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Conference Paper

Labour Market Structure In The Rural Areas

40th Congress of the European Regional Science Association: "European Monetary Union and Regional Policy", August 29 - September 1, 2000, Barcelona, Spain

Provided in Cooperation with:

European Regional Science Association (ERSA)

Suggested Citation: Allepuz-Capdevila, Rafael (2000) : Labour Market Structure In The Rural Areas, 40th Congress of the European Regional Science Association: "European Monetary Union and Regional Policy", August 29 - September 1, 2000, Barcelona, Spain, European Regional Science Association (ERSA), Louvain-la-Neuve

This Version is available at:

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LABOUR MARKET STRUCTURE IN THE RURAL AREAS

- **Reference congress:** 479

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- **Abstract:**

Work market analysis and labour policies tend to consider the work market as homogeneous in the sense that they do not take into account on one hand, some of the market structures factors; on the other hand the local market labour conditions.

The work market in the rural areas show specific features different from the work market in the urban areas. Not only is this idea supported by work statistics, but also the work conditions in the companies located in the rural areas.

The rather dependent productive structure, the flourishing of new economic activities which compliment a primary stagnant sector and a widespread industrial sector, and the social context in which migration and rural abandonment are decreasing and also well established traditions and habits determined a territorial work segmentation

Two analysis, one about work segmentation and another about life and work conditions in the rural areas were performed before this study, which carries out a causisty analysis with the aim of showing the work segmentation caused by the territory.

LABOUR MARKET STRUCTURE IN THE RURAL AREAS

1. Introduction: distinctive features of the rural areas

The changes which have occurred in the last years relating to the occupational structure reflect in the rural economies a labour movement from the primary sector toward other sectors such as industry and services. As far as rural development is concerned there are many different theories that explain why these changes have come about. On the one hand, the lack of geographical advantages, the necessary costs to attract industrial companies or of services that offer places of work, together with the inability of the capital markets to finance profitable projects and the absence of a "market" of support services for companies, has helped the installation of these in urban, rather than rural, areas. On the other hand, low wages, the absence of union activity, the lower energy costs and the local incentives for industrial development are cited as causes of growth.

Referring to the job markets, few studies have been accomplished which could provide empirical data on the processes of the rural job market. There are two theories: that of salary competition and human capital, and the one which recognises union action and salary regulation and of customs as principal aspects that modify the competition conditions.

The activity rates and the wages tend to be lower in rural areas. Furthermore, sociological studies have documented the existence of large differences between social systems, attitudes and values between the rural and urban zones.

These observations, and other aspects that we will deal with, cause us to assume, by and large, that the job markets in rural areas have a series of peculiar characteristics, that differentiate them from the job markets in urban areas.

2. The rural context

To discover the rurality of Catalan regions, with the aim of highlighting those rural regions which are object of attention, we will use the methodology used by F. Martín Gil (1995) in his classification of Spanish provinces, from greater to lesser rurality. To do this we will use the index of rurality (rural index) as a base, this is calculated from three points: density of population, resident population in municipalities of less than 10,000 inhabitants and the proportion of agrarian employment. With these indicators we will

arrange the Catalan regions in three groups: in the first we will arrange the counties from lesser to greater density of population; in the second, greater to lesser number of inhabitants in municipalities of less than 10.000 ; and in the third, greater to smaller number of agrarian workers. The criterion of the ranking is based on emphasising, in each group, the most rural regions according to the indicator. The next step consists of giving a score of 1 to 4 to each region, giving the value 4 to the 10 regions with the least density of population, the greatest proportion of resident population in municipalities of less than 10.000 inhabitants and with the greater number of agrarian workers; the value 3 to the next 10 regions, 2 to the next and 1 to the last 11.

As the aim is to relate the work conditions to the factor of territory, we have created a labour index, using the same methodology, but using 4 indicators: total activity rate, female activity rate, rate of strikes and self-employed workers . In this case the 4 groups have been arranged according to a lower to higher total activity rate and female activity rate, a lower to higher rate of strikes and a higher to lower proportion of self-employed workers. All the criteria from greater to lesser rurality. Equally, it has been given a score from 1 to 4.

