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Sustainable Tourism Norm Transfer and the Case of Monteverde, Costa Rica

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Abstract
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Keywords: sustainability, tourism, norm transfer, ecotourism, certification, socialization.
Dedicated to my family, whose unending support and love I could never do without.
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Chapter 1: Introduction and Terminology

A brief introduction

Between 500 million and 1.5 billion people, worldwide, travel internationally each year for tourism-related purposes.\(^1\) As tourists become more interested in tourism that takes them to more remote areas of the world, including pristine tropical forests, human impact on those ecosystems increases. Animals that may have originally drawn these tourists to those destinations in the first place become harder to find because they cannot tolerate such a large human footprint in their habitat, and the disappearance of such animals eventually leads to a loss of tourism. This means a decrease in how much the human community benefits economically from tourism as well. In many cases, tourism to such destinations might not have even benefitted the communities very much, culturally speaking. Tourism can lead to the transformation, dilution, or mainstreaming of a local culture in order to fit tourists’ expectations, satisfy their want for both the new and the familiar, and provide for their demands for specific cultural features. Sometimes, this also includes the urbanization of formerly-rural areas in order to provide space and infrastructure for these tourists, which may lead to an increase in crime, damage to cultural heritage sites, and conflicts over resources.\(^2\) What may have originally been a successful source of economic income for a small destination turns into a destructive force that causes long-term consequences.

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How does one prevent this sort of situation? How can tourism be supported at a given destination while avoiding irreversible damage to both the natural environment and the human community of a destination? The catchall buzzword that commonly occurs as a general answer to this question is “sustainability”. To promote the longevity of the resources available on Earth, human development needs to be more sustainable, as does the tourism industry. Simply attempting to decrease the amount of tourism that occurs on an international basis is infeasible. The annual tourist flow is enormous, and the tourism sector directly contributes $2.1 trillion ($6.6 trillion, if one takes into account the indirect and induced impacts of tourism) to the world gross domestic product.\(^3\) A forecasted growth of 3 percent in the industry shows that a decrease in the amount of tourism that occurs overall would be an unlikely solution to this sustainability issue.\(^4\) It is how tourism is managed rather than how much tourism exists that matters in this case, and international organizations such as the World Tourism Organization and the Global Council for Sustainable Tourism have taken steps in this direction by creating guidelines that destinations, as well as businesses within the destinations, can follow in order to manage themselves in a more sustainable manner. However, such guidelines for sustainable business management tend to not be easily accessible at the destination level. The estrangement between international and destination levels would be problematic without the presence of intermediary actors that help international actors transfer norms that lead to sets of practices that local-level businesses carry out because they believe in the goal of long-term sustainability. If not for the transfer of internationally-propagated norms that promote sustainable tourism to begin with, the local level would not be aware that such guidelines exist.


\(^4\) Ibid.
This work grapples with the question of how successful norm transfer in the area of sustainable tourism from the international level to businesses at the destination level actually is and why this may be so. Norms that are related to sustainable tourism and spread by international organizations are important because they provide a base from which appropriate behaviors may stem. If the goal is to increase the proportion of sustainable tourism over unsustainable tourism, it is important to understand the situations that result in successful transfer of international norms that are seen as “good” for the natural and human environment and that promote the overall theme of sustainable development in tourism. The visible result of businesses conforming to international norms for sustainable tourism would not only be made evident in their daily operations, but also in the dialogue of the people involved in the business, which reveals what sorts of beliefs, goals, and values they hold (which, if common among many businesses, points to the presence of one or more norms). I argue that the transfer process of such norms to local businesses is not only successful, but also that it is a social process that is not directly affected by material incentives. Policies should therefore be focused on social changes rather than material coercion in order to promote sustainable tourism.

To examine this issue, I begin by defining key terms related to this discussion on sustainable tourism, and then proceed to lay out the Internationals Relations frameworks that are pertinent to this research. Social constructivism is a necessary lens through which one may clearly view norm transfer, and it explains why international organizations, states, local businesses, and other actors respond the way they do to norms related to sustainable tourism as well as how transfer of these norms may be viewed theoretically. I then present a concise history of the rise of sustainable tourism as a global phenomenon as well as the principal norm-making organizations involved in
sustainable tourism and the guidelines they present. This is followed by a preliminary
destination-level case study that I conducted in Monteverde, Costa Rica, intending to
understand how the beliefs, goals, and values that businesses in the tourism sector hold
compare to international standards at this particular popular destination for ecotourism
and whether certification is a causal variable in this situation. If the presence of
certification, which is both a social and material motivator among tourism businesses,
does not affect whether or not the business still conforms to normative behavior that
supports sustainable tourism, this result would support the notion that norm transfer to
destination-level businesses from the international level is a social process, and that
helping more businesses behave in accordance with international guidelines may only
involve social pressures as well as different ways of educating businesses and
propagating information.

This work aims to open a discussion that links International Relations to tourism
from an ecological perspective, promoting further research that may potentially influence
policy-making decisions in the future with respect to tourism. Interpreting and assessing
how prevalent internationally-accepted norms for sustainable tourism are among
destination-level businesses is just one step towards a better understanding of what
barriers stand in the way of a quicker and fuller norm transfer process that could improve
the sustainability of a destination. Monteverde is a unique case and one certainly cannot
make sweeping generalizations for other destinations off of a single case study. The
findings from this research, however, may be used to propose contextualized options for
further progress in sustainability within the destination itself as well as within the
international community. It is also important as a test of the utility of social
constructivism as an explanatory model of International Relations.
**Sustainability and ecologism**

What does the word *sustainability* mean? While commonly used and thrown around the political realm as something to be achieved in order to better the world, sustainability has come to hold varying (often fuzzy) definitions, depending on sources and context. For the sake of this research, the main definitions of this term and related terms come from government documents as well as books that deal with political ideologies and International Relations theories. Andrew Heywood in *Political Ideologies* defines sustainability as “the capacity of a system to maintain its health and continue in existence over a period of time.”

To describe something as being sustainable is to acknowledge that it may operate long-term. As such, *sustainable development*, according to article 3.27 of the *Brundtland Report* of 1987, is development that “meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.”

The slight implication that the *Brundtland Report* adds here is that developing is desirable and that developing sustainably is an anthropocentric goal. These terms become significant in International Relations especially when international institutions and policy are involved, oftentimes leading to the creation of organizations or the implementation of policies related to sustainable development.

Much of the importance given to sustainability in the realm of international relations can be related to the ideology of *ecologism*. In the most basic sense, ecologism maintains that all of nature has intrinsic value and is a mass of interconnected ecosystems, thus ecological sustainability is necessary to maintain the “balance of nature.” Modern thought in these areas began to emerge in the 1960s and 1970s, due

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largely in part to the increase in industrialization and urbanization around this time. The development of groups like Greenpeace, the UN Conference on the Human Environment in 1972, and the arrival of green political parties in the 1980s all point towards the increasing importance of environmental issues in world politics. That the phrase “sustainable development” appeared shortly afterwards in the Brundtland Report in 1987 and the Rio Earth Summit in 1992 supports the idea that environmental issues were growing more important in the international political realm as well.\(^7\) In general, people who support any degree of ecologism view ideologies such as socialism and capitalism as subcategories of utilitarianism and therefore human-centered. They counter with the notion that Earth is a closed system (what many have deemed a sort of “spaceship” perspective), tending toward decay and containing limited resources. Therefore, in order to maintain the stability and existence of the Earth, humans must take care of Earth by setting limits on themselves, especially limits on consumption and “ambitions and material dreams” which may damage the overall ecosystem of the Earth.\(^8\) What exactly those limits should be, however, can differ greatly depending on one’s perspective.

The actions that those who support a certain level of ecologism recommend in light of the need for limitation depend on how “deep” an ecological perspective each one has. In addition, the type of ecologism to which one subscribes determines how one may view sustainability, hence varying definitions among scholars. One may define a spectrum of the depth of ecologism using shallow ecology and deep ecology as two extremes of this spectrum with different shades of gray in between. Shallow ecology, or modernist ecology, is usually where environmentalists tend to stake themselves ideologically. It articulates an anthropocentric (human-centered) view of ecology and

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\(^7\) Heywood, “Ecologism,” 251-54.  
\(^8\) Ibid., 261-62.
advocates ecological study and preservation as a means to obtain some benefit for humanity. Furthermore, this perspective claims that one may maintain capitalist values while still preserving the environment, which can be accomplished through adjustments like changing tax rates to manage social cost and reducing population growth rates. The scholar who subscribes to shallow ecologism understands sustainability as something that may be accomplished within the current social and economic structures of the world, which again means that humans benefit before nature.

Social ecology, which falls as the middle ground between shallow and deep ecology, maintains that social change will lead to better ecological principles. Within social ecology, from shallower to deeper ecological perspectives, exist ecosocialism (which states that capitalism is bad for the environment, that socialism is good, and that a joint effort by socialists will lead to change), eco-anarchism (that a stateless society will lead to small rural societies and harmony among humans, thus supposedly eliminating the environmental issue), and ecofeminism (that men and dominant male-power institutions are what threaten nature, so creating a matriarchal society will solve the issue). Those who support a perspective of social ecology generally advocate for change that, while less anthropocentric than shallow ecologism, benefits humans first and nature second. However, these scholars subscribe to a version of sustainability that requires changes in current social and economic structures among humans in order to place a heavier emphasis on the role of the natural world in society.

Deep ecology views humans as being on an equal level as nature rather than superior to it, and, therefore, that nature must be valued as much as human life. In addition, any sort of anthropocentrism is viewed as bad in this framework, and ecological

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10 Ibid.
degradation goes beyond specific types of systems (capitalism, for example) and is actually rooted in human culture and intellect. Thus, via a paradigm change (dualism to holism and conservation to preservation), a variety of population controls, simpler living, and bioregionalism (that humans should only live where nature has already permitted such boundaries), Earth’s natural state may be restored.\footnote{Heywood, “Ecologism,” 267-77.} These scholars tend to reject compromise with shallow or social ecologism and their particular versions of sustainability, instead calling for a return to “the way things used to be” in order to truly promote sustainability. In general, critics of ecologism argue that there is no way that nature can have intrinsic value because this is a moral statement and morality is a concept created by humans. Furthermore, critics of deep ecologism argue strongly against mysticism and the view of Earth as having a sentient aspect.\footnote{Heywood, “Ecologism,” 277.} See Figure 1.1 for a summary and layout of the different levels of ecologism.

The environment, while in and of itself not a key aspect of many International Relations frameworks, is indeed a global issue. Unlike issues such as trade, war and peace, and separation/rebellion, the environment does not respect national borders instilled by humans: The environment exists outside the decisions that humans make, yet at the same time is vulnerable to the actions taken as a result of these decisions. Additionally, states too are sensitive and vulnerable to each other’s activities with respect to the environment; the actions of a given actor in the international realm with respect to the environment can and will affect other actors in some way, whether by increasing global air pollution or decreasing the amount of available clean water. One may clearly see this in the issue of climate change and globalization, both of which have gained much
Fig. 1.1. Types of ecologism as explained by Andrew Heywood (2012).
publicity because of their international importance and impact. Given all of this, it is still difficult to bring about global cooperation regarding such issues.\textsuperscript{13} With so many actors with different identities and agendas, it is hard to agree upon a single course of action in order to address global issues.

**Sustainability and tourism**

Tourism can be sustainable or unsustainable, and beyond that can be divided into two categories (mass and alternative), which can be divided yet again into smaller forms of tourism. See Figure 1.2 for my proposal of how one may understand the relationships among these different forms of tourism, after Orams 2001 and Weaver 2001.

When done responsibly, tourism can have a significant positive impact on local economies. Not only does it generate income and employment, but it also creates earnings from foreign exchange, encourages entrepreneurship, and stimulates regional economies. Since prices for tourism are set domestically when local tour companies are used, there is no threat of international market price drops. There is also less competition; as Andrew Miller writes, “while there are dozens of countries that sell coffee on the international market, there is only one Monteverde Cloud Forest.”\textsuperscript{14} Related industries to tourism experience growth as well when the tourism industry prospers, and economic leakages can be prevented when tourists purchase most of the trip within the destination itself. Furthermore, tourism leads to increased international human interaction and thus to a higher respect and tolerance for other cultures, and local communities may be motivated to value their cultural heritage more because of income and affirmation received from tourism related to cultural learning experiences.

\textsuperscript{13} Heywood, “Ecologism,” 278.
Fig. 1.2: Relationship between environmentally sustainable and unsustainable forms of tourism, mass tourism versus alternative tourism, and different forms of alternative tourism including ecotourism, cultural tourism, adventure tourism, and trekking. The upper half of the diagram is my proposed variation of the diagram found in Orams 2001, page 26. The lower half is from Weaver 2001, page 76.
Sustainable vs. unsustainable tourism

Just as the definition of term “sustainability” tends to be fuzzy and in debate, so does the term sustainable tourism. Over the course of my background research, I learned that while there are many types of tourism, ranging from mass tourism to ecotourism and with different synonyms like geotourism mixed in, any of these types may be sustainable. Detrimental effects of tourism include damage to the environment, mass expenditure of resources, local economic leakages, and cultural separation.\(^\text{15}\) Sustainable tourism aims to decrease the harmful consequences of tourism. According to the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), sustainable tourism is “tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities.”\(^\text{16}\) The UNWTO further elaborates that as long as the specific tourism advances the environmental, sociocultural, and economic sustainability of the community that contains it, even as it grows and develops, that tourism is sustainable itself. Sustainable tourism may therefore be more succinctly explained, according to R.W. Butler, as “tourism that does not threaten the economic, social, cultural or environmental integrity of the tourist destination over the long term.”\(^\text{17}\) Unsustainable tourism, logically enough, would be tourism that harms the economic, social, cultural, or environmental wellbeing of a destination and threatens its ability to thrive long-term.

Mass tourism vs. alternative tourism

Mass tourism is usually viewed as being the most traditional form of tourism, motivated by short-term profit. It is mass tourism that tends to be the driving force behind the detrimental effects that occur from tourism, because although it is not always the case, mass tourism is traditionally economically-driven and unforgiving to the destination, not always taking the health of the destination into account when pursuing these goals. Mass tourism includes some forms of nature-based tourism and “4S tourism” (sand, sea, sun, sex), although not all 4S tourism is necessarily mass tourism. As good as mass tourism may sometimes be for the economy of a destination, the environmental and cultural degradation of the area that comes as a consequence does not usually justify the benefit, hence the need for other options that will better protect the local human and natural environment. These alternative forms of tourism include, quite logically enough, anything contrary to the traditional way of doing tourism, including adventure-based tourism, cultural tourism, and ecotourism, as well as trekking, which encompasses the previous three types of tourism into one multifaceted experience. While alternative tourism is not always less harmful than mass tourism, in general most of the forms it encompasses aim to decrease how much damage is caused to the local destination due to this tourism.

Ecotourism

Sustainable ecotourism, defined first by Hector Ceballos-Lascuráin as “‘travelling to relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural areas with the specific objective of studying, admiring, and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals, as well as

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any existing cultural manifestations (both past and present) found in these areas.”\textsuperscript{19} The International Ecotourism Society (TIES) condenses and slightly alters this definition to describe ecotourism as “responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the well-being of local people.”\textsuperscript{20} The three main components of ecotourism that distinguish it from other types of tourism, then, are that it is “nature-based, environmentally educated, and sustainably managed” and tends to be done on a smaller scale.\textsuperscript{21} It is different from adventure, nature, and wildlife tourism in that although it is related to these three types of tourism, it goes a step further and takes into account principles that benefit conservation and people within the host country.\textsuperscript{22} Tourists that tend to pursue ecotourism (from here on out known as “ecotourists”) are usually of both genders, physically active, better-educated, more mature, and able to pay for a higher-quality experience than other types of tourists.\textsuperscript{23} Ecotourism can also be further broken down into hard and soft types depending on the ecotourists’ desired level of physical effort and intellectual interest, according to Laarman and Durst’s 1987 model (see Figure 1.3).\textsuperscript{24} Ecotourism covers a wide range of issues, including the education of tourists, socioeconomic development, and especially environmental conservation.\textsuperscript{25} However, the sustainability of ecotourism in a given place may be highly debatable, especially because of the phenomenon of “greenwashing” among tourism-related businesses that promote themselves as being “green” or “eco-friendly” but do not actually back up their advertisement with practices. One way of controlling this is via


\textsuperscript{21} Blamey, “Principles of Ecotourism,” 6-7.


\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., 77.

\textsuperscript{24} Orams, “Types of Ecotourism,” 28.

\textsuperscript{25} Miller, “Ecotourism Development in Costa Rica,” 9.
certification programs, which take ecotourism norms and ideals and make them definable and tangible.\textsuperscript{26} Certification will be discussed more in depth as related to the transfer of norms in Chapter 3.

One argument against ecotourism as sustainable is that, as Lawrence et al. (1997) argue, growth in ecotourism naturally means more tourist movement into previously-untouched areas, causing tension with sustainability principles. (The Tourism Network estimates that ecotourism has a 5 percent annual growth rate worldwide. See Honey, 2008, 7). Many times, too, there is actually a low demand with respect to ecotourism (particularly during low seasons) and the demand has to be created by changing the supply side of the equation; that is, creating a new or different product within ecotourism, promoting it differently, or making it more appealing to the consumer. It is important to note that not all consumers will actively seek the most eco-friendly option when planning their trips, and therefore it is even more important to offer an appealing product to them.\textsuperscript{27} Furthermore, unless policies for ecological management are implemented very early on in the process of developing ecotourism in a given country, it is possible that what is supposed to be a healthier way of doing tourism could turn into mass tourism that does more harm than good.\textsuperscript{28} Anita Pleumarom cites the 1995 Panos Briefing as she explains how different ecotourism initiatives have been attempted without the local people’s consent, and mentions an example in Costa Rica where a mega-tourism complex was supposed to be created and the environmentalists that were against it argued that the

\textsuperscript{26} Miller, “Ecotourism Development in Costa Rica,” 21.
\textsuperscript{27} Blamey, “Principles of Ecotourism,” 15-19.
Fig. 1.3. Hard and soft dimensions of tourism as portrayed in Orams 2001, page 28.
developers were using eco-terms in a false way in order to gain support and business.\textsuperscript{29} Such a development would most likely have led to a large influx of tourists into an area that may not have been able to sustain this tourism.

