Migration and the Lives of
Rural Women in Costa Rica

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The focus on this thesis is how migration affects rural women in two provinces of Costa Rica. Migration is a well studied phenomenon but here the focus is set on the backside of migration, what the migrants leave behind and how the society is changing along with the course of migration. When many women search their luck in the cities the women in the study have for different reasons stayed behind, reasons that are well connected with job opportunities, education and poverty. The effect of rural development and machismo is two issues that are well interlinked in the analysis.

Special thanks to:

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1. Introduction

Migration is both a well studied area and something that is very much talked about in the global world of today. People go from one side of the world to another and it is nothing strange with that, even though it was not that long ago when it took weeks or even months to travel that far. When I decided what to focus on in this thesis I reflected over these precise notions. Before people were able to migrate across the world in search for a better life they stayed or went to the neighbouring country. For some reason migration studies and media are nowadays more interested in international migration even if the majority of all migrants migrate within the same country they call home. If internal migration not is on top of the agenda neither is women and even less, in this context, are those women who do not migrate. For the same reason I got interested in investigate this myself and why not go to a country and see the affects with my own eyes. All these thoughts and ideas ended up in a Minor Field Study scholarship and the country I had decided for was Costa Rica.

The reasons behind why I chose Costa Rica are many. First of all I speak Spanish which for me was a necessity so that I could speak freely with everyone. Secondly I got a really good contact in CCP (Centro Centroamericano de Población) who work with these questions in Costa Rica. Moreover it is a peaceful country where it is both easy and secure to travel alone, even as a woman.

When people hear of Costa Rica many think of the beautiful nature and the well developed eco-tourism. This is of course a true picture of the country but it is not the complete. It turned out that I would see parts of the country I probably never would have gotten to if it was not for this field study and by doing that I realised that the Costa Rica behind the long stretched beaches and the lush forest is quite different. Not everyone is gaining from the tourism though. There are many areas that have problems with unemployment and other welfare issues. But what all areas have in common is that they all in some way or another are affected by migration which is the same for people. Migration is a concern for everyone in the society since it shapes not only the migrant but the whole society.

1.1 Aim

The purpose of this thesis is to look beyond the migration, to look into the life of the women who have remained in the countryside. How are women in the rural areas surviving in an oppressed position where job opportunities are scarce? Is there any difference in the situation women experience in the province of Guanacaste compared to the province of Limón?

I will also look into how neo-liberal politics have affected rural development. All is done with consideration to rural-urban migration which is the most common for women in whole Latin America. Even if I have decided to focus on non migrating women in the countryside the results of migration flows is of high value since it affects people in rural areas. The migration issue will therefore follow the discussion through out the thesis.

1.2 Delimitations

At the first glance the migratory situation women have to adapt to in Costa Rica may be considered to be a very extensive and exhaustive subject. For that reason and due to this thesis limited spam of pages some necessary delimitation had to be done. Therefore I concentrated on rural-urban migration and the situation of women in two specific provinces. In these provinces I chose to interview women only in the rural areas and not go into how it is for women in the urban areas, by doing that I made my aim even more specific.

1.3 Outline

Migration and women are two main components in this thesis; they are therefore integrated in all aspects of this thesis. Along with these two parallel focal points I will go into issues connected with the purpose of the thesis. First I will give a short presentation of Costa Rica's political history and a brief presentation of the two provinces I have chosen to study and compare, Guanacaste and Limón. Thereafter I will continue with a theoretical chapter that brings up the two main issues of my

thesis, migration and gender. In this chapter the reader will be introduced to both the situation of women in Latin America and the reasons behind migration as well as behind immobility. In the following chapter I will narrow my focus geographically and go further into rural-urban migration and rural development in Costa Rica. Finally I will concentrate on the local aspects of women's situation in the provinces of Guanacaste and Limón which is based on my own findings and relate that to previous theoretical discussions.

1.4 Method

Before I present my own method of conducting a field study I will briefly go through the process of carrying out a field study.

Field studies have for a long time been a crucial part of ethnographical case studies and the experiences and the collective material from the field has always been vital for the final analyses in cultural theories. Even if it is anthropological studies that is most known for its field studies many other sciences are today valuing field studies as the most important source of knowledge about society and culture (Hylland Eriksen 1995:14).

For many years the most common way of conducting a research was from a desk in a room at some western University but in the 1960s and 1970s the anthropological and ethnological researchers wanted a change. They followed the method of the early anthropological researchers; they spend several years in the field to fully grasp and understand the context he or she was in and to collect enough material to transfer the cultural knowledge they had gained into words. This way of method is now known as "participant observation" (Ehn & Löfgren 1996:114). The personal meeting between the researcher and the informant was and is today regarded as the key element in the line of cultural science.

The method of field studies can be explained as a contextual- and situational bound approach towards science. In other words a form of research where knowledge is gathered through communication within a specific context or situation bound to time.

We also have to acknowledge the relativistic aspects of cultural and social sciences apposed to the absolutistic characteristics of technical science. It is necessary to recognize that a statement of reality, which cultural and social analysis is based on, in turn often is an answer to a question, addressed according to specific reasons and presumptions. Of course this varies from person to person, group to group or society to society (Kjørup 1999:25). A social or cultural field study have to be conducted in acknowledge to this. Furthermore; field studies adapted to the assumption that knowledge derives from an open discussion suits the statement that knowledge is a highly social and cultural phenomenon (ibid.).

Knowledge however does not solemnly come from social and cultural communication and interaction. The very premises for one's research will also influence or affect the research and its result. Apart from the context or the situation from which knowledge is collected, time, funding and the allowed span of pages all delimit the result. Not necessarily in a bad way but it puts up limits towards the quantity and quality of your research. A qualitative or a quantitative study may come to different types of answers and conclusions, but neither has to be more categorically wrong or right than the other. No matter what field, the researchers have always the same goal; to investigate a question or a phenomenon to which one does not yet know the answer. The goal is the same but depending on the field different methods of reaching that goal are used.

The main necessity in a field study consists of trying to participate in local life as much as possible. But there are also other forms of interacting and communicating apart from the concept of participant observation that present themselves for the researcher within the method of field study. Depending on the situation one may chose to do structured interviews, semi-structured or collect statistical samples (Hylland Eriksen 1995:15). Consequently the researcher in the field has to find out which of these methods that serves best, depending on the situation and the interaction.

Now that we have some basic knowledge about the principals of carrying out a field study in a cultural or social science I will continue with how I conducted my field study.

I started my studies in the field at a centre of population studies, Centro de Centroamericano de Población CCP, connected to the University of Costa Rica in San José, the capital of Costa Rica. This would become my base of research. Before going out in the field I made necessary contacts with people and planned how I would divide my time of research. Since I have chosen to compare data collected from two provinces I needed divide my time between the two different regions. CCP continued to be my waterhole in between my travels to the different places which turned out to be perfect for my research. Not only because San José geographically lies in between the two provinces but also because I there could summarize what I had found out so far and gather my thoughts for my next field excursion. In San José I also had good opportunities to look into locally written material and statistics that helped me with my research.

Professor Jorge Barquero was my formal contact and tutor in field and I am more than grateful for all the help I got from him and the rest of the personal at the centre. Except for all help I got at CCP I made good contacts with and got excellent help from Gaudenz Pfranger who at the time worked for the NGO Cedeco (Corporación Educativa para el Desarollo Costaricense) and from Professor Asdrúbal Alvarado who taught Rural Social Science at the University of Costa Rica. Thanks to them I got in touch with several women groups that they through their work had come in contact with. I know that there always can be a certain risk that the contact's own interest can affect the result but none of my contacts attended my interviews and none of the groups had monetary interest in my contact. I have though taken the risk into account when analysing my material.

At two occasions I also got the opportunity to go on excursions with two school classes and visited a pineapple plantation, an enormous fish farm, a sugar factory and saw the results of a large irrigation project called El Proyecto De Riego Arenal Tempisque. During these excursions I not only learned about these industries and factories but also saw how they functioned in the rural society which gave me a broader perspective of rural life in Costa Rica.

I used the conventional methods of participant observation and semi-structured interviews during my time in field. I did not use pre written questions during my interviews, which can hinder the person being interview from thinking freely instead I used different themes that I let my informants reflect over. These themes covered migration, work opportunities, family structure, environment, education and machismo. I soon found out though that I had to adapt my methods of interviewing, depending on the situation. I therefore varied between using a tape recorder or only taking notes, some times it was easier to skip the tape recorder and in that way get a more informal setting which was more comfortable for some of the women. I also varied between single- and group interviews. Sometimes it was preferable to talk with a group of women as they had each other as comfort and were then able to talk more freely. The interviews were conducted both in the province of Limón (in Batán, Guácimo and Siquirres) and the province of Guanacaste (Santa Cruz, Nicoya and Bagatzí). In Limón I interviewed 18 women and in Guanacaste I interviewed 17 women. The verbal material has then been used in comparison with written material on the subject and since I only interviewed women I have taken into account that the information that has been given me is from one side only when analysing my data.

I did not have any problems travelling around on my own as a woman but being a white woman and talking with people does of course have an effect on the results. This is something that I have taken into account.

I found participant observations very useful as a complement to my interviews. To see how women lived in the different rural areas, what the work could be like, how the interaction was between women and between women and men and how populated or depopulated the areas were gave me together with the interviews a more holistic view of my studied subject.2. Costa Rica

Costa Rica is with its population of nearly 4, 4 million people the second least inhabited country in Central America. The capital, San José, holds more than 330 000 inhabitants.

Costa Rica has common borders with Panama in the south and Nicaragua in the north. Especially Nicaragua plays a great role in many ways in the Costa Rican society. During the civil war in Nicaragua many refugees fled into Costa Rica in search for help. Even today after the war the economical situation is very difficult for many

Nicaraguans and many are therefore still migrating to Costa Rica in search for job and a better living.

For many years Costa Rica had a fairly low unemployment rate. In 1992 the total unemployment rate was as low as 4,1 %, for men the rate was even lower 3,5 % and for women slightly higher 5,4 %. Today unfortunately those numbers are not as promising, especially not for women. In 2005 the total unemployment rate was 6,6 %, for women 9,6 % and for men 5,0 %. If we take a closer look we can distinguish big differences between rural and urban areas. In the rural areas women have a higher unemployment rate than in the cities and it is the other way around for men. In the rural areas as many as 11,1 % of the women do not have an employment compared to 8,8 % in the cities and for men 4,1 % are without a job in rural areas compared to 5,6 % in the cities. The age group that has most difficulties in finding employment is the age group between 18-24, for women as many as 19,5 % are without a job and 10,4 % of the men are in the same situation. The answer to why the total unemployment rate has increased so much through the years is because the amount of employments have not increased in the same pace as the increase of the total population (GPN 2004:3 and INEC 2005:3, 8). There are reasons to why there exist such differences between sexes and rural and urban areas, reasons that will be discussed later on.

2.1 Historical background of the political situation

I will briefly go through some of the contemporary events as an introduction to the chosen country. The first democratic elections in Costa Rica were held in 1889 and have been in effect since then apart from a few lapses, one in 1917 when the minister of war formed a dictatorship that lasted for two years. Twenty years later the country reached a period marked by many turning points. In 1940 Rafael Angel Calderón Guardia became president. Unlike many of the neighbouring countries where dictators ruled, Calderón propagated several farsighted reforms. These reforms were intended to better the situation for the workers with for example the right to organize, minimum wages, and social security. This was clearly not liked by the upper class and when Calderón's partner Teodoro Picado won the supposedly fraudulent election in 1944 the country was clearly polarized. In 1948 Calderón ones again ran for the

presidential post but lost to Otilio Ulate, a loss that Calderón did not accept and claimed fraud. This became the start of a civil war. After several weeks of warfare and more than 2000 dead people, most of them civilians, a man named José Figueres Ferrer "Don Pepe" managed to end the violence as the head of the revolutionary junta. He became a national hero because of all the socially benefiting reforms that he implemented. He introduced the suffrage for women and Afro-Costa Ricans, who also got full citizenship, established a presidential term limit as well as a neutral electoral tribunal that should oversee future elections. But the most astonishing was the dissolution of the armed forces. Costa Rica is one of the few countries in the world that does not have an army. In 1949 he handed back the presidency to Otilio Ulate.

Later Figueres founded the Partido de Liberacion Nacional (PLN), a party that became known for its support of state-sponsored development and reforms. The social and economic progress from the 1950s and forward has helped the country reach stability and up to 1980 the country was a well developed welfare state. Unfortunately it did not last and 1980 was the year when the bubble burst and all of the sudden Costa Rica was struggling with a severe economic crisis, much because of the Structural Adjustment Programs. The result was towering oil bills and increased social welfare costs, falling coffee- banana- and sugar prices. To override the economic crisis the government diminished the state influence through a model of neo-liberal development. The disruptions in the trade with Nicaragua, caused by their civil war waged by United States, did not make the situation better. In 1986 Oscar Arias Sanchez was elected as president. He became famous of the peace work he did for the Central American countries. Only a year after he came to power he had succeeded in getting a Central American peace plan signed by all five Central American presidents. This achievement gave him the 1987 Nobel Peace Prize. In the 2006 election Oscar Arias Sanchez once again won the presidency in a tight election where his opponent Ottón Solís lost with a small margin.

