his understandings about masculinity and fatherhood in this community. For him, being a bartender is a central constituent of his identity as a local man. His work behind the bar represents a source of a stable income, and also a space where he makes connections with tourists for his fishing tours, practices English, has fun and a chance to party, and also meets tourist women. His job, in his words “helps me a lot to get more girls, make things easier because you are there, you are at the party, [and] you are part of the party.” He was

working and sharing some shots with some clients when he met a Norwegian woman, with whom he maintained a relationship for approximately four years that resulted in having a child together.

As in Félix's case, several sexual and romantic encounters between local men and tourist women are initiated at local bars. Regularly what starts as a "one night stand" quickly turns into serious short- or long-term relationships, which often lead to pregnancies. In this sense, Puerto's reproductive dynamics are continually shaped, among other factors, by tourist women's reproductive desires to bear interracial- bicultural babies (Frohlick 2015) and by local men's understandings of fatherhood, in which impregnating women is seen as a positive reinforcement of their masculine heterosexual subjectivities. Furthermore, in Félix's case, the experience of fatherhood also represented the beginning of a more "serious life" with new economic and moral responsibilities, both with his daughter and with the mother of his child.

Félix agreed to participate in my research thanks to Max, a mutual friend who invited me over for some drinks at "On the Waves" during one of Félix's bar night shifts. He accepted, even after I explained the point of my research project in a very clumsy way. I was sure he was going to refuse to participate. That night, to "close our deal," he served three shots of Cacique and we drank them, toasting over "*Pura Vida*" and Caribbean masculinity.⁴⁶ Some days later, on a cloudy Monday afternoon in March 2016, Félix and I got together again at his workplace to shoot the photographs and discuss them. I came to the bar fifteen minutes early. Félix saw me and politely walked towards me and said hi. He also asked me to come back at 3:00 pm. He was in the middle of a pool game with a tourist woman, and apparently, he did not want to end the game abruptly because of my early

presence. I apologized and decided to walk around and ended up sitting on an improvised hammock outside the bar. After spending lots of time there, I was able to notice that the “On the Waves” pace was unusually slow that afternoon. Probably it was the threat of a storm and its dark skies which forced people to stay indoors. Occasionally, some local men came around to check the place out and asked the few tourists, who were enjoying a beer, if they needed some good weed. I was getting anxious about the rain’s threat when Félix called me with his hand, indicating me to meet him at the bar. He took two *Imperiales* (a popular brand of Costa Rican beer) from the freezer and asked me to follow him to one of the tables outside the building, just next to the ocean. Specifically for the participant, as I was going to find out through the time spent with him during my fieldwork, and as shown in Picture 10 The Bar, this place is a central spatial referent in the configuration of his daily life dynamics and also for the performativity of his gendered subjectivity.

According to Félix, even though his girlfriend was travelling back and forth between her home country and Puerto, and the pregnancy was not planned, the pregnancy news did not represent a crisis for either of them. Instead, it felt like a “natural” occurrence that made him feel “manlier” and “prouder” of himself, because after all, it meant he was “man enough” to impregnate a woman and “strong enough” to create life. He described the whole pregnancy experience as nuanced by strong feelings of amazement, satisfaction, and love. Because this was the first child for both of them, and also thinking strategically about their daughter’s future, Félix and his girlfriend negotiated that their baby girl should be born in Norway. Even though he did not want to miss the birth of his first daughter, his understanding was that being born in Norway could represent for his child better opportunities in the future, for example, freedom of mobility with a European-Norwegian

passport, access to better education and safer environments than in Costa Rica, and her right to claim economical support from the Norwegian government. The decision was also made in order for his girlfriend to have her family's support. For these reasons, the mother traveled to her homeland before giving birth, and both newborn and mother came back to Costa Rica after a couple of months. Félix told me that he felt especially proud and astonished, but also nervous about his parenthood skills when he held his daughter for the first time at the arrivals section at the airport. Nevertheless, that day he felt ready to "offer my kid and my woman a good Caribbean life because [compared to Norway] Puerto is more beautiful, more relaxed, kids love the beach... and people are more friendly and less serious than Norwegians and greet you every day on the street." However, over time, the couple started to have problems and their relationship became complicated. According to Félix, even though they were very much in love and he tried to "behave well," after some time it was too difficult to fulfill her expectations about him and their new family dynamics. In his opinion, she was expecting him to be all the time with them and to behave as "a good and a calm boyfriend, and you know that is something impossible to ask to a Caribbean man," he said to me while laughing and drinking the last sips of his Imperial, pointing out two blond girls sitting a couple of tables beyond ours.

Eventually, he began to feel stressed about the situation and started to go out until late with his friends, getting drunk, and having sex with other women. These behaviours caused many discussions and fights between them, and after some time she got tired of his infidelities and his party lifestyle. Ultimately, they broke up and she left for Norway, taking their daughter with her. He tried a couple of times to fix things with her in an attempt to keep his family in Costa Rica, but to no avail. In this regard, it is necessary to take into

consideration Felix's girlfriend's demands of him to act as a committed family man contradicts Sahim's arguments about foreign women not demanding local men to have an active role in the children's-rearing. In this case, his Norwegian girlfriend demanded that Felix be actively engaged in co-parenting and perform a more conventional role of "a good boyfriend," which he considered did not suit his "Caribbean-ness" and therefore, his masculine subjectivity.

By telling me all these details before our conversation turned to his daughter and his experience as a father, Félix explained to me that he wanted to set some sort of context for the pictures related to his daughter: "Because I was a bad boyfriend, not a bad dad," he said to me. Pointing out towards the anchored boats, where we took the next photograph (Picture 11), Félix pressed upon me how, initially at least, the birth of his daughter changed his life. He said, "I quit drinking, stopped looking for girls. I was more responsible, more serious, more focused on my work. Also left my friends. It was just the three of us, her, me, and the girl."⁴⁷

Picture 11: The Boats



Félix prioritized Picture 11 as his first image amongst his photographs. For him, this image of the fishing boats is about fishing, one of the activities he liked and enjoyed the most. He explained me that fishing had several meanings for him: It was his main hobby, a family tradition and business, and one of the means he had to pick up tourist women. More importantly, along with his job as a bartender, fishing was his main source of income. For Félix, having a stable source of income meant being able to be an economic provider for his daughter, which was central to his understandings about what it means to be a father, specifically a “good father.” While explaining his reasons for selecting this picture, he told me, “Fishing is what I like; with that I make tours and give my daughter a little bit more of

money. Also has helped a lot to be in contact with her.”⁴⁸ This is because sending her an average of \$200 a month and calling daily is the way Felix found to show his daughter’s mother his interest in keeping in touch with them, “even though she does not need it because the government gives her like five thousand dollars per month,” he told me. In this regard, for the participant, providing economically represented a symbolic contribution that allows him to claim what he considers his right to have a voice in the decision-making concerning his daughter’s life and speaking daily on the phone with her. Closely related to the centrality of “being a provider” for his daughter, the goal of figuring out a plan to ensure her a comfortable and secure future became very important for him when she was born. Thus, he considered that finishing a house he was currently building in a residential area near one of the beaches was one of his main obligations as a father, because it would eventually represent some sort of economic stability and support for his daughter. In his words, “Maybe someday she will want to live here. Now I am building a house in the land I own, and I plan to leave it to my daughter. And just like my mom did to me when she gave me this land, my plan is to make her life easier.”⁴⁹

As it is possible to notice in Felix’s photographs and narratives, the idea of working to provide for his daughter, economically and with a better future, is central to his understandings of his role as a father. Hence for him, fatherhood has also represented a series of strategic economic negotiations related to the politics of transnational parenthood and the myriad of advantages (and also disadvantages) he considered when his child was living in Norway and not in Costa Rica. Falling in love and becoming a father also represented at some point a negotiation of his Caribbean masculinity. Particularly when with the aim of being a “good father and a good boyfriend,” he felt what he described as the

need to suppress and restrain his nature, that is, “a man who enjoys partying, drinking, having fun, meeting women, and enjoying the moment.” Therefore, I consider that Felix’s parenthood situation illustrated not only the myriad of co-parenting negotiations happening between local men and tourist women, but also the contradictions present in the prevailing narratives about local men as always absent from their fatherhood responsibilities. His case also exemplifies how for local men having a child with a foreign woman not always signifies “a means to secure economic ties” (Frohlick 2015: 67), but rather frequently they also mean attempts, although often thwarted, to build a traditional couple and family.

Conclusion

As I have argued throughout this thesis, representations about Caribbean-Black masculinities are highly influenced by colonial and racialized notions in which men are often portrayed as incapable of controlling their instincts (Lewis 2003; Nurse 2004). Felix’s narrative about Puerto Viejo’s local men’s impossibility to “behave well” sheds some light on how these discourses inform the performativity of local masculinities, at the same time that the discourses influence local understandings about fatherhood. These beliefs seem to be bound with traditional notions of hegemonic masculinity, in which local men are interested in “sowing seeds” (Frohlick 2015:67) to feel “manlier” and showing their sexual potency and capacity to impregnate women. At the same time, they seem to respond to traditional Latin American understandings of fatherhood, where men are mainly positioned as economic providers. However, Félix and Sahim, as well as the rest of the participants, identify themselves with contemporary understandings of fatherhood, in which being an engaged and present father is a central aspect of what it means to be a “real man”(Gutmann 2006). In Sahim’s photographs, this is exemplified by the notion of “being present” in his

children daily lives, for example by being aware of what is happening in his children's school.

