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Costa Rican Coffee and Tourism

by

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Abstract

This thesis is an anthropological study of the interactions between the coffee industry and the tourism industry in Costa Rica. It focuses on how coffee production, marketing and consumption have been affected by the presence of tourists and how tourists come in contact with coffee. I conducted fieldwork in Costa Rica: in the Caribbean and Central Highlands. I focused on the places where tourism and coffee come together: on coffee tours and at establishments where coffee is sold. I have drawn three key conclusions from this research. First, that coffee quality and consumption patterns differ for locals and foreigners. Second, that specific locations have been created to satisfy tourists' needs and meet tourists' standards. Third, that these locations stage authentic experiences in order to maintain local privacy and ensure their visitors' satisfaction.

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Chapter One
Introduction

Coffee plays a significant role in the lives of a large portion of North Americans today, including mine. Since I was a teenager, I have not been able to function without my coffee. It is an addiction, of course; and yet there seems to be some appealing characteristic to coffee—aside from the caffeine—that has made it so popular. The routine of brewing coffee in the morning is a familiar and necessary part of my day. Functionally, coffee is simply a drink: it quenches thirst, provides energy in the mornings, and warmth on a cold day. Many Canadians will have coffee with sugar, cream and even a donut; but a simple peek into Tim Horton's and you can see customers enjoying their double doubles with nothing else. Additionally, coffee is a morning routine, a habit, and an addiction. The relationship between coffee and other elements of the habitus is not only individual-specific, but culturally specific as well. Although it plays a very clear role in each of our lives, coffee has versatility in North America cuisine that no other beverage can easily match.

Coffee is also an impetus for social activity. People often meet for coffee with the sole purpose of interacting—coffee itself, however, has very little to do with "meeting for coffee". It is an activity that provides plenty of room for conversation while, at the same time, relieves tension by providing drinkers something to fidget with, something to hold on to and something to drink. "Going for coffee" has become a catch phrase that implies something

very specific: conversing. With either friends or strangers, coffee provides the company with something to *do*.

Lastly, coffee provides an international connection. North Americans have found themselves dependent on the foreign production of coffee, whether it is a dark roast or a fair-trade organic. With fair-trade coffee, the exotic product entices exotic feelings and has allowed for premium prices to be charged, as well as guaranteeing ethical trading practices. According to the *Sustainable Coffee Survey of the North American Specialty Coffee Industry* (Giovannucci 2001), high quality and niche coffees, such as fair-trade coffee, have found a lucrative place in a struggling coffee market—a market that has reached, according to Giovannucci, "some of the lowest green [bean] prices of the past hundred years" (2001:4). This specialty coffee market depends on high quality and allows for premium prices to be charged in exchange for economic benefits (2001: 4). Sustainable coffee markets, such as fair-trade coffees and organic coffees, are growing rapidly within North America despite the fact that the coffee market as a whole is doing poorly.

Fair-trade is not a new market for North America. Despite its presence in the coffee industry since Michael Barrett Brown coined the term in 1985, fair-trade is only beginning to be understood by the average coffee consumer (DeCarlo 2007: 8). Anthropologist Deborah Sick (2008) has taken the increased popularity of fair-trade products as an opportunity to study the effects of fair-trade ethnographically. According to Sick, increased sales of fair-trade coffee are:

> "the result of increasing awareness on the part of consumers and the growing social cachet of fair-trade products. As consumers in the North become more aware of the plight of small-scale farmers and artisans, increasing numbers of social organizations and institutions have adopted policies to encourage their members to use only fair-trade products" (Sick 2008: 196-197).

This growing consumer awareness of "the plight of small-scale farmers" was the starting point for Loureiro and Lotade's study of the relationship between coffee labeling and the consumer conscience. They found that consumers are willing to pay higher premiums for coffees with fair-trade, shade-grown or organic labels (2005: 134). Each of these labels contribute to the overall authenticity of a product, and thus to consumers seeking out the origin of their purchases.

In the introduction to Lucy Long's *Culinary Tourism* Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett says that, the concern for authenticity at home is small compared to that of a tourist—where authenticity "is a hallmark of the touristic experiences" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2003: xii). For tourists, the authenticity of an individual element of a culture is a key contributor to true experiences of the place as a whole. While the authenticity of coffee has very little to do with the brew itself, tourists expect their coffee to be authentic. Were they to walk into a Starbucks or Tim Horton's situated in San José, Costa Rica, they would unwillingly be transported back to their home, where such establishments are commonplace. In these places coffee does not enter into the equation. It is the atmosphere that matters most of all. The previous associations that a visitor has with a familiar establishment will guide their coffee experience while there—no matter what country they are in. Tourism

is about trying the new and the exotic; experiencing the other and bettering one's self through the encountered diversity. According to Said (1978), people seek out these experiences of otherness without actually seeking out the other. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett argues further that it is not so much authenticity that matters, but the question of authenticity that is essential (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2003: xii). Questioning authenticity "organizes conversation, reflection, and comparison and arises as much from doubt as from confidence. The ensuing conversation tests and extends one's knowledge and discernment" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2003: xii).

During the summer of 2008, after the completion of my bachelor's degree in Anthropology and Spanish, I traveled throughout Costa Rica for a summer. Although this first trip to Costa Rica was not research oriented, it provided a chance to participate and observe as a tourist. In this role, I saw that the coffee trade and their immense tourist market—common throughout this area of Central America—were obviously significant contributors to Costa Rica's GDP. It was this experience that initiated my interest in what I refer to as "coffee tourism"; and further, provided me with the opening to study this interaction in future research.

At first, my goal was to focus on tourism in relation to premium coffees—particularly fair-trade coffees—that were sold at higher prices in comparison to other marketed coffees. Inspired by Loureiro and Lotade (2005), I wanted to complete an ethnographic project that questioned what consumers were willing to pay for and what motivated their purchases. Later

I broadened my focus to include all qualities of coffee in Costa Rica for two reasons. First, I felt that my decision to limit my data to *only* fair-trade, organic labels was uninformed and assumed that I knew the field before my research began. I believe that by ignoring other qualities of coffee I could be unintentionally restricting myself instead of allowing the results to lead me to their own conclusion. Second, I felt that by focusing solely on fair-trade or organic coffees in relation to tourism I would limit the number of individuals and groups willing to speak with me. Although fair-trade coffee is increasingly popular around the world, other categories of coffee still dominate the market (Sick 2008: 196-197).

Similar to the research Sidney Mintz (1985) had done with sugar, I wanted to situate coffee in Costa Rica's past and present, and to expose this commodity. I wanted this project to be *big.* I soon realized that my thesis would not do for coffee what Mintz did for sugar; I did not need to cover *every* aspect of coffee in Costa Rica or look at *all* of the ways in which tourism affected coffee production there. I needed to look at Costa Rican coffee and tourism and focus on all the points in which these two industries interacted. That was where I started.

Throughout research I began to see that coffee tourism was much less about coffee and much more about its contribution to an authentic Costa Rican experience. According to Lucy Long,

> "consuming, or at least tasting, exotic foods can be the goal of a touristic experience, but food can also be a means by which a tourist experiences another culture, an entrée, so to speak, into an unfamiliar way of life"(2003: 2).

On my first trip to Costa Rica I saw that coffee does not draw people to Costa Rica. Tourists do not travel to Costa Rica to learn about coffee, go on tours, or sample the roasts the way a wine-lover would in Napa Valley. In general, tourists come to Costa Rica because they want to see the beaches, the oceans, the rainforests and the wildlife. Along the way, they encounter coffee. My research will expand on the encounters that foreigners have with coffee, will explore the influences that tourism has on the coffee experience of locals, and will question how coffee contributes to a tourist's perceived experience of the authentic.

Chapter Two
Research Methods

The following chapter will outline the decisions I made concerning locations and subjects I had chosen to study. I will expand upon each decision I made along the way and give as much detail about the failures of my methodology as the successes. I will also present preliminary data in this chapter that will be referred to and expanded upon in following chapters.

2.1 The Location

In late 2008 and early 2009, when I chose to investigate interactions between coffee and tourism, Costa Rica was an ideal location for several significant reasons. First, my prior experience as a traveler in this particular country provided pre-fieldwork familiarity with the country's history, geography, and culture. According to Devereux and Hoddinott (1993:27), isolation in the field, coupled with cultural alienation, can be overwhelming and discouraging for an individual fieldworker. By returning to a country with which I was already familiar for six weeks of independent research, my hope was to avoid some of the estrangement to which Devereux and Hoddinott (1993) refer. Familiarity with a location reduces both major and minor dilemmas that arise when visiting a foreign location for the first time. For me, these problems included decisions on potential research sites, accommodation arrangements, travel preparations, and local procedures and customs (how to call a taxi, use a bank machine, find an appropriate bus

station, engage in polite conversation, etc.) All of the previous problems were easily eliminated due to my prior tourist experience.

In addition to orientation knowledge, I was fortunate during my first visit to Costa Rica to meet two local expatriates who worked in the coffee industry. This couple was very much what Hammersley and Atkinson (1995:27) refer to as "gate-keepers"—individuals who could provide both contacts and opportunities in a research area. As owners of a respected local roaster and coffee shop, Paul and Jeanne[1] not only served as excellent informants for my research, but suggested several locations that would be beneficial to visit. Further, they connected me with coffee producers they knew would be willing to participate in my research.

2.1.2 Preliminary Methods

Fieldwork anticipates and assumes that the researcher be flexible. Devereux and Hoddinott (1993:9) state:

> "A problem most researcher face when preparing for fieldwork is not knowing precisely what to prepare for. Uncertainty about what is largely an unpredictable life event can lead to anxiety over minor details".

Thus, general preparations for a variety of possibilities can help reduce the 'unknowns'. In essence, plans should be made, but changes should be

[1] Although it was my original intention to use pseudonyms for all informants and places, this, like many aspects of my research, changed while in the field. After discussing the use of pseudonyms with my informants, I found that the majority of the individuals I interviewed did not want me to disguise their identity or their businesses names. They saw it as a form of advertisement. In situations where this was not the case, names have been changed or omitted.

anticipated. As I had already decided that I wanted to investigate the relationship between two of the most prosperous industries within Costa Rica, I began to prepare for my fieldwork by introducing myself to the literature on coffee, fair-trade, tourism, and especially Costa Rican ecotourism. Regretfully, I did not have the time to complete a more thorough written literature review. I was, however, able to prepare topics and questions that I felt should be the focus of observations and interviews. I later created informed consent documents (see Appendix A) and interview guides (see Appendix B and C), in both English and Spanish, prior to my departure. These forms would ensure, not only that participants understood the voluntary nature of their participation, but also that I would maintain a consistent set of questions and topics throughout my participant observation.

2.2 The Subjects

I arrived in San José, Costa Rica on July 7th 2009. In order to investigate the relationship between coffee and tourism, I chose to conduct research in places where the two industries meet for six weeks.

First, I decided to study coffee where tourists purchased the coffee and accompanying products. I chose three popular tourist destinations along the Caribbean coast where I knew that not only would there be a high number of tourists, but that coffee would be a common item sold in coffee shops, souvenir shops, local restaurants and local markets. My three initial

locations were Puerto Limón de Talamanca (a larger city which connects the Central Valley to the Caribbean regions), Puerto Viejo de Talamanca (a small but thriving town that draws large numbers of young travelers and tourists), and Manzanillo (an even smaller town that is favored by those looking to escape large numbers of tourists during high seasons of travel) to get the "natural experience" (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Map of Costa Rica. Available at http://untigloballearning.files.wordpress.com/2009/07 /crmap1.jpg. Image modified by author. Colored boxes added to show the areas in which I conducted fieldwork.

Upon arriving, however, I was warned against spending much time in Puerto Limón de Talamanca. Locals informed me that the city is known for a

high crime rate and is not a suitable location for a single female to travel alone. Deciding not to risk my safety so early in my career, I decided instead to visit Tortuguero, a town dominated by tourism and located on an island in the northern Caribbean (see Figure 1). Tortuguero is a popular ecotourism location for families and tourists to view sea turtles. It is also known as a costly trip and a difficult-to-reach location. To travel to the town one must arrange for transportation on two separate buses, one lengthy boat ride, and water taxis around the town. The island itself does not allow for motor transportation. This seclusion increases its destination value, but tends to draw wealthy tourists, larger groups, or avid eco-tourists.

Following my research with business owners in the Caribbean regions, I traveled to the highlands of central Costa Rica where coffee is grown. In this mountainous region there are a variety of plantation owners who offer tours of privately owned coffee farms or *fincas,* as well as of the process of coffee production. While in the highlands, I attended nine different coffee tours. Each of these tours was unique and, surprisingly, each tour guide found different ways to make the process of coffee production exciting for their guests. Although a few of the coffee tours drew much larger crowds, and some included more detailed information, each provided the same basic material. These tours were ideal locations to observe "coffee tourism" at its preliminary stage. Additionally, I made contact with potential informants in my fellow tourists.

I originally planned to spend the first three weeks of my fieldwork interviewing the owners of local coffee establishments and tourists along the Caribbean, while setting aside the last three weeks to observe production and conduct interviews with tourists met on coffee tours in the highlands. This plan was interrupted. Two weeks into my research I—as so often happens in the field—became ill. I was told I had H1N1 and was sent to San José for bed rest so that I could stay in closer proximity to a hospital capable of handling the virus should I become too sick. Thankfully I did not. Unfortunately, in addition to being too weak to do much of anything, this illness meant that I was to stay as isolated as possible. I did not conduct research for four days.

Upon my recovery, I decided to go ahead with my observations of coffee production and continue with tourist interviews in the highlands. I chose to return to the heat of the Caribbean during the last week of fieldwork, when I was physically more up to the task. I was also able to add four days on to the end of my fieldwork to make up for the four I had lost during my illness.

2.2.1 Participant Observation

The participant observation completed for this research follows the standard practices of anthropology. Sitting in coffee shops, restaurants, and other locations that sold coffee, I began to observe patterns of coffee consumption among tourists and to follow their consumption behavior.

Although it is difficult to keep a quantitative record of this information, these observations did provide me with topics that could be discussed later with the establishment's owners.

Initially, I was focused solely on the places people went for coffee and how they consumed the product. Later, however, I was able to use these observations to look into the overall authenticity[2] of the touristic experience. According to Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "authenticity is not a given in the event but is a social construction" (1998: 303). While I understand that the word "authenticity" alone is problematic, and as a concept is far too complex a topic for this thesis, I will be using it regularly and should clarify its use now. In this thesis, authenticity will refer to all that is Costa Rican—the locals, their traditions, their food and their lifestyles. I will use "authenticity" from now on to discuss differences in each of these elements for locals and foreigners. I do, however, understand that "authenticity" is much bigger than that. In each town that I visited, coffee plays a very different role in the community and the authenticity of the coffee that locals experience fluctuates from one location to the next. These roles are essential to this thesis and will be analyzed in later chapters.

In addition to participant observation in towns, my attendance on the nine plantation tours discussed above allowed completion of more than 24 hours of additional participant observation. Whether it was a small group of

[2] The concept of "authenticity" will be regularly discussed and debated in this thesis. This ambiguous term is intentionally used to refer to all that is Costa Rican. One primary purpose of this thesis will be to address authenticity and bring more clarity to the Costa Rican experience.

three people on a small plantation or a group of thirty on acres of land, I saw how these tours served as means to advertise and sell their product. These observations provided a greater understanding of how Costa Ricans have found ways to advertise and profit from their products. Differences in the tours and the popularity of the locations of the plantations resulted in some significant differences in the number of guests attending, as well as overall cost of attendance. Table 1 below will help clarify some of the basics (location, attendance and cost) concerning the tours I attended.