Costa Rica has a good reputation of being one of the most stable, prosperous, and least corrupt Latin American countries with good eco-tourism and social welfare. But in the fall of 2004, the same period as I did my field work, three former presidents, Jose Maria Figueres Olsen, Miguel Angel Rodríguez, and Rafael Angel Calderon, were charged for corruption and two of them were put in jail. The continuation of the

privatization of state-run institutions and the politics of neo-liberalism that now is the priority of the government have parted the country in two, those who believe it is a threat to downsize the moderate socialism that has characterized most governments since the 1948 and those who believe privatization leads to a more open market that will benefit the industry. The Central American Free Trade Treaty (CAFTA) is another reason for the inner battles that are fought in the country. CAFTA is a treaty between United States and five Central American countries (Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica) and lately also The Dominican Republic is included. The treaty came to pass because the involved governments wanted the trade between the countries to be unhindered by each country's tariffs. Ottó Solís is a strong opponent and he and many of the Costa Rican farmers are afraid that CAFTA will increase poverty in Central America because farmers and industrial workers will be displaced, which will increase the cost of health care (Vaughan 2005:15-16). Additionally Solís thinks that the lowered trade barriers will cause a flood of cheap food products from the United States to come in and this will hurt the internal market for small-scale farmers (Abrams 2005).

Except for the disparate opinions whether CAFTA is good or bad for the local farmers and industrial workers many are also worried about the worsening situation for many women regarding opportunities to study and work. In only one year has the unemployment rate for women in Costa Rica increased with 1,1 %; from 8,5 % in 2004 to 9,6 % in 2005, the unemployment rate for men decreased with 0,4 % from 5,4 % in 2004 to 5,0 % in 2005 (INEC 2005: 3). The expression "feminization of poverty" that has become a widely used phrase, globally, is referring to this precise situation (Pérez & Pichardo 1995: 41).

The international political sphere has for an extended period been characterized by the masculinity in the culture and the different extent of female exclusion, depending on the country. Even if number of female parliamentarians in Costa Rica is higher than compared to most of its neighbouring countries (in 2003 only Nicaragua had a higher number) it still is far from equally dived between men and women. In 2003 19,3 % of the parliamentarians were females compared to 9,9 % in Panama and 42,7 % in Sweden (Internet 2).

2.2 Guanacaste and Limón

Costa Rica has seven provinces and out of these I have chosen to study two and I will now make a short presentation of the two provinces, Guanacaste and Limón. They differ vastly in many ways and I will here show some of the obvious differences while I in the end of this thesis will more thoroughly go through the differences I have found out along my research.

Guanacaste is located in the north-west part of the country along the pacific coast and is the province with least amounts of inhabitants, 246.468 people (for numbers of inhabitants in all provinces see table 1). The climate is most of the year very hot and dry except for a few months when it is raining. Due to the dry climate the land is only suitable for some kinds of crops. Rice and sugarcane can both grow under these circumstances and you will therefore find the majority of the countries rice and sugarcane production here. This region has for a long time also been significant for its cattle breeding and much of the land is thus pasture-land. In recent years, as the tourism has grown into a big industry, a variety of hotels and restaurants can be found

a long the coast line. Even so many people leave this area in search for better living elsewhere. The reasons are many and very individual but some features are general and will be discussed further on.

The province of Limón is located on the opposite side of the country, along the Atlantic coast. It has a total of 309.247 inhabitants which is the second least populated province. In many ways Limón is the exact opposite of Guanacaste. The climate is very humid with much rainfall nearly every month of the year. The crops are therefore also different than in Guanacaste. The climate in Limón is better suited for banana and pineapple cultivation which is widely spread in the region. Most of the region's job opportunities are also found in this field.

The population in the Pacific area increased vastly in the late 19th century as a large quantity of immigrant labour from Jamaica came to work on the banana plantations and to build railroads. This is quite evident today as almost 75 % of the Afro-Costa Ricans live in the province of Limón. The Afro-Costa Ricans constitutes 1,9 % of the country's total population. It was not until the constitution of 1949, thanks to José Figueres Ferrer, that the Afro-Costa Ricans got the same rights as the rest of the population, before that they were not even allowed to leave the coast to enter the highlands. Limón is also domicile to almost half of the country's indigenous population. Today are only 1,7 % of the country's total population indigenous people. 10 years ago a new road was built from San José to Puerto de Limón, the capital of the province, which opened up the two regions and helped the transportation of especially goods but also people.

3. Theoretical Approaches of Gender Issues and Internal Migration

In this chapter I will present the theoretical approaches that I have chosen for this thesis.

I have decided to put my two focuses, gender and migration, together to demonstrate their common linkages and how it is shown in the society. I will start out with discussing the female development in Latin America.

3.1 Female Development

It is of common knowledge that women historically have been shut out of the public sphere and discriminated in the sense that they have not got the opportunity to develop their civil and democratic rights. Even today when these goals are reached in many societies, at least in theory, it is still a mere vision for many women. There are no excuses nor arguments in modern democracy that allow discrimination of women since it would hinder the development of all humans as one part of the society gets excluded. Nevertheless it has taken a long time and much struggle for this to win ground (Puñal 2001:115).

In today's society there are strong forces that are striving for an unlimited growth through science and technology but most of the time this kind of growth is on the expenses of human development. Maria Mies argues in her article "World Economy, Patriarchy, and Accumulation" that unlimited growth can not be accomplished in a limited world unless there is also some form of regression (Mies 1998:38). Whenever you have a lucky winner you will always find a looser behind the curtains. In other words development can no longer be seen as an evolutionary and linear movement but rather be recognized as a polarizing process in a dualistic worldview. Since we are living in a patriarchal world and that the process of growth is based on the continuance of this order it is women who predominantly are the victims (Mies 1998:38). With the preservation of this world-order come fixed roles and statuses that are applied to both men and women.

"Statuses and roles are not in general attributes of the actors but are units of the social system" (Talcott Parsons in Stromquist 1998:3)

This quote by Talcott Parsons shows that statuses and roles are not something that is created by individuals, but taken from a specific society and its social norms. This is important to remember when digging deeper into the lives of women and how it is intertwined with issues as sexual relations with men, child care, household duties, work, the use/ non-use of contraceptives, feminism and patriarchy.

Women in most societies struggle with the expectations people have in their surroundings. The female stereotype is supposed to be soft, sweet, caring, obedient and more emotional than their counterpart whose characteristics are expected to be dominant, intellectual, planner and strong (Stromquist 1998:4). This has serious implications for women even outside the domestic area since these characteristics are hard to get rid off. Industries such as textiles, garments and electronics put high value in persons with attention for details and patience which is believed to be found in women. Since women normally are not seen as the provider of the household their wages are often very low and their employment and work conditions are unstable and often poor, which make it to difficult situation (Stromquist 1998:5). This concerns even women in the rural areas where industries are few. In the province of Limón banana and pineapple plantations are as mentioned before very common and the working conditions there are the same if not worse because of the physical load. Bad working conditions, oppression at home and political exclusion have led many women to protest in various forms.

In an UN Press Release from 2003 the Committee on Elimination of Discrimination against Women put pressure on the government of Costa Rica so that they will ensure the practical implementation of the country's legislation of the advancement of women. In this way defeat both the discriminatory patterns and the opposition from conservative groups of the society. Even though they have enacted the law to promote social equality of women and the law on responsible paternity the Committee underlined that women are still facing very serious problems. Some of the remaining challenges are the equality in salaries and jobs, improvement of the work environment and a change in the situation for the indigenous women. The Committee also wanted the government to measure eventual negative impacts of the free trade treaty, which has been severely criticised (Internet 4).

With the growth of industrialization many modernisation theorists argued that the opportunities for women would increase as would the social mobility and their roles would be more flexible. Tessa Cubitt is, however, not convinced. She argues that industrial capitalism rather puts women in the margin of the economy and for women in developing countries it is even worse since these countries already are located in the periphery of the global economy. Jobs that previously were done in the home, as

for example handicraft, are with the progress of industrialisation placed out of the home which makes it more difficult for women to participate as women, according to some people, are thought as unsuitable for mechanical industry (Cubitt 1995:117-118).

Silvia Federici is of the same understanding as Mies and Cubitt, with capitalism a new global economy arrives that is unsustainable because of the aggravation of the global poverty and the creation of a colonial order that deepens the divisions among women (Federici 1999:48). She argues that the global economy and the new international division of labour, which usually is identified with the formation of Free Trade Zones, destroy every mode of production that is not market oriented, and the first one to be wiped out is the subsistence farming. Many women are forced to work under slavery-like conditions in Free Trade Zones or at plantations owned by multinational companies, if they have a job at all. The result is a working class deprived of any means of reproduction and therefore constrained to depend on monetary relations though many do not even have any access to monetary income (ibid. 52-53). The new international division of labour together with the dept crisis and Structural Adjustment Programmes have led to the loss of income and means of reproduction for millions of people which has forced them to depend and compete on the international labour market. Even the social reproduction suffers from this development as the state does not invest in the reproduction of the national proletariat (ibid. 53-54).

Education is also very important as it plays a major role in the enhancement of the female status. By improving their knowledge they automatically better their self-esteem and can therefore be able to influence fixed behaviours and attitudes with new ideas. With this development comes greater independence from the traditional authority and their social status boosts (Jejeebhoy 1995:36). Another potential outcome of education for women is higher independence and participation in family decisions. Uneducated women are often not permitted to make a decision of their own compared with educated women who more often are confident enough to take part and make their voices heard (ibid. 41). This is of great importance for how women are seen and treated in the society. To prevent future generations from ending up in the same roles it is important that the children learn how important education is and how much it can change ones life. At the same time women must be able to make their

voices heard if the patriarchal society together with the machismo is going to change (ibid. 37).

3.2 Machismo

Machismo is a well spread conception in many Latin American societies and is in many ways similar to patriarchy but there are some important disparities. According to Violeta Sara-Lafosse the main divergence lays in whether the man takes his responsibility for the children he begets from a woman or not. The average patriarch takes his responsibility when the man in a macho environment shows no interest in the children nor considers them as his offspring (Sara-Lafosse 1998:107).

The term machismo derives from the Spanish word macho, meaning male. The roots to the phenomena is also to be found in and around Spain. Historically the terms honour and shame were associated with manliness in cultures of southern Europe. Nowadays this type of behaviour has declined in these cultures while the manners have gone even further in Latin America. Here the macho man must be fearless, show sexual skills, father many children and have control over any female relations (Cubitt 1995:111). It is not only the man who must live up to a certain behaviour there is a female counterpart called marianismo which originates from Virgin Mary. The expected female role is submissive and the ideal woman is gentle, long-suffering, loving and shall give in for the demands of any men (ibid. 111). This is not only some men's desire many women live up to this behaviour and also except the "macho man's" way of life. Important to remember is that even though these stereotypes are widely spread many men and women do not think it is the right way to act.

Cubitt mentions one realm where the woman does have the power and that is when it comes to family business. Women are said to have spiritual strength and moral superiority and is therefore the centre of the family and responsible for keeping its members together (Cubitt 1995:111). In many cases this is not easy since there are many mothers whose children have unknown fathers and therefore does not receive financial aid from the fathers. As said before this is a big problem and concerns many women in Cost Rica. Monica Budowski and Luis Rosero-Bixby have written a paper

called "Fatherless Costa Rica: Child Acknowledgement and Support among Lone Mothers". The study concerns women who bring up their children on their own and how it affects them and the society both on a macro level and on an individual level. From 1960 to 1998 the proportion of non-marital births went from 23% to 49% and the proportion of births from an unknown father went from 20% in 1985 to 28% in 1998. There is an apparent connection to the increase in teenage pregnancies especially among girls, younger than 15 years old (Budowski & Rosero-Bixby 2003:229,237).

To get a better perception of the situation the two authors combines and evaluates the dominating discourses with statistical and qualitative information. The first discourse is the *conservative and- catholic discourse* which basically has the same opinion on sexual morality as the Catholic Church. Since pre-marital intercourse, contraception and abortion is forbidden it is highly shameful when an unmarried woman gets pregnant. It is even worse if the father is unknown because then the good morality can not be re-established. According to this discourse it is the two-parent patriarchal family that is the only possible unit. This is also the most esteemed family unit for the *liberal discourse*. But in this view it is the men who are the irresponsible ones and the lone women are seen as victims and a social problem for society as are their unacknowledged children. Another view that differs from the first two is the *feminist discourse*. Here the gender-specific division of labour is criticized as are the irresponsible fathers and the domestic violence and aggression many women are exposed to. Though they may be victims they are also individuals capable of deciding for themselves whether they want to share the responsibility with the father or not. Last we have the *poverty and welfare discourse* that concentrates on the elimination of poverty. Many of the female-headed households are more easily disposed to poverty than other families, one reason is the lack of child support if they have unacknowledged children. All discourses lead to different ways of handling the situation as their outlook varies, from being a moral issue to a human right issue (Budowski & Rosero-Bixby 2003: 231-233).

