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Abstract:
This article argues that a rise in intra-regional immigration in Costa Rica has contributed to growing schisms within society. This problem is particularly evident in the nation's capital, San José, where the growth of *precarios* or precarious neighborhoods is often attributed to the arrival of internal migrants and intra-regional immigrants. Through a case study of the community of La Carpio, predominantly inhabited by Nicaraguans, this article reveals that social divisions in San José are constructed and maintained through a process of "othering" through which social boundaries become intertwined in a net-like fashion leading to the formation of distinct social "others".

Urban fractures: The Practice of "Othering" in San José, Costa Rica

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7th of March, 2009

La Carpio, Costa Rica

I followed Don Roberto out the kitchen door, which I had to crouch down awkwardly to pass through. Once outside I continued to walk in a stooped position in order to avoid getting caught up in the multiple white and red electricity wires running between the main house and the make-shift bathroom to my right. As Don Roberto opened the principal door -which consists of a large piece of tin nailed to several planks of wood- he must have caught sight of my struggle because suddenly he turned towards me with a smile and said, "The house is very simple but its ours." The sincerity of Don Roberto's words stuck with me as we begun walking through the community, which according to the State of Costa Rica, is illegally occupied by thousands of "squatters."

With the door pulled tight behind us, Don Roberto and I began walking slowly toward the sixth bus stop, which was not labeled as such but rather was the most convenient place for the bus driver to park while he waited for enough passengers to appear to justify a trip into San José. As we meandered along the dusty road, Don Roberto took the time to answer my persistent questions and address issues in the community that I had yet to perceive. "Behind us is the city dump and to our right is the new Catholic Church, which is the largest in the community," he explained as we approached the corner, which was lined with four or five neon green buses. "See those buses? They begin running at four in the morning and they go late into the night. If you get up early enough you will see the long lines of workers waiting to get on the buses. Its not like they say, sure the community has its problems but most of us are hard workers with families. It is our work that keeps San José running." As we ventured further into the heart of La Carpio, Don Roberto's words slowly began to reveal the heterogeneous make-up of a community considered by most Costa Ricans to be a homogenous black hole of social turmoil.

I.) Introduction

The above extract is from my first day of field notes in La Carpio, a marginalized community located on the periphery of San José, Costa Rica. Don Roberto and his family, though veiled by pseudonyms, are part of a larger population of Nicaraguan immigrants who live in Costa Rica, many of whom reside in the shadows of the nation's capital in communities like La Carpio. Most Costa Ricans refer to these communities as *precarios* or "precarious communities" but as I note above, this label masks what are often highly heterogeneous neighborhoods. Though this finding was a revelation for me, it is hardly a discovery in academic terms.

Over the last thirty years, a great deal of academic work has focused on the situation of the urban poor in Latin America. Early research carried out in rapidly growing urban centers throughout the region revealed the heterogeneous make-up of resource-poor neighborhoods (Stokes 1962; Turner 1968; Portes 1971; Cornelius 1975), a tendency that has been built upon by contemporary authors (Prévot Schapira 1996; Auyero 2001; Caggiano 2005; Sandoval 2005; Cravino 2006, 2009). Inherent to this literature is a focus on the urban socialization of *internal* migrants displaced by major shifts in the political economy. For most of the twentieth century, internal migrants made the largest contribution to urban growth in Latin America, whereas transnational migrants or immigrants, were largely associated with migration networks connected to Europe or the United States. Recently, however, intra-regional immigration (IRI) has emerged as a growing trend throughout Latin America.

IRI, though always present in Latin America, has gained importance over the last several decades both due to *net increases* in IRI and a shift from seasonal *migration* to

rural agricultural belts to notably more visible *immigration* to urban areas. Both of these trends are evident in Costa Rica, where an increase in Nicaraguan immigrants over the last twenty years has contributed to the growth of resource-poor communities in the canton of San José (Castro-Verde 1999; Sandoval 2002 and Morales 2006). As a result of IRI, an interesting paradox has emerged in which *internally* resource-poor neighborhoods like La Carpio are more heterogeneous than ever and yet *externally* they are perceived as more homogenous due to strong xenophobic overtones within wider society. In this essay I address the process, which I label *othering*, that underlies this paradox. Specifically, I analyze this social "practice" through the lens of a case study rooted in the community of La Carpio. As I reveal in the space bellow, *othering* in San José is an active process rooted in: (1) the myth of Costa Rica as a regional exception, (2) the history of Nicaraguan migration to the region, (3) the juxtaposition of internal vs. external views of La Carpio and (4) the racialization of the "Nica" in San Jose as a distinct "other". In the pages that follow I address each of these points in turn.