	Town	Place	Guests	Price	Duration
1	Turrialba	Freddy's	0	5.22 CDN	3 hours
2	Turrialba	Catie	0	15.00 CDN	1 hour
3	Turrialba	APOT	0	Free	3 hours
4	Heredia	Café Britt	41	32.62 CDN	1.5 hours
5	Alajuela*	Doka Estates	About 15	67.19 CDN	5 hours (plantation, 1.5 hours)
6	Monteverde	Don Juan	3	26.48 CDN	3 hours
7	Monteverde	Monteverde	About 8	26.48 CDN	4 hours
8	Monteverde	El Trapiche	About 20	26.48 CDN	3 hours
9	Heredia**	Café Britt Coffee Lovers	About 40	45.08 CDN	4 hours

Table 1: Tour locations and details.
* The Doka Estates tour included a tour of a nearby volcano and coffee plantation.
** Café Britt offers two tours: a basic tour and a more extensive tour for "coffee lovers".

2.2.2 Interviews

My goal in visiting popular tourist towns was to conduct interviews with people from at least five of the following possible locations in each area: coffee shops, souvenir shops, local markets and restaurants. These open-

ended interviews consisted of three to five topics and questions concerning the individual's experience with tourists and the coffee sold at the particular location (see Appendix B). The only problem that arose with this method of interviewing occurred in Manzanillo. As mentioned above, this town is smaller in both size and population. I was unable to complete what I felt was an adequate number of interviews in this location and, therefore, chose to add a fourth town to my itinerary. Cahuita, which is located a short distance from Puerto Viejo de Talamanca, is a slightly larger town popular for its national park, isolated beaches, and wildlife. Table 2 presents data on the city, the establishment name and type, as well as the coffee brands.

The second portion of interviews was conducted with tourists themselves. I gained access into the tourist community by situating myself alongside them as much as possible. For example, like many thrifty tourists who travel through Costa Rica, I stayed in hostel dormitories as opposed to private hotel rooms and I rode buses or boats for any of my traveling as opposed to renting a car. Devereux and Hoddinott (1993: 12) state that,

> "…it is considered imperative for the fieldworker to live as closely as possible to the community being studied – in order not just to observe, but to participate actively in community life…Showing willingness to live among the community also breaks down barriers and reduces the extent to which the fieldworker is perceived as an outsider."

	City/Town	Establishment Name	Establishment Type	Coffee Brand
1	Puerto Viejo	Caribeans Coffee	roaster*, souvenir shop, restaurant, café	Caribeans Coffee
2	Puerto Viejo	Echo Books	book store, souvenir shop, café	Caribeans Coffee
3	Puerto Viejo	Bread and Chocolate	restaurant	Café Britt
4	Puerto Viejo	TexMex	restaurant, bar	Caribeans Coffee
5	Puerto Viejo	Café Rico	restaurant, café	Café Britt
6	Manzanillo	Maxi's	restaurant, bar, souvenir shop	Café Capresso
7	Manzanillo	Playa la Soda	restaurant	1820 Coffee
8	Manzanillo	La Rinconcita	restaurant	Café Rey
9	Tortuguero	Buddha Café	restaurant, café	Café Rey
10	Tortuguero	Mundo Natural	café	1820 Coffee
11	Tortuguero	Jungle Shop	souvenir shop	Café Britt
12	Tortuguero	Darling's	bakery, coffee shop	1820 Coffee
13	Cahuita	Parquecita	restaurant, café	Café Britt
14	Cahuita	Chaco Latte	café	Café Britt
15	Cahuita	Pizza n' Love	restaurant	1820 Coffee & Café Rey

Table 2: Establishments interviewed, locations, and a description.
* Caribeans is the original roaster and distributer of Caribeans Coffee.

My initial plan for face-to-face interviews was to utilize the forms I had completed during preparations for fieldwork (informed consent documents and interview guides) in every interview situation. I originally felt that the forms would be the most efficient way to organize my data and ensure clarity of goals and questions. Although these forms established an outline for my interviews, I found that many more informants were willing to participate when paperwork was *not* involved. Using a pure etic perspective

was a failure. It was when I decided to combine my theoretical perspectives with a more emic approach that I found more success with interviewing. I explained the project orally, acquired verbal informed consent of their participation, and used my notes as a rough guide to interviews. According to Devereux and Hoddinott, "the 'perfect' questionnaire and most elegant model, as developed in an office or ivory tower, may be completely inappropriate in the village" (1993: 10).

On several occasions, time and/or location constraints prevented a potential informant from participating in an interview at the time of our meeting. When this situation occurred, I found several people that were willing to provide their email addresses and schedule more formal survey style interviews at a later date via email (see Appendix C). I was surprised at how willingly travelers passed along their contact information and agreed to complete a questionnaire via email. After sending out over 40 emails and receiving less than five responses, I realized that this form of interviewing was an utter failure.

Looking back on the experience now, I can see the reason for my struggle with formal interviews and questionnaires: Costa Rica does not equate with formality. Everything about the country is laid back, and for some reason, when tourists step foot on Costa Rican soil, they become just as laid back as the locals. The rigidity of my interviewing methods just did not settle well in this environment. This was an excellent learning experience for me. It may have taken me a while to alter my methods, but once I did, I found

that casual conversations and observations were about as formal as my research needed to be.

Chapter Three
History and Background

The purpose of this chapter is to situate both coffee and tourism within modern Costa Rica and the country's past economy and history. Although Costa Rica's progress from colony to stable statehood is not the focus of this thesis, it is important to understand how both tourism and coffee have affected this development. This information will help clarify details later in my discussion, and will also help explain why Costa Rica was an ideal location for this particular study.

3.1 Costa Rica, A Brief History

The conquest of the Americas began in Mesoamerica and the Caribbean in the late 1400s. Costa Rica's first encounter with the Europeans began in the early 1500s—soon after the devastation of the large state societies of Mexico and Guatemala (Palmer and Molina 2004: 9). During exploration of the land and the search for new resources, Europeans began moving south towards the lands that would become Costa Rica.

Due to a failure to uncover valuable mineral resources in the region, the country remained largely unpopulated by Europeans until 1560—unlike other Latin American countries. With poor trade routes, settlers abandoned plans for colonization and left the area relatively isolated from areas of European jurisdiction emerging in more northern countries (Palmer and Molina 2004: 10). While this isolation allowed the colony to develop free of

intervention by foreign governments, it also contributed to its failure to share in the prosperity of and trade with the other American colonies (Luetchford 2008: 15). In fact, Shafer cites a 1719 Spanish governor's description of Costa Rica as "the poorest and most miserable Spanish colony in all the Americas" (1994: 185).

Prior to European permanent settlement in the region, Costa Rica's population was composed of only a few hundred thousand natives from local indigenous groups (Melendez 1979: 19-28). At this time, indigenous groups were fairly isolated and tended to reside in the most heavily forested regions of the country (Melendez 1979: 19-28). European presence Costa Rica caused many of these indigenous individuals to flee, while the majority perished due to smallpox, other illnesses, rebellion, conflict between Spanish expeditions and overall mistreatment by the Spaniards. (Hall 1985: 40-45; Biesanz, Biesanz and Biesanz 1982: 16-17; Helmuth 2000:7, Pendergrast 1999: 40-41). As a consequence of a comparatively limited indigenous population and inadequate forces available to control their labor, settlers were left to work the lands themselves. In a few cases, wealthier landowners turned to African slavery to fill labor requirements (Palmer and Molina 2004: 26). It was not until 1563 that the first permanent settlement, and future capital of Costa Rica, was established in Cartago, located in the highland Central Valley region of Costa Rica (Creedman 1977: 33-34). It was about this time that the Spanish government recognized that what Costa Rica lacked in

mineral resources it made up for in agricultural potential (Palmer and Molina 2004: 14-15).

After settlement, Costa Rica was still generally ignored until the end of the 18th century. The country produced little wealth, had a small population, and was fairly isolated. When Napoleon removed King Charles IV from the Spanish throne in 1808, Costa Rica joined the rest of Central American Creoles in seeking independence from Spain's new French and foreign leadership (Melendez 1979: 93). Central America, united against Spain, declared its independence as a whole on September 15, 1821 (Palmer and Molina 2004: 11).

Following the Declarations of Independence, Costa Rica's agriculture industry moved into the control of several wealthy families who had already established themselves in the region (Paige 1997). However, since Costa Rica's population was small and land outside of the Central Valley was wholly unexplored, there was little need for conflict between these wealthy families and the lower classes. With little fear of class conflicts, Costa Rican elite began to offer opportunities for remaining natives and the poor to raise their status by providing them with land to own and work. One obvious benefit of this move was that it began to draw more settlers to Costa Rica while improving the country's overall economic stability. A less obvious benefit of this cooperation between classes was that Costa Rica began to form an egalitarian society. The wealthiest citizens controlled most of Costa Rica's agricultural exports and lands in the lush *Meseta Central*, but the lower

classes prospered enough to not only avoid impoverishment, but also increase their own welfare (Leutchford 2008: 15; Pendergrast 1999: 40). They still lacked the labor force to develop large plantations, but were able to establish smaller family farms (Pendergrast 1999: 40). Pendergrast has described Costa Rica during this time as a "rural democracy" (1999: 40).

Coffee, bananas, tobacco, cacao, and sugar became the primary sources of income both within Costa Rica and with foreign exchange. As the country's revenue grew, so did its population. Land in the *Meseta Central* became even more limited for small landholders who, in a last effort to change their status as "the poorest and most miserable Spanish colony in all the Americas" (Shafer 1994: 185), began to move into previously unsettled territories outside of the Central Valley and increase production of coffee and other main crops (Leutchford 2008: 15; Pendergrast 1999: 41).

3.1.2 Costa Rica and Coffee

Coffee, originally discovered sometime between the years 575 A.D. and 850 A.D., was first used to increase body energy quickly by the nomadic Galla tribe of western Ethiopia. Legend credits the initial discovery of coffee to a member of this tribe, Kaldi, who noticed his goats behaving strangely after eating the red cherries containing the bean from a coffee tree. After trying the beans himself, he realized that they too gave him an enormous amount of energy (Luttinger and Dicum, 2006: 3). Following this discovery, members of the Galla tribe began consuming the cherries raw. The amount of

caffeine contained in a raw coffee bean is many times the amount of caffeine found in a processed coffee bean, and does not taste like our morning coffee (Luttinger and Dicum 2006: 2). The flavors of roasted coffee were soon discovered and would rapidly replace raw consumption.

Following the discovery of coffee's potency, the sale of this commodity spread throughout the Arab nations. When the Ottoman Turks occupied Yemen in 1536 A.D., the Sufis often used coffee to stay awake during their long prayer services. Coffee became a major crop throughout the Turkish Empire (Luttinger and Dicum 2006: 2-8). By the mid-1600s coffee was traded around the shore of the Mediterranean in the area of Italy and eventually to the British Isles where it was called "Arabian wine". At first, western Europeans had difficulty accepting the beverage because they believed it to be a drug and that it would medically harm the drinker. Further, they did not trust a beverage that would create anxiety and hyperactivity in a person. Pendergrast (1999: 14) states that historically, women believed that it made their husbands lazy and that they would sit around and drink the beverage all day. The Christians of the day were concerned that the effects of coffee made it unholy. It was not until the late 1500s—when Pope Clement VIII, who enjoyed the taste of coffee and announced that it was an acceptable Christian beverage—that the church pronounced the drink to be acceptable within the faith. After this declaration, coffee became more widely accepted. Coffee houses began operating throughout Italy, Britain and, eventually, France. Coffee's

popularity continued to grow throughout the rest of Europe (Pendergrast 1999: 7-16).

In 1714, the French brought the plant to a small island in the Caribbean Sea, and as the colonies grew and the slave trade increased, so did the spread of coffee (Pendergrast 1999:15). Cultivating coffee became profitable in Brazil and eventually the practice spread to Central America and Costa Rica (Pendergrast 1999:16-22). In his book on social evolution and coffee, Robert Williams states that,

> "Along with the expansion of coffee come changes in trading networks, international financial connections, patterns of immigration and investment, and international political relations, but coffee also reached back into the structures of everyday life of ports, capital cities, inland commercial centers, and the countryside, altering the activities of merchants, moneylenders, landowners, shopkeepers, professionals, bureaucrats, the urban poor, and the peasantry. Because of the coincidence in time between this grand economic transformation and the formation of national political structures a careful look at this single commodity affords a lens through which to view the construction of Central American states" (1994: 9)

During this time, social classes throughout most of Central America were distinctly separated—Costa Rica was the exception. Outside of Costa Rica, the wealthy held all the control; the lower class—composed of remaining indigenous groups in the region—held none. The differences in Costa Rica's population meant that the coffee industry, after it was established here in the 1830s developed—albeit slowly and autonomously—with little conflict. Although complications did develop between the

individuals who owned the plantations and those who owned the *beneficios,* where the beans were processed, conflict was resolved peacefully and Costa Rican coffee exported around the world gradually became known as one of the highest-qualities available (Pendergrast 1999: 40-41, 154).

In addition to the benefits offered by a near-egalitarian social structure, the small-scale farming prevalent in the country was also a potential benefit for Costa Rica's coffee economy. Gudmundson (1995: 112-113) discusses the "alleged positive, democratic consequences" of the smaller landholdings in other Latin American countries, while he, Hall (1976: 25) and Pauls (1980) argue that both the existence and importance of small landholdings in Costa Rica have benefited the country's coffee economy. While there has been research presented on the state of small landholdings in present-day Costa Rica (Luetchford 2008; Sick 2007; Sick 1997), Gudmundson explains that there is a lack of research aimed at the reasons behind the small landholders' earlier success (1995: 113).

3.2 Costa Rica Today

Since its colonization, Costa Rica has remained a fairly stable nation, especially when compared to other Central American countries. In the beginning, a large portion of this stability could be credited to its egalitarian nature, ability to resolve civil disputes peacefully, and the economic stability provided by international exports of agricultural goods. Today, however, the major part of the country's economic stability must be credited to ecotourism

and agricultural exports. According to Wiarda and Kline, "The largest increase in income, however, has been from tourism, especially ecotourism, drawing on Costa Rica's natural beauty accompanied by a wise policy of establishing a large network of national parks" (2011: 478). Although bananas and pineapples are ranked higher as exports, coffee is the third most important agricultural product that the country both produces and exports. According to the Cambridge History on Latin America (1990: 367), more than 60 percent of the active population works in agriculture that revolves around the cultivation of coffee, bananas and cacao. Furthermore, ecotourism—Costa Rica's primary form of tourism—alone draws more foreign exchange that all three of these products combined (Wiarda and Kline 2011: 478).

By embracing and advertising its own biodiversity, Costa Rica has become one of the leading tourist destinations in the world. And although Costa Rica is not rated as one of the largest coffee producing countries, the biodiversity that makes Costa Rica a prime location for ecotourism provides the perfect opportunity to research the relationship between the coffee and tourism industry.

3.3 Bringing Coffee and Tourism Together

As with many other agricultural products, the best of what is produced is often exported, while lower quality products are the ones that remain at home. This is the case with coffee in Costa Rica. My own experience

has taught me that it is sometimes difficult to find a decent cup of coffee in Costa Rica. Most first grade coffees, which receive a gourmet label, are exported. A small portion of gourmet coffee remains in the country for selling to tourists. Lower grade coffees, on the other hand, are inexpensive and popular among the locals. This trend is so well known that it is commonly discussed among locals and travelers alike and was shared on the majority of the coffee tours that I attended. In the 1990s, Costa Rican law actually made it illegal to sell high-quality beans in Costa Rica. (Pendergrast 1999: 424). During this time, the only coffee that stayed in the country was low grade, but more importantly, it was cheap enough to allow the individuals actually harvesting and processing to afford it. Unfortunately, this also meant that lower grade coffee became the standard.