More than half of the interviewed women in Budowski's and Rosero-Bixby's study claimed that it was due to active or passive neglect of responsibilities by the fathers of their child that the paternity was not established. One of the reasons to why so many

experience this is because of the rise in the number of non-married women (ibid. 247). For me it is quite evident that the Catholic Church plays a major role here. If fathers take more responsibility when they are in a married relationship than in a non-married relationship, indicates that the church has a rather large influence in people's lives. It still is more accepted to have children after marriage. Important to mention is that not all women in their study wanted legal acknowledgement and some did not want legal child support. Most women that officially claim for child support are well educated. Much of these issues are handled differently, depending on existing values and norms in the specific socio-cultural environment the women are situated in. Another factor that affects the outcome is the registration system that the authors find gender biased because unmarried women's statement are not enough for the civil registry to identify the father.

Nevertheless there is much that can be done to improve the situation for these women. Some of the future goals that the authors put forward are:

- Identification and elimination of gender bias in the prevalent legal and registration system
- Rethinking the premises of the prevalent legal system (replacing the traditional view of the family, change in gender role images and division of labour…)
- Reconsideration of the legislation of birth control measures
- Considering making child support a public issue
- Promoting gender equity and citizenship

With the law already changed it would be easier to change fixed views of roles and families. By improving the sexual education in school for both girls and boys and elevating women's self-esteem we might be close to the elimination of sexual stereotypes. It is important to have this background so we can understand the lives of many women in Costa Rica and what they have to fight as women, both as wives and mothers, stuck in a stereotypic role in a macho world.

Another well known observable fact that also is affecting people's lives in many ways is migration. I will now go further into the migration that occurs within a country namely; internal migration.

3.3 Internal Migration

Even if my main purpose in this thesis not is the migrants themselves but the lives of rural women and how they are affected by migration and it is still of importance to briefly mention some of the most common approaches in the migration theories.

Migration is usually defined spatially and when talking about migration most people think of people crossing a border but in this thesis I will concentrate on internal migration. When classifying internal migration you usually talk about four migration patterns: rural-urban, urban-rural, rural-rural and urban-urban. I will mostly refer to rural-urban migration, which also is the most common migration flow, especially for women who tend to move from rural areas into the cities in search for jobs. A common migration route for men is from one rural area to another rural area, many men move around depending on what season it is and where there are work opportunities. Most Latin American cities have experienced this form of movement in greater or lesser extent. The so-called urbanization has created both possibilities and problems for the people in many cities. Therefore there are many different opinions whether urbanization has a positive or a negative impact on the rural as well as the urban development. The relation between rural-urban migration and rural development will be discussed further on in the thesis**.**

When talking about time and mobility it becomes harder to draw a line. There is a constant movement of people and migration is just one form of time-space mobility. The hard thing is to know when to define a migrant. Many people leave their homes temporarily some to get a job as seasonal worker, a phenomenon that can be referred to as circulation (Boyle, Halfacree & Robinson 1998: 35), others to visit family for undefined time and some to return back to their birth place. The movement of people is therefore divided between; temporary-, permanently and seasonally migration.

Most often theories concern why people migrate and how far they move but also the duration and direction of the movement. The very well known push-pull theory tries to explain the underlying reasons to why people move by analysing if it is push-factors in the community of origin or pull-factors in the community of destination that makes the person change residence (Mabogunje 1996:43). The most studied and also the most dominant type of migration is the permanent labour migration from rural to urban areas. Most of the mainstream models used for this kind of migration include the same approaches. First we have the *neo-classical approach* where the migration is regarded as a rational individual response to wage-rate differentials. The *structuralist/ Marxian approach* is also common, here the focus lies on migration driven by spatial redistribution of economic activity and finally we have the *structuration approach* which wants to capture the balance between structural constraints and microsocial perspectives (Gwynne & Kay 1999:242). The three approaches represent the micro-, macro- and mesolevel, where the last one sees the domestic unit as an analytic instance. Skeldon prefers the above mentioned structuration approach where there is a balancing act between the behaviour of the individual and the society. When a more specific explanation is needed he emphasises that the weight between the two parts can vary (Skeldon 1990:126).

Skeldon refers in his book *"Population Mobility in Developing Countries"* to some of the works of Michael P. Todaro in his analysis of rural-urban migration. Already in the 1960s Todaro brought the individual and the behaviour of the family into the modelling of migration, especially in the developing world. According to him these aspects and the fact that the individual is able of rational thinking were disregarded in previous economical models. He chose to explain it through an apparent paradox: "the continued migration from rural to urban areas despite the persistence of high levels of unemployment in these urban areas" (Skeldon 1990:128). According to Todaro the reason is that the migrant, as a decision maker, considers the labour-market, in the rural area as well as the urban area, and thereafter bearing in mind the expected profits chooses to migrate were the profit believes to be highest (ibid. 128). In this way the supply and demand in the urban and the rural labour market will have an influence on the rural-urban migration pattern. This form of migration can also be called speculative migration and not everyone is of the same view as Todaro. Flowerdew argues that this type of migration is rare (Boyle, Halfacree & Robinson 1998: 38).

Todaro is one of few researchers that put his words into practice. He disliked the governments program that had as a goal creating more jobs only to be able to handle the great migration wave from the rural areas. Todaro was of the opinion that these programs would lead to more immigrants in the cities and undermine the problem with high unemployment. He thought that it would be better to invest in rural development (Skeldon 1990: 129). Why then are so many moving to the cities even if the unemployment there is so high? It could be because of the fact that the information of the situation in the city that reaches the people in the rural areas is very selective and far from the whole truth (Skeldon 1997:22).

Akin L. Mabogunje presents in his paper "System Approach to a Theory of Rural-Urban Migration" a General System Theory to better understand the dynamics and spatial impacts of the spatial process that represents the migration phenomenon. This system is sensitive to all different pieces that affect both the migrant her/himself and the society which this person lives in. This approach is based upon a complex of variables that needs to be recognized as a system, holding certain assets. These assets are common to many other systems and are in that way easier for everyone to grasp. The system is supposed to help us reveal the set of interconnected effects that comes out of the rural-urban migration. The General System Theory also provides a conceptual framework where questions regarding other structures can be asked and therefore facilitates the understanding of the studied phenomenon. Old problems can now be solved through new relations, relations that had not been approved before. Different divergences can now be explained as the system serves as a normative model. This thanks to the special attraction the system holds namely that it emphasises rural-urban migration as a circular and continuous process that occurs in all countries all the time but at different levels of complexity (Mabogunje 1996: 44,58).

Rather than describing the phenomena of rural-urban migration as a linear, push-and-pull movement Mabogunje sees it as a "circular, interdependent, progressively complex, and self-modifying system" which means that the effect of this particular movement has an impact on the whole system. This view of rural-urban migration shows it as a continuous process that affects most countries but in different ways depending on the situation of the country (Mabogunje 1970: 16/58). If you look into

one specific country this dynamic process is explained by the migratory movement in all the corners of the country. Immigration towards one area leads to emigration from the same area towards another part of the country, altogether this mobility creates interplay among the various origins and destinations (Chacón Salazar 2003:67). Still you can not push it too far, the words of K. Boulding are significant when Mabogunje wants to point out that there is a limit to which the system can adjust to these structural changes, "growth creates form; but form limits growth" (Mabogunje 1970: 16/58).

3.4 The decision to stay or go

After decades of research in migration theories many are still puzzled by why there are so few migrants in the world when there are so many potential migrants; people who neither are rich nor so poor that they can not find an economical way out. As mentioned earlier people from developing countries tend to stay within the borders of their own country or possibly migrate to another developing country, often the closest located. With 19% international migrants, most of them Nicaraguans, Costa Rica has more international migrants than both Germany and USA who have 8 % respective 9 % foreign-born persons (Faist 2000:5-6).

The reason to why people move is for Mabogunje connected with the different individual responses to the stimulation both from the environment and from the system within. The amount of future migrants depends on how much rural activities are integrated into the national economy. If the activities are well integrated, the awareness of the possible opportunities in the city is broad and the social-economical expectations of the rural populations are high, therefore the outcome of rural-urban migration will most certainly also be high (Mabogunje 1996: 53).

When discussing why people move most of the explanations concentrate on changes in environmental macro-factors of specific geo-political areas such as countries, regions and locations. It is these changes that make people consider moving and it can therefore be said that they cause migration. The shape of the differences is everything but one handed, the differences can vary from being of economic, social, cultural,

political or/and geo-ecological matter (Fischer, Martin, Straubhaar, 1997: 49). According to economic theory capital, trade and labour flows are central components when it comes to alter the development of wealth being. Situations of temporary disequilibria give people the chance to benefit from the disequilibrium profits that is found in the local market (such as differing interest rates, production costs, investment returns or labour compensation) by either migrating to or making business with areas where the opportunities for job or business are higher. Migration is therefore seen as a good thing in the way that it decreases the inequalities and enhances the total welfare (ibid. 73). According to the referred authors the individuals (micro-level) compare the environmental differences in the market (macro-level) at the specific places before deciding to move (ibid. 49). I on the other hand am sceptic whether people actually do a detailed economical calculation before they migrate. Many times it can be very difficult to find the necessary information needed to get a complete view over pros and cons and many migrants also move because of reasons other than economic.

Apart from the macro-level that demonstrate the global/national structures and the micro-level that concentrate on individual experiences there is the so called meso-level that includes family, household, community and other groups that are tied together in social relations (Faist 1997:188). This level is very important to include in the decision making process and can be seen as a bridge between individuals and the society. It is very seldom that the decision to migrate or not is taken by a single individual; usually it is a family decision. Even if much of the migration consists of individuals the decision to migrate is often a family strategy, a way to secure the viability of the rural household (Gilbert & Gugler 1992:69). As Gwynne and Kay explain it:

The "... 'household strategies approach' views the organization of household livelihood and reproduction as central in structuring mobility, within which issues of power, ideology, and identity differentiated by gender, age, marital status and so on are critical." (Gwynne & Kay 1999:242)

This form of household strategy makes it easier to view migration from a more holistic perspective where not only employment reasons are counted. It is important to realize that economic reasons to migrate are most definite interconnected with social,

family and cultural considerations. Many talk about how one can improve one's living standards by moving to places where the possibilities to get that are higher. On the other hand there are persons who emphasize the value of immobility which now will be presented.

3.5 Immobility

Peter Fischer, Reiner Martin and Thomas Straubhaar are three researchers that have focused on immobility and why people decide not to move. Their point is that there is a lost of local knowledge when moving to a foreign place, knowledge that takes time and effort to retrieve. They have divided the value of immobility in *work-oriented insider advantages* and *leisure-oriented insider advantages* (Fischer, Martin, Straubhaar, 1997:76).

The advantages one can have in a small community. They can be everything from cultural, social, political, and economical to linguistic. Most of these advantages are place specific but if one could transfer them to another context and place migration is a possible alternative. The degree and depth of the knowledge are factors that one has to take into account when discussing the tendency of migration. The more location-specific the insider advantages are the more likely it is for the person to stay and reverse the broader the skills are the easier it is to adapt at the new location and migration is therefore an easier option. The propensity to migrate is also connected to which stage in life the person is. Normally it is easier for younger and well educated people to get new valuable contacts and skills at a new place. The older a person gets the stronger are the ties to his or hers home community and it is harder to break up. Husbands and wives, children, relatives, friends, undertakings in the community, jobs and schools, are all factors that makes it harder to leave (ibid. 78-79). These different groups of people are not only important in the moment of deciding to go or not, even after migration has taken place are these groups in some way or another affected. Wives can be left alone after husbands have left their homes in search for jobs, communities can have either great immigration profits or emigration losses and social ties can be lost and new ones can be made.

Thomas Faist shows us how closely intertwined migration and immobility can be through common strategies. All kinds of migration can be a temporally solution a way to accumulate supplementary resources so that one day the migrant is able to return to the place of origin. This does not only apply to single persons, in many cases it can be a family decision. While letting one family member leave, the rest stays and waits for her or him to send money earned at the new destination or come back with specific knowledge that can be used in the place of origin. Seasonal migration is a very common way to solve financial problems at home without being forced to leave permanently (Faist 2000:20-21).

As mentioned before, there are many different causes to why one decides whether to stay or to go. Faist enfaces the importance of social capital when discussing decision-making process. He actually stresses three propositions to why so few migrants move out of most places.

1. Social capital is primarily a set of local assets, not easily transferred abroad.
2. The principal of cumulative causation applies to immobility: the more often a person has decided not to migrate, the more likely she is to stay put.
3. Some dimensions of social capital – those that are used by and within smaller groups, e.g. specific reciprocity and focused solidarity – render themselves to reinforce relative immobility. By contrast, generalized reciprocity and diffuse solidarity have a greater potential to reduce the benefits of social capital beyond small groups and thus give rise to diffusion effects.
   Source: Faist 2000:124

First of all it is important to mention the fact that many people are locked in a position of severe structural restrains where they do not have the freedom or the capital to move at all. Another reason is as Faist points out in the first proposition, the difficulty to transfer the local assets and the risk of loosing them while doing this. Local assets can be explained as resources tied to interests, norms and expressions; something that is of most people's concern. Faist explains the difficulty of transferring local assets through the complexity of problems concerning loyalty, maintenance and adaptation. This especially concerns international migration as the distance makes the exchange of social capital more costly and it takes more time (Faist 2000:125). But even in the

same country it can be hard to keep in touch and difficult to have the same interrelation as before. Without exaggerating, it is because of the strong engagement people have in local assets that make them stay in the place of origin. How this engagement in local issues and interests can be manifested in social movements will be presented in the next chapter, as I will discuss how women's movements are fighting against marginalization and machismo.

