

**Perceptions about the Dominican Republic – Central America Free Trade
Agreement among Public and Private University Students**

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to determine whether or not there are differences in perceptions among public university students and private university students toward the Dominican Republic – Central America Free Trade Agreement. The participants in the study, most of them young adults, attend the University of Costa Rica, a state university located in San Pedro, and to the Hispano-American University, a private college in Tibás. The study includes fifteen students from each university. The information gathered supports the premise that the majority of the students from the private college stand in favor of the treaty. Nevertheless, a unified opposition against DR-CAFTA from the students of the University of Costa Rica was not found. The results also establish that the students do not agree with the negotiation process that preceded the treaty.

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Introduction

The possibility that Costa Rica would ratify a free trade agreement with the United States generated wide interest in the treaty as well as in its consequences. The debate pervaded conversations in the Legislative Assembly, academia, and dinner tables all over the country. The nation was divided into two groups: those in favor of the treaty and those against it. Academics, labour unions, political analysts, and the media all participated in the debate. A statement by José Luis Arce (2007) of the pro-DR-CAFTA party summarizes the main reason to support the agreement: “Costa Rica is a small country with a limited market that depends on foreign investment to grow.” The movement against DR-CAFTA claims that the downsides of this growth exceed the potential benefits. For instance, “its [DR-CAFTA’s] contribution to employment under current conditions around the world is rather contradictory ... it looks for the exploitation of cheap hand labour ... [and the treaty] generates very few relatively well paid jobs” (Mora, 2007, p.36; my own translation).

Even with the participation of labour unions, student groups, and political analysts, the nationwide debate was overlooked, underestimated and sometimes criminalized by the media. From the very beginning, students from the four state universities –the University of Costa Rica, the National University, the Costa Rican Technology Institute, and the Universidad Estatal a Distancia (a state distance education university)– showed great interest in the debate and even took to the streets, staging blockades and protests. However, little attention has been paid to student’s concerns, leaving them no presence, or a distorted one, in the discussion of the agreement. Therefore, a study of university students’ opinions concerning DR-CAFTA becomes necessary to determine their sentiments and give them a voice in the debate. It is also important to shed light on the underlying reasons behind the

students' opinions towards DR-CAFTA.

Given that the importance of ratifying the treaty was enormous for Costa Rica and because of the novelty of such a debate in the history of the country, research in this area is scarce, needed, and should be welcomed. The present research paper answers three questions that are at the core of the debate on the ratification of DR-CAFTA:

- What are the benefits of the treaty?
- What are the possible negative outcomes of the agreement?
- What do Costa Rican youth think about DR-CAFTA?

The answer to the last question will reveal that students from public universities are reluctant to accept the treaty, whereas private university students are more inclined to support it. Furthermore, answering those questions will help explain the original question of this research paper: How does the perception toward CAFTA differ between students at private universities and students from public universities?

The following section reviews the most important arguments of the debate.

Review of the Literature

Since the Dominican Republic Central American Free Trade Agreement (DR-CAFTA) became the main topic of a national debate in 2004, many scholars have put forward their positions against or in favor of the treaty. Each side claims that its conclusion is in the best interest of the country. Those against the treaty have demonized it by arguing that Costa Rica will become a colony of the United States; the opposite party has turned DR-CAFTA into the salvation of the small economy of the Costa Rican market. On many

occasions, both sides used the emotional appeal of true love for the nation rather than rational reasons to explain their stance on the free trade agreement. Much of this research focuses on the rational arguments presented by those against and in favor of DR-CAFTA. The literature reviewed below emphasizes the economic and social aspects that are affected the most by the treaty.

Benefits of Dominican Republic Central America Free Trade Agreement

Among the positive outcomes said to stem from the ratification of DR-CAFTA is the strengthening of the political and economic relationships between the United States and the signing countries, which is seen as an opportunity to achieve national stability at a commercial level. One has to take into account that Costa Rica's exports are tariff-free thanks to the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI), yet "CBI depends on the whim of the American government and can be rescinded at any time" ("Trading Arguments," 2007). Costa Rica's small economy, mostly relying on international commerce, will receive a boost. The treaty also promises better telecommunication and insurance services that will benefit customers. In addition, talks to negotiate a free trade agreement with the European Union will be positively affected by an agreement with the United States.