Costa Rica's thriving tourism industry has changed this practice and increased the amount of first grade coffee in the country. According to Mark Pendergrast, "…as tourists flood the tropical paradises where coffee thrives, there will be an increasing demand for better quality in the producing countries" (1999:424). With tourism comes business. Seeing this development, one of the major producers of coffee in Costa Rica, Café Britt, lobbied against the law prohibiting the sale of high-quality coffee locally. Removal of this law opened doors for coffee producers and allowed high-quality coffees to flourish in locations that tourists frequented.

In addition to this form of marketing, coffee producers began to increase the availability of, and advertisement for, their coffee tours. Visitors

were invited to the plantations and *beneficios* and allowed to observe the harvesting and processing that goes into making the beverage. Following the tour, of course, visitors have the option to purchase bags of the now familiar coffee in the shop. In this way, the relationship between coffee and tourism began.

Coffee tourism has developed so rapidly that today it is said to be the third largest tourist attraction for the country. One leading coffee tour provider informed me that they gave more than 40,000 tours per year. Smaller tour providers may not turn out the same numbers of attendants, but have still found it profitable to encourage this relationship between coffee and tourism. The following chapter will discuss this relationship in more detail.

Chapter Four
The Coffee Experience

My research was conducted in two different regions of Costa Rica (the Caribbean and the highlands), with two different subjects (coffee's place in towns and tours), and two different sets of informants (store owners and tourists). My study in the Caribbean focused on participant observation of coffee purchasing and interviews with the owners of these establishments who were selling coffee to tourists. My study in the highlands, however, focused on participant observation of coffee production and the process of coffee touring and interviews with tourists attending these same coffee tours. This division of my research means that, to begin with, I will also be dividing my presentation of results into two different sections: the Caribbean and the highlands.

4.1 The Caribbean

With a high number of tourists follows a high number of tourist-related establishments. Souvenir shops, travel agencies, tour operators and restaurants make up the majority of these enterprises. In the capital city—San José—shops, stores and agencies that target tourists are somewhat limited. One of the largest malls in the city has only one shop dedicated to tourism, and the majority of the tour operators that conduct business from San José are actually located several hours outside of the city. Although San José has several museums and attractions of its own, the most significant

tourist attractions lay outside of the cities. Beaches, rainforests, extreme sports and other outdoors activities draw tourists away from San José and into the country's smaller communities.

4.1.1 Puerto Viejo de Talamanca

The first city in which I conducted research, Puerto Viejo de Talamanca, is one such community. Situated along the southeastern coast of Costa Rica, Puerto Viejo initially developed as a small fishing town that, due to limitations in infrastructure, was kept fairly isolated until the late 1970s when the first roads were constructed to Puerto Limón. According to longtime locals, Puerto Viejo did not have electricity until the late 1980s or telephones until the late 1990s. It was around that time that the tourism industry discovered Puerto Viejo's beaches. Unlike central and western Costa Rica, where the population is primarily Spanish-speaking and of white European descent, the Caribbean's residents are much more diverse. There is a much larger Afro-Caribbean and indigenous population, as well as a greater number of expatriates, many of whom have come from North America. English and Spanish are both common in this region, but it is not unusual to hear Caribbean dialects or indigenous languages as well.

Several individuals with whom I spoke informed me that compared to the town of twenty years ago, Puerto Viejo is now completely unrecognizable. Since the tourism industry's rapid growth in the 1990s the town has been wholly transformed. Dirt roads and sparsely scattered houses have turned in

to roughly paved, store-lined streets. As tourism grew, travelers began to visit Puerto Viejo in order to surf in the nearly empty waters surrounding the town, to explore the rainforests that line the beaches, or simply to pass through on their way to Boca del Toro, Panama. Gradually, Puerto Viejo changed from a laidback fishing town to the laidback tourist town that it is today.

Large populations of Antillean immigrants have brought with them a strong Rastafarian element. Storefronts and locals themselves are frequently adorned in red, yellow and green, while lean-to huts that line the roads along the beaches specialize in selling handmade jewelry and scarves, burned copies of popular reggae music, marijuana and marijuana paraphernalia, Bob Marley t-shirts, and "fake-dreads-on-a-hat". The Rastafarian culture is very evident in Puerto Viejo, but blends seamlessly with the more predominant Latin American society. In order to encourage Puerto Viejo's tourism, many locals contribute to the industry in some way. Less wealthy individuals sell crafts and fruit at stands along the streets or offer surfing lessons to tourists, while more prosperous locals own gift shops, restaurants, hotels, internet cafés or tour companies. One individual I met found himself a permanent resident of Puerto Viejo when his "vacation failed to end". To make money he repairs and customizes surfboards—a service many avid surfers welcome.

Despite its growth and popularity, Puerto Viejo is by no means large. The majority of the stores and buildings are still made of wood or concrete, with banana-leaf roofs or latticework walls. Walking and bicycling are the

dominant forms of transportation—one can easily travel from one side of the town to the other in five minutes on bike. As a surfer's paradise, the town has kept the easygoing nature by which it was characterized before tourism began. Men wander the streets with bags of fruit and coconuts, and canes of sugar for sale for a couple of cents; women gather around upturned boats on the shore and offer to braid or dread visitor's hair; and store owners congregate on their porches to talk.

During my previous trip to Costa Rica, I met and got to know the owner of one of the local coffee shops. Caribeans, the coffee shop, was a small restaurant, café, souvenir shop and roaster. The shop specializes in selling organic[3] vegetarian foods and ice cream, fair-trade[4] and organic coffee roasted right in the back of the store, homemade chocolates, and other natural, local[5] products and souvenirs. During my first visit to Costa Rica, Caribeans became a common meeting place for my group. The time we spent there meant that we all became very well acquainted with the storeowner, Paul, and his family. At this time, Caribeans was small, but popular. Originally, there were only a few places to sit and enjoy your coffee: two chairs set in front of Paul's own laptop, which he allowed tourists to use

[3] In Costa Rica, foods do not always have certified labels for organic products. This does not, however, change the key elements of organic production, which still refers to food grown with organic farming methods and recycled resources in an effort to maintain environmentally sustainable agriculture. Organic products in Costa Rica may either be certified or making the claim on good faith.

[4] In Costa Rica, foods do not always have certified labels for fair-trade products either. For Costa Ricans, purchasing a fair-trade label to go on the product is not necessarily as important as having high social and environmental standards. As with organic products, fair-trade labels may be certified or are making the claim on good faith.

[5] The term "local" can be used to refer to products that are either Costa Rican or from a particular region of Costa Rica (i.e., the Caribbean, the Pacific, the Central highlands, etc.).

freely, two or three at a bar-like window in the front of the store, and two around a small table and chessboard on the porch. Despite the limited seating, Caribeans was a place in which one could not help but linger.

When I returned for fieldwork in 2009, I found that Caribeans had expanded. Caribeans Coffee, the blend created by Paul and roasted at Caribeans, had been upgraded. Paul was now offering a larger selection of roasts and more coffee in general. His store had taken over the building next door and his menu had added several locally produced organic meals. After Paul and I became reacquainted, I explained to him why I was back in Puerto Viejo. I described my research to him. He was happy to participate and agreed, not only to be interviewed, but also to allow me to "stalk" his store, talk to all his employees and customers, as well as take photographs of his shop and coffee processing. I spent much of my spare time in Puerto Viejo sitting in a rocking chair on the porch of Caribeans, talking to Paul or tourists who happened to be doing the same. Naturally, due to his kindness and knowledge on the subject, Paul became my primary informant.

Paul, originally from the United States of America, initially came to Puerto Viejo with a faith-based organization to build skate parks in the town that would help keep youth out of trouble during their off-seasons from surfing. After completion of their work with the organization, Paul and his wife, Jeanne, decided to stay in Puerto Viejo. Paul wanted to stay in the town and continue improving the community. They opened their own coffee shop and roaster two and a half years prior with the hope of promoting local

products and boosting the town's economy. He had noticed a lack of quality Caribbean roasted coffee and thought he would start there. According to Paul, Caribbean roasted coffee was an unexplored market with great potential.

Much of what Paul learned about the business of coffee two and a half years ago came from the Internet and even 'How To' videos on YouTube. Paul purchases his coffee beans green and in bulk and roasts them himself. This means that he did not need to learn how to grow coffee, simply how to turn the green beans into a unique beverage. Paul had a friend with some experience roasting who helped him get started. For the most part, Paul's knowledge came from trial and error. The coffee Paul initially sold was of lesser quality, and therefore cheaper. The locals were more willing to overlook the coffee's quality on account of its affordability. They were accustomed to lower quality coffees. Since then the quality of the coffee has improved. Paul began buying higher quality beans at fair-trade prices, improved the quality of the coffee's roast, and expanded the selection of roasts available. Although Paul has kept the price of an individual cup of coffee the same, increasing quality required an increase in the product's price in bulk form. As a result of the price increase for bags of coffee, Paul says that most locals have stopped purchasing his coffee.

After the quality of Caribeans Coffee improved, Paul began to sell bulk bags to local tourist shops around the town. He gave discounted prices to the owners of these establishments, but required that they sell the coffee at the

same price he charged in his own store. Eventually, restaurants throughout Puerto Viejo began buying bulk from Paul as well, and selling Caribeans Coffee by the cup in their own restaurant (interviews with these store and restaurant owners will be discussed later in this chapter). Although this expansion of Caribeans Coffee's market was generally beneficial, it did not improve his sales to local households. According to Paul, locals began to see the slightly higher prices of the bulk coffee sold in their stores, and, combined with the high number of foreign customers, assumed that Paul's products—even by the cup—would be too expensive for them to afford. Because locals had adapted to drinking lower quality, sugared coffees, they did not seek quality as foreigners. Paul rightly states that, "they understand the value of the coffee. It is just a matter of affordability".

Nonetheless, Paul found a willing local market among the expatriates living in Puerto Viejo. According to Paul, these individuals tended to be more affluent and are able to afford Caribeans Coffee in bulk, while at the same time they were familiar with the West's utilization of Costa Rican coffee and understood the benefits of supporting local, fair-trade products. Paul felt that familiarity with third world living conditions led to a greater appreciation for both taste and ethically sound products.

Paul, of course, found an abundant and willing market in Puerto Viejo's many tourists. One fact that becomes clear when visiting Caribeans is that it remains a favorite daytime hangout for visitors. The store was busy during each of my visits. Although the store itself is small and still has fairly

limited seating, tourists congregate at Caribeans in order to eat, drink, use Paul's laptop, play chess, or simply to enjoy the store's ocean view. The bilingual owner and staff further enhance this laid-back comfort by serving as a helpful refuge for English-speaking tourists. During situations in which my Spanish seemed to fail me—as I struggled to find a place to buy a thermometer (or in my Spanish, "that stick for sick people that goes on under your tongue like this…"), as I tried to find a restaurant with vegetarian options on their menu, or as I helped a friend find long-term accommodations—I was told that maybe I should go talk to Paul. Although being directed to an English-speaker hurt my ego, it demonstrates how Paul's store serves as more than just a coffee shop.

One tourist, a Spaniard who had previously lived in Costa Rica, stated that Caribeans was "the best place in town". He and his friend came back to Caribeans whenever they could because it was "such an easy place to be". He was using Paul's laptop to check his email as we spoke. And although he was not a huge coffee drinker himself, his friend—also from Spain—always bought Caribeans Coffee, saying that it "has a great taste as well as being fair-trade and locally grown".

Understanding that tourists appreciate these qualities of his coffee, Paul has made sure to inform his customers about the benefits of their purchase. The coffee's label clearly states that Caribeans Coffee is organic, fair-trade, and local. In addition to this label, Paul enthusiastically explains to

curious customers the benefits of this coffee's purchase for the small-scale farmers who grow the beans he roasts.

Lastly, in order to provide evidence to his claims to the coffee's quality, freshness and locality, Paul leaves the room in which he processes the coffee open to the public. This allows customers to watch as beans are sorted, roasted, and packaged and invites them to question the process. One Texan couple informed me that being able to see the coffee roasting gave them the chance to see how the coffee they were drinking was made—without the hassle and charges of a formal tour. According to the woman,

> "so much can be hidden and tourists will only see what they are wanted to see. I would much rather find a coffee plantation and approach the owner and talk to him about coffee and his production, and even wander around by myself, but I don't think this is allowed."

Seeing Caribeans Coffee being roasted on her own satisfied some of her curiosity, but the couple still hoped to do a "self-tour" on a plantation at some point.

Even outside of Caribeans, I found that I was constantly encountering Caribeans Coffee. Although advertisements were minimal, they were present and effective. While I was trying to light the gas stove in the rustic kitchen of my hotel, I noticed a sign on the wall above advertising Caribeans Coffee and Caribeans with the words "Organic Fair-Trade Souvenirs" in large, bold print. Advertisements like these, randomly placed in locations frequented by tourists, became more obvious the longer I was in Puerto Viejo. Establishments that sell Caribeans Coffee announce it with visible signals on

the bars, near the espresso machines, or on wall menus. I discussed the decision to sell Caribeans Coffee with several owners of such establishments.

A small area (to call it a town may be an exaggeration) located a few miles south of Puerto Viejo—called Cocles, after the popular stretch of beach that goes by the same name—is home to several more isolated restaurants, hotels and spas. Although these establishments are more spread out and somewhat difficult to reach, their isolation and location make them popular among avid surfers, families and long-term visitors to the region. When asking locals about finding a good cup of coffee nearby, I was directed to a used bookstore a few miles inland from the beaches and off the main road. And although I was not warned that I would have some difficulties getting to or even finding the bookstore on my brake-less bike, I—sweating, dirty and with aching calves—finally did.

Echo Books was the complete opposite of similar establishments that I had come across in town. It was small and located in the middle of the rainforest, at the end of a steep and rutted path. Even by car, finding and getting to Echo Books would have been a challenge. Despite this, however, Echo Books was busy. Although I never passed anyone on the road to or from the store—sadly, because I would have traded anything for a lift—the bookstore had a steady stream of patrons. The popularity can be credited to any one of the unique aspects of this establishment. It offered used books in both English and Spanish—and both collections were sizeable. If trips abroad have taught me anything about travel, it is that good literature in my own

language is hard to come by. Despite the rush and the hectic schedules of most visits to foreign countries, there is a surprising amount of down time. Be it sitting on a plane, waiting for a bus, or just needing something to do while resting—books during travel are somewhat necessary. Echo Books was one of the few places outside of San José that provided—both English and Spanish speakers, tourists and locals—with this form of entertainment. In addition to this, the owners—a native Californian couple—spoke both Spanish and English and, as in Caribeans Coffee, offered a kind of sanctuary for non-locals. Although most of their patrons were foreigners ("We get a lot of North Americans. You know, a lot of Canadians. And then Europeans. They like dropping off a book and picking up a new one"), they do serve locals who come in from the farms or beaches for coffee, tea or chocolate.

Second, Echo Books offered a small selection of organic, fresh, homemade coffees, drinks and chocolates. I need to expand on those adjectives. To simply say they are 'organic', 'fresh', and 'homemade' in this case could be misleading. Almost all of the food or coffee I had encountered claimed similar characteristics but; while the claims are completely honest, they do not mean the same thing that Echo Books does with this vocabulary. In this case, 'organic', 'fresh', and 'homemade' meant that when I ordered a lemon grass tea—having already exceeded my caffeine limit for the day—the owner of the store stepped out back *to pick the ingredients*. I requested a dessert and watched as the fruit for it was picked from the tree under which I had parked my bike. *This* is a kind of 'fresh' that needs to be highlighted and

explored as it is essential in understanding that there are always different tiers in reference to quality.

