

EVOLUTION AND TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SUBSIDIZED TEMPORARY AGRICULTURAL WORKERS IN ANDALUSIA

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I. INTRODUCTION

The agrarian unemployment subsidy (AUS) is a social, agrarian, and therefore rural phenomenon, which has produced several poblational and territorial repercussions: aminotarion of the rural exodus, and so, setting of women and young people, the persistence of an adequate settlement system in the andalusian agro. Since its creation in the early 80s, the AUS was based on the need to help to an excedent of agrarian population that suffered from problems of structural unemployment, and even, economic insecurity. This agrarian poverty, was and is, consequently rural, so that geographical incidence was and is evident. But it also implicitly pursued, ad requierd by the Admnistration objective, trying to set population and maintaining rural areas of Andalucía and Extramedura with an adequate social and economic structure. It was necessary to contribute to the míimum social conditions for the rural areas of Southern Spain in a context in which national and international migration flows were stopped afect the crisis of the 70s and keeping in mind also the process of industrial restructuring and economic crisis that our country suffered in the mid-80s. Therefore, this mechanism has led the maintenance of the population in the andalusian countryside, contributing to greater coherence and territorial coordination.

Despite the abundant literature on the AUS from different perspectives and methodological approaches, it is difficult to find surveys in which the territorial implications were analyzed. The few written about it is based on the provincial scale; for example, Roman (2004), the Agricultural Employment Andalusian Observatory (2004, 2006, 2008) or Cejudo, Maroto and Navarro (2013: 725) point a territorial distribution of the AUS in the andalusian provinces between 1984 and 2010 increasingly concentrated: «Sevilla represents 30% of the andalusian AUS, Cordoba followed with values around 17%, and finally, Granada and Jaen

around 13%. At the other extreme are the provinces of Almeria with values that have never reached 5%». Few examples of studies were on the municipal level. Langreo (2002) notes its relationship with olive cultivation, its eventuality, and the decoupling that originates with the labor market. On the other hand, there are a number of investigations that seek to clarify the impact of the subsidy in the extremeña population. Thus, Sánchez and Vicéns (2010: 142) note that the AUS «has not managed to stop the process of loss of inhabitants of the municipalities in which it is applicable». Meanwhile, Jofre-Monseny (2012: 16) believes that «unemployment benefits can significantly affect the location of people and economic activities in a country, reducing incentives to move from areas of low productivity to those of high». Therefore, despite not get stop the loss of population processes, do reduce these movements to other more developed areas.

The main aim of this article is to analyze the causes of the territorial distribution of AUS in Andalusia, and identify their geographical and demographical implications and consequences. Thus, it is intended to clarify the importance of this kind of policy in the spatial planning of the rural area of this region. We are convinced that the AUS has contributed the maintenance of the population of these territories, reducing the migratory bleeding, but no cap on immigration as a whole, promoting the maintenance of a settlement structure much more consistent, territorially speaking, than the others regions where depopulation has irreversibly completed, or almost, for example in rural areas of Castilla y León. But the distribution of subsidized temporary agrarian workers (STAW) aren't homogeneous in the andalusian rural areas, and neither is their sociodemographic importance in each of the different areas that comprise, and the profile of the group that is benefited by such benefits, among other issues.

Sources of information used to work with municipal data, were collective covered by the AUS, provided by the Public State Employment Service (PSES) and Andalusian Employment Service (AES) by the Institute of Statistics and Cartography of Andalusia (ISCA). Similarly, data from the Social Security Affiliation according regimes municipalities were obtained from the Ministry of Employment and Social Security. The information on this analysis level has been obtained since the year 2000, without being possibility of Access to official statistical information previous to this date for all the municipalities of Andalusia.

For provincial analysis, in some cases, and for the whole group under study have been used both Yearbooks and Monthly Bulletins of Labor Statistics published by the Ministry of Employment and Social Security. Similarly, it has resorted to the application, to specific aspects of operations as by the Statistical Services of the Social Security.

The time period studied was, when we refer to municipal data, eleven years, since 2000 until 2011. The election of the first year, 2000, it is caused by the statistical source, the ISCA, which only provides information about STAW at the municipal level since this year. And the last, 2011, because it is the year in which ends the called Special Agricultural Scheme of the Social Security (SASSS). When data refer to provincial or higher levels the data refer to the period 1984-2011.

The analysis has been quantitative and spatial, trying to reflect on the geographical of the group of STAW, through the three highest levels of spatial disaggregation: at intervals of provincial, district and municipal population, being the second «the logical area for the

study of the labor market and even labour factor because the exchange of workers without migration occurs» (Langreo, 2002: 203). Add also, that we have been able to consider the sex of the beneficiaries but not the age of these, because the above mentioned sources do not provide such information at municipal level.

II. RESULTS: SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF STAW

The territorial distribution of STAW at regional level shows, several trends, that in general terms, are: a relationship –in several levels- between STAW and rural-agrarian world; the reduction in number, leading greater territorial concentration; a STAW distribution linked to the olive cultivation; and finally, the trend towards feminization-aging of this collective. However these guidelines present their clarifications, particularly in regard to the feminization and aging.