In this way the results of the two classifications can be shown in the following table 1:

With the aim of highlighting the most rural Catalan regions we have grouped them in quartiles according to the ranking of the indices. In this case we have observed that those regions with equal value form part of the same quartile, therefore the separation is not perfect regarding the quartile. However, we can distinguish two groups of regions, those that are found in the first two quartiles in the two classifications, which we will consider as rural and those which are found in the last two quartiles which we will consider urban. In table 2 we have this classification. Regarding the separation, we observe that only 4 of the 41 regions are found outside of the two groups (Alt Camp, Ripollés, Alt Empordà and El Segrià). This datum does not affect the end result. Therefore, there are 19 regions that we consider rural (Les Garrigues, La Noguera, El Pallars Jussà, El Pallars Sobirà, El Priorat, La Segarra, El Solsonés, La Terra Alta, L'Alta Ribagorça, La Cerdanya, La Ribera d'Ebre, La Val d'Aran, L'Alt Urgell, El Montsià, El Plà d'Urgell, L'Urgell, el Baix Ebre, El Berguedà and la Conca de Barbera).

Basing our research, mainly, on the annual reports of La Caixa de Catalunya on the economic development of Catalonia, and on other complementary sources, we are able

to highlight the principal features that characterise the productive structure of the rural environment, with the aim of contextualising the environment in which we are analysing the labour policies applied by the companies located in these zones:

- In occupational terms, there are more small units of production than large. The strength of these has grown in the last few years, in large part, due to the high percentage of mercantile production units created by individual workers on their own account.
- There is an increasingly active presence of foreign multinational companiesⁱ. In most cases they are local companies, whose origin was local – entrepreneurial initiative and local capital - which, over the years, have sold part or all of the capital to more potent entrepreneurial groups.
- The sectorised composition of jobs reflects the predominance of the primary sector in all the rural regions, the industrial specialisation is concentrated in a few subsectors (food, textiles, extraction of non-metallic minerals and wood).
- These industries are characterised by being labour intensive, with low technological innovation and traditional systems of production organisation.
- There is a high level of agricultural work and stockbreeding. In these regions it is greater than the Catalan and state average, although it has also been seen to be affected by the changes and pace of growth in economic developmentⁱⁱ.

Regarding the composition of the population and its behaviour, the distinctive features that we find in rural areas are:

- The personal relationships in zones with low population density are based on the generalised knowledge among the residents, therefore strong ownership and loyalty links are established.
- The division of the work according to gender is more stressed in the rural zones, generally because of stronger traditions and customs, therefore women principally do the domestic work and their activity away from the household is less than in other zones.
- The culture of self-sufficiency and ownership is a characteristic which is more accentuated in the rural population, since it is considered to be a self-sufficient population, able and with a capacity for rapid adjustment to

situations of need, the traditional agricultural economy of autosubsistence still is found deeply rooted.

- Pluriactivity is a part of combining occupation in the primary sector with other sectorsⁱⁱⁱ, in spite of the fact that this is a phenomenon in decline since the new generations tend to ignore the activity of the primary sector.

Referring to the job market indicators, in the rural areas we highlight the following aspects:

- The activity rate tends be lower with respect to that of the urban areas, a situation created by, among other things, the lower female participation, the generalised ageing of the population and by the existence of a lot of irregular work.
- The female activity rate is lower, due to the high presence of women in irregular employment, the low salary levels and the lack of a generalised occupational description, above all in the female population of higher age.
- The rate of strikes is relatively low, a fact attributable, in part, to the rural exodus and in part to the high levels of self employment. To this effect, we verify that for given activities and work posts, in rural areas, it can be difficult to find work.
- The levels of self employment are higher for different reasons. On the one hand, agrarian development is mainly low and of familiar character and, on the other hand, the greater bias toward this type of work on the part of the rural population.
- The salary levels are lower because the workers conditions are also inferior, a situation caused by the importance of the irregular employment, the close relationships between company and worker, the weak union influence, the rural self-sufficiency mentality and the lower standard of living in these zones.
- There are other factors, such as the high level of temporary contracting and the high workforce rotation and mobility.

3. The entrepreneurial labour policies

The labour policies are carried out according to certain economic, social, political and institutional conditions, which differ according to the territory and country where the companies are located and according to the characteristics of the companies.

This is one of the most important keys which determine the workers conditions in small and medium companies, above all in those which are the type of companies that characterise the territory which is the object of this analysis and, therefore, is considered an issue that should be explained.

The labour policies, which are the instrument through which the companies recruit, motivate and control their workers, have been converted into solely policies of work, managing the workers as just one more productive resource. From there the labour policies become policies of human resources. The current aim of these is to adapt the quantity of work and the availability of the workers to production needs.

