

YOUTH POLICY ADAPTATION IN THE SPANISH RURAL CONTEXT: A CASE OF STUDY OF YOUTH POLICY PROGRAMS¹

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This article aims to describe a series of policies concerning Spanish youth and their degree of adaptation to Spanish rural areas in terms of the key elements of social dynamics in Spain's rural areas. It considers some of the general youth policies being implemented, and identifies those which appear to be closer to these specific territories. After discussing these policies, it is clear that, on the one hand, there is a lack of flexibility and adaptation to the particular circumstances of rural areas. However, on the other hand, it is also possible to cautiously point out some policies which do indeed propose more appropriate actions for rural areas, as well as observe pilot experiences and partnerships between NGOs and the administration that not only have some outstanding elements, but also the potential to stretch into the future.

***Keywords:** rural; youth policies; rural development; social inclusion; depopulation.*

The objective of this article is to describe a series of policies concerning Spanish youth and how they are adapted to Spanish rural areas. The types of policies implemented in these regions have begun to go beyond merely emphasising actions that basically seek to promote agricultural employment, to positively focusing upon certain aspects of the rural context. To do this, it is important to identify the key elements of social dynamics operating in rural spaces, since they will help contextualise the current situation of the countryside environment in Spain. We will also take into account policies on the diverse core fields, such as employment, education and training, social inclusion, and rural development. Furthermore, we will ask the fundamental question, namely: what is the degree of adaptation of these policies? We will also consider alternative experiences which can sometimes come into play in these regions. Finally, we will

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highlight the level of flexibility and adaptation to the circumstances of rural spaces, but also cautiously consider some pilot experiences or partnerships between NGOs and the administration whose configuration and range of action can potentially consolidate themselves in the territory.

RURAL AREAS AND THE APPROACHES TO YOUTH

The spaces we inhabit are historically and socially constructed (Simmel 1986; Leal Maldonado 1997). Between them there exist different features, inequalities and (consequently) injustices (Soja 2014), which define the lives of various social groups. The experience of being young is also influenced by the particular space one finds oneself living in. In this study, rural areas are shown as a determining social framework wherein young people develop their biographies (Farrugia 2014 and 2018). In this sense, the degree of dynamism of the different territories leads to structural imbalances, marked by the ineffectiveness of policies, in some cases, or even by how counterproductive they have been when applied to the countryside (Nova Ruralitat 2019). For several decades, the build-up of imbalances and disadvantages have caused the demographic emptying of many rural spaces, thereby jeopardising their social sustainability in both the mid- and long-term (Camarero 2009). Young people tend to crowd over the most dynamic spaces in a spiral of territorial imbalance: hence, its epicentre is none other than the capital city of Spain, namely Madrid. Hence, “Madrid strengthens its position as the main recipient of talent for it not only brings together 38.7% of the interregional migratory movements of young nationals, but also absorbs entry flows of people with a high level of training: 64.8% of them being university graduates” (González-Leonardo, López-Gay and Recaño 2019, 2). The intensity of these flows towards major cities is the primary reason behind the educational, economic and social under-capitalisation of vast areas of the countryside and, therefore, the progressive decrease of its possibilities for/in the future.

This “brain drain” phenomenon is fundamental to correctly understanding the demography of the Spanish territories which tend to concentrate people in cities, according to a model of imbalance. Several other countries in Southern Europe replicate this pattern also. In a notably pronounced way, Greece and Spain display a type of settlement with remarkably large voids all over their respective territories (*Map 1*). This composition, going back some decades now, has lately gained media exposure as a phenomenon referred to as *Empty Spain*. Or, from a more vindicating perspective towards political decision-makers, as the *Emptied Spain*. Emphasis was placed, and continues to be, on the lack of effective policies and actions which can be used to help rebalance the unequal situation, in terms of opportunities between the inhabitants of the city and those of the country. Prior to the coronavirus outbreak, there were several demonstrations followed by a great mobilisation in Madrid, in March, 2019. Protesters demanded greater infrastructure and services

for the citizens of rural areas, whilst also calling attention to the lack of opportunities for younger people for whom it becomes harder and harder to continue working and living in their villages.

Map 1

European Density Population: 1 person per km²



Source: Eurostat.