3.6 Movements and Organizations

The occurrence of social movements may not be very long in a timely perspective in Latin America but it is definitely profound during its relatively short existence in contemporary society. In Latin America, as in many other societies, "the ideal citizen-subject was expected to be male, white (later mestizo) and urban bourgeois" (Radcliff 1999: 204). With this in our minds and the fact that most countries have experienced difficulties with equality and inclusion when entering a more modern and capitalistic society it is more than likely that diverse forms of social movements will continue to arise as they represent a form of resistance from those denoted as "Others". The movements vary in purpose and shaping depending on the type of state under which they operate, the situation of the political economic context concerning poverty and marginalization, and the specific local and cultural relations. One character they do have in common is self-knowledge and together with the shared common interests, the different individuals give rise to a collective actor with a common identity (ibid.204).

Most social movements arise as a consequence of political failure and the lack of institutional interest, as the promises of the modern development have been postponed or highly uneven divided (Radcliffe 1999: 205). The practices, strategies and tactics the social movements use to express their grievances and reach their goal are numerous. Every single social movement find their own way that not only suits the specific goal but also the motivations, desires and hopes of the people involved. These different personal values together with the common goal are often geographical localized and closely connected with the land or place in which they are struggling, for example on a level of rural communities (Cubitt 1995:195). Tessa Cubitt argues

that it is thanks to the locally bound issues, which engage the people involved, that the movements are so dynamic. However she sees a problem with working at grass-roots level because it can be limiting. From a local level with a small organization and little resources it might be hard to expand and reach a national or state level. To prevent failure and combine success with expansion some movements have formed an umbrella organization, where the gathered forces are more likely to reach their goals (ibid.197-98).

In Latin America state-led projects of modernity has only managed to reach a small part of the population the rest have been marginalized due to either deeply embedded beliefs of gender and sexuality, social hierarchy or ethnic differences (Radcliffe 1999: 209). Even though the achievements will vary significantly between different social movements it is important to mention that it does not only imply struggles over consumption and production it also concerns meaning, communication and representation. Social movements are in this way a form of expressing an identity and "democratize authoritarian political cultures through the slow, persistent transformation of meaning" (ibid. 214).

When it comes to neo-liberalism and its affect on social movements you hear voices of both optimists and pessimists. The former claims that it is through neo-liberal rules of redistribution and access that social movements have entered the political arena and by doing this contributing with certain repertoire and language while learning the new ones. The latter is not so sure that there is room for alteration under the neo-liberal politics, therefore the chances of changing or affecting the resource distribution through the work of social movements are not very high (ibid. 216). Nevertheless members of social movements continue struggling and are often pointing out the importance of decentralization of power so that even people on a local level get benefited as well as different marginalized groups, as for example women.

Even if the members of a group do not consider their actions as political it might be considered as that as private issues become public (Radcliffe 1999: 220). Radcliffe wants us to understand the social movements of today "in relation to participants' struggle for representation and their contest for material and cultural resources with which to construct their own paths through modernity" (ibid. 222).   With the

development of neo-liberalism the political and economical milieu changes to the degree that affected people will continue to fight for their cultural, social and political rights and soon enough the state will be weakened by its neo-liberal actions (ibid. 222), actions that do not recognize the development of marginalized groups.

Lola G. Luna writes in her article "Contextos discursivos de género y Movimientos de Mujeres en América Latina" that it is through the power, that is given the man in the patriarchal society, we can find explanations of how women's social movements work and operate politically (Luna 2001:36). It was because of the male dominance and the exclusion of women in the civil and political arena that the first wave of feminist movements appeared in Latin America between the 30s and 50s. They were called "Movimientos Sufragistas" and claimed the female right to vote. Another important issue was the right to higher education since women's ignorance was the frequent argument not to let them vote. The battle for women's right to vote was the start of many future fights for improving the status of women in Latin America (Luna 2001:39).

The second wave started in the 60s and the topics were now concerning overall democracy, reproduction rights, free choice of motherhood and sexuality, and full political participation of women (Luna 2001:41). The United Nations Decade on Women, 1975-1985, consolidated the women's movements in many ways. The most achieving event was the 1979 Convention to End All Forms of Discrimination against Women, an international treaty that went into effect 1981 and by 1985 sixteen Latin American countries had ratified the convention. During the same decade the first international women's conference was held 1975 in Mexico City followed by Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985) and Bejing (1995). One of many topics of the conferences was women's property and land rights which will be discussed more thoroughly in the chapter on Agrarian Reform (Deere and León 2001:31). 1981 women from different social classes and with different nationalities and ethnicities gathered in Bogotá in Colombia for the first "Encuentro Feminista Latinoamericano y del Caribe". This meeting has since then been held 10 times and every time a different topic is discussed. It has become an open forum for dialog and debate amongst women originating from diverse social movements. Women here have the chance to share ideas, perspectives and critics on the development of feminism. In 2002 Costa

Rica was the host and that meeting was dealing with the active resistance against globalization. The continuity of the meetings shows that the Latin American feminist movement is more than alive. Their strength has not only been shown locally but at conferences and forums worldwide with NGOs and UN (Luna 2001:41).

Trough out the years different topics and problems have risen and formed the way the feminist struggle works but overall you can say that it still is the signification of gender, the maternalism and the patriarchy that is the main issues to solve (Luna 2001:42).

The neglect of women's rights also can also be traced to migration studies where migrating women not always have been a worthy research topic. Why this is the case will now be presented together with how migration and women relates to one another.

3.7 Women as migrants and non-migrants

In this chapter I will describe some of the facts around female migration but also how the livelihood situation is for women who decide to stay.

Historically women have not been the priority in migration studies. One reason is the former focus on the economical aspects of migration and the male norm in the economy and working life, which led to view the migrants as men and the migration as a gender-neutral process (de los Reyes 2001:276). Bilsborrow and the UN secretariat see a direct link between the neglect of female migrants and women's lack of voice in decision-making. Even if more and more women are entering the male dominated areas, men are still the leading entrepreneurs, investors, lawyers, journalists and politicians, this naturally affects researchers in all areas (Bilsborrow, UN Secretariat 1993: 2-3). Regarding female migration studies it changed quite a bit after the 1980s, the women studies have moved from the traditional scenery and are more frequently found in the migration literature (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1998:202).

The preponderance of rural-urban migrants in Latin America is and has been women, especially young women, since job opportunities for women are greater in the cities

than in the countryside. This can be explained by the fact that the labour division between the sexes still are very traditional in many places, men work out in the fields while women do housework and look after the children. Many women work as domestic servants or in an export assembly production, jobs which are easily found in the urban areas but not in the rural areas. Some women see an opportunity to escape the oppressive life they might experience in a traditional rural society and therefore migrate to urban areas where they can earn their own living (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1998:202). This leads to the fact that the distribution of women and men in the urban population are uneven, the amount of women is actually higher in all urban areas in Latin America (Gwynne & Kay 1999:247).

The dominance of women in rural-urban migration in Latin America is unusual compared to other developing countries. In South Asia, the Middle East, North Africa and most parts in sub-Saharan Africa the majority of rural-urban migrants are men, and the component of men and women in the cities are therefore reverse (Gilbert & Gugler 1992:79), even if African women in recent time have started to participate more in rural-urban migration (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1998:202).

Migration is selective which means that it is not anyone that migrates, but a determined part of the population. The act of migration is also well connected with certain cycles in life; it depends very much on what age the person has. Most of the times it is when the person wishes to get an educational degree, find a job or get married that he or she decides to migrate. For women it can start at a very early age and does not end until they have reached 25-29 years of age, and it is when they have reached 30 years of age that the situation changes. In general women are at this age more likely to stay where they are. Instead it is men who begin to migrate. Women are therefore more mobile before they have reached 30 years and men have their highest rate of mobility after 30 years of age. This can be explained by the fact that women more often than men get married at an earlier age and that marriage often results in a change of residence. In case of divorce the woman usually get to stay in the house and take care of the children (if there are any) while the man often leaves in search for a new place to live in (Gomez & Madrigal 2004:516). Except for age, education is another factor that affects the degree of migration. There is no doubt that the higher

education the greater is the probability of migration, for those who lack education it is more likely that they decide to stay than to migrate.

Both de los Reyes and Bilsborrow points out how migration can help women with breaking traditional norms and better their self esteem (de los Reyes 2001:276, Bilsborrow & UN Secretariat, 1993:9-11), although it all depends on the specific socio-cultural and family contexts as well as if it is the woman's own decision to migrate or not (UN 1993:29). Though leaving your home village can signify a break through in the traditional environment it does not mean that the situation in the destination is any different from where you originate. Women might be treated the same there as at home or it might even be harder to get their voice heard at the new place. Usually it is easier to achieve a higher position inside the household than it is to change a whole society's standpoint (ibid. 29).

Conflicts within the family are important to acknowledge when looking into the migration-decision process, especially between women and men or between generations. Young women are often seen among the least powerful as both men and elders have a higher hierarchical position (Rodenburg 1993:274). Much depends on the role women are playing in the decision-making process of migration, most of the time it depends on prevailing gender ideology rather than on individual characteristics (Riley & Gardner 1993:203-204). Even if they do participate in the decision it does not say that the propensity of them to migrate is higher. As said before it is not only the women's status in the household that is of significance, women must be more welcome at all levels in the society, get better opportunities at the labour market, get the same wages as men and be guaranteed equal rights when it concerns ownership of assets and access to credit before you can say that men and women have equal opportunities overall in the society (Riley and Gardner 1993: 204). The main thing is that all decisions, whether it means to stay or to migrate, should be based on each person's own free will. I would like to add that it is questionable if the will is free when the only chance to get a job is to migrate.

Most of the women who migrate do so to improve their living standards in varied ways. For women with little education or capital the migration decision often is part of a survival strategy. Though with little money and low education, most of these

women end up working at unregulated jobs for very low salaries. Many are found in the domestic service, maquillas or the informal sector. For those with better education migration is a way to move upwards in the career and by doing so they will also get secure and well-paid jobs (Rodenburg 1993: 286).

To fully understand the reasons behind this migration it is important to look into the living and working conditions of women in their place of origin, in this case the rural areas. By doing this we can see how the socio-economic circumstances in the place of origin affects the decision whether to stay or to migrate. In the rural areas it is mainly men who constitute the paid agricultural labour force (UNESCO 1978:9).

"…migration at a younger age is one of the few channels for upward social mobility available to single rural women in the lower socio-economic levels." (UNESCO 1978: 9)

This quote says much of the interrelation between the rural and urban development and the people, which is what will be discussed in the up coming chapter.4. The context of Rural Development and Internal Migration in Costa Rica

In this chapter I will focus on internal migration in Costa Rica and the consequences that arise when people for different reasons move. This is also well linked with what path the rural development is taking. First there will be a presentation of the migration in Costa Rica today and through out the history. This will be followed by a description of the agrarian reform, how it has developed historically and how the land is distributed today. To fully understand women's situation in the rural areas we must look into how the rural areas have changed and secondly how this have affected the people living there.

Sustainable development is something that most societies are striving for. I will look into the relation between urban and rural development and see how sustainable and how equal this development is.

4.1 Migration in Costa Rica

When it comes to the specific migration and population distribution in Costa Rica there have been some changes during the years. I will only briefly go through the historical migration flows since I have chosen to concentrate on the migratory situation of today and its consequences.

In 1864 85,5% of the population lived in the Central Valley, with 30,9 % in the province of San José, 13.3% lived in the province of Guanacaste and the Central Pacific region meanwhile the rest of the country was more or less depopulated. The only data that is more or less the same since 1864 is the number of people living in San José with surroundings, it has always been in-between 31 and 33% (Gomez & Barrantes 2004:504).

- The population in the rest of Central Valley has diminished with 20%; in 1864 55 % of the population lived here compared to almost 32,5 % in 2000.

- The Atlantic area, where we find the province of Limón and Zona Norte, were almost uninhabited in 1864 but reached 15 % of the total population in 2000.

- The population in the Pacific region (Guanacaste and Central Pacific) has diminished from 13,3 % in 1864 to 11,5 % in 2000.

- The south parts (Zona Sur) was also almost depopulated in 1864 but had in 2000 8,9% of the population.
  Source: Gomez & Barrantes 2004:505

From living almost only in the central parts of the country the population spread out more or less evenly during the 1960s. After that the intensification of the migration was less noticeable and the direction of the migration tended to go in a reverse pattern, from the rural areas into the urban areas (ibid. 500). The development of a modern economy made the Central Valley, with the Metropolitan region of San José and especially the surrounding urban centres, once again a popular destination. The

only provinces that had the same migratory pattern during the period 1927- 2000 are Limón who always has been an area of attraction and Guanacaste who on the other hand has been an area of expulsion (Gomez Barrantes & Madrigal Pana 2004: 508).

