

PERCEPTIONS IN DEVELOPMENT: COSTA RICAN POLICY
INITIATIVES AND PATHWAYS TO WOMEN'S SOCIOECONOMIC
ACCESSIBILITY

by:

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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirement for the Degree of
Master of Arts in International Affairs

Middle Tennessee State University May 2015

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I dedicate this research to all of the women that shared their ideas, perceptions, opinions, views and hearts with me. None of this would have been possible without you.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Completing a thesis requires commitment and determination. However, the right guidance and support is equally as important. Throughout this process, many individuals have graciously supported me and helped make this thesis possible.

First and foremost, I would like to thank Dr. Stephen Morris. As the chair of my thesis committee, Dr. Morris was “my rock” throughout the process. He supported me from the time my research question was conceived to the finished product. He helped facilitate the resources for me to stay devoted to the objective of researching women in a different country. Dr. Morris also assisted in helping me accomplish my aspiration of collecting primary data through both quantitative and qualitative methods. His dedication and support far exceeded my expectations for the role of a thesis chair. I appreciate his friendship, encouragement, and wisdom in helping make my dream a reality.

I would also like to thank my other committee members, Dr. Steven Livingston and Dr. Doug Heffington. I appreciate Dr. Livingston for helping me understand the statistical portion of this thesis, and for helping me reframe the statistics into a narrative analysis. I also want to express gratitude to Dr. Heffington for all of the academic and personal support over the past 6 years at Middle Tennessee State University. From working as a work-study and graduate assistant in his office, to two study abroad trips in Costa Rica together,

I can say that I consider him a friend. Thank you, Dr. Heffington, for introducing me to this program and supporting my academic pursuits. I would also like to recognize Dr. Ida Fadzillah-Leggett for lighting the first match to ignite my curiosity in ethnographic research and encouraging me towards an interest in women and gender. Moreover, I would also like to thank the Office of International Affairs, Study Abroad Office, Department of Political Science and the Department of Global Studies for providing the funding to conduct research in Costa Rica.

I would like to express my appreciation to Gabriel Guido Mendoza, Mercy Mendoza, Aida Ramirez, and Maria Milken for translating all Spanish materials and collected interviews.

The friends and family that have walked with me through the thesis writing process have helped in my moments of struggle and resistance to continue on the path. I would like to thank Kathryn Ailes, Natalie Bernadini Shew, and Gabriella Lago for their friendship, love, laughter, support, motivation and encouragement when I did not know if I could write another word. I would also like to thank my academic colleague and good friend Rachel Harmon for her genuine excitement about my research and her sincere encouragement throughout the process.

My family played a key role in the success and completion of this thesis. I would like to thank my mother, Mary, and my brother Max for all of their love, prayers and support. I would like to thank my sister, Charissa, for her assistance

inputting survey data, recording my experiences in Costa Rica for further clarification, and conversing with me endlessly about my research. I would like to thank my brother Isaac for his academic and personal guidance and wisdom. Through his ‘been there, done that attitude’ he helped me remain at peace when I felt stress, and he pushed me to finish even when it was challenging. Lastly, I would like to thank my father, Robert, for always giving me clarification at the right time. He helped remind me why I was writing this thesis in the first place, and kept me accountable to being true to my heart during the entire process.

Without Professor Wilberth Salas, this data collection would have been impossible. He and I began communicating almost two years pre-departure to Costa Rica for arrangements of my research. Mr. Salas is a professor of English in Costa Rica and teaches at multiple universities and technical colleges. He graciously accompanied and provided me with guidance at a vast majority of survey compilation sites. Mr. Salas also facilitated numerous locations of data collection for the expansion of my sample size, and served as a translator. He and I spent most of my time in Costa Rica together, and I grew close to him and his family. During my time in Costa Rica, I would call him my thesis angel, “*angel del tesis*” for all that he did for me. Mr. Salas served as channel to increased data collection and is the primary reason I was able to collect the amount and type of data that I did. He was my main friend and comrade while I was in Costa Rica. I am eternally grateful to him.

Lastly, I would like to thank all of the Costa Rican women that participated in the data collection. Thank you for your honesty, openness and trusting me with your opinions, ideas and perceptions. It has been my honor to write about you.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine women's perceptions of their socioeconomic accessibility in Costa Rica. The study applies Amartya Sen's model of "development as freedom" as the theological foundation for understanding women's position in the developmental process in Costa Rica. Sen's approach focuses on the freedom and capability to fully participate in all social and economic realms of society. The collected research for this study compares the gender developmental policies in Costa Rica with the perceptions women have on their socioeconomic status; furthermore, this study evaluates the policies and perceptions based on Amartya Sen's theory. The data represents qualitatively based interviews and quantitative survey collection. The surveys and interviews were collected in the north of Costa Rica from 217 women in numerous institutions such as Instituto Nacional de Aprendizaje, Universidad Técnica Nacional, Asociación de Mujeres Ambientalistas, Instituto Tecnológico, Mixto de Ayuda Social, and Hotel Aboral. The data exemplifies the socioeconomic perceptions from women ages 18-70 and from all educational backgrounds.

Questions are centered on gendered socioeconomics, such as social opportunities, decision-making power, access to economic markets and facilities, and labor and education accessibility. Beginning with Costa Rican history and developmental policies, this paper analyzes the influences on women's

socioeconomic development in Costa Rica. Issues such as job availability, wage equality, and social mobility are further investigated. Findings indicated that women experience constraints to full socioeconomic accessibility. These findings were communicated through the women perceiving barriers to education, wage equality and job opportunities. The results also illustrated that women do not experience full freedom, fairness or accessibility in society. Although Costa Rica has initiated many gender progressive policies, there are deficits in successful implementation of these policies. In accordance with Sen's development as freedom theory, the research implies that social and economic arrangements are not fully accessible or available for numerous reasons in Costa Rica.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BSR- Business for Social Responsibility; Costa Rica

CEDAW- Conference on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women

FDI- Foreign Direct Investment

FTA- Free Trade Agreement

GAD- Gender and Development

GDP- Gross Domestic Product

GDP- Gender Dependent Pay (only chapter 6)

GII- Gender Inequality Index

HDI- Human Development Index

IMAS- Asociación de Mujeres Ambientalistas

IMF- International Monetary Fund

INA- Instituto Nacional de Apredizaje

INAMU- National Institute for Women

INEC- Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos

UTN- Universidad Técnica Nacional

WAD- Women and Development

WID- Women in Development

CHAPTER I: AN INTRODUCTION: THE QUESTION OF DEVELOPMENT

Throughout life, many behaviors are based on our perceptions of the situation. Often we do not account for how influential and important these perceptions are in the way we conduct our lives. If we perceive ourselves and our status within certain boundaries, then we will act within these boundaries. The purpose of this study is to examine women's perceptions of their socioeconomic accessibility in Costa Rica. The study applies Amartya Sen's model of "development as freedom" as the theological foundation for understanding women's position in the developmental process in Costa Rica. The research is based upon perceptions women in Costa Rica have on their socioeconomic status, as compared to the country's developmental status.

To fully understand why it is important to know the perceptions of these women, one must begin with the topic of development. International development is a theoretical and political concept and process of change that influence underdevelopment and development. Each country undergoes a varied path of development or undevelopment. Therefore, it is important to analyze and understand developmental paths as tools of analysis.

The course of development in a country indicates the path and level of progression that were taken in an attempt to ensure the means to successful international development. This "chosen-path" has been a controversial debate that takes many approaches and methods to explain what components create successful overall development within a country. This debate can take form in many ways, such as

focusing on specific areas as the key to success. Such subjects may include: economics, political structure, modernization, human capacity building, agricultural development, international relationships, industrialization, or trade openness. Due to the debate of the “chosen-path”, development is a contentious topic. The three popular, differing theories of traditional international development being reviewed here are modernization, dependency and structuralism.

International development came to the spotlight after World War II, and the need for poverty alleviation, improvements in living conditions, and structural configurations became a necessary concern. The explanation for these problems was thought to be economically based on factors such as trade, modernization, and improving the Gross National Product (GDP). These factors were thought to hold the solution.

Economically focused theories proved to be unsuccessful in the long term, and development theory expanded. The theory introduced into the discussion was Amartya Sen’s human development theory. In this approach, Sen redirects the theories of development to be seen as a process of expanding freedoms that people enjoy, rather than focused on economics. These freedoms include *social and economic arrangements*, such as facilities for education and health care and *political and civil rights*, such as the liberty to participate in public discussion and scrutiny¹

Development seen as a process of expanding freedoms includes a *means* to

¹ Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*, (New York: Random House, 1999), page 4.

access the expanding freedoms to be enjoyed by *all* members of society.² Therefore, it is as equally important to have accessibility to participate in these “expanded” freedoms. “Having greater free access to the things one values is (1) significant in itself for the person’s overall freedom and (2) important in fostering an individual’s opportunity to have valuable outcomes from participation. Both are relevant to the evaluation of freedom with all the members of the society, and thus are crucial to the assessment of the society’s development”.³

Human development theory focuses on the cultivation of human capital, and the accessibility and resources to do so. Out of the human development concept came development theories that focused primarily on cultivating *female capital* and women’s role in the developmental process. Women have proven to be an influential role in a country’s development. Therefore, the foundational theory for this study is the human development and the development as freedom theory, as created by Amartya Sen (*Development as Freedom*) with an incorporation of a feminist outlook. This feminist viewpoint includes three different theoretical assumptions to include women in the discussion of development: Women in Development, Gender in Development, and Women and Development. From there, Sen’s development as freedom theory and feminist perspectives on development are merged to form one premise that serves as a basis of this research.

² Amartya Sen, 5

³ Amartya Sen, 18

The research methodology is focused on women and their social and economic (socioeconomic) freedoms in Costa Rican society. Sen defines social and economic freedoms as: an economic facility referring to the opportunities that individuals respectively enjoy and utilizing economic resources for the purpose of consumption, production or exchange.⁴ According to Sen, social opportunities are measured by the ability to participate and engage in social and economic venues of society. These social opportunities refer to the arrangements that society makes for education and health care as well as accessibility to the market, decision-making power, and labor availability.

The research examines women in the developmental process, specifically in Costa Rica. The country was chosen for this research due to its moderately high scores on the Human Development Index (HDI), and Gender Inequality Index (GII). Costa Rica's personal development history also exemplifies a country that was able to rebuild after a recession in the 1980s and maintains a relatively high GDP. It has also initiated many gender friendly development policies and made an effort to incorporate women in political and social activities. Costa Rica is a good location for a case study based on the external appearance of being a moderately successful country and gender progressive. The country appears to be moving forward in regards to including women in the developmental process. This research examines the reality of this movement.

There are multiple hypotheses and questions explored in this body of work. This thesis looks in depth into the *real influence* of developmental policies in Costa Rica on women and if there were concealed constraints that held women back from achieving

⁴ Amartya Sen, 26

their full potential. It was expected to find that policies and data on women in Costa Rica did not fully explain women's roles in development and in their socioeconomic status.

It was further predicted that there would be constraints, limitations or boundaries keeping women from full opportunity and potential.⁵ Upon constructing a survey for gathering data, factors chosen for possible restrictions were: 1. Lack of Education, 2. Being a female 3. Lack of opportunities 4. Family Obligations or 5. Lack of contacts. It was anticipated seeing 'being a female' or 'family obligation' to being the biggest limitations for women in Costa Rica. This research also hoped to determine *if* these policies were being implemented and working correctly. If the policies appeared effective, then the assumption was women would be able to participate equally in the socioeconomics of Costa Rica. Research also expected to find that although there are many policies targeted at women, and initiatives to create gender equality, it would not be enough. There would still be elements that were deficient in creating full socioeconomic accessibility and freedom in Costa Rica.

This research was collecting using quantitative and qualitative methods of survey distribution and interviews with women in Costa Rica. Two hundred and seventeen women participated in the surveys, and over 15 hours of interviews were recorded representing women ages 18-70 from various educational backgrounds. All of the data collected represents information based on perceptions that women had. Therefore, the data is measured by analyzing numerical outcomes of the surveys and interviews. In a

⁵ This can also be seen as a 'capability deprivation'

country that fits to the Sen's version of society one would expect to find gender equality in society, accessibility to jobs and education, and the ability to participate in politics. The findings indicated that there are limitations to women's full socioeconomic accessibility in Costa Rica. The women expressed barriers to full educational, economical and social accessibility. Wage inequality, nepotism and gender biased treatment in the work place was articulated by the women as an economic constraint. Policies that were reviewed appear to not be completely implemented in society, such as full wage equality. Family obligation was a repeating constraint towards education and employment accessibility. The data indicated that education was a high priority to women, yet less than one third feel like they are full able to access the type of education they want. The research also displayed that less than half of the women perceived full freedom and accessibility in society. Therefore, as compared to Sen's model of development Costa Rica is deficit in certain areas of perceived freedom and accessibility.

Detailed Chapter Layout

This thesis is arranged in six chapters. To fully understand the history and process of development, and to be able to answer my research questions, it is necessary to understand development. This discussion begins with Chapter Two. This chapter offers a historical review of the major development theories that guided development policies throughout the world, particularly after World War II. The second chapter is an overview of traditional developmental theories that have shaped world history and initiatives designed to improve a countries' developmental process. However, these

specific theories that were used as a source for creating policies to help push certain developmental strategies proved to be unsuccessful and create their own problems.

In an attempt to solve these problems, feminist theories on development were introduced to the developmental dialogue. Thus, the second half of Chapter Two reviews the most influential feminist developmental theories that began to shape international developmental policies following the failure of traditional theories post World War II. The research conducted for these two chapters is based in data from a multitude of scholars and sources in the field of international development.

Examining the traditional and feminist developmental theories, Chapter Three lays the groundwork for the rest of the paper. Chapter Three thus turns to a review of the developmental processes and policies in Costa Rica from 1940 to present. Chapter Three covers a range of policies that influenced the success of the state, including pre and post- 1980s economic disaster and recession in Costa Rica.

The concentration of this research is *women* in Costa Rica. As a result, the latter half of Chapter Three provides a chronological review of Costa Rican policies focused on women. This half of the chapter assesses developmental policies that were created to improve the status of women in Costa Rica from the 1980's to present. The research reviews developmental and feminist policies in Costa Rica based on an examination of previous studies with a structure based around Amartya Sen's development theory.

Chapter Four reviews the methods of the research along with the main research questions and the profile of the participants. Chapter Five describes and presented the

findings of the primary quantitative and qualitative data that was used in this study. Chapter six is the conclusion and overview of the results and indications that were found in the research.

CHAPTER II: CONTRASTING VIEWS OF DEVELOPMENT: TRADITIONAL DEVELOPMENT THEORIES AND THE PROGRESSION TOWARD HUMANISTIC, FEMINIST DEVELOPMENT THEORIES

Traditional Development Theories

International development as an area of intellectual inquiry can be traced back to the 1950s and the post-World War II period of reconstruction. The revival of the subdued nations in Europe through recovery programs, such as the United States Marshall Plan, convinced Western and Western-trained economic planners that aid-based strategic planning would enable developing countries to bridge the gap that separated them from the industrialized world. Consequently, the birth of ‘development projects’ in the 1950s was a global phenomenon that swept across political and ideological differences. High-income nations committed themselves to monetary and technical aid channeled through United Nations (UN) agencies, built on the theory that this aid would foster economic growth that would trickle down to the masses.¹ Based around the need for development action are multiple traditional theoretical approaches that were created to aid in understanding development such as modernization theory, structuralism, and dependency theory. These traditional development theories are founded upon economics, which lack a human development component to long-term success. In criticism of these theories, Amartya Sen’s human development theory is introduced and discussed.

¹ Nalini, Visvanathan. *The Women, Gender, and Development reader*. London: Zed Books, 1997, 3.

Modernization theory analyzes the development of a society based on its modernization. The theory states that all societies have the same developmental path and for countries to develop there must be modernization. A well known scholar, Seymour Lipset argued that economic development, through modernization, leads to social changes which in effect may lead to democracy.² Another well known scholar, W.W Rostow developed a model called the 'linear stages of growth' as a consequence of inspiration from the Marshall Plan, which was used to rebuild Europe's economy after World War II. Rostow states that there are five stages of economic growth (same for every country), which leads to development of a country:

1. **Traditional society**- this is a society that is characterized by agriculture, limited technology, with a lack of economic mobility.
2. **Preconditions for take-off**- moving from this traditional society, the society must have an external demand for their raw products, a development of national identity, an increased spread in technology and social mobility, and have an increased investment.
3. **Take-off**- this is the place in a country when urbanization and industrialization increase and speed up. There is usually a specific industry that 'take's off'.
4. **Drive to maturity**- this is the stage when the industrialization becomes more diversified, manufacturing shifts from capital goods to consumer driven, there is rapid development of the transportation sector and there is a large scale investment in the infrastructure of schools, hospitals, universities, ect.
5. **Age of High mass consumption**- at this last stage the industrial base dominates the economy, wide consumption of high value goods, such as a car, and consumers usually have enough income for savings beyond their basic needs.³

² Lipset, Seymour Martin, and Martin A. Trow. *Union democracy; the internal politics of the International Typographical Union*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956.