Lastly, Echo Books sold Caribeans Coffee. After later researching coffee in other nearby towns, I found that this particular bookstore was the farthest that Caribeans Coffee has made it from Paul's store thus far. The owners of Echo Books confirmed that they sold it for all the same reasons that establishments in town were selling Caribeans Coffee: it was local, organic, and a good quality coffee. The owners were particularly adamant about preparing only organic meals and serving organic products for their customers and themselves. According to them, "[eating organic] takes time and sometimes money; but in the end you know it is healthier because you know exactly how it came to be your food". They went on to say that it was much the same with drinking organic coffee. Although each individual cannot grow and process their own coffee beans, "knowing where it came from and that it is good for you…it makes you feel better...gives you a peace of mind about your purchase". According to the storeowner, this is what tourists like:

> "It is easy to be in North America and ignore the origin of your food. When you live in Costa Rica, though, and you see the farmers growing it, you want to help. Tourists come here…see some small portion of that and want to help by buying organic and fair-trade. They may not do it at home, but it gives them peace of mind to do it here. Words like 'organic', 'authentic' and 'fair-trade' are what stand out to them. It is something they recognize as being beneficial and moral, so they buy [it]."

Back in Puerto Viejo, I interviewed the owner of two separate restaurants (one a restaurant/bar and the other a café). Roger—native

Australian—has been selling Caribeans Coffee by the cup at his restaurant/bar for years. He said that he likes the fact that it is local, and feels that offering a unique brand of coffee will draw more attention and business. The restaurant/bar that he owns is centrally located and—as it is also open air and spacious—draws in customers wandering the town and beach, or taking a break from surfing. I felt oddly overdressed in my shorts and tank top as most of my fellow diners were sporting board shorts, bikinis, and dusty bare feet (in Puerto Viejo, this feeling is not unusual). At this location, Roger said that although most of his customers are tourists, very few of them ask specific questions about the coffee they are drinking. Those that do, however, "always get excited when they hear it is organic or fair-trade". Roger normally directs these individuals to Paul's store, where they can buy Caribeans Coffee in bulk.

Roger's second establishment, Café Rico, is a café located in the town's periphery and is popular among tourists and a few locals. Here they serve both coffee and a small variety of foods and desserts. Instead of offering Caribeans Coffee, Roger has chosen to serve Café Britt—a more established brand throughout Costa Rica. According to Roger, the customers that frequent the café recognize Café Britt's label and will buy it—by bulk or by the cup—because it is familiar to them. Its popularity, however, is only one of the reasons Roger chose to sell Café Britt here. Café Britt's producers promote its brand by providing establishments—no matter the size—with the equipment required to serve their coffee. Roger's store introduced me to

this practice—one that I would see repeatedly during research. For many small businesses, the appeal of free equipment with the purchase of coffee is undeniably attractive. Avoiding the cost of espresso machines and grinders during startup influences many entrepreneurs who are short on funds or unsure of the potential success of their establishment. It is a matter of risk management, which is further reduced by the reputation of the brand they are agreeing to sell.

Research that I conducted prior to fieldwork in Costa Rica gave evidence to the status of Café Britt—a fact further supported during fieldwork. Unlike Caribeans Coffee, which is currently only available in Puerto Viejo and surrounding towns, Café Britt is available *everywhere*. Signs advertising Café Britt are one of the first images that visitors see while exiting the airport, and I have failed to visit a hostel or hotel yet in Costa Rica that does not promote Café Britt in some way (the coffee itself or their coffee tour). When googling 'coffee' and 'Costa Rica', Café Britt's website is one of the first that appears and will undeniably become known to any Costa Rican tourist who drinks coffee.

One of the reasons for Café Britt's success is the fact that it was one of the first coffees to be grown, processed and marketed within the country. Prior to 1985, quality coffee grown in Costa Rica was exported in its green form to North America or Europe. Lower quality coffees were the only ones to remain in the country for sale to locals. As tourism grew during the 80s and 90s, so did the need for good drinkable coffee within the country. Café

Britt was the first to market this quality coffee in Costa Rica. By leading the way in quality production for local consumption, Café Britt was able to firmly establish itself as the leader of Costa Rican coffee.

Even in the small town of Puerto Viejo, this success is evident. In addition to the coffee sold at Roger's café, Café Britt is also sold at a nearby restaurant and coffee shop (Bread and Chocolate), both of the local grocery stores, and all of the eight souvenir shops in Puerto Viejo that I visited. Its popularity, challenged as it may be by Caribeans Coffee, is still very strongly established in this town.

The two local grocery stores and most of the souvenir shops are the only establishments in town that sell any brand other than Caribeans Coffee or Café Britt. Here, three other coffees (Café Capresso, 1820 Coffee and Café Rey) are sold in addition to the higher priced Caribeans Coffee and Café Britt.

4.1.2 Manzanillo

Manzanillo is an even smaller fishing town located 30 minutes by bus south of Puerto Viejo. The southern roads noticeably diminish in quality and upkeep beyond Puerto Viejo; and although public transportation to Manzanillo is available, it is rarely sought. I am told that the town's only attraction for tourists is a new variety of quiet beaches and moderately decent surf. Upon arriving, I found a scattering of tourists, most of who ended up in Manzanillo for as brief a time as I. Despite its emptiness, however, I found the town to be welcoming, quiet and quaint. Manzanillo's

beach was completely empty when I arrived. I never saw it hold more than a dozen people. I could not actually imagine that Manzanillo made it onto too many travel itineraries, but I could see how its proximity to Puerto Viejo and isolation drew a few visitors—even if just for the day.

There were only a handful of restaurants, hotels and stores in town and only one of each seemed to target tourists directly. The room I ended up renting was a half-mile inland and seemed to be a spare bedroom in a home-turned-convenience store. It was one of the very few options available for overnight visits outside of Maxi's, a large independent hotel/restaurant on the beach. I didn't pass a single tourist venturing as far away from the beach or the main hotel and restaurant as I had. For this reason, I decided to start my research at Maxi's.

Maxi's was located on the main square and—as a restaurant/bar/bus terminal/hotel—is the largest establishment in town. It serves as a one-stop shop for most foreigners visiting Manzanillo and is the only place in town where a credit/debit card can be used. Should you come to the town unaware of this limitation, they will—for a fee—allow you to use their credit/debit machines to withdraw a small amount of cash. Just as with the street vendors in larger towns, I found that the town's dependence on cash has resulted in a higher likelihood for bargaining. In fact, the only prices that seem firmly set are the bus tickets out of the city.

I sat down with one of Maxi's many managers, Ernesto, to discuss the consumption of coffee in the town. Maxi's sells a fairly obscure brand of

coffee (Café Capresso). I had only run across this brand in a limited number of grocery stores. The package described it as "100% Gourmet" and Ernesto said that it was organic (I could not verify this assertion). Googling Café Capresso did not give me any more information on the brand, so I am unsure as to whether it is fair-trade or not.

According to Ernesto, both locals and foreigners consume Café Capresso equally. The restaurant serves more visitors than other local establishments and is subject to the tastes of those consumers. In this case, that is a taste for strongly brewed coffee. Locals that visit Maxi's and order coffee request lighter brews and tend to congregate together—patrons and employees alike—at a cluster of tables close to the kitchen. Ernesto said that it is rare for either group to inquire much more than that about the coffee they are drinking.

According to Ernesto, European visitors and locals drink the most coffee. Europeans have it in the mornings and afternoons, brewed regularly, but sometimes request it with ice, or rum—called a *carajillo*, a drink which originates from Spain. Locals tend to drink coffee after their meals "to help digestion". Whether with breakfast, by itself, or after a meal, Ernesto thinks that coffee is consumed because it needs to be or because it should be, not necessarily because consumers want it. The habit or tradition of coffee drinking is well established. Hardly anyone comes to Maxi's for the coffee alone—they tend to come for the food or just the shade—and consume coffee simply because it is available. Maxi's does have an expensive looking coffee

machine along with several mugs sitting out in front of the kitchen where customers can see the machine. According to Ernesto, the arrangement is mostly for decoration (coffee is made in the kitchen), but it is enough to remind people that they can have a coffee to pass the time.

During my time in Manzanillo, I inevitably spent a lot of time at Maxi's. It was the hub for all activity in the town. Just as in Caribeans Coffee, my presence there gave me the opportunity to make constant observations and ask questions. Eventually, my curiosity allowed me to move from a table by myself to the cluster of tables by the kitchen where employees and local patrons congregated. Maxi's regulars seemed to have adopted me and humored my mediocre Spanish and peculiar interest in coffee. Although I was asked to join them, I was, for the most part, ignored (the exception being a few rapidly spoken jokes that I am sure were made at my expense). This adoption allowed me to see how locals consume coffee in public. I wasn't terribly surprised to discover that the custom was very similar to my own: sitting, drinking, chatting, laughing and just being together.

I visited two smaller restaurants in Manzanillo (Playa la Soda and La Rinconcita Alegre). One served 1820 Coffee and the other Café Rey. I found that both of these brands are sold in most grocery stores in both Manzanillo and even the rest of the country. They are, as far as I can tell, only packaged in ground form and are very rarely advertised in the establishments that sell them. According to Paul's research, ground coffee is a Costa Rican standard and tends to identify a brand as having a lower quality mixture of beans

ground to hide any inconsistencies. There is also an unknown amount of sugar mixed in with the beans during the roasting process in order to mask the bitter tastes which result from poor bean quality. Lower quality coffees are not sold in whole bean form. Higher quality coffees are sold in the ground form and the pure bean form as well.

While coffee is drunk throughout the day with meals, very rarely does anyone comment on it or question its origin. What I found interesting about Playa la Soda, however, is that the owner himself commented on the brand of coffee that he chose to serve, 1820 Coffee. He indicated that it is a *Café Puro* (Pure Coffee), which he says refers to the pure color of the coffee opposed to the blend itself. He went on to say, "this is what we buy in the grocery, this is what we drink in our homes and this is what we want to drink in our restaurants. It is simple".

Like the town itself, the restaurants seem to be quiet and quaint—primarily accommodating the locals that live there, but happily serving whatever visitors do happen to turn up. When it comes to coffee, they don't go out of their way to cater to visitors, but rather integrate them into their own preferences.

4.1.3 Tortuguero

In northern Costa Rica there is a small strip of land named Tortuguero. It is separated from the mainland by a small canal and is named for the hundreds of sea turtles that visit the island's beaches to lay their eggs.

This island draws a regular influx of visitors hoping to catch a glimpse of the creatures making their nests and laying eggs or of the newly hatched babies scurrying across the beach to the sea. The island is separated from the mainland by, at most, a couple hundred feet of canal and is laced with endless waterways and sunken rainforests. The abundance of water, an unpredictably wet rainy season, and a lack of infrastructure means that automobile travel on the island is perpetually impossible. Instead, the island is traversed via small-motorized boats or long and narrow motorized water taxis. On land, most people walk or, occasionally, bike.

Getting to Tortuguero can best be described as a well-planned hassle. Everyone knows how to get there: from San José, take a bus, then another bus, hire a van, wait for a water taxi, hire a smaller taxi, then walk; but visitors can expect to spend a day en route and to pay higher than average prices for each leg of the trip. While still on the mainland, I began to regret my decision to visit Tortuguero. I had initially thought that it would be nice to get away from the surfers and Rastas and to see something entirely new to me. I knew it was not hatching season on the island and that there would be fewer tourists. But it *was* egg-laying season and I thought it would be a good opportunity to get to know a different breed of tourist—a breed that paid a high price for once-in-the-lifetime experiences.

After two buses, an hour wait, and a van ride during which I unfortunately lost my lunch out the window, I began to wonder how anyone could think visiting Tortuguero was a good idea. I would later discover that

one gets what one pays for, and a graduate researcher on a budget who hires a driver with the lowest fare gets to hang her head out the window for 45 minutes in the hope she misses her hair. After reaching the water, however, I was converted. I had never seen anything quite so amazing. There was jungle *everywhere* and I was on a water taxi with a dozen or so other travelers going directly into it. There had been a higher than average rainfall for the season, so any shore or flatland that may have separated the waterways from the rainforest was now gone. Now, the jungle just disappeared into the murky brown water. The trees hung over the canal and if you kept watching, you would see monkeys above us chasing the boat. At one point, we passed a flooded field—only the top six inches of fence posts were visible—and I was so busy wondering how the water would ever recede that I almost missed the enormous crocodile swimming alongside the sunken fence.

Our driver was a boy, not yet 10 years old, who guided us through a water maze. We were stuck twice, briefly, and no one on the boat seemed to worry. It was part of the experience. It was like a mobile zoo, with too many attractions and distractions to allow us to care about the problems. And we had not even made it to Tortuguero yet.

The island itself had been consumed by tourism. The main island (I call it this because the only real buildings in the town were here; and, unless you wanted to hire a boat to go to one of the local's homes outside of this island, there was nothing else) was *covered* with establishments. It was separated from the less-populated islands by yet more waterways. This

arrangement helped to ensure that the turtles had their privacy. One could walk the length of the island, and therefore the town, in under half an hour and find everything they needed along the way. My hotel was the last establishment at one end and was barely separated from the main strip.

The main strip was a tourist haven. There were restaurants, cafes, patios, tourism offices, bookstores, souvenir shops, parks, hotels and hostels. Everything seemed to have a jungle or turtle theme and the architecture and décor attempted to blend as well as it could into the jungle surroundings. Despite the natural feeling and isolation of it all, I felt as if I had stepped into a small urban sanctuary. There was the look of Central America—wood or concrete buildings, latticework walls, banana leaf roofs—but also the conveniences and modernity that I was accustomed to only in North America. My hotel—the cheapest I could find, still four times the price I had paid prior—offered continental breakfast, room cleanings and an optional turn-down service. There was an outdoor eco-tourism museum and info booth. There were maps posted throughout the town and pamphlets you could take with you! The never-ending supply of foreigners also helped contribute to the Western feel and organization. Expatriates owned three out of four establishments that I visited and the majority of the people I passed on the streets or sat beside me in the restaurants were tourists. When my water taxi had first arrived to the island, dropping off a dozen or so visitors, there were 20 more travelers on the dock waiting to head back to the mainland.

To be honest, the entire day made me feel like I had been picked up, carried out of Costa Rica, and plopped down into some sort of exquisitely reconstructed version of the Caribbean similar to a visit to Colonial Williamsburg or Salem, Massachusetts. As odd as it felt, I loved it.

The first location that I visited was the Jungle Shop located just off the main town plaza. The Jungle Shop was an artsy souvenir shop that carried many of the same products I had grown accustomed to seeing in various souvenir shops throughout the country. The items for sale were on the higher-priced end of the spectrum and were displayed as if they were museum artifacts rather than mass-produced trinkets and gifts. In addition to all of the familiar items for sale, there were also "organic" and "natural" crafts available for purchase (tiles, journals, bookmarks, woodcarvings, etc.). I have no idea if these items were made locally or were mass-produced elsewhere.

Along the back wall, behind the cash register and in a very prominent location, were rows and rows of Café Britt coffee. What I found unusual was that only one blend was available: organic. Unlike the solid-colored packaging of most Café Britt blends, the organic blend's package was a colorful jungle scene. There were plants, birds, and flowers; I almost did not recognize it as Café Britt.

The Jungle Shop's owner and only employee was a North American expatriate who had moved to Tortuguero a few years ago, bought the shop, and revamped it to suit her needs. We chatted for a while about her business. She told me that most of the tourists she saw come to the island were

families, or young couples. “They come for the turtles, of course. You should see how many more of them there are in December, when all of those eggs hatch”. And although it was the off-season, her shop had a steady flow of browsers.

