Globalization and Socio-economic Restructuring in Andalusia
Challenges and Possible Alternatives

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Translated by Jean Stephenson

After setting out a general theoretical approach to the intensification of socio-economic dynamics, the tendency towards deterritorialization, attempts at reterritorialization, and other socio-economic restructuring brought about in local or regional territories by globalization, this article focuses on how these processes are affecting Andalusia, a region in the south of Spain. The globalization of the economy of this traditionally agricultural and underdeveloped region over recent decades has gone hand in hand with a remarkable process of modernization and economic growth. In spite of this, Andalusia is still one of the socio-economic backwaters of Europe with a high rate of unemployment and higher levels of poverty in all its eight provinces than the Spanish average. Globalization exacerbated these difficulties, but it has also created new opportunities for the region which now has an autonomous government and has acquired new powers over many areas of its socio-economic life. The article concludes by reflecting on some possible alternatives to current Andalusian policies, and suggesting how they might respond to the challenges of globalization in order to further Andalusia’s socio-economic opportunities in the new global context.

Local and Regional Impacts of Globalization

The term ‘globalization’, which has become a buzzword in recent times, is complex and polysemic. This introduction will address the meaning and problem of globalization in a general way, and at the same time act as a preliminary theoretical framework within which the study of the case of Andalusia, which is the subject of this article, can be based.

From a general point of view, globalization refers to a trend towards a worldwide broadening of socio-economic processes that began several centuries ago, with the voyages of discovery, conquests, colonization, and subsequent expansion by European societies throughout the rest of the world that has proceeded since the Renaissance in the fifteenth century up until the present day. From a less Eurocentric point of view, there was earlier evidence of globalization in the exploration and commercial expansion carried out by the Chinese in the tenth century.

In our own century, soon after the Second World War, modernization theories, and even several criticisms of these such as theories of dependency, unequal exchange, and centre-periphery (Entrena, 1994a; and Graaff, 1996), all worked together to legitimate an unspoken continuation of the globalization processes which had begun almost five centuries before, with the gradual worldwide expansion of the Western economic, institutional, and socio-cultural model. Today, however, when we refer to globalization, we do not mean Westernization, but a completely new situation in which a
pervasive worldwide spread of economic, social, and cultural processes occurs. In this situation every local or regional society is coming to depend more and more on a worldwide system, so much so that virtually the entire population of the planet is now engaged in a single global society (Albrow, 1990: 9). We now can speak of the existence of a unique world system, something that has not been the case until very recently; as Peter Worsley (1984: 1) has written, a single human society has only recently become a reality.

Globalization has altered all the concepts and criteria which traditionally ruled local or state economies, which, until recently, could achieve high levels of growth by linking only with their own national economy. In most cases this is no longer possible and the world economy is no longer made up of a combination of the economies of many nations, but is a process which closely interlinks local economies in a relentless search for efficiency and the gaining of a competitive edge over competitors. Global production takes place by means of the integrated activities of many nations and societies. In the past the production, processing, and consumption of a particular commodity took place in relatively restricted areas (on a regional or national scale), whereas today this process is becoming ever more complex, with large multinational companies casting their productive and commercial nets over the whole planet.

The social unit which serves as a point of reference in many economic transformations and structural changes is no longer made up of particular nation-states but rather of humanity divided into states (Elias, 1990: 188 ff). Arising out of this, we are seeing a growing loss of sovereignty on the part of specific state powers, whose room for manoeuvre is being eroded from above as well as from below (Entrena, 1998a). From above, the gradual worldwide spread of transnational groupings of interests and social or institutional networks reduces the power of states; from below, many regional and local territories are demanding the devolution of state powers to enhance their socio-economic or political position in the global arena, which also challenges the centralized nation-state.

This is happening precisely at a time when numerous people in these territories are gradually losing control over the far-reaching socio-economic processes which determine their daily lives, culture, and collective identity. In this context of burgeoning globalization, many local or regional areas are undergoing a diverse process socio-economic restructuring which can be seen in the intensification of their socio-economic dynamics, in the processes of economic growth and modernization usually arising out of this, and, in the case of some underdeveloped areas, in tendencies towards increasing socio-territorial polarization both within its borders and outside them. These processes are accompanied by a worrying increase in levels of social exclusion, unemployment, and precarious work. The persistence of situations such as these in today’s world gives rise to feelings of individual and collective uncertainty and social risk.

Part of the explanation for these rapid changes is that globalization is often used to justify policies of social and economic deregulation which, while serving the interests of large corporations, have a negative impact on people’s daily lives. Accompanying these changes is the decline of the classic Fordist production system (that is, the manufacturing of homogeneous products on a massive scale), which is gradually being overtaken by a new production model which, among other things, stresses quality, specialization, organizational flexibility, socio-economic deregulation, and competitiveness (post-Fordism) (Entrena, 1994a).

In addition, globalization frequently has two contradictory impacts on local economies, which can be characterized as a tug-of-war between tendencies towards deterritorialization on the one hand, and attempts at reterritorialization on the other (Entrena, 1998b). By ‘deterritorialization’ we mean a process whereby the social relations and socio-economic processes of these local or regional settings are being determined less and less by social actions and strategies springing from relations among autochthonous classes and are being increasingly influenced or decided by interests based well beyond their territorial borders. This process in turn leads to the removal from local control of directives regulating these local settings, so that many of them are becoming heteronomous places, or spatial ‘heterotopias’, with regard to the unforeseeable and varied criteria which will determine the organization and distribution of their socio-territorial space on a global scale (Entrena, 1992). This is shown in
people's continuing loss of control over their own destiny, and in the fact that their social and historical significance (which could be conceived as their autochthony) tends to become disassociated from the economic role and function that they generally assume in the present global context (Castell, 1987: 58).