³ W.W Rostow. *The stages of economic growth, a non-Communist manifesto*.. Cambridge [England: University Press, 1960, 2.

This is the groundwork of the modernization theory, taking a ‘traditional society’ and seeking to modernize it and increase industrialization and urbanization, which in effect is meant to improve the economy.

Another important scholar in the school of the modernization theory is Arthur Lewis. His development model, called the ‘dual sector model’ argues that the ‘traditional’ rural sector begins to become replaced as modernization increases. This is done because of the increase of dynamic manufacturing and the transition to a service economy.⁴ Therefore, the idea is that modernization would be required for the traditional sector to make the transition to improve and increase the economy. Out of the critique for modernization came a different theory called structuralism.

Structuralism focuses on another realm of development. Structural aspects of a society influence the growth of a developing country. This theory is primarily based on the idea that for a country to develop it must transition from a subsistence agriculture economy to a service economy (which is the economy developed countries have). For a country to reach this point of economic transition a self-sustained growth is required. However, self-sustaining growth requires that there is not a large dependency on the exports of primary goods. Primary goods can be defined as agricultural goods or natural resources. If the transition occurs, then the country can focus on inward and domestic economic development. However, this can only take place through the state and the trade relationships it chooses to have. From structuralism, and the continued critique of modernization- birthed the dependency theory on development.

⁴ Lewis , Arthur . "Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labor." 1954.

The dependency theory is built around the idea that developing countries' economies are leveraged to developed countries economies. This is formed around the concept that trade and resources come from the poor developing countries or 'periphery', to the 'core' countries, which are wealthy, developed countries. These export trade relations are necessary for the economic stability of the periphery countries. The dependency theory argues that these relationships create dependency on the core countries and therefore does not allow for real economic growth or development in the periphery. In contrast to the modernization theory, dependency theorist argue that societies go through different stages of development. Fernando Cardoso, a well-known dependency theorist states the factors that qualify a dependent relationship:

- There is a financial and technological penetration by the developed capitalist centers of the countries of the periphery and semi-periphery;
 - This produces an unbalanced economic structure both within the peripheral societies and between them and the centers;
 - This leads to limitations on self-sustained growth in the periphery;
 - This favors the appearance of specific patterns of class relations;
 - These require modifications in the role of the state to guarantee both the functioning of the economy and the political articulation of a society, which contains, within itself, foci of inarticulateness and structural imbalance.⁵

When there is a dependent relationship taking place, the growth may be stunted. The dependent, or periphery, and semi periphery countries depend and lean on the core countries for exports and imports and therefore, a large part of the economy. This is

⁵ Cardoso, Fernando Henrique, and Enzo Faletto. *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.

largely due to the immense effects of colonialism and difficulty post-independence to break the economic ties that were already set in motion.

These traditional and orthodox developmental theories were created to better understand and aid in the developmental process of underdeveloped societies. However, all of these theories are primarily focused on economic factors of a country's development, which are faulty in the awareness of the importance of human development on the success of a country's progression. By being purely focused on money, growth of GDP, trade or job creation, the most fundamental way to successful development is ignored. When a country has their the primary interest toward improving and building human capital and capability, it is an investment in longer-term development success. Debra Straussfogel writes that, "Development cannot be isolated from human development".⁶ Only by looking at human development do we gain a complete picture.⁷ The traditional views on development are lacking in their capacity to recognize *human development* as an all-encompassing view.

Human Development Theory

Focusing on human capital development contrasts with narrower views of development such as identifying development with the growth of gross national product

⁶ Human Development for Straussfogel are the (PQLI) and is indicated as infant mortality, adult literacy and life expectancy rates.

⁷ Debra Straussfogel, "Redefining Development as Humane and Sustainable ," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* , 87, no. 2 (1997): 285

(GNP), the rise in personal incomes, industrialization, urbanization, technological advances, or social modernization. Amartya Sen conceived the human development theory and is the most well known scholar in this development model, although many other scholars have analyzed and contributed to this theory. Amartya Sen redirects the theories of development to be seen as a process of expanding freedoms that people enjoy, and the capabilities to engage in these activities. These freedoms include *social and economic arrangements* (facilities for education and health care) as well as *political and civil rights* (the liberty to participate in public discussion and scrutiny).⁸ This notion of development as freedom and quality of life is not a new concept. There is a strong connection with Adam Smith's, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, written in 1776, with his analysis of "necessities" and "conditions of living" for all people and societies to fully develop.⁹

Development seen as a process of expanding freedoms includes *the means and the capabilities* to access the expanding freedoms to be enjoyed by *all* members of the society. Freedoms depend on determinants, such as social and economic arrangements, facilities for education and health, political and civil rights, and the liberty to participate in public discussion. Viewing development in terms of *expanding substantive freedoms* directs attention to development in a different angle.¹⁰ Having

⁸ Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*, (New York: Random House, 1999), page 4.

⁹ Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, (London: University of Glasgow, 1776), 275

¹⁰ Amartya Sen, 5

greater freedom to the things one has reason to value is significant in itself for the persons overall freedom, and important in fostering the person's opportunity to have valuable outcomes. Both are relevant to the evaluation of freedom and all the members of the society, and thus crucial to the assessment of the societies development.¹¹

Robeyns writes that when reviewing the human development theory, there are certain questions to ask; whether people have access to a high-quality educational system, to real political participation, to community activities that support them to cope with struggles in daily life and that foster real friendships. Robeyns continues with writing that, “ for some of these capabilities, the main input will be financial resources and economic production, but for others it can also be political practices and institutions, such as the effective guaranteeing and protection of freedom of thought, political participation, social or cultural practices, social structures, social institutions, public goods, social norms, traditions and habits. The capability approach, through human development, thus covers all dimensions of human well-being”.¹²

The process of development, when judged by the enhancement of human freedom and capability, has to include the removal of a person's deprivation. Even if there were no immediate interest in exercising freedom to speak or participate, it would still be a deprivation of freedom if there were no choices on these matters. Development

¹¹ Amartya Sen, 18

¹² Robeyns, Ingrid. "The Capability Approach: A Theoretical Survey." *Journal of Human Development* 6, no. 1 (2005): 105

seen as enhancement of freedom cannot but address such deprivations.¹³ Viewing development as freedom requires a removal of major sources of unfreedom such as poverty, poor economic opportunities, oppression, systematic deprivation or neglect of public facilities. Unfreedom can arise either through inadequate processes' such as the violation of civil rights, or through *inadequate opportunities* in a society. It is very important to see the opportunity aspect of freedom. Both the process and the opportunity have an importance in seeing development as freedom.¹⁴ The definition of development involves both the *processes* that allow freedom of action and decisions, and the actual *opportunities* that people have, given their personal and social circumstances.

Overall, human development encompasses both the notion of human capabilities, such as health and knowledge, and the use of these capabilities in people's lives. The objective is the provision of conditions that enable human potential to unfold.¹⁵ The instrumental role of accessing and acting in a behavior of freedom concerns the way different kinds of rights, opportunities and entitlements contribute to the expansion of human freedom in general, and thus to promoting development".¹⁶

Fukuda-Parr is an advocate for Sen, and writes how the human development approach became a fundamental source of judging international development:

¹³ Amartya Sen, 37

¹⁴ Amartya Sen, 17

¹⁵ Lourdes Bereria, *Gender, Development and Globalization: Economics as of All People Mattered*, (New York: Rutledge, 2003), 17

¹⁶ Amartya Sen, 37

Sen's theory of development as an expansion of capabilities is the starting point for the human development approach: the idea that the purpose of development is to improve human lives by expanding the range of things that a person can be and do, such as to be healthy and well nourished, to be knowledgeable, and to participate in community life. Seen from this viewpoint, development is about removing the obstacles to what a person can do in life, obstacles such as illiteracy, ill health, lack of access to resources, or lack of civil and political freedoms. The Human Development Reports (HDRs), published annually for UNDP since 1990, have used Amartya Sen's capability approach, through *Development as Freedom*, as a conceptual framework in their analyses of contemporary development challenges. Over time these reports have developed a distinct development paradigm— the human development approach – that now informs policy choices in many areas, such as poverty reduction, sustainable development, gender inequalities, governance, and globalization. Sen also played a critical role in developing the measurement tools of human development, starting with the Human Development Index (HDI) and going on to cover issues such as gender equality – the Gender-Related Development Index (GDI) and the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) were developed in 1995 – and the measurement of poverty in human lives rather than incomes through the Human Poverty Index (HPI), published in the 1997 HDR.¹⁷

It is evident the significant impact and influence the human development theory has had on the way development policies are addresses. The human development theory has assisted in facilitating discussion about different solutions and types of development. Women appearing in developmental theories and dialogue also took time and failure from other theoretical assumptions to understand the missing piece. The following section will explore women's role in development theories based on schools of thought expanded to involve and incorporate women in governmental development policies.

Women Placed on the Development Agenda

Traditional developmental theories failed to notice the importance of women being placed on the development agenda, as well as failing to consider women for

¹⁷ Sakiko Fukuda-Parr, 212

policy implications. This was until history revealed itself, and thus the importance and influence of women was finally realized. Development projects that were initiated during the Cold War era, industrial countries' aid and technical assistance were structured by the struggle between capitalist (First World) and communist (Second World) blocs of nations dominance over the former colonial countries. Spurred on by political and economic interests, the First and Second worlds engaged in bilateral aid and established bureaucratic agencies in their capitals to administer these programs. These industrial nations determined that their aid priorities on the basis of both political and trading interests. By the end of the First Development Decade, the failure of these programs to reduce the increasing economic disparities between the North and South spawned a growing reaction against the 'development establishment, its philosophical premises and its mode of operation. It was during this period of ferment, when the fundamentals of economic development were being challenged, and that the situation of women gained urgency.¹⁸

Women were placed on the theoretical development agenda after their worth was recognized. Hartwick and Peet write,

Given that women performed most of the labor in many, if not most, Third World societies, the question became, why had they been excluded from development theory, and what differences would it make if theories were reformulated to center around gender relations and women's experiences? Placing gender relations at the center of theoretical debate, development theorists argued, and reoriented developmental discourse toward different topics and interests. Traditional areas of developmental concern are seen from a different vantage point. Aspects of development (women) previously relegated to the margins became, instead, the main foci of interest. For example, Third World industrialization employed not labor (assumed to be male) but women workers,

¹⁸ Nalini, Visvanathan, 2

while gender relations, previously subordinated to class considerations, became essential to understanding productive activity.¹⁹

In the 1970's multiple schools of thought were brought together in the discourse of women in development. The specific approaches focused on are: Women in Development (WID), Gender and Development (GAD) and Women and Development (WAD). These theoretical bases for feminist thought in development began in the 1970's after orthodox international development attempts failed.

Women In Development (WID)

Women in Development is a concept and an approach that began as a response to the need to adjust current development initiatives in the 1970's. This was a call to be attentive to the importance of women's participation in all sectors of society and to development. Women in Development (WID) was the first contemporary feminist movement to work *for* women in the developmental process for success, and prompted both the GAD and WAD. One key contributor in WID is Ester Boserup, she was an economist at the United Nations. When she published *Women's Role in Economic Development*, in 1970, she made notice to the lack of alignment with the reality of women in developing countries and development projects. Boserup argued that there are missing parts of the reality of women and their participation in developing societies. She argued that women played a large role in the development process but were

¹⁹ Richard Peet, and Elaine Hartwick, *Theories of Development: Contentuons, Arguments, Alternatives*, (New York : Guilford , 2009), 255

overlooked.²⁰ This publication, and others that followed, as well as the increased avocation for women in developmental strategies, created a stir for change. The Women in Development approach focused on how to incorporate women into development policies and initiatives with the primary goal to increase the capital and gaining power of women.

In the late 1970's the United Nations Developmental Program (UNDP) created a specific sector, Women in Development, specifically dedicated to focusing on women in developmental discourse. Following in 1980 the United Nations paper, *International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade*, recognized a number of Women in Development issues. It called for women to play an active role in all sectors and at all levels of the Program of Action adopted by the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women both as agents and beneficiaries. They stated that policies on industrialization, food and agriculture, science and technology and social development should all involve women.²¹ Women in Development (WID) approach pushed for equal labor rights between men and women as well as equal labor opportunities. However, Women in Development was criticized for not addressing *why* gender inequalities happen, and what the root cause may be as well as for neglecting women's work in the private sector of their own homes. Therefore, another approach, Gender and Development (GAD) was developed.

²⁰ Boserup, Ester, and Nazneen Kanji. *Woman's role in economic development*. London: Earthscan, 1970.

²¹ Joekes, Susan P. (1990). "Excerpts on Women in Development: International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade". *Women in the world economy: an INSTRAW study*. Oxford University Press

Gender and Development (GAD)

The Gender and Development approach was created in the 1980's in response to Women in Development (WID) and sought to go deeper into the analytical reason for gender inequality. GAD focuses primarily on gender division of labor and gender as a relation of power embedded in institutions.²² This approach opens the conversation to gender as whole, not just "women", but more importantly looks at the role relationships between men and women and the influence that can have on the developmental path of a society. The level of power, influence and the role that a woman has in her *relationships* (with men) can be a major facet and factor on developmental opportunities and personal progression a woman can have.

Kate Young writes about the gender imbalances in development in *Gender and Development*,

Development is viewed as a complex process involving the social, economic, political and cultural betterment of individuals and of society itself. Betterment in this sense means the ability of the society and its members to meet these physical, emotional and creative needs of the population. In examining the impact of economic development on any particular society or group within a society, the gender and development theoretical approach ask the question: who benefits, who loses, what trade-offs have been made, and what is the result of balance of rights and obligations, power and privilege between men and women, and between given social groups.²³

²² Reeves, Hazel (2000). *Gender and Development: Concepts and Definitions*. Brighton Press, 4

²³ Young, Kate . *Gender and Development . The Women, Gender and Development Reader* . Edited by Nalini Visvanthan, Lynn Duggan, Laurie Nisonoff, Nan Wiegersma. London: Zed Books , 2002, 51.

Gender and Development (GAD) has a primary concentration on the socially constructed roles of men and women. This approach emphasizes the need to examine these gender roles and their influence on development. With the GAD approach, these roles are viewed as being assigned by society and may create barriers, expectations and responsibilities for men and women. The policies that GAD encourages are centered on redefining the traditional gender roles and responsibility for both men and women. This means men and women entering spheres of the society that may be different from the ones assigned to them in society. Gender and Development (GAD) also has criticisms and flaws in the theoretical approaches. GAD calls attention to the importance of understanding and changing the socially constructed roles for men and women in society without understanding the importance of the ties of marriage, motherhood, familial relations and culture.

Women and Development (WAD)

Women and Development is an approach developed in the mid 1970's, and is now the most commonly used feminist development approach. WAD is theoretically centered on capitalism and patriarchy. It is a venture away from WID, arguing that development was actually not *ever* possible without women in the process. Not only that, but without full involvement and participation of women, there is less development in all spheres of society. This concept is not something that is original, it has always been the case, but was unrecognized. WAD argues that women are the tools to development, while WID argues that development is a tool for women.

The types of policies that WAD embraces are those that are specifically focused on women being very involved in developmental action and policy movement. WAD's approach was on the forefront and first to introduce and emphasize 'women only' aid and developmental programs, such as micro-loans.

Impact of Women in the Developmental Process

Incorporating women into the sphere of which they can participate socially and economically can improve all conditions. Ester Duflo argues that, "there is a positive relationship between economic development and women's opportunities and freedoms defined as improving the ability of women to access the constituents of development in particularly health, education, earning opportunities, rights and political participation".²⁴ Escobar writes, "investing in women, is a cost effective route to broader development objectives such as improved economic performance, reduction of poverty, greater family welfare, and slower population growth. Investments in human capital for women have a high payoff."²⁵

There has been a rethinking in the role of women in development over the past two decades. This was brought about by a new conceptualization of development, feminist thinkers and changes in the global political economy. Hartwick and Peet write, "this recognition of the position of women in development came not just from the

²⁴ Duflo, 1054

²⁵ Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The making and unmaking of the Third World*, (Princeton : Princeton University Press , 1995), 180

efforts of feminist thinkers but also was brought about by real changes in the position of women in the global production system”.²⁶

The globalization of economic activity during the last third of the 20th century incorporated millions of women into the labor force. Women arguably are becoming the majority of the new global working class and are pitted against global financial and industrial capital that is male dominated. Global development pushed poor women in underdeveloped countries into jobs that have changed their social and economic status. Women are entering the global labor force in record numbers, and more women work outside the household than ever before: over 1.1 billion of the world’s 2.8 billion workers (40%) are women, representing a worldwide increase of nearly 200 million women in each recent decade.²⁷ Due to the work force of women rising over the past decade has involved women into the discourse of the economy, and the discussion of economic and overall development. The following section will return and incorporate Armatya Sen’s human development model, and development as freedom theory with economic and social opportunities as related to women. Sen refers to the significance and availability of economic facilities as well as social opportunities in the strength of a state. Moreover, Sen stresses the importance of freedom and the opportunity to access the socioeconomic possibilities for all humans.