II.) Debunking the Homogenous "Other": La Carpio, Costa Rica

As mentioned above, most Costa Ricans reduce La Carpio to the homogenous label "precario." This tendency is not exclusive to Costa Rica but rather, apparent throughout Latin America, where heterogeneous, resource-poor neighborhoods are frequently condensed to mere labels. In Argentina they are reduced to *villas de miseria*, in Chile *callampas*, in Peru *barriadas*, in Brazil *favelas* and in Mexico *ciudades perdidas* or *colonias paracaidistas*. In each case, the effect is the same: whole communities are reduced to and recognized by a generic social tag charged with negative connotations. In

this manner, individual and group differences are veiled beneath the homogenizing rhetoric of external social forces. In this study I attempt to unveil one such community, La Carpio, as a means of revealing the complex interaction between resource-poor communities and the homogenizing labels forced upon. I begin with a short description of the community to help situate the reader.

La Carpio is situated in the district *la Uruca,* which forms part of the canton of San José. The community emerged between 1993 and 1994 when a Costa Rican man by the name of Marco Aurelio Carpio organized the division and sale of a series of lots owned by *la Caja Costarricense de Seguro Social* (CCSS), i.e., the State of Costa Rica. Prior to being owned by the State La Carpio pertained to a North American man who maintained a *finca de café* on the once fertile land just south of the capitol city. When he passed away the property returned to the State. The land upon which the community is situated was owned by the CCSS until 2002 when IMAS (*Instituto Mixto de Ayuda Social*) bought the land for 294,000,000 colones (roughly $534,545 dollars). La Carpio is composed of 57 hectares and the community is geographically set apart from surrounding communities by two rivers, *el Virilla* and *el Torres*, which run along the outskirts of the community. The west end of the community is occupied by San José's largest dump, which is administered by the Canadian company Ebi, a subsidiary of the Canadian group Berthierville. Ebi provides the community with a small percentage of its earnings in the form of a communal tax, which amounts to one of La Carpio's few sources of income available for communal development[1]. The physical layout of La Carpio is on display in Map 2.1.

[1] Note: In compiling this brief history I relied on personal interviews/talks with Doña Alba Luz, Don Humberto, Don Luis, the CODECA board, Francela, and Dr. Carlos Sandoval. I also took the care to

Map 2.1 La Carpio

Source: Google Earth, accessed on 11/10/2009

I purposefully chose La Carpio for this study for three reasons: (1) the community's formation coincides with the peak of Nicaraguan migration to Costa Rica, which allows for a rich analysis of the interaction between Nicaraguans and Costa Ricans, (2) the community's relatively high concentration of Nicaraguan migrants permits me to focus on one particular group of intra-regional immigrants and finally (3) the inhabitants of La Carpio face a high degree of discrimination outside of their district due to the fact that their community has come to be associated with the often unwelcome arrival of thousands of Nicaraguan migrants to the canton of San José.

Though a handful of communities are associated with Nicaraguan immigrants, La Carpio has come to epitomize what many Costa Ricans allege to be social ills directly tied to immigration from Nicaragua, including: increased violence, promiscuity, the illegal occupation of land, the deterioration of a once renowned welfare State and a

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review the dates and facts that I compiled with Carlos Sandoval's 2005 article titled, "La Carpio. La experiencia de segregación urbana y estigmatización social".

growing population of unemployed. Popularly, the community is known as "Managuita" or "Little Managua" and although the community's population is nearly evenly divided between Nicaraguans and Costa Ricans, it is widely depicted as a "Nicaraguan" community. For example, one Costa Rican woman I interviewed in San José quickly refuted the claim that half of the community is composed of Costa Ricans; claiming that, "the other half is made up of children of Nicaraguans and they are just as much "NICA" as their parents, even if they happen to be born in Costa Rica."