The bottom line is that while ecotourism does not solve all the world’s environmental and social problems, nor does simply adopting concepts like sustainable development, the ideals and goals that ecotourism promotes are worthy and advocate a smarter way of doing tourism that puts much less stress on the destination and therefore contributes to a destination’s sustainability. Adjusting the application of sustainable ecotourism to fit the destination is crucial in order to further the sustainable development and responsible growth of tourism in the region.\textsuperscript{30} In order to begin applying principles of sustainable ecotourism at the destination level, it is necessary that organizations be created. Organizations take charge of supplying information about expected behavioral norms if a business were to transition to more sustainable forms of operation, as well as reasons as to why sustainable development is so important for the destination. Even more so, it is necessary that a process of norm transfer occurs socially, in order to promote the repetition of normative behaviors related to sustainability in tourism without needing to provide material incentive. I argue that social processes are the main driving force behind sustainable tourism norm transfer from international organizations to businesses in the tourism sector, and that any material interest that businesses have in behaving sustainably is completely separate from the social aspects. In the next chapter, the International Relations frameworks of social constructivism and norm transfer are explained and laid out in the context of the manner by which sustainable tourism norms may be transferred from the international level to the destination level.


\textsuperscript{30} Orans, “Types of Ecotourism,” 33.
Chapter 2: Literature Review and IR Theory

Social constructivism, institutions, and norm transfer

Shallow or modernist ecologism advocates an anthropocentric view of sustainability, including the study and preservation of the environment as a means to protect humanity in the long run. Likewise, in International Relations, the frameworks of social constructivism and norm transfer act as lenses that focus on humans as the subject. Understanding social constructivism allows one to better understand norm transfer, because social forces are what cause the creation, transformation, and transfer of norms, which constrain behavior.

Institutions and social constructivism

International Relations scholars have defined institutions in a variety of ways. Social institutions as defined by Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink are collections of rules for behavior.\(^{31}\) According to Hedley Bull, institutions are not necessarily organizations, although they could be, but instead “set[s] of habits and practices shaped towards the realization of common goals.”\(^{32}\) What constitutes an institution and what does not, while an important discussion that should be had, is not central to the purpose of my research. For that reason, I choose to use John Duffield’s definition of institutions as:

…relatively stable sets of related constitutive, regulative, and procedural norms and rules that pertain to the international system, the actors in the system (including states as well as nonstate entities), and their activities.

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Any particular international institution need not contain all of these elements.\textsuperscript{33} Some scholars may argue (particularly from a realist point of view) that institutions play little role in affecting state behavior. I argue exactly the opposite, as do many institutionalist thinkers. I add that with respect to environmental issues, including the matter of tourism and its sustainability, actors intentionally create institutions that also have the ability to act independently (international organizations) and are most definitely affected by the actions carried out by these institutions. For example, the Kyoto Protocol, created by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, requires that developed countries that have adopted the protocol reduce their carbon emissions. And indeed, 37 countries agreed during the first commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol to reduce their emissions by five percent, and they succeeded in doing so via certain behavioral and policy changes.\textsuperscript{34} From the neorealist perspective as well as other perspectives with state-centric mindsets, international organizations are perceived as reactors to states, not the other way around, and therefore cannot influence states the way that states exert influence upon them and cause them to act. However, this mindset neglects the fact that a key aspect of an international organization as a specific institution is that international organizations may act on their own behalf while also being the means for interactions among states. Martha Finnemore found, through her research on UNESCO and science policy organizations, that system-level actors are proactive in


defining the norms and policies that are available for actors to internalize. In other words, international organizations are independent entities that, while created by states and affected by state actions, are also capable of influencing states themselves. They may be composed of individual actors, but the organization itself makes decisions and promotes state objectives in a unitary manner.

All international organizations are institutions, although not all institutions are organizations because not all institutions are able to act (ex. diplomatic immunity). International institutions are designed by states to further their own goals, but also “play a vital, independent role in spreading global norms.” How is this so? For social constructivist thinkers, socialization explains how institutions provide a social environment where norms (standards of behavior, to be explained further under the heading “Norms and norm transfer”) are taught and propagated. Unless there is a medium such as an institution through which actor behavior can be made known and public via communication with other actors, no social pressures will be created among actors. In other words, one of the purposes of institutions is to propagate information, including the standards of behavior that each actor is following. As Inis Claude put it, international organizations are the “custodians of the seals of international approval and disapproval.” According to Alastair Iain Johnston, actors are socialized into other behaviors through social interactions within institutions, interactions that urge new members in the institutions to “endorse ‘expected ways of thinking, feeling, and

It implies the internalization of norms—coming to terms with them and incorporating them into relevant behaviors—rather than simply following them out of material force placed upon actors, like monetary incentives, military enforcement, and offers of raw materials, to name just a few examples. In other words, actors undergo endogenous change (internal change affecting the actor’s beliefs and identity) rather than exogenous change (external change affecting the actor’s behavior but not the actor’s beliefs or identity).

Constructivists have tended to lump all social interactions that lead to endogenous change under “persuasion”. In reality, there are many sub-processes that fall into a different category called “social influence”, which is differentiated from persuasion because it does not involve the presence of information contrary to what an actor holds to be true. Both persuasion and social influence, as processes of socialization, are relevant to norm transfer, but the characteristics of the institution within which socialization happens may affect exactly which social interactions occur and with what frequency they occur.39 A smaller institution may tend to use persuasion over social influence, while a large influence may be more likely to use tactics of social influence.

Persuasion may be defined as the “changing [of] minds, opinions, and attitudes about causality and affect (identity) in the absence of overtly material or mental coercion.”40 There are three general aspects of persuasion that affect whether an actor actually becomes persuaded: cognitive processes, relationships with other actors, and actor characteristics. Cognitive processes include the internal reflection and puzzling over new information provided by a secondary actor that leads to a change from the

40 Ibid., 496.
original stance of the primary actor. In this case, if the primary actor is the tourism-related business, the secondary actor could be a local nonprofit organization. The primary actor examines the evidence being presented by the secondary actor in comparison with its own attitudes and beliefs that conflict with this evidence, becoming persuaded if and when the conclusions that the primary actor comes to post-reflection are internally deemed to be true. Relationships with other actors refers to situations when a primary actor bases the legitimacy of the secondary actor’s argument off of the relationship that the two actors have. This is particularly common among new actors that have little information on the subject matter at hand. For example, actors with culturally-valued legitimacy, like professionals, tend to be deemed more authoritative and more convincing than others. Similarly, a secondary actor that belongs to the same social group as the primary actor being persuaded or a secondary actor who is thought well of by other actors will appear to be more convincing when primary actors base legitimacy off of relationships. Information accepted by a majority (social proofing) is also more likely to persuade an actor. Characteristics of the primary actor being persuaded include how strong the existing attitudes of the actor are, how well the actor is able to reason, and whether the actor wishes to be consistent in their actions. All actors enter into social interactions with preexisting characteristics that may increase or decrease the degree of persuasiveness that other actors have. Some may be more reluctant to change their attitudes because they do not wish to be viewed as hypocrites, unless they were perhaps presented with a higher-profile standard of behavior to follow.\textsuperscript{41} Arthur Lupia and Mathew McCubbins (1998), in their research on voter information shortcuts as a way to bypass the need to have a vast amount of knowledge about an election, posit that one actor will be likely to be persuaded by another if 1) the actor being persuaded believes the

\textsuperscript{41} Johnston, “Treating International Institutions as Social Environments,” 496-97.
persuader to be knowledgeable, and 2) the persuader can be trusted and has good
intentions. Lupia and McCubbins maintain that while the first condition may be
tsimpler to promote at the international level and even the national level, it is difficult to
create a degree of familiarity that would lead to enough trustworthiness between actors to
provide for the second condition; however, international institutions “may create
conditions conducive to persuasion—and convergence around group norms—even
though there are few material incentives to deceive and few material costs for the
persuade to defect from.” As it is difficult to isolate any one of the previously-
mentioned characteristics from the others, and because it is not the main focus of this
work, I deem that all three are subcategories of “persuasion”.

Certain social environments are more persuasive than others, and are, therefore,
more favorable to some institutions over others:

1. When the actor being persuaded is more willing to reflect upon
new or “counterattitudinal” information (that is, information
contrary to what the actor believes);
2. When the actor being persuaded belongs or wants to belong to a
group in which the persuader has authority (if the persuader is the
founder of an international organization, for example);
3. When the persuader’s argument and the stance of the actor being
persuaded already share much in common, that is, the argument is
only counterattitudinal in a few distinct ways;
4. When the issue at stake is something the actor being persuaded
doesn’t have much knowledge of, but would be motivated to use
information shortcuts in order to make a more informed decision;
and
5. When the actor being persuaded is repeatedly given
counterattitudinal information over time, causing a slow but steady
erosion of staunchly-held attitudes.

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42 Arthur Lupia and Mathew D. McCubbins, The Democratic Dilemma: Can Citizens Learn What
They Need to Know? (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 70.
If an actor responds favorably to persuasion upon becoming a member of a given institution, that actor’s behavior should converge with other actors’ expectations of behavior over time. In other words, the new member begins internalizing group norms.

Social influence, on the other hand, is “a class of microprocesses that elicit pro-norm behavior through the distribution of social rewards and punishments.” Rewards include psychological ones as well as, among other benefits, social status and a sense of belonging. Punishments include exclusion, shaming, and psychological discomfort. The result of social influence in an institution is the same as persuasion: the actor conforms to group norms. However, persuasion functions based on counterattitudinal information and actual persuasion of the actor, rather than the “‘real or imagined group pressure’” that an actor experiences when it is affected by social influence. It is more of a social rather than informational influence even though both persuasion and social influence are groups of interactions that socialize actors; that is, under social influence, actors conform based on perceived social pressure instead of information contrary to their own beliefs.

The actor needs to have previously identified with a specific group in order to be influenced by it because it allows them to experience the following:

1. Psychological discomfort with expressing different norms than those that the group shares;
2. Comfort from sharing similar traits with the group that lead actors to want to comply or continue complying; and
3. Desire to be consistent with a certain professed identity in the group (that is, to avoid their own hypocrisy).

There exists “the desire to maximize status, honor, prestige—diffuse reputation or image—and the desire to avoid a loss of status, shaming, or humiliation and other social

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46 Ibid.
sanctions.” While these rewards (backpatting) and punishments (opprobrium) are social, they may bring with them *material* rewards and punishments (e.g., status may bring with it wealth and power). Social rewards may also lead other actors to build more trust and want to cooperate with a given actor; social punishments would, naturally, create the opposite effect. How effective backpatting and opprobrium are depends on how an actor is categorized, as well as which actors become important to the first actor in light of this identity. One may view the effects of social influence when actors join institutions that limit power in the absence of material rewards or punishments, when there is discourse around participation that emphasizes social rewards or punishments, and when there is actor commitment to institutions and pro-norm behavior when noncooperation would otherwise lead to isolation.

One may test for the presence of socialization using institutions as the environment and individuals and small groups as the individual actors. States are made up of individuals, and individuals necessarily shape state identity and behavior. Therefore, how individuals and small groups are socialized determines actor impact on the social environment. Why focus on institutions as the social environment rather than a bureaucracy or bilateral interaction of some sort? Johnston writes that because the international system is anarchic (which is to say that it lacks a single governing body over all states), states may not pursue cooperation unless international institutions are involved. Institutions promote burden sharing and the contribution to a collective objective, maintain transparency and the provision of information about the world and other actors involved, provide frameworks and organization for the interests of actors in order to keep them separate and coherent, and reinforce discipline and continuity. This reduces uncertainty about the actions of other actors, fomenting the predictability of actor

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actions and the likelihood that actors will behave a certain way that is not necessarily in
their immediate interests in order to obtain a future, absolute gain that may outweigh the
present, relative gain. As a result, with the help of international institutions, actors are
more likely to cooperate to resolve issues of sustainable development among themselves.

A neorealist perspective of International Relations would explain international
difficulty in cooperating on sustainability issues as support for the notion that states tend
to pursue relative gains over absolute gains, even foregoing cooperation towards the
common goal of environmental sustainability and health. Simply put, the relative gains
that come with economic and population growth are much more attractive and profitable
short-term than having to place restrictions upon such forces in order to promote overall
sustainability. Concerns about free-riders may also lead to reluctance to cooperate on
environmental issues, as does the notion that the countries who use the most resources
should be the ones burdened with having to fix these issues rather than non-users who
may not be as “modernized.” A neoliberal perspective would advocate international
institutions as the logical solution for this sort of cooperation issue, because they promote
transparency and communication among actors, as well as the incentive to cooperate and
work towards long-term gains rather than short-term gains (see Chapter 2 for a more in-
depth discussion of institutions). Indeed, at the system level, many international
institutions such as the World Tourism Organization work specifically to grapple with
issues of sustainable tourism within the international community of nation-states. At the
unit level, institutions such as the Monteverde Institute and the Monteverde Community
Fund also tackle problems of sustainability locally, with the goal of educating the
community about sustainability as well as removing barriers that prevent other

48 Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, “Two Cheers for Multilateralism,” Foreign Policy, no. 60
organizations and especially businesses from knowing how to contribute to the sustainability of the destination. Monteverde will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 4, including a preliminary case study of local businesses that I conducted there.

As alluded to previously, states design institutions in specific ways to accomplish specific results. This means that different institutional designs benefit from different levels of persuasion and social influence. Johnston uses Rogowski’s (1999) method of categorizing institutions that bears some resemblance to the model laid out in Koremenos et al. (2001):

1. **Membership**: How large is the institution? Is it exclusive or inclusive?
2. **Distribution of authority**: Is it evenly distributed? Is there a pyramid of authority?
3. **Vote**: How are decisions made? Majority vote? Unanimity?
4. **Purpose of the institution**: Is it strictly an information provider? A negotiator?
5. **Autonomy**: How much cooperation does the institution require of its members?

An example of how design may affect socialization would be that persuasive processes may be more effective with a smaller group membership, while particular aspects of social influence may be more effective with a larger membership. Though larger tourism organizations that have guidelines for sustainability in tourism like the World Tourism Organization also advocate certification programs, the programs are voluntary and it is by social influence that member states and organizations adopt those guidelines or pursue certification.

Again, one would see social causes behind pro-norm behavior if 1) institutions are conducive to them, 2) convergence among actors in a new environment occurs, 3) actor behavior changes in accordance to the institutional norms, and 4) one can show that no material reward/threat was used.\(^{50}\) This last point emphasizes, once again, the notion that

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\(^{50}\) Johnston, “Treating International Institutions as Social Environments,” 509-10.
social forces and material forces are independent of each other. With that being said, one may state that destination-level business behavior in compliance with norms related to sustainable tourism is due to social causes if sustainable tourism institutions encourage the norms, business beliefs (and goals and values) converge in the sustainability of tourism (the new area of tourism being discussed), business behavior changes to conform to the institutional norms related to sustainable tourism, and it can be shown that there were no material incentives used to elicit the pro-norm behavior. It is fairly straightforward to show that there are international organizations related to sustainable tourism like the World Tourism Organization that promote specific norms, and these are discussed in Chapter 3. With respect to showing that the beliefs, goals, and values of businesses have come to match up regarding sustainable tourism, it is not my intention to try to prove this for a wide range of destinations. However, I do present a destination-level case study in Chapter 4 that may be used as a preliminary example for further study in this area. The data I collected in this study reflects that behavior changes to conform to these norms, and I suspect that this would be the case for further investigations. Finally, the question of whether or not material incentives are involved in inducing pro-norm behavior related to sustainable tourism will also be examined in this case study. Certification programs, while wholly voluntary, are often a measure of whether or not businesses in the tourism industry are complying with national-level standards that typically represent international-level guidelines. Though certification programs have a certain social aspect because they provide businesses with status and acceptance into certain social circles and forums, these programs also provide material benefits in the sense that a business certified in sustainable tourism is more likely to receive visitors. A business that has an eco-label is often considered trustworthy by tourists, and so they visit
these hotels, restaurants, and shops. It is my hypothesis, however, that whether or not a business is certified does not influence its behavior. Rather, I maintain that if sustainable tourism norm transfer from the international to the destination level is successful and norms are well-internalized, businesses will conform to pro-norm behavior whether or not they are certified or are pursuing certification.

Norms and norm transfer

The generally-accepted definition for a norm is “a standard of appropriate behavior for actors with a given identity.”\(^{51}\) Stephen Krasner in his consensus definition of regime\(^ {52}\) describes norms as “standards of behavior defined in terms of rights and obligations.”\(^ {53}\) At first, this appears to be the sociologist’s definition of an institution. However, a norm deals with only one particular standard of behavior, whereas a social institution may be defined as the collection of these rules for behavior. Since there is no direct evidence for the existence of norms because they exist in the minds of actors, evidence for norms must be sought indirectly. One may doubt the extent to which the existence of norms can be proven, yet because norms call for actors to justify their actions, they are inevitably expressed through both verbal and written communication.\(^ {54}\) If they could not be expressed at all, “they could not be shared by members of a social group.”\(^ {55}\) Were Actor A to commit an action that Actor B felt was against the norm, Actor B might confront Actor A with this information (that Actor A deviated from the norm, and iterating what the norm should be), and might then pressure Actor A to change

\(^{51}\) Finnegor and Sikkink, “International Norm Dynamics and Political Change,” 891.
\(^{52}\) The consensus definition by Stephen Krasner (1983) states that regimes are “...implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures around which actors’ expectations converge in a given area of international relations.”
\(^{55}\) Duffield, “What are International Institutions?,” 9.
his or her behavior. The verbal interaction is evidence for a norm that is implicit in the interaction and prompting Actor B to speak out against Actor A.

Norms can be defined by at least four key characteristics. Firstly, norms typically promote consistent, regular behavior of some sort. Secondly, norms and self-interest do not necessarily coincide, although when they do, it makes it difficult to determine whether actors behave out of self-interest or out of compliance with the norm. If, among businesses in the tourism sector, self-interest is defined as material benefit from having certification (and thus tourist recognition) that is gained by moving towards more sustainable operations, it is possible to isolate norm compliance from self-interest by measuring what sort of normative behavior exists among uncertified businesses (that are not benefitting from neither the social nor the material aspect of certification) versus certified businesses. Thirdly, there are sanctions of some sort if an actor does not abide by the norm, usually of the social nature. Norms are also “counterfactually valid”, meaning that they can tolerate this sort of non-compliance. The violation of the norm does not mean that the norm has not been internalized; rather, actors may not be complying with the norm for various reasons. Lastly, to some extent there is an issue of moral importance at hand with respect to the norm. Friedrich Kratochwil elaborates upon this last characteristic of norms by explaining that “compliance with norms is significantly shaped by our values.” Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink explain that norms tend to be separated into two categories: regulative norms that order and constrain behavior and constitutive norms that create new agents that promote new

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behaviors.\textsuperscript{59} Gary Goertz and Paul Diehl (1992) separate norms into three different, general categories:

1. Cooperative, where the norm is in all the actors’ self-interests and thus no sanctions are needed (in game theory this would be an assurance game situation; that is, actors are willing to cooperate with the norm not only because it benefits them and not complying does not benefit them);

2. Hegemonic, where the norm does not exactly conform to an actor’s self-interest and a separate central actor has the power to sanction non-conforming behavior; and

3. Decentralized, where the norm conflicts with actors’ self-interests; there is no central sanctioning actor and thus in order for any sanctioning to occur, the actors must be willing to voluntarily pay for not complying with the norm. The morality aspect of the norm is important.