Table 1.1 shows the migratory pattern of emigrants and immigrants in all provinces of Costa Rica. Guanacaste is not only the least populated province but also the province from where most people migrate. Limón on the other hand is the second most popular destination after Heredia due to its many banana and pineapple plantations. Heredia with its location just outside San José is the centre for many companies and maquilla factories and with that comes many job opportunities. If we take a closer look we can see that even if the difference is small more women than men emigrate from both Guanacaste and Limón, even though the number of emigrating women are much less in Limón. Nevertheless most women migrate to San José or the neighboring urban provinces Alajuela and Heredia. In these provinces it is easier for women to find jobs meanwhile men usually participate in the rural-to-rural migration, since the majority still works in the agricultural field (Salazar 2003:81, cuadro 5). In San Jose women constitute little more than 51,1% of the population and in many rural areas where you mostly find work either on the fields or in plantations, the pattern is reverse. In Limón, which most consist of rural areas, women for example represent only 48,8 % of the population. Even so Limón gets a relatively large share of female migrants where in Guanacaste there is a vast difference between emigrants and immigrants, with many more people leaving than staying.

Table 1. Internal Migration in Costa Rica- Province and Gender

Province and gender	Total Population	Non Migrants	Emigrants	Immigrants	Balance	Emigrant Population %	Immigrant Population %	Net Balance %
Costa Rica	**3.513.718**	**2.804.787**	**708.931**	**708.931**	**0**	**20,2**	**20,2**	**0,0**
Men	1.753.119	1.404.452	348.667	348.667	0	19,9	19,9	0,0
Women	1.760.599	1.400.335	360.264	360.264	0	20,5	20,5	0,0
San José	**1.218.069**	**1.003.791**	**188.706**	**214.278**	**25.572**	**15,5**	**17,6**	**2,1**
Men	595.302	496.495	95.045	98.807	3.762	16,0	16,6	0,6
Women	622.727	507.296	93.661	115.471	21.810	15,0	18,5	3,5
Alajuela	**653.877**	**540.938**	**115.875**	**112.939**	**-2.936**	**17,7**	**17,3**	**-0,4**
Men	329.111	272.834	56.574	56.277	-297	17,2	17,1	-0,1
Women	324.766	268.104	59.301	56.662	-2.639	18,3	17,4	-0,8
Cartago	**418.832**	**355.476**	**70.958**	**63.356**	**-7.602**	**16,9**	**15,1**	**-1,8**
Men	209.431	178.548	34.685	30.883	-3.802	16,6	14,7	-1,8
Women	209.401	176.928	**36.273**	32.473	-3.800	17,3	15,5	-1,8
Heredia	**326.247**	**214.201**	**39.828**	**112.046**	**72.218**	**12,2**	**34,3**	**22,1**
Men	161.969	107.249	19.914	54.720	34.806	12,3	33,8	21,5
Women	164.278	106.952	19.914	57.326	37.412	12,1	34,9	22,8
Guanacaste	**246.468**	**217.118**	**126.281**	**29.350**	**-96.931**	**51,2**	**11,9**	**-39,3**
Men	124.172	109.253	61.559	14.919	-46.640	49,6	12,0	-37,6
Women	122.296	107.865	64.722	14.431	-50.291	52,9	11,8	-41,1
Puntarenas	**340.978**	**266.780**	**124.032**	**74.198**	**-49.834**	**36,4**	**21,8**	**-14,6**
Men	174.302	135.565	59.692	38.787	-20.955	34,2	22,2	-12,0
Women	166.676	131.215	64.340	35.461	-28.879	38,6	21,3	-17,3
Limón	**309.247**	**206.483**	**43.251**	**102.764**	**59.513**	**14,0**	**33,2**	**19,2**
Men	158.832	104.508	21.198	54.324	33.126	13,3	34,2	20,9
Women	150.415	101.975	22.053	48.440	26.387	14,7	32,2	17,5

Source: Chacón Salazar, C., Ramírez Solano, H. and Retana Villarreal, V., 2003

The migration towards the urban areas surrounding San José is higher than to the capital itself. The total percentage of immigration in the San José province are 17,6% (men 16,6 % and women 18,5 %) but by taking a closer look we will find that the immigration rate in the city of San José is lower, for both men and women, than the emigration rate. In the period 1995-2000 48.452 people emigrated from the capital while only 24.828 immigrated. If we compare this to the nearby town of Alajuelita we will find the opposite relation. Here 32.295 people immigrated compared to 11.927 who emigrated (Salazar, Solano & Villarreal 2003:108,128).

It is important to acknowledge that the different cantons in each province might have a divergent migratory pattern than the province as a whole. So if the province counts as an area of attraction there might be cantons that on the other hand are areas of expulsion.

The migratory patterns on a canton level are of importance for many institutions, public as private, they can use the information in their work to provide the necessary requirements for the people in the area. These necessities might be concerning education, health, water supplies, electricity and of course the general economic activity in the area. In Costa Rica every canton serves as a local administrative unity of the government and it is therefore of great significance for them to now how people migrate in the specific canton, also since the migration is much more intense between cantons than between provinces (Gomez Barrantes & Madrigal Pana 2004: 511, 518).

4.2 Causes and consequences of rural-urban migration

The effect of the migration can not only be seen in the life of the migrant but all involved in this or in others migrants' life, from the closest related to people in general both in the community of origin and the destination. Even greater structural changes take place. The population distribution changes as do the formation of cities, arrangements of farms and the number and size of rural roads.

UN estimates that negative growth for rural population will be a major phenomenon within 25 years (Internet 2a). Even if this is not the case in all countries, depopulation has a huge impact on the rural societies (Skeldon 1990:169). According to Skeldon there is a possible relation between changes in communities of origin and the development of spatial patterns of mobility. He sees the out migration as a negative impact on the rural society with fewer possibilities for jobs, a population that grows older when most of the young and well educated people move into the cities and a lack of skilled leadership (ibid.170).

This is only one interpretation of the emigrational impact on rural areas there is also those who have a more positive view of this phenomenon. Among these we find the neo-classical models of development, here both sides gain on the migration flows into the cities. The dynamic urban sector gets the people needed for their different productions and the pressure on the people left in the rural areas decreases. This in turn might lead to a higher per capita output. Another positive effect that has been discussed is that there could be transfers of saved money from the cities to the rural areas and in this way improve the rural income (Skeldon 1990:170). The discussed negative effects usually have a much greater impact on the rural communities than the small sums of money that might get in the hands of the rural population. Skeldon emphasizes the risks with using the words negative and positive in the discussion since it is words that indicate an ideological standpoint (ibid.171). It all depends on the extension of the migration flows, as long as the people on both sides have equal rights and opportunities and that different projects invested in the country includes both urban and rural areas I see it as a healthy relation.

When many people are moving out of the rural areas it can be a problem with depopulation and an aging population. Though when Skeldon wrote *Population Mobility in Developing Countries: A Reinterpretation* 15 years ago he did not see it as a large problem in developing countries. The reason according to him was that we could still see rapid rates of natural increase and return movements from the cities. He did not mean it wouldn't occur, in 25 years it probably would be a large phenomenon (Skeldon 1990: 169).

Rural- urban migration is a large phenomenon in all developing countries and the amount of urban dwellers has increased enormously the last fifty years. 1950 the number of urban population was 300 million and by the year 2000 the number had risen to 1.96 billion, thirty years later it is predicted to reach 3.98 billion (Internet 2b). If we have a look at the Latin American situation 41.9 % of the population lived in urban areas the year 1950 and by the year 2005, 77.6 % represented the urban population (ibid.). In Costa Rica 59 % of the population in 2000 were living in urban areas (Salazar, Solano & Villarreal 2003:72) compared to 1974 when in 40.6 % were living in urban areas (Centro centroamericano de población, censos, http://www.ccp.ucr.ac.cr).

There are many causes to why the growth of the urban population is so high. The rural-urban migration is one reason but according to Gwynne and Kay it is nowadays mostly the natural increase in the city that constitutes the high rates of urban population (Gwynne & Kay 1999:243). Of course this is an outcome of all young migrants that move into the cities and later raise families there. Today the rural-urban migration to the biggest cities has diminished in many of the Latin American countries but is still of significance in the Central American countries.

One important rural-urban link is the one between relatives. Many urban migrants keep in touch with their rural relatives and friends even after they have moved. This interaction between the city and the countryside helps both the rural as well as the urban livelihood. Urban migrants often bring clothes and housing supplies when visiting their rural homes, whilst they very seldom leave empty handed, chicken, corn and beans are usual gifts from their rural relatives (Gwynne & Kay 1999:243-44). The interaction is also a form of migration strategy that many communities have developed. When migrants come back to their hometown and visits friends and families, new potential migrants are presented rather well defined options (Gilbert & Gugler 1992:69). One need to bear in mind the fact that a failure often isn't something you talk about, the expectations might therefore be higher than what is awaiting in the city.

Many organisations and governments in developing countries have followed the same route as the richer more industrialised countries have taken, first through the colonial

rule and influence and then through imperialism. Activities by multinational companies and import of foreign goods have intensified the notion that things done overseas are much better than the ones from home. The result is an over concentration of people in urban areas and industries, since this was supposed to be the means for development (Potter 1999:224). Consequently it is the market-driven macro-economic policies that were the reason to the high rates of urban population. As mentioned before large cities were seen as the sites of industrial development, as centres of finance and communications, and were therefore preferred to rural areas. In the beginning economies of scale (increase in efficiency of production leads to increase in goods produced and with less costs as a result) constituted the economic efficiency and growth in the larger cities and the job opportunities were many, which also brought even more migrants to the city. Soon the city began to have problems in coping with all the newcomers and the profitable industrial atmosphere turned against many of the companies. This path also follows the rates of rural out migration, which had its peak in the 1960s and 1970s and then fell during the economic crisis in the 1980s (Chen, Valente & Zlotnik 1996:66-68, 79-82). The rural-urban migration is still very common but is not of the same high rate as for 30 years ago. This of course varies between countries depending on how far they have come in the development of the rural areas, as for infrastructure, job opportunities, education and so forth.

Out of all migrants most move for economic reasons, the importance of improving the material standards is of high significance. Except for more job opportunities and higher wages the city also attracts people because of superior education and training for the children and expert medical care. These are the expectations, but unfortunately many of the migrants will not experience all this. Discrimination of migrants is not unusual and housing and sanitary are for many worse than where they came from (Gilbert & Gugler 1992:65-67). To prevent this to happen many governments are concerned in spreading the population growth to secondary urban settlements. Many have therefore developed policies encouraging economic decentralization. In reality, it is market-driven macro-economic policies that have been the most successful in redirecting migration. The relocation of industries is the foremost cause to secondary urbanization, partly because of the high competition in metropolitan areas but also since the *maquillas* (sweatshops) industry has grown big (Gwynne & Kay 1999:246).

Even if I have chosen to concentrate on women who have decided to stay in rural areas it does not mean that they are isolated from the effects of the migration. The terms urban and rural are often used in a rigid and static way when they really are terms for ever-changing societies, as above has been proved through the interaction between the two. In a society that experiences seasonal- migration the life changes rapidly as a great amount of the population (normally men) leaves temporary to work in a different place in the country. Many women are now alone with the responsibility of the children and the house. This can be part of possible changes in the traditional structures concerning the household as well as the society as a whole. Skeldon holds a very positive view of the role migration plays in the rural development. Using his own words: "we should not have to mourn the fading of a traditional village society before the onslaught of dark urbanism…These changes should be viewed as dispassionately as possible without romanticizing a disappearing world." (Skeldon, 1990:189). Regardless who the winner or looser is, it is of great importance that we link the population movement with the political structure to fully understand the connection between migration and development (ibid.189).

To get a more profound understanding of the relationship between the rural and urban development it is of great importance to look into the past of the rural development and how it has affected women and men. How the agrarian reform in Latin America and Costa Rica has developed together with a gender discussion will now be presented.

4.3 Agrarian Reform

It is important to have a retrospective view when talking about the move-out from rural areas to the cities. According to Skeldon, population mobility must be regarded with respect to the great transition in man's history- the transition from a rural society to an urban society. Urbanization is a transition that involves a decline of one way of life, the peasantry, to create a new, the proletariat (Skeldon 1990: 3).

It was in the years between 1850 and 1930, that the well known hacienda system dominated the agrarian structure in Latin America. As landlords had more economic,

political and social power than they could dream of, workers at their plantations struggled under very hard conditions. The hacienda system was characterized by marginalization of the rural indigenous population, as few rich landlords took over the majority of the land estates. The agrarian form was not only the unequal it was also very inefficient and wasteful of resources since the agricultural growth came from increase in area instead of increase in yields (Gwynne & Kay 1999:273-74). It was because of this inefficiency the governments introduced the import substitution industrialization (ISI) policies, as a way to modernize the hacienda system. These policies were meant to subsidize agricultural equipment that improved the modernization of large land estates, high tariffs and restrictive import quotas were also introduced. With these policies some social relations of production began to change, such as; labour-service tenancies, sharecropping and a few landlords even sold parts of their land. Despite this, the agricultural growth remained poor and the majority of the land was still in the hands of a few rich landlords (Gwynne & Kay 1999:272-73). There is no doubt that the import-substituting industrialization was inefficient but still it helped to create a diversified industrial sector in most of the larger Latin American countries (Gilbert 1996: 436). Gwynne and Kay both agree of the negative impact that ISI had on the development of agriculture, even if large agricultural producers often were compensated by countervailing policies it was clear that ISI worked against the peasants and rural workers within agriculture (Gwynne & Kay 1999:274).