As a reaction to the universalizing and homogenizing effects of globalization, which often cause the conceptual emptying of local and regional contexts of action, there has been a growth in localized insistence on diversity, a resurgence of waning traditions, and an emphasis on cultural distinction, stressing local idiosyncrasies and ethnic or nationalistic differences (Giddens, 1996: 88). In these circumstances, we can observe the germination and growth of the idea that development for and by the local area is possible, that these areas ‘have the capacity to influence, if not shape, their futures’ (Rhodes, 1995: 1). This, together with the resurgence of local traditions, illustrates how, in the face of deterrioralization processes, a counter process of reterritorialization can develop. Local socio-economic actors are striving to wield more influence over social and economic developments occurring in their territory and even to extend their sphere of control. The main advantage of this process is that local or regional policies can identify and mobilize potential local resources more powerfully than state can (Stöhr, 1990: 4).

The fact that local or regional settings are jostling with each other to affirm their socio-economic position in the global arena is usually illustrated as increased competition among local governments worldwide to attract cash flows. This competition is translated into lower salaries for workers, tax reductions for companies, subsidies, technical aid and other facilities for investors, as well as in projecting the region's socio-economic image around the world. The aim of this activity is to attract transnational corporations to these local areas so that they will generate economic growth there.

All this may be understood as a reaction on the part of local authorities or other agencies to assert the local in the face of the global, and to devise local responses to global socio-economic challenges. It may be considered a manifestation of social reflexivity, where individuals and groups in local regions or communities do not act mechanistically or automatically in the face of globalization, but tend to discuss and reflect its influence on their socio-economic situation. Frequently, this reflectivity is manifested in collective demands and projects aimed at socio-economic development or the reinvigoration of their own specific local or regional territories. For example, in the European geopolitical setting, several regions are at present trying to increase and strengthen their political and economic powers. However, the rapid pace of integration processes within Europe in recent years, means that regional policy-makers (and regional socio-economic interests) must now operate within a European rather than national scenario, a situation which affords new opportunities but also increased difficulties (Mazey, 1995: 79).

Globalization in a Traditionally Agricultural and Underdeveloped Region

Andalusia is an extensive territory in the south of the Iberian Peninsula which covers 87,232 square kilometres and is larger than several European countries. It is the most densely populated region in Spain and it has a population of over seven million people, representing 18 per cent of the population of Spain as a whole. This traditionally agricultural region has for centuries had high levels of seasonal employment and unemployment, which have tended to give rise to high levels of social unrest and persistent underdevelopment. The main causes are structural in nature, for they are closely linked to the unequal nature of the Andalusian social structure and in particular to the uneven distribution of land ownership. To understand these inequalities and imbalances we must look back into Andalusia's history, from the time when the Christian armies had gained control of it from Moors up to the present (see Dominguez Ortiz, 1983; Lacomba, 1995 for a detailed history). However, its present structural position originates mainly in the nineteenth century. The Industrial Revolution failed to take hold in the region (Nadel, 1984), while the sale of church lands, far from effecting an equal distribution of farmland (so longed-for by enlightened eighteenth-century Spanish figures such as Jovellanos and Campomanes), led to the consolidation of latifundista
structures\(^8\) with all their injustices, lack of dynamism, and social paralysis.

If we take into account the socio-economic importance of the ownership or control of land in traditional, mainly agricultural societies, and the historic inequality of its distribution in Andalusia, it is easy to understand the conflicts that land distribution problems have always caused in this region (Entrena, 1994b). These conflicts, together with the difficult socio-economic and political situation that faced Spain as a whole in the first third of the twentieth century, led to the upheavals that culminated in the Civil War (1936–39). After the war, underdevelopment in Andalusian society and economy became even more entrenched. In the 1940s and 50s this underdevelopment can be attributed to the following factors:

1. A predominantly agrarian and traditional socio-economic structure whose profound inequalities were due, above all, to the predominance of latifundios or large estates (especially in western Andalusia) (Entrena, 1998e: 55 ff).

2. A weak and traditional industrial sector characterized by its small managerial dimensions and its productive and spatial disarticulation.

3. The incapacity of the economy to provide jobs for a large proportion of the population. The only solution for many people was emigration, which, from the 1950s onwards, absorbed the excess agrarian labour force. This increased further as a result of the modernization of farming techniques.\(^9\)

4. The lack of an adequate communications network which would allow efficient socio-economic links among the extensive territories of Andalusia itself and with the rest of Spain.

Since the 1960s and 1970s, Andalusia, like the rest of Spain, has been in a process of economic globalization, which accelerated in parallel with the advent of democracy following General Franco’s death in 1975. This has enabled Spain to join the European Union (EU), and has improved Andalusia’s opportunities for contact with the outside world. The restoration of democracy in Spain also led to the establishment in 1980 of an autonomous government for Andalusia, which was achieved as a result of pressure from the grassroots of Andalusian society, combined with a process of state decentralization that was under way at that time. The region may therefore provide a case study of the intensification of socio-economic dynamics – increasing socio-territorial polarization, social exclusion, and precarious employment – felt in local areas as a consequence of the globalization process, as well as the coincident tendencies towards deterritorialization and attempts at reterritorialization, as explored in the following sections.

### The Intensification of Regional Socio-Economic Dynamics

The intensification of Andalusian socio-economic dynamics that have occurred as a consequence of increasing globalization have given rise to a process of modernization and economic growth, whose most recent phase (in the 1980s and 1990s) is the object of our analysis.

Modernization and economic growth have given rise to population drifts towards the cities and to urbanization patterns typical of such situations. Although agricultural and rural lifestyles are still qualitatively important in Andalusia, quantitatively this is no longer the case: a predominantly rural population immersed in a rural lifestyle and culture has become more urbanized and cosmopolitan (Delgado Cabeza, 1993), though less so than in other areas of Spain. In Andalusia, 37 per cent of the population still live in towns of less than 20,000 inhabitants, and a third live in villages of fewer than 5,000 people. The socio-cultural changes brought about by this urbanization have resulted in a drop in the birth rate and a simultaneous rise in life expectancy, which in 1991 was 72.5 years for men and 78.7 for women. This means that Andalusia has an ageing population, which in turn will mean a future decrease in the number of people of working age, if immigration or changes in the birth rate do not redress this imbalance.

