

# GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES AS A TRIGGER FOR SOCIAL INEQUALITY AFFECTING RURAL WORKERS

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## Abstract

This paper aims to make a comparative analysis of young and adult rural workers social conditions, and its possible relationships with rural territory's productive configuration over the last six years. We will discuss changes in productivity, capitalist process restructuring, and its impact on rural territories. Besides, we will see relevance of generational approach regarding by analyzing agents being part of such restructuring. The labor market could be an indicator for this; data shows a differential appropriation in social construction of welfare, where young age bracket would be consolidated as a generation group featuring rural workers structural poverty.

## Keywords

Social inequalities and rural workers, rural workers social conditions; intergenerational relationships in rural work.

## 1. Reconfiguration of Latin-American rurality

When we notice the way Latin-American social rural space was reconfigured, we see that in the past three decades some tendencies regarding this issue emerged and had an impact in: a) consolidation of the demographic transition process in rural family structure and configuration; b) process of urbanization of medium small and medium urban centers; c) development of a technology intensive model (green revolution); d) transformation of the labour market structure; e) people migrating from rural areas to urban centers.

These transformations are result of emerging of a new model of development, characterized by liberalization of markets (less State intervention and its restructuring) and, by one side, structural adjustment policies in rural areas, by the other, development of global agri-food corporations; being these the factors that have influenced in reconfiguration of Latin-American rural society, expressed in already mentioned tendencies. It is a process that underwent

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changes after the arrival of a new central state administration in 2004, recovering its active capability to interact in the labour market, and especially in the social area.

Therefore, we may indicate a criterion allowing establishment of guidelines reconfiguring Latin-American rurality. They are following:

- a) Strong emphasis on the territorial dimension, in contrast to the agricultural sector;
- b) Several agricultural activities functions, exceeding production process;
- c) A process with specific features in each region, with many interacting economic, social, political, cultural and historical variables providing each territory a unique identity, with a past, a present and a future projection constructed by different agents of society, all of them interacting in this space;
- d) A revalorization of existing complementarity between agricultural activities and development of other non agricultural rural economic activities, sources of income for the population;
- e) Priority given to the competitive potential of territories, based in different areas — for example, tourism — and activities related to geography, history, culture, ecology, etc.
- f) Interaction among different rural and urban centers, creating a social fabric reconfiguring rural social space.

## 2. What and who changed in rural social space? A generational approach

Global increase in raw material prices due to a rise in the cost of energy and food demand (Rubio, B. 2008) launched a production cycle expansion and a price increase that transformed national agricultural sector. A clear indicator of these changes is land-price increase within last years - almost eight times its value, reaching record highs for the most fertile lands, with similar values than lands in the border region.<sup>2</sup>

This new context is due to a combination of four factors, composing a current socio-economic scenario where Uruguay's contemporary agricultural structure must be analyzed. They are: alterations of soil, law changes regarding land ownership, arrival of foreigners to buy lands, and rural real estate market dynamism.

<sup>2</sup> Historically rural land prices in Uruguay, comparing same soil quality, are lower than those of neighbor countries. (Vasallo M.; 1994).

These major agricultural structural changes over the last decade, as a result of above mentioned factors, significantly affected rural population. Almost 30% of small properties and 10% of medium size properties were sold, leading to lower resident population in dispersed rural areas, which reached a 6 percent historical minimum of the total, with a 25 percent period reduction between censuses. There was also a restructuring in smaller cities linked with rural areas, which in many cases increased its population due to the offer of best dynamic services, and establishment of large industries, hiring work force and services (Riella e Romero: 2013)

And now these populated centers show a national increasing tendency to concentrate poverty percentages, somehow expressing inequalities observed in agricultural structure. Our current government has encouraged strong social policies and promotion of labour rights to fight against poverty, and could substantially reduce it. However there are many powerful people in these areas (Riella; 2009). A possible interpretation of this persistence could be explained by little chances of getting good jobs; fact that could partially neutralize negative effects of such a concentrated agricultural structure. It is important mentioning that Uruguay is one of the countries with largest rural workers base in the world. Taking this into consideration, territorial impacts have been largely heterogeneous, opening space for a new regionalization of rural areas. In this process, the territory turns into a concept acting as a "bridge" between local and global situation, among specificities of social dynamics in a given space and development tendencies of global capitalism. And thus we must think about rural environment as an articulated space integrated in a different way, where primary, secondary or tertiary economic activities, are placed, coordinated and conducted by institutions and various forms of organization.

On the other hand, we must understand that these changes may or may not generate different labour dynamics in age groups included as a whole in labour market, especially young people, focus of the analysis. In the sense that they assume a strategic role in current agricultural structure productive dynamics.