I told her what I was doing in Tortuguero and asked her about her coffee. She immediately perked up and started nodding her head in understanding. Apparently, she received many comments about the coffee. According to her, the packaging of Café Britt’s organic blend is the entire reason that she decided to sell that particular roast. It fits in with the decor of the Jungle Shop, and even with the rest of the town. She thinks that when people purchase her coffee, they are attracted to the look of the package. I did notice that she was charging a higher than average price for Café Britt. When asked about this, she admitted that it was true. She said that prices did not matter very much this far away from San José, but she tries to let her customers know that the same coffee is available in the capital for much less. Apparently, very few of them care and Café Britt is one of the Jungle Shop’s most popular souvenirs.

The next location I visited was a high-end, yet down-to-earth restaurant, across the street from the Jungle Shop. Buddha Café was very small, but had a large covered porch at the back that provided ample seating for a regular stream of costumers. The porch overlooked the main canal and was surrounded on the remaining two sides by a well-landscaped jungle garden. I spent the entire meal with my back to the “jungle,” the canal on my

right, and Buddha Café's main building to my left. I was catching up on my notes for the day and making new ones for this location. I had been at Buddha Café with my tea (there is such a thing as too much coffee) for quite some time when the server, a 20-something American who had been in Tortuguero for a few months, came over and started laughing. She pointed to the brick wall at my shoulder and said something about my "new friend". It turns out there was a four-foot long iguana resting in the sun beside me. I asked if he was a pet and she said no, but one of the many regulars. It was a bizarre feeling. I am in a restaurant, there are a couple dozen people around, the jungle behind me is not even real, and yet there is a beautiful lizard a foot from me, not paying me one ounce of attention. I really was in a zoo.

One of Buddha Café's main attractions was its jungle scenery and wildlife. It seemed to pride itself on its popularity among both the human and animal world. The majority of the patrons seemed to be tourists, and the employees were equally split between locals and foreigners. According to my informant, Spaniards give Buddha Café more business than any other nationality, and the restaurant is busiest in the afternoon when they come in for an afternoon espresso-based drink. *Macchiato* and *espresso cortados* are two of the most popular beverages ordered. Buddha Café serves Café Rey Espresso. According to Paul back in Puerto Viejo, Café Rey is one of the average quality coffees found in most grocery stores in Costa Rica. Their website describes Café Rey as a gourmet Costa Rican blend and has Café Rey available for purchase in bean form through the website. In stores, however, I

noticed that this brand is primarily sold in ground form and at the same price as 1820 Coffee and other ground coffees. In this way, Café Rey becomes comparable to other locally endorsed coffees and is seen less as a gourmet blend and more as a good but affordable brand of Costa Rican coffee. I have found it sold in two locations (besides grocery stores) so far, but not advertised at all by either. According to Buddha Café, Café Rey Espresso is a good price. They buy it in bulk and encourage the sale of espresso-based drinks (Café Rey Espresso can be used to make regular coffee, but regular coffee is not commonly requested at Buddha Café).

According to my server and informant, the customers that ask about the coffee want to know about the espresso-based drinks that are available, not necessarily about the brand of beans or the quality of the beans. I asked her what was the most common comment she hears about Costa Rican coffee; and she responded, "that they love Costa Rica and that they love the coffee too".

The last two locations that I went to were very similar locally owned establishments. One, Mundo Natural, focused on the sale of organic drinks, snacks and desserts. The other was an all day breakfast café, Darling's. Both advertised their sale of coffee; however, the former also promoted iced coffees, coffee-based milkshakes and coffee-flavored ice cream. When I asked what brand of coffee they sold, neither knew off hand. The first went into the back and brought back a bag of 1820 Coffee; and the second, an elderly Costa Rican man, had a very lively discussion with a woman I

assumed was his wife. They eventually decided that they sold 1820 Coffee as well. When I asked them why, they made the same comment: it's cheap and customers drink it. Mundo Natural emphasized the fact that they bought the coffee down the road at the grocery store, and the owners of Darling's informed me that they chose it because it was what they liked at home. I asked Mundo Natural if they used 1820 Coffee for the iced coffee, milkshakes and ice cream and she laughed a little and told me that those had to be made with coffee-flavored syrup. Apparently the coffee milkshake was their most popular item sold.

I had the distinct feeling at both locations that my questions and curiosity were strange and maybe even unwanted. The couple at Darling's seemed to think that I was trying to purchase a bag of 1820 from them. They kept telling me to go to the grocery store. With their discomfort in mind, I decided to finish up the interview quickly and decided to ask them how often their customers asked them about the coffee. Apparently they don't. "They ask if we can make something: lattes, macchiato, you know. They don't ask more than that".

In the end, I found Tortuguero's coffee culture to be more familiar to those I was acquainted with in North America or even Europe—where type of drinks matter more than beans. There was a much higher focus on espresso-based drinks, the variety available and the setting rather than the quality of the coffee bean or brand itself. This lack of interest did not,

however, seem to affect people's expression of love for Costa Rica coffee in general.

4.1.4 Cahuita

The last Caribbean city I visited was Cahuita, a small community in the Cahuita National Park, which stretches along a short span of the Caribbean coast and encompasses both beach and jungle. Because the town is located in the national park itself, building development is low. The park's major attractions are the coral reefs and the occasional nest of sea turtles. This has led to a good number of tour companies offering snorkeling and scuba diving outings as well as boat tours and jungle hikes around the park. The park was beautiful and worth seeing; and yet at the same time it was not able to compete with larger national parks in the country, such as Manuel Antonio and Monteverde. There just were not that many tourists in Cahuita, and of all of the tourists that I spoke with outside of Cahuita, I never came across anyone who had been there. It was just too small. All of the attractions that Cahuita had to offer could be experienced in a single day. It lacked the nightlife of more popular towns such as Puerto Viejo or Monteverde. It had only a small number of hotels and restaurants. There was no surf. And while the restaurants, the views, the beaches and the shops were all very nice and I enjoyed my time there, I knew that there were larger and more entertaining attractions out there.

Because of the lengthy journey to and from Tortuguero, I did not arrive in Cahuita until late afternoon. I found a hotel only after a little trouble. I was the only person staying there besides a manager who permanently lived there. He was one of the tallest men I had ever met, and he seemed thrilled to have me staying there. He took me on a short tour of the town and pointed out the park entrance, the Internet café, the grocery stores and all of the restaurants in town. He took me to a lychee tree close to our hotel and pulled off nuts that hung three feet beyond my reach (he was *very* tall), and gave them to me to eat. He told me more about the town itself than I could have ever read in a tour guide.

On my second night in Cahuita, a very severe thunderstorm hit the community. Both unable to sleep through the storm, the manager suggested we go to a friend's restaurant to wait out the storm. We changed, grabbed jackets and sandals, and ran to the closed restaurant just down the street where there were already a few people, a pot of coffee and an old soccer game on TV. I spent the night there, listening to their conversation and drinking coffee. I was just grateful to be out of my room and to the manager who helped me the entire time I was in Cahuita. I knew nothing about the town, the establishments, the animals, the lychee tree, etc., and this man went out of his way to help me feel welcome. From day one, he acted as if it was his job to make me *love* Cahuita. I couldn't help but take his generosity as an indication of how few tourists he and the town actually saw.

It became clear pretty quickly that Cahuita saw a very small number of tourists. In four days, I saw ten other people on the beach. They were in a tight cluster and were very clearly taking a tour. I ate every meal these four days at local restaurants and counted a total of twenty to thirty other tourists also dining; to be honest, I think I may have counted some people twice. Compared to the other places I had visited, Cahuita was lifeless. Even in Manzanillo, the hotel on the main square had been full of tourists throughout the day. While I felt that Cahuita had far more to offer, it was extraordinarily quiet.

The first location that I visited was an open-air restaurant located just off a small park in the center of town. Parquecita was packed with large picnic style tables and benches. I had a table for six all to myself. There were two other tourists and three locals in addition to me. I asked the owner, a young local man, about his customers and the coffee that he sold. He told me that his customer base seemed to be half locals and half visitors, varying along with the season. Because his restaurant was open-air and provided, not only a place to eat, but shaded seating for people wanting to hang out in the park, he said that he sold a lot of coffee. He had chosen to sell Café Britt for a number of reasons. First, the company gave establishments machines to make the coffee. In their homes, Costa Ricans tend to make coffee in a *chorreador*: a wooden stand with a suspended cloth coffee filter (see Figure 2). Coffee grinds are put into the sock and hot water is poured through it. A cup under the sock catches the drippings. Depending on the size of the stand,

this method can make one to four cups of coffee. According to the owners of Parquecita, electric coffee machines are rare. People do not see the need for an additional appliance when all they need is a place to boil hot water and a wooden coffee stand. The fact that Café Britt *gives* establishments the equipment they need means that they are more likely to make and sell Café Britt in larger quantities. The owner of Parquecita said that this arrangement made all of the difference. His start-up cost would have been so much higher had selling coffee required him to purchase an expensive electric machine.

The second reason he chose to sell Café Britt is the quality:

> "Locals like it, but they know it is not the same stuff they drink at home: 1820 or whatever. This is *good* coffee and I give them a good price. And for foreigners; well, it is an export quality coffee! Why wouldn't they like it? They ask about it occasionally. I show them this package and tell them where they get it, but I don't advertise for Café Britt. They advertise enough for themselves, you see."

It is true. Café Britt advertisements are everywhere. He had been pointing to a Café Britt sign on a bench across the street as he spoke.

The second location that I visited told me a little more about Café Britt and the machines that they provide. Chaco Latte was a café that was popular for its sale of both local and European snacks. The owner was a middle-aged American woman who had been living in Cahuita with her daughter for ten years. "I don't sell meals. I sell snacks, and coffee, and chocolate drinks". I asked her more about the coffee that she had chosen to sell and she gave a very similar response as the previous establishment. She sold coffee because the company provided a machine, the coffee was a good quality, and they had

Figure 2: A Costa Rican chorreador.

"North American quality customer service, not Central American customer service". Apparently, as long as she continued to buy one box of Café Britt per month, she could keep the machine. Tourists often asked her about Café Britt. She pointed to a bookshelf against the wall and said that it was the reason for all of the questions. The shelf was full of books on coffee and food. I picked one up. It was a guide to making coffee-based drinks. I asked her if she sold any of these and she responded, "oh sure, they aren't on my menu because I don't have an espresso machine. But you can make any espresso-based drink with a regular coffee maker and a French press. It is harder, so I don't advertise it, but the tourists all like them". I asked her about the

number of tourists in Cahuita—I was still shocked to see so few—and she started nodding sadly. “We’re not Puerto Viejo, that’s for sure. But I have a good location. Anyone that comes to town comes to me eventually. I’m going to put a garden café out back so that we can all hang out here. And locals come here a lot. All the women come here”. That fact certainly seemed to be true. She was holding a Costa Rican toddler during our conversation, and there were several women sitting on Chaco Latte’s front steps at the time. Naturally, I wanted to know if they drank her coffee. I loved her response, “You know, this is coffee country. There is so much coffee history, and coffee production is such a huge part of their economy. And they love their coffee! But locals don’t drink good coffee! To me, it is terrible, really. And the tourists, they love Costa Rican coffee too. But they [tourists and locals] love two different types of coffee”.

The last establishment that I visited in Cahuita was a restaurant, Pizza n’ Love, with a varied menu. One could order a traditional breakfast, a pizza, a steak, beer, or coffee. Like the previous two establishments, Pizza n’ Love regularly served both tourists and locals, but the manager later added that there were probably more local patrons than foreign ones. I asked about the coffee and he told me that he sold both Café Rey and 1820, depending on what it was they happened to pick up at the store. “Coffee isn’t that popular here, not with tourists at least. We sell what we like, though, and that is one of these,” he said, showing me the bags.

I realized, after talking with the establishments in Cahuita, that there was not any emphasis on the importance of organic or local coffee. There was talk of "Costa Rican coffee" in general and everything sold was Costa Rican, but nothing specific, nothing to indicate what made a coffee a Costa Rican coffee. In addition to this, Cahuita, like Tortuguero advertised the sale of coffee on boards outside of the restaurant, but never the actual brand they sold. While they were avid coffee drinkers and sellers, they did not feel the need to promote it.

4.2 The Highlands

The entirety of my time in the highland was spent touring coffee plantations in order to gain a better understanding of what goes into the production of a specific blend of coffee and to observe the ways in which plantations draw tourists to their property and promote their product through the use of coffee tours. To say that this approach was research, although true, implies that it was a methodical review of plantations marketing to the tourist sector. Although that was my original intent, my time in the highlands cannot be described that way.

When I went to my first coffee tour, I had notes, informed consent documents and questionnaires. I had intended to ask tourists some basic questions and then gather together their emails and send out a more extensive questionnaire upon my return to Canada. I tried this method for several days, and I drove away handfuls of participants who were just trying

to enjoy an educational and cultural experience without an overeager graduate student following them around asking questions and asking for their email addresses. Needless to say, my method failed and I was forced to reevaluate my plan. Instead of waving questionnaires in everyone's face, I chose to observe more and ask less. When the opportunity arose (and it did on several occasions), I told people about my research and asked them about their experiences with coffee in Costa Rica.

4.2.1 Turrialba

I initially had no idea about the coffee-producing town of Turrialba; it was Paul who suggested that I pay the town a visit. La Asociación de Productores Orgánicos de Turrialba (The Association of Organic Producers of Turrialba) is where Paul gets all of the green beans that he brings to Caribeans to roast. I went to APOT to find out more about the association.

According to their office, APOT is an alliance of coffee producers in Costa Rica. It has been active for twelve years and started with five local coffee producers. Since then, they have expanded to 250 small family producers, 187 of which are organic; the rest are in the process of transitioning over to organic production. They sell coffee to local markets and independent roasters (like Paul) in both the green bean form (which allows roasters to put their own label on it) and a roasted version. The fact that they have so many different producers means that they can easily change the coffee to match the client's needs. In this way, they can sell lower

grade beans, which the locals prefer to the local markets and they can sell the gourmet beans to independent roasters.

I found it interesting that my informant made the distinction between coffee's quality so casually and I asked her what she meant by "lower grade beans". She explained that low grades were bad blends of unripe and ripe berries and told me that locals "got used to drinking bad coffee. It's cheap. We like it". During a tour of the APOT roasting facilities, I was able to watch as green beans were swept out on a covered patio to dry, were tossed to remove the parchment shell, and were roasted, ground and packaged. And although I was the only person on the impromptu "tour," I was served two cups of coffee: a slightly bitter, yet sweetened blend that I was told was popular among the locals, and a gourmet blend that was more to my tastes. This occasion was my first introduction into the world of coffee production and, I must say, it was refreshing to see that the producers were so open about the fact that coffee qualities vary so drastically.

As I sat at my hotel later that afternoon—watching soccer and eating a delicious meal with the owner's family—I met a local man named Freddy who seemed to be a bit of a coffee expert. Within half an hour of meeting me, he decided to take me on a tour of the local plantations. Maybe it was because I was the only real guest in the hotel at the time or because I was passionately cheering for Freddy's favorite soccer team, but this complete stranger spent the next three hours leading me through his friend's coffee plants, showing me the difference between ripe and unripe beans, and telling

me all about the optimal conditions for coffee growth. He took me to his sister's house for a cup of coffee with nieces and nephews and asked them all to tell me about Costa Rican coffee. It was quite an experience. I learned that, in Turrialba, organic coffee production is more common than non-organic coffee production, but that fair-trade coffee is not really discussed at all. According to one of Freddy's family members, "you don't hear much about fair-trade because that is between the seller and the buyer, and it really depends of the buyer's morality. We don't really have a fair-trade label here, we just expect our coffee to be fairly traded". His family seemed fairly interested in discussing my project with me. Eventually, however, the conversation drifted off the topic and onto the children, the day, the weather, the family pet, etc. They seemed to forget that I was there at all, and I was fortunate enough to observe how this family interacted with one another at the end of the day. Despite the obvious cultural differences, their "family time" was very familiar.