In this chapter, I have also argued that according to my participant observations and also my experience as an inhabitant of the town, some contradictions arose between the participants' aspirations or discourses about their role as fathers, and what they did, especially in terms of consistently providing or being present around their children. These contradictions could show certain particularities when co-parenting with foreign women who have more capital, more mobility, and better access to different resources. However, Félix's case exemplifies the diversity of co-parenting negotiations happening between local men and tourist women where sometime local men's economic contributions can become an important symbolic form of showing interest in their children. His parenthood situation also challenges some of the beliefs regarding tourist women as only interested in getting pregnant from local men with the aim of bearing interracial-bicultural babies (Frohlick 2015). Ultimately what Félix considered his unsuccessful attempts to "behave well," were informed by more traditional politics and moralities of parenting, as well as his girlfriend's expectations.

Chapter 7 – Conclusions: Didn't You Want a Better Future Too?

Going through my data during the writing of this thesis has been a constant—sometimes overwhelming, sometimes exciting—process. I have looked many times at the participants' photographs and narratives, and there has not been a single time that these do not take me back to my fieldwork and make me remember in detail what was happening at that precise moment when we shot the photograph. As stated by Pink (2007), not only the participants but also researchers invest meanings in the images that are part of our ethnographic work.

In this conclusion section, I aim to present one more photograph, taken by Pablo, one of the youngest participants I worked with. I consider that the image, the participant's story that accompanies it, and also my narrative about it might help to illustrate the principal findings of my research. These findings are specifically related to the ways in which local young men living in Puerto Viejo imagine, perform, and negotiate masculinities and fatherhood, in particular through the diverse intimate encounters they establish with tourist women. I will conclude by making reference to the potentialities and challenges I found in using photovoice as part of the broader youth-centered methodology, proposed by Dr. Susan Frohlick in the larger project of which my research is part.

I expect these findings to engage with broader debates taking place in the anthropological discipline regarding the representations and performances of youth in contemporary societies. Following one of the main aims of the anthropology of youth, in this research my aim has been to avoid positioning Puerto Viejo's local young men as “victims or perpetrators” (Bucholtz 2002) and, instead, to provide an account of how Afro-Costa Rican youth shape and negotiate their social realities in the context of global tourism. In doing so, and by using a participatory methodology, this thesis present interesting

insights to think about the agency of youth, and the ways in which global processes, such as tourism, are shaping and contributing to modify the meanings of “youth” in specific local contexts. It also contributes to scholarly discussions on the potential implications that getting involved in different sorts of transnational exchanges have for young people’s gendered subjectivities. In this sense, I have argued through this thesis that local men’s opportunities to participate in these intimate encounters, as well as their resistance to be positioned as merely “passive actors in the game,” is not only changing what it means to be a local young man in Puerto Viejo, but it is also commodifying “youth” in new and fluid ways.

Pablo: Ask Me Again in Ten Years

Picture 12: La Soda



Picture 12 was the last picture Pablo decided to take while shooting with him, and the third one he selected in his order of priority. Before taking it he told me, “one more picture and we’re done.” The image shows him sitting in his mother’s latest entrepreneurship, a *soda* down the main street.⁵⁰ We arrived there (where sometimes he works to help his mom) after spending the morning together, first at the beach and then in his neighbourhood, walking around and taking pictures of some restaurants and hotels that were significant for him. His “localness” became very obvious to me during our time together because of the ways in which he moved around the place—trespassing across people’s patios—and taking me to his “secret spots” in the beach. In looking at this photograph now, I ever so clearly remember that while taking this picture I was tired, sweaty, and thirsty, partly because of that day’s humid weather. Humidity in the Caribbean of Costa Rica can become a real challenge for someone walking around at 11am! But I was also tired because, as I mentioned at the beginning of this thesis, at the end of the last fieldwork days of April 2016 I was feeling “burnout” and anxious related to the daily life dynamics that I established during the four months I spent in Puerto doing fieldwork.

Many months after I shot this photograph, and while I try to finish my thesis at the end of winter in Winnipeg, Canada, far away from that humidity, it is impossible for me not to re-interpret and re-invest other meanings and memories in what I see in picture 12. In this sense, I agree with Pink’s (2007) main arguments about the capacity of the photographic materials to produce and reproduce a multiplicity of meanings and narratives, for both the participant and also the researcher. And as I will argue in further paragraphs, this multiplicity of meanings that are created through a photograph and the participants’

narratives is one of the main analytical potentialities I found in using photovoice as one of the main methods of my ethnographic research.

Pablo and I first met one week before this photo was taken, when he was asking for a lift in the middle of the night and we ended up sharing a ride in the back of my friend's quad. During the short time that our trip lasted, I got the impression that similar to many local young men, he presented himself as a very communicative, self-confident, "*Pura Vida*"- relaxed young local man. It was also clear to me that he was used to talking to new people all the time, and that he knew what "outsiders" like me want to hear about the Caribbean regarding party, surf, entertainment, and nature. It was because of his sparkling personality that, a few minutes after we dropped him off at a supermarket near to where I was staying, I decided to go back and talk to him about my research. I asked him if he was interested in participating, to which he rapidly agreed and asked me to look for him in another small beach town located approximately five kilometers south of Puerto, where he has lived since he was born. It was some days later that we got together on a typical- humid and cloudy-April morning in the Caribbean, and that the photo was taken.

The participant had the idea of taking Picture 12 while he was showing me around his neighbourhood, specifically some of the restaurants where he worked in the past as a kitchen assistant. He thought that photographing the *soda* was also a great opportunity for me to meet his mother, because, as I mentioned in Chapter 6, Pablo profoundly admires her for her courage in raising her children as a single mother. When we arrived there, she was in her house, located next to the *soda*. While waiting for her to come out, Pablo offered me a mango *batido* (juice) which gave me a much needed energy boost, and for the moment she came to greet us I was feeling energized and refreshed. He asked me to take some

pictures of him with his mother, which I did, and a couple of minutes later she politely excused herself and went back to her house. I sat exactly next to where he is in this picture, and we started talking about and prioritizing the other photographs we had taken. In his words, this picture of him sitting in his mom's *soda* represents,

A new beginning I am trying to have with my family, especially with my mother, after a period in which I haven't behaved well and I have made some stupid mistakes... because you know how things works here. For some time I was very rebel and *vago*, (idle) didn't care about anything or anyone because I was spending time with people that are only interested in partying, and going to Puerto and be part of the craziness that is going on there every day and every night... I left my mom's house, moved out with a friend and dropped school. But after a while things started to get rough... It was December, high season and I had to move out from that house. And there I was, with no money, no place to live, and one year of my life lost... So I talked to my mom, came back to her place- because that's what a man does, he knows when to apologize- got in school again, because you know what? I considered myself a very social and intelligent person capable of building a better future ... I grew up around people from around the world and since I was a kid I liked to talk to tourists because I feel that they help me open my mind to different realities... And yes, I know I have the opportunity of meeting a foreigner woman and maybe, as my brothers, leave the country with her. And yes that's a method that a lot of *maes* use here and I might, but for the moment there are more important things to me. For the moment, I'm trying to find better ways. Ask me again in ten years.⁵¹

I found Pablo's narrative about the photograph remarkably powerful. His words illustrate how in the South Caribbean of Costa Rica, global tourism profoundly influences not only the local youth daily life dynamics but also the ways in which they imagine their futures and contest the systemic social and economic inequalities that they continue to face. In this sense, for the participants I worked with, tourism represents not only the possibility to meet foreign women and access capitals that historically have been out of reach for them, but also their opportunity to integrate into the formal and informal economies of the

region's predominant activity, global tourism. Like Pablo, the rest of the participants agreed that most of the time, everyday dynamics like renting a house, making money, and having fun (including their chances of meeting foreign women) are affected by the "high and low tourist seasons." The participants' livelihoods rely directly or indirectly on the tourism activity, either because they own small businesses, like Edwin or Félix, or because they are, or have been employees of commercial establishments. As expressed by Pablo, those who grew up in Puerto Viejo have normalized, since their early years, the centrality of the tourist activity in the town's dynamics. In the case of those who migrated from Limón city in their teenage years, Puerto Viejo and the tourism activity have represented an alternative, or an "exit," to what they consider an even harder reality, characterized, by a deeper lack of job and education opportunities. In Edwin's words, "in comparison to the hell that life can be in Limón, life in Puerto Viejo is a paradise." In both cases, the participants' photographs and their narratives, show how global tourism has become the central context in which Puerto Viejo's local young men understand, perform, and negotiate their masculine subjectivities.

I have argued that the participants' performances of masculinity are informed by the ways in which Costa Rican-Caribbean men have been, historically, and in contemporary times, racialized, commoditized and exoticized in global tourism markets. Even though Costa Rican-Caribbean identities can be understood as a "hybrid category" (Frohlick 2013b), since Puerto Viejo's early settlement, "blackness" has played a central role in the configuration of those identities, as well as in the town's social, cultural, and economic organization. In the last decades, "blackness" has also become a central category to understand Puerto Viejo's particular touristic development, which has been strongly influenced by the imaginaries created transnationally about "the Caribbean" and its

populations (Anderson 2004). Those imaginaries, based on colonial representations of black people as “exotic,” “as bodies rather than minds” (Nurse 2004), also shape the perception that foreigners have about what to expect of their vacations in “the Caribbean” (Anderson 2004). Therefore, these imaginaries also dictate the experiences that local inhabitants are supposed to provide in these transnational exchanges.