Immutable notions of nationality, as evidenced in the quote above and encapsulated in the term "NICA", imply hard, nearly genetic divisions between Nicaraguan immigrants and Costa Ricans. The complex relationship between immigration and anti-immigrant sentiments is at least partially accounted for by Costa Rica's particularly strong nationalist zeal, which is rooted in a historical representation of the country as the region's lone exception to the social unrest suffered by other Central American nations. Often referred to as the “Switzerland of Central America”, Costa Rica has long been identified for its successful model of small farming democracy which, as the legend goes, has permitted Costa Rica to promote social equality and solidify the growth of its rising, *white* middle class (Paige, 1997).

The connections between Costa Rica’s relative political and economic stability and race run deep into the socio-political history of the country. Take, for example, the following excerpt published in a 1939 article titled, “White Settlement in Costa Rica” by Leo Waibel:

> Yet in this little Central American State of less than 20,000 square miles a preponderantly white population has flourished; in the course of 400 years a little band of Spanish immigrants has increased to

> a community of more than 400,000 white inhabitants, about 70 percent of the entire population of the State. By far the largest number of these white Costa Ricans live on their own plots of land, which are worked by the members of their families, and grow, in addition to food for their own needs, a few cash crops, chiefly coffee. Each has some cattle and his own team and occasionally a riding horse and lives in a small cottage in the center of his holding. In Costa Rica we have a native-born white population of small farmers.
>
> Social and economic differences are relatively negligible -at least they are smaller than in any other part of Latin America. The non-white inhabitants live predominantly in the lowlands; the whites are concentrated in the central highlands, where they form the core of both culture and population. This physical separation of races leaves the highland districts virtually free of racial problems. *Racial, economic, and social solidarity has given the country its relatively peaceful political development, its economic progress, and its relatively high level of intellectual life* (Waibel, Leo; 1939, 529).

As this excerpt illustrates, notions of economic, political and social stability are deeply inscribed in the nation's *white,* democratic identity. This account is corroborated by historian Lowell Gudmundson, who holds the Costa Rican national ideology to be "one of the most attractive and widely disseminated national mythologies in any Latin American nation (Gudmundson, 1986, 1)." Given these historical precedents, it is not difficult to comprehend why Nicaraguan immigrants residing in the canton of San José have faced such strong anti-immigrant sentiments.

Increases in Nicaraguan immigration to Costa Rica's urban centers, particularly San José, which is the historic epicenter of Costa Rican exceptionalism, have led to the uncomfortable juxtaposition of the Costa Rican myth with resource-poor im/migrant

communities, like La Carpio. In this respect, the emergence of the Nicaraguan immigrant as a distinct "other" in the canton of San José is to be attributed to the clash between Costa Ricans, who *self-identity* as middle class, democratic, egalitarian and "white" and Nicaraguans, who are *depicted* by Costa Ricans as non-democratic, violent, poor and dark-skinned (Sandoval, 2002, xvi). Still, while the historic constructs discussed here shed light on the manifestation of immutable notions of nationality, they do little to explain the continuity -and implied *maintenance*- of such constructs within the canton of San José. In the section that follows I focus on the process of *othering* in the community of La Carpio.

III.) The Social Practice of "Othering" in La Carpio, Costa Rica

This section is largely based on a month of field work I conducted in the Costa Rican community La Carpio in the Spring of 2009. During the time I spend in La Carpio I had the opportunity to live with a Nicaraguan immigrant family that arrived when the community was just beginning to emerge in 1993. Without the assistance of Doña Luz and her family my research would have been a futile task[2]. It is worth noting that I originally went to La Carpio with the intention of conducting a series of focused questionnaires that I could later use to compare and contrast both quantitatively and qualitatively. However, a comment made by Doña Luz, the owner of the house I lived in, made me reconsider my position quite literally the day my research began. In my first interview in La Carpio Doña Luz stated the following:

[2] Note: I also want to thank Carrie McCracken who first introduced me to Doña Luz and her family and guided the early stages of my research.