Due to this inequality, urban social forces and even international forces saw the importance of an agrarian reform and therefore helped bringing this about. Most of the agrarian reforms took place between 1960 and 1980. There was a range of economic as well as social objectives that made the government's carrying out the agrarian reforms. Some of the objectives were; higher rate of agricultural growth, fairer distribution of incomes, easing social conflicts on the countryside (due to the uneven distribution) and gain the peasants political support, which further would strengthen the democratic system (Gwynne & Kay 1999: 275-76). It all sounds good but unfortunately the agrarian reform in most of the Latin American countries didn't hold its promises and the majority of the governments failed to support the peasant farming, partly because they failed to provide the financial, technical, organizational and other institutional support, needed to ensure their success. The continuation of ISI

policies and mistakes in design and implementation also contributed to the decomposition. In Costa Rica only a small portion of agricultural land was affected by the agrarian reform and only 10 % of the agricultural families benefited from land redistribution (ibid. 277-83). When discussing this we shall not forget the fact that the agrarian reform can't be seen as the only solution to the problems that the Latin American countries were and still are coping with. There are more causes to why the rural economies and societies are in such a bad shape, which couldn't be solved only by an agrarian reform. As long as the rural poverty is high and the peasant marginalization persist the root causes of social and political instability will remain.

The agrarian reforms saw their ending when neo-liberal policies became popular in most Latin American countries. Instead of expropriation of land estates the governments focused on privatization, decollectivization, land registration, titling and land-tax issues. There had simply been a shift from state-led and interventionist agrarian reform programs to market-oriented land policies. The peasants' position in the market and the political system wasn't strong enough to cope with this transformation and therefore not able to protect their land rights (Gwynne & Kay 1999: 284).

The outcomes of the neo-liberal agrarian policies have not all been badly. Carmen Diana Deere and Magdalena León have written an article that examines how women's and indigenous movements have affected the outcome of the same policies. They claim that the economic reforms are not as homogenous as they could have been, if you consider the intent, thanks to the work of these movements (Deere & León 2001:31). On all four of the international women's conferences, as mentioned earlier, women's property and land rights have been discussed as well as the importance of all nations to take there responsibility when it comes to gender equality. By putting women's ownership of land in the spotlight focus have shifted from treating it as an argument for efficiency, as it raises women's productivity, to treating it as an economic right as landownership helps rural women's empowerment and their pursuit of economic autonomy (ibid.32). One reason to why rural women were not recognized in the earlier agrarian reforms was because the reforms privileged household heads and most of them were male. It was the women's offices, thanks to all the effort that was internationally done for gender equity, that was first to revise

these civil codes so that they were more compatible with the new constitutional goal of gender equality. The husband is no longer considered the household head, in most countries both husband and wife is regarded as the heads of the household, which also is the case in Costa Rica (ibid.:32).

In short the neo-liberal model has involved a two-folded process. First of all it has meant the demise of the agrarian reform from previous decades and secondly it has created conditions to enliven the land market. In Costa Rica it is still the same and unchanged agrarian reform from 1961 and reform efforts continue but at this point in a different pace and in a different form. The agrarian reform has not had much success in expropriating land in purposes of social justice. Even so was the agrarian reform a prototype for current land transaction projects that was support by the state. The agrarian reform agency IDA (Instituto de Desarrollo Agrario) was responsible for redistributing both state lands and land that was offered to them for sale by private owners at market prices. Between 1986 and 1989 IDA benefited an average of 1,189 beneficiaries per year but this number did unfortunately not last very long. A year later in 1990 the same number was 460 and it has since then continued at this level (ibid.:34-35). 1990 was also the year when a new law, Ley de Promoción de Igualdad Social de la Mujer, established explicit equality between men and women in all state programs involving the distribution of assets. Even though the law has meant an important step forward it is written in a sexist language that still privileges men. As the authors write:

Men appear as the agriculturalists and peasants (agricultor, campesino) as well as the beneficiaries of land distribution or titling efforts, leaving it only implicit in the detailed provisions of the legislation that such categories pertain to both women and men (Deere & León 2001: 38)[1].

The most important advance in gender equality is the legislation of joint titling where both man and woman in a couple are considered as land owners. Costa Rica was the third Latin American country (after Colombia and Brazil) to adopt joint titling in 1990. It should be said that there still are countries where joint titling is not adopted

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[1]   The exceptions to this trend are Honduras 's 1992 Ley de Modernización Agropecuaria and Guatemala's 1999 land-bank legislation, in which beneficiaries are referred to explicitly as *campesinos* and *campesinas* (Deere & León 2001:39)

and in some where it is optional. Joint titling is important for the equality in many ways, in an event of separation or divorce women are no longer in risk of loosing their land which often is the most important asset. Another advantage with sharing the ownership is that one spouse can not make any decisions without the approval of the other spouse (such as sale, rent, and mortgage of the farm). Furthermore joint titling increases the women's possibility to affect household and farm decisions, which also improves many women's self-esteem (ibid. 39).

Due to the changes in the constitution and the demands of the women's movements the agrarian legislation is more gender equitable under neo-liberalism than in the past. A question yet to be answered is whether landownership also has become more egalitarian in practice as a result of these legal changes. Despite the fact that Costa Rica has some of the most advanced legislation and plans on the land rights of rural women it is hard to follow it up in practice since IDA does not systematically collect data by gender (Deere & León 2001: 41-43).

In 1996-1998 the government implemented the Plan para la Igualidad de Oportunidades entre Mujeres y Hombres (PIOMH) as a continuation of the Ley de Promoción de Igualdad Social de la Mujer from 1990 and as an addition for rural women. One goal was to help all women who qualified for IDA programs with their request for land or land titling. Through their work Deere and León realized that this goal is far from met much due to a semi-paralysis of the agrarian reform efforts. Another problem that they encountered was that land titling programs potentially benefit women who already are landowners. According to them most women landowners have obtained their land not through state programs but through inheritance (ibid. 41,43) which according to collected data from smallholders is more egalitarian and gender-equitable than through state-programs (ibid.58).

Their conclusion is that the neo-liberal codes are much more progressive than previous agrarian reforms just because it is no longer only the household heads that can be beneficiaries. At the same time they argue that it is not enough with distributing land rights (in juridical and non juridical sense) to reach gender equity. Another necessity to reach this goal is for women to be able to own land independent of their marital status. One of the most important steps towards gender equity though

is that the land is jointly adjudicated and titled to married couples and those in consensual unions. Even though joint titling is mandatory it is not easy to establish it in practice. It requires a lot of consciousness-raising at all levels in the society since joint titling is much in contrary to patriarchal norms and is at times defied by both men and women. Only in Colombia and Nicaragua has the implementation of joint titling been a success, here thanks to the effort of strong national organizations of rural women (ibid. 58).

As the agrarian reform efforts now have ended, it is as mentioned before through inheritance rural women have the best chances to gain access to land. The land titling programs, compared to previous programs of land distribution, have a much wider base and are now even including the traditional smallholding sector. These programs are expected to increase the amount of women who are formal landowners and guarantee their security of possession (ibid. 59). Deere and León give much of the credit for the institutional changes in the neo-liberal era to the women organizations due to their hard work through the years at conferences and at grass root level (ibid. 57).

As said earlier the agrarian reform did not succeed in all its intentions to distribute land in contrary much of the land is in the hands of big corporations. The banana industry is one example were much of the land is in few hands. The export industry of bananas began as a sideline to the building of the railroad that now stretches from Puerto Limón all the way to San José. The bananas were meant to supply a freight income for the railroad, which was not only time consuming but also costly in money, material and men (4000 men died during the construction of the first 25 miles). In other words to afford the continuation of the railroad construction the banana industry was born. The first banana shipment from Limón was made to New Orleans in 1878. 12 years later United Fruit Company was formed and the banana industry was a big success (Jones & Morrison 1952: 1-3). The big sensation did not last for ever, due to for instance soil exhaustion United Fruit Company was forced to adopt a policy of regular abandonment of old fields and planting new ones. This was possible only because of their large assets of fertile ground and was not an option for small individual private cultivators that usually did not have land holding large enough to manage it (ibid. 5). The main reason to the decline in the banana production was the

so called panama disease which in 1942 finally forced United Fruit Company to end all banana production they had in the Caribbean Lowlands (ibid. 7).

Another export industry that has grown big is the production of pineapples. It was in the late 1970s the production changed into a highly intensified industry with a much higher technological demand. From covering 2000-2500 hectares in the beginning of the 1980s, the pineapple fields had grown more than double in a decade. As a consequence of the great expansion and the change in economical model there were no stimulus for the national market and the production of traditional grown products, such as corn, rice and beans, decreased. If we take a closer look at the province of Limón it is needed to say that the production of traditional crops had already been decreasing in this region due to a crisis in the sector of traditional agriculture and together with the unstable international banana industry more and more people were engaged in the mono-cultivation of pineapples. As the words spread of the good opportunity and the great prosperity in growing pineapples even more started to get involved in the business. For some it is a prosper activity as an example one hectare in Guácimo, in the province of Limón, was in the year of 2000 worth 1,5 million colons and four years later it was worth 2,5 million colons. A problem is that the small and medium sized producers are forced to sell for an even lower price than the big companies and corporations if they are going to have a chance on the international market (González, 2004:3-4).

The development of the banana and pineapple industry affects not only the nearest surroundings but the society as a whole and it is therefore important to integrate this discussion into the one of sustainable development. There are many aspects that are crucial to acknowledge, from the working conditions at the plantations to how the land resources are divided and used.

4.4 Sustainable development

Is the rural development in Costa Rica sustainable? How does the rural development of today affect people living in rural areas as well as in urban areas? It all depends on many variables of which some will be discussed here.

Livi-Bacci writes that humans' ability of innovation and the introduction of technology has contributed to an increase in available resources. This is only valid when discussing the short-term effects since no level of progress can indefinitely increase the productivity of a fixed resource like land (ibid. 64). It is therefore important to look into the situation of the specific region and then analyse its possibilities of development.

"The poor world is divided into societies characterized by vastly different environmental, cultural and political settings, and these differences are reflected in the demographic behaviour of individual populations." (Livi-Bacci 2001:130).

The total rural population in Costa Rica is decreasing for every year, in 1994 51 % lived in rural areas as compared to 38 % in 2005 (Gwynne & Kay 1999: 244, Internet 6). The increase in urban population can be explained in many ways. One reason is the difficulties people in the rural areas have with finding secure employments and another is the hardship with finding a piece of land and then also be able to survive on the outcomes of that piece of land.

For those who decide to move to the cities will realize that there are no certainties to succeed here either. According to the 'modernization school' the emergence of modern cities will improve the conditions for the people in the poor countries and that the opposite pattern (growing slum areas, primate cities and service sector) is slowing down the economic process and lowers the living conditions for the poor people in the developing countries. Not everybody though believes that this is the reason why the poor countries stay poor. The Marxist approach does not believe that poverty and inequality is something that is excluded for developing countries but a part of most capitalist cities. They see the problems as inevitable outcomes of capitalist development (Gilbert & Gugler 1992:28).

According to Marx it is not only the urban areas that are affected by the capitalist development. With the penetration of capitalism in the countryside comes a diversification of the village economy and as a result wage migration becomes an increasing part of rural life (Cubitt 1995:132). As mentioned before many Costa

Rican farmers are forced to sell their patch of land as they can not compete with the capitalist large-scale agriculture. MAG (Ministerio de Agricultura y Ganadería) and PDR (Programa de Desarollo Rural) have written "Estrategía de Desarollo Rural" to study the inequality in the development of the rural areas in Costa Rica. The authors are concerned of what global economy does with the rural areas and argue that the consequences of the sell-out of land are shown in the increase in rural poverty. With no land many are searching for work outside the agricultural sector for their survival. In 1997 the amount of people working with agriculture was 20,6 % and 2001 the same number was 15,7 %. The problem is that other rural sectors have not been able to compensate the wage loss of these workers, which has lead to an increase in rural unemployment (MAG 2003:8-9).

This change in rural development started in the 1980s when there was a modernisation process that changed the conditions of the rural population in several ways. The subordination to the national and international capitalism made the multinational agricultural companies change their production. As mentioned earlier there has been a shift from a production of traditional crops to export oriented production. Flowers, vegetables, fishes and fruits are some of the new products that are exported in Costa Rica even though traditional products, as coffee, bananas sugar and cacao, still are widely exported. From the middle to the late 1980s non-traditional agricultural exports in Costa Rica grew with 348 % (Rivas & Hurtado 2000:140, 145). The authors of the article "Desarollo Rural y Pobreza en Centroamérica en la Década de 1990. Las Políticas y Algunos Límites del Modelo 'Neoliberal'", Edelberto Torres Rivas and Ronny Viales Hurtado, are both worried about how many of the countries in the region that are becoming dependent of importation from developed countries, importing cheaper products, especially from United States instead of producing the products themselves (ibid.141). With the new products the amount of seasonal workers has increased and many are forced to have more than one job. Even so women are still having problems finding durable employments, which are most often given to men. Another change that comes with the new agricultural production is a floating rural population without land who are surviving on occasional work (ibid.143). In Costa Rica it is shown through the increase of non qualified jobs, these are the most growing jobs for both women and men. In 2004 27, 2% of the female work force had non qualified jobs and in 2005 that number was 27, 9%. For men the

result was 26, 6% with non qualified jobs in 2004 and 26,9% in 2005 (INEC 2005: 9). Higher education would help the development of the local industry which in turns helps the state to keep their industrial autonomy so that they can compete with foreign imports.