The population drift towards the cities has gone hand in hand with several changes in the distribution of the economically active population. There has been a gradual decline in the number of people employed in the primary or agricultural sector: in 1960, 972,200 people were employed in agriculture, compared with 286,600 in 1990. However, the proportion of the population supported by agriculture
is still much larger than the Spanish average, and it has actually risen slightly since 1995. As there has been no corresponding rise in the size of the agricultural workforce, this suggests that workers are forced to remain in the agricultural sector due to lack of work in other sectors. It may also be explained by the fact that many unemployed farmworkers have opted to register as seeking work on the land in the hope of receiving benefits from the special agrarian subsidy plan which has been in force for some years in certain Spanish regions such as Extremadura and Andalusia.

The drift of the agrarian population towards other productive sectors has been matched by a significant increase in the size of the population employed in the tertiary sector. As regards the number of people occupied in industry and building, this has remained virtually constant since 1990 (see Figures 1 and 2), although there was a slight increase in the population employed in the latter in 1991, possibly due to the building of the 1992 World Fair installations in Seville.

Andalusia’s economic dynamism is seen in the considerable increase in bank loans to the private sectors of all the provinces in the region in recent years (Table 1). Its economic growth is also evident in the growth of the regional Producto Interior Bruto (PIB; gross regional product) which has shown an overall increase in recent years. After an increase of 2 per cent in 1986, the rate of increase peaked at 6.7 per cent in 1988. The PIB then entered a downward phase (coinciding with a general recession of the Spanish economy) and fell by −2.5 per cent in 1993, to grow again by 4.6 per cent in 1996 (Figure 3). Since 1994, both tourism and an increase in exports have contributed to this rise. The growth in both exports and imports since then, each totalling over one billion pesetas in 1996, gives some idea of the extent of the internationalization of the Andalusian economy (Table 2).

Data on the evolution of the regional economy for the period between 1990 and 1992 are presented in Table 3, which displays clear differences between the Andalusian data and those for Spain as a whole. For example, the Andalusian primary sector is twice as important as in Spain as a whole, while industry in Spain contributes more to the gross national product than it does to Andalusia’s less industrially developed economy. Finally, it is Andalusia’s service sector (covering mainly tourism, hotels, and restaurants) that has grown most, and it now contributes proportionately more than for Spain as a whole.
The Persistence of Underdevelopment and Increasing Socio-Territorial Polarization

The factors contributing to the weakness of the Andalusian economy in the 1940s and 1950s have been identified above. When considering the current situation in the region we can see that in spite of considerable socio-economic change and improvements in the standard of living, growth and modernization have not overcome this weakness. Fundamental problems remain and over recent decades a tendency towards increasing socio-territorial polarization can be observed. To illustrate this point, we will reconsider the causes of underdevelopment in turn.

First, there are still great imbalances in the Andalusian socio-economic structure: the primary sector is still too large and demonstrated large-scale overmanning. In other areas of Spain, especially in the north, small and medium-sized properties abound, so most of the active rural population is self-employed. In Andalusia, however, wage-earning farm-workers are in the majority; this
situation does not fit into the EU model, whose policies favour agricultural structures in which there are many more landowning farmers than wage-earning farmworkers (Delgado Cabeza, 1993). This structure is a result of the landowning system, with its many large estates: 2.7 per cent of farms occupy 51.9 per cent of farmland in use in Andalusia (see Table 4). Moreover, 60 per cent of farms cover an area of less than five hectares (1 hectare = 2.471 acres) and serve mainly as family smallholdings intended to complement other employment in industry or services. This exemplifies the pluriactivity of many rural areas today.

The imbalances observed in Andalusia's socio-economic structure no longer arise solely from an unequal distribution of the land. Modernization has brought about a gradual reduction in the importance of the agricultural sector in the regional PIB, and besides the traditional inequalities between landowners and wage-earning farmworkers, we are now witnessing other injustices and forms of social exclusion. It is not surprising,

Table 3. Comparison of gross national product (GNP) value added to market prices in Andalusia and the rest of Spain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>1991</th>
<th>1992</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Andalusia</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Andalusia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary sector</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>55.5</td>
<td>65.7</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of which Banking</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GNP per head</td>
<td>929,770</td>
<td>1,205,836</td>
<td>1,025,867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andalusia/Spain (%)</td>
<td>77.1</td>
<td>72.3</td>
<td>77.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Contabilidad Regional de España (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 1993).
Table 4. Size of farms in Andalusia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of farms</th>
<th>Farms</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total area</th>
<th>Ha.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Farmland in use</th>
<th>Ha.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farms</td>
<td>296,398</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>5,899,208</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>4,592,298</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With no land in use</td>
<td>1,378</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>122,709</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>With land in use</td>
<td>295,021</td>
<td>99.6</td>
<td>5,776,499</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>4,592,298</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>&lt; 1 ha.</td>
<td>24,834</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>27,764</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>13,436</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1–2 ha.</td>
<td>65,621</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>122,030</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>84,972</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2–5 ha.</td>
<td>90,406</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>330,891</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>268,878</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5–10 ha.</td>
<td>49,443</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>406,949</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>334,262</td>
<td>7.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>10–20 ha.</td>
<td>29,370</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>484,279</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>397,603</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>20–30 ha.</td>
<td>11,077</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>306,597</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>264,785</td>
<td>5.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>30–50 ha.</td>
<td>8,520</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>389,280</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>319,753</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>50–100 ha.</td>
<td>7,621</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>650,299</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>525,221</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100+</td>
<td>8,129</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>3,058,411</td>
<td>51.8</td>
<td>2,383,387</td>
<td>51.9</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
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Source: Encuesta sobre la Estructura de las Explotaciones Agrarias en Andalucía (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 1995).