On the one hand, these policies provoke the differentiation between unstable and stable contracting as consequence of the application of policies of flexibility for the use of labour as a productive resource.

The permanent job has been substituted by the temporary job and greater occupational flexibility has meant:

- Smaller risks in contracting because of the high degree of occupational instability.
- A better position for the companies in long-term recruitment of workers, since there are long probation periods and recourse to temporary contracting companies.
- Improvements in the control of work and in the exercising of authority, since the workers in unstable situations accept management decisions with greater ease and feel threatened by the possibility of being automatically dismissed at the end of the contract period.
- Greater pressure on permanent workers, who depend on institutional factors such as the action of the Public Administration and union action, as well as on personal factors of the worker such as professional qualifications.
- Substitution of unmotivated and costly workers for more motivated and more inexpensive ones.

Evidently, this set of possibilities which the policies of flexible workers offer will be more or less significant depending on the companies, being more generalised in small and medium businesses^{iv}, those of smaller union incidence and those of lower technological innovation.

From this, discretionary management on the part of the small and medium businesses is derived from and is manifested in the following areas:

- In task assignment: it is not normally referred to as work rather as of tasks or groups of tasks to be developed on behalf of the workers.
- In pay: the companies normally observe the collective agreement (generally the area of application is superior to the strictly business one) and, apart from this, most cases are conceded, with great discretion on the part of the companies – which in most cases is translated into greater power of negotiation -, in individual bonuses and incentives^v.
- In the work period: although the annual period is set in the collective agreement, it is normal to work overtime, even above the amount in the agreement, the amount of which depends exclusively on management decisions^{vi}.

Although this control could imply a conflictive undercurrent, in the majority of companies it is solved in a friendly way.

This type of flexible labour policy is applicable in a multitude of companies, those which are characterised by control and discretion as well as those which lack it. With this, we want show that flexibility of working conditions can coexist with different styles of management^{vii}, but in this case, what we want to highlight is that they are derived from behaviour close to the business autarky.

4. The occupation policies in small and medium rural companies: the individual relationship between company and workers

The occupation policies of small and medium companies in rural areas contrasts with those of the urban zones. These companies constitute the principal source of regular work.

The workers in these companies receive low wages, with practically no social advantages, the working conditions tend to be hard and the work pace tends to be rapid. Normally these companies have little union presence and, in the event of union presence, its incidence tends to be very weak.

The conditions that these jobs offer tend to be very generalised, the work is limited and has few exits because of the reduced possibilities of promotion.

The workers employed in these companies tend to identify with the company objectives, they are loyal, work hard and are concerned about the production level as well as its quality. The quit rates are low and dismissed workers can be readmitted with time, therefore labour is recruited with relative ease, above all the female worker.

The rotation of the workforce is concentrated in given groups, at the same time as is shown the availability of staying in the workplace the necessary time for the company.

In compensation, the companies show they have commitments to their workers, readmitting the dismissed and giving preference to their family and friends with new contracts and helping them in moments of economic difficulty. Although this is not found formally codified, it is at the discretion of the manager and the workers.

This link between the workers, the job and the company can be due to the basic characteristics of the rural working population, which from its education and culture tends to respond positively towards the authority of the company. In spite of this, when a rural worker goes from a small company to a larger company changes their behaviour, moulding to the new working environment.

A second possible explanation is that of a response which is made in a situation of excess of labour, wishing to keep the job under threat of dismissal. One must take into account that in small and medium companies, lacking union incidence, the worker can feel less protected.

The third explanation derives from the influence of the working policies from the small and medium companies on the attitude of the workers, characterised by the presence of paternalism. These policies, depending on the company, help to improve the working conditions, which are translated into a personal and familiar knowledge of the worker by

the businessman, special consideration to the members of his family and to the adaptation, where possible, of the working period to suit their personal needs^{viii}.

Small and medium rural companies do not offer social advantages as a right, but offer similar advantages in a discretionary way. These implicit contracts between company and workers, which constitute the basis of the paternalistic working relationship, are based on usage and not on a written norm.

Referring to new contracts, preference will be given to family of the loyal workers, increasing the economic dependency and the welfare of the family with respect to the progress of the company.

Quitting is the greatest show of disloyalty, the worker remains labelled and this stops them from being contracted again, even in other companies in the same area and of similar characteristics, such as the paternalistic attitudes presence.

The paternalistic businessman tries to contract special workers willing, to work in exchange for a low salary, to be identified with the entrepreneurial objectives and to work with zeal to obtain them.