> Seeing the information and the news that they covered in reports, we decided to take a stand. We decided we were not going to permit this anymore. La Carpio, to a certain point, is like an immense laboratory. They [researchers] come and they take ideas and request interviews. Here they come to look for everything and in the end they use it against us. So we said no, that's enough. So we decided that we were going to end all the interviews because they were always used against our community (NICATICA; #1, 35:50).

As a consequence of Doña Luz´s comments I decided, very literally at the last minute, to put up the questionnaires and conduct my research via participant-observation and semi-directed interviews based on a given individual's experience as a immigrant living in La Carpio. In this sense, the work presented here is rooted in the oral history of the individuals I interviewed. The subjects of my study were identified through the social-networks of five unconnected sources living both in La Carpio and San José. In this sense, interviews developed in a chain like manner, in which each interviewee had been recommended by a previous interviewee.

I carried my recorder to all of my interviews but I only recorded 12 of the more than 25 interviews I conducted. Nearly half of the interviews I recorded were with teachers, social workers, and local experts. The other half were with community members. All of the unrecorded interviews were conducted with community members. Essentially, deciding whether or not to recorder an interview was a last minute call. There were instances, for example, in which pulling out the recorder might have broken the flow of a good discussion and therefore I just left it in my pocket. Nonetheless, during unrecorded interviews I took extensive field notes in small pocket notebooks that I carried with me. Prior to recorded interviews or note taking I always made a point of

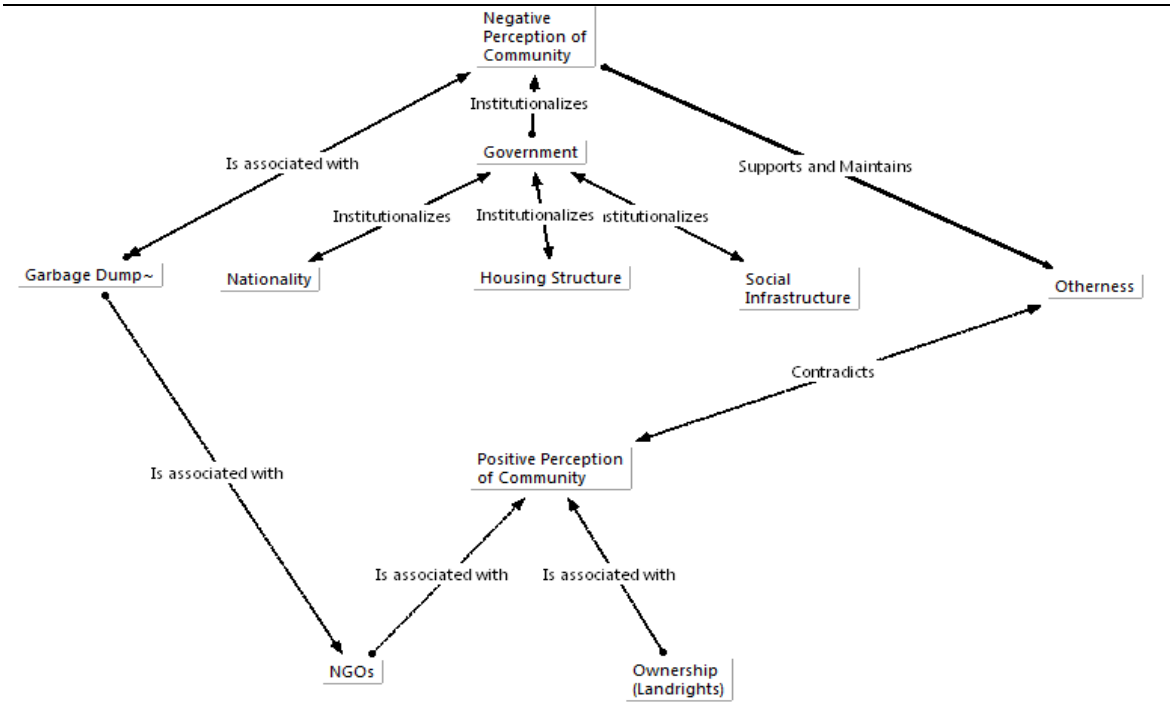
asking the individual for her or his permission to document the information that was being relayed to me. At night I reviewed my notebooks and transferred the information into my master journal. My field notes were composed of descriptions and interpretations. Each night I wrote anywhere from five to eight pages in my journal. I have since transferred my field notes to a Word document. During the process of transferring the information it was not uncommon for me to add to my interpretations, which I separate from descriptions and interview text by inserting them in parenthesis and writing in italics. For this project, I transferred my field notes and transcribed interviews to the qualitative data analysis program ATLAS.ti 6. Within ATLAS.ti I coded my transcription and field notes for reoccurring themes.