Sustainable tourism, in the most general sense, is an example of a decentralized norm that is a result of dialogue and conscious decisions among leaders of governments and international organizations in international forums, more specifically via the discussions that are discussed in Chapter 3. It is decentralized because moving towards a more sustainable way of doing tourism conflicts with the relative or short-term financial gains that come from unmonitored mass tourism, which accommodates more people.

Switching to sustainable business procedures takes time, effort, and money, and the benefits to the business are indirect unless the business pursues certification. The norms within the ideal of fully-sustainable tourism, meaning the environmental, sociocultural, and economic “shoulds” and “should nots” of tourism, are also examples of decentralized norms. The norm related to sustainable tourism that has risen within the international

\textsuperscript{59} Finnemore and Sikkink, “International Norm Dynamics and Political Change,” 891.
community is that to improve movement towards international sustainable development, touristic businesses have the responsibility of carrying out their day-to-day procedures in a sustainable manner as well as proactively contributing to the protection of the surrounding natural and human environment. With respect to businesses in the tourism sector, this norm, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, promotes values such as local environmental and cultural conservation, high-quality interpretation of local cultural and natural history, and the coexistence of the business with the local community, to name a few general examples. Relatively, the business loses profit by making adjustments and foregoing opportunities that would benefit the enterprise financially but may be damaging to the destination over time. In the long run, the business would thrive because its compliance with a norm that obliges them to act sustainably within the business as well as outside business procedures benefits it both socially (by avoiding social punishments like exclusion, shaming, and psychological discomfort from expressing irresponsibility in this sphere; and gaining social rewards like status, inclusion, and comfort) and financially (because being included in social groups and given status grant businesses a greater opportunity to advertise themselves to tourists and community members). In addition, while organizations that create these norms and guidelines for sustainable tourism exist, they do not have the power to sanction businesses for not complying with their recommendations. They are international actors that cannot impose themselves upon other states’ sovereignty. However, international organizations can influence states to implement legislation that does require that non-complying businesses pay for their deviant behavior, should those states recognize these norms as important. This means that should businesses choose not to comply with sustainable tourism norms, any sort of punishment would be self-imposed payment for
non-compliance, unless the state legislates non-compliance. This also highlights the notion that decentralized norms are very much based in aspects of morality, that is, what is “right” rather than “wrong”. The morality aspect in and of itself (the theme of sustainability in tourism) is central to this norm, and is the driving factor behind the diffusion of the norm internationally. The business that conforms to sustainable tourism norms does so because it believes in them and in the maintenance of the environment and local community as well as tourist relations over a long period of time, not because anyone is coercing it or presenting it with purely material gains for doing so. This isn’t to say that businesses do not receive any material benefit whatsoever, or that material gains do not motivate businesses, only that they are not the primary motivators and that they are completely separate from partaking in sustainable tourism norms out of socialization (persuasion and social influence) and/or moral belief. In fact, whether or not a business is initially motivated by social gains to adopt sustainable tourism norms, the business will always be motivated by any sort of material gain because of its nature as an enterprise. Because of the complexity and intertwined nature of these incentives with respect to business, it is difficult to differentiate whether a business acts because of social norms or because of the material aspect of the situation. Even if a business chooses to adopt sustainable tourism norms for non-material reasons, if the business starts to fail economically, it will drop out of the certification program it had paid into or even stop doing some of the things that initially brought it to be more sustainable if they are too costly for the business. Certification programs are not free, nor are many of the changes that they call for within businesses, like adding certain amenities, updating technological systems, and treating water on-site. Managers and their employees have their own families to take care of as well, so shifting a business’s budget so that employees are paid
less in order to create quick changes and make the business more sustainable in the long run is not an attractive option for the enterprise that is not very profitable. Businesses may align themselves very strongly with norms of sustainable tourism, but if they’re not profitable, they cannot sustain the norms because they cannot sustain themselves.

How can we then say that businesses are truly adopting sustainable tourism norms because they are being socialized by lower-level actors involved in a transfer process from the international level? After all, one could argue that these businesses are not truly primarily motivated by their belief in the norms themselves and that they actually prefer the potential profit to be gained from bearing an eco-label and attracting tourists that way, or prefer avoiding the losses that would occur if fewer tourists were to take their business to those places because of the lack of an eco-label showing that they comply with sustainable tourism norms. To this, I argue the following: Recall that socialization implies that norms are internalized and that actors are not reacting and conforming to norms due to material coercion. This is key. The internalization of a norm in a business would mean that key people within the business (arguably, each person working for the business) would respond positively to sustainable tourism norms, understanding their importance and goodness as well as their necessity to be maintained in the business, regardless of whether or not the business actually possesses certification (which acts as both a material and a social incentive). The results of the case study that I present in Chapter 4 correlate very well with the notion that, indeed, these norms are internalized into the business (that is, they are not complying with the norms out of purely material incentives), even if the businesses are financially unable to buy into certification programs or if there are other reasons that prevent them from being certified.
There is no common rigorous research program to gather empirical data on norm transfer, which means there currently is no definite explanation of why norms are sometimes transferred and sometimes not.\textsuperscript{60} However, International Relations scholars who study norms tend to describe the process of norm transfer using the following stages, which I shall then elaborate upon (see Figure 2.1 for a diagram of this process):

1. \textit{Emergence}: Certain international actors (individuals within states in particular) become “norm entrepreneurs” that try convincing enough “norm leaders” in the international system to adopt the new norm, causing a tipping point;
2. \textit{Cascade}: Socialization of other states by norm leaders occurs and the norm is more quickly and readily spread; and
3. \textit{Internalization}: Norms become taken for granted.\textsuperscript{61}

One may understand this process not as a particularly linear process that only occurs once, but rather as a cycle and a continuous flow. As much as the process happens in a top-down manner, starting with the international and being transferred to the domestic level, individuals at the unit level (though more often than not they are “elites” rather than average people) are the ones who initially propose such norms to states and national organizations before they get taken to international platforms and proliferated from there. This combination of top-down and bottom-up forces creates a cyclical process that continues as often as new norms are conceived.

The emergence of new norms tends to start with states or international organizations. Using socialization processes, an international socializing agent within some sort of organization (like an NGO, for example) comes into contact with a small number of individuals and groups, the intermediate agents. How much the intermediate agents agree with the norm and promote the norm to the receptor society determines whether it continues being diffused into that society as well as in what way. When the


\textsuperscript{61} Finnemore and Sikkink, “International Norm Dynamics and Political Change,” 895.
<table>
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Fig. 2.1. Stages of norm transfer and dominant actors, motives, and mechanisms, as portrayed by M. Finnemore and K. Sikkink (1998, page 898).
elite level accepts the norm being communicated by the intermediate agents, they then use socialization techniques (persuasion and social influence) on other elites and on the mass population. Examples of this socialization can be seen in the types of messages promoted by the media, leaders of interest groups accepting the new norm, and so on. Whether or not this socialization is effective depends on how the norm relates to norms that already exist among the general public. If it is not internalized at this level, the norm will be unstable.\(^6\) If the norm is unstable within the mass population, it will not effectively promote standards of expected behavior within society.

Many scholars ignore what happens at the domestic level, but since changes between states are often the result of changes that happen within states themselves, International Relations scholars should be concerned with domestic-level conditions.\(^6\) Flockhart further elaborates that before a norm is fully internalized, socialization within the elite/state culture as well as the mass/political culture must occur at the domestic level. The two cultures are not necessarily contradictory, but in certain cases they may be; if the elite culture internalizes a norm but the mass culture does not because of differences between these cultures, the norm does not become fully internalized.\(^6\) In Flockhart’s model, the state is simultaneously an abstract conception of many individuals as well as a single actor. Within the state are individuals performing various roles who undergo socialization and socialize each other as well until a point is reached at which the specific norm is institutionalized. This means it is present in national law or has customarily become a national practice. This is successful norm transfer at the state level; however, it may or may not be successful at the national level, depending on

\(^6\)Flockhart, “‘Complex Socialization,’” 104-8.
\(^6\)Ibid., 110-11.
\(^6\)Flockhart, “‘Complex Socialization,’” 99.
whether or not a significant part of the population conforms with the norm.\textsuperscript{65} As a general rule, being part of a social group requires conforming to the norms that the group accepts and promotes. If individuals highly value being part of a social group and the norms are used to evaluate members and outsiders, one can infer that if one values his or her membership in a social group that values sustainable tourism, he or she will conform to applicable norms in order to maintain acceptance to the group. Thus behavior can sometimes be linked to the psychological need to be part of a social group.\textsuperscript{66}

It is important to note that in modern times, international organizations tend to use professionals in related fields to promote norms based on their expertise. Finnemore and Sikkink (1998) cite Peter Haas’s research about the Mediterranean cleanup as an example of how ecologists persuaded local governments to create agencies staffed with other ecologists in order to approach this problem. Epistemic communities like these ecologists maintain that their own knowledge matters and that it should also matter to national and international policymakers. They are the ones who attempt to examine the effects that certain policies may have in order to advocate for or against these policies. With more experts being incorporated into state bureaucracies and organizations, more norms and policy changes that reflect their own professional biases tend to emerge.\textsuperscript{67} This may mean that depending on who has the power to make policy changes in international organizations that focus on promoting a more sustainable way of doing tourism, new professionals with backgrounds in environmental science may wish to focus more on the alteration of current environmental norms and regulations, whereas public health professionals may push for changes and the promotion of norms that have to do with a more community-oriented focus. In reality, a holistic approach is necessary in

\textsuperscript{65} Flockhart, “Complex Socialization,” 93.
\textsuperscript{66} Ibid., 95-96.
\textsuperscript{67} Finnemore and Sikkink, “International Norm Dynamics and Political Change,” 905.
order to preserve a destination and create a flow of sustainable tourism to the location, rather than unsustainable tourism that would harm the locality.

The “tipping point” of a norm marks the critical number of states that have adopted the norm, after which a norm will begin to spread more quickly and with more ease internationally. This proliferation of a norm after its tipping point is often called norm cascade. While there is quantitative support that tipping points and norm cascades exist (see Cooter 2000; Ramirez, Soysal and Shanahan 1997; and Price 1998), scholars have not yet come to an agreement about why norm tipping occurs, nor how to expect it. However, Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink note that, according to empirical studies, usually at least one-third of the states within the system in question must adopt the norm before norm tipping occurs. Typically, to reach the tipping point in the process of norm transfer, a new norm should be institutionalized by being written into international law as well as into the policies of other international institutions, and treaties tend to embody modern-day norms (although not all norms are embodied just in treaties, but also in international and cultural customs). Institutionalizing the norm in a treaty or written organizational policy textually clarifies the norm and describes it, as well as what breaking the norm consists of and what sorts of sanctions could occur in the event of non-compliance. While institutionalization is not a necessary element of norm transfer, it is still very useful and lays a foundation for future norm internalization. Treaties need to be ratified by a minimum number of countries in order for the treaty to officially come to have legal effect. For that reason, this minimum number of countries needed for a treaty to enter into force could be one measure of the number of countries needed to reach the tipping point of a certain norm.68 Exactly which states approve the norm is also

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important, because some states are critical to the achievement of the goal for which the norm was created, either because they are directly involved in the behaviors that the norm deals with or because those states are morally for/against certain behaviors. These states must adopt the norm in order to reach the tipping point and in order for future norm cascades to occur among states that are not critical states. In spite of this, it is not always necessary that all critical states involved in the approval of a treaty pass it, so long as a tipping point is reached by a critical mass of those states. Finnemore and Sikkink explain this with the example of the United States’ refusal to support a treaty that would ban land mines. Even without the United States’ approval, the norm began cascading throughout international society.\(^69\) This may mean that the United States, even as a world hegemon, was not a crucial member needed to reach a tipping point for this norm.

After the tipping point, an interesting phenomenon occurs where states start quickly adopting new norms even without domestic pressures. This is norm cascade, and Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink argue that this second stage of norm transfer is accomplished primarily by international socialization, not material coercion. States that have already adopted the norms in question utilize methods of persuasion and social influence in order to lead states that deviate from these norms into compliance. States may respond positively to this peer pressure because they value legitimation from those states (or how other states perceive them as well as how their own citizens perceive them), they need to conform to maintain membership in a certain social group (their identities as members are stake), and they want to maintain a high self-esteem (by thinking well of themselves and having others think well of them as they comply with group norms). Norm entrepreneurs essentially create cognitive dissonance by providing information and publicizing and framing this information in such a way that makes those

who violate a norm feel uncomfortable and creates a desire to escape the discomfort of noncompliance with that norm.\textsuperscript{70} In this way, states come to eventually accept a norm and alter their behaviors to fit the terms of the norm.

The third stage of norm transfer, internalization, makes new norms more powerful and almost imperceptible because they become uncontroversial and therefore ignored by society. The norm becomes socially internalized because it “acquires so much public legitimacy that there is widespread general obedience to it,”\textsuperscript{71} and the norm is also incorporated into government policy and the domestic legal system. At this stage, norms basically become taken for granted.\textsuperscript{72} Harold Koh’s view of norm internalization as an ongoing transformation from “occasional or grudging compliance with global norms into habitual obedience” emphasizes an interaction between actors that leads one of the actors to communicate the relevant global norm to the other actor, with the intent of causing the latter actor to internalize this interpretation of the norm into its normative lexicon. Future interactions of this sort will cause further internalization.\textsuperscript{73} International organizations aid this internalization process by iterating and clarifying these norms, as well as promoting further communication and norm iteration among member states.

Successful norm transfer usually stems from strong norm entrepreneurship and organizational platforms. Entrepreneurs define and occasionally dramatize issues that they create or that they want to draw attention to, helping them compete against other norms that already exist in society. Organizational platforms give entrepreneurs a forum through which they may vocalize these norms. These organizations may be specifically for promoting a certain norm, like Greenpeace and other NGOs. Organizations do not

\textsuperscript{70} Finnemore and Sikkink, “International Norm Dynamics and Political Change,” 902-3.
\textsuperscript{72} Finnemore and Sikkink, “International Norm Dynamics and Political Change,” 904.
\textsuperscript{73} Koh, “Why Do Nations Obey International Law?,” 2646.
aim to challenge truth (that is, they do not question the reality of the norms’ existences or the logic of the behaviors and procedures that they propose) but rather ask if it is what it is appropriate and what should be done. 74 For example, it is true that Peru may greatly benefit economically by selling part of their Amazon to Petroperu (a national oil company) and that local communities would receive some of this economic benefit, but the U.S. Amazon Watch and the Peruvian Federation of Achuar Nationalities have protested this by saying that, overall, this is not beneficial for the local community on an environmental, cultural, and social level. The norms these organizations promote are ones related to environmental conservation, protection of local communities and indigenous land rights, and sustainable development, not necessarily unrestricted economic development. Similarly, norm transfer when it comes to the promotion of more sustainable forms of doing tourism owes much of its success to high-profile organizations (such as The International Ecotourism Society) through which norm entrepreneurs are able to articulate the value of sustainable tourism and describe behaviors that are necessary to expand it. Such organizations will be mentioned in greater detail in Chapter 3.

In addition, norms are more likely to successfully transfer if they uphold principles of world culture, which according to John Boli and George Thomas consist of “universalism, individualism, voluntaristic authority, rational progress, and world citizenship.” 75 Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink argue more specifically that when norms involve prevention of harm to vulnerable groups or “legal equality of opportunity,” they will be more effective. 76 These principles generally fit into the moral schemes that individuals and groups all over the world hold. Since many international

75 Ibid., 907.
76 Ibid.
sustainable tourism organizations that create norms advocate these principles, particularly when they articulate how important it is to protect women, children, and indigenous people, and how necessary it is to give all local people the opportunity to work, it is likely that these norms are more likely to transfer. How persuasive a norm is and therefore how well it transfers depends too on how it fits into the normative frameworks that already exist. Even if they link well with preexisting norms, the relationship might not be obvious and therefore norm entrepreneurs must frame these norms in such a way that the linkage appears more obvious. This relates to path dependence as well, because if a state is already used to following norms that advocate certain sustainable practices like composting and reusing materials, it will be easier to promote norms along the same normative pathway. In Costa Rica, where a longer history of valuing the forests exists, it is much easier to promote norms that evoke more sustainable business practices related to conservation than it would be to do the same in a place like the United States where it may be possible that conservation values are not held as strongly. Finally, norm transfer may be further advanced by world events like wars and depressions that cause people to reconsider current norms and seek new ideas. It is possible that sustainable tourism and any norms associated with it may have been expanded in the late 1980s thanks to an economic depression that could have brought to light the importance of tourism as a means to bring in foreign income. Today, the amount of norm transfer appears to have accelerated compared to the past, the likely causes of which may be globalization and global interdependence, as well as the advancement of communications technology that allows ideas to spread faster.77 With a greater amount of global interconnectedness comes a certain ease of travel, which highlights the importance of tourism research and planning to protect local destinations from larger numbers of tourists.

In summary, international organizations, which are independent actors created by states to fulfill specific roles and purposes, act as social environments through which states may come together as an international community. Via dialogue within these organizations about certain topics, in this case sustainable tourism, norms related to these subjects are iterated and actors may be faced with the social pressure to adopt these norms in order to conform to their existing social groups. Socialization, whether information-based like persuasion or acceptance-based like social influence, is the key mechanism by which this occurs, not material coercion. The norm transfer process that occurs from here tends to be quicker and more thorough once a tipping point is reached with respect to the number of actors that choose to spread such norms. Businesses, which by nature are materially-motivated in order to survive, are included in this socialization process, and I argue that unless they do not have the means to do so and/or their survival is at risk, they will conform to norms for sustainable tourism provided that the internalization process among the mass population at the domestic level is successful.

This leads to my first set of hypotheses:

**H1:** The beliefs, goals, and values (norm indicators) iterated by destination-level businesses, whether in dialogue or in action, reflect international standards of behavior. Thus, the norms advocated by international organizations are successfully transferred to, and are present at, the destination level.

**Null:** The beliefs, goals, and values iterated by destination-level businesses do not reflect international standards of behavior. Thus, the norms advocated by international organizations are not successfully transferred to, and are not present at, the destination level.