Figure 4. Net personal income, Spain and Andalusia, 1979–91

Therefore, that ‘fourth world’ phenomena, such as poverty and delinquency, are on the increase, especially in large towns. In addition, income per capita in Andalusia is well below the Spanish average, and the gap is tending to widen (Figure 4).

Inequalities in Andalusia and the rest of Spain are also clearly evident in the poverty indicators for both areas. The EU defines the poor as those people who have a net income per person of less than half the average personal income for the country in which they live. The FOESSA Report (1994) identifies two degrees of poverty: moderate and severe. The first of these corresponds to those on the poverty threshold, i.e. those whose income...
is less than half the national average. Severe poverty is defined as having half the income of those at the poverty threshold, i.e. 25 per cent of the average national income. As is illustrated in Figure 5, 19.4 per cent of the Spanish population are below the poverty threshold, and 10 per cent suffer severe poverty. For Andalusia, the figures are even more depressing: 25.8 per cent and 13.5 per cent, respectively. What is more, the eight Andalusian provinces all have higher poverty rates than the Spanish average.

Secondly, the socio-economic structure of the industrial sector, in which most activity is linked to natural resources and offers little scope for adding value, remains weak. The contribution of this sector to the gross national product has fallen slightly in recent years (Table 3). This underdevelopment is particularly noticeable in the unevenness of Andalusia’s industrial fabric, with its limited range of activities (basically food production, building, and metalwork) and its geographical concentration in the Sevilla–Cádiz–Huelva triangle, which accounts for 60 per cent of the region’s production. The inadequacy of functional and territorial links between these three provinces make them yet another example of those ‘islands of activity’ which are a recurring feature of the Andalusian productive system (Román, 1995: 180).

There is also limited technological development and businesses are usually small. Although there are many of them, this is not due to any great entrepreneurial tradition in Andalusia; rather, people go into business on a small scale to avoid the rampant unemployment in the region. In these circumstances, it is hardly likely that modern, large-scale, efficient organization of production will develop. And the small industries that do exist are particularly vulnerable to national or international socio-economic fluctuations.

The weakness of industry is in complete contrast to the inordinate expansion of the service sector. In this regard, Andalusia has not evolved in accordance with the classic Clark model (1960), which posits that modernization has meant the successive concentration of the majority of the labour force in the primary, secondary, and tertiary sectors. These concentrations correspond to agrarian, industrial, and post-industrial societies, respectively. However, Andalusian society cannot be called ‘post-industrial’, since (as has also been the case in the modernization of other underdeveloped societies), its ‘tertiarization’ is not a phase that has occurred after its industrialization. Rather, we have seen its direct transition from a traditional, basically agricultural society, to one in which most of the working population is employed in the service sector, by-passing an industrial phase proper. This has mainly been a result of the boom in tourism, as well as the growth in health, education, social, and bureaucratic services, which are now under Andalusian control as a
result of the region’s political autonomy. So the massive movement of the active population to the tertiary sector reflects not a balanced development based on a firmly established industrial society, but rather a top-heavy shift by farm workers, made redundant through the crisis and structural transformation in agriculture, who could not be absorbed by the weak industrial sector.

Thirdly, high levels of unemployment continue, in spite of recent economic growth, which has not been able to generate sufficient work to occupy all the active Andalusian population. We are seeing the propensity towards increased unemployment which globalization processes usually bring in their wake. The volume of temporary and precarious employment is well above the national average, as a result of the seasonal nature of certain agricultural activities, as well as of tourism. This lack of stable employment brings about the atmosphere of risk and uncertainty typical of globalization, which is especially serious in Andalusia, given the grave difficulties it is facing. To a large extent, this situation is due to the policies of deregulation which globalization brings with it. In this sense, in Andalusia, the application of successive deregulating labour reforms by the Spanish governments over the last ten years for the sake of greater ‘flexibility’ in the labour market (in accordance with the post-Fordist productive model at present in vogue), has resulted in a considerable increase in the already high regional levels of job insecurity. In the aftermath of the socio-economic euphoria whipped up by the World Fair in 1992, Andalusia suffered an economic crisis which saw a rapid fall in the number of building workers employed and an overall loss of 62,000 jobs in industry in 1992 and 1993.

All in all, since the loss of employment resulting from the 1992–93 crisis, there has been a significant rise in employment all over the region in absolute terms. Even so, there are differences in this trend from province to province, which are shown in Table 5. If we compare provincial evolution between 1988 and 1997, we see that Almeria, Huelva, Malaga, Seville, and Cadiz have increased their employment capacity, reflecting their greater economic dynamism, whereas Granada, Cordoba, and Jaen, with slight fluctuations, have remained relatively stagnant. In general, then, greater dynamism may be observed in the western provinces, with notable exceptions in the eastern ones, such as one area of Almeria, which is a well-developed centre of intensive greenhouse farming.

As an example of the divide between Andalusia and the rest of Spain in terms of unemployment rates, we can see that in the former they have always been considerably higher (Figure 6). Moreover, the registered level of unemployment in all provinces in the last three months of 1997 was higher than the average rate for Spain (Figure 7). Unemployment in industry, construction, and services has fallen since 1993, but in contrast, unemployment in agriculture has been steadily rising, even in prosperous years, so that the number of people unemployed in this sector is approaching the level

Table 5. Employment development by provinces (000s inhabitants)

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andalucia</td>
<td>1,717.8</td>
<td>1,766.9</td>
<td>1,821.4</td>
<td>1,815.0</td>
<td>1,734.4</td>
<td>1,681.3</td>
<td>1,684.0</td>
<td>1,726.9</td>
<td>1,857.6</td>
<td>1,894.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almeria</td>
<td>131.8</td>
<td>139.6</td>
<td>142.0</td>
<td>138.0</td>
<td>138.5</td>
<td>138.3</td>
<td>132.9</td>
<td>137.4</td>
<td>145.6</td>
<td>150.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cadiz</td>
<td>247.7</td>
<td>252.6</td>
<td>255.5</td>
<td>247.5</td>
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Note: Data refer to the last three months of the year.
Figure 6. Unemployment rates, Spain and Andalusia, 1988–97

Figure 7. Provincial unemployment rates by sex, Andalusia, 1997
found in the tertiary sector, which employs six times as many people (Figure 8).