From the viewpoint of the economist José Luis Arce (2007), the main benefit of DR-CAFTA will be higher commercial security in terms of institutional and legal matters when trading goods (p. 24). There is a global trend favouring multilateral agreements; consequently, there is a growing preference to avoid unilateral concessions in the search for more integral commercial pacts. An example of this economic tendency is the decreasing membership in the Andean Pact in recent years. It is important to consider that the unilateral agreement that benefits Costa Rica the most, the Caribbean Basin Initiative, is a

fragile treaty because it only takes the whimsical unwillingness of the American government to render it void. “Nearly all Costa Rica’s exports to the United States already enter tariff-free under the CBI” (“Trading Arguments,” 2007), which means that without the CBI, the economy of the country would go astray. Costa Rica’s products would be unable to compete with products of those countries that have already ratified DR-CAFTA. Furthermore, if the country decides to ignore the American market, finding new buyers would be expensive. Supporters of DR-CAFTA add the fact that the disapproval of the treaty highlights the country’s negative perspective not only of free trade, but also of a basic international exchange of goods. Without public support of expanded trade relationships, the pro-investment environment that the government projects would be seriously damaged, which would mean a reduction in foreign investment and would give the world the wrong message that Costa Rica is not ready to open to commerce.

There is no doubt that Costa Rica, being a small economy, needs to partner with developed markets to sustain its growth by creating income and sources of employment. The movement Alianza Ciudadana por el Sí (2007), on its publication *El TLC en tico*, points out that “we sell as much as three times more products than what we buy from American producers (p. 2). Moreover, according to statistics of the Central Bank, “in the year 2002 alone, nearly 50 percent of the value-added tax on the production of goods and services was generated by exporting activities” (Arce, 2007, p. 23; my own translation). The United States not only buys and sells agricultural goods to Costa Rica, but it is also the main commercial association of the country with regards to industrial investment and tourism. The importance of maintaining and expanding commercial ties with a major economic partner is the central argument that DR-CAFTA supporters put forward. The argument claims that expansion of the commercial relationship promises to boost to Costa

Rican economy. This boost is a three-fold solution for a stagnated small domestic market: more job opportunities derived from an increase in foreign capital, more competition that will bring better prices, and more profit from exports.

Regarding telecommunications and insurance services, DR-CAFTA supporters argue that the treaty will only be a tool to achieve free trade instead of the privatization of these services. The idea is to become competitive and grant consumers a better offer for what they pay by breaking the state monopoly of the National Insurance Institute and the Costa Rican Company of Electricity. People who oppose the treaty due to fear that the national insurance and telecom companies will go bankrupt are probably overlooking the downsides to having government monopolies in the provision of services. The pro DR-CAFTA movement points out that it is precisely the lack of competition that has produced inefficiency in state services. The purpose of opening the telecommunications market is not to undermine the national companies and harm Costa Rican citizens. On the contrary, “the process will represent a shy beginning in a road of reforms that will improve the quality of the services provided” (Arce, 2007, p. 24; my own translation).

Lastly, the movement supporting DR-CAFTA establishes an explicit relationship between the process of considering a free trade agreement with the United States and considering one with Europe. In the event that Costa Rica did not ratify the treaty, the country would have lost its leadership position in the on-going talks concerning the European Economic Association Agreement. Also, the negotiation would become more complex since matters of energy, financial services, and telecommunications would be negotiated for the second time with even greater doubts about the possibility of ratification.

Drawbacks of Dominican Republic Central America Free Trade Agreement

The major disadvantage that DR-CAFTA opponents point out is the loss of Costa Rica's sovereignty. They believe the country will sign a set of conditions that are likely to become laws above national legislation. In the case of the United States, no international agreement can supersede national laws. Two arguments in opposition to DR-CAFTA are the fact that American farmers are subsidized, while farmers in Costa Rica are not, leading to a disadvantage for the latter, and the issue of intellectual property. Both matters show the difference between the two countries when it comes to internal legislation and the drastic changes that Costa Rica will undergo as a result of the treaty. A fourth reason to oppose DR-CAFTA is the subject of workers' rights and the possibility of grain producers losing their jobs as a result of unfair competition.