By analyzing whether businesses in the tourism industry differ among their norm indicators, depending on whether they possess a certain material benefit that could be related to the adoption of those norms, one may test whether these businesses are socially or materially motivated to adopt certain kinds of norms. In this study, I examine
certification as both a social and material motivator that could confound norm transfer processes. This relates to my second set of hypotheses:

\[ H_2: \text{There is a significant difference between business certification status and the number of different iterations of beliefs, goals, and values related to sustainable tourism.} \]

Null: \text{There is no significant difference between certified and uncertified businesses with respect to their mean iterations.} 

By hypothesizing that there is no relationship between whether or not businesses follow norms for sustainable tourism at a destination where the transfer process is successful, I aim to eliminate certification as a material variable in the behaviors of these entities. Provided \( H_1 \) and \( H_2 \) are met, my third hypothesis is supported by this research:

\[ H_3: \text{Touristic businesses adhere to behaviors reflecting sustainable tourism norms because of socialization.} \]

Null: \text{Touristic businesses adhere to behaviors reflecting sustainable tourism norms not entirely because of socialization. Material incentive may be playing a role in business conformity with these norms.} 

The following chapter details a concise history of the rise of sustainable development and sustainable tourism as international goals that have been reinforced through documents, councils, and organizations. The guidelines for being a sustainable business that each of these organizations has promoted lay out clear expectations for behaviors that must be carried out in order to be perceived as sustainable (or green, or eco-friendly, or any other buzzword that would lead to social praise and increased status). When incorporated into the beliefs, goals, and values that the business holds, and when seen repeated across businesses, these guidelines provide the impetus for normative behavior that when disobeyed leads to social opprobrium, which may even lead to a loss of business and thus a loss of profit. An outline for how the norm transfer process may
work, specifically with respect to sustainable tourism, will be described in this chapter as well.

As also will be further detailed in Chapter 3, the sustainable tourism norm transfer that occurs among actors related to the tourism sector is a social process that is separate from the material gains that may be had by adopting certification programs. Being certified by a sustainable tourism certification program, in and of itself, is not a legal requirement, and so while there exists the international social pressure to become certified in order to cater to the international audience, as well as a material incentive to reap the benefits of augmented business, it is not required that a business be certified for sustainability. Movement towards more sustainable ways of doing tourism has been more widely distributed thanks to increased globalization and intercommunication, especially through electronic means that allow local businesses in the tourism sector to advertise themselves and what they have to offer tourists, as well as emphasize how their operations aid conservation efforts, protect the local culture, support community projects, and increase the wellbeing of the destination, as well as any other sorts of details that would draw ecotourists who wish to spend their time at the destination in the greenest way possible.
Chapter 3: The Rise of Sustainability and Sustainable Tourism in International Affairs

Proliferation of the idea of sustainable development and tourism: A brief history

The purpose of this chapter is to identify and describe the chain of events and documents via which sustainability as a global phenomenon and sustainability as a standard to meet when doing tourism. In addition, I will examine the main international organizations that currently act as conduits via which actors are socialized and norms for sustainable tourism are proliferated. This chapter also contextualizes the processes described in Chapter 2 in the realm of tourism and expounds upon certification programs as voluntary ethical codes that provide eco-seals, which act as material and social incentives for businesses.

As previously explained in Chapter 2, international institutions are state creations that promote state goals but are also actors that independently spread international norms. They are the social conduits at the international level via which such standards of behavior are publically communicated and proliferated, and they help socialize actors into behaving in a specific way. Over the past few decades, many conferences and publications responded to green political and social movements in the world, as well as international concern about positive and negative consequences of development at the unit level as well as the system level.

One of the first international forums that allowed states a platform for vocalizing apprehension about development and the need to take a more sustainable approach was the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, more commonly known as the Stockholm Conference. Nations that were considered to belong to the
“Third World” were viewed by “First World” nations from two opposing perspectives: that those nations need to develop and modernize in order to better provide for their populations, but also that taking steps towards development would lead to increased pollution and environmental consequences as well as a deluge of new socioeconomic issues that could not easily be predicted. These countries advocated for their own development, pointing out the fact that there is a great deal of economic pressure on less-industrialized nations to compete with large powerhouses like the United States. The idea of international sustainable development may have come to light during the Stockholm Conference, as both the “developed” and “developing” nations publically expressed their concerns of increasing global development with respect to environmental consequences, as well as the need for less-wealthy nations to continue growing economically. The United Nations Environment Programme was formed shortly after this to continue advocating for environmental protection and sustainable development at the international level as well as to assess current environmental conditions, create other instruments via which further environmental protection actions may be taken, and strengthen other institutions in order to promote good environmental management.

The Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism (ECTWT), which began in Thailand in 1982, showed that existing tourism had high environmental costs in the Third World. Since then, ECTWT has continued to focus on the effects of tourism on people and the environment in developing nations by giving local people the opportunity to vocalize their views on tourism, encouraging the elimination of unjust tourism practices, promoting healthy tourist activities, guarding the rights of indigenous tribes, upholding

the protection of human rights in tourism, and conducting research in order to provide information about the positive and negative impacts of tourism to the general public as well as policymakers and researchers. It is especially known for its development of programs to prevent sex tourism and child abuse related to tourism, as well as research in alternative tourism and advocating for women’s rights and roles in tourism. Furthermore, the ECTWT works to influence international organizations, conferences, and events in order to promote the wellbeing of local communities affected by tourism. Though the ECTWT approaches sustainable development from a deep ecological perspective, in the sense that they feel that decreasing the amount of tourism or putting strong limits on the tourism to a destination is a better way of protecting the local natural and human environments, the emphasis that the ECTWT places on local involvement when it comes to creating tourism policies reflects a recurring theme in guidelines for sustainable tourism among international organizations like the UNWTO.

Arriving shortly after the creation of the ECTWT, the World Commission on Environment and Development (Brundtland Commission) began in December 1983 and ended three years later with the publication of Our Common Future. The purpose of the commission is to propose realistic solutions to international environmental and development issues, as well as improve cooperation among states with respect to these problems and strengthen general actor commitment levels to sustainable development and environmental conservation. The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (or the Rio Earth Summit) followed in 1992, as a result of the Brundtland

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Commission. This conference hosted between 20,000 and 30,000 individuals representing 178 different countries, including leaders of NGOs, governments, and the media. Like the Stockholm Conference, the Earth Summit was a way for world leaders to come together in order to talk over environmental and development issues, but at the Earth Summit people also discussed and called to attention other important global issues like poverty, uneven distribution of wealth among nations, and war. Sustainable development was discussed most particularly as a way to protect and ease the strain on the global environment, both natural and social. The Global Forum in Rio that was held shortly after the Summit helped to pressure the UN to take faster and stronger measures in these respects.

One result of the Rio Earth Summit was the creation of one of the first certification programs for sustainable tourism, Green Globe 21, founded by the World Travel & Tourism Council in 1994. This brand not only certifies businesses but also trains and educates them at the cost of a membership fee. Also as a result of the Earth Summit, Agenda 21 was implemented as an action plan for sustainable development. This agenda is not a treaty nor any other sort of legally binding document and does not impose upon any local or state sovereignty; rather, it is a completely voluntary plan for sustainable development that 178 nations have adopted thus far, including the United States, Brazil, Russia, India, China, and Costa Rica, to name a few. As a result of the creation of Agenda 21, treaties such as the Kyoto Protocol, which sets “internationally

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81 US EPA, “History of Sustainability.”
binding emission reduction targets in order to reduce countries’ carbon footprints, and the World Summit on Sustainable Development became possible. Interestingly, the Agenda 21 document talks of free trade principles and actually reversing restrictive trade policies within the tourism sector, which contradicts much of the discussion that occurred at the Rio Earth Summit of the negative aspects of free trade. Globalization and liberalization of the world economy opens countries up to increasing levels foreign investment. Foreign tourism providers are not conducive to sustainable tourism and can do more damage than good to the destination in question. Leakages become much harder to prevent and it is more difficult to maintain as much income as possible within the local economy. The product of foreign over-investment can be seen in the privatization of the coastlines of Costa Rica, where many large foreign-owned hotels are located. In any case, the history of the creation and implementation of the aforementioned conferences and instruments show a sustained global interest in planning and discussion related to finding more sustainable ways of developing and protecting the natural environment as well as local communities.

Throughout this chain of events and as a product of these conferences and instruments, organizations dedicated to sustainable development and sustainable (eco)tourism have been created. Three major reasons that ecotourism organizations develop are 1) the recent occurrence of major conferences on ecotourism, 2) catastrophic events that highlight the need for institutions that deal with ecotourism and conservation, and 3) organizational evolution from previously-existing organizations (especially related to conservation) that want to concentrate efforts in ecotourism. In general, these

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86 US EPA, “History of Sustainability.”
organizations’ visions of the future include better stewardship of resources; the acknowledgment of community, environment, and business interests; and the spreading of knowledge related to ecotourism. In addition to other roles, ecotourism organizations develop policies and implement them, educate people, and fundraise to support ecotourism efforts. Once these organizations create guidelines for sustainability for specific industries related to tourism, they can then create certification programs.\(^8^8\) Certification programs will be discussed later in this chapter with respect to their role as ethical codes and potential social and material motivators to adopt certain norms.

**Relevant international organizations for sustainable tourism**

Speakers and writers for international organizations related to sustainable tourism tend to be the international socializing agents that begin the norm transfer process once these organizations have decided which norms are important and need to be proliferated in the international community. Conferences, forums, workshops, and other such gatherings provide these advocates with the necessary platforms to announce their organization’s stance and decisions about the norms and appropriate behaviors associated with doing sustainable tourism. Other media, like the internet, allow organizations the opportunity to publicize these norms. Intermediate agents like government leaders or leaders of national-level organizations or programs related to sustainable tourism, once persuaded or socially influenced into doing so, accept these norms and proceed to transmit them to others at the same elite level, in addition to the mass population. If the intermediate agents decide not to accept and publicize these norms, the transfer process is impeded. If the intermediate agent chooses to participate in the norm transfer, normally the agent will

promote the internalization of the norm among the mass population in a contextualized manner via socialization. Socialization is particularly effective in sustainable tourism norm transfer among organizations at the elite level and smaller organizations at the mass population level, as well as the general public. The more knowledge an organization gains and the more it complies with internationally-acclaimed norms for sustainable tourism, the more acceptance that organization receives from its peers. It may mean inclusion in select social groups in which the organization would not have been included beforehand, or the maintenance of membership in those social groups. Successful internalization of sustainable tourism norms would be reflected in how the general population and the elite level change their beliefs, goals, values, and behaviors to respect these norms. Although a strong internalization of norms does not necessarily mean that behavior to the contrary doesn’t occur, particularly when an actor is incapable of complying, such deviant behavior doesn’t eliminate the norms from an actor’s lexicon.

So, what are these international tourism organizations, and what are the norms they are promoting? The following subheadings detail a few of the more well-known international organizations, their missions as organizations, and what they promote with respect to sustainable tourism.

**UNWTO**

One of the largest tourism organizations dedicated to promoting responsible travel, the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) is a product of a decision in 1934 by the International Congress of National Tourism Bodies to replace the International Union of Official Tourist Propaganda Organizations with an international NGO that would have its first official meeting about forty years afterward. From there,
an agreement was signed that made this new organization, UNWTO, a part of the United Nations Development Programme. Since then, UNWTO has adopted various declarations and codes related to tourism and also participated in the 1992 Rio Earth Summit and the 2002 World Ecotourism Summit. It is currently one of the most well-known tourism-related organizations.

As previously mentioned, UNWTO defines sustainable tourism as “tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities.” What sustainable tourism should do, therefore, is optimize how environmental resources are used, respect destination sociocultural norms, and provide long-term socioeconomic benefits to local populations. UNWTO incorporates sustainability in its operations and planning by “developing policy guidelines, providing sustainable tourism indicators and monitoring sustainability through worldwide observatories.” This organization has helped create global initiatives like the Global Sustainable Tourism Criteria (minimum requirements that sustainable hotels/tour operators should aim for) as well as the Davos Process on Tourism and Climate Change, and the UNWTO Global Code of Ethics for Tourism. The UNWTO has implemented more than 90 Sustainable Tourism-Eliminating Poverty (STEP) projects to reduce poverty in over 30 countries through the development of tourism. Through these initiatives, UNWTO shows its dedication to the promotion of sustainable tourism that protects the local economy, culture, and environment.

91 Ibid.
92 Ibid.
WTTC

The World Travel & Tourism Council was created in the late 1980s and reinforced its objectives in the early 1990s in order to address expanding markets in a way that does not compromise environmental conservation, eliminate barriers to growth in the tourism industry, and pursue recognition from state governments. Recently, the WTTC has focused primarily on the environment, infrastructure, and human resources. The key aspects of sustainable tourism that the WTTC promotes include positive impacts on the environment and culture of destinations, benefits for a society’s youth as well as women and indigenous people, the development of a skilled local workforce, promotion of demand among tourists for sustainable products, and the creative use of technology to seek solutions for challenges that the industry faces. This organization also has a Tourism for Tomorrow awards program that, while not a certification program that provides any sort of eco-label, acts as a material incentive by rewarding businesses in different categories within the tourism sector that pass on-site evaluations that verify the business’s efforts in promoting sustainable tourism, sustainable day-to-day business practices, and high-quality customer service. The WTTC is also the creator of the Green Globe 21 international certification program, which does provide eco-labels.

TIES

The International Ecotourism Society (TIES) defines ecotourism as “responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the well-being of local

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people.” This nonprofit organization was founded in 1990 with the mission of being an organization that fosters networking within the industry, educates professionals, and promotes positive changes in the tourism sector. This organization advocates the following principles in order to promote sustainable ecotourism: minimizing one’s impact, fostering cultural and environmental consciousness, and respect, providing great customer service and good experiences for visitors and locals alike, economically supporting conservation efforts and local people, and promoting tolerance and sensitivity to the destination country’s socio-cultural, political, and environmental conditions. Unlike other organizations, TIES does not have its own certification program, though it does emphasize the importance of behaviors that match norms for sustainable tourism.

GSTC

The Global Sustainable Tourism Council is an initiative within the United Nations that was founded by organizations including (but not limited to) the UNWTO, United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), and Rainforest Alliance in 2010. The mission of this initiative is “to improve tourism’s potential to be a driver of positive conservation and economic development for communities and businesses around the world and a tool for poverty alleviation,” which it accomplishes by educating others about sustainable tourism practices and promoting the integration of sustainable tourism principles into daily business procedures. The GSTC, like other sustainable tourism organizations, emphasizes a multidimensional view of sustainable tourism that focuses on the reduction of negative environmental, social, and economic impacts. It advocates effective

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95 The International Ecotourism Society, “What is Ecotourism?”
97 The International Ecotourism Society, “What is Ecotourism?”
management and coordination of sustainability objectives, local social and economic benefits, protection of the local culture, and minimization of local and global environmental damage. Like Green Globe 21 within the WTTC, the Global Sustainable Tourism Council uses a specific set of criteria to certify businesses in sustainable tourism; however, the GSTC also approves other certification programs depending on whether or not these programs meet the standards the GSTC has set for evaluating sustainable tourism practices.\textsuperscript{99} These guidelines are very similar to those proposed by Green Globe 21 within the WTTC.

\textit{CREST}

The U.S.-based Center for Responsible travel is an organization dedicated to sustainable tourism policy-based research, whose mission is to promote policies and practices in the tourism industry that are responsible and benefit the local natural and human environments.\textsuperscript{100} The main goals of the organization are to eliminate poverty, preserve the environment, and protect local cultures. The research and consulting services that CREST offers aim to improve the sustainability of tourism by spreading knowledge in these areas. CREST has published three books and many articles about tourism and is the founder of programs including Traveler’s Philanthropy, which involves the donation of monetary or other resources (including human resources) in order to support destination-level projects and initiatives and contribute to the local community’s wellbeing.\textsuperscript{101} Traveler’s Philanthropy is an example of an initiative created specifically to direct funds directly towards local projects that promote sustainability within a destination.

\textsuperscript{101} Ibid.
**Norm transfer in the realm of sustainable tourism**

I propose the following model for how norms are transferred from the international level to destination level businesses. See Figure 3.1 for a visual layout of this process.

First, one or more states or international tourism organizations propose a new norm idea that they wish to see carried out across the world, mostly because these actors believe in the overall helpfulness of the norms when it comes to affecting actor behavior and guiding tourism to be more sustainable. These norms are many and varied within sustainable tourism, with very individualized nuances, but some common themes are environmental conservation and conservation of resources, community support and solidarity, cultural preservation, and responsible business management. The states or international organizations utilize meetings like the Rio Earth Summit as platforms via which they may vocalize not only their concerns about sustainable development but also promote the norms that they believe would be most helpful in encouraging more sustainable forms of tourism. This is either institutionalized in specific treaties like the Kyoto Protocol, which deals with controls on the carbon footprints of the states involved, but may also be written into documents that are not binding, like Agenda 21, as well as the policies of international organizations. This gives the norms clarity and precision without requiring ratification from a specific number of states, and acts as a set of guidelines from which actors may base their actions. Intermediate agents like representatives of other states’ governments and leaders from different organizations related to tourism reflect upon these norms, and whether or not the process continues depends largely on their acceptance of the norms and how well they are able to persuade the other people they interact with to adopt these norms. The norms will continue to be
Stage 1: Emergence
States, IOs like UNWTO and TIES, forums like Rio Earth

Stage 2: Cascade
Other states, other IOs, the media, elite and high-profile individuals

Stage 3: Internalization
Local organizations, local businesses in the tourism sector, masses

Fig. 3.1. Process of norm transfer with respect to sustainable tourism.
passed down through the elite level of society, including the media and other organizations within the nation, eventually reaching the level of the mass population and being integrated into the people’s normative lexicon. Of course, if at any of these levels the norm is somehow rejected, the process stops. Furthermore, if the mass population does not internalize the norm, it will not be as effective as it needs to be within society with respect to regulating behaviors like recycling or donating financial resources to schools and nonprofit organizations. This is because the majority of the individuals in the population lack beliefs, goals, and values that center around norms related to sustainable tourism, and therefore a great part of the state will not actually act based off of the norms being promoted, and thus the mass population may not pursue sustainable means of doing tourism.