The next day, Freddy took me to the plantation, Catie, owned by the local university. Catie grows a variety of coffee, all of which is organic, and is used in studies in the agro-forestry department. While I found the trip to Catie to be very interesting, it was the third tour in a row in which I was the only participant. I left Turrialba feeling very well educated about the need for organic coffees and the process behind producing it, but also very ready to interact with some other tourists on a coffee tour.

4.2.2 Heredia and Alajuela

Heredia and Alajuela are two highland regions just north of the capital city of San Jose. Their proximity to San José means that they are some of the easiest locations to reach in a short time. Coffee plantations situated in these regions benefit from the proximity with the ability to provide half-day tours from San José to their plantation and back again.

Café Britt is one such plantation and tour provider. Café Britt offers two tours to its guests. The first is a basic tour and the second, called the Coffee Lover's Tour, includes an extension to a larger plantation nearby and a class on coffee making. On each of the basic tours I was one of forty or so visitors to the plantation. As the largest coffee producer in Costa Rica, Café Britt's popularity ensures that each tour is fully booked. My fellow tourists came from all over the US, Canada, Mexico, Europe, Asia and South America. I later talked with one of Café Britt's sales manager and was told that most of the tourists that visit the plantation are from North America or Europe, although there are occasional visitors from Central America and South America. Because of their origin and the traditional coffee of their home country, the most popular blends of coffee are dark roasts. Apparently, *café fuerte* is a foreign preference not shared by most Costa Ricans, who would rather their coffee be brewed with a light roast coffee bean.

The Café Britt tour was the most scripted tour that I would be attending during my time in the highlands. Tour guides, who spoke both English and Spanish, used humor to make an otherwise tedious educational

experience entertaining. Presentation of information was well practiced and conversation between tour guides was staged like a show. It worked well, because—despite coming across as staged—it ensured that the audience was entertained from beginning to end. The tour included a walk through a small on-site plantation (built specifically for the tour), a walk through a small on-site roasting facility (which also seemed to exist solely for the purpose of the tour), a short play which ran through the history of coffee, a tasting and a demonstration of how a coffee's quality is tested, and ended with a stop by the gift shop and an optional lunch. The Coffee Lover's extension ventured off the main Café Britt tour site to a fully functional plantation and processing facility nearby and then back to Café Britt for a short course on making Costa Rican coffee and espresso-based drinks.

I found this demonstration to be especially interesting, and although there were only six of us to opt for the Coffee Lover's extension, this was very clearly the most interesting portion of the tour. The coffee making demonstration was led by an experienced barista who made a variety of espresso-based beverages—from lattes and cappuccinos to Spanish coffees and macchiatos. While she used an espresso machine to brew shots of espresso, steam milk and make foam, she also showed us how we could do all of the above with just a French press and a microwave. In addition to this, she explained to us how Costa Ricans make and drink their coffee. She used a chorreador and told us that Costa Ricans leaned toward regular light roast coffee with milk or sugar and nothing else. Overall, it was a very educational

experience. Several times during the course, other tourists would stop by the coffee bar to watch the demonstration and ask questions.

The third tour that I visited while in Heredia and Alajuela was the Doka Estates coffee tour. Until booking the tour I had not heard of Doka Estates coffee. The tour was a combination excursion to the Doka Estates Coffee Plantation, the nearby Poás Volcano, and a stop at the souvenir craft town of Sarchí. We were transported as a group from each location on a small tour bus, but did a good amount of easy walking once we reached each location. My fellow tourists had come from Germany, the UK, the United States, Mexico and Brazil. The tour as a whole seemed to cater to the less adventurous and, maybe it was the easy-going nature of the tour or just a coincidence, but I was the youngest participant by at least 15 years.

The stop at Poás seemed to be the main event of the tour and was our first stop. After spending over an hour at the volcano, we were taken to Doka Estates, where we were led around the processing facilities. We were not taken into the fields themselves. This could have been because it was raining a bit, it was not harvest season, or maybe just because it was not part of the tour. The tour of the processing facilities was very organized. At each stage of the process, there was a sign explaining the same information that the tour guide was giving. It was very easy to follow along and ensured that each visitor left with a detailed understanding of the procedure for processing. Following the tour of the facilities, we were allowed to wander through the

gift shop and—as at Café Britt—encouraged to taste all of the different coffee roasts that Doka Estates offered.

4.2.3 Monteverde

Monteverde is a town located in the middle of Costa Rica's Monteverde Cloud Forest Reserve and is one of the major destinations for eco-tourists that visit the country. Located four to five hours outside of the Central Region, Monteverde is home to numerous nature reserves, is neighbored by one of Costa Rica's most famous volcanoes—Volcán Arenal, and is a prime region for coffee growth. Monteverde's volcanic soil, sea level and shade and protection provided by mountainsides and rainforests have made coffee production in the region very successful.

I attended three tours while in Monteverde and found strong similarities between them all. Unlike the previous tours I had been on, tours in Monteverde emphasized the plantation walk more than the tour of the facilities. After hearing more about coffee production in the region, I began to understand why the tour of the facilities was minimized. In this region, there are only small family growers and producers. All three of the growers were family business that used tours to promote their brand and supplement their profits. Their processing facilities were small, but their plantations were impressive.

The Don Juan Coffee Tour was small—there were only three other women in attendance. They were from Romania, England and the US. They

met during their travels and mutually decided to take the tour. The tour included an elaborate explanation of the coffee plant and the harvesting process. We were each given *cajuelas*; and, despite the fact that it was not harvesting season, allowed to pick ripe coffee beans. It made for a wonderful photo opportunity. We were shown the machinery, where the coffee was dried, saw how the parchment was removed and taken to a very small roasting facility to see how green beans were roasted and packaged. We each ground and packaged a small bag of coffee that we were allowed to take with us. We were then directed to the gift shop and café, where we were fed and given coffee samples. In the end, this was the most hands-on tour that I would attend. The small size of the tour group meant more direct attention from the tour guide, more conversation and question answering, and more time to do small activities like wear a *cajuela*, pick coffee beans, and grind a small bag of coffee as a souvenir.

The last two tours that I attended in Monteverde—the Monteverde Coffee Tour and El Trapiche Coffee Tour—were very similar to the first, although they had a larger number of visitors (eight and twenty split into two groups of ten, respectively). As family owned and run plantations, processing and roasting facilities were very limited and there was an emphasis placed on the tour through the coffee plantation and an explanation of plant growth and harvesting. Each of these tours also included bonus experiences that were unique to that tour. The Monteverde Coffee Tour took us to a scenic viewpoint where we were able to take photos of the valley and waterfall

below, and drove us through the jungle, where we stopped on several occasions to view the resident sloths, toucans and other wildlife. El Trapiche Coffee Tour, meanwhile, offered a dual tour of the coffee plantation and the sugar cane plantation; and showed us how sugar cane is processed. This tour also gave us a chance to use recently processed sugar to make our own candy to take home. Once again, this hands-on element of the tour was feasible because of the small group size.

Overall, I found that each tour I attended was unique and had found something different to do to make it stand apart from the group. Although the smaller plantations did not draw in the same numbers as Café Britt, they know the benefits of providing coffee tours to visitors. According to one of my tour guides, tourists come to Costa Rica for the excursions. He said that going to a café for a Costa Rican coffee is not a very good excursion. Instead, coffee producers have to create something for the tourists to do if they want to profit from the tourism industry. This is how the coffee tour came into existence.

Chapter Five
Discussion

As a 20-something year-old who was traveling through Costa Rica on a very tight budget, I became very aware of the fact that not all tourists are as financially restricted as I was. I saw countless families wandering the cities with personal tour guides/interpreters/drivers, or watched groups board comfortable, air-conditioned tour buses, while I traveled in the heat with a 35lb backpack in my lap. One of the first tours I signed up for was set to meet and leave from a high-end hotel in downtown San José. I arrived early and ended up having to wait in the lobby for half an hour. I have never felt more out of place. I tried to pat down my hair, which frizzes up in the smallest amount of humidity, and I tucked my dusty Tevas under the table and watched women in sundresses and cute sandals and men in loafers and khakis pass by.

It was times like these that I felt like I was the farthest away from an "authentic Costa Rican experience". At a high-end hotel in San José, while enjoying a continental breakfast in Tortuguero, or on a group tour to Monteverde, I barely felt like I was in Costa Rica. As I rode public transportation from location to location, I thought that I was traveling most locals would. I was eating and dining where the locals would. I thought then that I was experiencing a more authentic Costa Rica. Looking back on the trip now, I have begun to question this conclusion. Who is to say that the Costa Rica I experienced was authentic at all? According to Michael Harkin, tourists

and anthropologists are not unlike one another (1995: 650-651). Both travel abroad in order to observe, explore and experience a new culture. We take the same plane to our destination, sleep in many of the same hotels, and—although an anthropologist may continue on to the "bush"—we have similar general experiences of the country to start. The fact is that I went from one tourist attraction to the next, took public transportation that would not run if it were not for Costa Rica's prominent tourism industry, and slept in beds that were made for foreigners like me. Was that what summed up an authentic Costa Rica experience?

Looking back, I realize that I had visited a very different Costa Rica than others, but I was not the alone in this experience. The person beside me on the bus, or in the room next to mine at the hostel will say the same thing: their Costa Rica was unique. Many times the person beside me on the bus or in the room next to mine at the hostel *did* say those exact words: they saw more locations, better beaches, surfed better waves, ate better food, saw more animals, and did more activities. A traveling companion and I often joke about how often we meet "the better traveler". It does not matter where you have been or where you go; there is always someone who has traveled more and experienced more. This attitude towards traveling is almost competitive and has resulted in more tourists seeking out unique experiences, something off the beaten track that they alone will see and something authentic.

Once again we are brought back to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's discussion on authenticity—where it is not authenticity, but the question of authenticity

that is essential. The following chapter will explore how and why experiences of authenticity vary so drastically in Costa Rica—in general and in reference to coffee—and how the question of authenticity plays an important role on the effect that tourism has on coffee consumers locally and abroad.

5.1 Coffee as Coding for Social Classes

I spent the majority of my time in four towns: Puerto Viejo, Manzanillo, Tortuguero and Cahuita. Upon gathering my data, I noted the variety of tourists that each town served. Puerto Viejo and Manzanillo targeted young, thrifty, backpacking surfers. Cahuita and Tortuguero targeted mainstream, eco-curious groups or families. Puerto Viejo and Tortuguero were high traffic locations, while Manzanillo and Cahuita were low traffic destinations. The type and number of tourists that visit each town seemed to directly affect the type of coffee sold at that location.

Tortuguero, targeting mainstream tourists and having a high number of visitors, was the easiest location to find western-style coffees. Here, the bean was not the primary focus, but what was done with the bean: ground for espresso and made into lattes, cappuccinos and iced drinks. Much like the city itself, coffee here did not make any attempt to interfere with a foreigner's basic expectations of Costa Rica. The goal seemed to be to highlight the jungle, but stay as western as possible as well. Cahuita, a low traffic town that also targets mainstream travelers, values this type of coffee as well. In these locations, visitors come for the attractions (turtles, nature preserves and

wildlife museums) and they can expect to be accommodated in a more luxurious manner. This style of traveling is reflected in the type of coffee sold in each location. The brand of coffee sold was very rarely advertised. Instead, the types of drinks themselves were advertised: “Lattes, espressos and mochas sold here,” for example.

In Puerto Viejo, however, coffee brands are the focus and the characteristics of the particular brand matters very much. “Caribeans Coffee: organic, fair-trade and authentically Costa Rican”—I read these words again and again at vendors selling the blend; and while espresso-based drinks were available, they were not advertised or promoted above the coffee bean itself. Here, foods and souvenirs were organic and natural, and the locals themselves seemed to be as organic and all natural as their merchandise. If they happened to be in the tourism industry it did not come across as a career or a choice, but rather a mission. The tourists that stay around Puerto Viejo are just as laid-back as the locals and, somehow, the coffee itself seems laid-back as well. Sure, it’s organic and local, but everything is! Plus, isn’t the fact that Caribeans Coffee is roasted in Paul’s backroom making it even easier to serve than Café Britt would be? The fact that Caribeans Coffee is so popular, although well deserved, seems almost accidental.

Manzanillo, although just as laid-back as neighboring Puerto Viejo has much less traffic than any of the other towns I visited. It was the first town that didn’t advertise coffee at all. There were no lattes or iced coffees around, no Café Britt signs at the grocery stores and no talk of “organic and local

blends" available. In fact, Manzanillo seemed hardly aware of the type of coffee it sold at all. When asked what brand I was drinking, there was no proud explanation for why coffee such and such is the best. "You're drinking what we drink". And that was it.

Clearly, within Costa Rica we see several levels of coffee consumption. There is the lower grade coffee consumed by locals, the gourmet coffee consumed by foreigners, and several phases in between. According to Mary Douglas, differences in food consumption send messages "about different degrees of hierarchy, inclusion and exclusion, boundaries and transactions across boundaries" (1972: 231). With Costa Rica, this is true but expanded. Although the hierarchy Douglas discusses is present in Costa Rica, it also includes groups of people from completely different cultures as well: local Costa Ricans drink lower quality coffee, while local expatriates prefer higher quality coffee but drink both. Thrifty tourists pay attention to quality and ethical origins, while wealthier tourists value the type of drink over the type of bean. This structure, although very fluid, shapes the way coffee is consumed. The presence of the structure, however, enables transactions across boundaries. The distance one travels across a particular boundary says something about that individual's inclusion into the new group. On the other hand, the farther one stays from the boundary also says something about that individual's exclusion from a particular group.

In Tortuguero and Cahuita there are high levels of accommodation for foreigners. Those in the tourism industry have decided to meet the

expectations of their visitors by providing them with both a blend and a brew of coffee that tourists will find acceptable. In this way, foreigners never have a chance to come into contact with local coffee traditions and, therefore, are as excluded from coffee culture as they are from the culture of Tortuguero or Cahuita's that local's experience.

In Manzanillo the coffee culture tends to lean towards the local coffee traditions. Blends are inexpensive (Café Capresso, 1820 Coffee, Café Rey, etc.). Allowing visitors to taste the same coffee that is locally consumed has, perhaps unintentionally, allowed foreigners to cross a boundary into a new group. Puerto Viejo has placed the highest priority on ethically produced and authentically local coffee, and has found a young, thrifty market of tourists to target.

There also remains a drastic dichotomy between the rich and the poor within both groups. As mentioned above, tourists from different wealth classes seem to drift towards different towns, activities and, of course, coffees. Although wealthy locals are less common, the same still holds true. Most locals cannot afford the higher-priced coffees and tend to avoid anything with a gourmet label. Wealthier tourists, however, cannot seem to tolerate the lower quality coffees and avoid anything that lacks a gourmet label. The two groups of individuals that are likely to drink all types of Costa Rican coffee are the wealthier locals and the thriftier tourists. Because they are willing to consume a wider variety of coffees available in Costa Rica, and are therefore more likely to visit a larger number of establishments,

wealthier locals and poor tourists are much more likely to cross boundaries between groups, whereas the poor locals and rich tourists are more likely to remain isolated with their particular social class.