Though this study was informed by previous work on urban Latin America, it is largely *inductive* in method. The inductive method is particularly powerful in this case because it allows for the extraction of the internal worldviews that define social boundaries particular to La Carpio. This approach permits for a more holistic depiction of the formation of inequitable social boundaries in the canton of San José, which I call "othering". This process is very similar to "boundary work," as described by author Michele Lamont in *The Dignity of Working Men*. Like Lamont, I believe that "groups that find themselves in relatively similar structural positions can draw very different [social] lines" and that in this respect, "social exclusion takes different forms" depending on the particular "sets of cultural tools" available to the group (Lamont 2000, 7)." In this study I employ the inductive method as a means of illuminating the *formation process* of *otredad* or otherness from the point of view of Nicaraguan immigrants and the urban poor in the

community of La Carpio. The product of this analysis is described in the paragraphs that follow.

The reproduction of the *Nicaragüense* as a social pariah is an *active* process most evident at the communal level. This process is best described as *othering*, which can be defined as; *the process through which a series of social boundaries become intertwined in a net-like fashion, leading to the formation of distinct "others" in society*. This is particularly apparent in La Carpio, where "otherness" is maintained through the interaction of a host of variables, including: government agencies and agendas, housing structure, nationality, non-traditional resources, and land rights, to name but a few. This process is best thought of as a dichotomy between negative perceptions of the community, which are highly external, and positive perceptions, which are most notably internal. This relationship, which I layout over the next few pages, is illustrated in Chart 3.1.

Chart 3.1 A Framework of "Othering" in La Carpio



Source: Author; Developed through ATLAS.ti 6.

Ironically, the most fitting beginning to this discussion does not concern questions of social disadvantages but rather social opportunities, which are labeled in Chart 3.1 as *Positive Perceptions of the Community*. Though life on the periphery of San José is no doubt hard, as Don Roberto reveals in the vignette that opened this essay, La Carpio provides its residents with the opportunity to access a form of *ownership*. Don Roberto, for example, though not the legal owner of the land his house sits on, self-identifies as the proud "owner" of his house and lot. This apparent contradiction was sustained in a separate interview I conducted with Don Roberto's wife, Doña Alba:

> Author: ¿Is this your house?
> Doña Alba: *Yes this is our house*. It is very simple but it is our own and that is the important part.

> Author: ¿And are there titles to all the land in La Carpio now?
> Doña Alba: No because that is a completely different story. Better put, that is what we are working towards now..."
> Author: So at the moment you do not have titles to your land?
> Doña Alba: No one does. No one does. The community just like the migrants is in an irregular status. Up until recently, until last year, La Carpio and the community of Pavas [a neighboring community to the south] were priorities in the government agenda and then towards the end of last year something happened that is not clear to anyone yet..."

Don Roberto and his wife's claim to ownership is supported by the community's surprisingly routine real estate market. Within La Carpio land and dwellings are frequently bought, sold and rented. Don Roberto and Doña Alba, for example, bought their house with a loan from the Lutheran Church, which they are currently in the processes of paying off through monthly installments. Their house and land is plotted and as proof of purchase they received a bill of sale, which was processed by a lawyer. This course of action, which is standard within the community, reinforces the community's sense of entitlement for the dwellings they live in and the land upon which they sit.