Explaining this social context is essential to understanding the situation of Spanish rural areas, and how depopulation is now considered a social problem, thanks to more recent media focus on this issue. Therefore, the social perception of inequality with respect to urban centres points an accusing finger at a whole series of policies which continue to favour/reinforce the exodus of young people from the countryside, and thereby depopulating vast areas of Spain. As with other groups suffering some sort of inequality, rural youth have to deal with the elements attached to their life stage in addition to the inequalities affecting them by virtue of the place where they live.

The creation of “youth” as a stage that needs to be attended via political action has been sustained since its delimitation as a collective group in the first half of the 20th century (Savage 2018). Beyond the attention paid to their socialisation and immersion in this or that national spirit, the drift in their situation during the past decades (Standing 2014) has placed them in the spotlight as a proof of the system's inability to integrate all its citizens (Gosálvez 2021; Orza, Oliveres and Sánchez 2021). This inability has overlapped with a severe lack of opportunities, thereby reinforcing the low dynamism of rural areas. These structural conditions make up a most “favourable scenario for youth desertion” (González Fernández and Montero Logroño 2020). However, the exodus becomes even more serious in the case of young women: this is primarily due to the difficulties arising from territorially dispersed jobs which push them (especially the most qualified) to the cities (Camarero and Sampedro 2008).

Despite this, we must look at the bigger picture. The Spanish population is quickly aging as the increasing aging index shows: it was 125.75 in 2020 (INE 2021). If there is a place where youth policies can make a difference regarding social sustainability, it is the rural environment. Country towns in Spain display highly unbalanced population pyramids: specifically, the ageing population is much larger in rural areas, since the proportion of people aged 65 or more is 28.5%. It is even worse in tiny villages (40% in towns with less than 100 inhabitants). In the cities, this particular demographic proportion remains stable at 18.5% (Pérez-Díaz *et al.* 2020). However, besides the phenomenon of aging, rural spaces also suffer from another phenomenon: masculinisation. Women flee to the city more than men, and this therefore translates into a greater difficulty to form new families. In 2018, the masculinity ratio was 105 in towns of up to 5,000 inhabitants, whilst in towns with a population over 5,000 it was 94.4 (Trabada Crende 2020).

Young people in rural zones live in highly adaptive, resilient families. Indeed, this is one of their defining features of rural life in general (Camarero and del Pino, 2014). It is a key factor since it can cushion the impact on profiles of greater exclusion, given that “thanks to family subsistence strategies, they manage to absorb individual exclusion conditions” (Camarero and del Pino 2021, 18). This capacity becomes even more important inasmuch as the situation of exclusion in rural areas has continued to grow since the 2008 crisis. Indeed, by percentage impact, it affects a higher degree of the population than it does in urban environments (Escribano Pizarro *et al.* 2019, 5).

Another key element in the dynamics of rural spaces is mobility. Mobility has added to the resilience of many territories (Oliva and Camarero 2019). The analysis offered by Camarero and Oliva (2016) demonstrates the intensity of this phenomenon amongst rural youth. According to them, “70% of young people between 18–20 years of age commute daily to urban centres for school and also, although to a lesser degree, for work” (Camarero and Oliva 2016, 104). Furthermore, for those between 18 and 30 years old, bi-residential patterns are observed. This is a dual condition proving the degree of rural – urban hybridisation of this age group, in the general sense (Camarero and Oliva 2016).

The features described here highlight the existence of different contexts connected to different ways of working, educating, and living. To that end, specific policies for the young are therefore required, at least *a priori*. Beyond this, the inequality in access to basic services in general, especially those which young people need the most, tends to perpetuate the gap between rural and urban spaces (Camarero and Querol 2020).

The adaptation of youth employment policies vis-à-vis the most disadvantaged profiles of young people has received much consideration, as well as criticism. Although the new European frameworks stand for a greater flexibility and adaptability to the heterogeneity of youth, the truth is their implementation still displays too much generality and rigidity (Rodríguez-Soler and Verd 2018). Additionally, the variable introduced here on the conditioning factors of the rural habitat does not usually appear in actions aimed at promoting youth employment. As we will see later, when it does, it remains limited to the primary sector (*i.e.*, agriculture and stockbreeding). Despite being very important, it is nonetheless minor in Spanish rural areas.

METHODOLOGY

Youth policies and actions for rural youth in Spain show some diversity, mainly depending on the regional governments concerned. The data analysis herein is a compilation of information from public websites related to employment and training departments where policies descriptions are also available. Some websites are conceived of more as a tool to apply for grants or jobs through public services: others include more or less detailed information about youth policy.