In short, last decade is a before and after in the dynamic stagnation process that characterized national agricultural structure since the middle of the 1970's, consolidating a growth process mainly based in the dynamics of agri-export business, in whole capital intensification through technology (bio-technology, genetics, fertilizers, etc.), in deeper global market integration, in the emergence of new transnational actors, in rural workers' growth, and deepening of capitalist social relations of production in Uruguay's rural society of the beginning of 21<sup>st</sup> century. This process is based in a contradictory articulation among pre-capitalist agricultural technical reality and new forms of society and technology, which intensified, consolidated and generated an expanded social base of production resources owners.

Following issue will be the rural youth concept.

## 2.1- Rural youth: a socially constructed and recognized concept

Youth is conceptualized as a social and cultural construction related to time and space. It is a phase of life going throughout infancy to adult life (Feixa, C. 2004). The notion of youth corresponds to become socially aware of the existence of certain particular features differentiating youth in relation to children and adults. Therefore, the existence of youth is related to social recognition of a certain period in life cycle of people and some institutions and normative rules regarding young's behavior, and also a series of cultural images setting certain expectations regarding these behaviors. (Bevilaqua Marín, J. 2010).

When studying rural youth we have to consider specificities of dependency relationship with life and work (a fundamental dimension in these relationships) in agricultural spaces and also in economical, political and cultural networks where young people and their families are integrated. There are structural conditions allowing this to occur, such as public expenditure asymmetrical distribution of public expenditure inside these societies, making unequal education, employment and health opportunities among young people of different areas. But the heterogeneous nature of youth other factors are at play: subjectivity, an underlying ethnic and cultural layer, gender, belonging to a certain socio-economical class, and historical generational and inter-generational context of each young person (Romero, J: 2004).

In this regard, conceptual effort will be addressed to primarily consider professions priorities, being it perhaps one of main analysis references in social construction of rural youth concept, where young people mainly work in jobs partially related with agricultural activities, or in other areas such as services, trade, industry or reforestation, especially in areas where there is a socio-economical integration among diverse segments of urban and rural capital (Bevilaqua Marín, J. 2010).

When speaking about rural youth work we are mentioning a theoretical social and cultural construction born at the end of the nineteenth century, which ended its consolidation at the beginning of the twentieth century with industrialized societies. In this context, youth is a social problem in societies where industrialization developed new social realities and actors, among which young people are strategic for social reproduction of this configuration.

In the Latin-American case, industrialization process was lately developed and together with agricultural modernization. The rural youth concept began being introduced in debate and practices of developmental entities. This does not mean that rural youth did not exist before industrialization, but that at that time Latin-American peasant societies were not part of human vital and social cycle differently as it was when industrialization process arrived (Bevilaqua Marín, J. 2010; Fajnzylber, F. 1983; Furtado, C. 1970).

### 3. Social inequality in rural employment: is age bracket a justification to inequality?

The definition of a young person in Uruguay is normative: the state determines between what biological ages one person is considered young; it is people with ages between 14 and 29 years, as established in the First National Youth Survey when considering delay in integrating young people to the society process, and also due to the very low birth rate established by Uruguay's offices of CEPAL (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean) and DGEC - General Directorate of Statistics and Censuses of Uruguay, a statistics institute predecessor of current INE National Institute of Statistics (from now on INE).

We will analyze evolution of social conditions between 2006 and 2012 to bring young rural employment social reality closer and be able to outline trends, based in Continuous household survey data (from now on ECH) for the period.

This research will disclose levels of poverty, and looking toward generations will allow distinguishing different structural conditions of these workers. To perform it we have studied unsatisfied basic needs (NBI), through evaluation of goods and services at rural workers homes. We have selected a set of needs considered being basic and established a minimum level of satisfaction for each dimension. In this case NBI's considered are: access to education services, quality of housing, overcrowded housing, access to water, availability and types of health services, and if the family has yes or not a refrigerator (Riella, A. y Mascheroni, P.: 2011)

By considering this methodological approach to see how poverty influences in social conditions of rural workers, we will see structural trend of privations, what would not be able to detect through circumstantial improvement of wages, because in certain situations they depend more on public education policies, housing, or access to education (Vigorito, A: 2005 apud Riella, A. e Mascheroni, P.: 2011).

On the other side, poverty measured by using income from poverty line implies it being measured through wages. The INE states: "... it is necessary to define a Basic Food Basket per capita (CBA) and Total basic basket per capita (CBT), to allow us evaluating a minimum level for the Indigence Line (LI) and the Poverty Line (LP). If household income per capita would fall under the LI or LP, that household will be defined as indigent or poor, respectively" (INE, 2006:11).