In this regard, the local young men I worked with shared the idea about how Caribbean men are exoticized and misrepresented through a series of discourses that have been created around them, where their “natural physical attributes” or their looks (for example, their dreadlocks) are highlighted, and highly commodified by other local men and also tourists. Even though some of them disagree with some of these characterizations (for example, Edwin who cut his dreadlocks), sometimes they also draw upon on them for their benefit. They made use of these stereotypical representations to inform their “Caribbean-ness” and to understand and explain their gendered subjectivities. Commonly during my fieldwork, I heard phrases like: “You cannot ask a Caribbean man to be faithful;” “What can I do, I am a Caribbean man, and I can’t help it;” “It’s in my blood, I’m a Caribbean man.” In this sense, as stated throughout this thesis, local youth understandings about masculinities are strongly related to some traditional representations of Caribbean- black masculinity, like “physical strength,” and “sexual potency.” They are also closely linked to ideals of hegemonic masculinity, like “toughness,” “competitiveness,” and “men as economic providers.” Frequently, they also contradict these ideals, particularly because of the asymmetrical access to diverse capitals that local men have compared to the Euro-American women with whom they have established short- or long-term relationships (Maksymowicz 2010; Frohlick 2013b, 2013c). Thus, I consider that the images shot by

these seven young local men show the complex ways in which notions of gender and race are interconnected and economic and non-economic negotiations are happening in these intimate encounters going on in Puerto. As stated by Frohlick (2013b: 136), these exchanges are “shaped by power dynamics of gender, race, sexuality, and economics” and expose, for both parties involved, complex social constructions of gender subjectivities, sex, sexuality, and desire.

Although, as mentioned above, sometimes men draw upon stereotypical representations of black and Caribbean sexuality to justify the economic support they receive from their foreign partners, they also saw themselves as having contributed to these relationships, “doing their part.” Sometimes these contributions can be situated in the economic realm, for example by letting their short or long-term lovers or girlfriends stay for free in their houses, sharing a piece of land with them to build a house, teaching them Spanish, or taking them on free tours. In some other occasions, the participants’ contributions entailed the negotiation of their understandings about hegemonic masculinity, for example, by assuming the role of taking care of the household or asking their girlfriends for “permission to go out,” performing the role of the “good boyfriend,” or “satisfying their girlfriends in bed.” In this sense, the participants’ continuous negotiations of their gender identities animated a diversity of meanings the men held about their masculine subjectivities, and also about their politics and moralities of parenthood. In summary, I found that the intimate encounters and gender negotiations taking place in Puerto Viejo between local young men and tourist women allow us to have a better understanding of the dynamic nature of masculinity and fatherhood as analytical and social categories. This is because they exemplify how individuals, in this case Caribbean-Costa Rican men, can

occupy different subject positions (Lupton 1998; Cornwall and Lindisfarne 2003; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005) within these intersections of intimacy and economics.

One More Picture and We're Done

I would not want to finish this thesis without making reference one more time, to the centrality that visual methodology had in my study. I consider that proposing the use of photographs as one of my main research methods allows me to acknowledge several factors: the participants' age range ("youth"), the place's visual culture, and its photographic conventions, which ultimately made photovoice a viable methodology. Also, the potentiality of images to work as "vessels" in which specific local cultures and social settings become visible (Pink 2007) make photography a helpful "tool" to challenge stereotypes and provide space for the participants' own narratives and experiences to be seen and heard.

However, through my fieldwork and during the writing stage of this thesis, sometimes I experienced a gap between the theory and the practical aspects of photovoice, a specific and highly defined methodology. I interpreted this gap as a common challenge posed for ethnographers during the research process because, in practice, we face dynamic realities in our fieldsites, which defy the theoretical and methodological frameworks in which we frame our research. In the case of this study, I found myself trying too hard sometimes to fit my methodology with some of the photovoice's main principles. I reflected on my anxieties related to these issues during my research process, and I realized the need to adapt the photovoice methodology to my individual research project. This adaptation implied that even though my methodology is based on some of the method's main principles (that is, community-generated photography, elicited narratives and

participant's voice), in practice, I utilized my “own” version of the method. For example, commonly, in photovoice projects, the participants take the pictures and then “bring them” to the researcher. However, in my case, I was part of the process of shooting the photographs, which as mentioned though this thesis, enhanced the quality of the information I was able to access.

Perhaps these adaptations I made do not fit entirely with what is defined by the scholarship consulted for this research as photovoice. In this sense, I acknowledge the implications of not having the participants directly involved in the data analysis. In this case, their involvement in analysis was not possible because of the time limitations (mine but also theirs) of four months of fieldwork. I also show awareness of the limitations regarding the scope that this research can have on wider audiences or policy makers (Gabrium and Harper 2013), one of photovoice’s main aims. However, instead of thinking about this as some “failure,” I consider it an opportunity for further reflection on the potentialities and limitations of using photovoice in combination with other visual methods stressed by the sub-discipline of visual anthropology. It has also been an opportunity for me to critically reflect on what sometimes I have perceived as some romanticization implicit to photovoice regarding the participants’ engagement in the entire research process. Do they really want (and have the time and desire) to participate? Or, are we as researchers pushing too hard sometimes, despite people’s reluctance or impossibility to spend more time with us, just because we feel our research process needs to follow a particular formula? In my case, I chose to understand and acknowledge my limitations and work with them. Perhaps an important issue that I still need to address is related to how I will share this thesis with the participants and the community. To address this situation, I am planning

to contact the seven men on my next visit to Puerto Viejo and ask for their advice. My aim is that together we can figure out a way of sharing this work in the community without compromising the participant's private lives. This because as I detailed in Chapter 3, another challenge I found by using photographs was the practical and ethical implications of disclosing the participant's identities through the images. In this regard, although I received their consent and explained the implications of participating in this study, I could not anticipate the short and long-term repercussions that these disclosures can have in the community or in the participants' private lives. In this sense, in the writing process of this thesis I found myself in a dilemma upon asserting the participants' agency through their decision of disclosing their identities, or providing some sort of anonymity around topics that might trigger conflict. Eventually, I managed to navigate through these challenges and even though this is a small study, it provides valuable methodological reflections to contribute to future research on the agency of youth, and specially Afro- Caribbean youth.

Going back to Pablo's story I remember how much his attitude towards the possibility, as his brothers did, of establishing a relationship with a tourist woman caught my attention. His story indicates some of the tensions also expressed by other participants regarding the conventional dream of meeting foreign women, as a "life project." The way he talked about it, similar to what other men told me too, gave me the impression that he visualizes in seeking these "opportunities" the cost of losing his identity, and succumbing to the global market. Ultimately he wants to try to forge, through education, for example, alternative life projects that do not rely on a foreign woman. However, at the same time, he does not dismiss this option or judge it either. For him, getting involved in a relationship with a foreign woman is a likely reality in Puerto Viejo's touristic context.

Towards the end of our time together that humid morning when Picture 12 was taken, Pablo walked me to the supermarket where I parked my bike. On our way there he asked me, “So, you used to live here?” “Yes, I used to,” I answered. Trying to make more conversation, I told him how hard and cold are winters in Winnipeg, Canada, and how much I missed the sea and my “Caribbean life” the first six months I was away from Puerto. He told me the story of one of his childhood friends, who now lives in Ontario with his Canadian girlfriend. He gave me a sparkling look and said, “See, don’t you also want a better future too?” I smiled. What was he trying to tell me? Maybe this small part of my life story is not as different from theirs, as I used to think.

References

- Amit Vered and Dyck Noel, eds.
2012 Introduction. *In Young Men in Uncertain Times*. Pp. 1-34. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Amit –Talai and Wulff, Helena, eds.
1995 Introduction. *In Youth Cultures. A Cross Cultural Perspective*. Pp.1-18. London: Routledge.
- Anderson, Moji
2004 Arguing Over the “Caribbean”: Tourism on Costa Rica’s Coast. *Caribbean Quarterly* 51(2): 1-18.
- Banks, Marcus and Ruby, Jay
2011 *Made to Be Seen: Perspectives on the History of Visual Anthropology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Boris, Eileen and Parreñas, Rachel, eds.
2010 *Intimate Labors. Cultures, Technologies and the Politics of Care*. California: Stanford University Press.
- Bucholtz, Mary
2002 Youth and Cultural Practice. *Annual Review of Anthropology*. 31:525-552.

2003 Introduction. *In Changing Men and Masculinities in Latin America*. Matthew Gutmann, ed. Pp: 1-26. Duke University Press.
- Butler, Judith
1988 Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory. *Theater Journal*. 40(4):519-531.

1990 *Gender Trouble. Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York and London: Routledge.

1993 *Bodies That Matter. On the Discursive Limits of Sex*. New York and London: Routledge.

1996 *Gender as Performance. In A Critical Sense. Interviews with Intellectuals*. Peter Osborne, ed. Pp: 108-125. London and New York: Routledge.
- Cabezas, Amalia
2011 Intimate Encounters: Affective Economies in Cuba and the Dominican Republic. *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 91: 3-14.

- Caamaño, Carmen
 2007 El Colonialismo y los Skates, Bikers, y Raggas en Limón [Colonialism and The Skates, Bikers and Raggas in Limón]. *Revista de Ciencias Sociales*. 117-118: 27-42.
- Cameron, Deborah and Kulick, Don
 2006 General Introduction. *In* *The Language and Sexuality Reader*. Deborah Cameron and Don Kulick, eds. Pp: 1-12. London and New York: Routledge.
- Carrigan, Tim, Connell, Bob, and Lee, John
 1985 Toward a New Sociology of Masculinity. *Theory and society* 14(5): 551-604.
- Christian, Michelle
 2013 Latin America without the Downside': Racial Exceptionalism and Global Tourism in Costa Rica. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36 (10):1599-1618.
- Clifford, James and Marcus, George, eds.
 1986 *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. California: University of California Press.
- Connell, Robert W.
 1995 *Masculinities*. United Kingdom: Cambridge Polity Press.
 1998 *Masculinities and Globalization*. *Men and masculinities* 1(1): 3-23.
- Connell, Raewyn W. and Messerschmidt, James W.
 2005 Hegemonic Masculinity Rethinking the Concept. *Gender & Society* 19(6): 829-859.
- Connell, Raewyn W.
 2012 *Masculinity Research and Global Change*. *MSC-Masculinities & Social Change* 1(1): 4-18.
- Cornwall, Andrea and Lindisfarne, Nancy, eds.
 1994 *Dislocating Masculinity: Comparative Ethnographies*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis.
- Comaroff, John and Comaroff, Jean
 2009 *Ethnicity, Inc*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Constable, Nicole
 2009 The Commodification of Intimacy: Marriage, Sex, and Reproductive Labor. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 38: 49-64.