The overall result is a persistence of unemployment, in spite of the growth and the processes of modernization Andalusia has recently undergone. This persistence could be explained by the following factors:

1. the large numbers of surplus workers released through the accelerated transformation of traditional agricultural structures;
2. the inability of the patchy industrial sector to absorb most of this surplus labour;
3. the economic difficulties or crises in the areas that traditionally absorbed immigrants from Andalusia during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s;
4. the increasing entry into the labour market of women and of young people born in the 1960s.

Finally, as regards the communications network, the intense dual-carriageway and motorway building programmes introduced by national and regional governments in recent years have not overcome interterritorial polarization in Andalusia, which has even become accentuated. The socioterritorial inequalities and imbalances which globalization processes often entail, far from harmoniously overcoming Andalusia’s age-old backwardness, are actually leading to a growing social asymmetry as far as the rest of Spain is concerned, and also a tendency towards the exacerbation of interprovincial and inter-territorial inequalities. Contrasts may be observed in poverty levels among provinces (see Figure 9). Some areas have also benefited considerably more than others from development, as can be seen in Figure 10. Here, three areas of unequal development are clearly differentiated:

1. the economically dynamic coastal region, which has seen growth in the service sector, especially in tourism;
2. a static area, situated along the Guadalquivir valley; and
3. a marginal zone, corresponding mainly to mountainous areas in the north of Huelva and Córdoba and a large part of the interior of the eastern provinces.

Worryingly, these interterritorial imbalances show no sign of diminishing, and they may even become more pronounced in the next few years, as a large part of the marginal zone mentioned above lacks new roads, and there are no plans to build any (Figure 11). This will do nothing to enhance short- or medium-term development in these areas.

**Figure 8. Numbers of unemployed by economic sector, Andalusia, 1988–97**
Figure 9. Provincial poverty indicators, Andalusia

Figure 10. Uneven development in Andalusia
Tendencies towards Deteriorialization

As we have seen, Andalusia’s difficulties in overcoming underdevelopment are due to the progressive development of globalization. Immersed as it is in the current global situation, this region has significantly strengthened its links with the outside world, and, as a consequence, it is no longer a traditional, localist society whose problems arose, developed, and could be explained autarchically, that is, as dependent on its specific internal socio-economic conditions. In the new global situation, Andalusia is undergoing a profound commercial and organizational restructuring. As a result, the methods of social articulation and traditional relationships among social classes are gradually being modified, at the same time as the old local power structures, based mainly on land ownership, are being eroded.

The socio-economic factors that shape these methods of articulation, relationships, and structures are increasingly determined by processes that originate far from Andalusia itself; this is what we mean when we say that we are witnessing trends towards their gradual deteriorialization.

As Andalusian society, like those of other regions undergoing similar globalization processes, is becoming more and more tied, asymmetrically and to its own disadvantage, to the global economic system, it has been gradually losing room for manoeuvre in terms of determining the norms and processes that determine the organization and running of its territory. This means that social actions and relationships among classes in the region are being decided by external influences at the expense of internal ones. The sharing out of functions – as well as levels of prestige and the hierarchy of influence that this brings in its wake – are being controlled less and less by the will of Andalusia’s own socio-economic agents and more and more by outside interests. As a result, the shaping of local power and the structure of class relations no longer depend so much on the ownership of land but on technical or professional qualifications, managerial efficiency, the information at one’s disposal, or organizational capacity. In a nutshell, we see the
predominance of all those individual or collective capacities which facilitate the achievement of a more advantageous position within a globalized market society.

The repercussions of this are being felt in Andalusian villages and small communities in which the power of the traditional landowning cacique, or local boss, is being eroded in favour of the growing influence of democratically elected politicians, union members, and qualified people in general, who contribute in some way to the articulation of the community and to the resolution of its problems within the global system. In the light of this, the progress of the Andalusian economy and society is ever more closely linked to global socio-economic trends, controlled as they are by decisions and events occurring a great distance away, for example directives passed in Brussels.

Under these circumstances, internal antagonisms between the classes and anarchistic struggles for the ownership of land, that erupted so frequently among wage-earning farmworkers during the last century and at the beginning of this one, are all being left behind. In contrast, new forms of solidarity occasionally manifest themselves in inter-class protest movements. One example of traditionally antagonistic social sectors that are now working together is the recent demonstrations against proposals by European policy-makers to modify the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) regarding the olive sector. On this occasion the large, medium, and small landowners and their representative organizations, as well as wage-earning farmworkers and their union representatives, voiced their protest in unison. According to the ASAJA (the Young Farmers' Association), the olive sector represents 75 per cent of the total workforce on the land in Andalusia. This, and the fact that olive oil production is one of the cornerstones of the Andalusian way of life, employment, and economy, help to explain the forging of a common cause by these formerly disparate social groups, as well as their shared resentment of the increasing daily influence of decisions taken in far-away Brussels.

This does not mean, however, that Andalusia's social conflicts and differences have been overcome; rather they have been temporarily set aside in the face of the problems entailed by the processes of globalization for the territory as a whole. The transitory nature of the solidarity between these different groups became evident as soon as the EU had approved a new CAP for this product, when the divisions opened up again.