Based on this, next analysis considers different ways to measure poverty (direct: NBI and indirect: poverty line) through the integrated method to measure poverty (Katzman, R. 1989), to identify *more accurately these social changes*. So we have four categories: chronic poverty: chronically poor households where income is below poverty line and one or more unsatisfied basic needs. This is the most critical group of poverty; households suffering prolonged

conditions of deprivation and besides it, cannot usually purchase a minimum of goods and services, do not have adequate housing nor can guarantee all family member access to education, health services and employment opportunities; recent poverty: poor households, base in their income (or consumption), but with satisfied basic needs. This situation suggests income deficit is not permanent or long enough to affect satisfying household needs, but could lead to such consequences as chronic malnutrition or household shortages; shows a fall in living standards. These are households risking to fall into chronic poverty if job opportunities do not allow them recovering purchasing power; inertial poverty: households with unsatisfied basic needs and income (or consumption) overcoming poverty line. This condition suggests a process of household economic growth, because unsatisfied needs would show that in spite of being poor in the past, they could not yet eliminate accumulated shortage of basic needs. To conclude, fourth category is social integration: a portion of population not to be considered poor in any of previous criterion; or in other words with income overcoming poverty line and basic needs satisfied (SIISE, 2013).

**Table 1 – Rural workers, NBI \* Poverty Line situation 2006 - 2012**

NBI Index and NBS	2006		Total
	Poor	Not Poor	
NBS	(22,6%) <b>36,4%</b>	(77,4%) <b>53,5%</b>	(100,0%) <b>48,0%</b>
	RECENT POVERTY	INTEGRATED	
NBI	(37,0%) <b>63,6%</b>	(63,0%) <b>46,5%</b>	(100,0%) <b>51,6%</b>
	STRUCTURAL POVERTY	INERTIAL POVERTY	
<b>Total</b>	<i>(30,1%)</i> <b>100,0%</b>	<i>(69,9%)</i> <b>100,0%</b>	<b>100,0%</b>
NBI Index and NBS	2012		Total
	Poor	Not Poor	
NBS	(2,0%) <b>24,4%</b>	(98,0%) <b>57,5%</b>	(100,0%) <b>56,0%</b>
	RECENT POVERTY	INTEGRATED	

<b>NBI</b>	(8,0%) <b>75,6%</b>	(92,0%) <b>42,5%</b>	(100,0%) <b>44,0%</b>
	STRUCTURAL POVERTY	INERTIAL PO- VERTY	
<b>Total</b>	(4,5%) <b>100,0%</b>	(95,5%) <b>100,0%</b>	<b>100,0%</b>

Table 1 shows a fall in poverty line indicators from 30 pct to 4.5 pct, and in unsatisfied basic needs, a decline from 51.6 pct to 44 pct. On the other side, rural workers that in this process stopped being poor are the ones that through increase of income modified their recent poverty condition into social integration. For 4.0 pct of them there is a structural improvement, since they now will have NBS with an income exceeding poverty line, transforming its condition to inertial poverty.

In other words, there is a higher impact in rural workers increase of income, more rapidly transforming recent poverty situation. To a lesser degree, workers are going through structural transformations, modifying their inertial poor condition, and increasing levels of income and consumption. There is also a consolidation of a group who does not flag, that would be the workers in chronic or structural poverty conditions.

To sum up, productive and social transformation process occurred in last seven years within Uruguayan rural society brought changes to workers in recent and inertial poverty conditions, especially the first one, where we saw a significant reduction. Therefore we understand that new tripartite wage negotiation institutional conditions allowed creating a specific environment for rural world, improving its income. To this we must add a global agricultural commodities prices favorable conjuncture and greater workers unionization. On the other side, there is the public policy challenge and rural poverty hard core, also integrated by workers in chronic or structural poverty conditions.

Now we will introduce last seven years rural workers information, classified by age brackets and based in poverty and poverty line position. The control variable will be generational, considering young people those workers with ages between 14 and 30 years, as stated by Uruguayan norms; and adults people over 30 years, to verify any eventual modification when considering this variable. In table 2 we see that adults for the year 2012, when compared to young people have a difference of approximately 20 percent in their favor regarding NBS, while young people have around 30 percent of difference regarding NBI.

**Table 2 -- Rural workers, NBI \* Poverty Line situation by age brackets - 2012**

NBI Index and NBS	Young people (between 14 and 30 years)		Total
	Poor	Not Poor	
NBS	(1,2%)	(98,8%)	(100,0%)
	<b>9,0%</b>	<b>45,0%</b>	<b>42,8%</b>
	RECENT POVERTY	INTEGRATED	
NBI	(11,4%)	(88,6%)	(100,0%)
	<b>91,0%</b>	<b>55,0%</b>	<b>57,2%</b>
	STRUCTURAL POVERTY	INERTIAL POVERTY	
<b>Total</b>	<i>(5,9%)</i> <b>100,0%</b>	<i>(94,1%)</i> <b>100,0%</b>	<b>100,0%</b>
NBI Index and NBS	Adults (>30 years)		Total
	Poor	Not Poor	
NBS	(2,2%)	(97,8%)	(100,0%)
	<b>35,5%</b>	<b>63,2%</b>	<b>62,2%</b>
	RECENT POVERTY	INTEGRATED	
NBI	(7,7%)	(92,3%)	(100,0%)
	<b>64,5%</b>	<b>26,8%</b>	<b>27,8%</b>
	STRUCTURAL POVERTY	INERTIAL POVERTY	
<b>Total</b>	<i>(3,8%)</i> <b>100,0%</b>	<i>(96,2%)</i> <b>100,0%</b>	<b>100,0%</b>