The criterion used to select information explores that which refers to the more general national administration of the Spanish State, which is highly federalised. Therefore, regional governments apply selected policies as per the scope of their own autonomy. In this instance, we have made a search to identify those policies displaying at least some territorial adaptation. To that end, policies for three regions were selected with the following criteria: Comunidad Valenciana, Catalonia, and the Basque Country. Furthermore, and deriving from theoretical readings, we identified two non-administration experiences in order to enrich the discussion part.

NATIONAL AND REGIONAL POLICY

Youth unemployment for under-25s in Spain has a rate of 30.51% for the second quarter of 2019, with the young female rate (32,07%) higher than the young male rate (29.25%) (INE 2020). For the same year, NEETs rates in the same age range were 12.1% (15–24, Eurostat 2019).

However, we must take into account that first data from the COVID-19 period shows that youth unemployment for under-25s in Spain increased to a rate of 39.61% for the second quarter of 2020, with young female rates (41.23%) higher than young males (38.34%) (INE 2020). Supportive policies properly addressed to NEETs situation could enable marginal youths to receive enhanced training and employment environments (Inui 2009). Furthermore, the social construction of the NEETs concept as a form of *stigma* can mask real social problems faced by youth groups (García-Fuentes and Martínez 2020).

a. Types of intervention at the national level

Intervention for vulnerable and socially excluded youth in Spain takes a variety of forms. The Spanish government develops its policy via the State Public Employment Service (SEPE). In some regions, there are identified programs with a notable degree of autonomous development. With regards to implementation periods, there are right now some programs in periods of implementation, and which finished in 2020 or will finish in 2021. Hence, new programs are expected for future periods.

Amongst those we can identify, some actions clearly fit well for the concept of NEETs. Nonetheless, policies which are aimed at rural youth are sometimes promoted from within agriculture departments. At the regional level we can find policies that convey and/or implement National programs funded by the EU. Spain has 19 autonomous regions: some have a specific policy on youth and/or rural employment, meaning that specific actions on employment and training for youth (urban and rural) are observed. Types of intervention identified in this analysis include employment policies, education and training, social inclusion, and/or rural development.

a.1. Employment

Youth Guarantee Program [Spanish Government. Ministry of Labour and Social Economy. State Public Employment Service].

The *Youth Guarantee* is, as in other European nations, a European initiative which aims to facilitate young people's access to the job market. It is aimed at ensuring that all young people who are not employed nor integrated in the education or training systems, can receive a job, education or training offer, including apprenticeships or internships, after completing formal education or becoming unemployed. The European recommendation that established the program requires that each young person can receive an offer within a period of four months from the point of their enrolment in the program.

Shock Plan for Youth Employment (2019–2021) [Spanish Government. Ministry of Labour and Social Economy].

With the *Shock Plan for Youth Employment* the following takes place.

Improvements in the competitiveness and added value of the Spanish productive structure is pursued with the aim of achieving levels of economic growth which allow for the generation of a substantial supply of employment, stable or flexible, based on the development of future and high-value sectors added (from sepe.es).

Avalem Joves [Valencian Region. Regional Ministry of Sustainable Economy, Productive Sectors, Trade and Labour]

This is an action included in *Labora* (Valencian Employment and Training Service). The comprehensive training and employment plan for young people 2016–2020 is a strategy of the Council of the Generalitat Valenciana, funded by the European Social Fund, in order to improve the employability of young people. To that end, it seeks to do the following: contribute to the implementation of a new production model which directly involves companies and people there; generate new employment and training opportunities for young people; and, promote the recruitment of young people in Small and Medium-sized Enterprises (SMEs) and the Third Sector, thereby facilitating the contribution of talent.

With these objectives, *LABORA* has launched a comprehensive campaign to reduce the youth unemployment rate through direct, more efficient, and innovative actions which encourage the hiring of youth under 30 years. Actions are focused on all profiles of young people: recent graduates and people without regulated training, or whose training do not meet the demands of the labour market. These activities, which are endorsed by the Ministry of Economy, are co-financed by the European Social Fund.

These actions are for young people between 16 and 29 years old. They offer a personalised guidance service adapted to demand in order to offer training itineraries, improve job searches, and to inform youth about employment opportunities from which they can benefit.