DR-CAFTA opponents claim that the treaty will place the country in a vulnerable position. National sovereignty will be negatively influenced since some legislative and executive functions are to be carried out by a Free Trade Commission whose members are ministers of foreign commerce of each signing country (University of Costa Rica, 2007, p. 2). Having ratified DR-CAFTA, Costa Rica will be obligated to ask for the opinion of other nations when drafting new legislation and international agreements. In addition, the national territory will vary and the United States will have rights to the country's sea resources. Henry Mora (2007), Dean of the School of Social Sciences at the National University, is emphatic about the loss of the right to be a sovereign country: "DR-CAFTA will determine the direction of the country and the essential contents of public policies in the future, imposing the neo-liberalist ideology as the official one in Costa Rica" (p. 37; my own translation). Mora claims that he does not criticize foreign investment, but he opposes

giving up the ability to be able to influence it vis-à-vis national policies. The movement against DR-CAFTA asserts that Costa Rica will not be able to solve internal issues because the country is losing control of its own future.

In terms of agricultural impact, representatives of the University of Costa Rica maintain that DR-CAFTA jeopardizes eighty-five thousand jobs related to the local production of rice, dairy products, chicken, and beef (University of Costa Rica, 2007, p. 2). American farmers are subsidized, so they are able to sell their products at a price below actual production costs. As a consequence, these products are sold in other countries at lower prices. Selling at a price below the cost of production is called dumping, a practice that is prohibited by some international agreements. Dumping is a dangerous practice for non-subsidized farmers because they become unable to compete; they have to go out of business and then foreign farmers are able to raise the price of their goods. The United States daily spend \$220 million on subsidies and refused to consider reducing the sum during the negotiation of DR-CAFTA.

Concerning intellectual property, Vinicio Chacón (2006), in an interview to Noilin Molina, a student representative, reported that DR-CAFTA limits the possibilities of accessing information that is a necessary input for research. Molina maintains that knowledge will become expensive and students with less economic resources will not be able to afford it. DR-CAFTA would deteriorate the economy of the country since intellectual property safeguards protect pharmaceuticals, software, music, and videogames by harshly penalizing violations of reserved rights. The anti-DR CAFTA movement argues that Costa Rica is a poor country with limited capital, so it will be impossible to respect intellectual property with the strictness that the treaty requires.

The last point that opponents consider is the instability of jobs in the agricultural sector. While supporters of DR-CAFTA promise more job opportunities, those against the free trade agreement contend that the opposite will occur. The University of Costa Rica (2007) states that, “70 percent of Costa Rican employment is not linked to exporting activities and the remaining 30 percent does not depend exclusively on United States trade” (p. 1; my own translation). In fact, it is said that the work legislation is menaced. The mention of employment in DR-CAFTA ignores basic constitutional rights such as the eight-hour workday restriction, paid vacations, and the obligatory paid day of rest. Again, the threat of unfair competition is responsible for fears of companies going bankrupt and employees being fired. The University of Costa Rica even published a list of endangered jobs, which predicts that 14,588 jobs of grain producers are at risk.

Summary

With regards to the acceptance or rejection of the treaty, the perception of Costa Rican population can be polarized in two camps: citizens who only work and citizens who only study. Roberto Gallardo (2007), a political analyst, discloses the results of the survey *Referéndum y TLC*: “in the segment of the population who is dedicated exclusively to work, DR-CAFTA has the support of 57.7 percent, against 32,6 percent who opposes ... [while] 67.6 percent of the interviewees that is devoted to study opposes the ratification of DR-CAFTA and only 20.6 percent supports it” (51A; my own translation). The survey confirms the belief that the laborer force of the country is pro DR-CAFTA and students in general terms are more likely to reject its ratification.

Students' Reactions to Dominican Republic, Central America Free Trade Agreement

Young Costa Ricans have expressed strong opinions concerning DR-CAFTA. The most evident response has been the anti-treaty one, which has participated in several marches to ask deputies in the Legislative Assembly to consider the harm behind DR-CAFTA. The movement against the Free Trade Agreement is responsible for street blockades near the University of Costa Rica as another way of making themselves seen and heard by the media. In addition, student representatives from the University of Costa Rica, the National University, and the Costa Rican Technological Institute held constant meetings with governmental authorities to discuss their concerns.

The student movements that favor DR-CAFTA, whether from universities or high schools, have been largely unnoticeable; however, they have been involved in the discussion. A group of students that supports the treaty, *Universitarios por el Sí*, represents the four public universities of Costa Rica. The group transmits its messages via the Internet through the web page www.universitariosporelsi.blogspot.com, and has organized gatherings –named *Juventud por el Sí*– in which students from public and private universities have participated.