Young rural workers are 45 pct socially integrated, while in adults rate is 63 pct. This means than 6 of each 10 adults are socially integrated, against only 4 of each 10 young people. When analyzing structural poverty condition, difference between adults and young people favors young people in 27 pct; structural poverty tends to concentrate among young workers.

In recent poverty situations, percentage of adults is higher than in relation to young people. This would suggest that it is a problem of adults related to income, while in inertial poverty the situation is reversed, affecting more young people than adults, suggesting this would be a structural process related to young workers housing conditions, and an improvement in income or



consumption during period analyzed in this paper.

**Table 3 - Rural workers, NBI \* Poverty Line situation by age brackets - 2006**

NBI Index and NBS	Young people (14 to 30 years)		Total
	Poor	Not Poor	
NBS	(26,9%)	(73,1%)	(100,0%)
	<b>12,7%</b>	<b>23,6%</b>	<b>19,1%</b>
	RECENT POVERTY	INTEGRATED	
NBI	(11,4%)	(88,6%)	(100,0%)
	<b>87,3%</b>	<b>76,4%</b>	<b>80,9%</b>
	STRUCTURAL POVERTY	INERTIAL POVERTY	
<b>Total</b>	<i>(52,1%)</i> <b>100,0%</b>	<i>(47,9%)</i> <b>100,0%</b>	<b>100,0%</b>
NBI Index NBS	Adults (>30 years)		Total
	Poor	Not Poor	
NBS	(22,0%)	(78,0%)	(100,0%)
	<b>54,6%</b>	<b>64,8%</b>	<b>62,2%</b>
	RECENT POVERTY	INTEGRATED	
NBI	(7,7%)	(92,3%)	(100,0%)
	<b>45,4%</b>	<b>35,2%</b>	<b>27,8%</b>
	STRUCTURAL POVERTY	INERTIAL POVERTY	
<b>Total</b>	<i>(25,1%)</i> <b>100,0%</b>	<i>(74,9%)</i> <b>100,0%</b>	<b>100,0%</b>

Above table shows a situation where intergenerational differences persist in poverty and integration social conditions, while inequalities among these groups have deepened. Adults practically maintain rate of 27 pct in NBI conditions; and young people in this situation represent around 81 pct. From poverty line point of view, poor adults' rate would be 25 pct while in young people there would be 52 pct. For the year of 2012, this rate has been reduced not only in percentage but also in intergenerational gap.

This trend is maintained in structural poverty, since this condition has a young profile, not an adult one. However while in 2012 difference is 27 pct, in 2006 it was 42 pct. Recent poverty's profile is more adult; gap percentage between young people and adults in 2006 was around 42 pct, while in 2012 went to 26.5 pct. Inertial poverty showed in 2006 a gap of 41 pct between young pe-

ople and adults, but in 2012 went down to 28.2 pct, maintaining young profile, while reducing its ratio with adults.

To conclude, socially integrated workers maintain a stable adult profile (in spite of 2002 crisis) between 2006 and 2012, while young workers modify their condition, growing 21pct in the period.

On short, rural workers social condition trends are maintained while intergenerational social gaps are reduced due to a higher percentage of young people socially integrated. On the other side, there is a consolidation in the generational group characterizing rural workers structural poverty. Therefore this association of rural workers is not outside of conditions that generate social inequities, but is part of it.

Now we will analyze integrity of poverty introducing another variable: territory and considering this condition not distributed randomly or symmetrically within the rural society. We will start with Southeast and Southwest regions, since they have the higher concentration of agricultural companies, workers and wealth generation.

In next table down here, we will see evolution of rural workers poverty, in relation to different regions of the country.

