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Migration, rural transformations and new social order. Utiel-Requena (Spain)

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This communication aims



Based on the study of case of DO Utiel-Requena...

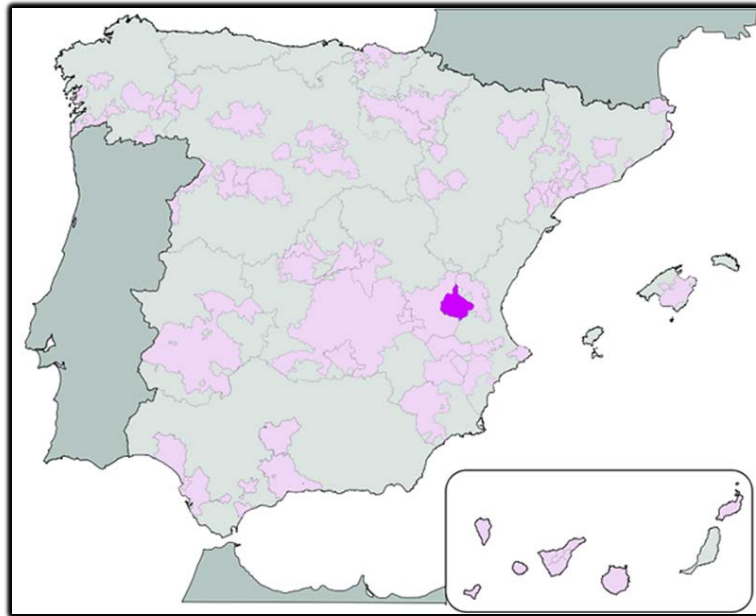
- Wine traditional zone, which has known an important productive restructuring, with immigrant workers who have taken root
- Elements of rural sustainable development: population supports, sex-ratio balanced, socioeconomic dynamism...

... pose some notes on a needed debate:

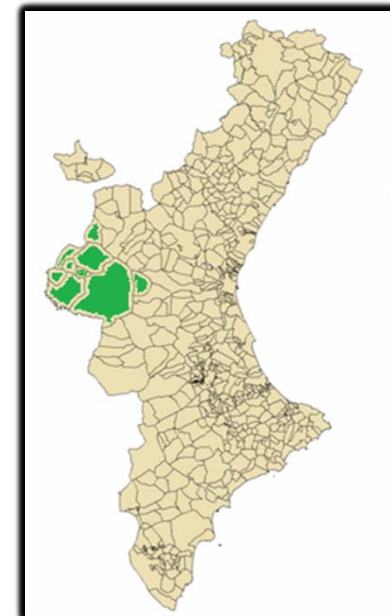
- ✓ Consider in our analysis relationships among productive and reproductive strategies
- ✓ The role of the immigrants and their families in the rural sustainability
- ✓ Changes in the social order of the rural areas transformed by the productive structuring and the social inclusion of the immigrants.
- ✓ The silence of the Sustainable Rural Policies about immigrant population and their implications

Designation of Origin DO Utiel - Requena

Map of Designation of Origin in Spain



Map of Valencia Land (Comunidad Valenciana)



Fieldwork in 2013, 2014, 2015 and 2016. Observation, informal interviews and 51 interviews to 58 key informants.

Statistical data sources: Censos Agrarios 1999 y 2009, INE Padrón Municipal de Habitantes, Servicio Valenciano de Empleo y Formación, SERVEF, Servicio Estadística Ministerio de Agricultura, Alimentación y Medio Ambiente, MAGRAMA.

Research project CONACYT 182648, “La expansión de zonas vitivinícolas y el trabajo inmigrante. Estudio comparativo en Estados Unidos y España”

Utiel-Requena as a wine production zone



From middle of 19th century

- specialization in the wine production
- oídium in France (1852-1862), *coupage*, bulk wines

Ends of the 19th century - the first half of the 20th century

- near wine monoculture
- the exporting tradition of bulk wine,
- the predominance of the smallholder farmers,
- organized in cooperatives that were articulating the production and the social life of villages

The 80's, 20th century.

- wine character is kept, with a small industry in Requena and Utiel
- exodus increases to Valencia and the coast
- crisis of the model of familiar agriculture
- " It was possible to live still of the vineyard ", but weakness of the model bulk wine - cooperatives

DO Utiel – Requena nowadays

Two processes during the last three decades

- Production, elaboration and commercialization restructuring, in function requirements global market of wine
- Immigrant farmer workers, their settlement and conversion from seasonal workers to neighbours

Changes in the organization of the work

1. Increasing of wage-based employment.
Disappearance of traditional forms of work (familiar work and mutual help among neighbours)
2. Labour market segmentation. Immigrants on secondary market of work
3. Ethnicisation of productive structure. Spanish up, foreigners down



Three phases in the presence of immigrant workers

1.- Middle of the 90's – 2001

- ✓ Moroccans and Latins, men, undocumented migrants, working without contract
- ✓ Migrants seasonal workers increase,