5.2 Analyzing the Social Dimensions

In *Deciphering a Meal* (1972), Mary Douglas attempts to decode the messages given by various consumption practices. More specifically, she looks at how food categories and social categories reflect one another. Although drinks are mentioned as one of the primary food categories and identified as a social event (1972: 235), she places little importance on what can be learned from looking at drinking behavior. According to Douglas, drinks are less structured and are therefore less intimate social gatherings:

> "Drinks are for strangers, acquaintances, workmen, and family. Meals are for family, close friends, honored guests. The grand operator of the system is the line between intimacy and distance. Those we know at meals we also know at drinks. The meal expresses close friendship. Those we only know at drinks we know less intimately. So long as this boundary matters to us the boundary between drinks and meals has meaning" (1972: 236).

She continues to discuss the existence of this boundary between drinks/meals, distant/intimate and then moves on to dissect components of a meal and their various social implications. What I find more appealing, however, is the use of Douglas' framework to look at the "less intimate" social event of drinks. Retaining the dichotomy between locals and tourists, we can further deconstruct coffee consumption via location (i.e., home vs. café) and whether or not coffee is consumed as an individual or group activity.

5.2.1 Home Consumption

When it comes to home production of coffee, one of the primary differences between locals and tourists is actually the method used to brew coffee. The most common way to make coffee in Costa Rica is with a *chorreador*. The *chorreador* does not require electricity, just a method of boiling water, and can be used to brew coffee for an individual or a group of people. Additionally, without a heating element in the device, this coffee must always be made fresh in order to be served hot.

Despite the fact that working *chorreador*s are very often sold in souvenir shops, using one for anything besides a displayed knick-knack seems to be an unthinkable idea for most foreigners. On my last day in Costa Rica, I bought a *chorreador,* thinking that it would make a good prop to my thesis. I was back home two days later—still in the height of my caffeine addiction—when I broke my coffee pot moving into my new apartment. I have been using my *chorreador* ever since. To say that I have encountered some wary partakers would be an understatement. The idea of brewing coffee in "a sock"—even one constructed specifically for the purpose—seems to be an absurd, almost repulsive, idea to my friends and family.

In Costa Rica, "sock" brewing in standard. Most homes will have several *chorreador*s of different sizes, and will use them daily for coffee preparation. Many will argue that it results in a better overall taste as well. And although I had my own initial doubts, I now agree. Much like Costa

Ricans themselves, brewing coffee in a *chorreador* is simple and preserves the value of "Pura Vida" (via pure coffee) that has so defined the country.

Foreigners who purchase coffee to take home are using the beverage to serve as a symbol of their trip—a souvenir. Whether it is given as a gift, consumed privately at home, or served to guests, this coffee's taste represents the traveler's time in Costa Rica. Chances are it will not be brewed in a *chorreador*, or consumed in an open-air café by the beach. Once the product leaves the country, only two parts will remain as reminders of its origin. First, the packaging: such as the jungle scenes of Café Britt's organic blend, or the "Fairly-Traded and Local" label of Caribeans Coffee. A coffee's packaging vouches for its authenticity and, like a photograph or a tan, it gives credibility to the purchaser as being a "well-traveled individual".

The second reminder of the coffee's origin is the stories that will be told about it. When it is passed on as a gift, or shared with company, or even consumed alone, the purchasers will tell themselves and others about where they got the coffee. Whether they bought it in Paul's store, at the end of a tour, in a random souvenir shop, or just picked it up at the airport on the way out, the purchaser can say, "I picked this up while I was in Costa Rica". In this way, Costa Rican coffee is much more than a beverage with a unique taste, but a representation of country itself and a traveler's time there.

5.2.2 Public Consumption

In Costa Rica, when consuming coffee in public, locals and tourists tend to keep similar company but vary on the locations they will consume it. Locals tend to favor small and familiar restaurants and bars and avoid cafés or tourist areas because of their higher prices and larger number of foreigners. Tourists, on the other hand, are familiar with café dining and seem to prefer this type of location for coffee consumption. While they are less likely to venture outside of the popular tourist routes in search of new coffee establishments, they are also less likely to come across a western-style café anyway, should they chose to venture.

One of the major outcomes of their preferred dining locations is that locals have more opportunities—which they seize regularly—to share meals as well as beverages. Tourists, on the other hand, are more likely to consume coffee as the main event and a snack as an accompaniment. Here we are brought back to Douglas (1972) to look at the social implications of this habit. There is a higher likelihood for Costa Ricans than foreigners to consume coffee with a meal. With locals, the meal is the main event, while for tourists drinks are the main event. According to Douglas, sharing a meal together indicates a higher level of intimacy among that group, while drinks indicate less intimacy (1972: 236). It is easy to imagine, based on Douglas' claims along with other contributing factors, why tourists are less intimate groups. The locals I observed are in their hometown, surrounded by a much larger network of friends and acquaintances. Tourists either socialize with

their traveling companions or people they have met along the way. Among backpackers in Costa Rica, making friends on the road is standard and is commonly referred to as "five-minute friendships". Traveling alone in Costa Rica meant that I became very well acquainted with this phenomenon. I met people on the bus, in my hostel and at restaurants/cafés; and for the short while that our paths crossed we were great friends. With five-minute friends one can talk about home, the trip thus far and places they have seen or wish to see. Because they are so temporary, five-minute friendships very rarely penetrate below the surface. Instead, they seem to be a fleeting form of companionship that dissolves as soon as one member of the friendship departs.

The commonality of five-minute friendships while traveling in Costa Rica was one of the reasons that finding a fellow tourist to talk to was so easy. It was expected. On coffee tours, buses and in hostels, I was able to gather informants like most people gather five-minute friends. I was able to observe five-minute friendships in action and watch as they drifted toward cafés and bars for drinks or snacks and then broke up once it was time for a meal. It seemed that the benefit of having a drink together as opposed to a meal was that it was fluid, an observation that Mary Douglas makes as well (1972: 237-239). Having a coffee together can last for five minutes or an hour, can include snacks or not and can be left at any time. Having coffee, much like five-minute friendships, requires no commitment.

In the case of brewing methods and consumption locations, boundaries are very clear and transactions across boundaries, although rare, become very obvious when made. A tourist who chooses to brew his or her coffee with a *chorreador*, a local who brews coffee at home with a machine, a tourist who joins locals for a cup of coffee, or a local who frequents a café in a tourist town have all taken steps outside of the norm and will be noticed. Crossing a boundary shows that that individual is either already included in the new group, or is trying to be.

I have found that expatriates, like Paul and Jeanne, are excellent examples of individuals who have crossed the boundaries. Their store, Caribeans, has become a haven for travelers who need something familiar. Tourists welcome the opportunity to speak English and have an iced latte. At the same time, however, Paul and Jeanne themselves will spend their free time dining and hanging out with locals, speaking primarily Spanish, harvesting cacao from trees in their backyards, and (of course) brewing coffee in a *chorreador*. Ignoring their skin color, background and slight accent, Paul and Jeanne blend in seamlessly with the local population in Puerto Viejo. I cannot say if their acceptance into the local niche is based on their use of local practices or if their use of local practices is present because of their acceptance, but one element is clear: you cannot have one without the other.

Locals and tourists tend to have similar routines for consumption. Coffee is more common in the morning through the afternoon, but is

occasionally consumed late as well. It is also a common social activity. During my observations, I very rarely saw individuals going out for a coffee alone. Just as in North America, "going out for coffee" means a lot more than just having a beverage together. For Costa Ricans, having a coffee means sitting down to relax with one another, or having an excuse for a moment to talk. For tourists, "having a coffee" is the same. And although the locations and coffee blends themselves may be different between groups, and the relationship between members of the group may vary in intimacy, the activity itself is very much the same. "Having a coffee" implies conversation, not just the intake of a beverage.

5.3 Impression Management

Like Mary Douglas, Erving Goffman (1959) also uses the presence of boundaries to discuss how individuals construct and cross them. In reference to one's public and private selves, he classifies the behavior differences exhibited by an individual into two different regions: front stages and back stages. According to Goffman, the term "front stage" refers to the region "where a performance is given" (1959: 107), while the term "back stage" refers to the place "where the suppressed facts make an appearance" (112) and "…the place where the performer can reliably expect that no member of the audience will intrude" (113).

Although Goffman uses this model to explain how an individual's behaviors can change when they are in a front stage region (public place) or

in a back stage region (private place), the same model can be applied to the customs of group behavior. In the case of Costa Rican coffee, we can use Goffman's idea to dissect why consumption patterns differ for locals when they are in their own homes versus when they are in the presence of foreigners or as proprietors of establishments that serve a larger number of foreigners.

According to Goffman, front stage performances are given in order to maintain the appearance of meeting a certain standard (1959: 107). With coffee, locals who come into contact with a higher number of foreigners adopt foreign customs in order to meet expectations and deter any curiosity that the visitor may have about the local traditions. In this way, the foreigner leaves none-the-wiser (i.e., thinking that cafés, coffee houses, lattes and espressos are universal coffee traditions) and the local has guarded their privacy. Meanwhile, in the back stage, locals are free to drink the quality of coffee that they have grown accustomed to or use *chorreador*s without being judged for the simplicity of the method.

At the same time, boundary crossing does happen—foreigners are given the opportunity to experience Costa Rican culture as the locals do. For me, this happened most often when I was alone, pitied, or asking for help. In Turrialba, when Freddy took me to his home, I was allowed to visit with his family and enjoy coffee and conversation at their pace and in their way. In Manzanillo, I spent a long enough time at Maxi's and asked enough innocent questions that I eventually moved from a seat by myself to a seat with the

manager, employees, or other regulars. Lastly, in Cahuita when my hotel's building manager rescued me from a storm and took me to a closed restaurant where we joined his family and friends having coffee and watching a soccer game. These were rare instances. I had spent plenty of time in the country to know how rare they were. Looking back on them now, however, I realize how monumental those occasions were. I was crossing Douglas' boundaries by consuming coffee in the local fashion. I was also entering Goffman's backstage—an area into which very few foreigners, especially foreigners in packs, were ever invited.

There were two primary reasons I was allowed into these traditionally forbidden regions: I was alone and I was setting myself apart from the group by directing my curiosity towards everyday people and their lives. When we travel, we tend to stay in packs. While on established coffee tours, we are a group, an entity, and no longer individuals. From my experience, locals aren't so much guarding their privacy from lone travelers, but from the hordes of people who come in and out of their country on a regular basis. Just think about it. When you see a neighbor on the street, it is not too much of a sacrifice on your part to invite that one person into your home for a drink. It is just one person—they are easily maintained. A pair, a family or a group is a much different matter. Inviting them into your home constitutes a party!

For Costa Ricans, the same situation exists. Alone, I was not much of a threat. If anything, my questions and curiosities were welcomed. It was the

moments in which I was clustered in with the rest of the tourists, however, that I was not nearly as invited: on established tours or in towns or establishments that filter through hundreds of tourists a day.

While looking at the coffee culture in Costa Rica, both the front and back stages that exist for locals must also be addressed. Travelers in foreign countries, however, have very little physical space that can be called back stage. Almost everywhere the tourist goes, with exception of private hotel rooms or restrooms, is in the company of others. They are naturally and constantly a part of the group. This fact makes it difficult for locals to identify a tourist as an individual. At the same time, it makes it nearly impossible for a foreigner to develop a back stage region. Everything they do is in the front stage. Anyone that has traveled can attest to the fact that there is a constant need to be "on". A part of the desire that travelers have to rest after their vacation is actually just a need to spend some time unwinding in the back stage.

Because of this situation, there is very little opportunity to study foreigners in their back stage regions. They just don't exist. What has developed, however, are back stage simulations. Goffman says,

> "By invoking a backstage style, individuals can transform any region into a back stage. Thus we find that in many social establishments the performers will appropriate a section of the front region and by acting there in a familiar fashion symbolically cut it off from the rest of the region" (1959: 128-129).

An example of these sorts of regions, are Caribeans Coffee or any other hotel, hostel, café or restaurant which tourists have decided will serve as a back

stage region. Goffman suggests that it is strictly the performer's decision as to which region they will "transform" into their own. I, however, think that locals encourage this behavior as a form of hospitality by creating environments in which foreigners will feel comfortable.

5.4 Staged Authenticity

Dean MacCannell (1973) first approached the idea of simulated back stages. According to MacCannell,

> "touristic consciousness is motivated by its desire for authentic experiences, and the tourist may believe that he is moving in this direction, but often it is very difficult to tell for sure if the experience is authentic in fact" (1973: 597).

This is very much the case in Costa Rica, where simulated back stages lay the foundation for the authentic touristic experience and allow tourists to experience a staged authenticity without actually meddling with the reality of the local culture. Modern establishments, even if only slightly westernized, can have all the appearances of authenticity without being authentic at all. This is the case with the majority of the hotels, hostels, restaurants, and cafés that one finds in tourist regions of the country.

Guided tours also encourage this form of staged authenticity. They allow tourists to access areas that are normally closed to outsiders, but control what a visitor sees and experiences. According to MacCannell, this presents a very interesting opportunity for analysis:

> "The tour is characterized by social organization designed to reveal inner workings of the place…at the same time, there is a staged quality to the proceedings that lends to them an aura of

> superficiality, albeit a superficiality that is not always perceived as such by the tourist, who is usually forgiving about these matters" (1973: 595).

Most tourists never realize that their authenticity has been staged; that the back stage they feel themselves entering is actually a simulation of the real thing. In all my time in Costa Rica questioning tourists about their experiences, I came across only one individual who seemed to care: the Texan woman back at Caribeans in Puerto Viejo who had told me that "so much can be hidden and tourists will only see what they are wanted to see. I would much rather find a coffee plantation and approach the owner and talk to him about coffee and his production, and even wander around by myself, but I don't think this is allowed".

In general, staged authenticity is widely accepted and—while not a genuine experience of the culture—develops into a genuine experience for the tourist. The consequences of this acceptance are generally beneficial. Neither tourists nor locals may intend to create this staged authenticity, but each benefit from its existence. In westernized establishments, foreigners feel more at home, are able to relax—maybe not fully—but will benefit from the resting and unwinding that they are able to do in the pseudo back stage. When tourists come into the country, they enter in search of authenticity and unknowingly enter into the designated touristic space. Guided tours, national parks and cultural establishments help satisfy this desire for authenticity. Despite the efforts that many have made to venture off the beaten track, very

few successfully do it. Staging authenticity guarantees that visitors come to Costa Rica, find what they are looking for and leave happy.

Locals benefit from staged authenticity because they have created a modern place for their guests to relax and have ensured that their own front and back stages will remain intact. As a country whose primary source of income comes from tourism, Costa Ricans have increasingly found their paths crossing with tourists. In his chapter "Goodbye to Tristes Tropes: Ethnography in the Context of Modern World History," Marshall Sahlins (1993) discusses how anthropological research leads to acculturation; the anthropologist makes judgments about the community and in turn the studied groups may change their own culture in an attempt to "defy their anthropological demotion by taking cultural responsibility for what was afflicting them" (1993: 472). From my research, I would add that tourism has a similar affect. Although judgment, if passed, is not recorded and published as with ethnographic research, word of mouth is far more effective. The presence of tourism in a country often ignites change and encourages modernization—this might actually be a key factor in the success of tourism in that country. At the same time, I do not necessarily think that this acculturation penetrates into every aspect of the culture. While staged authenticity gives foreigners a taste of the local, the touristic space seem to be the only location in which it thrives. According to Erik Cohen (1988), MacCannell's staged authenticity helps assure that the commoditization of a

culture does not destroy the authenticity of local cultural products and human relations (1988: 372).