- Delgado, Melvin
2015 *Urban Youth and Photovoice: Visual Ethnography in Action*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- De Albuquerque, Klaus
1998 Sex, Beach Boys, and Female Tourists in the Caribbean. *Sexuality and Culture* 2(1): 87-112.
- De Walt, Kathleen M. and De Walt Billie R
2011 *Participant Observation. A Guide for Fieldworkers*. United Kingdom: Alta Mira Press.
- Eglinton, Kristen Ali
2013 *Youth Identities, Localities, and Visual Material Culture : Making Selves, Making Worlds*. London: Springer.
- Elias, Juanita and Beasley, Christine
2009 Hegemonic Masculinity and Globalization: 'Transnational Business Masculinities' and Beyond. *Globalizations* 6(2): 281-296.
- Elliston, Deborah
2004 A Passion for the Nation: Masculinity, Modernity, and Nationalist Struggle. *American Ethnologist* 31(4): 606-630.
- Estrategias y Negocios
2016 Costa Rica Recibió 2,6 Millones de Turistas y Bate Record de Visita [Costa Rica Received 2,6 Millions of Tourists and Brakes the Visits Record]. *Estrategias y Negocios*. Accessed January 20, 2017.
- Flores, Guillermo
2004 *El Caribe Sur Costarricense: Disparidades de la Planificación Turística, un Análisis Crítico para Generar Lineamientos de Zonificación* [The Costa Rican Southern Caribbean: Disparities of Tourism Planning, a Critical Analysis to Generate Zoning Guidelines]. M.A dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Costa Rica.
- Frohlick, Susan
2007 Fluid Exchanges: The Negotiation of Intimacy between Tourist Women and Local Men in a Transnational Town in Caribbean Costa Rica. *City and Society* 19(1):139-168.
2013a Afro-Costa Rican Young People and Global Tourism: Modifying Youth and Imagining Life Projects through Intimate Exchange Relations with Tourists. Research proposal for SSHRC.
2013b Intimate Tourism Markets: Money, Gender, and the Complexity of Erotic Exchange in a Costa Rican Caribbean Town. *Anthropological Quarterly* 86 (1): 133-162.

2013c Women, Sexuality, Tourism: Cross Border Desires through Contemporary Travel. London: Routledge.

2015 "Souvenir Babies" and Abandoned Homes: Tracking the Reproductive Forces of Tourism. *Anthropologica* 57(1): 63-76.

Fuller, Norma

2012 Rethinking the Latin-American Male-Chauvinism. *Masculinities & Social Change* 1(2): 114-133.

Gabrium, Aline and Harper, Krista

2013 Participatory Visual and Digital Methods. *Developing Qualitative Inquiry* California: Left Coast Press.

Geertz, Clifford

1988 Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author. California: Stanford University Press.

Gutmann, Matthew C.

1997 Trafficking in Men: The Anthropology of Masculinity. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26: 385-409.

2003 Introduction. *In Changing Men and Masculinities in Latin America*. Matthew Gutmann, ed. Pp: 1-26. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

2006 The Meanings of Macho: Being a Man in Mexico City (Vol. 3): University of California Press.

Honey, Martha

2003 Giving a Grade to Costa Rica's Green Tourism. *NACLA Report on the Americas* 36(6):39-47.

Jennaway, Megan

2008 Cowboys, Cowoks, Beachboys and Bombs: Matching Identity to Changing Socioeconomic Realities in Post-2005 North Bali. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 9(1): 47-65.

Kempadoo, Kamala

2004 Sexing the Caribbean. Gender, Race, and Sexual Labor. New York: Routledge.

Koutonin, Mawuna

2015 Why are White People Expats When the Rest of Us are Immigrants? *The Guardian*, 13. Accessed February 16, 2017.

- Kulick, Don
2003 No. Language and Communication 23:139-151.
- Lancaster, Roger N.
2002 Subject Honor and Object Shame: The Construction of Homosexuality and Stigma in Nicaragua. *In* The Masculinity Studies Reader. Rachel Adams and Michael Savran, eds. Pp. 41-68. Oxford: Blackwell publishers.
- Lewis, Linden, ed.
2003 Introduction. *In* Caribbean Masculinity. The Culture of Gender and Sexuality in the Caribbean. Pp. 1-25. Florida: University Press of Florida.

2003b Caribbean Masculinity: Unpacking the Narrative. *In* Caribbean Masculinity. The Culture of Gender and Sexuality in the Caribbean. Pp. 94-125. Florida: University Press of Florida.
- Lorway, Robert
2015 Namibia's Rainbow Project. Gay Right's in an African Nation. Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Lupton, Deborah
1995 Introduction. *In* the Imperative of Health: Public Health and the Regulated Body. Pp. 1-15. London: Sage.

1998 The Emotional Self. London: Sage.
- Lupton, Deborah and Barclay, Lesley
1997 Constructing Fatherhood. Discourses and Experiences. London: Sage.
- Madden, Raymond
2010 Being Ethnographic. A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Ethnography. London: Sage.
- Maksymowicz, Kristofer
2010 Masculinities and Intimacies: Performance and Negotiation in a Transnational Tourist Town in Caribbean Costa Rica. M.A dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Manitoba.
- Malam, Linda
2004 Performing Masculinity on the Thai Beach Scene. *Tourism Geographies* 6(4): 455-471.

2008 Bodies, Beaches and Bars: Negotiating Heterosexual Masculinity in Southern Thailand's Tourism Industry. *Gender, Place & Culture* 15(6): 581-594.

- Meléndez, Carlos y Quince, Duncan
1974 *El Negro en Costa Rica* [The Negro in Costa Rica]. Costa Rica: Editorial Costa Rica.
- Menjívar, Mauricio
2010 *La Masculinidad a Debate* [Debating Masculinity]. *Cuaderno de Ciencias Sociales* 154: 7-102.
- MIDEPLAN
2013 *Costa Rica: Índice de Desarrollo Social* [Costa Rica: Social Development Index]. Accessed December 3, 2015.
- Ministerio de Cultura y Juventud, Gobierno de Costa Rica [Ministry of Culture and Youth, Government of Costa Rica]
2003 *Política Pública de la Persona Joven en Costa Rica* [Youth Public Policy in Costa Rica]. Accessed December 3, 2015.
- Mitchell, Claudia
2011 *Doing Visual Research*. London: SAGE.
- Mohammed, Patricia
2004 *Unmasking Masculinity and Deconstructing Patriarchy: Problems and Possibilities within Feminist Epistemology*. In *Interrogating Caribbean Masculinities: Theoretical and Empirical Analyses*. Rhoda Reddock, ed. Pp. 38-67. Kingston: University of West Indies Press.
- Molina, Eugenia
2007 *El Encuentro entre las Lógicas Globales y Locales: Empleo Bananero y Turístico en Cahuita y Puerto Viejo* [The meeting Among Local and Global Logics: Banana Employment and Tourism in Cahuita and Puerto Viejo]. *Revista de Ciencias Sociales* 117-118: 13-26.
- Morell, Robert
1998 *Of Boys and Men: Masculinity and Gender in Southern African Studies*. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 24(4): 605-630.
- Morris, Rosalind
1995 *All Made Up: Performance Theory and the New Anthropology of Sex and Gender*. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24:567-592.

Nurse, Keith

2004 Masculinities in Transition: Gender and the Global Problematique. *In* Interrogating Caribbean Masculinities: Theoretical and Empirical Analyses. Rhoda Reddock, ed. Pp.3-38. Kingston: University of West Indies Press.

Nyanzi, Stella, Rosenberg-Jallow, Ousban, Bah, Ousman, and Nyanzi, Susan

2005 Bumsters, Big Black Organs and Old White Gold: Embodied Racial Myths in Sexual Relationships of Gambian Beach Boys. *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 7(6): 557-569.

Padilla, Mark, Hirsch, Jennifer, Muñoz-Laboy, Miguel, Sember, Robert, and Parker, Richard, eds.

2007 Love and Globalization. Transformation of Intimacy in the Contemporary World. Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press.

Palmer, Paula

1994 Wappin Man. La Historia de la Costa Talamanca de Costa Rica, según sus Protagonistas [What Happen. A Folk-History of Costa Rica's Talamanca Coast]. Costa Rica: Ed. de la Universidad de Costa Rica.

Pink, Sarah

2004 Introduction. Situating Visual Research. *In* Working Images: Visual Research and Representation in Ethnography. Sarah Pink, László Kürti, and Ana Isabel Alfonso, eds. Pp. 1-9. London and New York: Routledge.

2006 The Future of Visual Anthropology: Engaging the Senses. London and New York: Routledge

2007 Doing Visual Ethnography. London: SAGE.

Piscitelli, Adriana

2001 Of "Gringos" and "Natives": Gender and Sexuality Discussed in the Context of International Sex Tourism in Fortaleza, Brazil. Document prepared for delivery at the 2001 meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, Washington DC.

Poole, Deborah

2005 An Excess of Description: Ethnography, Race, and Visual Technologies. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34:159-179.