Intense surveillance of Labor Inspectorate in 2001

2.- 2002 – 2009

- Seasonal Agriculture Workers Program.
 - *Unión de Agricultores y Ganaderos* (Unión). Poland. 2002. The program was extended to Romania in 2003. It is generalized in 2004. *Pagesos Solidaris* Foundation
 - Men, woman and families
- It follows the model of *Unió de Pagesos de Lleida* (Achon, 2011).
- Soon it establishes autonomous transnational relations (to the margin of the official program)

3.- 2009 – nowadays

- ✓ Towards the crisis, the Program is suspended
- ✓ Circular transnational migration (from 2012)
- ✓ From 2010, relative return of Spanish of the agriculture



Total population, foreigners and percentage of foreigners. 2000 - 2016

		2000	2004	2008	2010	2012	2014	2106
Provincia Valencia	Total	2.201.200	2.358.919	2.543.209	2.581.147	2.580.792	2.548.898	2.544.264
	Foreigners	26.290	151.754	294.846	314.395	298.804	260.871	246.012
	%	1,2	6,4	11,6	12,1	11,5	10,2	9,7
D.O. Utiel- Requena	Total	38.581	39.283	40.775	41.649	41.595	40.261	39.255
	Foreigners	335	2.010	3.764	4.574	4.810	3.716	3.197
	%	0,9	5,1	9,2	11,0	11,6	9,2	8,1
Campo- robles	Total	1.362	1.372	1.423	1.487	1.402	1.319	1.255
	Foreigners	12	92	151	207	166	128	108
	%	0,9	6,7	10,6	13,9	11,8	9,2	8,6
Fuente- robles	Total	728	737	737	733	719	705	690
	Foreigners	17	50	84	94	98	102	89
	%	2,3	6,8	11,4	12,8	13,6	14,5	12,9
Requena	Total	19.092	19.849	20.807	21.448	21.429	20.901	20.510
	Foreigners	168	1.208	2.101	2.502	2.666	1.908	1.731
	%	0,9	6,1	10,1	11,7	12,4	9,1	8,4
Utiel	Total	11.786	11.848	12.294	12.421	12.429	12.082	11.748
	Foreigners	57	371	795	931	1.104	927	757
	%	0,5	3,1	6,4	7,8	8,9	7,7	6,4
Venta del Moro	Total	1.567	1.493	1.401	1.473	1.443	1.400	1.299
	Foreigners	15	84	142	244	247	227	173
	%	1,1	5,6	10,1	16,6	17,1	16,2	13,3

Source: Municipal Population Register. INE. Population data to January 1st of every year.

The settlement process of immigrants

A rapid settlement process, with clear familiar profile

- A spectacular increase: 335 foreigners in 2000 → 2.010 foreigners in 2004
16-years-old minors → 19,9% of total foreigner population in Requena, 16,4% in Utiel
- Very fast process: East Europeans, Latins ; slow process: Moroccans and Algerians

Reasons

- Seasonal Agriculture Workers Program involves men and women
Unlike others agricultural areas, here was not established a selection of sex
“no había requisitos especiales ... comportamiento cívico, o sea ganas de trabajar” (UR8).
- Legal contracting in agriculture, not this way in cleanliness and care works (women)
- Labour niches that allow to have work all the year
 - ✓ Agricultural permanent worker, with the same farmer and different tasks
“así como anteriormente eran de la localidad, los mozos que se llamaban, que se dedicaban solamente a eso ahora son todos inmigrantes, y la mayoría son del Este” (UR5)
 - ✓ Alternation among tasks and farmers throughout the year

The settlement process of immigrants

Reasons

- Women: cleanliness, care, too in the fields (not Moroccan women)
[En Requena, empecé] “trabajando de limpieza... luego en el bar de M., en la cocina,... en dos o tres bares restaurantes... sin contrato. También trabajaba en campo con mi marido a vendimiar o coger hierba... muchas cosas que se hacen en el campo” (UR-32).
- A climate of good reception. An interviewed farmer was expressing it:
“(los inmigrantes) son gente que se dedica únicamente al campo porque españoles que sean jornaleros no hay, prácticamente no hay [...]lo que es lo pueblos pequeños se están aguantando por ellos porque se han quedado a vivir en estos pueblos y están manteniendo a la agricultura ellos” (UR-9).
- Comparative advantages: cheap housing, good public services and very well communicated

Evolution of main nationalities. DO Utiel-Requena 2000 - 2016

	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016
Foreigners	335	2.010	3.764	4.810	3.197
% Total	0,86	5,12	9,23	11,56	8,14
Europe	98	972	2.598	3.594	2.322
EU	57	282	2.513	3.497	2.237
Bulgaria			248	398	194
Poland			150	193	98
Rumania		523	1.770	2.478	1.721
Ukraine			56	65	63
Africa	92	179	213	324	282
Algeria			88	105	72
Morocco		63	103	187	184
America	128	825	872	787	479
Argentina		60	51	34	39
Bolivia			141	107	73
Brazil			45	76	58
Colombia		233	188	182	79
Ecuador		354	283	220	101
Asia	17	33	80	104	112
China			47	53	60
Pakistan			12	31	34

Source: Municipal Population Register. INE. Population data to January 1st of every year.