²⁶ Hartwick and Peet, 240

²⁷ Richard Peet, and Elaine Hartwick, 240

Economic Facilities:

According to Sen, an economic facility refers to the opportunities that individuals respectively enjoy utilizing economic resources for the purpose of consumption, production, or exchange. The economic entitlements that a person has will depend on the resources available for use as well as on conditions of exchange such as relative prices and the workings of markets.²⁸

The relation of market mechanisms to freedom and thus to economic development raises questions of at least two factors. First, a denial of opportunity of transaction, through arbitrary controls can be a source of unfreedom in itself. People (women) are then prevented the opportunity to participate to their full capacity which is within their human right to do so.²⁹ In simple terms, people (women) need the freedom of exchange and transaction without hindrance. Deprivations can result when people are denied the economic opportunities and favorable consequences that markets offer them.³⁰ This can take form in the way of discrimination [due to gender] in pay available employment and preferences. The importance of freedom of employment is crucial to understanding development in this manner.³¹

If our attention is shifted from an exclusive concentration on income poverty to a more inclusive idea of *capability deprivation*, we can better understand the poverty.

²⁸ Amartya Sen, 39

²⁹ Amartya Sen, 25

³⁰ Amartya Sen, 26

³¹ Amartya Sen, 29

Specifically in women's lives and in their freedoms from a different information base.³² Policies that restrict market opportunities can have the effect of restraining the expansion of substantive freedoms that would have been generated through the market system mainly through economic prosperity.³³ We have a world in which policy and action are driven by powerful forces that continue to respond and give priority to the hegemony of economists' approaches to development.³⁴

As Sen writes, "greater access for women's economic opportunities and in some cases, higher returns to economic activity provide stronger incentives to accumulate human capital, particularly for women and are likely to increase investments in the skills of girls and young women- tomorrows workers".³⁵

Social Opportunities:

According to Sen, social opportunities are measured as the ability to participate and engage in social and economic venues of society. Socio-economic gaps have a greater impact on the status of women than men, since more women than men fail at school. Failing to attend and finish school on account of gender and women's double work burden can become a major structural barrier.³⁶

³² Amartya Sen, 20

³³ Amartya Sen, 26

³⁴ Bereria, 18

³⁵ World Bank. *World Development Report*. World Bank, 2012, 256

³⁶ Guzmán-Stein , Laura , and Anne Morales . *Gender and Education in Costa Rica*. working paper., University of Costa Rica , 2004. 4

Sen, as previously noted, writes of the importance of social freedoms and opportunities. Instrumental freedoms *are* social opportunities. Social opportunities refer to the arrangements that society makes for education, health care, access to the market, decision-making power and labor availability. These influence the individual's substantial freedom to live better. Facilities are important not only for the conduct of private lives, but also for a more effective participation in economic and political activities.³⁷ The creation of social opportunities through such services as public education, health care, and the development of a free and energetic press and the allowance of all peoples [women] to participate, can contribute to economic and overall development.³⁸ Individual freedom is quintessentially a social product, and there is a two-way relation between social arrangements to expand individual freedoms and the use of individual freedoms not only to improve the respective lives but also to make the social arrangements more appropriate and effective.³⁹ Where there is an arrangement within a state to allow social mobility, individual freedoms are enacted and throughout time has the capability to improve the livelihood and opportunities of those involved. Peet and Hartwick stress the importance of conceptualizing the participation of women,

“If we can generalize the human possibilities present in life activities of women to the whole social system it might raise for the first time in history, the possibility of a fully human community, a community structured by a variety of connections rather than separation and opposition! Extending this insight, feminists want to reformulate development in a way that combines, rather than separates, everyday life and the wider societal dimension, with productive

³⁷ Amartya Sen, 39

³⁸ Amartya Sen, 40

³⁹ Amartya Sen, 31

activities of all kinds considered as a totality rather than split into hierarchical types (work–home)”.⁴⁰

From this quote we can see the significance of the incorporation of women into the social sphere, and how it improves the capacity and functionality of a state and its development.

Development can play a major role in decreasing inequality between men, women and the government. However, discrimination against women [in the developmental process] can hinder development, whereas empowerment can accelerate development.⁴¹ If women have fewer opportunities than men, it can contribute to unequal treatment. Duflo argues that economic and social development reduces poverty and improves the conditions of women in two ways. First, when poverty is reduced, the conditions of everyone, including women, improve. Second, gender inequality declines as poverty declines and social and economic opportunities are accessible. The conditions of women go hand in hand with the process of development.⁴² Nussbaum writes how the well-being, freedom, capacities, functioning, and voices of the world's women, especially the poorest, are on the one hand severely short-changed or even

⁴⁰ Peet and Hartwick, 266

⁴¹ Esther Duflo, "Women Development," *Journal of Economic Literature*, 5, no. 4 (2012): 1054

⁴² Ester Duflo, 1060

completely neglected by standard economic measures and, on the other hand, absolutely crucial to development-especially when understood as human development.⁴³

The human development theory focuses on the needs of women to develop to their full potential. The framework of this theory concentrates on gender equity, and women's capital growth. Fukuda-Parr, emphasizes the reasons why the human development theory is unsurpassed for their recognition of women:

The human development approach offers a capability-based approach to gender equity in development that is a departure from traditions focused on income and growth. The analytical framework for gender equity that it provides encompasses the following aspects: the philosophical foundation of equality of capabilities and freedoms, focusing on individuals as the objective of gender in development; the evaluative aspect of capability expansion; the agency aspect of capability expansion; measurement tools of the above. This framework contrasts with the gender equity agenda seen from a growth-oriented development perspective. Women's "poverty" in the human development approach goes beyond the lack of income to deprivation in capabilities, such as lack of education, health, and the channels to participate in economic life and in decision-making. Overall, the human development approach provides a more gender sensitive agenda to public policy than its alternatives. First, gender equity is a central concern of the approach, which emphasizes the importance of expanding the capabilities of all individuals. The fact that discrimination continues to be widespread is a priority concern. Second, the human development approach is sensitive to aspects of discrimination that are particularly important in women's lives, but are unrelated to incomes and economic growth, such as lack of autonomy in decisions about their lives and the ability to influence decision-making within the family, community, and nation. Third, the human development approach has the scope to delve into complex issues, such as the unequal sharing of unpaid work, that constrain women's life choices.⁴⁴

⁴³ Okin, Susan Moller. "Poverty, Well-Being, and Gender: What Counts, Who's Heard?" *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 3, no. 31 (2003): 300

⁴⁴ Fukuda-Parr, Sakiko. "The Human Development Paradigm: Operationalizing Sen's Ideas on Capabilities." *Feminist Economics* 9, no. 2 (2003): 315.

Despite the vast policy implications that the human development theory encompasses the state plays a necessary role in any changes. Policy efforts need to be directed to address actions and ways that women can actively participate in the developmental process. Young stresses the importance of equal emphasis on the necessary role of the state in promoting women's emancipation. She also points to the dual role of the state in most developing countries as an employer of labor, and often the biggest allocator of social capital to socially necessary ends. It underlines the duty of the state to provide social capital for the care and maintenance of future generations, i.e. the role of social expenditures- education, health and training in providing the conditions for future economic growth and women's development.⁴⁵ Support needs to be at all levels of the state; locally, regionally and centrally- rather than from the central government alone.

Policy action is necessary to achieve equality. It is fundamental to review and analyze developmental policies, and how they relate to women. Chapter Three takes a historical approach to developmental policies in Costa Rica from 1940 to present day. It is important to understand the process Costa Rica undertook post World War II from the 1980's economic crisis and then following to the improved incorporation of women in their developmental policies.

⁴⁵ Kate Young, 52

CHAPTER III: THE CASE OF COSTA RICA: DEVELOPMENTAL PATHWAYS AND GENDER POLICY INITIATIVES FROM 1940 TO 2012

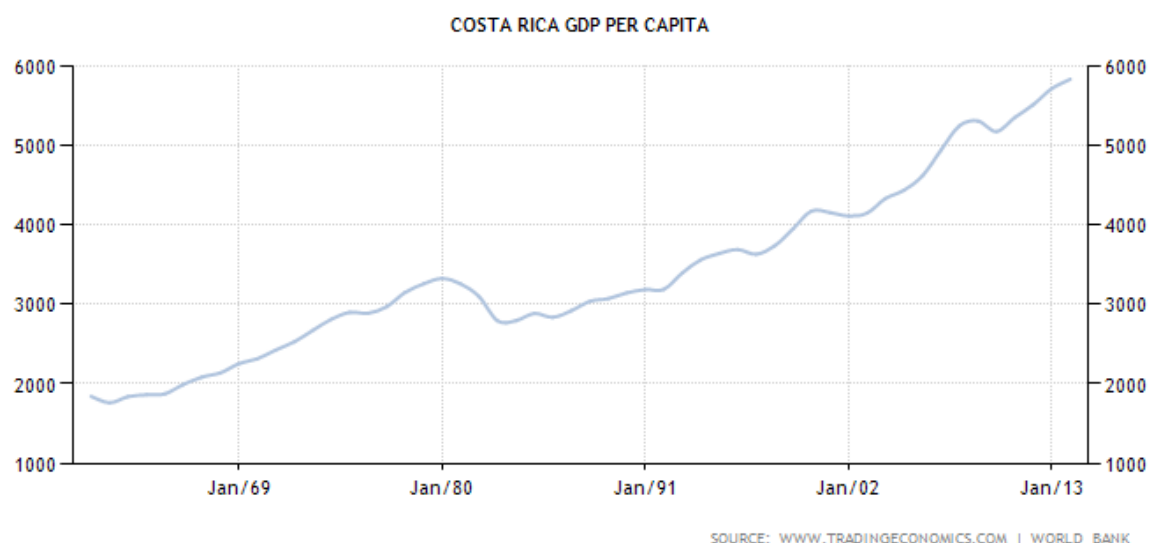
Developmental Policies from 1940 to 2012 in Costa Rica

While not as wealthy or dynamic as some other economies, Costa Rica has been moderately successful in terms of economic development, reaching a comparatively high income in Latin America, and has one of the region's highest growth rates from the early 90's to present ¹. Along with growth, the Costa Rican economy has become more diversified and sophisticated, and avoided the excess volatility afflicting other developing countries in Central America. There has also been progress in reducing poverty and improving consumption standards.²

Table 3.1 indicates a pictorial graph of the GDP per capita rates from 1969-2013. This graphs exemplifies the growth, as well as dips in the economy that Costa Rica experienced in the 1980's, but was able to recover and sustain GDP per capita growth.

¹ This is economic success is in reference to a Non-Sen theory of economic success such as GDP and employment rates

² Alberto Trejos , "Country Role Models for Development Sucess: The case of Costa Rica ,"
World Institute for Development Economics Research (2008): 2

Table 3.1: Costa Rican GDP Per Capita 1969 -2013

3

The graph illustrates the GDP per capita growth. The Human Development Index also increased during this time. “The Human Development Index (HDI) is a measurement summary assessing long term processes in three basic dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, access to knowledge, and a decent standard of living. HDI is measured out of 187 countries and is ranged on a scale of 0.00 to 0.999. Costa Rica’s HDI value for 2012 was 0.773, which is in the high human development category, and ranks them at 62nd out of 187. Between 1980 to 2012 Costa Rica’s HDI value increased from 0.621 to 0.773, which was an increase of 24%, over an annual average increase of 0.7%.”⁴ Table 3.2 exemplifies the improvements that Costa Rica has in their HDI score, and factors that contribute from 1980- 2012.

³ Table 1: World Bank Statistics

⁴ UNDP, 2

Table 3.2: 1980-2012 HDI Value and Contributing Factors

Years	Expected years of schooling	Mean years of schooling	Gross National Income per capita	HDI Value
1980	9.6	9.6	6,095	0.621
1985	9.2	6.2	5,229	0.633
1990	9.8	6.9	6,023	0.663
1995	10.3	7.4	7,092	0.69
2000	10.3	8	7,496	0.705
2005	11.9	7.9	8,690	0.732
2010	13.7	8.4	10,172	0.768
2011	13.7	8.4	10,481	0.770
2012	13.7	8.4	10, 863	0.773

Table 3.3 uses the 2012 HDI values to cross nationally compare. Costa Rica's 2012 HDI of 0.773 is above the average of 0.741 for countries in Central and Latin America.⁵

Panama and Uruguay were chosen to cross nationally compare since they are very similar in population size. Compared to other countries and Central and Latin America, Costa Rica fares well but has areas for improvement with their GNI and mean years of Schooling.

⁵ UNDP, 4

Table 3.3: Costa Rica Compared to Neighboring Countries and Latin America (2012)

	HDI Value	HDI Rank	Mean Years of Schooling	Gross National Income per capita
Costa Rica	0.773	62	8.4	10,863
Panama	0.78	59	9.4	13,519
Uruguay	0.792	51	8.5	13,333
Central and Latin America	0.741	---	7.8	10,300

6

Reviewing general policymaking over the last seventy years in Costa Rica is important to identify strengths and features that have been instrumental in fostering human, economic and social development, and guarding itself against crisis.⁷ Straussfogel argues that if development is considered as a process it essentially describes the means whereby one structural configuration is transformed into another. If our intent is to improve the development of a country, then policy is required. Once policy is successfully implemented, then the attempt should be to create a “more developed” structure from one that may be less developed without policy changes.⁸ I will review three periods of developmental policies in Costa Rica 1). 1940’s-1950’s, 2). 1960’s to 1980’s economic crisis and 3).1980’s to present.

⁶ UNDP. "Costa Rica: Human Development values and rank changes in 2013 HDR." *Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World*. (2012), 3

⁷ Carstens, Agustin. "Twenty Years Without a Crisis in Costa Rica: The IMF View." *Seminar on Volatility and Vulnerability in Costa Rica*. (2004).

⁸ Straussfogel, 285

1940's – 1950's

The 1940's and 1950's were called the 'developmentalist' stage, because the Costa Rican government was concerned chiefly with building a physical and social infrastructure. "Numerous new public agencies built roads, airports, and seaports as well as produced and distributed electrical power, portable water and, telephone services. During this time was also the period when government hospitals, clinics and schools were established all over the country".⁹

The path to Costa Rica becoming an industrialized welfare state began after World War II and the civil war of 1948. This created a turning point in Costa Rican history. "During the decade of the 1940's, important social reforms were carried out, and the old oligarchic model was replaced by a social-democratic, welfare-oriented system of government. This model emphasized a public sector that favored social programs in areas of education, labor, social security and health".¹⁰

During this period, President Dr. Calderon instituted a health insurance program for urban workers as well as established a minimum wage, an eight-hour workday, a six-day week, and the right to organize. These actions also protected workers against arbitrary dismissal and made collective bargaining mandatory in labor management disputes. President Calderon also created the first higher learning institution, University of Costa Rica, in 1940 which created a resource to building human capital. During the 1940s and 1950s, Costa Rica consolidated the reform program which encouraged the

⁹ Mavis Biesanz , Richard Biesanz , and Karen Biesanz , 34

¹⁰ Rosero-Bixby , Luis . "Socioeconomic Development, Youth Interventions and Mortality Decline in Costa Rica ." *Socioeconomic Development* 46 (1990): 35

service sector to grow while the agricultural sector shrank. This governmental expansion created job opportunities for employment in the service sector, instead of the more exclusive occupation of agriculture. In 1948, the expansion of the public sector provided mobility for individuals, men and women combined. In 1949 voting rights and decision-making power for women was implemented in Costa Rica.¹¹ Women's suffrage encouraged more participation and mobility in decision-making and developmental processes in Costa Rica.

1960's to 1980's Economic Crisis

The history of productive developmental policies in Costa Rica is characterized by significant change over the past three decades.¹² "By 1960 the Costa Rican government was investing more than 30% of its annual budget- approximately 4 percent of the GDP- for education at all levels, which helped the country achieve literacy rates that were among the highest in Latin America."¹³

In the early 1970s reforms on higher education changed universities from an elite activity into a mass institution for anyone to have the opportunity to attend.¹⁴ In 1974 health care became universal in Costa Rica and in 1979 six percent of the GNP began to go to the health care sector. In the late 1970s democratization reform took place leading

¹¹ Mavis Biesanz , Richard Biesanz , and Karen Biesanz, 33.