Pruitt, Deborah and La Font Suzanne

1995 For Love and Money: Romance Tourism in Jamaica. *Annals of Tourism Research* 22(2): 422-440.

- Reddock, Rhoda, ed.
2004 Introduction. *In Interrogating Caribbean Masculinities: Theoretical and Empirical Analyses*. Pp. 1-38. Kingston: University of West Indies Press.
- Senior, Diana
2007 La Incorporación Social en Costa Rica de la Población Afro Costarricense Durante el SXX: 1927-1963 [The Social Inclusion in Costa Rica of the Afro-Costa Rican Population During the SXX: 1927-1963]. M.A dissertation, Department of History, University of Costa Rica.
- Sharman, Russell L.
2001 The Caribbean Carretera: Race, Space and Social Liminality in Costa Rica. *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 20(1): 46-62.
- Sheller, Mimi
2003 *Consuming the Caribbean: From Arawaks to Zombies*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Sternberg, Peter
2000 Challenging Machismo: Promoting Sexual and Reproductive Health with Nicaraguan Men. *Gender & Development* 8(1): 89-99.
- Thompson, Dave
2002 *Reggae and Caribbean Music*. California: Backbeat Books.
- Thomson, Pat
2008 Children and Young People. Voices in Visual Research. *In Doing Visual Research with Children and Young People*. pp. 1-20. New York: Routledge.
- Urry, John and Larsen, Jonas
2011 *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*. Los Angeles and London: SAGE.
- Viveros Vigoya, Mara
2003 Contemporary Latin American Perspectives on Masculinity. *In Changing Men and Masculinities in Latin America*. Matthew Gutmann, ed. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Wade, Peter.
2009 *Race and Sex in Latin America*. London: Pluto Press.
- Wang, Caroline and Burris, Mary Ann
1997 Photovoice: Concept, Methodology, and Use for Participatory Needs Assessments. *Health Education & Behavior* 24(3):369-387.

Wang, Caroline

1999 Photovoice: A participatory Action Research Strategy Applied to Women's Health. *Journal of Women's Health* 8(2): 185-192.

Zelizer, Viviana

2009 *The Purchase of Intimacy*. Princeton: University of Princeton Press.

Internet Resources

Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos [National Institute of Statistics and Census]

Website: www.inec.go.cr accessed December 3, 2015.

Vigésimo Primero Programa Estado de la Nación [Costa Rica's Twenty-First Program of the Nation State]. Website: <http://www.estadonacion.or.cr/21/> accessed December 2, 2015.

The Rich Coast Project Website: www.therichcoastproject.org Accessed December 3, 2015.

Notes

¹ In this thesis I use the terms, Puerto Viejo, Puerto, and Walaba (or Wolaba) interchangeably, because these are the main three ways in which people refer to the town's name. Puerto Viejo means Old Harbour. Local people also called the place Wolaba o Walaba, which is the equivalent of Old Harbour in creole (or patua). Creole is an English- mixed slang, which is commonly used by Afro- Costa Ricans. It was developed and adapted by black populations during slavery and the colonial period because of the multiple relations these populations have with the British Empire (Senior 2007).

² I have changed the name of the places (bars, restaurants, coffee shops, and beaches) I mention throughout this thesis.

³ Roots reggae is a subgenre of reggae music, mainly developed in Jamaica in the 1970s. Roots reggae music became very popular because of its' strong spiritual message and its' call to social resistance against racial oppression (Thompson 2002).

⁴ Sahim is the name selected by the only participant who decided to choose a pseudonym. The rest of the participants of this research accepted to use their names and disclose their identities.

⁵ Dreams Forged Amongst Jungles.

⁶ Ticos for males or mixed gender groups or Ticas for females is a term commonly used for naming Costa Ricans.

⁷ Contrary to what "white" Costa Ricans used to think, Afro- Costa Ricans possessed high levels of literacy. They founded their own English schools, directed by their protestant churches (Senior 2007). Senior (2007) argued that this effort can be interpreted as the immigrant's cultural resistance to maintain their cultural heritage. But it was also a result of the lack of interest from the Costa Rican government, at that time, to invest in education in the province of Limón. Over time the state founded in the province the "Spanish schools" which were basically a "white imposition" to the Afro-Caribbean culture.

⁸ The Caribbean is Calling You, Live it Today.

⁹ Christian (2013) and Rivers- Moore (2007) argue that racial inequalities have also been reproduced and maintained through the Costa Rican Tourism Board (ICT) publicity campaigns to attract tourists into the country. In their analysis of "No Artificial Ingredients", one of the country's main publicity campaign launched in 1994, both scholars suggested that Costa Rican touristic advertisements were "construct[ed] on narratives and use[d] symbols and signs derived from the ideology of exceptionalism that position Costa Rica as a white country similar to the global North in values and social advancement" (Christian 2013:16). For years, Costa Rica has been advertised as the "Central American Switzerland", which gives us some hints about the reasons why the touristic development in Costa Rica has not been uniform in both coasts.

¹⁰ A clear example is one of the advertising slogans implemented in 2000 by the Costa Rican Tourism Board (ICT) named "*El Caribe Te Llama, Vívelo Hoy*". The aim of this slogan was to attract more Costa Rican and international tourists to the Caribbean coast of the country by highlighting the cultural richness of the region and its natural beauty.

<http://www.mideplan.go.cr/odt/Plan%20Nacional/Desarrollo%20Regional/Turismo/default.htm>.

¹¹ *Mae* is a very common slang use in Costa Rica, principally to make reference to any woman or man. Panamanian chilli is a very popular spice use in Caribbean cuisine.

¹² According to the Costa Rican Census of 2011, of the total of 3102 inhabitants living in the area of Puerto Viejo and neighbouring communities (from Hone Creek to Manzanillo), 993 persons were foreigners (National Institute of Statistics and Census, INEC 2011).

<http://www.inec.go.cr/>.

¹³ For a critical discussion about the differences between being a "foreigner" and being an "expat" see: Mawuna Remarque Koutonin, Why White People Expats When Are the Rest of Us Are Immigrants? *The Guardian*, March 13, 2015. <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2015/mar/13/white-people-expats-immigrants-migration>.

¹⁴ One of these eldest residents with whom I have had the opportunity to talk through the years, is Ms. Delfina Chang. She is the author of a written narrative named "*Historia Real de Puerto Viejo, Talamanca*" (The Real History of Puerto Viejo, Talamanca). In her text, she recounts how was the life in Puerto Viejo since 1958, when she emigrated from China to live with her husband in town. She also talks about the changes experienced by locals since the beginning of the touristic activity. I consider it important for my research to mention her brief handout because it might be the only written text produced by a local inhabitant of the area.

¹⁵ Pipa is coconut water. Patty is a traditional Jamaican pastry, which is also considered one of the most popular and traditional foods of the Caribbean region of Costa Rica.

¹⁶ Chili guaro is a popular Costa Rican spicy- shot, made with Guaró, a Costa Rican sugarcane-based liquor.

¹⁷ Originally owned by a member of a well-known local family, this restaurant and bar holds a special meaning in Puerto Viejo's history. It was one of the first establishments in town where local people used to get together to eat, drink, play domino, and dance. Because of its popularity, this location is also recalled by older generations as the place where, several decades ago, lots of the first encounters between local men and tourist women occurred. One morning, while taking a quick swim in a spot close to the bar, I have a conversation about "those" days with Edward, a local community leader and restaurant owner. "Do you know that this part of town used to be called Miami Beach," he asked me. According to him, the place was a very popular spot, which used to attract national tourists and then international travellers who were amazed by the owner's party vibes. That morning, his stories about it transported me to different times. Times when locals used to arrive and tied their horses to the palm trees, when it was possible to play music and dance thanks to a gasoline- electricity generator, and when tourist women were the subjects of local curiosity because of their "liberal behaviour."

¹⁸ "A mí me gusta sentir la adrenalina, el miedo, me gusta mucho. Sentir el poder de una ola es como quitarse el miedo de cualquier cosa... y no sé el surfing es para todos pero la verdad es muy de hombres, mucha adrenalina, mucha fuerza, entonces hay que tener los huevos para bajar olas muy enormes."

¹⁹ "Yo crecí en Limón en un barrio pobre y siempre tuve las ganas de venir a vivir a Puerto Viejo...quería vivir en un lugar frente al mar, poder despertarme, escuchar las olas, agarrar el boogie y tirarme al mar. En Limón es muy dura la vida, uno o tiene un trabajo de mierda o vende drogas y esas son sus opciones. Entonces en comparación aquí es fácil. Aquí la gente puede sobrevivir con cualquier cosa y no se necesita nada... Cuando yo me vine a vivir no tenía trabajo y día y sí tuve que hacer cosas. Conocí a muchos surfos, me enfiesté un montón, conocí un montón de mujeres turistas y también a un español con quien empecé este negocio, que nunca tendría pegue en Limón, pero aquí, me permite tener como la vida que soñé porque prácticamente yo voy y surfeo cuando quiero."

²⁰ "Yo estaba surfeando un montón entonces sí digamos que estaba en buena forma. Salía por las noches de fiesta, siempre conociendo muchas muchas chicas. Fue una vida loca como por dos o tres años hasta que decidí llevarlo un poco con calma; no salir tanto, no conocer tanta gente."

²¹ "Yo quería tener dreads y me lo dejé y me lo empecé a cuidar y lo tuve muy bonito la verdad. Todo el mundo me decía que tenía el pelo muy bonito, que mi pelo era muy bonito y que el mío era uno de los rastas más bonitos del pueblo. Pero todos esos halagos que la gente me decía me daban como ganas de querer cortármelo, todo el mundo alabándome ahí como ah me encanta tu pelo, me encanta tu pelo, como que me cansé. Las chicas también, ah me encanta tu pelo, ah me encanta tu pelo. Entonces empecé a pensar, ¿por qué no te gusta quien yo soy, o mi sonrisa, o mis ojos?"