With the crisis, relative decrease of the immigrant population

From 2012, the foreign registered population descends

- ✓ Number of East Europeans and Latins falls away
 - Relevancy nationalized Latins, that reduces the decrease
 - 2016: 479 foreigner Latins inhabitants; 1.013 inhabitants born in America

- ✓ It remains a clear familiar profile
 - 16-year-old minor foreigners: 17,2 % of the foreigner population

- ✓ East Europeans: return not always definitely, circular migration
 - “luego hay otros que a lo mejor antes se quedaban pero como ahora hay menos faena o hay más gente pues se van y vienen en la poda y en el verano y luego se van otra vez y luego vuelven a venir, que los conoces” (UR-17).

To profit from the limited opportunities of work in countries of origin and in Utiel-Requena
Previous relationships, consolidated networks, EU as free circulation zone

Social insertion of the immigrants. Lights

Calm insertion due to the functional character of the immigration and its familiar profile

- Immigrant inhabitants presents in all the significant spaces of the local life.
 - ✓ Normalized insertion in the public services of the municipalities: centers of health, of social services, Public Schools and High Schools
 - ✓ Weekly open-air market of Requena and of Utiel
- Calm insertion and daily co-presence: tacit acceptance of the new inhabitants and implicit recognition as a part of the neighbourhood.



Social insertion of the immigrants. Shadows

1.- Stock of poverty and extreme precariousness

- Immigrant families were inserted "for below" in the social structure of the zone, with an initial very precarious situation
- Current situation (social services).
 - ✓ A majority has obtained a standardized situation
“un estatus, un nivel de vida... normalizado... que después de algunas ayudas ya son autónomos” (UR-50).
 - ✓ Families which are unable to go out of the extreme precariousness
“Familias que tienen cubierta la escolarización de menores, la asistencia sanitaria, ... que no acaba de funcionar solos... que serían sobre todo necesidades materiales [derivadas]... de un trabajo precario y de una vivienda que no está en condiciones” (UR-50).

Social insertion of the immigrants. Shadows

2.- The formative - labour trajectories of the immigrants' sons and daughters

- Public schools : childhood and primary education an insertion without problems
- High schools: 9 or 10 % of average, according to centres and levels, are immigrant students
- School results change according to origin and " interest of the families "
- Over-representation immigrant students in Programs of Professional Initial Qualification (PCPI)
- Students of immigrant origin, with good academic results, which don't accede to the University for economic problems.

“un grupo importante de alumnos [de origen inmigrante] que, eh, que pese hacer segundo de bachillerato ... los padres vienen y dicen ¡pues a mí me encantaría! ... ¡pues a mí me gustaría que fuera a la universidad! Pero no me veo en las condiciones de poder asumir el gasto.... entonces muchos acaban haciendo ciclos formativos [de Formación Profesional]” (UR-49).

Social insertion of the immigrants. Shadows

3.- The hierarchic valuation of the " good integration " and the ethnic groups

- " Very well ", stereotyped response
- Relations of diverse degree: more significant, some mixed marriage, but it predominates over more or less indifferent conviviality
- Perception is modulated by groups
 - ✓ Rumanians, East Europeans, Latins.... "better",
 - ✓ Moroccans, "worse"

“Yo creo que también va un poco por el rollo religioso e ideológico porque sí que veo que la gente del Este sí que se integran más fácilmente y sin embargo los musulmanes, por ejemplo, las mujeres musulmanas con la historia esta de llevar el velo y tal lo llevan, ves grupos de mujeres todas musulmanas, no ves gente de aquí con ellas o al revés” (UR-27)

What rurality and what social sustainability?

Sustainable development and social sustainability of the rural zones

- ✓ 2 pillar of the Common Agricultural Policy CAP of the EU:
 - Territorial development, governance and multifunctionality
- ✓ Law 45/2007 for the sustainable development of the countryside. Spanish government

Elements of sustainable development

The situation in DO Utiel-Requena

Stable population, sex-ratio balanced, socioeconomic dynamism,

- without economic notable diversification:
 - wine monoculture, not overcome the agricultural seasonal variation
- Linked with global processes:
 - ✓ Global food-processing chains / world market of the wine
 - ✓ Migration transnational flows
- Consolidation of ethnic-labor stratification and ethnic-social order

What rurality and what social sustainability?

New *glocal* rurality

- ↓ Traditional: static, homogeneous, community relations, self-centred ...
- Dynamic, heterogeneous social and culturally, connected globally:
 - For "above": food-processing companies, flows commercialization and distribution (transnational capital)
 - For "below": transnational networks of immigrant inhabitants

Immigrant neighbour as decisive factor of social sustainability.

- Immigrants have maintained the population and rejuvenated it
- Economic contribution: workers and consumers
- They have transformed these towns, multicultural villages now

What social rural sustainability?

- ✓ Silence of official rural policies about the main role of the immigration
- ✓ What democratic quality? a social structure where ethnicity and class are reinforced negatively?
- ✓ New ranges of vulnerabilities and social inequalities