¹² Haydee Mendiola, "Reform of Higher Education in Costa Rica: Effects on Social Stratification and Labor Markets," *Comparative Education Review*, 33, no. 3 (1989), 335

¹³ Mack, Steve , and Frank McNeil . "Seventy Years of United States- Costa Rica Development Cooperation: Costa Rica and U.S Economic Assistance 1942-2012." (2012) *U.S Embassy in Costa Rica*, 4

¹⁴ Mendiola, 335

to the expansion of the university education system.¹⁵ Following the 1970s to the 1980s, Costa Rica's government continued to expand under the entrepreneurial state. Because the private sector was unable or unwilling to invest in socially beneficial projects that require large capital outlays the governmental officials decided that the state should do so. Structural adjustment was needed. Thus, the state grew larger and more bureaucratized, politicized, and inefficient.¹⁶

From the 1960s into the beginning of the 1980s, Costa Rica followed more of an inward-oriented economic and trade policy. Costa Rica was very exclusive with their trading and international business partnerships. "This type of trade policy and economic approach restricted the import of goods in order to protect local industries. As a result these policies created significant anti-export bias that impeded technological change, production diversification, and the growth of exports to third markets."¹⁷ However, this closed economic policy took its downfall and in 1979 the GNP began to stagnate and fell to unbelievable depths. "Increased borrowing by the central government and central bank to finance increased spending and an overvalued exchange rate caused foreign debt to more than double between 1978 and 1981. In December 1980 the colon was largely devalued. This devaluation was followed by a dramatic increase in inflation,

¹⁵ Mendiola, 335

¹⁶ Mavis Biesanz, Richard Biesanz, and Karen Biesanz, *The Ticos: Culture and Social Change in Costa Rica*, (London: Lynne-Rienner Publishers, 1999), 34

¹⁷ Ricardo Monge-Gonzalez, Luis Rivera, and Julio Rosales-Tijerino, "Productive Development Policies in Costa Rica: Market Failures, Governmental Failures and Policy Outcomes." (working paper., Inter-American Developmental Bank: Department of Research and Chief Economist, 2010), 8

from 18.1% in 1980 to 90.1% in 1982.”¹⁸ The world economic crisis of the early 1980’s hit Costa Rica hard, and faltered all three functions: development, welfare and enterprise. Between 1980 and 1982 the per capita buying power declined 40 percent as annual inflation rose from 18% to 82% and the public debt tripled! Together with the international economic problems that occurred at the end of the 1970s, which included a second oil shock, high international interest rates and debt crisis, these policies led Costa Rica to a deep economic recession in the 1980-1982 period with high levels of unemployment, inflation and overall poor economic performance.¹⁹ The economic crisis that hit most of Latin America in the early 1980’s completely changed and shook the stability, the success and future of the Costa Rica state.

By 1981 Costa Rica suspended debt payments to most of its creditors and requested assistance from the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). Costa Rica’s international creditors insisted that to qualify for further loans and for soft terms in settling defaulted loans, its government would have to stabilize and privatize the economy. At this point the state was required to minimize its control of industry, business, finance and even social services to encourage foreign investment, production for export, and open competition in a free market global economy. It was also required to drastically reduce government spending. This was an intense structural adjustment and entrance into a free market economy for Costa Rica.²⁰

¹⁸ T.H Gindling , "Women's Wages and Economic Crisis in Costa Rica," *Latin America: The Crisis of the Eighties and the Opportunities of the Nineties* , ed. Werner Baer, Joseph Petry, Murray Simpson (Champaign : Bureau of Economic and Business Research , 1993), 278

¹⁹ Monge-Gonzalez, Ricardo , Luis Rivera, and Julio Rosales-Tijerino, 8.

²⁰ Mavis Biesanz , Richard Biesanz , and Karen Biesanz , 37

Following the recession in the 1980s (which was largely due to their closed economic policies) Costa Rica enacted different developmental policies such as adopting a free market economy, to encourage the growth of the economy and fragile state. The main changes to the developmental policies are as follows:

- Privatization of public firms
- The credit rationing system was dismantled. Interest rates were liberalized. In addition, the private banks' participation increased.
- Public sector storage facilities and grocery stores were closed and price supports (for producers) and price controls (for consumers) were dismantled.
- The Ministry of the Economy, formerly in charge of industrial contracts and price controls were drastically reduced. The contracts were completely eliminated.
- A new system of incentives to promote non-traditional exports to third markets (outside of Central America) was established. The purpose was to compensate anti-export bias created by the Import Substitution Industrialization Strategy (ISIS)
- A unilateral, but not uniform tariff reduction policy was implemented starting in the mid-1980's. Since mid 1990's, trade liberalization has been driven by free trade agreements implementation.²¹

These new productive developmental policies emphasized economic incentives rather than targeting credit, providing technical assistance or supplying specific public goods. The Costa Rican economic policy moved more and more towards ever greater integration into the world economy versus their old model of inward oriented economics.

Decades leading up to the recession and economic downfall helped prepared Costa Rica for the policy changes that needed to take place to begin rebuilding. Preceding the recession, Costa Rica repositioned their economic and social policies to meet the needs for the survival of the country.

²¹ Monge-Gonzalez, Ricardo , Luis Rivera, and Julio Rosales-Tijerino, 11

Economic Crisis to Present Day

Following the crisis and reforms, virtually all aspects of society changed. The most noticeable area was in the economy. Hidalgo writes, “Between 1980 and 1982 the economy [of Costa Rica] reduced by 9.4 percent, and in 1982 ²² average inflation reached 90.1%. In those two years the proportion of the population living below the poverty line shot up by more than 20 percentage points to 54%”. ²³ However, following the recession, Costa Rica worked to improve their policies and save their economy.

Hidalgo effectively summarizes the period in Costa Rica following the recession:

During the late 1980s and 1990s the Costa Rican economy underwent significant structural reforms: most state-owned enterprises were privatized, although the government kept its monopolies on electricity, telecommunications, oil refinement and distribution, insurance, and alcohol production. Private banks were allowed to operate checking accounts, but the government kept ownership of the four largest banks. These reforms contributed to Costa Rica’s significant improvement in economic freedom. The country went from 62nd in 1985 (among 109 countries) in the Fraser Institute’s *Economic Freedom of the World* report to 23rd in 2005 (among 123 nations). The economy grew an average 4.7 percent per year since 1987, one of the fastest rates in Latin America. In the mid-1990s Costa Rica also began negotiating free trade agreements whose main goal was to open new markets for its exports.²⁴

In terms of economic performance, Costa Rica is now well ahead of the average country yet not a theatrical success. “The per-capita income in 2008 was \$5,560 annually and since 1989 the per capita income has grown at an annual rate of 5.1%”.²⁵ Trade

²² Year of Recession

²³ Hidalgo, Juan Carlos . "Growth without Poverty Reduction: The Case of Costa Rica." *Economic Development Bulletin* 18: 1

²⁴ Hidalgo, Juan Carlos , 3

²⁵ Trejos, 4

liberalization was a major asset in the economic recovery for Costa Rica. “Liberalized trade has taken the form of unilateral tariff phase outs and non tariff barrier reductions, has reduced the anti-export bias which is high in a country that depends on foreign raw materials for its manufacturing and induced a more competitive supply of logistics and trade related services. Preferred access to key markets has been achieved and protected”.²⁶ From 2004 to 2014, Costa Rican trade policy has been based on Free Trade Agreements (FTA).²⁷ Parallel to export promotion strategy over the last two decades is the attraction of foreign direct investment (FDI). A wide range of industries, including electronic components, electrical equipment, medical devices, software, chemical products, beverages and food preparation, tourism, financial services, call centers, have been growing and attracting significant foreign investment.²⁸

These trade and foreign direct investments policies have to be articulated in the context of a larger development strategy that is aimed at expanding the country’s knowledge based assets so as to foster structural change and productivity growth which generates employment and income in higher value added processes and products. Government policies have to adjust the incentive structure, which is currently heavily skewed towards foreign investment, but needs to be more toward national producers so

²⁶ Alberto Trejos, 18

²⁷ Ricardo Monge-Gonzalez, Luis Rivera, and Julio Rosales-Tijerino, "Productive Development Policies in Costa Rica: Market Failures, Governmental Failures and Policy Outcomes." (working paper., Inter-American Developmental Bank: Department of Research and Chief Economist , 2010) 12

²⁸ Monge-Gonzalez, Ricardo , Luis Rivera, and Julio Rosales-Tijerino, 13

as to provide a more level playing field.²⁹ In Costa Rica the most important benefits from foreign investments have been on the macro side with a positive contribution to investment, the balance of trade, employment and wages, for all people in society.³⁰

There are multiple factors that have influenced the development of Costa Rica. These factors include: rule of law of their democratic system, security and savings from fiscal resources (thanks to not having the financial strain of having an army), environmental preservation, which has yielded tourism and increased agriculture value, and low operating costs have all contributed to the success of the Costa Rican state.³¹

Costa Rica responded to their economic crisis by changing and improving their policy implementation. The country guarded their human capital accumulation, democracy and human development by protecting their importance during the debt crisis. Secondly, Costa Rica enacted basic economic reforms, which were aimed at macroeconomic stabilization, liberalization and deregulation. Lastly, the productivity and, “possibility of human development was unleashed by the integration of the economy in the international market through measures aimed at export promotion and foreign direct investment.”³²

²⁹Cordero, Jose, and Eva Paus. "Foreign Investment and Economic Development in Costa Rica: The Unrealized Potential ." *Working Group on Development and Environment in the Americas* . no. 13 (2008): 8

³⁰World Bank, 265: Gender equality appears to be higher in countries with larger exports and foreign direct investments shares in female labor-intensive goods and vice versa. Countries with higher female labor force participation, lower fertility and higher educational attainment have larger export share in sectors intensive in female labor

³¹ Alberto Trejos, 10

³² Trejos, 7

In addition to these factors, accumulations of skills and knowledge in the production process and the positive spillovers that come with labor mobility have occurred. For example, foreign high tech companies have had an important impact on upgrading the technical curriculum at Costa Rica's universities. Both the University of Costa Rica and Technological Institute of Costa Rica have contracts with Intel to collaborate on the development of curricula for technical careers.³³

Monge-Gonzalez, Rivera and Rosales-Tijerino argue that, "One of the most fundamental reasons for Costa Rica's success has been the emphasis of their economic policy on human development and social cohesion. The basic needs of the population have been largely met and standards of living have improved steadily. The labor force is relatively well educated and skilled. Costa Rican economic policy for more than two decades has moved toward ever-greater integration into the world economy".³⁴

However, the challenges for Costa Rica today are to overcome the remaining barriers to achieve fully developed-country status. For the future of Costa Rica's development they will need to further focus on investing in human potential. "These investments can include, opening their trade policies more, empowering female entrepreneurs and leaders, extending education policies and enhancing competitiveness that emphasizes innovation".³⁵ Focusing on human potential and capital, and

³³ Andres Rodriguez-Clare, "Costa Rica's Development Strategy based on Human Capital and Technology: How it got there, the impact of Intel, and lessons from other countries," *Human Development Report UNPD* (2001): 3-19,

³⁴ Monge-Gonzalez, Rivera, and Rosales-Tijerino, 17

³⁵ Steve Mack and Frank McNeil, 4.

development ensures the progression of the state that will last throughout generations. The next section transitions from economic, political, and social policies in Costa Rica to specific policies that have directly influenced and affected the lives of Tica women. It is important to analyze these policies to see if they are being successfully implemented and making the type of difference intended.

Costa Rican Policy Initiatives Focused on Women

In 1984 the Conference on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in Costa Rica instigated the first initiatives aimed at eliminating sexist stereotypes and practices that legitimize inequalities in the education system. There were low illiteracy rates for both sexes, although were much lower among women. In 1984 women caught up with men and in 1988 they overtook men in literacy rate.³⁶

The 1990 Act for Promoting the Social Equality of Women made the central government and educational institutions responsible for guaranteeing equal opportunities and protecting the human rights of women, not only in terms of access to education including technical education, but also in terms of the quality of such education. Under this legal framework, a set of gender equity policies was instigated and institutional mechanisms were set up to promote and implement these policies and to ensure compliance. The CEDAW and the Act for promoting the Social Equality of Women gave the women's movement and other sectors of civil society a working

³⁶Laura Guzmán-Stein, and Anne Morales, *Gender and Education in Costa Rica*. (Working paper. University of Costa Rica , 2004). 3

platform for their efforts to achieve and promote gender equality and equity in a number of fields, including education.³⁷

In 1994 the Law of Promotion of Women's Social Equality prohibited discrimination in the workplace and required unmarried couples to register any property in the woman's name. "Following, in 1997 Costa Rica launched the National System for the Care and Prevention of Domestic Violence. This system involved the participation of a large number of public and civil society representatives that established care and prevention networks, shelters and a hotline. Then in 1998, with regard to the political structure, Costa Rica created the National Institute for Women (INAMU), and became the supervisory body for national policies related to women".³⁸

This led to the creation of the Gender Equity Office in the Ministry of Public Education in 2000 and a Strategic Plan was defined containing measures to speed up gender equality and equity between men and women throughout the system.³⁹ In 2000 the Ministry of Public Education signed an agreement with the National Women's Institute (INAMU), creating a Gender Equity Office and promising to incorporate a gender perspective into all its activities.⁴⁰ "Furthermore, the 1990 Act Promoting the Social Equality of Women, encouraged the Responsible Paternity Act in 2001, to prevent the discrimination against women with children born out of wedlock, or no

³⁷Guzmán-Stein & Morales, 5

³⁸ . "Concluding Comment on Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination of Women: Costa Rica ." *Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination of Women* 38 (2003) : 1

³⁹Guzmán-Stein et al., 2

⁴⁰Guzmán-Stein et al., 9

recognized by the father. This act made paternity more flexible and introduced an obligation on the fathers part not to discharge their economic responsibility”.⁴¹

Costa Rica’s “social democratic tradition has meant that the government seeks to promote development through public and private investments in education, health, infrastructure, and other welfare programs. The former president, Laure Chinchilla, whom was elected in 2010, paid close attention to labour issues in the country. She vowed to defend the economic rights of women and promised to double the number of labour inspectors at Ministry of Labour to ensure increased compliance with equal labour laws for women”.⁴² In light of these initiatives, “Business for Social Responsibility” designed a project to develop a national public policy framework that promotes responsible labour policies.

In 2010 the “Business for Social Responsibility” main initiatives were:

1. Build a whole of government mobilization to incentive responsible labour policies
2. Promote Gender Equality
3. Build a Costa Rican culture of compliance ⁴³

Following this initiative, the BSR went back into Costa Rica to investigate the implementation of these labour policies. “The BSR team found that the Costa Rican

⁴¹ "Concluding Comment on Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination of Women: Costa Rica", 1

⁴² Koosed , Tamar Benzaken . "Responsible Labor in Costa Rican Policy: Designing a Public Policy Framework the Promotes Responsible Labor ." *Business for Social Responsibility (2010)* :

⁴³ Koosed , Tamar Benzaken, 1

government currently has a useful, but underused mechanism to promote gender equity in the private sector”.⁴⁴

Table 3.4 provides a cross-national analysis of the GII score and value in Costa Rica, Panama, Uruguay and Central and Latin America. The “Gender Inequality Index (GII) reflects gender based inequalities in three dimensions: reproductive health, empowerment and economic activity. Empowerment is measured by the share of parliament seats and attainment of secondary and high education of women. Economic activity is measured by the labour market participation rate for women. Costa Rica has a GII of 0.346, ranking it 62nd out of 148 countries in the 2012 index”.⁴⁵ It is important to remember that there are women working that may not be accounted for in this chart due to domestic and at-home care work.