**Table 4 – Rural workers NBI \* Poverty Line situation in Southeast – Southwest regions<sup>3</sup> - 2012 - 2006**

Region	Index NBI and NBS	2012		Total	2006		Total
		Poor	Not Poor		Poor	Not Poor	
Southeast	NBS	(0,6%)	(99,4%)	(100,0%)	(0,6%)	(99,4%)	(100,0%)
		<b>15,9%</b>	<b>61,8%</b>	<b>60,7%</b>	<b>35,4%</b>	<b>58,4%</b>	<b>51,0%</b>
		RECENT POVERTY	INTEGRATED		RECENT POVERTY	INTEGRATED	
	NBI	(8,0%)	(92,0%)	(100,0%)	(47,2%)	(52,8%)	(100,0%)
		<b>84,1%</b>	<b>38,2%</b>	<b>39,3%</b>	<b>64,6%</b>	<b>41,6%</b>	<b>49,0%</b>
		STRUC- TURAL POVERTY	INERTIAL POVERTY		STRUC- TURAL POVERTY	INERTIAL POVERTY	
<b>Total</b>	<b>(2,3%)</b> <b>100,0%</b>	<b>(97,7%)</b> <b>100,0%</b>	<b>100,0%</b>	<b>(32,1%)</b> <b>100,0%</b>	<b>(67,9%)</b> <b>100,0%</b>	<b>100,0%</b>	
Region	Index NBI and NBS	2012		Total	2006		Total
		Poor	Not Poor		Poor	Not Poor	

<sup>3</sup> Regions are administrative division units established by Uruguay, corresponding to provinces or states in other countries. Southeast region includes departments of Canelones e Maldonado. Southwest, departments of Colonia and San José. Center: department of Durazno, Flores, Florida, Lavalleja and Tacuarembó. Litoral (Coast): departments of Paysandú, Río Negro, Salto and Soriano. Northeast: departments of Artigas, Rivera, Cerro Largo, Treinta y Tres and Rocha.

South-east	NBS	(0,5%)	(99,5%)	(100,0%)	(24,2%)	(75,8%)	(100,0%)
		<b>15,4%</b>	<b>61,2%</b>	<b>60,4%</b>	<b>43,0%</b>	<b>59,0%</b>	<b>54,1%</b>
		RECENT	INTEGRA-		RECENT	INTEGRATED	
		POVER-	TED		POVERTY		
		TY					
	NBI	(3,9%)	(96,1%)	(100,0%)	(43,8%)	(56,2%)	(100,0%)
<b>84,6%</b>		<b>38,8%</b>	<b>39,6%</b>	<b>57,0%</b>	<b>41,0%</b>	<b>45,9%</b>	
		STRUC-	INERTIAL		STRUC-	INERTIAL	
		TURAL	POVERTY		TURAL	POVERTY	
		POVER-			POVERTY		
		TY					
	<b>Total</b>	<i>(1,8%)</i>	<i>(98,2%)</i>	<b>100,0%</b>	<i>(30,5%)</i>	<i>(69,5%)</i>	<b>100,0%</b>
		<b>100,0%</b>	<b>100,0%</b>		<b>100,0%</b>	<b>100,0%</b>	

Above table 4 analyzes Southeast and Southwest regions, with best NBS indicators and lowest NBI. In Southeast region there was an improvement of around 10 pct of NBS between 2006 and 2012. Together with Coast region, they show best percentages of social recuperation.

Southeast and Southwest regions have highest percentages of socially integrated workers and smaller percentages of poor according to poverty line ranking. On the other side, they have best structural poverty percentages, before inertial and recent poverty categories reduction, suggesting a lesser impact in rural workers hardest poverty core. This due to productive transformations and social public policies developed. Both regions have rural workers enjoying social integration high percentages, and a reduction in inertial and recent poverty categories. This reflects an important wage improvement and at the same time workers strongly emerging from its previous structural poverty condition, representing new challenges for public policies and rural development different actors.

Down here we see table 5 with Center region data, where structural conditions of social integration and inertial poverty are less evolved than in previously mentioned regions. Recent poverty shows an important reduction, while structural poverty has increased.

**Table 5 - Rural workers NBI \* Poverty Line situation in Center region<sup>4</sup> - 2012 - 2006**

Region	Index NBI and NBS	2012		Total	2006		Total
		Poor	Not Poor		Poor	Not Poor	
Center	NBS	(2,8%)	(97,2%)	(100,0%)	(21,0%)	(79,0%)	(100,0%)
		24,0%	56,0%	54,0%	38,0%	55,0%	50,0%
		RECENT POVERTY	INTEGRATED		RECENT POVERTY	INTEGRATED	
	NBI	(12,2%)	(87,8%)	(100,0%)	(39,0%)	(61,0%)	(100,0%)
		76,0%	44,0%	46,0%	62,0%	45,0%	50,0%
		STRUC- TURAL POVERTY	INERTIAL POVERTY		STRUCTURAL POVERTY	INERTIAL POVERTY	
Total	(6,4%) 100,0%	(93,6%) 100,0%	100,0%	(28,0%) 100,0%	(72,0%) 100,0%	100,0%	

In analysis based in poverty line, we see a drop of almost 22 pct of poor rural workers. This ratifies that drop is mainly due to rural workers income increase, therefore reducing poverty conditions.