When a certain number of states and other elites (like larger non-governmental organizations, such as the ICT in Costa Rica) accept and begin to internalize the norms proposed to them by the intermediate agents, eventually enough states may incorporate sustainable tourism norms into their policies or into the policies of main organizations within the state that a tipping point is reached and norm cascade begins. So, not only do other states start adopting the norms at an elite level, but all of the states who have adopted the norms start to socially influence the domestic level and convince the mass population, including touristic businesses, to adopt the norms as well. This is due to the social pressures that states put on each other to follow the normative trend that is beginning to spread throughout international society. One example of this is when Agenda 21 was passed in order to promote global sustainable development, including development within the tourism sector: Soon after the initial creators of the agenda incorporated it into their own policies, many other countries began to sign on until 178
nations came to adopt it. Another example of this is when the Costa Rican National Chamber of Ecotourism was formed to respond to the pressure of rising traditional and ecotourism industries in Panama and other Latin American nations. Costa Rica founded the nonprofit in order to further promote sustainable tourism policymaking and to better integrate the norms related to sustainable tourism that were being promoted internationally.

Finally, as alluded to in the norm entrepreneurship step of norm transfer, after a cascading norm related to sustainable tourism is accepted by a state’s government like Costa Rica’s, the norm will be passed down to the elite level, with various groups like the media, interest groups and organizations, and people with more prominent positions in society coming into contact with the norm and being socially influenced or persuaded into accepting the norm. Eventually, the norms reach the mass population where, if culturally-relevant and not completely opposed to what people have practiced in the past, they are likely to be accepted and internalized. The more frequently the state, the elite level of the population, and/or the mass population are exposed to interactions where these norms are iterated as corrections to deviant behavior, the deeper the norm internalization among these different levels. In the tourism sector, the internalization of norms related to supporting the destination’s socioeconomic wellbeing may explain why so many small local businesses emphasize how they may contribute financially to various schools or nonprofits within the destination, or how they may allow local people to receive certain discounts while otherwise maintaining firm prices for tourists. The beliefs, goals, and values of actors receiving and internalizing norms for sustainable tourism change to reflect those norms, as do their behaviors to the extent that they are able to behave in accordance with the norms. This may mean that individuals believe
sustainable tourism to include environmental conservation as well as cultural preservation, or that they have goals that may include installing on-site water treatment instruments at their businesses, or that they value the education of the tourists that come to visit the destination.

Certification Programs as a Means to Promote Sustainable Tourism

Ethical codes for sustainable tourism are usually made by governments, industry associations, and NGOs, and are aimed at the tourism industry, tourists, and host countries. These codes may be voluntary or non-voluntary, but a non-voluntary ethical code for sustainable tourism implies that the government has a greater amount of control in the system and could excessively constrain what is allowed and what is not. The idea behind certification is, therefore, that this would be a voluntary means of demonstrating successful management in all areas of sustainability. Martha Honey in Fennell and Malloy (2007) notes that all current certification programs share five common elements: voluntary participation, awarding a logo, an assessment that leads to the awarding of the logo, constant compliance with program standards or improvement in practices, and requiring a fee for participation. This latter aspect of certification programs is important because it draws one’s attention to the fact that certification programs for tourism-related businesses are themselves business operations. One may question, therefore, whether the intentions of certification programs are truly for the good of conserving the natural and human environment rather than making a large profit.\textsuperscript{102} Additionally, one may wonder whether businesses in the tourism industry are pursuing certification because they truly have adopted the norms related to sustainable tourism that are being promoted, or

whether they are simply seeking a method by which they may obtain a larger profit due to an increased presence within the destination. Stakeholders at a destination, like businesses or community members, may or may not comply with a code of ethics or other normative standards because of social influence, persuasion, or coercion not to; a lack of moral obligation to do so; ignorance of the norms promoted by the code of ethics; a lack of awareness of the costs of violating the norms; or the belief that the code supporting those norms is irrelevant. Certification programs, in this case, as a type of voluntary code of ethics, tend to lose potential participants because of a combination of these factors.

As much as certification programs provide a social incentive to adhere to certain norms for doing tourism in a sustainable way, so are they a material incentive. If businesses behave in the ways that the certification programs advocate and buy into the program, they are rewarded with a label (see Figure 3.2 for examples of these labels). This label does not just grant certain businesses status above others, but also publicizes to tourists that these businesses are officially behaving sustainably according to the assessment that was carried out by the specific certification program. If tourist demand for more eco-friendly options is high (and it is, according to Hawkins and Lamoureux 2001), and if the options that are deemed to be eco-friendly are well-advertised, these tourists may be drawn to the businesses that possess eco-labels over those that do not. For businesses that are not certified, whether or not they are following the norms that certification programs promote, this means that they are more likely to receive less tourist visitation and have lower status in the community with respect to sustainability-related subjects and social circles.

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103 Fennell and Malloy, *Codes of Ethics in Tourism*, 81.
Fig. 3.2. Examples of eco-labels that businesses may receive for appropriate behaviors that match up with standards in different certification programs. From left to right and top to bottom, these represent the CST in Costa Rica, the Rainforest Alliance, and the Blue Flag certification programs.
Some people may argue that ethical codes for sustainable tourism are clear examples of modern-day American liberal imperialism over Costa Rica as well. Due to the need to compete among other nations within the American economic system in order to keep doing business with the United States, less-industrialized nations have to develop more, even though this might not be their optimal course of action. Certification programs may encourage development (albeit in a sustainable manner) in nations where there was less development beforehand. Deep ecologists in particular would claim that certification programs are a terrible idea because they do not deter businesses like adventure tours that involve a greater human presence in the environment; rather, certification programs simply ask that these businesses modify their behavior, and by doing so they are rewarded. However, the shallow or modernist ecologist would respond from a pragmatic perspective and say that development is going to occur anyway, and is even necessary in order to improve the quality of human life. It might as well happen in such a way that resources are consumed less quickly, and that both the natural and human environments are protected the best that they can be, under the circumstances. This is the perspective that most of the prominent international organizations related to sustainable tourism have, and the purpose of the guidelines that they have come up with is to provide businesses with an incentive that is both monetary and social to carry out their daily procedures in a more sustainable fashion.

The following chapter details a case study that was carried out during the summer of 2013 in Monteverde, Costa Rica, in order to investigate business’ perceptions of sustainable tourism and especially whether businesses in the tourism sector are socially or materially motivated to internalize norms promoted by international organizations for sustainable tourism. If businesses have beliefs, goals, and values that conform to the
norms that international organizations deem as part of what it means to be sustainable, and if there is no correlation between businesses being certified and the beliefs, goals, and values that point towards the presence of norms, then this evidence supports the notion that businesses in the tourism sector in Monteverde adopt norms for sustainable tourism because of social factors, not material. The results of this case study may be useful in the sense that, while they focus on a very specific location, future case studies may be expanded in Monteverde as well as at other destinations in Costa Rica and even globally in order to try to understand whether businesses respond to and adopt norms of sustainability because of material incentive or social pressure. While certification and social forces may not be the sole sources of motivation for businesses interested in pursuing more-sustainable business operations, they are certainly the most prominent sources among businesses in the tourism sector. Through this study, it may be possible to better understand why businesses act the way they do, as well as what options may be open to policymakers who want to promote greater sustainable development at the destination level rather than unsustainable development that damages the local human and natural environments.
Chapter 4: The Case of Monteverde, Costa Rica

Introduction to Costa Rica

While typically described as a developing country, Costa Rica “is widely seen as a world leader in ecotourism as well as in environmental policy, which includes its goal to be the first carbon neutral country in the world by 2021.”\(^\text{104}\) Before the 1980s, there was widespread deforestation in Costa Rica due to land titling laws that required people to turn forestland into arable pastureland before ownership would be granted. However, several factors emerged soon after the 1980s that encouraged conservation, including the boycotting of Costa Rican beef by environmentalists to protest the use of primary forestland for pastureland, a rise in ecotourism that may be linked to green/environmental movements, and debt-for-nature swap programs that allowed Costa Rica to erase certain debts with specific countries by preserving different amounts of forestland. (These especially occurred between the United States and Costa Rica, targeting tourist destinations like the Osa Peninsula).\(^\text{105}\) The large presence of ecotourism-related attractions in Costa Rica, along with other selling points such as the absence of a military (abolished in 1948), political stability, beautiful natural environment, accessibility, and attractive prices, helps draw foreign direct investment and tourists to the country.\(^\text{106}\) In addition, Costa Rica has been pressured to do even more to promote sustainable tourism and maintain its edge in the industry because of the rising ecotourism industry in nearby countries like Panama, Honduras, and Nicaragua. Such promotion has included pressuring the government to progress farther and faster in policymaking related to the

\(^{105}\) Ibid., 59-61.
\(^{106}\) Ibid., 88-92; Burlingame, "Conservation in the Monteverde Zone," 353.
area of ecotourism. A product of this pressure in 2005 was the creation of the nonprofit Costa Rican National Chamber of Ecotourism (CANAECO). CANAECO has been a major player in promoting ecotourism on a national level, as has the Certificación para la Sostenibilidad Turística (CST), which is the most well-known national-level certification program for sustainable tourism.\textsuperscript{107} The desire to be the best in ecotourism may for Costa Rica be materially-motivated (wanting to economically compete) or socially-motivated (taking pride in the identity of the nation as a top destination for ecotourism), or a mixture of the two causes.

Although ecotourism may be quite integrated into Costa Rican culture and although ticos (as the local population calls themselves) take pride in the emphasis that the country places on ecotourism over other forms of tourism, this does not mean that there have not been issues with sustainability of tourism in general. Foreign investors and particularly the privatization of the coasts make those areas of the country unavailable to many locals who wish to visit or live in those areas because of the high costs associated with visiting these parts of the country.\textsuperscript{108} Furthermore, according to Weaver (1999), most ecotourism actually tends to be soft ecotourism that comes from tourists who travel to areas close to beaches; the push for ecotourism in Costa Rica has tended to come less from the government and more from NGOs, community groups, and individuals.\textsuperscript{109} This is important for ecotourism-advocators to keep in mind when seeking new methods for promoting sustainable ecotourism over other forms of tourism. Perhaps it is better, as Martha Honey suggests, to pursue sustainable tourism in general in order to satisfy tourist demands for other forms of tourism that are not entirely

\textsuperscript{108} Honey, “Ecotourism and Sustainable Development,” 166.
ecotourism, in order to reduce the general impact of these other forms of tourism in Costa Rica.\textsuperscript{110} In other words, moving towards more sustainable forms especially of 4S tourism and adventure tourism, both of which are in high demand in Costa Rica, may help to alleviate certain destinations of the strain caused by the numerous tourists interested in these forms of tourism.

**National-level certification programs**

The principal body behind Costa Rican tourism promotion is the Instituto Costarricense de Turismo (ICT), whose mission is to “promote a wholesome tourism development, with the purpose of improving Costa Ricans’ quality of life, by maintaining a balance between the economic and social boundaries, environmental protection, culture, and facilities.”\textsuperscript{111} It created a national certification program in 2006, the Certificación para la Sostenibilidad Turística (CST), which is considered to be one of the stronger efforts to establish a level of sustainability certification among different certification brands in the global tourism industry. Before the initiation of the CST seven years ago, ecotourism operators were not actually helping conservation issues and local involvement as much as legal restrictions by the Costa Rican government were at the time.\textsuperscript{112} This may indicate that that the ICT was responding to international social pressure to create a measure that would promote pro-norm behavior among ecotourism operators and other businesses in the tourism sector.

It is important to note that inclusion in the CST program is completely voluntary and registration is also free, but deeper evaluation and continued certification comes at a

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\textsuperscript{110} Honey, “Ecotourism and Sustainable Development,” 162.  
\textsuperscript{112} Honey, “Ecotourism and Sustainable Development,” 89.
price (monetary as well as time, effort, paperwork, etc.) after the initial free evaluation. However, tourists tend to be increasingly aware of the fact that their presence has an effect on the human and natural environment, as shown by the increasing amount of alternative tourism and especially ecotourism worldwide relative to traditional tourism. However, tourists may not possess enough knowledge of the real operations of the hotels, restaurants, and other sites that they wish to visit in order to make the most educated decisions and contribute to the sustainability of their visit. Having an “eco-seal of approval” helps ecotourists make those decisions. For this reason, being certified for sustainability is useful because it may improve business by increasing the number of visitors to a given location. This also means that certification programs such as the CST need to be rigorous in order to accurately portray the extent to which businesses comply with norms and behaviors related to sustainability. All in all, the CST (like any other certification program) is by its very nature a material as well as a social incentive: Not only may certification increase the number of visitors that the business receives, but it also grants status to the business as well as acceptance into social circles in which the business might not otherwise partake. An example of this is the Monteverde Community Fund, which involves any and all local businesses that seek to become part of a network of stakeholders that value sustainability and wish to see Monteverde grow in a sustainable manner.

The CST uses a tool consisting of yes-no questions that measure four categories: biological environment, facilities of the business, client service, and socioeconomic environment. Points are awarded for each category and the lowest point total among the four categories is what the final score of the business is, and leaves are awarded based on

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this score (out of a total of five leaves). This is meant to motivate businesses to be well-rounded and not neglect any area in their efforts to be sustainable. However, to earn the first leaf in this system, a business only needs to obtain “yes” answers for 20 to 39 percent of the questions on the checklists. This has been the cause of some debate, because while some people believe that the program is not very stringent and allows for too much wiggle room when it comes to managing a business responsibly, others believe that the program should stay the way it is in order to motivate businesses to actually become a part of the program and improve their practices from there. The other issue that commonly arises when the CST is discussed is the fact that it tends to not cater to specific types and sizes of businesses, and that further improvement could be made within the program if the ICT would add smaller and more-specific programs within the CST.\textsuperscript{115} As the most widely-sought certification program in Costa Rica, the CST is obliged to represent the nation in a positive way when it comes to promoting norms for sustainable tourism. For that reason, it may become even more important in the future if a global norm for certification were to arise, and if states began moving away from voluntary ethical codes in order to establish controllable measures of sustainability.

\textbf{Monteverde as a destination for sustainable ecotourism}

The name “Monteverde” may refer to the political district in the Puntarenas province in Costa Rica, the community of people living within the range of the river Quebrada Maquina to the Monteverde Cloud Forest Preserve (MCFP), or the zone that includes parts of both sides of the Continental Divide, the surrounding forest reserves, and the

\textsuperscript{115} Honey, “Ecotourism and Sustainable Development,” 204-5.
human community. My research uses the name Monteverde to refer to the latter option (the whole zone), but with particular focus on the human community within this zone. Monteverde is located at about 1460m above sea level, and mean annual temperature at that height was estimated at 65.3°F (18.5°C) from 1956 to 1995. Mean annual precipitation is roughly 2519 mm, although recent estimates from the area in the early 2000s show at least 3000mm of rainfall annually, on average. Like the rest of Costa Rica and Central America in general, Monteverde has two seasons: rainy or wet season, and dry season. The rainy season lasts roughly from May to October, and dry season from November to April. It is due to this high rainfall that nature in Monteverde can continue to flourish and humans can continue to take advantage of natural watersheds.

Most of Monteverde is located in or around forests described as belonging to the category “tropical montane cloud forest”, one of the most-threatened and fragile ecosystems in the world. Their protection is important not only for the life that lives within them but also because they act as natural protectors of watersheds, thus providing water to the local human population. Monteverde also contains seven of the twelve total life zones in Costa Rica (with “life zones” being defined by the mean annual temperature and rainfall in specific regions within an area). It is home to over 20,000 different species of plants, including around 755 species of trees and 3021 species of vascular plants. These are low estimates that continue to grow as new species are

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To further elaborate upon the biodiversity within Monteverde, this area contains around 161 species of amphibians and reptiles as well as 121 species of mammals, 58 of which are different kinds of bats. It is one of the most uniquely-diverse destinations for ecotourists.

Indeed the word “diverse” succinctly sums up Monteverde not only with respect to its natural environment but also its human environment. Monteverde has grown from its original indigenous inhabitants, to the addition of tico gold miners from Guacimal in the early 1900s and settlers moving to the San Luis and Santa Elena regions in 1915 and 1922 respectively, and eventually to the arrival of farmers to Cerro Plano and Monteverde proper in 1929. The population in the Monteverde zone reached about 175 by 1950, and these inhabitants tried in many ways to conserve resources by reforesting and not using chemicals to farm. The arrival of the Quaker families in 1951 led to the clearing of more forestland to make room for pastureland and dairy farms, though many tried to conserve the forests because of strongly-held Quaker values. These Quaker families had left the United States for a couple of different reasons, the primary one being a military draft for the Korean War. As it had recently abolished its army, Costa Rica seemed the logical choice when the Quakers were choosing a place to settle. With the help of some of the local farmers, the Quakers went into the Tilarán mountain range and began to deforest in order to create space for farmland and housing, saving enough trees

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121 Burlingame, “Conservation in the Monteverde Zone,” 353-54.
to protect the watershed in the area.\textsuperscript{122} Much of this deforested land was planted with species of hardy grasses that nowadays make it very difficult to reforest this land.

The first pension was built in the 1950s and catered mostly to the few scientists who were coming into the region during that time. The early 1960s heralded the presence of even more foreign biologists, and in 1987 a national boom in the tourism market occurred, which caused the number of hotels to increase to more than 35 by the time 1998 rolled around, at least 20 of which were small locally-owned pensions.\textsuperscript{123} This number increased to more than 65 hotels of various sizes by 2007, most of which have some sort of eco-label. During the past 30 years or so as well, other touristic businesses like the Serpentarium, forest canopy tours, and many different souvenir shops opened up.\textsuperscript{124} Much of this increase in Monteverde’s popularity as a destination can be linked to George Powell’s report on quetzals in \textit{American Birds} in the 1970s, as well as other published articles on rare birds from Monteverde, and especially because of BBC’s \textit{Forest in the Clouds}, which aired in 1978. Other books like \textit{In the Rainforest} and the articles and film by The National Geographic Society also promoted the Monteverde zone.\textsuperscript{125} Today, between 50,000 and 250,000 tourists visit the region each year in addition to the constant local population of approximately 7,000 inhabitants, which is also growing.\textsuperscript{126} This local population includes the presence of non-\textit{ticos} who have intermarried with \textit{ticos} and moved permanently to the zone.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{122} Austin Haberle, “Monteverde Then: A Brief History,” Monteverde Now, accessed March 6, 2013, http://monteverdenow.org/monteverde-then.
\item \textsuperscript{124} Burlingame, “Conservation in the Monteverde Zone,” 355; Honey, “Ecotourism and Sustainable Development,” 187-89.
\item \textsuperscript{125} Burlingame, “Conservation in the Monteverde Zone,” 355.
\item \textsuperscript{126} Nadkarni and Wheelwright, “Monteverde,” 4-5.
\end{itemize}
Since the late 1980s when the tourism boom occurred, there has been increasing strain on the local population and ecosystem.\textsuperscript{127} Between 1992 and 1997 there was a plateau in the number of tourists that came to Monteverde, but it picked back up again afterwards with the help of an ICT advertising campaign. Local institutions have been working together since the late 60s, when foreign scientists began coming in higher numbers to Monteverde, as conservation and economic disputes needed solving, some of which would later also promote ecotourism, like the Monteverde Cloud Forest Preserve (MCFP). The MCFP, not long after this time, released a plan for developing itself as a preserve and attracting more tourism, which provoked negative reactions from the community and led to collaboration that helped set limits on the size of the amenities to be added as well as the capacity of tourists the reserve would hold at a given time.\textsuperscript{128} This example also exemplifies the importance of community and unity among Monteverde residents when it comes to protecting the locality.