Table 3.4: Gender Inequality Index (GII)

Country	GII Rank out of 148 countries	Female Seats in Parliament (%)	Population with at least secondary education (%)		Labor Force participation rate (%)	
			Male	/ Female	Male	/ Female
Costa Rica	0.346	38.6	52.4	54.4	78.9	46.4
Panama	0.503	8.5	60.7	63.5	82.5	49.6
Uruguay	0.367	12.3	48.8	50.6	76.5	55.6
Central and Latin America	0.419	24.4	51.1	49.8	79.9	53.7

⁴⁴ Koosed , Tamar Benzaken, 5

⁴⁵ UNDP, 3

Education

Ester Duflo argues that the first dimension of women's development is education. Education can have a range of benefits within societies and households. Investing in the education of women has a positive impact on infant mortality, marriage age and female employment.⁴⁶ The educational status of women [in Costa Rica] has improved markedly from 1995 to present-day, cross-compared with that of improvements in men's education.⁴⁷

One area where the educational advancement of women has had the greatest impact is on the female occupational structure. In the past decade the percentage of women professionals and technicians has increased compared with men, as well as in management positions. Women's share of these occupations rose from 23.3% in 1990 to 29.9% in 2000. Better education among women has promoted other processes resulting in better health for women and their families and communities, active involvement in political processes and greater demands for recognition of their human rights.⁴⁸

Basic education in Costa Rica has been mandatory since the 19th century and enrollment rates are high at all levels of education.⁴⁹ "As a consequence of improvements of required children's schooling in the 1940's and 1950's, the percentage of women with complete primary education roes from 17% in 1960 to 65% in 1980".⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Duflo, 1065

⁴⁷ Guzmán-Stein et al., 2

⁴⁸ Guzmán-Stein & Morales, 6

⁴⁹ Basic education refers to 'primary education' in Costa Rica which is ages 5/6-11

⁵⁰ Rosero-Bixby, 6

Women that had completed primary education rose again in 1999 to 84% and by 2010 increased more to 97%.⁵¹

There is an effective national system for job training, and a large number of universities and professional schools. Workers rights are strong and widely respected. As a consequence, Costa Ricans have high levels of human capital and therefore high labor productivity. The Costa Rican worker is typically trained, disciplined, creative and industrious.⁵² The educational reforms which took place guaranteed free and obligatory education and have enabled most of the population to be literate, and since there are both public and private universities, women and men of all classes have been able to receive higher-level schooling. Thanks to this high educational level, women in Costa Rica can be professionals in any career, although tensions still exist in those jobs that have been traditionally held by men”.⁵³

In 2000, the Ministry of Public Education in Costa Rica said, “the equal participation of women in education is an essential prerequisite for promoting gender equity and equality in access, control and enjoyment of the benefits of the country’s development”. They continued with stating, “educational policies should therefore undertake to establish an educational model that mainstreams gender equity, as a means of bringing about the kind of education that values the specific interests, needs and

⁵¹ ICDP. "Costa Rica: Country Implementation Profile Beyond 2014 ." *International Conference on Population and Development*: 2

⁵² Alberto Trejos , 10

⁵³ "Women in Costa Rica" 2013

expectations of both sexes. This policy must provide the necessary foundations and tools for consolidating an educational model that facilitates relations which respect gender differences and solidarity, with the aim of gradually achieving a more just and democratic society offering equal opportunities for the full development of all”.⁵⁴

The principal obstacles to gender equity in education have been successfully identifying strategic and innovative policy measures. Significant progress has been made in the use of non-sexist language in texts and illustrations in primary school textbooks, in educational legislation and in incorporating the gender approach into a number of educational and administrative processes. Yet it has been extremely difficult to eliminate teaching practices that reproduce the prevailing gender domination system and segregation in the choice of careers, professions and trades, as well as in the courses provided by educational institutions.⁵⁵

Turning gender equality and equity policies into government policy, in line with the international treaties and commitments signed by Costa Rica is a first step in this effort to recognize the right of women to live as independent and free human beings with rights.⁵⁶

Concentrating on women in developmental policy can reveal important factors. Concentrating on the specific policies that have been enacted and implemented for their direct effect on women can explain the path of a country’s overall development. In the mid 1980s, after the economic crisis of Latin America, Costa Rica implemented a free

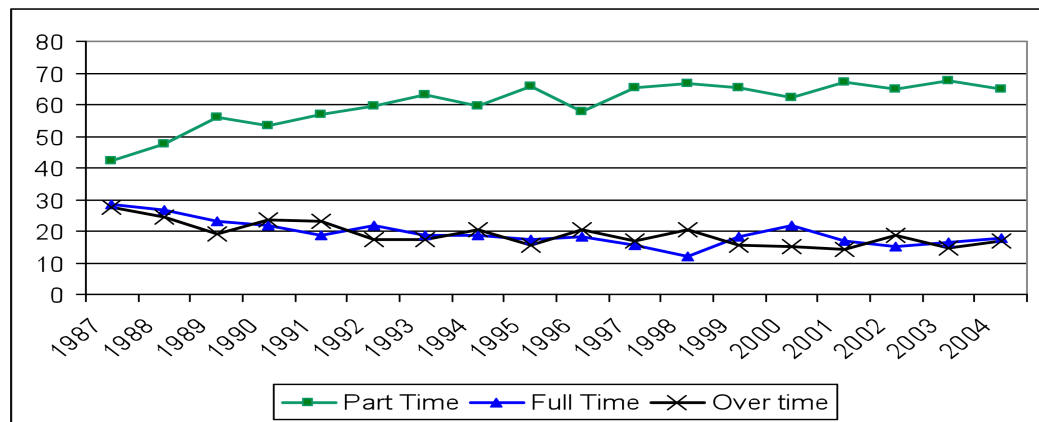
⁵⁴ Stein & Morales, 15

⁵⁵ Stein & Morales, 2

⁵⁶ Stein & Morales, 15

market policy. This pushed women to participate economically at an increased level.⁵⁷ During this period there was an increase in the male-female wage difference. This primarily was due to the influx of less educated women in the labor force in response to the liberalized and open economy. These women entered the workforce in order to maintain family incomes during the recovery process. Table 3.5 illustrates the number of women that are in the work force from 1987-2004, and that are either working part time, full time, or over periods.

Table 3.5: Number of Women in the Work Force 1987-2004 (in thousands)⁵⁸



From Table 3.5, one sees the number of women in the work force increased after the recession and the resulting need for female workers. There have been dips in consistency, but overall women have remained a constant, active member in the work force.

Despite the number of women in the workforce, T.H Gindling indicates that during this time the mean earnings of an employed man were more than those of an employed woman. Today the male-female earnings and wage is still not equal, but

⁵⁷ Carstens, 3

⁵⁸ World Bank, Costa Rica Poverty Assessment. 2006.

increased after the recession and the period of stabilization. The main increase in male to female wage differential during the recession was primarily due to the influx of less educated women into the labor force in response to the fallings of ‘real’ earnings of the male worker and entering into lower paying sectors of the labor force. There was a large increase in public sector jobs and employment, which were “disproportionately male”.⁵⁹

“For Costa Rican women, this crisis was inside the permanent crisis they face due to gender inequalities,” adds Maria Florez Estrada Pimental from the Agenda Económica de las Mujeres Program.⁶⁰ There is a consistent income gap—women earn around 19% less than men due to discrimination. Therefore, the reforms and economic crisis of the 80’s impacted women in Costa Rica by providing jobs and opportunities for women- at a cost. Many of these jobs did not pay an equal wage for a man and woman and women worked long hours while attending to the household and being a mother and wife. In 2009, a census from Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos (INEC) reported that women in Costa Rica represented 42.1% of the labour force. Additionally, Gender Discrimination law now requires that men and women in Costa Rica receive equal pay for equal work. However, the 2009 census revealed that only earnings of 91.6% were equal between men and women.⁶¹ This further integration into market liberalization has created more opportunities for women to work in the labor market. There is strong

⁵⁹ T.H Gindling , "Women's Wages and Economic Crisis in Costa Rica ," *Latin America: The Crisis of the Eighties and the Opportunities of the Nineties* , ed. Werner Baer, Joseph Petry, Murray Simpson (Champaign : Bureau of Economic and Business Research , 1993), 276-296.

⁶⁰ International Museum of Women. "Costa Rica: A Model Country?." *International Museum of Women*: 2.

⁶¹Haydee Mendiola, 15

support for the economic reforms and they tend to be sustained due to that fact that they have grown out of widespread support of society.⁶² From 2000 to 2012 there has been a more even distribution of wage differentials from that of post recession and the 1990s, due to the growth in female human capital and education, however there remains a lack in complete wage equality.⁶³

Reviewing these policies assists in setting the scene for understanding women's perceptions of participation in the Costa Rican socioeconomic realms of society. The following chapter describes the methodology used for data collection and the profile of the respondents.

⁶² Ricardo Monge-Gonzalez, Luis Rivera, and Julio Rosales-Tijerino, 12

⁶³ T.H Gindling , 280

CHAPTER IV: METHODOLOGY

Inquiries and Hypotheses

This research explores the influence of developmental policies in Costa Rica on women and the perceptions women have in terms of their constraints. The research expected to find that the developmental policies and data on women in Costa Rica do not tell the full story of women's lives in socioeconomic spheres. When referring to socioeconomic, it is a reference to accessibility of education and jobs, equality in job availability and pay, and freedom to participate in social, economic, political and educational facilities. Beneath every question on the survey, was a search for the underlying and possible, hidden barriers to full socioeconomic freedom and accessibility. Designing questions that compare demographics of the women with questions of their perception regarding society, politics, the economy, participation and equality appears to have achieved this outcome. Perceptions within a society are almost more important than the broad statistics.¹ Perceptions are deep, and personal. They are what the society feels, and perceives to be true and real in their experience. The ideas that these women have about their position, says a great deal about status of the state in Costa Rica.

I was interested in discovering the reality of women in Costa Rica. These inquiries are based on the concept of development as freedom that argues that development is seen as a process of expanding socioeconomic arrangements. These expanding freedoms must be felt by the society. I was intrigued in the perceptions of

¹ Broad Statistics: HDI, GINI, GII, GDP, GDP Growth. All included in Chapters two and three.

freedom to participate in all areas. What are the perceived constraints for women? I predicted that the possible restrictions would be based in five factors: lack of opportunity, being a female, family obligation, lack of resources/education, or lack of contacts. In addition to identifying constraints, the research explores the determinants of these perceptions.

Do perceptions differ depending on the region of the respondent or are they due to economic, social or political factors? What factors contribute to the perceptions of equality, fairness and accessibility? Does age, marital status, education level, parent education level or region have an influence in perceptions of equality? What is the perceived worth or value of education and independent income to women in Costa Rica? Are there perceived restrictions to receiving education? Is there an emphasis on feeling equality and fairness? What are the perceptions of male versus female political leaders and what is the level of equality perceived with electing a female president in 2010?² Are the policies Costa Rica enacted to implement no gender discrimination and wage equality in the work place perceived as being successful? Finally, do these perceptions influence the thoughts women have about job availability, and wage equality or in educational accessibility?

Once data collection began these questions became more transparent. This came with the understanding that to have a grasp on the real status of women it required a multilayered and multifaceted approach. These layers need to be separated, analyzed,

² Laura Chinchilla was elected in 2010 and was still in office during the time of this data collection.

then put back together to accurately understand the complex nature of the research question, “what is the reality of women’s socioeconomic development in Costa Rica”.

Methodology

I realized it was impossible to get an accurate image of my question without doing field research in Costa Rica. Therefore, to obtain the answers to these inquiries, I traveled to Costa Rica in March of 2014, collecting quantitative data through surveys, and qualitative data through interviews and participant observation. The data collected exemplifies the perceptions of female respondents in the northern and central northern areas of Costa Rica, specifically Santa Clara, San Carlos, Florencia, Ciudad Quesada and Los Chiles. The central and northern areas of Costa Rica examined are known to be some of the more rural and poor areas of Costa Rica. Moreover, the northern zone which is very close to the border of Nicaragua is the poorest region in Costa Rica. Figure 4.1 and 4.2 display maps of Costa Rica. Figure 4.2 illustrates the cities in the north where research was conducted.



Figure 4.1 Map of Costa Rica



Figure 4.2 Locations of Study Areas in Costa Rica

Locations of interviews and survey distribution took place at Universidad Técnica Nacional (UTN), Instituto Nacional de Aprendizaje (INA), and Hotel Árbol Dorado, Instituto, Mixto de Ayuda Social (IMAS) and 60 female Tica individuals not connected to any institution or company. The primary location of research was the Instituto Nacional de Aprendizaje, a prepatory technical school.

In 1965 The Instituto Nacional de Aprendizaje, INA, was created on as a result of a Costa Rican group's initiative led by Dr. Alfonso Carro Zúñiga, Ministry of Labor and Welfare under President Francisco J. Orlich Bolmarcich's administration (1962-1966). This group was concerned about two main issues: 1) solving a problem for thousands of young people who did not access the formal education system because of their scarce economic resources, and 2) finding a way to support the economic development of the country which was already adopting the fast-pace import-substituting industrialization model. This model required skilled labor at a technical level not available in the country by that time."³

INA was an innovative and important step for Costa Rica. The government of Costa Rica helped INA create and equip facilities and resources for educational and vocational training in various areas.⁴ This created opportunities for Costa Rican citizens to be trained in specific fields and skills then apply and implement those skills in the public sector. The vast majority of students at INA are socioeconomically poor and lack personal resources, such as transportation. Many of the students that attend INA commute everyday from northern zones of Costa Rica. These zones are often

³ . Zúñiga, Alfonso Carro. "Institutional Strategic Plan 2011-2016 ." *Instituto Nacional de Aprendizaje (2010)* : 54

⁴ During my on the ground research in Costa Rica, INA was my home base for research and the majority of my data, surveys and interviews were conducted at INA in numerous classrooms and environments. INA is still a very important and influential part of Costa Rica's Development.

referred to as ‘Norte Norte’, and represent some of the economically poorest areas in Costa Rica.

Wilbert Salas, a professor of English at INA was a key facilitator in the collection of data. Professor Salas aided in distribution of surveys and data collection at INA, UTN and IMAS. The surveys were given to female students at INA in specific majors. Target majors and fields were: Computer Science, English, Accounting, Fashion Design/Seamstress and Entrepreneurial Majors. Seven hours of interviews with the female students at INA, about their perspectives of being women in Costa Rica societal pressures and possible limitations on their lives was also conducted.

Surveys and interviews were also collected at Universidad Técnica Nacional (UTN). UTN is a private, Catholic university that offers higher education training in multiple fields. This university is more expensive and prestigious than INA. Most of the students at this university are from middle or high-middle class families in Costa Rica. Surveys were distributed to women in two large classes that were English majors. Four hours of interviews with the female students of two English classes was recorded.

Hotel Árbol Dorado is on high school property and there are many jobs for female employees that help ensure the success of the hotel. Surveys were distributed among the female cafeteria staff, accountants, house cleaning staff, front desk managers, and recycling workers. These working, employed women represent an important part of the sample size because of their perception, age range, and economic and educational status from the younger respondents at INA or UTN.

An impactful part of the data collection was having the opportunity to gather research from a governmental organization that was focused on building women's capital development. Instituto Mixto de Ayuda Social (IMAS) is a program that awards grants to female entrepreneurs and small business owners. I had the wonderful opportunity to meet Randal Borquero at INA one afternoon while distributing surveys. Mr.Borquero was visiting INA to talk with a class of women that had been awarded IMAS grants and who were required to take a 'bookkeeping' workshop to manage business expenses. He is instrumental in the effectiveness of IMAS and their community outreach. His primary responsibility is reviewing applications women submit to IMAS and deciding on grant awards. After Mr.Borquero spoke to the class of grant recipients he agreed to sit down for an hour interview.⁵ He was interested in assisting in the research, and extended an invite to a grant meeting where female applicants came to IMAS to present their business and need for a grant. This meeting consisted of 22 women, Mr.Borquero, Professor Salas, and myself. The women went around the room describing their need for grant funding from IMAS for the success and expansion of their small businesses. This meeting was recorded and was a total of two hours. Following the meeting, Mr.Borquero and I had another two hour interview. IMAS is a good example of social programs in Costa Rica that were enacted to help build and assist in the develop women's capital. The research collected from IMAS represents an exclusive sample size of a direct example of investments in women being a source of development and capital building.

⁵ Wilbert Salas stood in as the translator

Profile of Participants

In total 217 surveys were distributed exclusively to women. The survey used has 33 questions and was arranged to include demographic, social, economic, and political questions of perceptions focused on women in Costa Rica.⁶ Through connections I arranged almost two years pre-departure, 217 surveys were distributed to women with a wide range of age, marital status, education level and residency.

The regional locations that were selected to conduct this research, was due to the belief that if policies can infiltrate rural and poor societies, then they are typically successful. For the purpose of this research regions were put into only categories of central and north (Norte-Norte). This was a distinctive data sample, due to the small region in the central north part of the country having such a large quantity of universities, technical schools, institutions and training programs. Therefore, almost half of the data, 45%, was collected from women who were attending either at UTN or INA getting technical or university degrees. This is purposeful because these data samples collected exemplify the primarily younger population and illustrates the opinions of young, educated, single 18-25 year olds. The other population size of participants represents 55% of the distribution of women that have either no education or a primary or secondary education. This was beneficial because the results represented a large, varied and differential population size to test the research hypotheses. Regionally, 62.50% of the participants are from the Central region and

⁶ Copy of Survey in English and Spanish in Appendix

37.50% are from the high ‘Norte Norte’- area of Costa Rica. Table 4.1 illustrates the region and education separation of the women surveyed.