In Center region, poverty drop mainly occurred in recent poverty category, and also of poor in poverty line. There was also a structural improvement between 2006 and 2012 with an increase of around 10 pct.

In table 6, Coast region shows an important improvement in workers structural social conditions, reaching 7 pct in analyzed period. Socially integrated increased 3 pct while inertial poverty decreased 3 pct, recent poverty decreased 7 pct and structural poverty increased in a similar percentage Poverty measured according to poverty line decreased around 24 pct.

<sup>4</sup> Regions are administrative division units established by Uruguay, corresponding to provinces or states in other countries. Southeast region includes departments of Canelones e Maldonado. Southwest, departments of Colonia and San José. Center: department of Durazno, Flores, Florida, Lavalleja and Tacuarembó. Litoral (Coast): departments of Paysandú, Río Negro, Salto and Soriano. Northeast: departments of Artigas, Rivera, Cerro Largo, Treinta y Tres and Rocha.

**Table 6 - Rural workers NBI \* Poverty Line situation in Coast region<sup>5</sup> - 2012 - 2006**

Region	Index NBI and NBS	2012		Total	2006		Total
		Poor	Not Poor		Poor	Not Poor	
Coast	NBS	(3,0%)	(97,0%)	(100,0%)	(23,0%)	(77,0%)	(100,0%)
		29,5%	53,6%	56,0%	36,8%	50,6%	46,6%
		RECENT PO- VERTY	INTEGRA- TED		RECENT POVERTY	INTEGRATED	
	NBI	(10,6%)	(89,5%)	(100,0%)	(38,6%)	(61,4%)	(100,0%)
		70,5%	46,4%	44,0%	63,2%	49,4%	53,4%
		STRUCTURAL POVERTY	INERTIAL POVERTY		STRUC- TURAL POVERTY	INERTIAL PO- VERTY	
Total	(5,3%) 100,0%	(94,7%) 100,0%	100,0%	(29,0%) 100,0%	(71,0%) 100,0%	100,0%	

While in other regions significant income improvements occurred, allowing hard cores of poverty having greater evidence, due to a rise in structural poverty, in this Coast region income improvement was smaller, and structural poverty evolution did not reach percentage of other analyzed regions. This could suggest less dynamism in wealth distribution structural conditions, when compared to Southeast and Southwest.

From above thought we can conclude than improvement due to income is an important factor to improve workers social conditions, and that infrastructure public policies development helped to uplift living conditions. Re-installation of Salary Councils and increasing workers unionization also helped.

To conclude, we introduce table 7, in the Northeast region. Here we see a NBS improvement of 8 pct, second in importance after Southeast region, an increase of 5 pct of socially integrated, a drop of 5 pct in inertial poverty and around 2 pct of recent poverty (the region with smaller drop of this category) and an increase of around 3 pct of structural poverty (the region with higher increase). Regarding drop of poor measured by poverty line, it was almost 22 pct.

<sup>5</sup> Regions are administrative division units established by Uruguay, corresponding to provinces or states in other countries. Southeast region includes departments of Canelones e Maldonado. Southwest, departments of Colonia and San José. Center: department of Durazno, Flores, Florida, Lavalleja and Tacuarembó. Litoral (Coast): departments of Paysandú, Río Negro, Salto and Soriano. Northeast: departments of Artigas, Rivera, Cerro Largo, Treinta y Tres and Rocha.

**Table 7 - Rural workers NBI \* Poverty Line situation in Northeast region<sup>6</sup> 2012 - 2006**

Region	Index NBI and NBS	2012		Total	2006		Total
		Poor	Not Poor		Poor	Not Poor	
North- -east	NBS	(4,7%)	(95,3%)	(100,0%)	(22,8%)	(77,2%)	(100,0%)
		<b>28,0%</b>	<b>50,4%</b>	<b>49,0%</b>	<b>30,3%</b>	<b>45,1%</b>	<b>41,0%</b>
		RECENT POVERTY	INTEGRA- TED		RECENT PO- VERTY	INTEGRA- TED	
	NBI	(12,8%)	(87,2%)	(100,0%)	(37,8%)	(62,2%)	(100,0%)
		<b>72,0%</b>	<b>49,6%</b>	<b>51,0%</b>	<b>69,7%</b>	<b>54,9%</b>	<b>59,0%</b>
		STRUCTU- RAL POVER- TY	INERTIAL POVERTY		STRUCTURAL POVERTY	INERTIAL POVERTY	
<b>Total</b>	<i>(8,2%)</i> <b>100,0%</b>	<i>(91,8%)</i> <b>100,0%</b>	<b>100,0%</b>	<i>(30,6%)</i> <b>100,0%</b>	<i>(69,4%)</i> <b>100,0%</b>	<b>100,0%</b>	