Attempts at Reterritorialization

As mentioned above, Andalusia's autonomy has developed concomitantly with the transition to democracy in Spain, a process which involved a commitment to union with Europe, and has therefore meant an acceleration in the process of globalization in the region. What can be done and what is being done in this situation to overcome Andalusian underdevelopment and socio-territorial imbalances? We shall leave the first question for the final section of this article on unmet challenges and possible alternatives. Here we shall concentrate on what is being done at present, that is, we shall describe how what we have earlier called the reterritorialization of local and regional settings is shaping up in the case of Andalusia. In this discussion it must be recalled that Andalusia's accession to an autonomous status has meant that its newly endowed political and legal framework has an increased capacity to undertake public policies directed at counteracting socio-territorial inequalities. The regional government now wields power over areas such as health care, education, agriculture, industry, tourism, territorial planning, public works, and housing schemes (Estatuto de Autonomía de Andalucía: Título primero). The exercise of these powers has to be subordinate to the general interests of the Spanish state, which reserves its right over those actions which guarantee national unity, identity, and sovereignty. In spite of these limitations, the regional government has far-reaching powers, especially in the areas of economic development, road building, and public policy.

Since the early days of autonomy, priority has been given to improving the health service and education, because these are the major areas in which power has been transferred from central government, and because they are still lagging behind welfare state systems in other European countries. Moreover, the regional government is working towards the improvement of social services and the
building or maintenance of the infrastructure in terms of roads, motorways, and ports, which accounted for the bulk of economic development in Andalusia during the 1980s (Ferraro García, 1995: 104–105).

All these policies have undoubtedly made for an improvement in Andalusia's situation and for an enhancement of its capacity to develop its own local responses to the challenges of globalization (Stöhr, 1990). We can observe how Andalusian people are struggling for and by themselves for development, and to improve their position within the global economic system. We understand this struggle (on the part of the population) and the regional public policies (on behalf of the government) as local responses in the face of the deterritorializing tendencies that result from globalization, or as attempts at the reterritorialization of the influences governing the region. These attempts, whether they come from the autonomous government or from individuals or organizations, may be interpreted as reflexive reactions by local Andalusian socio-political actors in an attempt to assert their socio-economic position and to increase their room for manoeuvre within the worldwide economic system.

One of the conscious or subconscious objectives of these attempts is an increase in Andalusia's influence on the global processes that determine the socio-economic dynamics within its territorial borders. With this aim in mind, Manuel Chaves, who is currently President of the autonomous Andalusian government, as well as other members of his government, have made foreign visits (most recently, in the summer of 1998, to Morocco and South America), to negotiate directly on issues concerning the socio-economic welfare of their autonomous community. Some trips have been made to Brussels in an attempt to influence decisions on European economic policy affecting Andalusia, especially with regard to agriculture, fisheries, and the structural funding to be assigned to the region over the next few years.

Among current Andalusian development policies are those aimed at improving the agricultural prospects of the region. To this end, the regional government has introduced the Andalusian Plan for Rural Development (PDRA) (1994–99). This Plan has been put forward in the context of the present worldwide reassessment of rurality as a paradigm of quality of life and sustainable development. Some of its objectives are: innovation in technology and organization; diversification of economic activities; the development of rural industries; increased competitiveness of agricultural produce; job creation in rural areas; measures to counter soil erosion; and the promotion of sustainable development. The Plan also aims to achieve higher incomes for the rural population, greater social equality and improved quality of life. To this end, it proposes improving the region's infrastructure and basic socio-cultural amenities, as well as paying special attention to the most deprived rural areas. Moreover, it aims to achieve a more balanced integration of rural and urban ways of life (PDRA, 1994: 17 ff.).

The Plan also aims to invigorate and dignify agricultural society and to promote the cultural aspects of the rural way of life, thereby helping to nurture a sense of identity for each natural and social zone. This assertion of identity may strengthen the capacity of local areas within Andalusia to respond to the process of globalization. Finally, in terms of tackling the region's chronic unemployment problem, the Plan intends to go beyond the payment of benefits and subsidies to the unemployed, which is basically what the Andalusian administration has done up to now.

In order to promote regional development and managerial activity, the Andalusian Development Institute (IFA) was created in 1987. Among its stated aims are the improvement of the competitiveness of Andalusian companies; increasing industrialization; the consolidation of the business network; and the redressing of territorial imbalance. With these aims borne in mind, the IFA runs financial support schemes for industry, such as giving aid to business initiatives for young people, granting direct low-interest, easily repayable loans for investment projects, participating in company capital with a view to increasing levels of financial self-support, and giving direct grants to companies.

Worldwide promotion is the best defence against being left by the wayside in the current process of international market expansion. With this in mind, the Andalusian government has created a public company for the marketing of regional products. Its degree of internationalization may be seen from the siting of its branches in Brussels, Tokyo,
and Dallas, all of which are at the service of Andalusian companies. Its activity does not stop there, for the IFA also has a Regional Marketing Department whose aims are: to promote managerial cooperation throughout the region, to help companies to open up their markets; to organize seminars on business opportunities for Andalusia in international fora and competitions; and to organize visits to Andalusia by foreign institutional and company representatives to Andalusia who can offer integral consulting services to foreign investors and multinational enterprises. In order to capture foreign investment, the IFA stresses the region’s assets (its geographical location, communications system, etc.), the opportunities afforded by its different productive sectors, and its advantages over other regions.\textsuperscript{11}

In this way Andalusia is heavily engaged in persuading multinational corporations to become established in its territory, as well as in attracting foreign investment capital, as are other regions and communities which are competing with each other in the global arena for this purpose. Among the multinational corporations that have recently set up business in the region are Fujitsu, Alcatel, Matsushita, and Hughes Microeléctronica (Cuenca, 1995: 46). The foreign investment capital concerned comes mainly from tax havens, especially Gibraltar, Panama, and Liechtenstein. By comparison, EU countries show little interest in the region – investments in Andalusia from this source account for less than 3 per cent of the figure for Spain as a whole – although the capital received is more than 40 per cent of the total for all Spanish regions (Boletín, 1997: 46, 50). As far as the sectoral breakdown of investment is concerned, the share going to the manufacturing and building sectors increased in 1996, although the key role played by tourism is evidenced by the fact that its associated industries (property, leisure, and hotels) attracted 50 per cent of the total foreign investment in Andalusian companies in that year.