Table 4.1 Region and Education Separation (n=216)

Education	Technical or University Degree	45%
	Secondary, Primary or no education	55%
Region	North	37.50%
	Central	62.50%

Ages of the women range from 18-60+. Thirty percent of the participants are ages 20-25 years old, and 16% being 30-40 years old. Below in Table 4.2 provides age range and percent of total female participants.

Table 4.2: Age Ranges of Female Participants (n=216)

<u>Cohort</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
18-20 years old	16.14%
20-25 years old	30.94%
25-30 years old	11.21%
30-40 years old	16.59%
40-50 years old	12.56%
50-60 years old	9.42%
60+ years old	3.14%

There is a wide distribution of ages in the data with the smallest percentile being 60+.

The marital status reflects the age groups of the respondents, due to over 45% of the women being 18-25. This reveals a statistically varied sample size of women’s perceptions. Table 4.3 provides data on the demographic distribution of marital status

from the participants. From the age groups represented, it is clear the reason for the low percentage of women that have children.

Table 4.3 Martial Statues of Participants (n=212)

<u>Respondent</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Single	56.60%
Married	26.42%
Common Law Marriage or live in Partner	3.30%
Divorced	7.55%
Separated	5.19%
Widowed	0.94%

Due to the number of single women, 45.07% of the women have no children, 28.17% of women with 1 or 2 children, and 26.76% have either 3,4, or 4+ children. Education level is an imperative factor in determining the question of social and economic restraints on women in Costa Rica. The education level of the participants and their parents were important questions on the survey. Table 4.4 provides educational percentages of women that contributed in data collection. In this table one can observe the wide distribution of education levels.

Table 4.4: Education Levels of Participants (n=216)

<u>Respondents</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
No education	1.39%
Primary education	33.80%
Secondary education	18.06%
University education ⁷	14.81%
Technical School education ⁸	30.09%
Higher education; Master's or PhD	1.85%

⁷ This is eligible for both attending and completed university education.

⁸ This is eligible for both attending and completed technical school education.

Table 4.4 provides range of education levels that contribute to the opinions and perceptions of the women in this study. It is worth note the similarities in less than 2% of women with no education and higher education. Equally important is to note high numbers of 30% of women pursuing a technical degree as well as 15% of women receiving a university education. These descriptions of participants has illustrated a clear picture of the type of women that contributed to this study. Chapter 5 continues beyond the basic profile of the participants to describing their perceptions of freedom, equality, accessibility and opportunity.

CHAPTER V: WOMEN ON THE GROUND: RESULTS AND ANALYSIS OF PERCEPTIONS

Survey Analysis: Quantitative Data

Perceptions of a society are as important, or more important, than the actual statistics. They affect behaviors and thought patterns. This research wanted to understand the perceptions and beliefs that the women in Costa Rica held. There were multiple types of perceptions that the research was seeking to discover. Most importantly were the perception of equality and fairness in: society, wages, jobs, policies, suffrage, economic opportunities, and education. Beyond perceptions of equality it was important to discover the value and importance of certain factors. Factors such as the importance of an independent income and education, and the personal importance of feeling equality and fairness in society. The following results discuss perceptions, views and opinions on women's social, economic, political, and educational status in Costa Rica and the influence this binds, as well as any correlations between different variables. For example, what is the relationship between the women that perceive low equality in society and those that have only primary education? Does education level play a role in perceptions of equality and fairness or are there region separations to certain perspectives?

The first section of this chapter describes and quantitatively analyzes four groups of perceptions: 1). Perceptions of equality, fairness, freedom and accessibility 2). Educational perceptions 3). Perceptions of the political system, infrastructure and the economy 4). Perceptions of wage and employment equality. Following in the second

section is a qualitative analysis from collected interviews on life as a Costa Rican woman.

Perceptions of Equality, Freedom and Accessibility

The ability to freely, equally and openly access all areas of society is an essential component of Amartya Sen's development as freedom. Equality is a priority to women in Costa Rica, yet over half of them do not feel equality, fairness, or equal opportunities. This perceived level of how much equality and fairness women is felt in society was communicated with over 50% of women responding that they only feel *moderate* fairness and equality, as compared to 9% feeling very *unfair/unequal* and close 40% feeling *full equality*. When asked if women place importance to *feeling perceived* equality and fairness in their society and culture, overwhelmingly over 80% responded with stating that it was *very important to them* to feel equality and fairness. These perceptions are illustrated in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Perceived Equality, Accessibility and Importance of Perceiving Equality (n=216)

Perceived Equality and Fairness	Full Equality: 37.67% Moderate Equality: 53.49% Very Unequal: 8.84%
Importance of <i>feeling</i> Equality and Fairness	High Importance: 82.24% Moderate Importance: 17.76% Low to No Importance: 0%
Level of perceived accessibility and freedom to operate in all areas of society	Full Accessibility: 40.47% Moderate Accessibility: 37.20% Low to No Accessibility: 23.33%

It is interesting to note in Table 5.1 that the general majority puts a high value on feeling equality in society, however there is a significant difference between those that actually perceive equality. Similarly, when asked to what degree women agree or disagree that they can operate *freely* and *access* all areas of society, 40% stated they *strongly agree* that, yes, they can operate freely and have full accessibility. Thirty seven percent responded with neutral *agreement* and 23% either disagree or perceive that they *cannot* operate freely and have full accessibility to opportunities. These percentages illustrate that there may be limitations for perceiving full equality and accessibility.

Amartya Sen makes an important recognition of barriers, restrictions, or constraints to full accessibility in socioeconomic realms of society. Two questions on the survey were directly centered at understanding if the women felt there were any constraints or restrictions in Costa Rican society. “Constraint” then became a variable that could be measured. The possible societal restrictions that I chose to focus on were:

1). Limited opportunities 2). Being a female 3). Family Obligations 4). Lack of Education.

Table 5.2 illustrates the perceived overall constraints by Costa Rican women. Both family obligation and few opportunities were the most reported. The perceived constraint of being a female and lack of education were both under 15% of the women.

Table 5.2: Constraints for Women in Costa Rica (n=217)

Family Obligation	40.35%
Being a Female	11.40%
Few Opportunities	35.53%
Lack of Education/Training	12.72%

Table 5.2 suggests that the lack of accessibility and equality in society may be based on roles of motherhood and being a wife, more than specifically because of gender. The findings could also suggest that there is more of an accessibility deficit in the lack opportunities than in education.

Educational Perceptions

The research sought to understand whether women believed they are able to receive education without restrictions and their perceptions of the value of their education, and the opportunities education creates for them. When it comes to the priority of education in women's lives, a surprising 89% of women reported that having an education is *very important* to them.¹ However comparatively, when asked, "are you able to receive the type of education you want without restrictions?" only 39%

¹ This is based on a scale of not important, moderately important and very important. Question 12

responded that they are *always* able to receive the type of education they want without restrictions. This is contrasted to a 7% that report *never* being able to receive the type of education they desire. Yet overwhelmingly half responded that they are only *sometimes* able to receive the type of education they want without restrictions. These percentages are provided in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Importance of Education and Perceptions of Education Accessibility without Constraints (n=216)

Importance of Education	Very Important: 89.30% Moderately Important: 10.70% Not Important: 0%
Ability to access Education without Restrictions	Always: 38.97% Sometimes: 49.77% Never: 7.04%

Table 5.3 and statistics demonstrate that despite the priority women have for education, less than one-third of women are able to receive the type of education they want without barriers. Close to 90% of women reported that education was *very important* to them. Women are seeing the value of an education in the progression of their lives and in the development of human capital yet only 39% of women report perceiving that education was *always* accessible to them without restrictions and 50% felt that education is only *sometimes* accessible. The fact that half of the respondents only *sometimes* believe they are able to be educated in the ways they aspire exemplifies there is still a perceived restriction and boundary in education towards women.

I was curious to see if the perception of the amount of freedom and accessibility women felt was correlated with women feeling *restrictions* on education. Findings

indicate that the same women that felt the freedom to operate freely and access all area of society, were also the ones that perceived the ability to receive the type of education they desired. However the women that experienced low levels of freedom expressed that they felt restrictions and barriers on desired education. From this, I wondered if the level of education influenced the way women perceived accessibility and freedom in society. Therefore, the question arose, “Does education level of participants play a role in the perceptions of equality, accessibility and freedom? Often, individuals and scholars alike can agree that the more education, (i.e. human capital) a person receives the more opportunities, accessibility and perceptions will increase. Despite that, the findings indicated that this relationship was not interrelated, meaning that the perception of freedom and equal accessibility was not based in education level.

Does parents’ education level explain the respondent’s perception of equality and freedom? The data illustrated that these two variables are not related. This shows ideas about freedom and accessibility are also not based on the educational background in which they were raised. Table 5.4 contains data relating to respondents’ parents’ education compared to the respondents’ education level.

Table 5.4 Comparison of Respondents' Education Level to their Parents'**Education Level**

Education Level	Parental Education Level (n=201)	Respondent Education level (N=216)
No Education	N/A	1.39%
Primary Education	61.88%	33.80%
Secondary Education	28.71%	18.06%
University Education (Bachelors)	7.92%	14.81%
Technical School Education	0.99%	30.09%
Higher Education; Master's PhD	0.50%	1.85%

These numbers do not mean anything if there was not further analysis with relationship between the level of participants' education level and their parents' education level.

The findings indicated that yes, the level of the parents education does to a degree explain the level of their daughter's education. One sees the differences in the education levels throughout the generations but which generations have the most influence from their parents, and do they explain each other?

The results point to both the age groups of 20-25 year olds, and 50-60+ year olds, were most influenced by their parent's education level. The generation of youth, and the oldest generation that felt the impact of their parents' education levels most dramatically. It is also important to note the vast increase in technical school education from 0.99% to 30.60% in the following generations. This increase is probably due to schools like INA that offer a tech school education to rural and poor students and the opportunity for grants and scholarships. INA's programs are relatively short term and

the skills they acquire are actually *needed* in the society. Students expect to find jobs that apply to their education comparatively comfortably.

Perceptions of the Costa Rican Economy, Political System and Infrastructure

In concern with the satisfaction of the economy, comes the matter of perceptions about the economic status of Costa Rica. When asked, “How would you describe the country’s economic status?” respondents overwhelmingly reported with over 65% marking, “bad or very bad” on the survey. Contrasting, only 5% of respondents perceive the economy of Costa Rica being “good or very good” and 29% describe the economic situation of Costa Rica as “fair”.

When asking participants if they were; very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the condition of the streets, roads, and quality of public facilities; i.e. schools and hospitals”? Participants responded with 41% being *dissatisfied* and 20.83% *with very dissatisfied*. Only 37% were either *satisfied or very satisfied* with the infrastructure. From this, the relationship was tested the relationship between the idea of Costa Rica’s economic status with the level of satisfaction with infrastructure and public facilities. When testing the relationship between the respondent’s perception of the economy and the level of satisfaction with infrastructure and public facilities in Costa Rica, the results proved to be significant. This explained the relationship between respondents that said the economy was poor were also not satisfied with the infrastructure and public resources. This makes sense. When a citizen views their economy as suffering, then they are likely to find the infrastructure and public facilities displeasing. The respondents may perceive infrastructure progression as a low priority

to the government. This is probable because if the economy is perceived as weak, then people may be expected to think that the government cannot afford, or chooses not invest in improving the infrastructure.

On a political scale, the extent women felt like they are treated equally when dealing with government, police, policies, and the law, the responses came back to be almost equal in their difference. Over 55% responded that they feel equality and fairness with the government, while 45% *do not agree or feel* equality and fairness when dealing with the government as a woman.

When asked if respondents perceived men as better political leaders than women, 15% thought men were better leaders, while overwhelmingly 85% perceived women as better leaders. It is interesting that female respondents view female leaders as being more effective than male leaders. This may be due to having female president, Laura Chinchilla in service during the time of this data collection. When asked to what extent the election of female president Laura Chinchilla indicated and represented gender equality in Costa Rica, 53% responded that it represented only *moderate* gender equality with 37% said indicating *high* gender equality, and only 9% *low* gender equality.² As far as women's suffrage, 79.81% of respondents voted in the last election.³ In reference to women's interest in politics, 28.24% of women are very interested in the politics of Costa Rica, while 43.06% are only slightly interested in politics. Table 5.5 illustrates women's value of being involved in politics, their

² These perceptions are based on Laura Chinchilla being in office for four years, and perceptions of successful or unsuccessful terms served and representation of women.

³ The presidential election is referring to elect President Laura Chinchilla in 2010.

perception of the system's fairness, the economy, infrastructure and the opinions about the political system as an example of gender equality.

Table 5.5: Political Perceptions of Women in Costa Rica (n=216)

Do you feel that women are treated equally when dealing with; government, police, laws, policies, courts?	Equal Treatment: 55.55% Unequal Treatment: 44.45%
Do you agree that men are better political Leaders than Women?	Yes, men are better political leaders: 15% No, I do not think men are better political leaders: 85%
To what extent does electing President Laura Chinchilla represent gender equality?	Represents a high level of gender equality: 37% Represents a moderate level of gender equality: 54% Represents a low level of gender equality: 9%
Did you vote in the last election?	Yes: 79.81% No: 20.19%
Are you interested in the politics of Costa Rica?	Yes, very much: 28.24% Yes, but only slightly: 43.06% No, I am not interested: 28.7%
How would you describe Costa Rica's economic status?	Very good: 0.47% Good: 4.65% Fair: 29.30% Bad: 46.51% Very bad: 19.07%
Level of satisfaction with infrastructure and public facilities.	Very satisfied: 4.63% Satisfied: 33.33% Dissatisfied: 41.20% Very dissatisfied: 20.83%

These numbers displayed in Table 5.5 show that the majority of women participated in the last election and are interested in country-wide politics, but almost half do not experience fair treatment within certain governmental sectors. Moreover, this table exemplifies how the majority of women describe the country's economic status as poor, and over 60% of women are dissatisfied with the public facilities and infrastructure of Costa Rica.

Perceptions of Wage and Employment Equality

Examining the perceptions and opportunities in the economic sphere can explain women's socioeconomic position in Costa Rica. Regarding the importance of an independent income there was lack in variance. Ninety-six percent of respondents indicated it was *very important*, whereas only 4% of women said income was *moderately important*, and a surprising *zero* women reported that independent income was *not important*! This indicates that independent income- across the board- is important to respondents.

Although there have been steps in policy to improve gender discrimination in the workplace, improvements are still needed. One improvement is wage equality. There seems to be a split in perception about the equality of wage distribution. Table 5.6 illustrates the perceptions of wage equality for women in Costa Rica. These numbers represent women receiving the *same pay* for the *same occupation*. Additionally, this table displays the *perception* of the statement: "There is a pay scale depending on the gender of the individual". These two questions are comparable. The first one is asking about the perception of wage equality for women in the *same occupation as a male counterpart*, the second is asking if there are gendered differences in pay.

Table 5.6: Perceptions of Wage Equality in Same Occupation and Gender Differences in Pay (n=216)

Wage Equality in the Same Occupation	Wage is Higher: 0.93% Wage is Same/Equal: 36.57% Wage is Slightly Lower: 40.74 Wage is Significantly Lower: 21.76%
Wage Differences dependent on Gender Gender Dependent Pay (GDP)	Strongly Agree to GDP: 24.06% Agree to GDP: 20.28% Do Not Know: 31.13% Disagree to GDP: 23.58% Strongly Disagree to GDP: 0.94%

Table 5.6 illustrated an interesting observation because it shows two conflicting perceptions. One perception is wage equality in the same position as a male counterpart, and the second are wages being dependent on the gender of the individual. More women perceive pay as unequal than those that experience gender dependent wages. Sixty percent of the women did not experience wage equality compared to their male counterpart and over 40% of the women feel that pay is unequal based on gender.

As previously noted, the perceptions people have a fundamental role in the way we behave in society. The perceptions Costa Rican women have about job possibilities, and the ability to get a job that is enjoyable can reveal how much economic accessibility is occurring. Table 5.7 demonstrates these perceptions.

Table 5.7 Perceptions of Job Opportunities

Amount of job prospects/ opportunities	Minimal Prospects: 31.78% Average Prospects: 58.41% High Prospects: 9.81%
Do women have the ability/ opportunities to get the job they desire/ want?	Yes: 57.08% Sometimes: 7.55% No: 35.37%

Half of the women surveyed feel like there are average prospects in the job market.

However, 30% of the women experience minimal job prospects, and do not think women have the ability to get the job they *want*. There is a difference between getting a job that is needed to support a family, and one that is wanted and enjoyable.