Avalem Joves, the Servicio de Empleo Público Valenciano offers subsidies for companies that hire qualified young people. These are grants that can be applied for by any private company, with a scope of operating in the wider community. The aim is to promote the employment of young people with indefinite contracts and internships. Specific actions include:

ECOJUP – 2020. Aid for the recruitment of qualified young people for internships AVALEM JOVES – Youth Guarantee.

ECOGJU – 2020. Aid for the initial indefinite hiring of young people. YOUTH GUARANTEE – Youth Guarantee.

Beyond this, *Avalem Joves Plus* is a subsidy plan for hiring young people, qualified and unqualified, by local public entities (local councils) in the Valencian Community. Specific actions include:

EMPUJU – 2020. Subsidy program for the recruitment of young people by local entities, within the framework of the National Youth Guarantee System.

EMCUJU – 2019. Subsidy program for the hiring of qualified young people by local entities, within the framework of the National Youth Guarantee System.

EMPUJU – 2019. Subsidy program for the hiring of young people by local entities, within the framework of the National Youth Guarantee System.

Public Employment Service of Catalonia [Catalonia Region]

Singular Project is one of best fitted for the NEETs category.

In the Singular Projects program, a single entity (or different grouped entities) can be presented under the following conditions:

- If only one entity applies, it will be the sole beneficiary;
- If a group of entities is presented, all the entities will have the status of beneficiaries, and will be subject to the rights and duties established by the relevant regulations.

The following entities may be beneficiaries, provided that they comply with the requirements established in the regulations of the program, namely:

- public or private entities with a work centre or operating establishment in Catalonia;
- local bodies and their dependent or linked entities. The different thematic areas that affect young people require coordination, in order to present a joint project;
- trade unions and employers' organisations.
- any other entity or company that carries out an activity necessary for the realisation of the project, and which is specialised in any of the services linked to the actions of the project.

Beneficiaries:

16 to 29 years old.

To be registered as an Unemployed Job Seeker or in an Employment Improvement,

- *not having worked or having received training or educational actions the day before joining the project.*

a.2. Education

Shock Plan for Youth Employment (2019–2021) [Spanish Government. Ministry of Labour and Social Economy]

Strengthen the commitment to comprehensive training and the qualification of young people, thereby encouraging their individual, collective and professional promotion. This is supported by the educational system and the work environment as fundamental elements for their social integration.

Develop initiatives to return to school, to support training in strategic skills, and dual vocational training.

Avalem Joves [Valencian Region. Regional Ministry of Sustainable Economy, Productive Sectors, Trade and Labour].

This program develops a mixed employment-training. The training program is characterised by its practical and innovative nature and is adapted to the demands of the labour market. Currently, it focuses on the creation of mixed

programs, which combine training and paid work. The best examples are: *T'AVALEM* and Employment Workshops.

T'AVALEM and *Talleres de empleo* are programs in which students perform jobs that benefit their municipality, receive training and work experience, receive a salary, and obtain an official certification. Therefore, they are especially useful for unqualified people.

There have been grants from the mixed employment-training program *Escoles d'Ocupació ET FORMEM* for the 2019 financial year.

a.3. Rural development

Shock Plan for Youth Employment (2019–2021) [Spanish Government. Ministry of Labour and Social Economy]:

– providing professional skills to those young people with little qualifications, *taking care of young people in the rural environment*,² and empowered and reinforcing the role of the Public Employment Services as a gateway to the labour market, and an active and participatory life within society.

In a different department, namely the Ministry of Agriculture, they produced a public draft on *MEASURES IN FAVOR OF YOUNG PEOPLE AND WOMEN in the field of Rural Modernisation and Diversification Strategy*. It was published in July, 2017. The document proposes 38 measures for improving the youth situation in rural areas of Spain.

LABORA (Valencian Employment and Training Service).

Avaletm Territori Plan.

The *Avaletm Territori Plan* is one of the most ambitious strategies promoted by *LABORA*, and with the collaboration of European Social Fund. Through this program, the Valencian Employment Service intends to redefine active policies to make territorial policies for employment of a transversal nature, and more adapted to real needs. Therefore, one of the functions of the territorial employment plan is to identify new job niches. Its intention is to design a new methodology of joint territorial strategies wherein the practical questions of how to work are addressed, in order to promote employment more generally. Furthermore, it aims to establish a new management model which adapts the exercise of active employment policies to the relevant territory in a way that links them and connects them with the real needs of people and companies, but also integrates territorial and sectoral agents in the process. Through a participatory diagnosis methodology with more than three hundred indicators, it has been possible to identify key variables such as productive specialisation, functional networks and dynamics, training deficiencies, and new occupation niches.