**Conclusion: Challenges and Possible Alternatives**

In spite of the growth and modernization it has enjoyed over the last few years, Andalusia is still one of the socio-economic backwaters of Europe and Spain. Although private initiative may play a decisive role in the overcoming of this situation, the role of public support is crucial. One of the main challenges facing this region is to attempt at reterritorialization effective in overcoming the inequalities, socio-territorial imbalances, and high levels of unemployment that are at the heart of Andalusia’s underdevelopment. The scope for policy is limited as much by central state power as by the fact that, as in other local settings, globalization has brought with it increasing economic dependence on the outside world and consequent socio-economic tension. However, although Andalusia’s difficulties are increasing and there is uncertainty about what may be in store for the region, globalization is also providing new opportunities.

Among the difficulties, we may point out, for example, global GATT agreements,\textsuperscript{12} which are threatening the marketing and development of Andalusian fruit and vegetable production, through increased competition from other countries whose production costs are considerably lower, such as nearby Morocco (Gamiz, 1994). Furthermore, the development of crucial sectors of the Andalusian economy, such as agriculture and tourism, closely depends on international economic and financial stability and other incidental factors such as fluctuations in exchange rates and price variations on global agricultural markets.

As regards opportunities afforded by globalization, the fundamental objective of Andalusian public policies must be to identify and take advantage of them in order to secure the most beneficial position for the regional economy and society within the global socio-economic system. From this perspective, having a local autonomous government and democratically elected authority, Andalusia has more policy instruments at its disposal today than ever before. This is enabling it to play an ever more influential role in reacting to the challenges of globalization and taking advantage of the opportunities this process affords. Among these opportunities, the following should be noted: an increased level of external communications, greater facilities to sell products and project an attractive image of the region abroad, as well as to attract foreign investment and finance local development projects through EU funding. All this
in turn promotes access to technological advances and the intensification of regional socio-economic dynamics.

In this contradictory situation, characterized simultaneously by new opportunities and new difficulties, the future evolution of Andalusia is uncertain to say the least. Only the trend towards increased globalization is assured. Current regional development policies might work towards achieving equality among the territories, eradicating underdevelopment in some measure, and increasing social and economic opportunities for the region in the new global system. But in view of the restricted scope allowed by globalization, it remains to be seen if these policies will really be able to respond to the challenge of overcoming traditional inequalities and improving the well-being of the general population, or if they will merely become a new mythology, concealing or legitimizing the widening of present socio-territorial gaps and the spread of social exclusion. To avoid being influenced by this mythology, we shall now reflect upon what can be done to resolve, or at least improve, this situation in terms of the issues raised earlier as causes of underdevelopment. Without claiming to be exhaustive in our proposals, we may suggest the following possible alternatives.

First, to address the persistence of profound social inequalities, it should be understood that although imbalances in land distribution remain, an agrarian reform is no longer feasible, if we understand it in the traditional sense of a simple sharing out of the available land. This is because, among other things, land ownership in this globalized society is not a decisive factor in determining one’s position in the social hierarchy. Besides, in the present situation of surpluses and food mountains, in which strictly productivist measures are no longer the solution to agrarian problems, the Andalusian authorities must strengthen their support for those measures which are in accordance with recent EU agricultural policy. As is well known, EU policy is now leaning towards sustainable development strategies and, over and above productivity, stresses quality in agrarian products (Entrena, 1994a). In the face of rampant overproduction, competitiveness has to be based more on the achievement of high quality and the manufacture of typical local products with a guarantee of origin, rather than on the production of huge quantities of commodities, which run the risk of not being easily sold, or even being destroyed to maintain prices. There must also be more support than there has been up to now for the setting up and maintenance of agricultural production and marketing cooperatives, with a view to devising methods of production that will better enable them to withstand the demands of globalization than traditional family smallholdings have been able to do. These smallholdings must also be supported, however, particularly because of the contribution they make to the conservation of the social fabric and the natural environment in certain areas, which, if it were not for them, would run the risk of becoming physically and demographically deserted.

It is essential that there be a clear political will to solve the problems of the multitude of marginalized individuals and the depressed rural and urban areas of Andalusia, not only at the subsistence level but via imaginative and far-reaching schemes. To this end – while acknowledging the need to give incentives to productivity, profit, and competitiveness – public policies should focus more on those activities that are not subject to economic or productivist goals. There should also be a greater emphasis on those policies directed at improving health, education, and other social services, including assistance to the disabled, the old, the chronically ill, and disadvantaged families. Social action is also required to nurture and support initiatives on behalf of the general population to solve specific problems of social exclusion or marginalization.

A public policy along these lines, while improving the quality of life for many Andalusians, would also initiate an upward spiral of increased employment, a higher level of consumption, new marketing opportunities, and increased production. Policies to eradicate poverty and the inequalities that cause it must also be more rigorously applied, to promote the inclusion of more people in employment and in society as a whole. Above all, such policies must support socio-cultural dynamism so that every social group has the same opportunity to develop its full capacity and solve its own problems. In this respect, one of the challenges of current Andalusian development policies is to inspire people with the idea that they can and should participate in the economy and society of their local areas. This,
while contributing to the creation or reinforcement of networks of social relations which help to fortify the local associative fabric (Pérez Yruela y Giménez, 1994: 225), might also have favourable repercussions in the reterritorialization of space in these areas. It is likely to increase the degree to which local inhabitants take upon themselves the management of the socio-economic and cultural resources of their territory – the territory they feel they belong to, on which they build their means of socio-economic production and reproduction, their daily lives, their culture, and their collective identity.

Secondly, the weakness of the industrial sector must be tackled. The activities of the IFA should be intensified, especially those which aim to encourage business or managerial enterprise, as well as improving their competitiveness of firms and their capacity to react to globalization challenges. Moreover, it is necessary to create industries that will transform Andalusian products and increase the proportion of value added, particularly in the food production sector. Another sector with great potential for development is that of non-polluting industries based on the wind or solar energy source that are so abundant in the south of Spain.