According to Leslie J. Burlingame, when it comes to the applicability of the example of Monteverde, Costa Rica as a destination for ecotourism, the reality is that “Costa Rica is atypical among developing countries,” as is Monteverde among Costa Rican towns.\textsuperscript{129} There exists in Monteverde a large population of educated, environmentally-aware people, and this population is multicultural as well. It is very different not only from the rest of Costa Rica, but also many other places in Latin America; however, the success that Monteverde has had as a destination could be a good model for starting up sustainable systems of ecotourism in other places as well.

Providing local employment first with a few small pensions and a women’s initiative like CASEM, in addition to being unique tourist attractions, is a good starting point for

\textsuperscript{127} Honey, “Ecotourism and Sustainable Development,” 184.
\textsuperscript{128} Burlingame, “Conservation in the Monteverde Zone,” 354-59.
\textsuperscript{129} Ibid., 374.
destinations that are looking to strengthen the local community and grow economically. The specific culture, environment, economy, politics, and history (natural as well as human) must all be taken into account when creating a plan of sustainable tourism development.\textsuperscript{130} The positive effects of ecotourism in Monteverde have been economic growth and an increase in local employment as well as better paying jobs for those residents. Negative effects include too much demand for public services like water, difficulties with waste management, and worsening infrastructure.\textsuperscript{131} These negative effects have sparked much discussion about how to try to better control tourism in the area so that it does not take as much of a toll on Monteverde.

My personal perspective of Monteverde, Costa Rica, reflects much of the information that I have learned from external sources regarding the biodiversity and human diversity located within this gem of a destination. \textit{Tico} residents and shopkeepers mix with lively throngs of students visiting from Canada, the United States, and different parts of Europe on the streets of Santa Elena. \textit{Non-tica} wives of \textit{tico} husbands relate how they are personally affected by the political agendas of the president and her cabinet, as well as destination-level debates over whether or not the Pan-American Highway, that snakes through Monteverde, should be fully paved for the local’s ease-of-travel as well as the tourists’

Researchers of many different backgrounds who either live in Monteverde or are simply visiting flock to surrounding reserves in order to study the hundreds of different species of animals and thousands of species of plants and fungi that are native to the cloud forest. Tourists from six out of seven world continents follow tour guides deep into the reserves and cluster around scopes in order to try to get a closer look at the rare 

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\textsuperscript{130} Burlingame, “Conservation in the Monteverde Zone,” 374.
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and famous Resplendent Quetzal. Tico host parents, traditionally the mothers, prepare typical meals for the foreigners that they are hosting and send them off to the various classes, day-trips, sites of interest, cultural tours, and ziplining experiences that have been planned out for them for the course of two or so weeks, just as they send their teenagers off to the local high school and accompany their younger children to the nearby primary school. Institutions like the Monteverde Institute host conferences and events that not only draw residents of the Monteverde community but also educators, scholars, scientists, birdwatchers, and other visitors from across the globe. All of them come together to share with each other and discuss topics specific to their interests that may impact their future decisions and behaviors. The preservation and the exchange of cultures is a constant, subconscious tension among the members of the community, as are the desire to grow economically without sacrificing the family-oriented nature of the town and the wish to continue to reap the benefits of tourism to forested areas without compromising the natural environment. It is within this diverse, complex zone that I found myself as a researcher, interested in investigating the presence of beliefs, goals, and values related to norms of sustainable tourism among businesses in the region.

The case study

Monteverde is a unique location to carry out a case study because of its history as a zone, its mixed culture, its local economy based strongly in tourism, and the strong presence of environmental conservation as an underlying value in the community. Because of the strong current of ecotourism running through the area, it seemed a great location to conduct a preliminary case study regarding sustainable tourism, whether international
norms are transferred to local businesses, and if certification affected whether or not businesses exhibited beliefs, goals, and values that align with norm compliance.

Purpose

One way to determine the presence of norms within a population is to assess the beliefs, goals, and values that a sample from the population expresses. In order to determine whether or not businesses in the tourism sector are motivated to act in sustainable ways due to material gains rather than the social pressures present because of norms internalized into society, it is necessary to investigate two things:

1. Whether businesses express beliefs, goals, and values that do indeed conform to the norms promote by international organizations; and
2. Whether certification programs influence the beliefs, goals, and values that businesses hold.

The purpose of the case study in Monteverde is to understand business’ perceptions of sustainable tourism as well as what beliefs, goals, and values different businesses in the tourism sector have. By comparing these results to the guidelines promoted by international organizations for sustainable tourism, it will be possible to determine whether the norms present at this destination reflect international-level standards. Furthermore, by examining whether the iterations of beliefs, goals, and values related to sustainable tourism norms differs between certified and uncertified businesses, one may decide if certification as an external influence affects whether a business conforms to sustainable tourism norms or not. If certification programs do not influence whether or not a business iterates beliefs, goals, and values that match up with the international standards being promoted, then one eliminates certification programs as a source of
economic incentive for businesses. That is, one could conclude that businesses a socially influenced rather than materially influenced, and the process by which the norms are adopted into society is socialization rather than external pressure. If this is true, then how much norms related to sustainability are internalized into society may be positively affected through social means rather than material means. In a much broader sense, one may better understand from the responses of the businesses in the case study where norm transfer for sustainable tourism falls short, why this may be, and what sorts of actions may be taken to further promote the internalization of sustainable tourism norms at the destination level.

Hypotheses

Understanding Monteverde to be a community that values tourism as a major source of income, and whose Chamber of Tourism released a strategic plan in 2009 to establish Monteverde as a sustainable tourism destination, it would be logical to assume that most businesses in Monteverde are knowledgeable about sustainable tourism and are certified at least through CST, as long as the Chamber of Tourism and other organizations at the destination level related to sustainable tourism are actively promoting these norms. If they are certified, then they are already promoting the norms that are advocating internationally for sustainable tourism. If businesses are not certified, but the beliefs, goals, and values of the business still reflect the same internationally-supported norms, then one may still claim that norm transfer from the international level to the destination level is successful.

$H_1$: The beliefs, goals, and values (norm indicators) iterated by destination-level businesses, whether in dialogue or in action, reflect international standards of behavior. Thus, the norms advocated by international organizations are successfully transferred to, and are present at, the destination level.
Null: The beliefs, goals, and values iterated by destination-level businesses do not reflect international standards of behavior. Thus, the norms advocated by international organizations are not successfully transferred to, and are not present at, the destination level.

Rejecting the null hypothesis and supporting the alternative hypothesis $H_1$ would mean that the daily operations for the majority of the businesses in this study would, for the most part, support the sustainability of the environment, sociocultural sustainability, economic sustainability, and sustainable management of the business itself, unless the business is not actually capable of doing so. In that case, the business may still have internalized the norm but is incapable of complying with it because of external factors (like financial stability), not internal (valuing sustainability).

While it cannot be entirely assumed because sociological studies have not yet been carried out regarding certification, ecotourists may be more attracted to businesses that advertise themselves with eco-labels than those without certification. If so, businesses may change their beliefs, goals, and values in order to try to become certified and profit from an increase in visitors. If these norm indicators are inherently different from the indicators iterated by uncertified businesses, or if the difference in means between the number of certified and uncertified norm indicators is significant, then material gains or other forces may be motivating businesses to change their behaviors.

$H_2$: There is a significant difference between business certification status and the number of different iterations of beliefs, goals, and values related to sustainable tourism.

Null: There is no significant difference between certified and uncertified businesses with respect to their mean iterations.

If the null hypothesis cannot be rejected, this supports the claim that certification does not affect whether or not businesses carry out their daily procedures in a sustainable manner, or if their beliefs, goals, and values match the standards that certification programs
advocate anyways. Rather, it supports the notion that sustainable tourism norm transfer from the international level to the destination level, in this case, is due to socialization, not material coercion. Therefore, attempts to affect the rate of internalization or amount of internalization may be more effectively carried out through socialization, not material incentives.

Finally, provided H1 and H2 are supported by the evidence found in this research, the hypothesis H3 may be asserted:

\[ H_3: \text{Touristic businesses adhere to behaviors reflecting sustainable tourism norms because of socialization.} \]

\[ \text{Null: Touristic businesses adhere to behaviors reflecting sustainable tourism norms not entirely because of socialization. Material incentive may be playing a role in business conformity with these norms.} \]

This is important because if H3 is well-supported, this research supports the idea that policymakers should pursue future social actions in order to promote sustainable tourism rather than attempt to bolster material incentives. It means that businesses are supportive of sustainable tourism beyond what they can obtain from it monetarily, and that they are responsive to the norm transfer process and have internalized norms for sustainable tourism as well.

**Methodology**

Using a survey tool (see Appendix A) comprised of 16 qualitative and quantitative questions, 18 different local business owners and managers of either American or Costa Rican nationality were interviewed in person within a seven-day period. The questions ask about the owners’ definitions of sustainable tourism, the importance of such tourism to their businesses, the owner’s vision of future growth for the business, the familiarity of the owner with different domestic and international certification programs and guideline
creators, whether the business is certified and why or why not, and the different practices the business carries out to be more sustainable in the following four areas: management, socioeconomic effects, cultural heritage, and environmental presence. Business owners responded verbally to questions asked from the paper survey, and I transcribed their answers to the copy of the survey. The businesses can be divided by type into the following categories: hospitality, dining, tours, museums, and “mixed” (that is, a combination of the other categories, such as hospitality and dining). Figure 4.1 shows the distribution of the types of businesses that were interviewed.

The quantitative questions used rating scales from one to five, with one meaning that the business owner was unfamiliar with or was in complete disagreement with the question being asked, and five meaning that the owner was extremely familiar with or was in complete agreement with the question being asked. These questions were followed by a short biographical section in which I asked for contact information, the size of the business, the type of business, when the business began, the nationality of the owner, the amount of visitors to the business, the number of employees in the business, the location of the business in Monteverde, and whether the business has any certifications. The data were then entered into Microsoft Excel to graph and analyze (see Appendix B).

The qualitative free-response questions were translated from Spanish into English and coded based on whether parts of respondents’ answers were beliefs, goals, or values. See Appendix C for this document. Different beliefs, goals, and values were given different numerical values (B₁, B₂, B₃…), and these codes were grouped into more-general themes within each category. These themes were compared with national and international guidelines in Excel in order to analyze which ones were similar and which
Fig. 4.1. Distribution of the types of the 18 businesses featured in this study.
ones differed. To promote a greater reliability of the coding system that I used, a percent agreement measure of inter-rater reliability was conducted by involving three other coders, Coder A, Coder B, and Coder C (names protected for confidentiality). Percent agreement was used instead of other methods of analysis because it is the simplest measure of inter-rater reliability and the easiest way to come up with a general sense of researcher reliability for this very preliminary research. The coders were given an information sheet with some background about the Monteverde region, a short paragraph describing their task, and the following definitions of belief, goal, and value while coding:

Belief: Acceptance of a statement as true or that something exists.

Goal: The respondent's aspiration(s), desired result(s), or aim(s).

Value: Something considered important or good in the respondent's eyes.

Coders practiced coding on a sample text that was used in the training session in order to become familiar with the process of coding. The coders were then given the numerical code scheme that I came up with after coding the data, separated by beliefs/goals/values, as well as the translated version of the qualitative data with each part of a respondent’s answer highlighted in a different color depending on whether that part needed to be coded for belief, goal, or value. For context, they were also given the survey questions that were used to collect the qualitative data. The coders were not allowed to know under which specific numbers I categorized the beliefs, goals, and values expressed in the data. They were, however, allowed to view the general themes in order to better help them locate numbers while coding. They were asked to write what they determined as the corresponding code letter and number next to each separate highlighted part of each respondent’s answers to the survey questions. In total, there were 355 different parts that
needed to be coded. Each coder’s codes were analyzed in comparison to my results depending on the number of beliefs, goals, and values that matched with my own. These numbers were entered into Microsoft Excel and a percent agreement between me and each coder was calculated. These were averaged together, for an average inter-rater reliability of 83%. See Appendix D for data. A final list of the responses and the corresponding codes was then created, taking into account where the other coders and I differed. Provided that at least one other coder shared my response, that code was maintained in the final list of responses and codes for the responses. Where there were discrepancies between me and the coders in terms of which code best applies to the part of the statement given, if at least two coders shared the same answer that was different from my own and the third coder did not share my answer, the code that the two coders in agreement came up with was used. If at least two coders shared the same answer that was different from my own and the third coder shared my answer, the code number I originally came up with was kept. In situations where all three other coders differed from each other, the code number I originally came up with was used.

Using this code list and the responses, for each individual code I added up the number of certified businesses that iterated it and divided that number by the total number of certified businesses. This gives a fraction of the certified businesses that iterate that specific code out of the total number of certified businesses. This process was carried out for all of the codes, and was repeated for the uncertified businesses. Then, the fractions obtained for each individual code for certified businesses were separated into the corresponding categories that the codes were originally placed in. These fractions were added together to obtain the sums of the percentages of businesses that expressed the codes within each category. This process was repeated for uncertified businesses.
This resulted in a list comparing certified and uncertified businesses of categories with corresponding sums of fractions of businesses that iterate the individual codes within the categories. An unpaired t-test was carried out to determine if there was any significant difference between the iterations of the certified and uncertified businesses. If the P-value in the t-test is less than 0.05, it means that there is a significant difference between the fraction sums and that certified businesses tend to iterate a higher number of beliefs, goals, and values that correspond to sustainable tourism norms compared to businesses without certification. See Appendix E for data.

The inductive manner by which the code scheme was constructed (creating a code scheme after conducting the interviews and surveys rather than before in order to use the scheme during the survey) does have some downsides, namely that trying to explain the data obtained by such a rich and flexible approach becomes quite difficult. However, coding after acquiring responses from the interview participants allowed for the complexity of human behavior and thought to be preserved in this case.

**Results**

Out of the 18 participants in this survey, 100 percent responded “yes” when asked if they were familiar with the idea of sustainable tourism and all but one respondent described sustainable tourism as being “very important” for the business. These questions controlled for the possibility that a business owner or manager may not be aware or have any knowledge whatsoever of the terms, and it also controlled for the possibility that a business may not value sustainable tourism. Only eight of the eighteen business owners interviewed responded that their businesses possess some sort of sustainable tourism certification (44 percent). When it comes to familiarity with
national-level sustainable tourism organizations and certification programs, 84 percent of respondents are “extremely” or “very” familiar with the ICT and/or the CST program, and 56 percent are “extremely” or “very” familiar with Blue Flag certification programs. Rainforest Alliance certification was not surveyed. On the other hand, familiarity with selected global sustainable tourism organizations and certification programs is significantly less, with 6 percent of respondents expressing that they are “extremely” or “very” familiar with Green Globe 21 (the guidelines that have come from the WTTC), 34 percent with CREST, and 11 percent with the Global Sustainable Tourism Council (that came from UNWTO). That fewer respondents would have any sort of familiarity with international norm-creating bodies is to be expected, because institutions like Blue Flag and the ICT are what are acting as the national-level norm-transferring bodies for these larger and more distant actors.

When comparing the values iterated in this case study to the guidelines promoted by UNWTO (via the GSTC), WTTC (via Green Globe 21), TIES, and CREST, most of the values expressed in the business interviews that were coded did indeed match guidelines that are promoted by these international organizations. This confirms my first hypothesis \( H_1 \), which is that norm transfer appears to be successful from the international level to the destination level. This is a necessary condition in order for my second hypothesis \( H_2 \) (whether certification influences the beliefs, goals, and values expressed) to be considered. See Figure 4.2.

As could probably be expected, according to the qualitative data, the businesses in this study that already possess certification tend to view certification programs in a positive light, whereas those that are not certified tend to have a more negative view about certification programs. The business owners whose businesses in this study have
some sort of certification describe the following reasons for wanting that certification in the first place: being able to show proof of environmental and socioeconomic consciousness (for the business itself as well as the tourist), quantifying how much they know with respect to sustainable tourism, and gaining recognition by these tourists and receiving their business. Wanting to show proof of sustainable tourism consciousness and wanting to quantify one’s knowledge to self-evaluate are both social motivations for wanting certification, but a desire to receive the business of ecotourists who recognize such labels is a material motivation. This demonstrates that while certification programs are mainly social incentives, they can also motivate businesses with the prospect of material gains. Among the businesses in this study that are not certified, major impediments to certification include the fact that the business doesn’t qualify due to its small size or some other reason, a lack of financial or other resources, the burden of too much legal paperwork, or the need for more consciousness or education regarding these programs and the steps necessary to becoming certified. The t-test carried out with the qualitative data obtained to determine whether or not the beliefs, goals, and values of certified businesses significantly differ from those of uncertified businesses returned a P-value of 0.8801, which is much greater than the generally-accepted value of 0.05 and is therefore not significant. This means that overall in this sample, there is no correlation between whether a business is certified or not and the frequency of the types of beliefs, goals, and values that the business iterates. This means I cannot reject the null hypothesis $H_2$, which states that that there is no significant difference between certified and uncertified businesses with respect to their mean number of iterations of different beliefs, goals, and values related to sustainable tourism. While this does not necessarily mean
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General norms</th>
<th>WTTC (Green Globe 21)</th>
<th>UNWTO (GSTC)</th>
<th>CREST</th>
<th>TIES</th>
<th>ICT/CST</th>
<th>Blue Flag</th>
<th>Code List</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic development</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biodiversity conservation</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conserving resources</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reducing pollution</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural protection</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awareness and respect</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local benefits</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visitor satisfaction</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustainable management</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources:
- Blue Flag Award Requirements: [http://banderaazulecologica.org/category/galerdones](http://banderaazulecologica.org/category/galerdones)

Fig. 4.2. Chart of general norms promoted by international organizations for sustainable tourism and national-level Costa Rican certification programs, compared with the code list from the case study data.
that there is absolutely no way that certification programs affect whether or not a business is following the norms for sustainable tourism that are promoted both on national and international levels, it does show that even without certification, businesses still tend to iterate the same beliefs, goals, and values that certified businesses do. That there is consistency among the beliefs, goals, and values of these businesses, as well as between the businesses and the standards that are being promoted by international organizations, with or without certification supports the hypothesis that sustainable tourism norm transfer is a socially-driven process: Businesses carry out sustainable practices to the best of their knowledge and abilities regardless of whether or not the prospect of receiving more visitors and profiting is an incentive.