Paternalism works as a balance to a high productivity level and commitment of the workers to the company.

Another advantage, is the possibility of using labour as a variable production factor, being able to dismiss workers in a controlled way, in the sense that having been dismissed they will be the first to be readmitted once they have been guaranteed unemployment benefit. This means that companies recover workers with ease, with the obvious disadvantages for the companies in an environment of lower incidence.

The paternalistic relationship is a relationship of dependency in which the workers depend on the company more than the contrary. The businessman gives advantages discretionally, while the worker gives loyalty, it being more difficult to substitute the gift of the businessman than the worker, therefore the exchange between the two is unequal.

5. Working conditions and occupational relationships

From the rural context and the working policies that the companies apply in these areas we can gather the following generalised working conditions:

- Work periods are very flexible: overtime is very customary, they will already be structural or economic. The fact that the salary levels are low facilitates the acceptance of overtime on the part of the workers. Holidays are distributed throughout the year.
- Schedule flexibility: shiftwork is generalised as criterion to obtain the maximum yield from company investments^{ix}.
- Low salary levels: in spite of the fact that in most companies the national collective agreement is applied, the company agreements in which the increases and bonuses are agreed reflect the fact that the wages are lower than in urban zones.
- Increased intensity of work: in the majority of companies in which traditional systems of organisation of production and work (under Taylorist and Fordist criteria) are applied, the pace of work is imposed by the assembly or transportation lines and the jobs are very demarcated, with each worker responding individually to the intensity imposed by the development of repetitive and monotonous tasks.
- Occupational instability: temporary contracting is found between 20 and 30% of the personnel, though in most companies the production level is quite stable. This is due to the generalisation of the use of temporary contracting as an access route to the companies.
- Decrease in professional qualification: a situation that demonstrates the profile of the industries set up in these zones, labour intensive, Fordist organisation based on the repetitive execution of monotonous tasks, etc. The learning of the tasks by the workers has never been expressed as a problem.
- Generalised union presence but with little activity: in nearly all the companies there is a company committee and union sections, but in spite of its work and recognition as speaker on the part of the company, negotiations are minimal and integration with the group of earners is weak.
- Contracting out of given activities: this deals with structural activities within the organisation of the production process, but which the companies have contracted out making them dependent on subcontracted companies.

The occupational relationships depend on the following factors:

- Generalised application of collective agreements of the state, leaving in their hands the negotiation in the company area of complementary aspects, such as the working period, holiday allotment, salary increases and productivity bonuses, etc. Due to the smaller union incidence in these zones, this negotiating strategy benefits the companies considerably.
- Weak union action, made more difficult by the aforementioned working conditions, of which we highlight the occupational instability, the lack of professional qualification, the low cultural and academic level of most of workers, the weak training of the union representatives, certain anti-union policies, weak worker identity among the rural population, etc.
- Selective contracting: access to the companies mainly through personal relationships, preferably selecting young workers for their physical preparation (agility and ability), acceptance of any working conditions, etc., therefore we find very young employees^x.
- Increased presence of foreign workers, due to the fact that they have come to these zones seeking work in agriculture and as this activity is seasonal, have had that to complement it with work in the industrial sector, in which, little by little, they have become incorporated definitively.
- Low incidence of unemployment, since in the province of Lleida, where the unemployment rate is very low, there are not many difficulties in recruiting labour, there are a few exceptions.

6. The structure of the market

In the structure of the job market which we are defining is explained in function of:

- The importance of the social relationship and other institutional procedures that regulate the assignment of jobs.
- The growing importance of contracting and training in the work place undergone in the company.
- The certainty on the behaviour of the workers.

In this way institutional elements are introduced to explain the mobility of the workers as well as the salary structure (not that they are necessarily connected processes). The

existence of non-competitive markets has been attributed to the institutionalisation of the free markets, as consequence of the formal and informal procedures. The occupational analysis is centred in the institutionalised company, so that the market remains reduced to a minimum, irreducible for the established procedures that fix some of the clearest frontiers between the internal and external markets and they are the result of the conduct of groups (the decisions are taken by the collectives: representative of the workers and the executive). The company appears as a categorising agent of individuals and of differential distribution of careers.

A fundamental element is the inflexibility of the procedures that govern each and every one of the aspects of the relationship of work.