²² "Este es el lugar donde he conocido más chicas en mi vida [las bicis]... y la verdad no lo sé tal vez cortarme el pelo me quitó pegué por qué si tiene influencia pero la verdad no me interesa, uno es uno y yo tengo lo mío."

²³ "Cuando usted va a un bar aquí eso es lo que ve siempre, la cartera, la botella, el batido y eso es una expresión de cómo le puedo decir, ahí hay un contacto nuevo... así se empiezan las amistades en este lugar."

²⁴ "Las Ticas se creen muy importantes... yo no tengo tiempo que perder con ellas."

²⁵ "Yo, ¿vivir con una mujer de acá? Nunca más!"

²⁶ "Es que las relaciones largas no son para nosotros, no van con el estilo de vida de Puerto."

²⁷ "A la extranjera le gusta estar detrás del caribeño, ella trata de que el caribeño esté bien, que tenga, en formas económicas, que tenga, que esté bien, si esa persona ocupa algo, y si esa persona tiene lo que él ocupa ella se lo va a dar."

²⁸ "Las extranjeras lo ayudan a uno porque tienen la posibilidad, sienten algo hacia uno y dicen ras vamos a ayudarlo con algo."

²⁹ "No bueno, por qué me voy a sentir mal si es una ayuda, si estoy pasándola mal, si necesito algo, y ella me puede ayudar y quiere hacerlo no me voy a sentir mal. Es más conozco mucha gente que tiene mucho interés en ayudar y su ayuda no quiere decir que sea una ayuda económica, puede ser una ayuda en otro sentido también, con que sea ayuda es ayuda es importante y hay que valorarlo todo. También todo cuenta."

³⁰ "¿Por qué me va dar vergüenza si la chica quiere pagar por mis varas? No es como que yo le estoy pidiendo. Yo tengo mi plata que me gana trabajando duro. Pero si yo veo que tiene plata me abuso ahí y yo dejo que ella pague, de por sí, está en holidays, yo nada más soy como un tipo de guía para ella, en esta que puede que sea la mejor experiencia sexual de su vida."

³¹ My concern about her reaction was based on my previous knowledge about the “local politics of friendship” between women and local men in town. Commonly, but not surprisingly, due to the ways in which Caribbean and black sexualities are stereotypically portrayed many people tend to make the assumption that the only connection possible between any woman (foreign or local) and a local man is through erotic desire or sexual relations. Some sort of sexual or flirtatious situation which can ultimately lead to sex is seen as the only outcome of relations between local men and women. These stereotypes, which are often misrepresentations, form the basis of everyday gossip in town, and also the cause of several discussions I have witnessed through the years between women, both local and foreigners. As Sahim told me one night: “*Mop*, you are lucky my girlfriend is not in town, because I would not be able to spend all this time with you, if she was here she would just get too jealous of you” With the aim of avoiding these kinds of conflict during my fieldwork, I tried to be sensitive to the issue by taking some precautions; I also wanted to be careful in order to be also accepted, to some degree, by the participant’s girlfriends and female friends.

³² Asbestos.

³³ “A cada rato me descontaban horas del pago porque ellos me mandaban temprano a la casa. Y está bien, lo dejé pasar un par de veces, pero un día me aguevé. Llovía un montón y llegué al chante frustrado. Y ella me pregunta que qué me pasa. Y yo estaba tan puteado, y ella me dice y ¿por qué no renuncia? Y yo pensé, diay sí que se vayan a la mierda, vienen a mi país y me quieren tratar como una mierda, ni que yo fuera un muerto de hambre mop.” This last expression, “*Ni que yo fuera un muerto de hambre mop*,” translates to: “Not that I am a starving man, *mop*” and it is generally considered highly offensive and demeaning.

³⁴ “Es una responsabilidad como hombre cada mes pagar la casa... pagar la luz, el agua, el cable... tener el patio limpio, entonces eso me hace ser hombre, ser responsable. Ahora que me quedé sin trabajo no es que me voy a quedar en la casa durmiendo... esperando que mi mujer venga y me de plata... siempre hay que moverse.”

³⁵ “A muchos maes de acá les cuadra que las mujeres les paguen las varas, pero a mí no. En ese sentido yo soy más como las extranjeras, más de mente abierta. Ella me invita algunas veces, después otras veces yo pago. Yo prefiero que las cosas sean así, más iguales, pero sí es así, solo ella a mí, me siento más pequeño.”

³⁶ “Esta es el área de mi casa que más me encanta... porque primero que nada descanso... porque es mi área privada, mi área donde yo veo el partido de fútbol y mi área donde yo tengo sexo con mi mujer, privado me entiende.”

³⁷ “Yo la verdad siempre estoy tratando de ser un buen novio, de tenerla a ella contenta, porque la verdad ella hace lo mismo por mí, pero honestamente a veces yo solo quiero ver la mejenga, relaxiar, fumarme un puro y olvidarme de las responsabilidades.”

³⁸ “Significa que usted sabe cómo hacerle el amor bien, ser pasional, hacerla tener orgasmos, y respetarla cuando ella no quiere tener sexo... sin salir a buscar a otra mujer.”

³⁹ “No importa si usted la tiene pequeña o grande. Ellas vienen buscando a los caribeños no solo por el tamaño, pero por el movimiento que tienen, ¿me entiende? Cuando las mujeres los ven bailando reggae piensan, uy ese mae tiene un movimiento que seguro en la cama debe de ser espectacular.”

⁴⁰ “Un día hablando y hablando y yo le dije: mi amor sabes que un día de estos yo voy a ir a Alemania usted va a ver, y ella se me queda viendo y me dice, tú quieres ir y yo le digo sí claro... seis meses después me llama y me dice amor ya tengo tu tiquete. Sales el 9 de septiembre a las 7 de la mañana. Después me mandó mis papeles, me mandó mi tiquete y todo y así no más me fui de Puerto.”

⁴¹ “Diay sí me intimidó la manera en que viven. Cuando me dijeron, vaya, maneje ese Mercedes... o las cantidades tan estúpidas de plata que gastan en hoteles y comidas. Eso es algo que obvio yo no puedo pagar, o sea pagar como 400 euros en una comida para seis personas. Obvio yo no puedo pagar eso.”

⁴² “Pero después de un par de semanas me dije a mí mismo: Mae disfrute, esta es una oportunidad única en la vida. Salga, sea buena nota, vacilón, cocíneles un buen rice and beans con pollo, y demuéstreles por qué ella se enamoró del negrito.”

⁴³ “Bueno mis deberes con mis hijos son ayudarlos en todo lo que yo pueda, económicamente o mentalmente o físicamente, como sea posible pero ayudarlos a ellos, esos son mis deberes. Inculcarles buenas costumbres, siempre estar ahí para ellos pase lo que pase y nunca dejarlos solos, nunca abandonar a mis hijos, esa es una de mis más grandes obligaciones, nunca abandonar a mis hijos, nunca en la vida... También involucrarme en sus vidas para que ellos sepan que tienen un papá al que le importan... aunque no los vea todos los días... Si sus hijos van a la escuela y vienen a la casa y usted no los pregunta por la tarea, o cómo les fue, qué que aprendió... y solo se van afuera a jugar... Y eso se convierte en una rutina, pasan los días y los meses y lo que puede pasar al final es que mi hijo puede terminar en la calle, vendiendo drogas. O en la cárcel. O lo pueden

terminar matando. Por eso es que es problemático aquí, porque los papás no se involucran en la vida de sus hijos... no los crían bien.”

⁴⁴ For more on tourism and transnational reproduction, and the phenomenon of Euro- American women having children with Afro- Costa Rican men, see Frohlick (2015).

⁴⁵ “Para algunos maes acá no es lo mismo tener hijos con extranjeras que con ticas. Usted sabe que la tica le va a pedir pensión, y le va a hacer la vida miserable, lo va a mandar al tabo si no le deposita todos los meses la plata para los chamacos. Pero la extranjera no le importa la plata, ella no lo va a perseguir porque ella no necesita su plata. Pero yo veo que muchos maes acá usan eso como una excusa para no ayudar a sus hijos y me pongo a pensar, qué clase de mae puede caminar con la cara en alto sabiendo que no le ha comprado a sus hijos, a su propia sangre, ni una caja de leche. Peor aún, muchos locales caminan por esta calle jugando de vivos, juegan de fresas en el bar invitado y comprando guaro mientras que sus hijos pasan hambres en las casas... Yo no temo pensión, no quiero y no la necesito, porque yo sé que esos son mis hijos y usted no me debiera estar persiguiendo para que yo me haga cargo de mi sangre.”

⁴⁶ Cacique is the most popular Costa Rican distilled spirit made of sugar cane. Pura Vida, a phrase that can be translated to “Pure Life” has lots of cultural meaning in the country. Is a very common Costa Rican slang that is used to express happiness, to thank people, to greet, or generally to describe a good moment or a “good life.”

⁴⁷ “Dejé de tomar, dejé de buscar chicas, fui como más responsable, más serio, más centrado en mi trabajo, con mis amigos los dejé botados. Sólo éramos los tres ella, yo y la niña”

⁴⁸ “La pesca es lo que más me gusta, con eso hago toures y así puedo darle un poco de plata a mi hija, para estar en contacto con ella me ha ayudado bastante.”

⁴⁹ “Tal vez algún día ella quiera vivir acá e igual como mi mamá me hizo a mí, cuando me regaló un terreno, me facilitó la vida. Ahora en ese terreno yo estoy haciendo una casa que pienso dejarle a mi hija.”

⁵⁰ A soda is a small restaurant. In Costa Rica, these types of establishments are very popular and common. For a long time, in the Caribbean they were considered a “cheap alternative” to eat in comparison to the rest of restaurants in the area. However, during the last years and due to the tourism activity, the food prices in sodas have also increased, with prices of more formal restaurants.