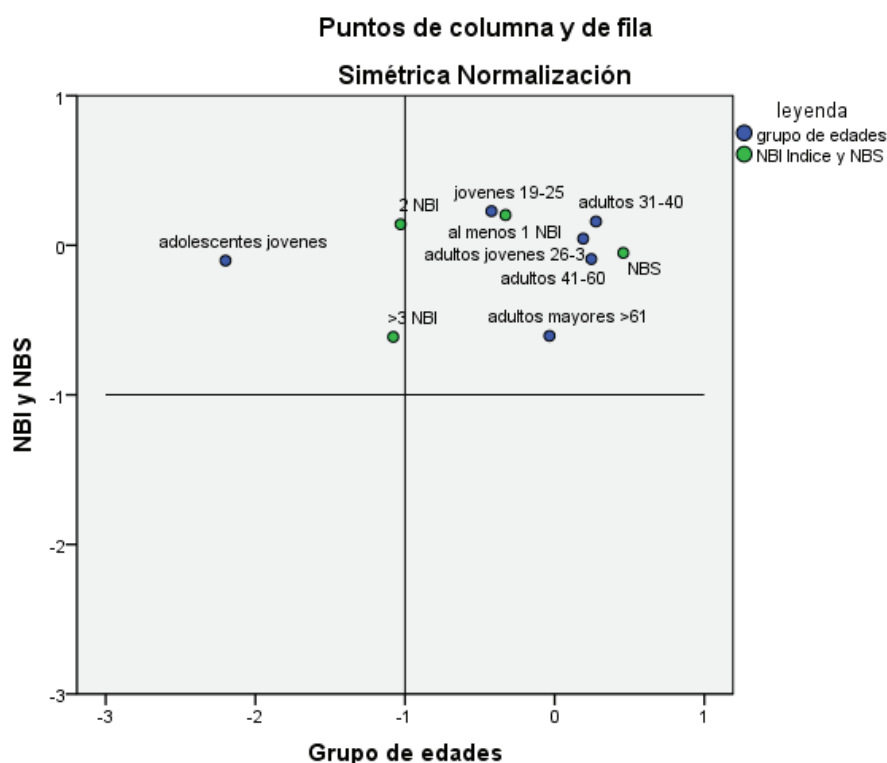
Once again we see rural workers income improvement importance to “take away” this category of poverty conditions also in this region, based in what occurred in the Coast region: an improvement of structural conditions when related to NBS and NBI, due to different public policies developed in the period.

It must also be emphasized in structural poverty category a reduced growth rate in relation to Southeast and Southwest regions, suggesting that in spite of productive transformations and an active presence of the State through different policies, there would be structural conditions to reduce impact of wealth redistribution in the region and decrease social inequalities among rural workers, as it is the case in the Coast region. Would we be in region having social inequality cross cutting processes?

We will develop now an analysis based in multiple correspondence factor analysis (from now on AFC), to know how information is grouped.

<sup>6</sup> Regions are administrative division units established by Uruguay, corresponding to provinces or states in other countries. Southeast region includes departments of Canelones e Maldonado. Southwest, departments of Colonia and San José. Center: department of Durazno, Flores, Florida, Lavalleja and Tacuarembó. Litoral (Coast): departments of Paysandú, Río Negro, Salto and Soriano. Northeast: departments of Artigas, Rivera, Cerro Largo, Treinta y Tres and Rocha.