When it comes to desired job availability, 45% of the women feel like they only sometimes or never can get the job they want. I was interested to understand what the possible limitations were for women not perceiving high job prospects of availability. The hypothesized constraints were lack of education, gender, lack of contacts or opportunities, and family obligation. The constraints the women reported to perceive in *job availability* are represented in Table 5.8

Table 5.8: Limitations in *Desired* Job Availability (n=153)

<u>Limitation</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Lack of Education/Training	29.41%
Due to being female	26.80%
Lack of Contacts/ Opportunities	16.99%
Family Obligation	26.80%

Lack of education was most commonly reported, but being female and family obligation were tied at 26% each. However, being a female and family obligation may correlate with each other. The biological component of being a woman and birthing children becomes a family obligation.

Out of the 217 women that were surveyed, 40% of them were employed and almost half of them were looking for a job. I was interested in the correlation of women that were actively looking for jobs had with the perception of limited *opportunities or contacts* as a constraint. The results revealed that over half of the women that were actively looking for jobs *also* feel that *limited opportunities* are a constraint for women. Therefore, the women that are looking for employment are experiencing a restriction to economic accessibility based on their perception for job opportunities.

When examining the relationship between the perceptions of women being able to get the job they desire, and how many job prospects or opportunities they observe – the data indicated these perceptions were correlated. If respondents *perceive* they will *be able* to get the job they want, it determines if they perceive there *being* opportunities and vice versa. In short this means that the women that perceived limited opportunities

as a constraint on their lives, were the same women that reported to not believing they will be able to get the job they most desire.

Education levels may also explain respondents that feel there are prospects and opportunities for jobs. The relationship between the perceived amount of job opportunities and the education level of respondents was explored. The data indicated that the level of education the woman had did influence her perception of job possibilities. Over 50% of the respondents report that they feel average prospects, ranging from all educational backgrounds. The respondents that reported minimal job opportunities are numerically the same for being from either a primary education or a tech school background. That is interesting since half of the women have minimal prospects are being educated at INA in hopes of having more job opportunities. The may be due to over one-third of the students from INA commute from 'Norte-Norte'. When an individual is raised and/or lives in an environment that is impoverished and people are struggling, they may perceive economic opportunities as low. This is true for the students at INA who commute from the North to the more economically successful area of the Central North. However, being educated at INA for the possibility of better job opportunities did not modify the perception of low job prospects.

To further test economic accessibility, it was important to know if the perception the women had on their perceived ability to operate *freely* and to have *full accessibility* in society affected their ideas about women being able to get the jobs they aspire for. The data indicated that there was a possible correlation in these perceptions. This is very important in the overall discussion of women being able to fully and freely access

socioeconomics. If the women perceive that they are able to participate in society, then they also feel more opportunities. The lack of *perceiving equal participation* may be hindering women's *actual socioeconomic participation*. If an individual has deeply engrained perception that there is a lack of equality in their society, it is defeating to try and engage in socioeconomic participation when you do not feel empowered to do so.

Also interesting is the regional separation of these statistics. I was interested in discovering if region had an influence on the perception of wage equality. Table 5.9 displays the results of only the 135 women that answered that they perceived wage as either being *slightly* lower or *significantly* lower than their male counterpart.

Table 5.9 Regional Separation of Unequal Wage Perception (n=135)

Central North Region	45.7%
'Norte Norte' Region	55.4%

Table 5.9 exemplifies that lower wage perception of females than males, is felt in both the Central and Northern region- almost equally. . In the 'Norte Norte' region a slightly higher percentage of respondents observe unequal wages. These perceptions may be based on the 'Norte-Norte' region struggling economically more than the Central North region.

Another question that the data sought to find was the role an education played in the importance of independent income as a woman. This relationship proved not to be correlated. For every education level ranging from primary to university level education, 91% or more consistently responded education being of high importance.

This signified that the value of an independent income is not based upon the education level. The importance of an independent income being dependent on marital status was tested. The findings indicated this relationship was not interrelated, and translated as the value of making a living for these women is not dependent on whether they are single, married, divorced, or separated. I compared age to the importance of independent income. This relationship was also not linked, meaning age is not a factor in determining income importance.

The relationship between the respondent's mother working outside the home and their level of importance in getting income was examined. This relationship was linked. These results came from women with 41% of their mothers working outside of the home and 59% of them not having working mothers. This may be due to a desire for an independent income as women after seeing their mothers not able to financially support themselves. The high levels of importance on income could also mean that income is purely necessary for these women to support themselves and their families, and has nothing to do with the desire to be independent. These results illustrate that importance of income is not dependent on age, education or marital status but is evenly experienced among all respondents. The one influential factor on income importance that was significant was if the respondents' mother worked, or is currently working outside of the home.

This next section takes the opinions, words, memories and perceptions of women in Costa Rica during recorded or transcribed interview time. These beliefs are valuable

to fully understand the scope of women's status in the socioeconomic spheres of Costa Rica.

Interview and Participant Observation Analysis: Qualitative Data

This section will be using qualitative data that was collected from interviews, recorded dialogue and private conversations with female respondents. This type of data exemplifies a different type of perception, one that is more personal because it occurs on a person-to-person level instead of through a multiple-choice survey. These perspectives represent some alternate underlying beliefs, ideas, and limitations that women presented.⁴ During the time conducting interviews, many women were appearing to be open, honest and truthful about their perspectives and experiences as a woman in Costa Rica. Trends were noticed in what the women were expressing. The topics that kept returning to the dialogue were Machismo, Nepotism, Equality in the workplace, and Family Obligation.

Equality in the Workplace

While collecting data at Hotel Arbol Dorado in the accounting office, I was finishing up my survey distribution and was about to leave when one of the female accountants asked to speak to me alone. Her name was Maria. Maria said she was experiencing some issues regarding gender discrimination in the work place. She had been working as an accountant for years in this company, alongside men in the exact

⁴ All names have been changed and all quotes have been translated from Spanish to English.

same position. She had graduated from a good university with honors and yet she expressed she experienced this as an expression of inequality,

Although I do the exact same job, and I feel as though I am more qualified, he [male counterpart] will always make more than me. There is a significant difference between the wages. This is just the way it is in Costa Rica.

Like Maria's experience, other women in various positions shared similar perspectives.

For example, Karina said, "It is just known here [Costa Rica] that a man and woman can have the same job but the man will get paid more". Vanessa shared the same opinion stating, "I work the same job as a man, *and what is more*, is that I am more qualified than him, however I know he makes more than me". From the perspectives of these three women gender and wage equivalence is a real issue in the Costa Rican workplace.

Maria continued by stating more concerns she had. She had applied for managerial positions to move up in the organization, however the jobs went to males. Maria and other women expressed similar complaints of gender discrimination for job title increase. A constraint not considered when creating the survey, was the limitation of women not to have the opportunity to move up in leadership positions. Clearly this was concern among middle-aged working Costa Rican women, however a concern that was more present among college students was the concept of Nepotism.

Nepotism

Nepotism is defined as “the practice among those with power or influence of favoring relatives or friends, especially by giving them jobs”⁵. The women verbally expressed their concerns about Nepotism. Their biggest apprehension was that a future employer would minimize their experience, skill and education and instead hire on a nepotistic level. Natalia, a UTN University student said, “I see nepotism as the biggest constraint to women not getting the job they want or desire. Here in Costa Rica, it seems like the only people that get hired are if they know someone”. Another female student, Lidia, who was attending INA said, “It is worse than just plain nepotism, if someone knows someone they will hire a person just based on them knowing a mutual friend, they may have never even met the person they are hiring. Another more qualified and educated person may apply but they disregard that application”.

It is interesting to note that these opinions and perspectives are primarily women enrolled in higher education of either technical schools a university. This means although they have increased education levels, which should correlate to increased opportunities, they may not be experiencing that. For example, Karen, a UTN student said, “Sometimes I wonder if my university education will do anything for me. I feel like getting a job is not based on qualifications or skills, but rather on who you know. This creates a difficult situation for a woman to combat against nepotism and gender preference”.

⁵ "Nepotism." Dictionary.com. Accessed 2015. <http://dictionary.reference.com/>.

From the data collected on constraints for women, over 16% of the respondents reported a ‘lack of contacts’ to being the limitation to a desired job. This is in alignment with the perception of high levels of nepotism in the Costa Rican workplace. The lack of contacts creates a constraint for women to get the job they want if they perceive that ‘knowing someone’ is the key to being hired.

Family Obligation

Costa Rican culture places a huge emphasis on the importance of family. This belief is what their society is centered around. Family can have a vital influence on the path of a woman. If a woman is married with children, then often her first priority is to take care of and nurture her family. This is a necessary priority, however logistically this can create a limitation to educational and economic opportunities. I encountered numerous respondents that expressed this as the aspect that limited their opportunities. This can take form in many ways.

When distributing surveys at the recycling center of the hotel, I encountered many women that expressed ‘family obligation’ as an overall limitation in their lives. This recycling center is where trash is continually dumped from around the Central region. The women working there sort through the trash and divide up categories of recyclables. This is a very unsanitary and labor-intensive job. Moreover, their monetary compensation is extremely low. They receive seven colones per pound of sorted trash. Seven colones are equal to less than two cents in USD.

The day that data collection took place, there were seven women working. I had a translator with me at the time, which ended up being necessary due to three of the women being illiterate. The translator had to read the entire survey to the respondents for them to give their opinions and perceptions. One woman, Juanita, wanted to talk after she had finished the survey.⁶ She explained to me that she was illiterate, and had never finished primary or secondary school. As she said,

I was the oldest of six, and my mother needed my help while she went to work. I never went to school, I do not know how to read, or even write my name. She [mother] never even gave the option of going to school. There was no discussion of whether I wanted to be able to read or go to school. Then, I had my first child at 17. I have five children. I am not married, but my partner and I live together. He only has a primary education so he is a construction worker. We live in a two-room house with our five children.

I then asked her if she desired to still get an education or be able to read and write. She responded with:

I do not see the point of that at this time in my life. How would I be able to do that? Of course, that would be a dream- but when would I do that? I have to work to take care of my family. Then when I get home from work, I have to take care of them.

Juanita perceives her situation in her past as well as present from preventing her from being able to attain any education.

Maria, a 65-year-old woman with an uncompleted primary education, working at the recycling center described the difficulty of changing her socioeconomic status. “Do you think I want to sort through trash all day, everyday? No, I do not. But what else do

⁶ During the time of this interview, Juanita was 32 years old.

I do? I need to support myself. I am an old woman. Why should I get an education at this age? What is the point? I just need to be able to survive and feed my family”.

The influence of family obligation is not just felt among the women with husbands and families; single women also feel the life altering consequences. During interviews with young women at INA and UTN, a common theme that was repeated was fear of getting married. As one student, Daniela said, “I do not want to get married. I am afraid that he would steal my freedom and restrict me from doing what I want”. Following this, I was curious as to what Daniela meant by “doing what I want”. She responded with, “I feel like a man could try to make me stay at home, when I want to be working. Men feel like they can control you. I do not want to be controlled. I also fear that there would not be equality”. Other students had the same concern. One girl, Sofia, said, “one day you may meet a man, and you feel like you love and understand each other. But then time goes on, and he ends up wanting you to stay at home and acts like you are just a status symbol. Men in Costa Rica do not want there to be gender equality in a marriage or at work. They want the power, and they like it that way. If I got married, I feel like I would not be able to pursue all the possibilities of my life”.

The young respondents see the perception of marriage roles and the expectations that come along with that. The idea is that once you commit to marriage and children, you lose the possibilities of certain opportunities. It is important to note, however, that this is true to the entire world, that marriage and children do alter the lifestyle of young, single woman. However, ideas of family obligation are correlated with the idea

of machismo and expected gender roles. Machismo can be seen as a perceived variable of limitation on socioeconomic opportunities.

Macho Culture as a Perceived Constraint

Machismo is defined as strong or aggressive male pride. Machismo can be a part of a culture, and may often be so innate that it can be difficult to identify and dissect how/where it takes place. This section displays some of the personal perspectives of machismo by Tica women.

A 22-year-old woman named Maria, at INA, shared her opinion on machismo. “At times I think it is not even machismo, it is the way we have been educated throughout our lives. It is the way that we are, all my brothers are machismo because my father is like that, and [he] raised them”. Other female students expressed a similar idea about machismo. Rose, a 24-year-old INA student said, “My great grandfather, my grandfather and my father are all very macho men”. Jennifer, a 26-year-old UTN student stated, “It is all about being taught against machismo, and choosing to not be a part of it”. Juanita had a more severe opinion due to personal family experience saying that, “It is important for me not to depend on a man like my mother, grandmother and great-grandmother that were disappointed or at times left by men”. It was also interesting to hear that legally and politically, there have been slow movements on domestic abuse laws. For example, one student named Olivia stated that, “Only in the last five years have there been changing consciousness about the physical abuse of women, and only in the last ten years have laws been enacted that make domestic abuse illegal”.

These may be realities for women. However, for women to have consciousness about what they want and be aware of possible inequalities start movements of growth and change. There are positive changes and Vicki stated that she can see that through her sister. “My sister is married, but both her and her husband work, share income and household chores and responsibilities. When she is cooking, he is taking care of the children. When she is doing laundry, he is cleaning. It is really amazing and inspires me to have that type of equality in a marriage”. Vicki sees a different type of reality that she wants to aspire towards in her own life. From personal experience, Tica’s aspire to be treated equally in relationship, jobs, and in society. Following, in the conclusion, I will discuss the implications of the research. The results will be laid out, as well as the meanings of this analysis and future suggestions based on the findings.

CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION: IMPLICATIONS AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Discussion

In summary, this research was interested in discovering the reality of women's socioeconomic status in Costa Rica, and relating that back to Sen's development as freedom theory. To fully understand the position of the respondents it was necessary to know their perceptions of freedom. Some of the questions held were; do women feel they face constraints in society for achieving educational and economic resources, and are these possible perceived constraints based in economic, social or political factors? Is there an emphasis on the perception of feeling equality and fairness? What potential factors could be contributing to perceptions of equality, fairness and accessibility? Furthermore, do these perceptions also influence the thoughts women have about job availability, and wage equality or in educational accessibility? What is the perceived worth in education, and an independent income to women in Costa Rica? Are the policies Costa Rica enacted to implement no gender discrimination and wage equality in the work place being perceived as successful?

The research predicted that the possible restrictions would be based in five factors: lack of opportunity, family obligation being, a female, lack of resources/education, or lack of contacts from preventing the women to fully access their potential and desired socioeconomic movement. The results of this research proved that constraints, restrictions, and limitations do exist for women in Costa Rica. This was manifested in multiple areas.

Although 89% of respondents reported their education as very important to them, only 39% of women perceived there being no restrictions to their education. This displays a problem. Why, if the vast majority report saying that education is so important to them, are only 40% able to get the type of education they want? What is the restriction? The restriction may be based in numerous factors. Education may not be fully accessible to them on a social or economic level. The reasons may also be based in other societal factors. Data indicated that neither education, marital status, age, nor region had an influence on the respondents' perception of equality, freedom and accessibility. This is important because it supports that these perceptions are *wide spread* beyond demographic factors. It exemplifies that these perceptions are extensive beyond location, generation, relationship, and educational and professional status. Due to the deep nature of perceptions and the widespread similarity among participants, it is clear that these impressions are established in the Central and 'Norte-Norte' regions. It will take *behavior* and *action* in increasing socioeconomic freedoms in job prospects and educational accessibility to change perceptions overtime.

Legally and technically, education up to a secondary level is 'supposed' to be free, available, and accessible to everyone in Costa Rica. Numerically, it is reported that Ticos/Ticas go to school for an average of thirteen years. This would indicate students would be completing secondary school, however data supports that there remains a large majority of respondents that only have a primary education. Lack of completing secondary education may be due to prior family obligations that were seen as limitations for women in both the quantitative and qualitative research. Embedded in

family obligation is economic constraint where women may not be able to complete an education because of the need to assist in financially providing for their families. Societal pressures create expectations, beliefs and ideas that mold the way people behave and respond may exist in Costa Rica. As discussed earlier, this was seen in the gender preference in jobs and unequal wages. Women perceive high inequality in job opportunities and wages. This was supported by interviews with women that expressed feeling societal separation between a man and a woman and the boundaries this generated and produced.

The research also expected to see that the level of education influenced the perceptions of participants. However, this proved to not be a factor. This indicates that it does not matter what the educational level of a respondent was, the perception did not shift. This may mean that the women's perceptions were engrained beyond the point of increased education [which typically means increased opportunities] however it does not make a difference and is not a factor in their perceptions. How do perceptions become that engrained? The societal environment in which a person is raised contributes to many of their belief systems. For example, if a Tica girl was raised in an environment where she became immersed and familiar with economic struggle, machismo, societal and gender roles – she could possibly build her perceptions around these factors.