The media has had a major impact on the public's perception of anti-DR-CAFTA demonstrators, particularly students from public universities. The actions of the student movement against DR-CAFTA have long been reported. However, as the journalist Eduardo Ramírez (2006) denotes in an article in *Seguidores del TLC atacan*, distorted information has been published, such as the alleged interference of the Cuban government in the protests (Electronic version). Although newscasts are supposed to deliver objective information, most of the time students were portrayed by newspapers like *La Extra* as

criminals capable of using Molotov bombs. Ramírez adds that “it became evident that the business and governmental sectors were determined to sanction and demonize the movement [against DR-CAFTA] through paid messages on the media or accusations of punishable behavior” (My own translation). The students of the public universities in Costa Rica were forced to summon media representatives on October 27, 2006 to clarify the situation.

The concept of sovereignty is central to the discussion surrounding DR-CAFTA. Opponents state that Costa Rica will lose its political autonomy once the free trade agreement becomes valid. Supporters declare that slight sacrifices are necessary to access a big market like the American one. Besides, the new way of making business will allow Costa Rican administrations to ease the process of putting into practice social programs of development.

Both parties show concern about job opportunities and stability. The contrast in viewpoints about how DR-CAFTA will impact various sectors fuels the feeling of uncertainty that pervades the country. However, the population is more sympathetic towards the pro-DR-CAFTA position because the creation of jobs and foreign investment are the main promises of the treaty.

The referendum had great impact on Costa Rican democracy. In years to come, political scientists will talk about how democratically mature the nation has become. However, for the country, the biggest challenge now is to advance in unison according to what the majority chose.

Methods

The purpose of this research paper is to determine whether or not there are differences in the perception among students from a private and a public university toward the Dominican Republic - Central American Free Trade Agreement (DR-CAFTA).

Setting

As a student from both a private and a public university, I have noticed an interesting pattern: most students from public universities stand against the Free Trade Agreement and the majority of students from private universities support it. For this reason, the study will be conducted in two institutions of higher education in San José. The first one is the University of Costa Rica, a state university in San Pedro. The second one is the Hispano-American University, which is a private university located in Tibás.

Participants

For the purpose of this study, fifteen students from each academic institution will participate. The samples from each university will include males and females between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. The selection process will be convenience sampling and students from different majors will be represented.

Instruments

A questionnaire will be distributed to the participants. The instrument will include yes/no and multiple choice questions as well as open-ended queries to evaluate the reactions of the students toward DR-CAFTA and their political ideology.

Procedures

The results will be analyzed to obtain percentages of the participants who support or oppose the treaty; these percentages will serve as a guide to clarify whether or not students from a public university have a clear anti DR-CAFTA position and if students from a private university are in fact pro DR-CAFTA. Furthermore, documents from national newspapers will be studied to find evidence of students' perceptions. Also, the data will be used to find useful categories for analysis, such as the perceived benefits and drawbacks of the Free Trade Agreement.

Results and Discussion

This study establishes the difference in public and private university students' perceptions towards DR-CAFTA. At the same time, to present a detailed panorama of the circumstances in which those perceptions are shaped, the study sheds light on the reasons that compel students to support or reject the free trade agreement. The results of both the questionnaire and the scale clearly support the premise that the majority of students from the Hispano-American University –a private college– stand in favor of the treaty. The results, nevertheless, failed to confirm a unified opposition to DR-CAFTA from the students of the University of Costa Rica (UCR) who were surveyed. Table 1 presents the answers of public and private university students regarding their support or rejection to DR-CAFTA as well as to its process of negotiation. It is evident that the difference in opinions in the public university is not as drastic as it is among the private university students, where only one person of the fifteen surveyed stands against the free trade agreement. It is interesting to observe that the numbers are inverted when it comes to

expressing agreement or disagreement towards the negotiation talks. The public university students' answers vary greatly and the private university students' responses are more consistent. While the results support the conclusion that the majority of private university students are pro-DR-CAFTA, they also show that students from the state university have diverse points of view concerning the treaty. Consequently, it is more difficult for the opinions of the public university students to be grouped as a unified force against the treaty.