As the last paragraph demonstrates, La Carpio offers its residents access to ownership. As revealed, the perception of land rights in the community is deeply embedded within the routine nature of purchasing processes. In turn, the *internal* perception of ownership endorses an active rental market within the community. Throughout the community owners hang out signs advertising rooms and even whole houses that are for rent. Most often, rentals are occupied by *recien llegados* or "the recently arrived", which leads to frequent price gouging. According to several residents I spoke with, it is common for the more established Nicaraguan immigrants in the

community to take advantage of the new arrivals. The case of Yader, a young immigrant from Matagalpa, Nicaragua exemplifies what I came to realize is a quite routine process for *recien llegados.* Yader arrived to San José in early February of 2009. Upon arrival he took a late evening bus to Pavas (see Map 2.1), a neighboring community, where he hoped to find a place to rent. Unfortunately, he was robbed by three men, who took the little bit of cash he was carrying with him. When I met him, five days later, he was working full-time in a nearby factory for roughly $25,000 colones or $43 dollars a week. In turn, he was paying nearly $90 a month to his Nicaraguan landlord in La Carpio for a one room, wood plank shack attached to the owner's house.

La Carpio's active real estate and rental markets underpin distinct social divisions within the community, including: *owners*, *land lords* and *renters*. These same attributes have been documented by academics conducting research in resource-poor neighborhoods throughout Latin America (Portes 1971; Cornelius 1975; Prévot Schapira 1996; Auyero 2001; Caggiano 2005; Sandoval 2005 and Cravino 2006). Still, despite a relatively high level of internal heterogeneity, La Carpio is recognized *externally* for its homogenous composition. Though other factors such as the media and public opinion influence this perception, it is the government's management of La Carpio that does the most to maintain the community's negative image. For example, as Chart 3.1 illustrates, while ownership is internally recognized as a attribute, it is externally discarded by the Costa Rican government. Similarly, immigration restrictions -namely fees and bureaucratic hurdles- make it difficult for many Nicaraguan immigrants residing in La Carpio to obtain legal documents or *papeles*. This complex reality is exemplified by Don Juan and his wife Doña Gloria.

I interviewed the aforementioned couple in their home in *las Gradas*, which is one of the poorest areas in La Carpio. Their house is located on the hillside between La Carpio and the Virilla river below. From their house one can make out the large row of trees on the other side of the river that were planted to block the view of La Carpio from the luxurious Double Tree hotel and Vista Verde Town Houses and Golf Course (see Map 2.1), which are less than a quarter-mile from the community's edge[3]. Doña Gloria was born in Rivas, Nicaragua and although she came to Costa Rica over eighteen years ago she has never had the opportunity to go back to her country of origin. Her husband Juan is from Granada, Nicaragua and similarly he has yet to return to his home country despite residing in Costa Rica for nearly twenty years. Both have worked on and off over the years harvesting coffee in the lush and fertile hills surrounding San José. As they explained to me, during harvest season companies send large buses to the community each morning in order to gather cheap labor for *la cosecha* or the harvest. At the moment of our interview neither had a steady source of work. The couple has five children in all, the majority of whom huddled together on a tattered couch in the corner while I interviewed their parents. Don Juan confessed that neither he nor his wife were in Costa Rica legally despite their long residency in the country. The main reason they had failed to get their *papeles* was the cost associated with obtaining them and the need to travel back to Nicaragua. Don Juan went on to explain that as a consequence he had never invested much money in his property because he knew that if the government were ever to hand out land titles in La Carpio, he would not be eligible for one. Instead, as he

[3] At present, townhouses in *Vista Verde* go for as high as US$100,000, while a room for two in the Cariari's Double Tree Hotel begin at US$104.25 and run up to US$423.00 per night. In contrast, an average month's rent in La Carpio is no more than US$80.00-90.00 (www.resortvacationstogo.com; accessed on 11/10/09).

explained, he would be forced to find a new place to live, even though he had paid for the land he built his house upon.

As one of the community leaders for *las Gradas* explained to me in an interview conducted after my interview with Doña Gloria and her husband, "As long as the community is illegal it is as if it did not exist for the government". In this respect, La Carpio, Nicaraguan immigrants *and* Costa Ricans living in the community are woven into the ongoing national narrative as an *illegal* residents, *illegally* occupying State land and thus, *illegally* claiming membership to Costa Rica's imagined political community. The overarching effects of this situation are blatantly obvious. At the individual level, as in the case of Doña Gloria and Don Juan, immigrants frequently lose hope and slip into a general state of apathy. In turn, at the communal level, the "illegality" of the community and many of its inhabitants provides the State with an excuse to withdraw assistance.