Chart 1

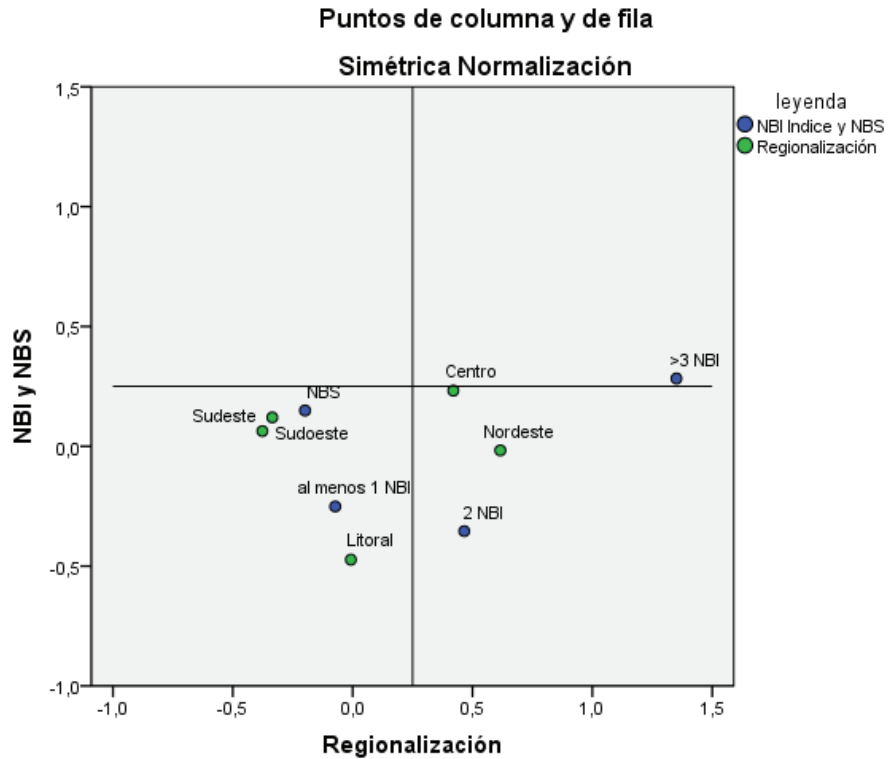


TÍTULO: GRÁFICO 1	TITLE: CHART 1
Puntos de columna y de fila simétrica - Normalización	Points in columns and symmetric lines. Normalization
Leyenda: grupo de edades; NBI índice y NBS	Legend: Age brackets; NBI index and NBS
Grupo de edades	Age brackets
NBI y NBS	NBI and NBS
Adolescentes jóvenes	Young adolescents
Jóvenes 19 – 25	Young people between 19 – 25 years
Adultos 31 – 40	Adults between 31 – 40 years
Al menos 1 NBI	Minimum 1 NBI
Adultos jóvenes 26-30	Young adults 26-30 years
Adultos mayores de 61	Adults over 61 years

In chart 1 we see how adults over 30 years tend to form groups around NBS. This trend starts from 26 years, is consolidated after 30, and decreases slowly over 61 years. Between young people of 19 and under 26 years, groups are concentrated around 1 NBI; between young adolescents we see 2 and 3 NBI.

In short, it is evident that main poverty structural problems would be between adolescents and young workers with ages between 14 and 18 years, and that structural condition for social integration will increase as they get into adult life.

## Chart 2



Puntos de columna y de fila...	Points in columns and symmetric lines. Normalization
Leyenda: NBI índice y NBS/Regionalización	Legend: NBI index and NBS / Regionalization
Regionalización	Regionalization
NBI y NBS	NBI and NBS
Centro/Sudeste/Sudoeste/Nordeste	Center/Southeast/ Southwest /Northeast
Al menos 1 NBI	Minimum 1 NBI

Information analysis remains in the same line, however now it takes into consideration regions and structural social conditions.

Southeast and Southwest regions have higher grouping levels around NBS; while Coast region concentrates around 1 NBI, Center region is in an intermediate situation, between 2 and 3 NBI. To conclude, Northeast region comes close to 2 NBI, tending to reach 3 NBI.

Therefore, region with greater structural poverty conditions would be the Northeast, nearest to Brazilian border, and where group with more generational influence would be adolescents and young rural workers. Southeast and Southwest regions are at the other end.



## Conclusion

When doing a comparative analysis of how evolved social conditions among young people and adults, we see that adults got better conditions. This reflects a different generational appropriation in welfare construction among Uruguayan rural workers. Differences increase or not according to a productive configuration of rural territory, since in those with lesser intensive land use, is where are highest NBI, especially among young people, being the opposite of those with intensive land use, such as Southeast and Southwest regions.

When considering social conditions of these workers through the integrated poverty approach, we see that main trends show less intergenerational social gaps, due to the rate increase of socially integrated young people. On the other side, young people consolidate as a generational group characterized by rural workers structural poverty. This proves that rural workers generation is not unrelated with conditions generating social inequality, but part of them, constituting a dimension integrating this process.

Productive transformations occurred in last decade in Uruguayan rural areas drove changes in generational labour market structure, especially during second half of the decade, consolidating working profile of young people as a usually unskilled workforce. However nowadays is surging a new possibility of getting medium skills jobs within the area of services and industry in regions with higher intensive use of lands.

When incorporating regions to described analysis, we see that rural workers income improvement to “take them out” of poverty conditions has a positive impact in each region, however emphasizing evident differences in poverty structural conditions. Better indicators are in Southeast and Southwest and also in Northeast and Coast, where due to structural localized processes, impact in wealth redistribution generated in the region has reduced rural workers social inequalities. The question is: are cross cutting territorial inequalities generated by territorial features, or result of general processes?

This question remains as future hypothesis to consider relationships and characteristic among these social processes, and know if they influence yes or no labour market configuration.

Last, we must take into account analysis and generational dimension of rural social and productive transformation process, and its impact in rural development to assess dynamics and influence of agents working in these processes in Uruguayan rural areas. We must not forget that integrated poverty dimension within these areas will be an important factor when evaluating rural development rural and process of economic growth in rural society.

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