Avaletm Territori aims to encompass the different agents linked to the Valencian territory (*i.e.*, the autonomous administration, local entities, social agents, companies, institutional administration, and non-profit entities) from a participatory perspective. This will allow the creation of a collaborative network to carry out a joint territorial strategy.

Odisseu Project [Catalonia Region].

Encourage return to rural areas.

ODISSEU has the initial objective of encouraging a return to rural areas of origin. To that end, it aims to route young people trained via the contact and involvement of the main agents which affect its transition. These include: universities and training centres; local companies; institutions and administrations involved in rural development; employment and business creation, and youth policies.

a.4. Social inclusion

Shock Plan for Youth Employment (2019–2021) [Spanish Government. Ministry of Labour and Social Economy].

Its main aim is to provide decent jobs, youth entrepreneurship, and the promotion of union participation of young people and business associations.

Following SEPES webpage, the objectives of this Employment Plan for young people are as follows.

1. Establish a labour framework of quality in employment and dignity at work.
2. Make young people protagonists in their job placement and qualification process.
3. Increase qualification and job placement, by providing young people with more professional skills.
4. Promote a new economic model based on productivity and added value.
5. Provide the Public Employment Services with the means and resources to provide adequate and individualised attention.
6. Develop specific training on equal opportunities between women and men to eliminate gender biases, combat horizontal segregation and the gender pay gap.
7. Combat the discouragement effect of young people who do not seek employment because they believe that they will not find it.
8. Special attention will be paid to especially vulnerable groups (migrants, long-term unemployed, school dropouts, people with disabilities, etc.).
9. The Plan encompasses fifty measures, divided into six axes, designed under a comprehensive and systemic perspective, which allow their combination and adjustment to each profile and existing needs in terms of insertion.

Avalem Joves [Valencian Region. Regional Ministry of Sustainable Economy, Productive Sectors, Trade and Labour].

Contribute to the implementation of a new production model.

Facilitate the return of young people who emigrated to other countries, to avoid precarious conditions upon returning, and those who are in search of new opportunities.

Stimulate the social commitment of young people with participation in social initiatives delivered by the Third Sector. This promotes the development of fundamental transversal skills in the labour market today.

Youth Return Program [Basque Country Region].

The *Youth Return Program* is an initiative of the Basque Government, developed and managed by Lanbide, which facilitates the return to the Basque Country of people under 35 years old.

Lanbide (Employment Basque Public Regional Service) supports the hiring of young people by offering support to companies help to incorporate professionals who have acquired valuable skills outside the Basque Country. It's aimed at young people (but also companies), with the goal of having them participate in the program. Young people who are willing to return can also apply for a travel grant.

Table no. 1 summarises identified policies and actions from administrations we have considered. At least three programs (Spanish, Valencian and Catalanian) show more directly addressed actions vis-à-vis rural youth. Nonetheless, there is not a unique action or program for rural NEETs specifically.

Table no. 1

Identified Policies and Actions

	Employment	Education and training	Social inclusion	Rural development	Rural NEETs approach
Spanish Government. Ministry of Labour and Social Economy	Youth Guarantee	Shock Plan for Youth Employment (2019–2021)	Shock Plan for Youth Employment (2019–2021)	Shock Plan for Youth Employment (2019–2021)	Taking care of young people in the rural environment
Valencian Government	Avalem Joves	Avalem Joves	Avalem Joves	Avalem Territori	Collaborative network to carry out a joint territorial strategy
Catalonian Government	Singular Project			Odisseu Project	Encourage return to rural areas
Basque Country Government			Youth Return Program	Youth Return Program	Youth return focused on urban and rural areas

Source: Own elaboration.

DISCUSSION

As previously noted, several actions have already been undertaken in the field of employment promotion through training. Moreover, companies have also

been given some assistance to hire both skilled and unskilled young employees. These strategies, at least on the paper, lead to further specificity regarding the particular circumstances of each territory. However, the implementation period has not, as yet, even started, and the sudden onset of the coronavirus pandemic may well have slowed down, or even redirected, some of the initial approaches.