The government's refusal to recognize residents' property rights directly affects the community in two ways. First, the community is ineligible for government funding for investment in social infrastructure. As a result, the community is left on its own to develop important social infrastructure such as: schools, health clinics, recreation centers, roads, sidewalks, gutters, etc. Second, and closely related to the first factor, the community suffers from severe underdevelopment in the areas of community space, education, health care and security. As my research shows, these realities are painfully evident to the community's residents. Don Luis, another community leader from the sector las Gradas, made this point most clear to me in an interview conducted on the steep cement steps that descend towards the river on the northern end of the community.

What follows is a cleaned up version of what I was able to jot down from our interview in my field notes:

> *This is the "other" Costa Rica. The one tourists and middleclass Costa Ricans never see. Here overpopulation and lack of investment in social infrastructure are the community's largest issues. In La Carpio people live in subhuman conditions. People live quite literally on top of each over. There are no public spaces or recreation centers and for that reason children are left to play in the filthy streets while their parents are out working or looking for work. There are some daycare centers but like the schools, they are inadequate. In this respect, community members are forced to live in primal conditions and the results are, well, what you see. Imagine if you take 10 pigs and put them in a large, open space. In this case they would co-habitat peacefully. If, however, you take the same 10 pigs and stuff them into a six-by-six room, they begin to eat each other. The situation here is not all that different.*

Don Luis' matter-of-fact language clearly resonates with the social practice of "othering" as laid out in Chart 3.1. In particular, he illustrates quite vividly the factors that underpin La Carpio as "the other Costa Rica," hidden from the view of foreigners and more privileged Costa Ricans. Most alarming is his "primal" depiction of the effects "othering" has in his community. Don Luis' account helps situate the community's limited opportunities (such as access to ownership) in the harsh reality common to all *precarios* in the canton of San José. In the section that follows I provide several conclusions for this discussion.

Conclusions

I opened this essay with a brief vignette that I purposefully left unfinished. As a conclusion, I offer the reader the missing text from the opening excerpt:

Just then I caught sight of a young man standing on the street corner next to the Lutheran Church. He had on a pair of baggy shorts, a sports jersey and a large gold chain around his neck and he was rapping out to three young girls who had caught his eye. With his eyes set firmly on the midsections of the three women, he rapped out, "Mami soy Rottweiler y te quiero tocar" or "Mama I'm a Rottweiler and I want to touch you." He repeated his catcall several times but the women simply kept their eyes down and walked silently toward their destination. Likewise, Don Roberto proceeded as if he had not heard the young man. In an attempt to recapture my attention, he begin telling me about CODECA, which is the organization that oversees the distribution of a small tax that La Carpio receives from the Canadian run garbage dump to the south of the community.

The above excerpt reveals the *active* practice of "othering" in the most unlikely of places, La Carpio. Inscribed in the young rapper's sexual advance is a reference to the gruesome death of Nicaraguan migrant Natividad Canda Mairena, who was eaten alive in 2005 by two Rottweilers as he tried to break in to the house of a Costa Rican man in San José. Following the attempted robbery, the owner and police stood by for more than an hour as the dogs devoured Natividad. In the days and months that followed the incident, jokes concerning his death began to circulate in the form of e-mails, text messages and conversations. One such e-mail edited a photo of Costa Rican national hero Juan Santamaría and superimposed the image of a Rottweiler flanked by two Costa Rican flags

and the caption, "Salute Our National Hero" (Masís and Paniagua 348; see Appendix 1). A clearer image of the tension between the Nicaraguan "other" and the mythological construct of Costa Rica could not exist. In turn, the fact that this nationalistic narrative was actively reconstructed within La Carpio is evidence of the pervasive nature of "othering" as a social practice. In this respect, not only is "othering" a practice carried out by the perpetrator but also a way of thinking internalized by the "other".

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UN; http://www.un.org/es/

Appendix 1

Source: Masís and Paniagua, 348.