One possible explanation for these answers is the composition of the two universities' student bodies. The Hispano-American University only specializes in the areas of Social Sciences, Economics, Health, Engineering, Law, and Education, while UCR offers a wider range of majors and has a larger population, as well as a larger campus. As a result, participants from the private university are more likely to share characteristics and points of view. The interactions that lead to a stronger group identity are present in the private university, owing to its size and limited areas of study. For example, students from psychology and engineering have lessons in the same building, hence they have more possibilities to speak about and discuss topics of national interest; however, University of Costa Rica psychology students have classes in a different building than the engineering students, increasing the chances that they form their opinions independently of one another. The results also establish that students generally do not agree with the way the free trade agreement was negotiated. Participants, from both universities, agree that Costa Rica's economically powerful groups were too involved in the process and that the American government imposed many of its own interests. As a result, the agreement is seen as especially beneficial to a privileged economic minority, but the rest of the population will also have the opportunity to benefit from the treaty.

With regards to how students perceive the future of Costa Rica after the ratification of DR-CAFTA, none of the students from the public university chose the option of “Excellent,” and only four students selected “Very Good.” The opinions of students from the University of Costa Rica are more diverse but tend to reflect a negative outlook. One student claimed that the situation would remain the same; four students chose the option “Very Bad” and six described Costa Rica’s future as “Worse” after the ratification of DR-CAFTA. Clearly, the students from the private university are more optimistic about the future of the country after the ratification of DR-CAFTA.

The results of the scale, in which students ranked the sectors that are going to be affected the most by the ratification of DR-CAFTA, unveil the underlying reasons why they support or oppose the treaty. Students from the public university selected the environmental, public health, education, insurance, agricultural, and the intellectual property sectors as those most likely to be negatively impacted by the treaty. Indeed, the students point out that these areas will be “very” negatively affected. They anticipate that the environment will be most affected; fourteen out of fifteen students replied that the environment would be “very” affected by free trade. Telecommunications is the only sector that is widely considered to benefit from DR-CAFTA; 80 percent of students think that there is going to be much improvement, and only 20 percent believe that there will be little improvement. Conversely, students from the private university selected the education and insurance sectors as the areas that will be most negatively affected by DR-CAFTA. On the other hand, they predicted that public health, agriculture, intellectual property, and telecommunications would improve significantly. It is important to note that students at both universities think that telecom service will be positively influenced by DR-CAFTA.

Only 13 percent of the surveyed students think that there will be little impact in this particular area.

Table 1.

Students' support or rejection of DR-CAFTA and the negotiation process

	Public University		Private University	
	Absolute figure	Relative figure	Absolute figure	Relative figure
Support of DR-CAFTA	5	33%	14	93%
Rejection of DR-CAFTA	10	67%	1	7%
Support of negotiation process	0	0%	8	53%
Rejection of negotiation process	14	93%	7	47%

Note. One participant from the public university did not answer the question related to the support or rejection towards the negotiation process. The sample included 15 students the University of Costa Rica and 15 students from the Hispano-American University in San José, Costa Rica, surveyed in October, 2007.

Table 2 below reports the students' opinions on whether or not DR-CAFTA will increase economic disparity in the nation. As can be seen, the majority of the public university students answered positively, while the response of private university students is almost exactly the opposite. Only about 14 percent of the surveyed UCR students think that the gap between rich and poor will not increase. The remaining 86 percent believe that the gap is certain to increase, which would explain why most of UCR students see the future as

gloomy or pessimistic. In the case of students from the private university, 53 percent believe that DR-CAFTA will not result in greater wealth disparity.

The results can be understood by reviewing the reasons why the participants from the Hispano-American University think that Costa Rica's future will improve: job opportunities will be readily available, the country's economy will not be stagnant, and progress will result from more trade. Accordingly, students from the private university perceive the treaty as a positive tool for economic progress and social development. The positive effects depend on the willingness of citizens to take advantage of the new advantages stemming from the treaty. Students of the private university think that even though the negotiation process and the treaty itself were meant to benefit economically powerful groups, it is up to the population to step up and work to achieve economic prosperity. Students agreed that job opportunities will be available and they have to prepare themselves to make the most of these new opportunities. In contrast, students from the University of Costa Rica claim that DR-CAFTA is intended to meet the needs of rich people and that this treaty cannot change the reality that not all citizens have the same opportunities to go to school or apply for a job.

Table 2.