In this sense we want to highlight the individualised occupational relationship which derives from the paternalistic relationship, on the part of the companies, to the one which all the workers have to be submitted under the protection of weak union action, and this union presence does not take the lead that the workers of the sector need to reduce the discretion which the companies enjoy. However, this presence serves as a means of information and conference to legitimise business decisions on occupational matters.

The central idea that we are developing is: that the processes of assignment, training, promotion, determination of wages, among others, as well as the conduct features of the workers and of the directors are qualitatively different depending on which market segment we are in.

Concluding, highlighting the chaotic object of this study, the occupational segmentation policies are defined in:

- The organisation of work and production based on traditional systems with a vast division of the work. These policies are suitable to fragment the workforce, to endow it with little autonomy in the development of the work and to increase the control over the workers.
- Working policies based on different contractual frameworks. There are different groups of workers differentiated by their occupational situation.
- Cataloguing of jobs for defined groups, seeking homogeneity within each group (the group differences are greater, as well as the mobility barriers). The work conditions of each group are different.

- Taking advantage of the socio-economic context: the family, social and cultural context of the candidates to be incorporated into the company are known by the directors of the company.

With these four policies a framework is established in which the companies increase the possibilities of deciding with discretion the measures to adopt in the different areas of performance.

The occupational dynamics of the companies in this area is defined in:

- The power to have a reduced group from among which are found the internal workers and possible candidates for employment with the advantage of a better knowledge of the workers and of a better mutual adaptation.
- The location in zones with low population density facilitates the fact that the inhabitants identify with the progress of the company.
- If in a reduced area there are different companies with the same production specialisation, we can speak of the " internal market of enlarged company", to take advantage the trained workers' rotation.
- The points of entry are located in given jobs.
- The representatives of the workers, where union incidence is weak, stimulate the dynamics of the internal work markets to:
 - a. Improve the control over the workers' collectives.
 - b. Establish some lasting working relationships.
 - c. Participate in the selection of employees.
 - d. Improve knowledge between the directors, workers and representatives in extra-salary areas, something which facilitates occupational collaboration and the reduction of conflicts.

7. Conclusions

Looking at the working conditions and the type of working relationships that we have shown, as well as the type of industrial companies that dominate in the rural areas, the

working policies and the paternalistic control that they apply, we highlight that in the rural areas we find a segmentation of labour characterised by:

A segment formed by workers with occupational stability and that occupy jobs in the administrative, technical and executive sections of the companies, who in total represent 10% of the total workforce of each company.

A segment formed by the production workers, the common characteristic of whom is occupational precariousness, in spite of the fact that this is manifested in a diversity of situations. By this, we want to say that the precariousness is not solely synonymous with temporary work, but also with insecurity and uncertainty. Permanent contracting only means that to be dismissed involves receiving compensation, it is the only advantage that there is with respect to the other, as the working conditions are very similar.

In this way we have concluded that, on the basis of the investigation carried out, working conditions and working relationships in the companies located in rural areas reflect, in good part, an occupational segmentation of its own, with respect to that in urban areas. Because of this there is an occupational segmentation by motive of territory.

ⁱ In the investigation that we have carried out, it has been proven that the multinational companies do not intervene in working policies, leaving them to the free decision of the local directors.

ⁱⁱ In the last years the primary sector has expelled labour which has gone to other sectors, therefore the availability of labour, as a rule, it has been important for the industrial companies located in rural areas.

ⁱⁱⁱ From the pluriactivity based on occupation in the primary sector as a principal activity has passed to others in which this occupation is considered complementary.

^{iv} "If are there any practically common features to the labour policies of all the small and medium companies , it is that of their almost total adaptation of their personnel to production needs, decided and directed exclusively by the businessman" (J.J. Castle, 1987). Quoted by C. Prieto (1989)

^v In spite of the discretion used by management, the bonuses and pay incentives in the collective agreements are established for professional categories, but basically these are in function of the pace of work, and are determined with quite a large decision bias on

the part of the companies, though they should fulfil the requirement of being covenanted with the legal representatives of the workers.

^{vi} On the basis of interviews carried out, in most cases the workers are told with very little warning – in some cases at the moment of being employed – the working period and the amount of overtime, a situation that is accepted for economic reasons.

^{vii} In the large companies, and in some instances of the small and medium ones, the application of these working policies is more complex, above all because of the presence of collective organisations of the workers which have legal representatives within each company and that defend their interests.

^{viii} Given the existence of pluriactivity, the holiday and leave are adapted, in many cases, to the needs of the workers.