II.1. The reduction in their number, their territorial concentration in medium-sized municipalities (2000-5000 hab.)

The progressive reduction in the number of STAW has gone parallel to greater territorial concentration. This kind of benefit has less significance now, given its explanation for many causes, firstly, with the dynamics of the labor market, linked to agricultural activities –reducing labor required in the sector, especially in a demanding activity such as olives based on an important, especially the harvest-, secondly through rural diversification, in many cases, and linked to activities such as construction and tourism –«urban» activities–, attractive and alternative jobs; and thirdly, regulatory changes that have closed the incorporation of new beneficiaries, a process that began as early 90s and that was reinforced in 2002.

This reduction-concentration is seen, in the first place, in the analysis of populational size of municipalities. Thus, the municipalities with intermediate size (2000-5000 inhabitants, and even 1000-2000), which have greater importance of our collective. If in the year 2000, the highest abundance were in the range of 1,000-2,000 inhabitants. (12.1% of STAW respect to the population aged 15-64 years), for 2011, will be the next interval of 2000-5000 hab., which has a higher percentage (9.9%). The lower incidence of the aging processes in the last interval, 19.3% versus 26.9% in the range of smaller population (0-500 hab.), particularly in agricultura sectpr, and the increased presence of females, explain this phenomenon, along with the overwhelming supremacy in these olive cultivation, which entails long periods of lack of work. It also follows that the percentage of the agricultural affiliates over total affiliates exceeds in the ranges of 1000-2000 hab., (54.8% in 2011) and even, in 2000-5000 hab. (52.5%) compared to lower intervals, the latter situated below 50%.

In addition, and complementing the above, the three parallel axes in which agricultural employment in our region is distributed: the Campiñas del Guadalquivir, the olive Subbética and the intensive agricultura coastline, the group of STAW tends to be concentrated mainly in the second, the olive Subbética.

Therefore, the cultivation of olive trees in the middle mountain subbética is one of the main socioeconomic systems that would explain the location of the group of STAW, to have long periods of the year with almost no work, forcing workers to receive such kind

of subsidy. This also gives meaning to the name that is given to the olive cultive of «social cultive», being the generator of 32% of the agrarian work. It is the main activity of more than 300 villages in this region where are living more than 250,000 families (Junta de Andalucía, 2009, 2011), hence the territorial and populational importance. Therefore, the requirements of eventual and concentrate labor, without need for qualification help to understand much of its spatial distribution.

This phenomenon of reducing the percentage importance of STAW collective respect to population group between 15-64 years and its greater representation in the area of the olive Subbética, is also seen in the municipal level, especially in the provinces of Granada and Jaén, losing ground relative in the municipalities of the Campiñas de Sevilla and Córdoba, in addition to most of the municipalities of Almería, Huelva and Cádiz.

In general terms, the highest percentages regarding to the population between 15-64 years, exceeding 15% are in the territories of the olive Subbética. In fact, among the ten municipalities with the highest importante of the group of STAW, seven of them are placed in this subregion, two of them in the Campiña del Guadalquivir, and one of them in Sierra Morena.

II.2. The obligated coincidence in the territorial distribution between agricultural affiliates and STAW

Another of the key factors, logically, that explains the spatial distribution of this group is the presence of agricultural affiliates workers. Thus, the correlation coefficient between the percentage of total agricultural affiliates and affiliate STAW regarding the percentage of the population aged 15-64 in 2011, is 0.85. In fact, many authors point to a cause-effect relationship between agricultural affiliates, or specifically as an worker, to the point of noting that those are, in large measure, to be elegible for benefits of AUS. Thus, the presence of this kind of subsidy, highlights the permanence in the agricultural sector by «an artificial way», to get this benefit.

The aging process of the municipal demographic structures, especially in municipalities with lower population numbers (26.9% for 2011 in the interval of 0-500 inhabitants), and particularly of their agricultural workers, making them less effective available in this sector, and so, in terms of STAW; probably linked to a small farming structure with fewer needs for labor. Thus, the aging of these small villages and the absence of replacement workers make that both agricultural affiliates as STAW be reduced with the retirement, early or not, of its workforce. Finally, we should keep in mind the depopulation of these territories or the «forced» diversification of activities to overcome a mountain agricultural with few incomes, the female migration and the consequent demographic masculinization.

II.3. The tendency of this collective to the feminization and aging

The impossibility of new entrants to obtain the AUS since the 2002 reform, and the feminization explain this aging. The high presence of women in the STAW is greater as time advances. Thus, if in 2000, 59 of every 100 were women, for 2011, they are 65. This feminization is also higher according to population size.

III. CONCLUSIONS: IMPLICATIONS OF SOCOTERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION OF STAW

The implications are complex, positive and negative, direct and indirect, and affect different aspects: territorial, demographic, economic, social, etc.