⁵¹ “Un nuevo comienzo que estoy tratando de tener con mi familia, especialmente con mi mamá, después de un tiempo en el que no me porté bien e hice un montón de estupideces... porque usted sabe cómo funcionan las cosas aquí. Por un tiempo yo era rebelde y vago, no me interesaba nada ni nadie porque me juntaba con gente que solo le interesaba la fiesta, ir a Puerto a la loquera día y noche. Entonces me fui de la casa de mi mamá y me mudé con un amigo y dejé el cole. Pero después de un tiempo las varas se empezaron a poner *rough*. En diciembre en la temporada alta me tuve que ir de esa casa. Y ahí me vi sin plata, sin chante, y con un año de mi vida perdido... entonces diay hablé con mi mamá, y volví a la casa de ella- porque eso es lo que un hombre hace, él sabe cuándo disculparse- volví al cole, porque sabe qué? Yo me considero una persona muy social e inteligente capaz de construir un futuro mejor... Yo crecí alrededor de gente de todo el mundo y desde que era chiquitillo me gustaba hablar con los turistas porque siento que me ayuda a abrir la mente a diferentes realidades... Y diay sí, yo sé que tal vez voy a tener la oportunidad de conocer a una extranjera y tal vez, como mis hermanos,irme del país con ella. Y diay si ese es como un método para muchos de los maes de aquí y tal vez para mí, pero por el momento yo estoy tratando de encontrar otras maneras mejores. Pregúnteme otra vez en diez años.”

Appendix A

INFORMED CONSENT FOR PHOTOVOICE PROJECT AND OPEN- ENDEND INTERVIEW

Title of the project: Men, Fatherhood, and Tourism: Exploring Masculinities in the South Caribbean of Costa Rica

Information about how to contact the researchers:

Dr. Susan Frohlick, Professor and Head Community, Culture & Global Studies, Irving K Barber School of Arts & Sciences, The University of British Columbia, Okanagan. Canada. Phone XXXXXX. Email: sue.frohlick@ubc.ca

Carolina Meneses Zamora, Master's Degree Student, Department of Anthropology, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg. Canada. Phone XXXXXX. Email: meneses3@myumanitoba.ca

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, feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

Purpose of the study

The primary purpose of this study is to examine, through the use of photographs, how masculinities and fatherhood are imagined, lived, and negotiated by young men living in the town of Puerto Viejo de Talamanca through the diverse intimate encounters they establish with tourist women. We want to have a better understanding of how, in the context of global tourism, such notions and meanings of masculinities and fatherhood emerge for young men through such intimate encounters. This project aims to involve local youth actively in these reflections about their lives. In doing so, we intend to use photographs to document youth's daily social practices and the meanings associated with their notions of masculinity and fatherhood in relation to such tourism intimacies. This method of research is known as photovoice and relies on images taken by participants to identify, represent, and enhance their communities and realities through the use of photography. The images are also complimented with open-ended interviews in which we will to discuss the pictures you took, as well as, some of your understandings and opinions regarding tourism, tourist women, fatherhood, and masculinity.

We are looking for male residents living in Puerto Viejo and its surrounding communities, from 18 to 35 years of age, who want to spend some time taking photographs with their cell phones and talking with us about their experiences. This project will be divided into two

individual sessions. In the first one, we will focus on explaining to you in more detail the project, the concept of photovoice, and the ethical guidelines you have to take into consideration when taking pictures. In this regard, in order not to compromise your own privacy it is best for you to take photos in which you are not identifiable. However, it is up to you. You can choose to submit a photo in which you are identifiable, that shows your face or any specific characteristic that may result in your recognition. In choosing to submit a photo where you are recognizable you need to be aware that these images cannot be retrieved once they are placed in a public arena like a website, an academic article, or a conference paper. Also, these images may be shown and shared in university classes, and on a website about the project which is planned to be created in the future. While you can make your own choice about photos of yourself, photos of any people (other than the participant) that are identifiable will not be accepted in this study. To prevent this from happening, in this initial meeting, we will discuss some ideas about angles and lighting to protect people's privacy. This information session will take between 30 and 45 minutes.

With your cell phone, we will ask you to shoot different settings, locations, objects or any other kind of images associated with what it means, in your opinion, to be a man and a father in Puerto Viejo in relation to your intimate encounters with tourist women. These photos should be related to your daily life. For example, you may take pictures of places where you work, where you meet tourist women, spend your free time, locations that are significant for you, activities you do with your kids, peers, and girlfriends, objects that are related to your "role" as a father, etc. If you agree, I (Carolina) will spend some time with you while you are taking the photographs so we can hang out and talk. This time together may also help to clarify some doubts if they arise.

After eight days, I will ask you to meet again to share and discuss your pictures and the meanings they have for you. One of the advantages of using cell phones is that you may take as many pictures as you want to. However, for this session, we will ask you to choose seven images you consider the most representative of your life as a young male in Puerto Viejo. This session should take approximately 1 hour, during which time I will be asking you questions about your motivations and understandings for taking the pictures in relation to masculinity, fatherhood and intimacies with tourist women. Only with your consent, for research purposes, our interview will be audio recorded. This information is confidential and will only be heard by Dr. Frohlick and myself. If you do not want to be recorded, then we will ask that notes be taken, which will also be confidential.

In the table below, please indicate if you agree or not to being recorded during the interview. Please note that if you accept to be recorded, we will also take notes. However, your personal information will remain confidential.

Yes, I accept my interview to be recorded_____
No, I do not accept my interview to be recorded, but I do accept the researcher to take notes of the interview_____

Benefits and risks of your participation

Your participation in this research allows you the opportunity to explore yourself and tell your story in a creative way. You can contribute to the creation of an active space for young people’s voices to be heard in Puerto Viejo, and to be better understood in a context in which youth are normally stereotyped, discriminated and delimited.

Practically, there minimal risks for you if you participate in the study. I have been trained to conduct research with sensitivity, respect, and without value judgments. However, even if you decide not to disclose your identity, there is always a small risk that someone might recognize you from your photographs or answers. To avoid this situation, your real name will never be mentioned, and any physical characteristic that may result in your recognition will not be disclosed in the findings. On the other hand, if you decide to submit a photo in which you identify yourself, there is a risk that a third party might use your image once your images are displayed in websites and journals. You must be aware of the impossibility of retrieving these images once they are placed in public arenas. Also given the small size of Puerto Viejo, self-identification may come with additional risks, including potential conflicts with residents that may be opposed to the project. If you choose not to identify yourself, however, your information will remain confidential and your identity will be protected as much as possible.

Please keep in mind the aforementioned risks while you are participating and answering our questions. Also remember that your participation in this study is completely voluntary. Should you feel uncomfortable at any time you have the right to withdraw from this study until May 16, 2016. Should you choose to withdraw all data you have provided will be destroyed.

Protecting your privacy

As mentioned above, throughout the research process, you will have the option of using your real name or choosing a pseudonym. If you do not want to disclose your identity, your confidentiality will be protected. With this aim, any particular feature that may be associated with you will be deleted from notes, results, records, and transcripts.

When taking photographs, we will discuss some tips for not jeopardizing the privacy of other people. The information shared during our talks will only be accessed by the two people mentioned at the beginning of this consent form. This material will also be protected safely (please feel free to ask us about how we protect electronic information and recordings).The information will be stored for five years (i.e. 2021) after which all data will be destroyed.

I choose as my false name_____
I prefer you to give me a false name_____
I want my real name to be used_____

Compensation

In compensation for the hours invested in the project an honorarium of the equivalent of \$30 CAD will be given to you.

The results

Your photographs and the interview will be used as part of the information for Carolina's master's thesis. It is also possible that some of it may be used for writing academic articles, conference papers, and also some may be shown and shared in university classes or other activities related to academia. As well, in the future it is planned to create a website about the project, where some of the photographs may be displayed. However, all the information disseminated to the public will be published with respect to the confidentiality oaths and ethics protocol.

If you change your mind once you start the photovoice exercise, the interview, or after the interview, you are free to withdraw some or all of your information by contacting me (Carolina) *before May 15, 2016*.

Yes, I would like to be notified about publications from this study: _____
Mode that I want to be used for notifications (phone, mail): _____
Yes, I would like to receive a summary of the study findings: _____
Preferred mode (mail, paper): _____
Preferred _____
Address: _____

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agreed 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.

The University of Manitoba may look at your research records to see that the research is being done in a safe and proper way. This research has been approved by the Joint Faculty Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project, you may contact the Human Ethics Coordinator at 204-474-7122 or by email to humanethics@umanitoba.ca. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Participant's signature _____ Researcher's signature _____
Date _____ Date _____

OR

VERBAL CONSENT

Do you consent to partake in this study? Yes/no?

Appendix B

**CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO PARA PROYECTO DE FOTOVOZ Y
ENTREVISTAS ABIERTAS**

Título del proyecto: Hombres, Paternidad y Turismo: Explorando Masculinidades en el Caribe Sur de Costa Rica

Información sobre cómo contactar a las investigadoras:

Dr. Susan Frohlick: Profesora y Head Community, Culture & Global Studies, Irving K Barber School of Arts & Sciences, Universidad de British Columbia, Okanagan. Canadá. Teléfono: XXXXX. Email: sue.frohlick@ubc.ca.

Carolina Meneses Zamora: Estudiante de Maestría, Departamento de Antropología, Universidad de Manitoba, Winnipeg. Canadá. Teléfono XXXXXX. Email: meneses3@myumanitoba.ca.