The impoverishment of land and the inequality of land distribution have contributed to increase in the amount of poor families without land and the situation is especially tough for women, who already are marginalised. The winners are the owners of the multinational companies that now have monopoly on the exportation of almost all of the non-traditional agricultural production, and in Costa Rica this also concerns the (traditional) production of bananas. This has resulted in disappearance of state-owned companies. In Costa Rica 58,8 % of the people in the rural areas are working in the private sector whilst only 9,0 % are working in the public sector (Rivas & Hurtado 2000: 151-52). The importance of growing influence in the international finance, which is required in a globalized market, makes the urban elites search for further alliances and economic networks. In this way the urban elites' position is even more strengthen (Gwynne & Kay 1999:312).

With the previous discussion in mind I will now go further into how different aspects of life affect rural women in the provinces of Guanacaste and Limón.

5. Rural women and migration in Guanacaste and Limón

Up until now I have gone from a more overarching presentation of gendered issues and internal migration to a description of the rural development and the migratory occurrences in Costa Rica. Finally I will now present the diverse aspects of rural women's lives, with migration as an underlying aspect, which I found during my field study in the two chosen provinces; Guanacaste and Limón.

Except for being two rural provinces these two provinces do not have much in common. As mentioned in the presentation of the two provinces the climate is so different that what is suitable to grow in Guanacaste can not grow in Limón and vice versa. This has great affect on both people and environment. One reason to why so many people migrate to Limón is because of the many banana and pineapple

plantations you can find in the region. These fruits thrive here because of heavy rain around the year. For the same reason most houses are built on poles to prevent flooding. I met several people who told me that they had to move due to all the rain, some months the ground was entirely under water. In Guanacaste on the other hand, there is almost no rain at all for five months which means that without irrigation system it is almost impossible to grow anything during these months.

The differences go deeper than this and together with various social and political aspects, that I now will present, we will get a wider understanding of how the life is for some women in these two provinces. By dividing this chapter in different subject matters and put forward specific statistics I will enlighten the differences and the similarities that I found in the two provinces. The statistics are based on cantons and I have chosen two, one from each province, Santa Cruz in Guanacaste and Matina in Limón. The reason why I chose these two is because I have visited both during my field study and they are also similar in size. Santa Cruz had in the year 2000 40 821 inhabitants meanwhile Matina the same year had 33 096 inhabitants (Internet 1a). Important to remember when reading the statistics is that there are of course variations within each province but in whole they show the general differences in the two provinces.

First I will present how occupation affects both migration and the development of peoples' lives; this will be followed by a discussion of how different age groups are divided in the country and its connection with migration, the same will be done with education, poverty, teenage pregnancy, machismo and finally I will end with how some women groups have emerged and for what reason.

5.1 Occupation

One of most common reasons to move is in search of a job. Different kinds of jobs lead to different kinds of migration routes.

According to most migration studies men tend to move from one rural area to another and this is also the case in Costa Rica. Since most men make their living as farmers

they are dependent of their or some one else's land to work. In Guanacaste the climate can be very harsh at summers with little rain to foster their land therefore many move temporarily to another region to work over the season. Limón is such a region where many come to work during a period of time, this due to the many banana and pineapple plantations in the area. Women on the other hand most often chose to move into the cities where they more easily can find job such as; domestic servant, clerk or work at maquillas. Rural-urban migration concerns of course all larger cities in the country not only the capital it self, even though in around the capital city the number of certain jobs are higher. In the rural areas most things revolve around farming, something that most women do not take part in. Eduardo, an employee at MAG (Ministerio de Agricultura y Ganadería), told me that even if women nowadays have the right to inherit land it is in the end still more often that it is the men who decide what to do with the land. Women have a hard time proving that they are capable of that sort of work.

Both in Guanacaste and Limón you will find many Nicaraguan immigrants. Nicaragua has a troublesome past with dictators ruling the country and a civil war during the 80s where many people died and others fled the country. Most people escaped to neighbouring countries and among them was Costa Rica. Even today many people in Nicaragua have a hard time surviving the day. Out of 5.1 million people 2.3 million are affected by poverty and 831 000 live in extreme poverty (Internet 5). This means that many people want to try their luck in Costa Rica where even the lowest wages for many Nicaraguans are much better than what they would earn in Nicaragua. Many search for jobs at hotels and restaurants a long the coast line in Guanacaste that in recent years have good business thanks to all the tourists. What I was unaware of before my field study was that in some areas there are people who dislike the fact that many Nicaraguans come to stay in Costa Rica. I will never forget the words of a woman who was frustrated because her husband had lost his job in one of the hotels along the coast in Guanacaste, she said it was because a Nicaraguan worker had taken the job. The words she said was:

"There is only two good Nicaraguans; the one who are not yet born and the one who are dead."

Important to remember is that of course not all Costa Ricans are of this opinion, I also met many people that were of the opposite opinion. Many Nicaraguans are also working at the plantations in Limón. There has been much talked about the bad working conditions at the plantations. One problem is that many immigrants do not get social security which would help them get the same salary as Costa Rican citizens. Companies therefore employ immigrants as they do not have to pay any social security and let them work for almost nothing. Many plantations also provide accommodation for the workers inside the agricultural estate which make it easy for people from far away to take the job. Bad wages and slavery like conditions is something that not only concerns plantations in Costa Rica but are an international well known fact and many plantations and factories all over the world are subjects to a big discussion concerning the employees working condition. As a result, the conditions at the plantations in Costa Rica have improved in some ways even though they are far from perfect. People are very concerned for the persons working there and many are eager to talk about it, something that I experienced a lot during my visit. Eduardo from MAG, told me during my interview with him:

"As it was before it was worse, much has been improved at least you can count on medical services and certain facilities on the plantation, ambulances that provide for any emergency or injury. But the working method that the company uses continues to in some ways be inhuman. They try to absorb much of the work force and their health, even if they do get a salary it is a misery what they earn."

Where ever you go you hear stories of how husbands or family members have suffered in different ways. A young woman (21 years old), from Amarba (see appendix), told me that her mother, who worked at Chiquita United Fruits, had got blood poisoning from three different chemicals after been spraying the bananas with pesticides. The stories are many and most of them have experienced similar things, severe health problems, bad wages, and long workdays due to the insufficient social security.

Not only is the working conditions in general extremely miserable but the gender division is at most plants also very bad. Women have a hard time to be fully accepted as potential workers as well as being equally treated when working. At PINDECO, a

significant pineapple company regarding levels of production and the important economic activity, only 13,5 % of the total work force are women and of these most are working with the packaging and none is working in the field. When it comes to how the workers are earning their money we can see another dilemma; the people working in the fields have an hourly wage compared to the people working with the packaging who are on piece rate. As a consequence women, who most often work with the packaging, are only earning money when there is fruit to be packed compared to those in the fields who at the end of the day will get money for a whole days work. Another problem is that workers who work with the harvest, either in the fields or with the packaging, are only contracted for 2 to 3 months as the company is then not obliged to pay the social security of the employee (González, 2004:3-4).

Chiquita United Fruits is one of the biggest plantations and is as most of the big fruit companies foreign owned. Most hotels along the coast in Guanacaste are also foreign owned. Both the plantations and the hotels are lucrative businesses but the problem is that the money does not stay in the country so it is not the people of Costa Rica that are benefiting from the work furthermore is the worker's wages not reasonable at all. Many see this phenomenon as a serious problem for the nation's economy.

Small scale farmers have a hard time to survive on their own land both in Guanacaste and in Limón due to the competition with larger farms. In Guanacaste many are also having problem with the cost and work with the necessary irrigation systems due to the lack of rain parts of the year. The outcome is evident; many of the small scale farmers have no other choice than to sell their land to the rich farm owners. But to get a job at plantations you better not be too old.

5.2 Age

If you are young and fit it is more likely you will find a job especially at the banana and pineapple plantations in Limón where they in particular are looking for people who can handle the hard work, which most often is men. A woman from the pastorate in Siquirres, in the province of Limón, shared her thoughts in the subject:

"They make a selection outside of the population that is still productive and that still could give much, imagine yourself 35-40 years, people that young and with the unemployment comes domestic violence and a lot of other things."

Even if you are young and fit you can have problems finding a job in the rural areas and that is if you are a woman. The few job opportunities there are for women in rural areas and the notion that women take care of the domestic duties are some reasons why many women get married and have children at a very early age. By doing this they can secure their living by relying on their husband's salary.

In general it is both harder and more unlikely to move the older you are not only because it is harder to find a job. Many of the women I talked to, both in Guanacaste and Limón, emphasized the importance of social ties such as family, friends and social engagements when discussing the reasons why they had not migrated. Some of them had moved as young in search for job but had now a too strong commitment to the place they called home. This goes in line with the figure theory over the value of immobility that Fischer, Martin and Straubhaar have presented. According to them the value of immobility is divided between work-oriented insider advantages and leisure-oriented insider advantages. The more location specific the insider advantages are the more likely it is for the person to stay (Fischer, Martin, Straubhaar, 1997:76), in this case these women who had too much to loose if they would move somewhere else.

Migration is also selective in its sense that not everyone is likely to migrate. The act of migration is according to Gomez and Madrigal well connected to certain cycles in life, they are referring especially to age, family circumstances and/or job situation. The most common age and stage in life is before you have children and before you have a permanent job. This of course varies depending on gender, culture, social and political circumstances. Most women move in early years between 15- 25 years of age and it is not until 30 years of age it get less common meanwhile it is the reverse pattern for men who usually are more mobile after they have turned 30 years old (Gomez & Madrigal 2004:516).

Due to the vast emigration of young people from Guanacaste the population are getting older and older compared to Limón where the many immigrants keep the

population young. In Santa Cruz in Guanacaste, 7.8 % of the population is over 65 years of age compared to Matina in Limón where 3,7 % is over 65 years of age. In the country as a whole 5,6 % is over 65 years of age (Internet 1b). In the future this can lead to both financial and physical difficulties with caring for the elder problem as there are too few people in working age. Another reason to the higher number of old people in Guanacaste is that the majority of women give birth to fewer children than the women in Limón. In Nicoya every 100 women, from the age 20-29, give birth to 117 children meanwhile 100 women in Matina give birth to 173 children (Internet 1c). In some small villages in Guanacaste they had problem filling the school classes and in some cases this lead to long walking distances to the nearest school. I am willing to agree with Skeldon when he predicts that the aging of the population, in this case in Guanacaste, will in the near future have a large negative impact on the rural society. The result of the migration of the young and well educated people is fewer job opportunities in the area and a lack of skilled leadership for those who stay behind (Skeldon 1990:169).

5.3 Education

Education is in many ways a key to a better way of life not only in the sense that it is easier to get a job but also to get a broader perspective and understanding of things and in that way gain more sympathy for peoples' different situations. Education also give people a better self esteem and by doing that people are better equipped to dare make necessary changes in life.

In Costa Rica the attendance of 5 to 24 years olds in regular school has gone from 50.2 % in 1984 to 65.8 % in 2000 which is an important step forward even though it in some areas needs to be higher. Even here Guanacaste and Limón differ widely. In Santa Cruz the number of attendants is 70.8 % meanwhile in Matina the number of attendants only reaches 55.9% (Internet 1d).

These numbers coincide well with the information I got through my interviews. Very few of the women in Limón had continued studying after sixth grade, even from the younger generation, which meant that they had very little chance in finding a job. In Guanacaste on the other hand most young women went to school and wanted to continue at university level. The differences between rural and urban areas are vast. Except for the province of Guanacaste it is only the central parts of the country, around mayor cities, that reaches the same high levels of school attendance (ibid).

A 22 year old girl from Santa Cruz who studied psychology in Liberia told me that not many in her home town understood why she had chosen to study psychology. Many were of the opinion that only "locos" mad people went to see a psychologist so why bother studying it. The way things are looked upon is still very different in the rural areas compared to the urban areas. She already knew she had to leave her home town and move to San José or some other big city in order to get a job that matched her studies. Not only because psychologists were for mad people but also because no one would afford it.

The reasons why less people attend school in Limón has many different reasons depending on gender and social group. One reason could be due to the long history of marginalization of the Afro- Costa Ricans in Limón; since it was not until the middle of the 20th century that they were aloud to enter the central parts of the country many did not have much alternatives when it came to higher education. Being that marginalized for such a long time make a deep marking on people. Even today they are a socially marginalized group which has its consequences both socially, politically and financially. Many parents can not afford letting their children go to university. Since they have to move to a city they will have to pay for accommodation and food, if they are not lucky enough to have family to stay with, which most people in the rural areas can not afford. Many people also mentioned the difficulties for people in the rural areas to get a scholarship.

The many working opportunities either at plantations or at your family owned plot of land is a reason that many men are not finishing their regular school. For women it has much to do with the large amount of teenage girls that get pregnant, something that not only affects their education which now will be discussed.

5.4 Teenage pregnancy and machismo

In the last couple of decades non marital births have had a striking increase in numbers. From making up 23 % of all births in 1960 non marital births had risen to 49 % of all births in 1998. This closely connected with the high numbers of teenage pregnancies. In Matina as much as 24 % of all mothers are between the age of 15 and 19 compared to 13 % in Santa Cruz. In the whole country the number is 13.2 % and the lowest numbers you will find in the urban areas (Internet 1e).