Students' perception of the possible widening of the social gap

	Public University		Private University	
	Absolute figure	Relative figure	Absolute figure	Relative figure
DR-CAFTA will widen social gap	13	86%	6	40%
DR-CAFTA will not widen social gap	2	14%	8	53%

Note. One participant from the private university did not answer the question. The sample included 15 students the University of Costa Rica and 15 students from the Hispano-American University in San José, Costa Rica, surveyed in October, 2007.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The discussion about the ratification of the Dominican Republic - Central American Free Trade Agreement lasted for nearly four years and ended with a close referendum. Even though one cannot talk about winners or losers, each citizen was convinced that his decision was the right one. Students proved to be a very active force throughout the debate, and their opinions contained valid points.

The results are conclusive in demonstrating a difference between the perception of the surveyed private university students and that of surveyed public university students. On one hand, almost all of the surveyed students from the Hispano-American University support the treaty. On the other hand, based on the responses of the University of Costa Rica participants, approximately two out of three students stand against DR-CAFTA.

Students who support the agreement asserted that the two main benefits will be the increase in the possibility of finding a job and better prices derived from more competition in the market. Moreover, the area of the country's economy that is expected to receive the

greatest positive impact is telecommunications, and students are hopeful that breaking the telecom monopoly will best for the country's development.

The participants from both universities that reject DR-CAFTA total eleven people. Their reasons to oppose the agreement are related to a widening in the social gap of Costa Rica and the unfair competition that the treaty will generate. The insurance and education sectors are expected to see the greatest negative changes. Further research is necessary to discover the reasons why students approve the breaking of the telecom monopoly and reject breaking the insurance monopoly.

One last result worth mentioning is that even when there is support for the treaty, twenty-one of the thirty students that were surveyed do not approve the negotiation process. According to the participants, the talks were not carried out with the public's interests in mind, and the impossibility of renegotiation could influence the common perception of the agreement itself.

Future studies related to DR-CAFTA and citizens' perceptions might find it useful to focus on one of two approaches. Should the topic be addressed in a way that considers the population as a whole, it would be interesting to analyze the extent that socioeconomic status affects the decision to approve or reject free trade agreements. Additionally, a researcher could attempt to determine the number of people who think they can benefit from the treaty, as well as those who do not. Research addressing the student population would find it interesting to investigate the reasons why some students participate in marches or street blockages, and others opt to take a more passive attitude.

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Appendix A

Instrument: Questionnaire

Estimado(a) joven: la presente encuesta trata acerca de su opinión con respecto al Tratado de Libre Comercio con los Estados Unidos y tiene fines académicos únicamente. Su colaboración será muy valiosa y se agradece de antemano su participación.

1. Datos personales:

Sexo: M _____ F _____

Edad: () 18 a 20 años () 20 a 23 años () 28 años o más
() 23 a 25 años () 25 a 27 años

2. ¿Aprueba usted el Tratado de Libre Comercio con los Estados Unidos?

() Sí () No

3. ¿Por qué razón?

4. ¿Está usted de acuerdo con la forma en que se negoció el TLC?

() Sí () No

5. ¿Por qué razón?

6. ¿Cómo considera que será el futuro del país de aprobarse el TLC?

- Excelente Muy bueno Se mantendrá igual
 Muy malo Peor

7. ¿Cómo describiría el panorama nacional de no aprobarse el TLC?

8. ¿Cree usted que el TLC aumentará la brecha entre las clases económicas en Costa Rica?

- Sí No

9. De no aprobarse el TLC con los Estados Unidos, ¿se verá afectada de forma negativa la negociación del TLC con la Unión Europea?

- Sí No

Appendix B

Instrument: Scale

Para cada uno de los siguientes aspectos indique si de ocurrir la ratificación del Tratado de Libre Comercio con los Estados Unidos se verían afectados de forma positiva (+) o negativa (-). Además, seleccione el nivel en que estas áreas se verán mejoradas o deterioradas por el TLC.

Ambiente ()

() Mucho () Poco () Nada

Salud pública ()

() Mucho () Poco () Nada

Educación ()

() Mucho () Poco () Nada

Seguros ()

() Mucho () Poco () Nada

Agricultura ()

() Mucho () Poco () Nada

Propiedad intelectual ()

() Mucho () Poco () Nada

Telecomunicaciones ()

() Mucho () Poco () Nada