By my assessment, the experience of authenticity that foreigners undergo can only help to promote tourism in Costa Rica. Although the experiences may not be authentic representations of the local culture, they remain authentic experiences for the tourist who will carry them home, cherish them, learn from them, talk about them and share them with other potential tourists. In the case of coffee, the authenticity of the tourist's encounters with coffee matter even less. When a tourist purchases a bag of coffee to take home as a souvenir—whether it be Café Britt, Caribeans Coffee, or 1820 Coffee—they are taking home a product that is truly Costa Rican, a tangible and authentic piece of Costa Rica. Their experiences in the country—on coffee tours, in cafés, in restaurants—may have been staged for their benefit, but it does not change the fact that they were experienced. Defining authenticity is done individually, not by the group. Even my own assessments of authenticity are skewed by my viewpoints and experiences. Tourists encounter coffee abroad, learn something about production or participate in the consumption of the product while traveling and take this experience with them to add to their own coffee culture at home. According to Lucy Long,

> "The nature of food contributes to exploring tourism as a stance, a process, and a way of approaching an object or activity, rather than a category of behavior. This allows us to see tourism as occurring in a multitude of activities, not necessarily traveling to "foreign" lands. It means that not only can one stay home and still experience the "exotic", but one may also stay home and view the familiar and mundane as exotic." (2004: 6).

In this way, the touristic approach to living is maintained despite the fact that the traveler has gone home. Time abroad promotes a desire for the returned tourist to hold on to their exotic experience. For coffee, this desire might manifest itself in a small way—such as choosing a Costa Rican blend the next time they are visiting their neighborhood coffee house. It might, however, have larger results—such as convincing a coffee drinker to commit to the purchase of only fair-trade, organic coffees. Whatever the outcome, coffee tourists will leave Costa Rica better educated and with a solid connection to a product whose authenticity cannot be staged.

Chapter Six
Conclusion

Coffee is a commodity with an elaborate history, it plays an important role in the economic life of a variety of countries and it has very real effects on our society. My thesis has focuses on the latter. Studying the places in which coffee and tourism intersect has had three primary outcomes: it has given more insight into the encounters that foreigners have with coffee, the effects that tourism has on the coffee experience of the locals and the ways in which coffee contributes to a tourist's perceived experience of the authentic. I will discuss each outcome in that order.

First, it allowed me to investigate the encounters that tourists have with coffee. In coffee shops, cafés and restaurants tourists bring drinking habits from their home country and are able to maintain the same relationship with the beverage that they have always had. In these locations, quality matters the most. On tours, in roasters, or in stores, however, tourists become more aware of coffee's ethical benefits and origin. Here, they will be more likely to pay attention to the type of coffee they are drinking and seek out fair-trade, organic and/or locally produced coffees.

Second, this research has shed light on the effects that tourism has on the coffee experience of the locals. When foreigners consume coffee, they enjoy mid-grade beans lightly roasted with sugar. The presence of tourists and the type of coffee available for foreign purchase within the country have not affected consumption behaviors for locals. It has, however, changed the

way they produce, sell and market coffee. Locals understand that foreigners would like to drink (by the cup) what they are accustomed to, but purchase (in bulk form) something ethically sound and authentically local. The increasing presence of foreigners in the country has resulted in a need for locals to preserve their solitude through the—perhaps unconscious—creation of pseudo back stages and use of staged authenticity. Pseudo back stages are the setting for staged authenticity, and both ensure that locals' privacy is safeguarded.

Third, this research has questioned how coffee contributes to a tourist's perceived experience of the authentic. Not only has staged authenticity been necessitated by Costa Ricans' desire to separate foreign from local, but by foreigners' desire for authentic Costa Rican experiences. Staged authenticity helps satisfy tourists' desire for the new and exotic. Without staged authenticity, tourists would feel cheated, which either causes Costa Rica to become a less attractive travel destination or draws foreigners into the locals' back stages.

The result of staged authenticity is that several tiers of authenticity have been created and it is impossible to call one more real than the other. The Costa Rica experienced by locals and that experienced by foreigners differ greatly; but they are both real experiences of Costa Rica. It is impossible for a tourist to visit a "fake Costa Rica". Tourism has become an essential aspect of the country's economic well-being and, therefore, has become integrated into all aspects of Costa Rica. With this in mind, the

experiences of both locals and foreigners must be considered different, but equally authentic. While the authenticity of the locals' experiences comes naturally and leaves little debate, the staged authenticity experienced by tourists is more complex. Here, we are reminded of Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's idea that authenticity itself matters less than the question of authenticity (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2003: xii). Although staged authenticity exists for tourists' benefit and is more easily questioned, it remains authentic for the tourist experiencing it. The question, then, is less about how authentic an experience is, but rather how an experience *becomes* authentic to the individual.

These outcomes have opened several doors for future research that relates to the social effects of coffee consumption behaviors, the influences of tourism on home cultures, and the value of staged authenticity for local preservation and foreign gratification. A clearer definition of the back stage and of staged authenticity as they relate to coffee, Costa Rica, and tourism in general is needed. More specifically, the following questions still remain unanswered: What level of satisfaction do tourists receive from staged experiences? Is there discontent? If tourism were to move towards more authenticity and less staged authenticity, would the advantages outweigh the losses? In what other ways, outside of coffee, do locals preserve their back stages? How often do foreigners cross into the locals' back stage region and what key elements of their behavior allow this to happen? How is the authenticity of coffee measured in non-coffee producing nations? What role

does staged authenticity play in the sale and marketing of coffee in countries in which coffee is most popular. What, if any, parts of the Costa Rican coffee experience remain will travelers after their return home?

While investigating the connection between coffee and tourism has expanded on the casual and yet meaningful relationship between the commodity, foreigners and locals, there still remain many unanswered questions. Developing a better understanding of the smaller contributors to this relationship will further assist in the marketing of coffee in producing nations and countries where consumption is highest, and will teach us more, not only about tourism, but about the ways in which tourism comes home with everyone who travels.

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Appendices

A. Informed Consent Document

Interviewer: Calli Waltrip
Contact: waltrip@ualberta.ca

M.A. Research Project
"Costa Rican Coffee and Tourism"
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

Interviewee: _____ Date: _____
Contact Information (e-mail): _____

Project Description:

The project "Costa Rican Coffee and Tourism" is being conducted by University of Alberta, anthropology student Calli Waltrip as a part of her Master's Thesis Research. The purpose of this research is to examine the relationship between the marketing of fair-trade coffee and tourism.

Your participation in this project is entirely voluntary and may be withdrawn at any time.

Please read the following and check if you agree:

___I agree to the use of my interview responses for the purposes of this project.
___I understand that this information will be made public through publications and presentations.
___I have been informed as to the potential risks and benefits of participation.

___I agree to the use of photography in my place of business and/or the use of my photographed image.

___I agree to participate with the following conditions (if any):

Please write down any specific conditions you have (use reverse side if more space is needed).

As the Interviewee, I have been fully informed of the following points before proceeding with the interview:

1. My participation in the research is completely voluntary, and I understand the intent and purpose of my participation.
2. Upon my request, I understand that my identity will be kept confidential and that I have the right to withdraw from this project at any time (during the interview or at a later date).
3. Any information provided by me can be destroyed at any time upon my request.
4. I will receive a copy of this contract if I so desire.

Signatures: Interviewee: _____

Interviewer: _____

**** I will take both Spanish and English translations of this document***

B. Predetermined Research Questions, Establishments

Survey Instrument A
Open-ended Oral History Topic Questions
Target Participants: Coffee Shop, Restaurant or Tourist Shop Owners

How long have you been selling this coffee?

What motivated you to start selling this coffee?

How do you decide where to purchase the coffee you sell?

Can you tell me about the people that buy your coffee? Are they locals, tourists, or both?

Are your consumers interested in the origin of your coffee?

C. Predetermined Research Questions, Tourists

Survey Instrument B
Survey Style Interview Questions
Target Participants: Tourists

What is your nationality?

Why are you in Costa Rica?

How often do you normally drink coffee?

What is your opinion of Costa Rican coffee?

Had you tried Costa Rican coffee before visiting this country?

Which coffee tour did you take while in Costa Rica?

Why did you decide to take a tour of a coffee plantation?

Have you been on any other coffee tours?

How did you find out about this particular tour operator?

What other tourist activities do you have scheduled during your visit?

What does the term "fair-trade coffee" mean to you?

How common is it to run across fair-trade coffee in your home country?

Do you drink fair-trade coffee in your home country?

What did this tour teach you about Costa Rican coffee that you didn't know before?

Did your experiences in Costa Rica teach you anything about fair-trade products?

Have you or do you plan on purchasing coffee to take home with you?

If yes, are you purchasing the coffee for yourself or as gifts for friends or family?

What are some of the characteristics you look for when purchasing coffee?

What activities would you suggest other tourists do while visiting Costa Rica?

D. Ethics Statement

Ethics Statement

Applicant:
Calli Waltrip
Graduate Student
M.A. in Anthropology
Department of Anthropology
University of Alberta
waltrip@ualberta.ca

Research Title: "Costa Rican Coffee: An Ethnographic Study of Fair-trade Coffee and Tourism in Costa Rica"

PROJECT OVERVIEW

Project Summary and Methodology:

The purpose of this research is to examine the relationship between coffee production, fair-trade agreements, and the tourism industry within Costa Rica. Research has been completed in the past on how fair-trade agreements have affected coffee plantation workers and the families of these workers (Sick 1993, Sick 1997, Sick 2007) and on the effects of fair-trade on larger coffee producers (Luetchford 2008). Little research, however, has been completed on fair-trade and tourism in Costa Rica—a country whose economic stability is highly dependent on the money spent by foreigners within their borders. Because of this, I will be using ethnographic research methods to look at how coffee production and coffee products are promoted within Costa Rica to foreigners. This research will help expand our understanding of the appeal that both 'fair-trade' and 'authentic' labels have for coffee consumers.

I plan to begin research in the Caribbean coastal towns of Puerto Viejo, Manzanillo, and Puerto Limón, which are known for the number of tourists that pass through them. Although coffee is not grown along the Caribbean coast, it is a key souvenir sold in tourist stores and is popular in restaurants and coffee shops in the region. While on the Caribbean coast, I aim to conduct interviews with five local business owners in each town. The types of business owners I will approach will include coffee shop, restaurant and tourist shop owners selling both fresh and packaged fair-trade coffee. These interviews will be open-ended oral histories with at least three to five topics and questions concerning the interviewees' experiences with fair-trade coffee (see attached: Survey Instrument A).

Following research in the Caribbean, I will move to central Costa Rica, to the highlands where coffee is more commonly grown. In this region, not only is coffee a draw for tourists, but also so are the plantation tours offered by many producers. Here, I will take tours with three of the larger plantations in the region

(Monteverde, Espiritu Santo and Café Britt). These tours will be arranged prior to travel. In addition to this, I hope to go on two to three smaller tours that I will identify once in the region. This will allow for comparison between the tours offered by larger plantations and those offered by less known plantations.

Studies focusing on larger plantations, coffee producers, and their employees have already been completed, and, therefore, will not be the focal point of my research. I will draw on previous literature, but will focus on the tourists that go on these tours. I do not wish to affect tourists' experiences during the coffee tour, but see joining these tours as a good way to meet potential informants and to make observations without doing interviews. During these tours and in my time in the highlands, I expect to identify individuals who could potentially show interest in this project, and either set up face-to-face interviews with them, or leave them my contact information in order to conduct interviews with them via E-mail. I aim to complete a survey style interview with at least thirty respondents about their experience as a "coffee tourist" (see attached: Survey Instrument B).

Benefits:

This research will supplement existing literature on fair-trade by focusing on fair-trade tourism. The information that this study provides will lead to a better understanding of the motives behind the purchase of both fair-trade and authentic foreign coffees that is swiftly growing in popularity in the North. Understanding the motives for tourists abroad to purchase either fair-trade or authentically foreign coffee will help us understand similar motives of consumers in fair-trade trends here in North America.

INCOPORATION OF TRI-COUNCIL POLICIES REGARDING ETHICAL CONDUCT FOR RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMANS

66.3.1 Respect for Human Dignity:

As the interviewees will be business owners and tourists, it will be possible to stay in touch with them via email or regular mail. In fall 2009 I will send interviewees a transcript of their own interviews in order to verify the information and will send participants a copy of the final M.A. thesis if they request it.

66.3.2 Respect for Free and Informed Consent:

I will orally explain the project to all participants and ask if they would prefer to give oral or written consent for their participation. In either situation, the project and the voluntary nature of participation will be explained orally. I will ensure participants' understanding of the project and their own involvement before proceeding with interviews or photography. I will make it clear to

prospective participants that they may decline to be interviewed or decline to answer any question they wish during the interview.

(see attached: Informed Consent Document)

66.3.3 Respect for Vulnerable Persons:

This research does not involve interviewing minors or at-risk populations (e.g., institutionalized persons).

66.3.4 Respect for Privacy and Confidentiality:

As individual names have very little effect on the outcome of the research, I will use pseudonyms for all business owners and businesses that participate in the interviews conducted along the Caribbean coast. I will, however, inform these business owners that it is impossible to guarantee that their organization's name would not be recognized despite the use of pseudonyms. For this reason, I will encourage business owners to allow the use of their organization's name in this project and will recommend that those who are strongly against recognition to decline participation.

I will not disclose any names or information about the operators of tours that I take during the course of this research. The focus of these tours will be the tourists themselves. Furthermore, there will be no need to identify tourists who participate in this project by name at all. If I need to identify a tourist individually in the write-up of the results, I will do so by nationality. I will explain this to prospective interviewees.

66.3.5 Respect for Justice and Inclusiveness:

The subjects of this research are, in some sense, "elites" (i.e., business owners and tourists). Little research has been done to date on their role in fair-trade within Costa Rica, so, because of this, my research itself promises inclusiveness. It is beyond the scope of this project to include other, less elite perspectives. I will, however, supplement this research with a literature review of other research on growing and processing coffee in Costa Rica.

66.3.6 Balancing Harms and Benefits:
66.3.7 Minimizing Harm:
66.3.8 Maximizing Benefit:

In order to minimize harm, I will send each interviewee a copy of their interview transcript during a follow-up in Fall 2009. They will be allowed to retract portions of their interview if need be, as well as clarify parts if they feel they did not explain themselves thoroughly enough during the initial interview. In addition to this, interviewee's will be offered access to either the final thesis or a short (five page) Spanish language summary of the research results.

In order to maximize benefits, while in Costa Rica in summer 2009 I will actively seek out other parties who could potentially be interested in my research

results. Other interested parties may include tourist boards, NGOs, or academics working with the coffee industry, fair-trade, or tourism. I will distribute the short Spanish language summary of my research results to such interested parties.

Works Cited:

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E. Copy of Approval Letter from Tri-Council Ethics BoardTric

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Arts, Science & Law Research Ethics Board (ASL REB)

Certificate of REB Approval** for **Fully-Detailed Research Proposal

Applicant: Calli Waltrip

Supervisor (if applicable): Kathleen Lowrey

Department / Faculty: Anthropology/Arts

Project Title: Costa Rican Coffee: An Ethnographic Study of Fair Trade Coffee and Tourism in Costa Rica

Grant / Contract Agency (and number):

ASL REB Member (and file number if applicable): Sandra Garvie-Lok

Application number: 2118

Approval Expiry Date: June 19, 2010

CERTIFICATION of ASL REB APPROVAL

I have reviewed your application for research ethics review and conclude that your proposed research meets the University of Alberta standards for research involving human participants (GFC Policy Section 66). On behalf of the *Arts, Science & Law Research Ethics Board* (ASL REB), I am providing expedited research ethics approval for your proposed project.

This research ethics approval is valid for one year. To request a renewal after (June 19, ***2010***), please contact me and explain the circumstances, making reference to the research ethics review number assigned to this project (see above). Also, if there are significant changes to the project that need to be reviewed, or if any adverse effects to human participants are encountered in your research, please contact me immediately.

ASL REB member (name & signature): Sandra Garvie-Lok

Date: June 19, 2009