The reason behind the lower number in Guanacaste is because many women continue their studies and wait with having children until after they have finished studying. In Limón many young girls get pregnant in early years and quit school. So there is an evident link between attending school and having children as a teenager. The earlier you have children the more likely it is to drop out of school. If this is the case the most common out come is unemployment due to low education and the difficulties in moving with children. Many women are also left alone to raise their children since most births are either between non married couples or where the father is unknown, in 1998 28 % of all births the father was unknown. It is important to acknowledge that births between non married couples are of different significance in for example Sweden and in Costa Rica. According to the existing conservative and- catholic discourse, stated by Budowski and Rosero-Bixby, it is very shameful when unmarried women gets pregnant and even worse if the father is unknown. It is then quite common for the father to vanish and to neither acknowledge his child nor the responsibility that it brings, which coexist with the attitude of machismo. This puts the mother in a even more difficult situation when she due to early pregnancy stands without education and because of this most probably also without a job which means that she can neither support herself nor her child. Budowski and Rosero-Bixby acknowledge this through the *poverty and welfare discourse* that concentrates on the elimination of poverty especially in female-headed households (Budowski & Rosero-Bixby 2003:229-233, 237).

I asked the woman from the pastorate in Siquirres how the youth look upon prevention whether it is a taboo or not and how it is used. She explained it as follows:

"Taboo, I think not. But, yes it is difficult to talk about this; there is a certain misgiving and ambience."

When I asked her if the pastoral worked with these questions she continued:

"When it comes to prevention at my work, here at the social pastoral, we do not use that method, we talk about gender and how the man and the woman are equal but, in the sense, directed towards the young we do not have any work."

Further I asked her if it was hard to find contraceptives and she answered:

"No, it is all over the market. Everyone knows that it exist and from very young the boys know how to use it, they are well informed about this. Because of the culture they do not use it, a part of the machismo says that the man do not use this. They know that it exist and that they might get diseases but they do not use it."

Even though this includes many men there are of course those who do use contraceptive. Once again there is a big difference between rural and urban areas regarding thoughts and behaviour.

Machismo is something that has been well integrated in the Costa Rican society for a long period of time but is now loosing ground in most urban areas while it still is part of everyday life in rural areas. The 22 year old woman from Santa Cruz told me about a saying that is declining but still existing and it follows; the woman does not choose the man, the man chooses the woman. In some cases this act is supported either by women who like the man to be tough and hard or by women who think that this is the way it always has been and therefore shall be. Both types are by acting this way letting the role to exist.

The consequence is that many young uneducated women get married very early to secure their living and the majority of the singles still live with their parents since they can not afford a living on their own. The problem with ending up in a

situation where they are dependent on their husband is that it is much harder for the women to be independent, especially in a society where machismo is widely spread. If there are children involved it is even harder for women to leave the family if they want to continue with their studies or move in search for a job.

A woman working at FedeAgua (an NGO working for organic farming with a gender approach) told me about their problem with informing men about gender equality. When women wanted to do work outside the household it was alright if they helped in the fields but then the men did not then help them with the household duties so the consequence was that the women had to work twice as much. The men in these cases are not realizing or willing to see what needs to be done to reach equality between man and woman.

As Talcott Parson argues; statuses and roles are originating from a specific society and its social norms are created by the people it self (Stromquist 1998:3). In other words, it is the people who are giving them selves these statuses and roles and if that is the case it is also the same people who can change the same statuses and roles. Many woman do realize that they are capable of changing their and other women's situation. A common thing to do is to start women groups.

5.5 Woman groups

Lola G. Luna writes that it is the patriarchal society that indirectly has created woman groups and organizations through the will of marginalized women who want to change the role they are given by society (Luna 2001:36). Sarah A. Radcliffe is arguing the same thing when she states that the rise of movements and organisations is a consequence of inequality and marginalisation (Radcliffe 1999: 209), which clearly is the case here. All organizations or groups I encountered were in one way or another all struggling for the better of their local community and its members, doing what they thought the recent governments have overlooked. The frustration was working as fuel to keep struggling and fighting for their rights.

Most of these groups are small with between 10 to 40 members and Tessa Cubitt see a problem with small groups working at a grass root level, the smaller the group is the harder it is to get the help needed. This was in fact a problem that many of the groups were facing; they had a hard time convincing the government or state body of the help they sought.

The founder of Amarba is also very concerned of the neglect the government has shown the rural areas and especially poor women in the country and organisations as Amarba. She told me:

"…during the four years in the municipality I had to visit all of the villages doing local commitments with my co-workers and it was then I saw how the women truly had to go through much misery and were in much need, we have to prepare ourselves and study to keep going, we can not carry on like this…help direct to organized groups like us, this is what I ask for…it is tough, a struggle every day."

A woman from a group called Mujeres Agricultoras de Indios had experienced that precise belief when asking the government for help as she and her group of women wanted to start cultivating pineapple. The government did not think that it was a good idea and proposed her to get some chickens instead. She was certain of that it was because of them being women that they were not taken seriously. Another problem the group was experiencing was the big drop out of members since the start. From the beginning they were 32 women in the group and now there were only 12 of them left. Many thought that by only appearing they would get money but when realizing it took a lot more time and effort than that they stopped coming. Many women are not used to stand up against the injustices and do not have the strength it takes to fight. This is not the only group in the area, there are many more but few of them have succeeded with their goals.

Even though most groups had trouble surviving it became obvious for me that these meetings are for many of the women so much more than trying to earn some money from for example sowing or knitting, it is a way to meet other women in the same situation and give each other support in different ways. Some women did not even know in this case how to sow or knit when they first came to the meetings and by

learning this they automatically increased their self esteem enormously. Activities outside the household is also very important to break the traditionally given norms that many women are affected by and for many it is the first step towards independence.

You can say that the reasons behind the rise of most women groups are a sum of all the topics here presented; occupation, age, education, teenage pregnancy and machismo. None of the women I met, who participated in a group, had a job, most of them were over 25 years old, very few had finished the regular school, most of them had have their first child as teenagers and all of them wanted to break the machismo and get the same rights as men. These groups were their answers of trying to solve their situation instead of emigrate as many others have done and still do.

How is the development going to change so that the voices from both poor women and men, either their residence is in the city or in the country side, are going to be considered in the future.

5.6 Future concerns

What can then be done to ease this pressure on the socioeconomic system on the poor? Improving urban infrastructure is seen as a good curative measure. Unfortunately it only widens the gap between rural and urban settings since it only deals with the consequences of rapid urbanization and not with its causes. The poor people on the countryside will not be helped unless the governments of the developing countries change their preferences. As it is now they, together with the large donor agencies, still pursue policies that concern the urban development, while neglecting the rural areas (Epstein & Jezeph 2001:1444).

To prevent further polarisation a strong and wide opposition from civil society is required, which includes all voluntary associations, organisations and networks that are engaged in some form of collective action. They have the possibility to break the current rigid state structure much thanks to their common characteristics. Most of them are; issue rather than class-orientated, formed at grassroots level, operating

mostly outside the prevailing state structures and most of them have also appeared through the experience of poverty and marginalization (Hoogvelt 1997:233). Unfortunately these groups have not been able to influence or significantly transform the political and social atmosphere and structure. This does not hinder Latin American utopists from dreaming of a better development discourse. Many are on the other hand criticizing the development discourse of the last four decades point out that it is:

"…a system of knowledge produced by the First World about the 'underdevelopment' of the Third World, not only as an instrument of economic control and management, but also as a knowledge 'discipline' which marginalizes and precludes other ways of seeing and doing" (Hoogvelt 1997: 236).

The need to deconstruct the current discourse is necessary to "free our minds" and make way for a new "reverse discourse" (ibid.236). The question is how this is going to be transformed into real actions so it will not merely be letters in a book or in a magazine.

Epstein and Jezeph also acknowledge the need to change development policies so that a more sustainable path can be reached. They argue that we must regard urban and rural development as complementary processes rather than competing for limited resources. The importance is to see what the two sectors can do for each other in the developing process. The linkages between them are many and all are useful when discussing the interaction between the urban and rural area. An example of this interaction is if the rural sector gets wealthier it will create a greater demand of industrial products and in that way secure an increasing GNP growth rate. To ensure this overall balanced development process there is a need of a Rural-Urban Partnership Development Paradigm, which would link urban centres with rural growth areas and growth centres (Epstein & Jezeph 2001:1445,1451). I would like to add the importance of not only lifting the urban skills but also setting forward the value of rural productions. Many organizations in Costa Rica have come to realize this and are working very hard to show for example the good of ecological products as well as informing about the value of ecological production. Nevertheless there is still much to do as many of the multinational companies still are using pesticides on their banana and pineapple plantations.

The linkage system between urban and rural centres would help to prevent further rural-urban migration and the problems entailed with oversized cities and underdeveloped rural areas. There is a long way to go before this is a reality. Epstein and Jezeph have made a long list of necessary preconditions, which all are included in a linkage system. The system contains one big urban centre, which is linked to two growth areas. These growth areas are in their turn built up by a network of growth centres and surrounding villages. The two first essential preconditions are political commitment, where the balance of rural-urban development is most important, and local participation. The rural population needs to trust the authorities so that their interest in such an equal development strategy can be ensured (ibid. 1451-53). Rivas and Hurtado emphasizes the weight of keeping the own production of rural goods, instead of importing cheap food, if the rural economy is going to improve. The reason is that there still are many people depending on agriculture (Rivas & Hurtado 2000:154).

6. Conclusion

After having been travelling both physically and mentally I have now come to the end of my journey where I will try to summarize my experiences and thoughts.

In this thesis I have concentrated on migration and rural women in Costa Rica and all topics and concerns interlinked with these two subjects. Important to remember in a world where migration studies and discussions concerning migration often are on the agenda it is worth once again to point out that the majority of the people in the world do not migrate. If they do migrate most people stay within their country of origin. Most migration decisions are consequences of the desire to economically or socially improve ones own life or equally a family member's as most migration decisions are taken by a group of people and not by a single person. It most often regards a better job, better education, better health care, better living standard etc. As said most people do not move and in some cases it might be because they are happy with what they have and where they live, they might already even have a good job due to a good education and can afford a better living standard, but in other cases migration is not a possible decision at all because of different reasons.

As in the cases of the women I met all had different reasons to why they stayed in the countryside despite the fact that most jobs for women are found in the cities. Most had reached an age where they have too much to loose if they move. They might have children that already went to school, friends and family members close by, a husband already working or they could simply not afford to move with higher accommodation costs in the city. Many Costa Rican women are doing everything they can to take the power in their own hands to improve their and other women's situation. These women proved with these groups that they are capable of changing the course of their lives even though they are a marginalized group.

Women have for a long time been marginalized in most societies and when it regards most parts of life both on a social, cultural, political and economical level. But the

situation is definitely not static, something that became very obvious for me during my field study. Even though machismo is still affecting the society, both socially and politically, much have happened in the last couple of years and hopefully machismo will loose ground even in the rural areas as it has done in many of the urban areas.

At the same time I argue that with the new global economy the economical gaps increases and all marginalized groups, women or not, are having even more trouble making their voices heard. Countries and interest groups are competing with each other globally and nationally until one part is so weak that there in the end will be no more competing.

The development of neo-liberal policies has made urban social classes even more differentiated from their rural counter part. More students are completing their studies, but unfortunately this is not a proof of development improvement but an illustration of the growing polarization in occupational differentiation and income equality between rural and urban areas. The traditional business elite will not let go of their place in the hierarchical structure, through their control of large-scale enterprises in service manufacturing sectors they keep their dominant position. Unless the powerful women I have met get a second chance.7. Bibliography

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Appendix- Fact sheet over a few women groups

Casa del Sol

Sol de Vida is an umbrella organization that since 1989 holds several groups which all works with solar ovens. La Casa del Sol (The House of the Sun) is one of these groups and was founded in 1994. In this house women meet to get information about solar ovens and together cook food made in the solar ovens. Thay are also informed of how to improve the environment in different ways. At times they arrange markets for local ecological farmers where they can sell their products. They are located in Santa Cruz, Guanacaste.

ASOACA

ASOACA (Asociación de mujeres Artesanas de las Cascadas) is a group consisting of 40 women, which started in 2004. After a banana plantation near by had to shut down most of them lost their jobs,. INA (Instituto Nacional de Aprendisaje) helped them with a small salary and gave them classes in handicraft. Their goal is to start an ecological farm, with help from IDA (Instituto de Desarollo Agrario), where they could sell fruits, vegetables as well as handicraft. They are located in Guácimo, Limón.

AMERBA

AMERBA was founded by a woman inm 1996 as a helping hand for the unemployed women in Batáan. Once a week 35 women meet to learn how to sow and knit. The goal is to start a sowing factory where these women can work. In the mean time they try to sell their products in Puerto Limón. There are also women working in a bakery and the money the get from selling bread are used to pay rent and electricity for the building. They are located in Batáan, nearby Matina, Limón.

Avina

A group of 10 women started a small paper factory in 2000 when their husbands had problem with their rice crops that the women could have as a living. From handpicked plants they make paper and all kinds of artwork. They are located in Bagatzi, Guanacaste.