Thirdly, joblessness and work insecurity are still among the fundamental problems of Andalusia, which has the worst unemployment rates in Europe (see Table 6). This is even more worrying if we take into account the fact that the post-Fordism trends which are steadily taking hold in Andalusia entail the gradual abandonment of human and material resources in production. In the face of this persistent unemployment, it is of paramount importance to give employment incentives and aid development in all productive sectors. In view of the overwhelming impact of this issue it is not surprising that in the last autonomous elections held in March 1996, all political parties proposed measures for reducing unemployment, such as support in creating new companies, tax concessions, low-interest credits, and grants for young people starting up their own businesses.

The creation of employment will best be achieved by promoting the establishment of industries linked to the specific products of each area, by giving incentives to local handicraft businesses, by improving the marketing of farming and fisheries products, by improving social amenities and services for the rural population, by encouraging rural tourism (through better promotion of natural parks, ‘fiestas’, and local customs), and, overall, by strengthening all those initiatives and activities aimed at the socio-economic development of the rural economic environment, which can no longer be based solely on the creation of farm work.

As far as the tourism sector is concerned, it is and will remain one of the main sources of employment in Andalusia, and we stress the need to continue improving quality, as well as promoting both nationally and on a worldwide scale what Andalusia has to offer. As well as the most famous beaches of the Spanish coastline (for example, those of the Costa del Sol), with their sun, sand, hotels, and night-life, there are the great variety of landscapes, historical cities, monuments, and customs of the interior. The aim for this sector should be to assure a relatively stable number of annual visitors to the region. It should not be forgotten that the increase in the number of tourists in recent years is largely due to incidental factors, such as the serious

<table>
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<th>Table 6. EU regional unemployment rates, April 1996</th>
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<td>Alvenanmaa/Aland (Finland)</td>
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<td>Beds. and Herts. (UK)</td>
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<td>Utrecht (Netherlands)</td>
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<td>Regions 25% and over</td>
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Source: Eurostat, 1996.
problems facing some of Spain's former competitors, particularly the war and break-up of Yugoslavia the terrorist attacks on Western tourists by Islamic fundamentalists, especially in Egypt.

As a general point, all policies aimed at raising qualifications and training people in skills that can fulfil market demands will contribute to job creation. An important objective is the encouragement of social dynamics that will overcome the paralysing effects of the social assistance system, which maintains levels of income without demanding work in return. Instead, the full activation of Andalusian human resources must be encouraged; in place of the inactivity-based benefits culture, a culture of social activity and mobilization must be promoted as part of a search for adequate solutions to the specific problems of each area in the region. All this is of paramount importance, for well-prepared and well-educated human resources, together with a strong, dynamic socio-economic fabric, will undoubtedly place the region in a better position to react more creatively and innovatively to the changing demands of socio-economic and functional restructurings that the global is imposing on the local at this point in time.

Finally, public policy must direct attention towards the deficient regional road network. Such a policy cannot on its own provide the answer to underdevelopment, as is shown by the fact that it still persists in spite of the advances of the last few years. However, in conjunction with the policies outlined above, a programme of road improvement or new road building in remote areas could be an important factor in potential development of Andalusia’s quality of life. In the more distant zones, improved transport communications could aid socio-economic revitalization, which in turn will give rise to productive dynamism, leading to increases in both employment and consumption.

Notes

1. See also Robertson (1992: 396), who understands globalization as 'the set of processes which lead to a single world'. In these circumstances, humanity is no longer simply a set of statistical data or a philosophical category; it has become a real social unit in itself, a whole integrating all the world’s population (Sztompka, 1995: 11).

2. Immanuel Wallerstein (1984: 489) conceives the world system as a social system which has limits, structures, groups, members, rules for legitimation, and coherence. Its life springs from conflicting forces which keep it together by tension and pull it apart inasmuch as each one of the groups strives ceaselessly to model it for its own benefit.

3. The international order, and with it the role of the nation-state, is changing. Even though a complex pattern of global interconnections was noticed some time ago, recently there has been a much greater internationalization of domestic affairs and a burgeoning of decision-making processes in international contexts. It is indeed true that transnational and international relations have weakened the sovereignty of modern states. Global interconnection creates networks of political decisions and interlinked results among states and their citizens which affect the nature and dynamics of national political systems themselves (Held, 1991: 178–179).

4. Taking into account this situation and the profound environmental problems of our time, Ulrich Beck has called today’s society a ‘risk society’. According to Beck, risk has become a central and defining element in today’s world, in such a way that ‘while in classical industrial society the “logic” of wealth production dominates the “logic” of risk production, in the risk society this relationship is reversed (1992: 12).

5. Here we adopt Henri Lefebvre's terminology, though not literally. Lefebvre (1976: 45) speaks of the heterotopia of space as the concept of the 'other place', as against the 'same place' or isotopia.

6. As Robertson (1993: ch.6) has pointed out, we are now witnessing a kind of 'universalism of particularism'. This contradicts Parsons (1976: ch.11) for whom societies evolved from particularism to universalism.

7. According to Emilio Lamo de Espinosa (1990: 166), ‘human beings... have the double capacity to think about themselves and their situation (i.e. to produce ethnoscience) and to learn what others say about them and their situations (i.e. to speak and to read.).’

8. That is to say, structures based on latifundia or large states.

9. As is well known, this emigration was directed to areas that needed a large labour force, above all to Cataluña and the Basque Country – northern regions of Spain that were undergoing considerable industrialization – and to European countries such as Germany or France, which entered an unprecedented phase of reconstruction and growth after the destruction suffered in the Second World War.

10. So, for example, while the ASaja considers the COM reform adequate for the interests of Andalusian olive
oil producers, the Small Farmers’ Union (UPA) does not agree and is actually considering denouncing this reform to the Justice Tribunal of the European Union (see El País, 22 Aug. 1998).

11. According to the IFA, these advantages are, by sectors: new agriculture, agriculture and food enterprises, the ornamental stone industry, aeronautic and automobile sectors, chemical industries, electronics and computer firms, telecommunications, and tourism and related industries.

12. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

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