One of the approaches found in all the three Spanish territories selected in this study is to encourage the return of the youth. The exodus towards other European countries was one of the main phenomena observed during the 2008 financial crisis. Awareness about the decapitalisation of the country led to the development of several return aid plans. Inspired by this tactic, the regional government of Catalonia launched a return policy focused on rural areas. Recent focus on rural depopulation has fostered programs which develop rural actions, by highlighting how youth, and by extension their return, are vital for the dynamism of rural areas. Nonetheless, weakness in those actions linked to rural NEETs are very clear. However, there is no a specific program which takes into account that particular phenomenon.

Although these youth employment policies are “official” at some different levels of the Spanish administration related to employment policy and its implementation, it is worth highlighting pilot experiences, such as the one analysed by González and Montero (2020) for a LEADER project in Andalusia. Here, the authors identified the latent potential within proximity to the territory, but also confirmed the practical gap therein, with regards to the tools made available by LEADER programmes. Another significant experience is the *Barrios por el Empleo* project in Tenerife (Canary Islands), launched during the 2008 financial crisis. One of its hallmarks is its community approach, the emphasis being on the accompanying and fostering of co-responsibility amongst its participants (Zapata Hernández, Rumeu Amaral and Acosta González 2018). Its involvement in run-down neighbourhoods (and its success rate of 40% of its participants having found a job) single out this experience as one we should pay attention to, and learn from.

CONCLUSIONS

Rural spaces in Spain have suddenly become the centre of attention of both the media and the political class, in marked contrast to only a few years ago. The phenomenon of depopulation has burst into the political and media agenda and, as a result, has also become a topic of public debate. One axis which has been conveniently exposed is the secular absence of public policies that would curb the imbalance between small country villages and cities. The gap in the access to infrastructures and essential services has resulted in mobilising that part of the Spanish society still living in rural areas.

In addition to the constant degradation of educational, transportation, medical and social services – exacerbated by Europe's austerity policies and cutbacks – we

must also include the elimination of financial services (*i.e.*, banks), as more and more branch offices are being closed down for good and poor access (or even no access at all), to the Internet that also remains a problem. This scenario of imbalances makes the reversion of demographic trends in Spanish rural areas especially difficult. Only by focusing on having the young population settle down in the respective territories (combined with special emphasis on creating attractive spaces for qualified young women), would these trends begin to be reverted. The policies allegedly devised for the youth by the administration are not translated into a tangible form of action required to overcome the lack of dynamism found in rural areas.

Experimental initiatives launched by LEADER programmes confirm that “they can be a good platform to activate young population in rural areas” (González Fernández and Montero Logroño 2020). To that end, the adoption of a micro perspective in such policies is mandatory in order to achieve social inclusion in the diverse rural spaces (Escribano Pizarro, Serrano Lara and Martínez Guirao 2019).

Following Rodríguez-Soler and Verd, “both the SNGJ’s (Spanish acronym of the Youth Guarantee National System) general approach and the specific measures developed under its wing seem not to have made a strong move (or not to have made the right move) towards the re-orientation of prior policies. Nor has personalisation and adaptation of the measures for a heterogeneous group demanding policies with a much higher degree of specificity” been observed (Rodríguez-Soler and Verd 2018). Not only must heterogeneity be taken into account in this proposal, the individual profile policies must be effective: namely, they must also bear in mind the specific features of the different Spanish rural areas.

Needless to say, there exist other initiatives already pointing at territoriality as a key factor that must go with the definition of measures. Its effectiveness will have to be proven in the immediate future where further challenges (such as the ups and downs of the Covid-19 worldwide pandemic crisis, the effects of climate change, energy transition and so on) are certain to present new difficulties.

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Acest articol intenționează să descrie o serie de politici referitoare la tineretul spaniol și la gradul acestuia de adaptare la spațiul rural spaniol, în termenii câtorva elemente-cheie ale dinamicii sociale din această spațiu. Se va referi la unele dintre politicile implementate, generale, referitoare la tineri și le va identifica pe cele care par să fie mai apropiate de aceste teritorii specifice (rural). După discutarea acestor politici, este clar, pe de o parte, că există o lipsă de flexibilitate și adaptare la circumstanțele specifice mediului rural. Cu toate acestea, pe de altă parte, este de asemenea posibil să fie indicate o serie de politici care cu adevărat propun acțiuni mai potrivite pentru zonele rurale și să fie luate în considerare experiențele-pilot și parteneriatele dintre ONG-uri și administrație, care nu doar că au câteva elemente deosebite, dar au și potențialul de a se desfășura pe mai departe.

Cuvinte-cheie: rural; politici de tineret; dezvoltare rurală; incluziune socială; depopulare.

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