In general when examining the sums of iterations in each category related to the goals of the certified and uncertified businesses, uncertified businesses tend to express that growth of some sort is ideal, whereas certified businesses more often iterate goals that include improvements in management. Both certified and uncertified businesses express nearly the same amount of desire for wanting to maintain their current size. To see whether or not the number of employees in a business or the number of visitors a business receives per day could be related to whether or not a business has some sort of sustainable tourism certification, these numbers for each non-certified and certified business were entered into Microsoft Excel and graphed (see Figures 4.3 and 4.4). An unpaired t-test was used to test whether or not there was a significant difference between the numbers of employees for certified and uncertified businesses as well as the number of visitors per day between certified and uncertified businesses. In the end, after running an unpaired t-test, it was discovered that in this sample there is no correlation between a business being certified and the number of visitors a business receives per day or the
Fig. 4.3. Unpaired t-test comparing certified and uncertified businesses’ average number of employees. (N = 18  Not certified: X = 7.4 ± 1.462  Certified: X = 12.5 ± 5.503  P = 0.3371)

Fig. 4.4. Unpaired t-test comparing certified and uncertified businesses’ average number of visitors per day. (N = 18  Not certified: X = 34.3 ± 10.884  Certified: X = 65.6 ± 14.029  P = 0.0918)
number of employees that work at the business. However, due to the small sample size and the fact that many of the numbers for visitors per day were estimates (many of the business owners interviewed admitted to not having reliable numbers recorded for the number of visitors per day), it is likely that these data are somewhat inaccurate and that future studies would help to clarify whether or not there is any relation between certification and the number of employees within a business or the number of visitors a business receives per day. A t-test comparing the years in which these businesses began and whether or not they are certified also shows that there is no correlation between the two factors; however, this again may be unreliable because of the small sample size used in this case study.

It is important to note that in carrying out the analysis for both the qualitative and the quantitative data, human error may have factored into the results, whether via miscalculation or via interpreting qualitative data differently than others may have. It is even more important to emphasize that a small sample size in this case, while much easier to handle with respect to analyzing numbers, is not ideal for trying to represent the population of Monteverde businesses. However, this case study, the results and conclusions of which will be interpreted in the following chapter, are useful for discussing norm transfer as it relates to sustainable tourism among businesses in the tourism sector.
Chapter 5: Conclusions

Is sustainable tourism norm transfer from the international level to the destination-level business successful? The data suggests that yes, it is. While it can be difficult to pinpoint exact norms and the precise paths through which they are transferred, a visual comparison (Figure 4.2) between the international, national, and local population levels supports that businesses in this sample in Monteverde do reflect internationally-propagated norms for sustainable tourism. This supports the alternative hypothesis of my first set of hypotheses: The beliefs, goals, and values (norm indicators) iterated by destination-level businesses, whether in dialogue or in action, reflect international standards of behavior. Thus, the norms advocated by international organizations are successfully transferred to, and are present at, the destination level.

Does certification affect the presence of norm indicators like beliefs, goals, and values among businesses in the sustainable tourism industry? The qualitative data obtained in the preliminary case study described in the previous chapter suggests that no, it does not. The insignificant P-value received when calculating the qualitative data demonstrates that there is no significant difference between certified and uncertified businesses with respect to the categories within beliefs, goals, and values and number of iterations of these norm indicators. The null hypothesis of my second set of hypotheses cannot be rejected: There is no significant difference between certified and uncertified businesses with respect to their mean iterations.

Is norm transfer in the case of sustainable tourism a purely social process, or are there material incentives that drive the transfer? Arguing from a theoretical perspective and the data presented, the process appears clearly social. By eliminating certification as a material variable in H2, the alternative hypothesis for my third set of hypotheses is
supported: Touristic businesses adhere to behaviors reflecting sustainable tourism norms because of socialization. Though material gains do affect businesses because it is their nature to want to survive as enterprises, this material desire is completely separate from the social pressures that cause businesses to accept norms in order to maintain membership in certain social circles, and also to avoid discomfort. Because certification programs assess how well business behavior conforms to a set of criteria that reflects international-level guidelines, they can be very useful when it comes to assessing how well a business’s daily procedures follow the norms advocated; however, certification programs are material incentives as much as they are social incentives, and are not necessarily meant to show which businesses are successful examples of norm transfer and which ones are not. They measure behavior, and unfortunately many businesses are unable to take certain actions to promote specific aspects of certifications programs in their businesses, including buying into the programs to begin with. Thus, by suggesting that certification programs do not affect actors’ beliefs, goals, and values that reflect international-level sustainable tourism norms and by supporting this with qualitative data from this destination-level case study, I am positing that this process of international norm transfer related to sustainable tourism is a completely social process, not material.

What does this mean with respect to the further integration of internationally-accepted sustainable tourism norms into businesses at the destination level? We can understand from the case study in Chapter 4 that sustainable tourism norm transfer from the international to the destination level is successful in the sense that many beliefs, goals, and values that businesses hold do reflect the norms that international organizations promote. These norms provide a base from which sustainable behaviors within businesses may stem. However, clear from the data is the notion that there are
certain factors that inhibit the transfer of knowledge, which could very well affect what beliefs, goals, and values the businesses at the destination level adopt. One of the managers of a local business in Monteverde mentions that he does not believe that the owners of the business have a high level of education about how to be sustainable, nor the managers, but that they try to do what they can with what they know in order to inform clients about the cultural heritage of Monteverde like its history, as well as sustainable environmental practices such as rules to follow when hiking through the forests. One uncertified-business owner supports this by saying that “there is a lack of communication in these areas, we need more information. It’s not necessarily that we lack the funds or ability to be certified, we just don’t know all of what we need to do to get there.” Another successful business owner from the area mentions that although they are trying to obtain certification, “there’s a high cost to pay for these programs and you need to be very dedicated with time and money” in order to become certified and maintain that certification. Yet another business owner from Monteverde declares that neither he nor his employees ever considered pursuing certification before because of a lack of any definite push in that direction, but that they do “want to know more about how to help the community.” It appears that there is a great motivation to want to be doing the “right thing” with respect to sustainable tourism, especially because the local natural and human environments benefit from sustainable practices, but that it is difficult for business owners and managers who cannot actively pursue certification for one reason or another to become educated in this realm. Perhaps in this case, it would be useful to provide different workshops, training, and educational programs much like the Monteverde Community Fund offers to the businesses within the destination. The media may also be useful in the general promotion of sustainable development at the destination.
level. I further recommend that businesses in general actively seek more training for their employees and that they take greater actions when it comes to learning about what necessary behaviors would promote sustainable tourism at the destination.

When it comes to Monteverde businesses as examples for other tourism-related businesses in the world, I must emphasize that no sweeping generalizations can be drawn from this case study. First of all, not every country will be able to create a strong sustainable ecotourism industry. Costa Rica in general possesses many of the means necessary to meet the needs of tourists, including “adequate transportation infrastructure, attractive hotels and facilities, and trained (often multilingual) staff and tour leaders, which may require years and considerable investment to develop.” Monteverde in particular, as previously mentioned, is a special case because of its unique cultural composition and its natural and human history.

For future studies, the survey tool used to carry out the case study should be fine-tuned to better collect data and a large sample size should be obtained. By repeating this case study within Monteverde as well as at other popular tourist destinations, more precise conclusions may be drawn from the data obtained. In addition, as previously mentioned, the case study itself suffers from a few pitfalls. Only 18 businesses were interviewed, and there is at least four times that number of just hotels of various sizes alone in Monteverde, not to mention the quantity of restaurants, souvenir shops, ziplines, and other tourism-related businesses that exist there. The wording of questions may have prompted certain business owners to respond in certain ways and not others, and the personalities of the business owners may have also played a role in the types of qualitative responses that were given as well as how much some of them talked in

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comparison to others. Furthermore, human error may be accounted for among the
calculations that I carried out myself on both the quantitative and qualitative data, as well
as any human error among the additional coders whose help allowed me to calculate a
percent agreement as a measure of inter-rater reliability.

If my hypotheses prove correct not only in this case study but in future research
conducted by other scholars, then both certified and uncertified businesses are still
affected by norm transfer and internalize norms related to sustainable tourism, showing
that no material incentive affects the process and that the process is purely social. Yet, at
the same time, certification may still be a draw for tourists who want to know what
businesses are, from as objective a perspective as possible, behaving sustainably in
accordance with sustainable tourism norms. These businesses should be recognized for
their sustainable practices and rewarded for their efforts, and oftentimes they are not
because of reasons already mentioned such as the size of the business or the inability to
initially pay for the evaluations necessary to become certified and to keep complying
long-term with the terms of certification. Perhaps certification programs need to
reconsider how they go about awarding certification to certain businesses and catering
more to the small family-oriented business by creating more specific options.

Additionally, if an entire destination is trying to move as a community towards
being a sustainable tourism destination, as is Monteverde, there arises the issue of
businesses that may not be profiting economically or that cannot make changes within
their businesses because of their current financial state to pursue greater sustainability,
even without pursuing certification. No matter the social pressure upon these businesses
to change to become more sustainable, they financially are unable to do so. It is my
belief, one that a few people that I interviewed in my case study share, that if an entire
community wishes to grow together as a destination for sustainable tourism, mutual help needs to be exchanged in order for a business that is deviating from norms for reasons other than not having internalized them to come into compliance with those norms. Otherwise, the business may keep operating unless local policies come into place that would require that the business make specific changes or else be forced to shut down, or unless the business actually closes down because of its financial hardships. Ultimately, however, the overall goal is not necessarily to help individual businesses but to improve the sustainability of the community as a destination for sustainable tourism, and to protect the natural and human environments at the destination as it continues to grow and develop.

A global shift towards sustainable tourism versus unsustainable forms of tourism is not a change that takes place in a short period of time. Some may argue that it might not even be a viable option for certain destinations to completely shift “the way things are” in order to try to create a foundation for future socioeconomic, cultural, and environmental protection. However, if no effort is put forth and no progress is made at all in this direction, the deterioration of the local community and environment will be inevitable. It is my hope that this research, including the case study that was conducted in Monteverde, Costa Rica, would be the initiation of an ecologically-minded discussion among scholars of many different backgrounds of the importance of socialization as opposed to material incentives when it comes to promoting sustainable tourism at small destinations internationally. The assessment of the destination-level prevalence of internationally-accepted norms for sustainable tourism among businesses is useful in better understanding what barriers prevent norms from being transferred to a small destination and what possible solutions may aid the transfer process. While a sudden
shift to fully sustainable development is impossible to achieve overnight, small steps
towards a greater level of sustainability among nations, especially with respect to
economic sectors like the international tourism industry, highly increases the global
opportunity to conserve the natural resources that have been given to us and preserve the
wellbeing of different human communities all around the world.
Encuesta de la sostenibilidad de negocios en Monteverde – Ashley Gora, Pasante

Soy estudiante estadounidense que tiene pasantía con el Fondo Comunitario Monteverde (FCM), una ONG que "une diversos recursos, actores y estrategias para impulsar iniciativas de sostenibilidad en la región de Monteverde y sus comunidades aledañas." Actualmente estoy realizando unas investigaciones para el FCM y también para escribir mi tesis del último año en la universidad sobre las normas globales del turismo sostenible y las Relaciones Internacionales. Espero descubrir cómo son las empresas turísticas en Monteverde con respecto a la sostenibilidad para luego comparar los resultados con algunas de las normas y percepciones regionales y globales del turismo sostenible.

Informe

El propósito de esta encuesta es investigar cómo y en qué medida aparecen al nivel de los negocios del destino las normas de turismo sostenible aceptadas generalmente por unas organizaciones internacionales. Las preguntas después de las preguntas preliminares están basadas directamente en los criterios de Green Globe 21 (programa de las naciones unidas), Biosphere (programa de la UNESCO), y el Consejo Global de Turismo Sostenible (GSTC). Yo voy a usar estas encuestas para medir la frecuencia de ciertas normas de turismo sostenible para los negocios turísticos aquí en Monteverde. El Fondo Comunitario de Monteverde espera en el futuro usar encuestas similares para examinar cómo es el estado del turismo sostenible en Monteverde y en cuáles áreas se puede mejorarlo.

Consentimiento Informado

La encuesta está compuesta de 16 preguntas sobre su negocio y su visión hacia la sostenibilidad. Están seguidas de una sección de información biográfica. Su participación y sus respuestas sinceras en esta encuesta son completamente voluntarias pero muy importantes y útiles para mis investigaciones y el éxito que espero tener como estudiante universitaria. Además, los resultados de este estudio pueden tener un efecto positivo en otras investigaciones sobre cómo se puede mejorar el turismo sostenible en Monteverde.

La información que obtengo en esta encuesta será compartida anónimamente (o sea, sin el uso de los nombre del negocio y dueño ni información de contacto) con el FCM para ver en cuáles áreas debe trabajar y qué puede ofrecer a los negocios y a la comunidad. Además, esta información será usada para escribir mi tesis y es posible que sea compartida anónimamente con la universidad mía Lake Forest College para estudios futuros. ¿Usted consiente a que sean compartidos los resultados de esta encuesta de estas manera?
Preguntas

1. ¿Está usted familiarizado/a con el turismo sostenible?
   Sí          No

   → Si sí, ¿qué significa el turismo sostenible con respecto a su negocio?

   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________

   → Si no, ¿qué importancia tiene para su negocio la protección del medioambiente y el bienestar del local?

   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________

2. Según usted, en una escala 1-5 (1 significa que no es importante, 5 significa que es muy importante) ¿cuán importante es la sostenibilidad para el negocio?

   1          2          3          4          5

3. ¿Qué piensa usted es la visión de la empresa con respecto al desarrollo sostenible?

   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________

Por favor circule en la escala 1-5 cuán familiar está con los siguientes programas/iniciativas (1 significa que no tiene ninguna familiaridad y 5 significa que tiene muchísima experiencia):

4. Instituto Costarricense de Turismo (ICT) y/o Certificación para la Sostenibilidad Turística (CST)
   1          2          3          4          5

5. Bandera Azul
   1          2          3          4          5

6. Green Globe 21
   1          2          3          4          5

7. Filantropía de Viajeros
   1          2          3          4          5
8. Centro para Turismo Responsable (CREST)
   1 2 3 4 5

9. Consejo Global de Turismo Sostenible (GSTC)
   1 2 3 4 5

10. Programa de Desarrollo de las Naciones Unidas (UNDP) y/o Programa de Subvenciones/Becas (SGP)
    1 2 3 4 5

11. ¿Hasta qué punto es problemático el aumento de turismo en Monteverde para la empresa?
    1 2 3 4 5

12. ¿El negocio participa en algún programa de certificación?
    Sí       No
    → ¿Por qué sí/no?
    __________________________________________________________
    __________________________________________________________
    __________________________________________________________

13. ¿Cómo intenta el negocio gestionar de manera más sostenible? (en cuanto al uso de recursos de oficina, el servicio hacia el cliente, la convivencia con la comunidad, etc.)
    __________________________________________________________
    __________________________________________________________
    __________________________________________________________
    __________________________________________________________

14. ¿Cómo intenta el negocio promover la sostenibilidad socioeconómica en Monteverde? (en cuanto al desarrollo social comunitario, el tratamiento de empleados, la venta de productos locales, etc.)
    __________________________________________________________
    __________________________________________________________
    __________________________________________________________
    __________________________________________________________
15. ¿Cómo intenta el negocio proteger el patrimonio cultural? (en cuanto al uso de patrimonio cultural en sus operaciones, la protección de propiedades y sitios de historia/arqueología/cultura/religión, etc.)

______________________________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

16. ¿Cómo intenta el negocio proteger el medio ambiente? (en cuanto a su uso de recursos naturales, los desechos, la vida silvestre, la conservación, la biodiversidad, etc.)

______________________________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

Información biográfica

Nombre del negocio: _____________________________________________________________

Nombre y puesto del representante (usted): _______________________________________

# teléfono: ________________________________________________________________

Ubicación en Monteverde (escoja uno): Santa Elena/Cerro Plano/Monteverde mismo/(_______)

Tipo de negocio (escoja uno): hospedaje/alimentación/tours (agricultura)/tours (bosque/selva)/
tours (aventura)/recuerdos (incluso arte)/mueso/transporte/otro

Tamaño del negocio (# empleados): _____________________________________________

Aprox. # visitantes/día: _______________________________________________________

Cuando empezó el negocio: ____________________________________________________

Nacionalidad del dueño: _______________________________________________________

Certificaciones (si alguno): ____________________________________________________
Appendix B: Certified and uncertified businesses and their familiarities with ICT and Blue Flag, numbers of employees and visitors, and when the business began.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Certified</th>
<th>ICT/CST</th>
<th>BF</th>
<th># employees</th>
<th># visitors/day</th>
<th>When it started</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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Mean: 4.125, 4.125, 12.5, 65.625, 1998.5

Min: 1, 1, 3, 5, 1988

Q1: 3.75, 3.75, 4, 32.5, 1992.25

Median: 5, 5, 7.5, 80, 1997

Q3: 5, 5, 12, 100, 2005.75

Max: 5, 5, 50, 100, 2010

Mode: 5, 5, 4, 100, N/A

N: 8, 8, 8, 8, 8

Standard Deviation: 1.458, 1.458, 15.566, 39.681, 8.315

Standard Error: 0.515, 0.515, 5.503, 14.029, 2.940

Range: 47, 95, 22

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<th># visitors/day</th>
<th>When it started</th>
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<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1984</td>
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Mean: 4.4, 3, 7.4, 34.3, 2004.2

Min: 3, 1, 2, 8, 1984

Q1: 4, 2, 4.25, 10.75, 2004.25


Q3: 5, 4, 11, 37.5, 2006.75

Max: 5, 5, 15, 100, 2012

Mode: 5, 2, 5, 8, 2006
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t-test comparing years = not significant (0.1487)
ICT = .6046
BF = .1277
Appendix C: Translated and coded survey responses

MONTEVERDE AND NORMS OF SUSTAINABILITY WITHIN TOURISTIC BUSINESSES – Ashley Gora

Hello! Thank you so much for agreeing to help me be an anonymous coder for some qualitative data that I got during interviews in Monteverde, Costa Rica, investigating sustainable tourism in local businesses. Your work here should take no more than a half hour, plus the 15 minutes that it will take for me to explain your task to you.