The reinforcement of the *vicious circle of structural unemployment*. The AUS becomes part of the problema rather than treatment. Following Ramos and Romero (1995: 179), the AUS helps reinforce the vicious circle of structural unemployment in the andalusian countryside, where the unemployed people «are half of the year country workers (or better sixth of the year) and the other half or the rest agrarian subsidized. And this is appreciated more virulent in a number of municipalities in the olive Subbética, where the abundance of this kind of cultive; the lack of jobs throughout most of the year (aproximately nine months), contributes to this structural unemployment. It follows that the subsidy culture is predominant, and where the dependence of this kind of subsidy for a collective of people with almost no education, and without labour perspectives in other sectors, is vital. Somehow, the cost of keeping the population moves to the state, while the agricultural entrepreneurs in the area benefits from having a workforce of temporary nature and reduced labor requirements and conditions, which all that implies of drago n social and labor benefits, and even, in innovation and mechanization.

The support of the duality in agriculture, and even, in andalusian rural areas. For the andalusian agriculture, the contraposition of intensive farming, industrialized, mechanized and innovative, and that takes advantage of an immigrant workforce with por working conditions, on the andalusian coast (Almería and Huelva, mainly), against a subsidized agricultura inland (Molinero, Baraja and Alario, 2008), especially in the case of olive (rural territories of Seville, Cordoba, Granada and Jaén, mainly), which maintains a temporary labor to help the AUS. And in the second case, a territorial duality marked by the existence of an urban-tourist coast, developed area, and a declining and depressed rural inland, excessively dependent on subsidized agriculture (AUS, but also Community Agricultural Policy), both in the case of the olive Subbética, to a lesser extent, but also, in the case of Campiñas del Guadalquivir. It could be said that the AUS helps to establish another kind of rural deep for the andalusian region with its own vicious circles, as noted above structural unemployment.

Finally, and indirectly, the feminization of the collective, which contributes to sustaining a social and labor structures where man plays the lead role, and woman is relegated to more precarious and secundary works, always subordinate to domestic and care of the family (parents and ancestors).

On the other hand, it also helps, first, to maintain the demographic structure of rural municipalities. As shown, such AUS allows set population in rural areas, avoinding the rural exodus, especially in the inland Andalucía of médium mountain corresponding with the olive Subbético, but also, in a lesser way in the contryside of the Guadalquivir. In addition, the feminization of the beneficiaries, contributed to maintaining rural settlements in most of them, thus favoring, but in a lesser way caused the old age of these womens, the generational replacement in these rural areas. In other words, population is set, however, mostly elderly adults, which already owns impacts on the natural growth of the population. It also helps to improve the family income.

In addition, the support of the population structure. It helps to consolidate a structure of settlements, which otherwise would tend to disappear. The population structure of the olive Subbética, which in their territories, more than 10%, sometimes reaching almost 20%, the group of people aged 15-64 are the beneficiary of this AUS. This structure is based on settlements of 1,000-5,000 hab., exceptionally, between 5,000-10,000. But also, to a lesser extent, its lowest percentage representation, contributes to strengthening the structure of medium-size cities and agrocities of the Campiñas of Guadalquivir. With all that implies: better and more populational distribution in the territory; better care of agricultura, helping to reduce, among other problems, soil erosion or the risk of fire; even facilitating a better distribution of public services in the territory (health, education, ...); etc.

And finally, the survival of a heritage and a quality product. Indirectly it contributes to maintaining a social culture, a traditional agrarian landscape, the andalusian olive of the mid-mountain, rural heritage of great value (environmental and historically speaking), and even in the preparation of a quality and ecologic product in some of these olive territories (i.e. origin designations of olive oil of Sierra de Cazorla and Sierra de Segura, among others).

In summary, as demonstrated above, the AUS, has obvious geographical implications to promote the maintenance of population and social structure of andalusian rural areas. The changes that are occurring in these territories for its huge geographical importance, feminized groups involved, the age of these, pointing us towards this new aim that is contributing this benefit. Its importance is vital to maintaining population and settlements of the andalusian agricultura, especially in this rural area with a structural unemployment. The almost exact match with the distribution of the members of the agrarian social security, their spatial concentration over time, and the feminization and aging of this collective, has various and complex territorial consequences, direct and indirect, positive (demographic and population support of much of the rural areas of the andalusian inland, contributing to the conservation of the landscape and rural heritage, as principal), but also negative (maintenance of the vicious circle of structural unemployment, duality of the agrarian sector and of andalusian territories, female subjugation, and little impact on reproductive rates being mostly a group of elderly, also as key consequences). Thus, maintaining the AUS in the future is no longer only a social need but also territorial. It is vital to maintaining population and settlements of the andalusian rural, especially those linked to the cultivation of olive trees, which are the same that those with structural unemployment.

However, the negative effects mentioned, require initial proposals to provide benefits to be deeply revised (demographic, economic, social and territorial), to try to avoid them. Expand and facilitate its coverage among agricultural workers of the deep mountain and rural; among unemployed young age of both sexes to contribute more to the population settlement and generational replacement; improve the training and qualifications of its beneficiaries, especially women, trying to integrate them into other occupations in the labor market; the modernization of agricultura, especially olive subsector; providing incentives to hiring permanent job for farmers, mainly of olives (taxation, different treatment in quotas, etc.); and search for new employment in areas most affected by rural structural unemployment; are strategic alternatives to avoid the vicious circle mentioned above.