^{ix} In the meat industry, the schedule of animal slaughter tends to begin at 21:00h, at 00:00h, at 02:00h or at 05:00h, depending on the cases investigated. The rest of the tasks are done later, in one or two shifts.

^x The young average age is also caused by the fact that most of the workers correspond to new generations of agricultural and stockbreeding families which have abandoned this activity. The population of higher age in the rural zones still depends, in large part, on the primary sector.

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ANNEXE

Cuadro 1- Rural and labour index of catalan regions			
	Rural Index		Labour Index
Pallars Jussà	12	Noguera	16
Priorat	12	Pallars Jussà	15
Solsonés	12	Pla d'Urgell	15
Terra Alta	12	Garrigues	14
Alta Ribagorça	11	Montsià	14
Cerdanya	11	Urgell	14

Garrigues	11	Alt Urgell	13
Noguera	11	Pallars Sobirà	13
Pallars Sobirà	11	Priorat	13
Ribera d'Ebre	11	Segarra	13
Segarra	11	Solsonés	13
Val d'Aran	11	Terra Alta	13
Conca de Barberà	10	Berguedà	12
Pla d'Urgell	10	Cerdanya	12
Alt Urgell	9	Conca de Barberà	12
Urgell	9	Ribera d'Ebre	12
Alt Camp	8	Segrià	12
Baix Ebre	8	Baix Ebre	11
Berguedà	8	Alt Empordà	10
Montsià	8	Alta Ribagorça	10
Ripollés	8	Val d'Aran	10
Alt Penedés	7	Alt Penedés	9
Garrotxa	7	Bages	9
Alt Empordà	6	Garrotxa	9
Bages	6	Alt Camp	8
Baix Penedés	6	Baix Camp	8
Osona	6	Ripollés	8
Segrià	6	Baix Empordà	7
Anoia	5	Baix Penedés	7
Baix Empordà	5	Barcelonés	7
Pla de l'Estany	5	Maresme	7
Selva	5	Osona	7
Baix Camp	4	Pla de l'Estany	7
Baix Llobregat	3	Selva	7
Barcelonés	3	Tarragonés	7
Garraf	3	Garraf	6
Gironés	3	Anoia	5
Maresme	3	Baix Llobregat	5
Tarragonés	3	Vallés Occidental	5
Vallés Occidental	3	Valles Oriental	5
Valles Oriental	3	Gironés	4

Source: Instituto de estadística de Catalunya and own elaboration

Cuadro 2. □ Quartiles to Rural and labour index			
	Quartil Rural		Quartil labour
Garrigues	1	Garrigues	1
Noguera	1	Noguera	1
Pallars Jussà	1	Pallars Jussà	1
Pallars Sobirà	1	Pallars Sobirà	1
Priorat	1	Priorat	1
Segarra	1	Segarra	1
Solsonés	1	Solsonés	1
Terra Alta	1	Terra Alta	1
Alta Ribagorça	1	Alta Ribagorça	2
Cerdanya	1	Cerdanya	2
Ribera d'Ebre	1	Ribera d'Ebre	2
Val d'Aran	1	Val d'Aran	2

Alt Urgell	2	Alt Urgell	1
Montsià	2	Montsià	1
Pla d'Urgell	2	Pla d'Urgell	1
Urgell	2	Urgell	1
Baix Ebre	2	Baix Ebre	2
Berguedà	2	Berguedà	2
Conca de Barberà	2	Conca de Barberà	2
Alt Camp	2	Alt Camp	3
Ripollés	2	Ripollés	3
Alt Empordà	3	Alt Empordà	2
Segrià	3	Segrià	2
Alt Penedés	3	Alt Penedés	3
Bages	3	Bages	3
Baix Camp	3	Baix Camp	3
Baix Empordà	3	Baix Empordà	3
Baix Penedés	3	Baix Penedés	3
Garrotxa	3	Garrotxa	3
Osona	3	Osona	3
Pla de l'Estany	3	Pla de l'Estany	3
Selva	3	Selva	3
Anoia	3	Anoia	4
Barcelonés	4	Barcelonés	3
Maresme	4	Maresme	3
Tarragonés	4	Tarragonés	3
Baix Llobregat	4	Baix Llobregat	4
Garraf	4	Garraf	4
Gironés	4	Gironés	4
Vallés Occidental	4	Vallés Occidental	4
Valles Oriental	4	Valles Oriental	4

Source: Instituto de Estadística de Catalunya and own elaboration