Some background information: Monteverde is a unique town in Costa Rica with a mixed population of Costa Rican people and gringos that have moved there (to do business or marry someone there), are studying/researching there, or belong to the Quaker lineage of people that came during the Korean War. The town is fairly touristy, but it is not your typical mass tourism destination like Disney World. Rather, ecotourism (including nature tourism, adventure tourism, and rural tourism) has taken hold of Monteverde, and the community’s economy relies on the stream of American and other tourists that come to explore the cloud forests and catch sight of a quetzal or go ziplining. The issue that these people face as a community, and businesses who also are looking to profit, is how to be sustainable in their actions (in other words, how to use resources today in such a way that the future generation benefits. Think of Earth as a closed system with limited resources: once they’re gone, they’re gone).

Directions: Attached to this information sheet are all of the typed responses of all 18 business owners that participated in this survey, translated by me from Spanish to English. They are categorized by participant ID #, not by question. The questions will be typed onto the page before all of the participants’ responses so that you may have a context in which to place their answers. Given the code scheme below, you are to go through all of the qualitative responses and code key words within each textual response to the questions asked. Some participants may share seven key words in one answer to one question, while some may share only one, and some may not have responded at all in a way relevant to the question (no response). The code scheme is as follows:

B = Belief: acceptance of a statement as true/exists (with different beliefs specifically coded: B_1, B_2, B_3...)  
G = Goal: the respondent’s aspiration, desired result, aim (different goals specifically coded: G_1, G_2, G_3...)  
V = Value: something considered important/good (with different values specifically coded: V_1, V_2, V_3...)  

Sample text:
Q: What do you want to do when you graduate? Why?
A: Well, currently I’m graduating in December and I’m already set up for a paid internship abroad that will last around a year. It’s at this nonprofit that promotes environmental education and has a bunch of study abroad programs and stuff; it brings in a lot of different students from around the world. It’s super intent on promoting sustainability, and interning there before has...
impacted me in such a way that I think sustainable tourism is important and I also really want to be a sort of cultural mediator too because I think it’s important that teens who come to study abroad in a different culture actually understand and learn from it, and become more culturally tolerant that way.

Survey Questions

1. Are you familiar with sustainable development and/or sustainable tourism? If so, what do these terms mean to you with respect to your business?

2. (quantitative question, not shown)

3. What is your vision with respect to the growth of your business?

4-11. (quantitative questions, not shown)

12. Does your business participate in any certification program? Why/why not?

13. What sorts of sustainable management practices are employed in this business? (for example, the use of office supplies, customer service, coexistence with the community, etc.)

14. How does the business try to promote socioeconomic sustainability in Monteverde? (for example, through community development, how employees are treated, the selling of local products, etc.)

15. How does the business try to protect cultural heritage? (for example, the use of cultural heritage items or information in its operations, the protection of property and historical/archeological/cultural/religious sites, etc.)

16. How does the business try to protect the environment? (for example, the use of natural resources, waste products, wildlife, conservation, biodiversity, etc.)

An asterisk (*) means that this was another tidbit of information that may have been offered by the business owner interviewed that was related and I decided to keep in.
CODE SCHEME: BELIEFS (blue for beliefs!)

Sustainability
B1 = Sustainable tourism/development (ST/SD) is [enviro./social] consciousness.
B2 = ST/SD is conserving nature & resources.
B3 = ST/SD means acting locally and being supportive (esp. of the community, schools, organizations).
B4 = ST/SD is coexisting with the community and environment.
B5 = ST/SD means good client relations and customer service.
B6 = ST/SD means balance, harmony, spiritual growth.
B7 = ST/SD means reducing one’s impact and not contaminating.
B8 = ST/SD is diversification, multiple sources, preparation.
B9 = ST/SD is long-term.
B10 = ST/SD involved protecting the culture.
B11 = ST/SD means self-sufficiency.
B12 = ST/SD doesn’t exist.
B13 = Unsustainable or unmeasured development is bad. Growth isn’t always sustainable.
B14 = Excess of tourism means worse service for the customer.

Certification
B15 = Certification programs (CPs) demonstrate [enviro./social] consciousness.
B16 = CPs look good, are for recognition.
B17 = CPs are unavailable to small businesses.
B18 = CPs are not accessible.
B19 = CPs quantify knowledge.
B20 = People should do the right thing without CPs.
B21 = Certification is expensive.
B22 = CPs are too rigid, don’t adapt to place specifics.
B23 = CPs require people to be educated about them to know about them.
B24 = CPs demand dedication and time.
B25 = The ICT doesn’t help Monteverde much.

Other
B26 = There is too much external influence in the culture.
B27 = The community in Monteverde lacks much, is pricy.
B28 = There’s too much business competition in Monteverde.
B29 = The community/businesses need to work together, unite.
B30 = Commissions are problematic.
B31 = Commissions are good.
CODE SCHEME: **GOALS** (green for goals!)

Growth-related
G1 = No further growth, maintain size.
G2 = Sustainable growth, growing with the destination.
G3 = Being bigger/expanding or adding more locations.
G4 = Growing without debt.
G5 = More visitors.

Management-related
G6 = Better management practices or service.
G7 = Being more ecological.
G8 = Learning more.
G9 = Beginning (or ending) a new aspect of the business.
G10 = Diversification (not depending solely on tourism).
G11 = Promoting knowledge/learning for tourists.
G12 = Certification.

CODE SCHEME: **VALUES** (violet for values!)

Environmental
V1 = Conservation/utilization of [natural or other] resources.
V2 = Reduce/reuse/recycle any kind of material, using biodegradable resources.
V3 = Protecting natural areas and other areas, not polluting/contaminating.
V4 = Planting trees/plants, especially native ones, and having a garden.
V5 = Decreasing the carbon footprint.
V6 = On-site water treatment.
V7 = Species reproduction.

Socioeconomic
V8 = Cooperating and participating in the community.
V9 = Contributing to local projects, schools, organizations, etc.
V10 = Local [organic or handmade] products and employees.
V11 = Employee satisfaction, pay, and security.
V12 = Protecting children, women, minorities.
V13 = Discounts/free options for locals or groups.
V14 = Participation [in community, in other areas].
V15 = Promoting agriculture.

Managerial
V16 = Customer service and relations.
V17 = Teaching/informing customers/visitors, and information in multiple languages.
V18 = Standards, quality, and recordkeeping.
1. Sustainable development is **consciousness** in how to **utilize natural resources** and how we cooperate with the community, that we **grow together**.

3. We **Don’t want to grow anymore**; we want to attach **better management practices** to what we already do.

12. **Certification programs demonstrate consciousness** regarding resources and the community.

13. **Personalized client service**, **coexistence in the community**.

14. Sponsoring schools with donations (within the area and outside), selling **local products**, feeling and not just wanting to be certified (believing in values like **honesty**, **respect**, **rescuing the culture**)

15. Informing clients about their actions in the forest and in museums, teaching **cultural respect** and respecting the cultures of the visitors, informing party-hard visitors especially, protecting children from sex trafficking

16. Eco-showers that save water and electricity and money, signs that **inform clients about good practices** (turning off lights etc.), planting plants

---

1. Sustainable tourism is **recycling**, **being specific about the tours** that are sold, not using as much **paper** as possible, helping with **free options for certain groups**

3. We want to **grow in a sustainable manner** and be as ecological as possible.

12. **Certification programs demonstrate** that people are trying to be **greener** and take care of the planet. It **looks good**, too.

13. Being an **office without paper**, having **certifications**, meeting with local people and the **Chamber of Tourism**

14. **Local employees**, **donations**, being careful about promoting which tours and hotels that exist (not ATV/jetski), **promoting cultural tours** although they aren’t that popular, tours to schools
15. Protecting natural areas through smaller buildings.
16. Reducing our carbon footprint, having a garden and native plants, planting trees.

003
1. It means buying local, supporting NGOs, paying taxes like one should, hiring local people to grow responsibly, develop responsibly and manage responsibly.
3. We want to grow responsibly, develop responsibly and manage responsibly.
12. We can’t because the value of hostels is too small. Certification programs do not have accessible programs (the hostel doesn’t qualify) but participation in a certification program is indeed important.
13. Promote recycling, not selling plastic, being a transparent business, not using so much paper.
14. Buying locally, paying a good salary, paying taxes, local employees, supporting other sustainability organizations with resources and donations, participating in other committees and boards with time and funds, not firing employees during low season.
15. Honoring and administering well what we have with respect to culture and the Quakers, buying locally, conserving, promoting agriculture, maintaining the language, participating in the community.
16. Supporting those who conserve the environment, treating water on-site, hydroponic garden for the kitchen, damaging as little as possible.

004
1. Everything, social-economic-environmental responsibility.
3. The goal of our business is to grow in such a way that it permits producers to be more efficient and have a better management of resources and a smaller environmental impact.
12.
13. Working with local farmers, using better practices.
14. Working in an associative way where the producers are converted into commercial partners that earn up to 50% of the value of their roasted coffee or 75% of the value of their green coffee.
15. We want the producers to be able to conserve their land instead of selling it to foreigners, but also that it would be profitable and not just idle land.
16. Reuse/reduce/recycle all of the business’s resources and solid wastes.

005
1. They are practices that strengthen the conservation of our resources, both natural and human.
3. We plan to maintain the business as it is, only implementing better practices in service and sustainable waste management.
12. To have a project or product that is certified.
13. Cleaning products that don’t affect water, reutilizing leftovers in alternative projects (organic compost and feed for pigs), packing material that can be reused, supporting recycling programs.
14. Using fresh and organic products, the employees are from the zone, monetarily support sustainability programs.
15. Respect each one of the aforementioned practices and strengthening them in our case, highlighting the mode of preparation of Costa Rican foods and recipes from our grandparents 16.

006
1. Becoming conscious of how much we need to take care of the environment, all based in taking care of the environment including recycling, not throwing away things 3. Not necessarily being bigger but rather having space for cabins or for green areas because the hotel doesn’t have a lot of space (not even for a treatment plant). We need to have control over our service as well, so it’s better to be smaller 12. We hope to very soon because it’s necessary to advance 13. Having a place to put trash, thinking as a community, recycling, using less paper and more emails, less fax, signs to inform the customers about sustainable practices 14. Attracting nationals as well as others, thinking as a community, being aware that tourism is not just money but also an opportunity to develop the community 15. Trying to always be in national hands 16. Recycle etc. like I’ve already mentioned *We need union

007
1. Working in such a way that our family, the tourists and the environment can coexist, that it would be optimal for all three and not only the business. 3. Offering more satisfaction and more conservation than we already have, planting better, rooms that are more comfortable, but not only grow in the amount of customers but rather in satisfaction: technology/our own knowledge and the tourist’s knowledge. 12. It’s a way to quantify how much we already know about sustainable tourism. 13. Trying to adapt and change old habits (water treatment, waste management, supporting centers or NGOs) 14. Supporting NGOs, supporting schools, donations to do various programs related to schools and Ecobike, supporting sports activities, training workers 15. We support art, music (festivals), and people like Corico [FYI: Corico is a friend of mine whose real name is Chris and his dream is to graduate with a degree in cinematography and do theater stuff] 16. Native plants, private reserve in the RNRP chain, we’re also part of the Bellbird Biological Corridor, we support reforestation programs, maintain recycling and water treatment, avoiding contamination, cleaning up the streets with schools. *Community versus the individual

008
1. Sharing with the people that visit, talking to them, making healthy and fresh food from Monteverde cooked in the moment 3. We want to be bigger in order to employ more people 12. The business is too small to qualify
13. Buying from the zone, farming locally, talking with people and customers, advising them and making friendships
14. Receiving volunteers, maintaining relationships with the people that come to study, MVI employees
15. Picking up trash, recycling, consciousness regarding the environment and having to take care of it, taking care of how much water we use
16. Native plants, organic trash as fertilizer, recycling, trying to buy everything here and not buying so many containers/bags, using reusable things, any leftover food to feed the dogs

009
1. Living in balance with everything, doing business in equilibrium, not destroying when we do business, growing spiritually, not just monetarily. Being friendly to the environment and the guests.
3. Growing without debt, beginning the restaurant, growing a little more but selling the place afterwards
12. We haven’t thought in simply having a certification. One needs to be conscious and do things well without a certification: There are things that we have to do and one has to have a change of mentality, a better opening of the mind and such.
13. Recycling, making tourists aware about taking care of the environment
14. Having a garden in order to have a vegetarian restaurant with local food
15. The mentality of the business carries the value of being “pura vida” [pure life, very costa rican saying]
16. Recycle
*We need to unite (there’s too much competition), we lack much as a community
*Unmeasured development is a problem, as are commissions that some places charge
*There is a lot of external influence in the culture here; it’s been diluted

010
1. Reduce one’s impact and strengthen links in order to grow as a community
3. We want to grow, remodel in October in order to have a cold room and not consume so much electricity and help the environment, and to also change the lights
12. It’s for being recognized and also so that the tourists knows... the costs are bad though and the certifications don’t adapt to what’s specific about each place
13. Stability, not firing people in low seasons, maintaining high standards
14. Buying locally, employees from the zone, working with people in the community, contributing to social programs
15. Participating in anything community-related, sharing the history of the Quakers and the community and sharing our values
16. Biodegradable products and smaller products in order to minimize impact, recycle

011
1. Having a beautiful hotel with environmental consciousness
3. Good customer service and a good environment with organic growth
12. We don’t have certification because **the real owners don’t have a high level of education about how to be sustainable** nor do we really, they’re never here and don’t know about these things.

13. **Client education** about the environment and the community, **customer satisfaction**, information in English and Spanish.

14. Selling **local tours**, **commissions for employees**, information for guests, sharing our knowledge with the community.

15. **Nature**, explaining the importance of it and the rules of walking through the forests, sharing the real history of Monteverde.

16. **Recycling**, making compost, using **cleaning products that don’t damage the environment**

*The **community needs to act as a united entity**
* **Commissions as something good but bad as well**

012

1. **Having various activities** in order to move forward, **seeking other sources** in order to maintain tourism and attract more people. One needs to **maintain quality** in order to avoid plateauing.

3. **Slow but secure growth**, and if there’s **money we invest in order to avoid falling into debt**.

12. **Lack of communication**. **We need more information**, it’s not necessarily that we lack the funds.

13. **Avoiding contamination**, giving natural things, **recycling**, selling **souvenirs from the zone**.

14. The guides benefit as well as those who provide transport and the family itself and those who sell the tour (all of whom are Costa Rican), so it’s a **community benefit** in and of itself. **We help schools with donations as well**.

15. **Maintaining family teachings** and guarding them well, both at a personal level as well as at a family level.

16. **Reforesting** through planting coffee trees, **not deforesting**, **not contaminating**, using **recyclable things**, walking through the forest at night in order to **protect the animals** during the day.

*If there were an **excess of tourism**, it would be bad because our service wouldn’t be the same.
* **We want to seek other alternatives in order to not depend solely on tourism**.

013

1. **Not using up nature**, and that the business would be more natural and in **harmony with nature** and that tourism would also be like that.

3. It’s a slow growth and people don’t visit often. We are at 80% capacity and could take advantage of the other 20% available to grow, but for now we just need to **maintain ourselves**.

12. We already are **trying to get certification** and are working on things that the programs promote. We aren’t that big and there’s a high cost to pay for these programs, you need to be very dedicated with time and money.

13. **Certified guides**, good **customer service**, supporting employee’s education, explaining the culture and informing the customer.

14. **Helping schools/high schools/people/churches with donations**, **free visits for schools and local people**, **local agricultural products**
15. What we make is 100% cultural: coffee. So it is a cultural tour.
16. Not as many chemicals, not contaminating as much, recycling, planting trees and making windbreaks, economic help to others to buy trees.

014
1. Managing our activities in such a way that it can be done for many years, respecting the community/environment/culture/customer.
3. We don’t want to grow because we don’t want to lose our family-oriented identity and because it isn’t sustainable.
12. We’re too small and don’t qualify, and there are too many associated costs and paperwork.
13. Recycle, using fewer office resources, personalized customer service.
14. Free tours for locals and schools, small homestay visits with direct contact in order to promote knowledge for both parties and so that the family receives something economically.
15. Try to be careful with the homestays so that they don’t affect the culture as much.
16. Education about waste management for tourists, offering volunteer projects like planting trees and conservation projects, recycling, offering environmental and climate change education.
*The customer’s profile is important.

015
1. Commitment to the environment and to people, conserving/preserving species and helping in a rational way, better use and care of things.
3. We are committed: sustainable practices. We need to continue this theme, we want certification.
12. What prevents us from CST certification is a property that nobody knows at a legal writings’ level who it belongs to, so it’s difficult to get certified. It’s important that people know that we are interested in conservation and sustainability.
13. Light bulbs that save more energy, recycling paper, recycled bedding for the rats.
14. Visits to schools/high schools, giving talks about sustainability and snake species, schools that come to learn, donations to schools, Christmas programs for the poor, free entrance for locals, consciousness given to tourists and locals about snakes.
15. Conserving the mountain and the animals, conserving resources.
16. Recycling, planting trees, reproducing species in order to not take them from the forest, environmental education.

016
3. Maintain ourselves and not grow anymore (we’ve already reached our limit), preparing for what cannot be expecting with tourism.
12. It’s important for the tourists to be educated. But the ICT programs have to regulate commissions, where to put recyclables, etc. The ICT does little for Monteverde as a destination.
[ICT is the maker of CST, the national certification program for sustainable tourism]
13. Do the best we can for the client, using recyclable products, organic local products.
14. Local products, collaborating with the school, donations (working for everyone else), giving to Christmas programs

15. Being better

16. Recycling, treating water, not littering, composting and giving extra food to the pigs, not using plastic bottles. We are involved with the Reserve as well (we have another restaurant there) and the CST implements their regulations there so we learn new things that we can implement here as well.

017
1. It doesn’t exist.

3. I would like the number of visitors to increase, but not grow as a business per say

12.

13. Keeping a record of customers, using light bulbs that save electricity, growing local food for the species I keep

14. Discounts for locals and for people who donate, local employees

15. Education about the species that I keep here

16. Domestic species (not taken from the wild), being careful about water contamination, and since we do mainly tours there isn’t as much consumption of resources

*Commissions are a problem
*As a destination we need to seek a better price for the tourist

018
1. Helping the community by giving employment to various people in this place, collecting up our wastes adequately, and taking care of our resources.

3. We’d like to grow in the sense that we have other locations in other places, expand

12. We never thought about having certification before, we lack a push in that direction, and we already do things that organizations ask of us anyways

13. Economic lights, food chambers that save money

14. Local employees, we want to know more about how to help the community

15. Local food and produce

16. Recycling and using recycled products for the oven etc., using biodegradable products
Appendix D: Percent agreement calculations for inter-rater reliability

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<th>Goals (G)</th>
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http://greenglobe.com/about.