Este documento, del cual usted recibirá una copia de referencia, es una parte del proceso de consentimiento informado. Pretende brindarle una idea básica acerca de qué se trata esta investigación y de lo que involucra su participación. Siéntase libre de preguntar más detalles acerca de algo de lo que aquí se menciona o algún aspecto que no esté incluido en este consentimiento. Por favor tómese el tiempo de leer y entender este documento detenidamente.

Propósito del estudio:

El propósito principal de esta investigación es examinar, mediante el uso de fotografías, cómo los hombres jóvenes de Puerto Viejo de Talamanca imaginan, viven, y negocian, sus nociones sobre masculinidad y paternidad, a través de diversos encuentros con mujeres extranjeras. Nosotras deseamos tener un mejor entendimiento acerca de cómo, en el contexto turístico, estas nociones y significados emergen a partir de dichos encuentros. Porque deseamos involucrar de manera activa a la juventud local en estas reflexiones, pretendemos utilizar fotografías para documentar estos significados y prácticas sociales asociadas a masculinidad, paternidad y turismo. Este método de investigación es conocido como fotovoz y se basa en imágenes tomadas por los participantes para identificar, representar y mejorar sus realidades y comunidades a través del uso de fotografías. Estas imágenes son complementadas con entrevistas abiertas en las cuáles discutiremos las fotografías que usted tomó, así como sus entendimientos y opiniones acerca del turismo, las mujeres extranjeras, la paternidad y masculinidad.

Buscamos hombres entre 18 y 35 años, que vivan en Puerto Viejo y comunidades vecinas, que estén dispuestos a pasar algún tiempo tomando fotografías con sus teléfonos celulares y hablando con nosotras acerca de sus experiencias. Este proyecto consta de dos sesiones individuales. En la primera nos enfocaremos en explicar detalladamente el estudio, el

concepto de fotovoz, y las consideraciones éticas que hay que tomar en cuenta mientras se toman las fotografías. En este sentido para no comprometer su privacidad, es mejor si toma fotos en las que usted no se pueda identificar. Sin embargo es su decisión. Usted puede escoger tomar fotos suyas en las que se reconozca su cara o algún rasgo que conlleve a su identificación. Si es así, por favor recuerde que estas imágenes no podrán ser retiradas una vez que sean expuestas en ciertos espacios como un sitio de internet, un artículo académico o una conferencia. Además usted debe saber que estas imágenes posiblemente serán compartidas y mostradas en clases de la universidad y en un sitio de internet relacionado al proyecto que se planea crear en el futuro. De esta manera usted puede decidir si se quiere identificar o no, sin embargo tenga presente que fotografías en donde se identifiquen otras personas no serán aceptadas en este estudio. Para que esto no suceda discutiremos algunas ideas sobre la iluminación y los ángulos de las fotografías para proteger la privacidad de terceras personas. Esta sesión tomará entre 30 y 40 minutos.

Le pediremos que con su celular tome fotos de diferentes escenarios, locaciones, objetos o cualquier otra imagen que usted considere que se relaciona a lo que significa para usted ser un hombre y/o padre en Puerto Viejo, en relación con sus encuentros con mujeres turistas. Estas fotos deben de estar relacionadas a su vida cotidiana. Por ejemplo, usted puede tomar imágenes de los lugares en los que usted trabaja, en donde ha conocido o conoce mujeres extranjeras, donde pasa su tiempo libre, de locaciones que sean importantes para usted, de lugares en donde desarrolla actividades con sus hijos, sus amigos, sus novias, de objetos que se relacionan a la paternidad, etc. Si usted acepta, yo (Carolina) yo puedo pasar algún tiempo con usted mientras toma las fotos por si desea que le aclare alguna duda que surja.

Después de ocho días, le pediremos que nos reunamos otras vez para ver y discutir las fotografías y los significados que estas tienen para usted. Una de las ventajas de usar su celular es que usted puede tomar tantas fotos como lo desee. Sin embargo, para esta segunda sesión le pediremos que escoja siete imágenes que sean las más representativas. Esta sesión durará aproximadamente una hora, y yo le preguntaré acerca de los motivos y sus opiniones a la hora de tomar las fotografías en relación a masculinidad, paternidad e intimidad con mujeres turistas. Si usted así lo permite, y con propósitos de investigación, nuestra entrevista será grabada (en audio). Esta información es confidencial y sólo será escuchada por Susan y yo. Si usted no desea que lo grabemos, entonces se le pedirá autorización para tomar notas, las cuales también serán confidenciales.

<p>Sí, acepto que mi entrevista sea grabada _____</p> <p>No, no acepto que mi entrevista sea grabada, pero estoy de acuerdo en que Carolina tome notas de la entrevista _____</p>

Beneficios y riesgos de su participación

Su participación en este estudio le brindará la oportunidad de conocer un poco más sobre sí mismo y de contar su historia de una manera creativa. Usted puede contribuir activamente a

la creación de un espacio en el que las voces de los jóvenes de Puerto Viejo sean escuchadas y comprendidas de una mejor manera, dentro de un contexto en las que normalmente son estereotipadas, discriminadas y limitadas.

Prácticamente su participación en este estudio no conlleva ningún riesgo para usted. Yo he sido entrenada para conducir este estudio de manera sensible, respetuosa y sin ningún tipo de juicio de valor. Sin embargo si usted decide no revelar su identidad siempre existe un pequeño riesgo de que alguien lo reconozca por sus fotografías o respuestas. Para evitar que esto suceda, su nombre verdadero nunca será mencionado, y cualquier característica física que pueda resultar en su reconocimiento no será dada a conocer en los resultados. De la misma forma, si usted decide mostrar una fotografía en la cual se le puede identificar, existe el riesgo que otras personas utilicen su imagen una vez que estas sean puestas o utilizadas en sitios de internet o revistas. Debe de estar consciente de que es imposible quitar estas imágenes una vez que sean exhibidas en espacios públicos. Debido a que Puerto Viejo es un pueblo pequeño, si usted se identifica, puede ser que esto le genere algún tipo de conflicto con otros habitantes del lugar que se opongan a este proyecto. Sin embargo si usted decide no identificarse, su información será confidencial y su identidad será protegida tanto como nos sea posible.

Por favor mientras participa y responde a nuestras preguntas, tenga presente los riesgos que acá se han mencionado. También recuerde que su participación en este estudio es completamente voluntaria y si en cualquier momento usted se siente incómodo puede retirarse antes del 16 de mayo del 2016. Si usted así lo desea, toda la información que nos haya brindado será destruida.

Protegiendo su privacidad

Como fue mencionado anteriormente, durante todo el proceso de investigación usted tendrá la opción de usar su nombre verdadero o un seudónimo. Si usted no quiere revelar su identidad, su confidencialidad será protegida. Con este fin cualquier característica asociada con usted será eliminada de notas de campo, resultados, registros y transcripciones.

Para tomar las fotografías, discutiremos algunos consejos para no poner en riesgo la privacidad de otras personas. La información compartida en nuestras conversaciones sólo será accesada por las dos personas mencionadas al inicio de este documento. Este material será también protegido de manera segura (por favor si desea siéntase libre de preguntarnos acerca de cómo protegemos la información electrónica y las grabaciones). La información será guardada por cinco años (hasta el 2021) y después será destruida.

Escojo como mi nombre falso _____

Prefiero que ustedes me den un nombre falso _____

Quiero que mi nombre real sea utilizado _____

Compensación

En compensación por el tiempo invertido en el proyecto usted recibirá un honorario de 12.000 colones.

Los resultados

Sus fotografías y la entrevista, serán utilizadas como parte de la información de la tesis de maestría de Carolina. Es posible que alguna sea utilizada para escribir artículos académicos, presentaciones en conferencias, o que sea mostrada y compartida en clases de la universidad u otras actividades relacionadas a la academia. También se planea crear en el futuro un sitio web acerca del proyecto en donde puede ser que algunas de las fotografías vayan a ser expuestas. Sin embargo, toda la información mostrada al público será publicada respetando los requerimientos de confidencialidad y los protocolos de ética.

Si usted cambia de opinión una vez iniciado el ejercicio de fotovoz, la entrevista o después de esta, usted es libre de pedirme que retire su información del estudio. Por favor contacte a Carolina antes del 16 de mayo del 2016.

Sí, me gustaría que me notificaran acerca de las publicaciones de este estudio_____

Forma en que me gustaría que me notificaran (teléfono, correo electrónico)

Modo preferido (por correo electrónico, por papel)_____

Dirección_____

Su firma en este documento indica que usted ha entendido de manera satisfactoria la información respecto a su participación en este proyecto de investigación, y que ha accedido a ser un participante. De ninguna manera significa que usted renuncia a sus derechos legales ni que libera a las investigadoras, patrocinadores, o instituciones involucradas de sus responsabilidades legales y profesionales. Usted es libre de retirarse del estudio sin ninguna consecuencia o perjuicio, en cualquier momento o abstenerse de responder cualquier pregunta que usted prefiera no responder. Su participación debe de ser tan informada como su consentimiento inicial, para que así usted se sienta en libertad de pedir que se le clarifique o se le brinde nueva información durante su participación.

Puede ser que la Universidad de Manitoba revise en los registros de investigación para corroborar que el estudio está siendo conducido de manera segura y apropiada. Esta investigación ha sido aprobada por la Facultad Conjunta del Comité de Ética. Si usted tiene cualquier duda o queja acerca de este proyecto, contacte al Coordinador de Ética Humana al teléfono +1 (204)474-71-22 o mediante el correo electrónico humanethics@umanitoba.ca. Una copia de este consentimiento informado es entregada a usted para que la conserve y la tenga de referencia.

Firma del participante _____ Firma de la investigadora _____

Fecha: _____

O:

Consentimiento verbal

¿Acepta usted formar parte de este estudio?

Sí/ No