Based on Sen's development as freedom and human development model, does Costa Rica stand up to the test? He writes of the importance of social and economic arrangements through freedoms and opportunities. These social and economic

arrangements are education, access to the market, decision-making power and labor availability, and the *opportunities* and *accessibility* to do so. Sen emphasizes that if women are prevented from the opportunity to participate fully, within their full capacity, then they are experiencing deprivations. The prevention of women to have the opportunities to fully participate was seen through the respondents. The lack of opportunities for employment for various reasons was a repeated concern of the women. The respondents reported to not experiencing full equality or freedom to pursue educational and occupational aspirations. Therefore, in accordance with Sen, the social and economic arrangements are not fully accessible, or available, for numerous reasons in Costa Rica. Whether or not these socioeconomic arrangements are actually available seems of little benefit when the perceptions and experiences of the respondents feel that there is a lack of opportunity and complete freedom, accessibility and equality.

Sen also writes of the importance of policies that do not restrict human capital development, through economic and social freedoms. Despite numerous policies focused around elimination of discrimination on women and wage equality, results show that these policies have not been successfully implemented. Overwhelmingly, the respondents did not feel that there was wage nor opportunity equality in the workplace. This is translated in many areas, including nepotism and lack of available leadership positions. The perceptions of wage equality, job accessibility and prospects are largely felt as being unequal to men. Moreover, the level of freedom and accessibility in economic spheres was diminutive, meaning that respondents do not feel full freedom

and accessibility. Therefore, for perceptions of socioeconomic fairness, equality, freedom, and accessibility to change - there needs to first be behavioral changes.

Professional women in Costa Rica are having the same concerns as women in developing or developed countries. Apart from being wives and mothers, many have taken on economic responsibilities. Yet, many families still delegate all the housework to women, which can be overwhelming and exhausting. Women's insertion into the workforce due to the rising cost of living worldwide continues to transform their roles, responsibilities and expectation. Constant changes prevent women from adapting and adjusting completely, leading to confusion and social ambiguity. Today, Costa Rica women continue to play roles of working professionals, wives and mothers.¹

Every society and culture has ideas and expectations about gender roles. Costa Rican women are at a crossroad between traditional and modern roles. In the past the gender roles in Costa Rica were much more stringent, and enforced limited behaviors. Costa Rica women may still be struggling with these expectations, but have chosen to react in a different manner. Women are taking action and speaking out against inequality. This can be done with multiple venues such as education, employment, voting, or choosing lifestyle paths that promote equality. These actions were seen mostly in the younger women that were interviewed. Seeing this was accomplished only through respondents' honesty and openness about their perceived socioeconomic status as women.

¹ "Costa Rica Women" 2013

The role of Costa Rica women, and their role in the developmental process is still evolving. There has been positive movement and growth in the involvement of women in the developmental process but it still needs realistic implementation. Women in Costa Rica are enjoying the developments that have taken place. There is much less of an emphasis on stereotypical gender roles, and macho attitudes. Culturally speaking women have been changing. Values dealing with marriage, education, family, employment and the power of machismo have changed drastically over the years. The overall perceptions for levels of gender equality and accessibility are being moderately met. There are still adjustments that need to be made, but how does perception change? Perceptions are deeper and more difficult to change than behaviors. If the *actions* of the state and its citizens can begin to *behave* in a manner that assists in the implementation and facilitation of alleviating gender inequalities it will provide increased accessibility and improved perceptions in socioeconomic spheres. It is an evolving process.

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APPENDICES



1/21/2014

Investigator(s): Gabrielle Thompson, Dr. Stephen Morris
Department: Political Science
Investigator(s) Email Address: gjt2b@mtmail.mtsu.edu; stephen.morris@mtsu.edu

Protocol Title: Opportunity in Development: Costa Rican's policy initiatives and path to women's socioeconomic accessibility

Protocol Number: #14-187

Dear Investigator(s),

Your study has been designated to be exempt. The exemption is pursuant to 45 CFR 46.101(b)(2) Educational Tests, Surveys, Interviews, or Observations. Please note that you may not begin your research until you have received official approval from the institutions identified in your exempt application. Please forward this approval on to the Office of Compliance.

We will contact you annually on the status of your project. If it is completed, we will close it out of our system. You do not need to complete a progress report and you will not need to complete a final report. It is important to note that your study is approved for the life of the project and does not have an expiration date.

The following changes must be reported to the Office of Compliance before they are initiated:

- Adding new subject population
- Adding a new investigator
- Adding new procedures (e.g., new survey; new questions to your survey)
- A change in funding source
- Any change that makes the study no longer eligible for exemption.

The following changes do not need to be reported to the Office of Compliance:

- Editorial or administrative revisions to the consent or other study documents
- Increasing or decreasing the number of subjects from your proposed population

If you encounter any serious unanticipated problems to participants, or if you have any questions as you conduct your research, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Sincerely,

Kellie Hilker
Compliance Officer
615-494-8918

APPENDIX B: Survey in English

1. **How do you feel about this statement:** There are many job opportunities for me in the work place.

- A. Strongly Agree
- B. Agree
- C. Don't know
- D. Disagree
- E. Strongly Disagree

2. **How do you feel about this statement:** I, as a woman, can operate freely and access all areas of the society.

- A. Strongly Agree
- B. Agree
- C. Don't know
- D. Disagree
- E. Strongly Disagree

3. To what extent do women, in the **same occupation as men**, get paid the same?

- A. The pay for a woman is higher
- B. The pay is the same
- C. The pay for a woman is slightly lower
- D. The pay for a woman is significantly lower

4. On a scale of 1-10 how much equality and fairness do you feel as a woman in Costa Rica?

<i>Very unfair</i>				<i>Moderately fair</i>				<i>Very fair</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
								10

5. Do you agree that women are treated equally when dealing with the government (courts, police, polices, laws)?

- A. Strongly Agree
- B. Agree
- C. Don't know
- D. Disagree
- E. Strongly Disagree

6. How many prospects/ opportunities for jobs do you have?

- A. Minimal prospects
- B. Average prospects
- C. High prospects

7. To what extent does electing President Laura Chinchilla of Costa Rica indicate that there is gender equality?

<i>Low extent of equality</i>			<i>Moderate extent of equality</i>				<i>High extent of equality</i>		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

8. Do you feel that women are able to get the job they most desire?

- A. Strongly Agree
- B. Agree
- C. Don't know
- D. Disagree
- E. Strongly Disagree

9. If you answered that you **do not agree** with the previous question, what is the reason?

- A. Lack of education/ training
- B. Because they are female
- C. Lack of contacts
- D. Family obligation
- E. They do not want/need to work

10. How important on a scale of 1-10 is it that you have your own income?

<i>Not important</i>			<i>Moderately important</i>				<i>Very important</i>		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

11. How do you feel about this statement: There is a pay scale in the Costa Rican work place depending on the gender of the individual.

- A. Strongly Agree
- B. Agree
- C. Don't know
- D. Disagree
- E. Strongly Disagree

12. On a scale of 1-10 how important is it to you that you have an education?

Not important

Moderately important

Very important

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

13. Are you able to receive the type of education you want without restrictions?

- A. Always
- B. Sometimes
- C. Never
- D. I do not know

14. How important is it to you that you feel equality and fairness in your society and culture?

Not important

Moderately important

Very important

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

15. Are you interested in the politics of Costa Rica?

- A. Yes, very much!
- B. Yes, but only slightly
- C. No
- D. I am not informed enough

16. How would you describe the country's economic situation?

- A. Very good
- B. Good
- C. Neither good nor bad (fair)
- D. Bad
- E. Very bad

17. And thinking about this city/area where you live, are you very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the condition of the streets, roads, and the quality of public schools?

- A. Very Satisfied
- B. Satisfied
- C. Dissatisfied

D. Very Dissatisfied

18. Some say that in general, men are better political leaders than women. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree?

- A. Strongly agree
- B. Agree
- C. Disagree
- D. Strongly disagree

19. How do you mainly spend your time? Are you currently:

- A. Working
- B. Not working, but have a job
- C. Actively looking for a job
- D. A student
- E. Taking care of the home
- F. Retired, a pensioner or permanently disabled to work
- G. Not working and not looking for a job

20. In this job are you:

- A. A salaried employee of the government or an independent state-owned enterprise?
- B. A salaried employee in the private sector?
- C. Owner or partner in a business
- D. Self-employed
- E. Unpaid worker

21. What, if any, are constraints for women?

- A. Family Obligations
- B. Being a female
- C. Few opportunities
- D. Limited education/training
- E. Other: _____

22. Did you vote in the last election?

- A. Yes
- B. No

23. How old are you?

- A. 18-20
- B. 20-25
- C. 25-30
- D. 30-40
- E. 40-50
- F. 50-60
- G. 60+

24. What is your marital status?

- A. Single
- B. Married
- C. Common Law Marriage
- D. Divorced
- E. Separated
- F. Widowed

25. Do you have children? If yes, how many?

- A. No
- B. 1
- C. 2
- D. 3
- E. 4 +

26. Who raised you?

- A. My mother and father
- B. My mother
- C. My father
- D. My parents and grandparents
- E. My grandparents
- F. Other

27. What is the highest education level of your parent(s)?

- A. Primary
- B. Secondary
- C. University- Bachelors

- D. Technical/ Training School
- E. Higher Education- Masters/PhD

28. Did/does your mother work outside of the home?

- A. Yes
- B. No

29. Did/ does your mother participate in any of these? Circle all the apply

- A. Church
- B. Supporting a political party
- C. Organizations
- D. Volunteering
- E. Community Action

30. Do you participate in any of these activities?

- A. Church
- B. Supporting a political party
- C. Organizations
- D. Volunteering
- E. Community Action

31. How many people live in your house?

- A. 1-2
- B. 2-4
- C. 4-6
- D. 6-10

32. How many rooms are in your house?

- A. 1-2
- B. 3-4
- C. 5-6
- D. 7+

33. What is your education level?

- A. Primary
- B. Secondary
- C. University

- D. Technical Training/School
- E. Masters/Ph.D

APPENDIX C: Survey in Spanish

1. ¿Qué piensas usted acerca de esta declaración? “Hay muchas oportunidades para mí en el lugar de trabajo.”
 - A. Totalmente de acuerdo
 - B. De acuerdo
 - C. No sé
 - D. En desacuerdo
 - E. En total desacuerdo

2. **¿Cuál es tú opinión sobre el siguiente?** “Como mujer, puedo actuar libremente y acceder a todos los ámbitos de la sociedad”
 - A. Totalmente de acuerdo
 - B. De acuerdo
 - C. No sé
 - D. En desacuerdo
 - E. En total desacuerdo

3. Según tú opinión ¿Reciben las mujeres un salario igual al de los hombres en la misma ocupación o por el mismo trabajo?
 - A. El salario para una mujer es más alto
 - B. El salario es el mismo
 - C. El salario para una mujer es ligeramente inferior
 - D. El salario para una mujer es significativamente menor

4. En una escala del 1-10 con 10 lo más justo y 1 el más injusto ¿Con cuánta igualdad y equidad se siente como una mujer en Costa Rica?

<i>Muy injusto</i>	<i>Moderadamente</i>	<i>Justo</i>
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		

5. ¿Estás de acuerdo o desacuerdo en que las mujeres son tratadas iguales por el gobierno (justicia, policía, política, leyes)?
 - A. Totalmente de acuerdo
 - B. De acuerdo
 - C. No sé
 - D. En desacuerdo
 - E. En total desacuerdo

6. ¿Cuáles son tus oportunidades o perspectivas de trabajo?
 - A. Mínimas

- B. Promedio
- C. Altas

7. ¿La elección de Laura Chinchilla como Presidente de Costa Rica indica que existe igualdad de géneros en el país?

	<i>Bajo</i>				<i>Moderado</i>				<i>Alto</i>	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

8. ¿Estás de acuerdo en que las mujeres pueden conseguir el trabajo que más desean?

- A. Totalmente de acuerdo
- B. De acuerdo
- C. No sé
- D. En desacuerdo
- E. En total desacuerdo

9. Si no está de acuerdo, indica cuales de las siguientes razones representa tu opinión del porqué:

- A. Falta de Educación/Formación
- B. Porque son mujeres
- C. Falta de contactos
- D. Obligación con la familia
- E. Ellas no quieren/no necesitan trabajar

10. En una escala de 1-10 en la cual 10 es muy importante y 1 no importante ¿Cuán importante es para usted tener tus propios ingresos?

<i>No es importante</i>				<i>Moderadamente importante</i>			<i>Muy importante</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 9 10

11. **Qué opinas acerca de ésta declaración:** “En los lugares de trabajo en Costa Rica, existe una escala de salarios según el sexo del individuo.”

- A. Totalmente de acuerdo
- B. De acuerdo
- C. No sé
- D. En desacuerdo
- E. Totalmente en desacuerdo

12. En una escala de 1-10 en la cual 10 es muy importante y 1 no importante ¿Cuán importante es para usted tener una educación?

<i>No es importante</i>			<i>Moderadamente importante</i>				<i>Muy importante</i>		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

13. ¿Es posible tener la educación que tú quieras sin restricciones?

- A. Siempre
- B. A veces
- C. Nunca
- D. No sé

14. En una escala igual de importancia ¿Qué tan importante es en tu opinión, la igualdad y la equidad en la sociedad y la cultura?

<i>No es importante</i>			<i>Moderadamente importante</i>				<i>Muy importante</i>		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

15. ¿Estás interesada en la política de Costa Rica?

- A. Sí, mucho
- B. Un poco
- C. Casi nada

16. ¿Cómo describirías la situación económica del país?

- A. Muy buena
- B. Buena
- C. Ni buena, ni mala (Justa)
- D. Mala
- E. Muy mala

17. Pensando en la ciudad o área donde vives, ¿Qué tan satisfecha estas sobre la condición de las calles, carreteras, y la calidad de las escuelas públicas?

- A. Muy satisfecha
- B. Satisfecha
- C. Insatisfecha
- D. Muy insatisfecha

18. Estás de acuerdo o desacuerdo que los hombres son mejores líderes políticos que las mujeres.

- A. Totalmente de acuerdo
- B. De acuerdo
- C. En desacuerdo
- D. Totalmente en desacuerdo

19. ¿Cómo dedicas tu tiempo actualmente?

- A. Trabajando
- B. Buscando activamente un trabajo
- C. Estudiante
- D. Ama de Casa
- E. Retirada, pensionada, o permanentemente incapacitada para trabajar
- F. No trabajo, y no estoy buscando trabajo

20. Trabajas como:

- A. Un empleado asalariado del gobierno o de una empresa estatal independiente
- B. Un empleado asalariado del sector privado
- C. Propietario o socio en un negocio
- D. No trabajo
- E. Trabajador no remunerado

21. ¿Si existen, cuál de las siguientes opciones considera limitante para la mujer?

- A. Obligación de familia
- B. Ser mujer
- C. Pocas oportunidades
- D. Poca educación o falta de entrenamiento
- E. Otras: _____.

22. ¿Votaste en la elección mas reciente?

- A. Sí
- B. No

23. ¿Qué edad tienes?

- A. 18-20
- B. 20-25
- C. 25-30
- D. 30-40
- E. 40-50
- F. 50-60
- G. 60+

24. ¿Cuál es tú estado civil?

- A. Soltera
- B. Casada
- C. Matrimonio de Derecho Común
- D. Divorciada
- E. Separada
- F. Viuda

25. ¿Tienes hijos? si tienes, ¿cuántos?

- A. No
- B. 1
- C. 2
- D. 3
- E. 4 +

26. ¿Quién te crió?

- A. Madre y Padre
- B. Madre
- C. Padre
- D. Padres y Abuelos
- E. Abuelos
- F. Otros

27. ¿Indica cuál es el nivel más alto de educación que recibieron tus padres?

- A. Primaria
- B. Secundaria
- C. Universidad
- D. Colegio Técnico/Capacitación
- E. Educación Superior- Máster/Doctorado

28. ¿Ha trabajado/trabaja tu Mamá fuera de la casa?

- A. Sí
- B. No

29. ¿Ha participado/participa tú Mamá en alguno de las siguientes organizaciones o actividades? Circula todos los que apliquen.

- A. Iglesia
- B. Apoyo a un Partido Político
- C. Alguna Organización

- D. Voluntariado
- E. Acción Comunitaria

30. ¿Participas tú en algunas de estas actividades o organizaciones?

- A. Iglesia
- B. Apoyo a un Partido Político
- C. Organizaciones
- D. Voluntariado
- E. Acción Comunitaria

31. ¿Cuántas personas viven en tu casa?

- A. 1-2
- B. 2-4
- C. 4-6
- D. 6-10

32. ¿Cuántos cuartos tiene tu casa?

- A. 1-2
- B. 3-4
- C. 5-6
- D. 7+

APPENDIX D: Pictures of Data Collection in Costa Rica

These pictures below show the region where data was collected:





Instituto Nacional de Aprendizaje:





Universidad Técnica Nacional:



A FEW FEMALE PARTICIPANTS:





Mr.Borquero and Mixto de Ayuda Social:





Hotel Aboral Grounds:



