



**TITLE OF RESEARCH PAPER:**

**“Land for *whoever* works it”**

**Participation and cleavages in rural collective action – A study of the occupation of  
‘Somonte’**

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## **Acknowledgements**

To my mom and dad,  
to my friends an colleagues,  
a los Andaluces que luchan todos los días...  
Thank you.

## CONTENTS:

List of Acronyms ... pg.8

Abstract... pg.9

### SECTION 1 – INTRODUCTION

#### CHAPTER 1

Introduction... pg.11

1. Collective action of internally differentiated movements ...pg.11
2. Participation in Somonte... pg.11
3. Relevance of Study... pg.13
4. Scope of Study... pg.14
5. Research Paper ... pg.16
  - a. Main argument and objectives ... pg. 16
  - b. Research questions ... pg.16
6. Structure of Arguments ... pg. 16

### SECTION 2: ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

#### CHAPTER 2

Analytical Framework ... pg.19

1. Methodology: Multi-sited ethnography, Interviews, Secondary Data
  - a. Ethnography... pg. 20
  - b. Interviews and Secondary Data ... pg. 21
2. Theoretical Framework ... pg. 22
  - a. Marxist Agrarian Political Economy ... pg. 22
    - i. 'Defining class' ... pg. 22
    - ii. Economic sociology of class and the working class ... pg. 22
    - iii. Socio-political aspect of the classes of labor ... pg. 23
    - iv. Class-consciousness ... pg. 23
    - v. Social movements and class dynamics ... pg. 25
    - iv. Framing approach, class analysis and class-consciousness... pg.25
  - c. Objects of study ... pg. 26

### SECTION 3: FINDINGS

#### CHAPTER 3

1. Land tenure and the andalusian agrarian problem ... pg. 28
  - a. The struggle for land ... pg.29
  - b. The master frame in Somonte ... pg. 33
    - i. Identifying a problem and attributing blame ... pg. 35

- ii. Proposing an alternative ... pg.35
- iii. Motivation to participate ... pg. 36

#### **CHAPTER 4**

- 1. Heterogeneous participation ... pg. 40
  - a. Classes of labor ... pg. 41
  - b. The complexities of participants ... pg. 42
  - c. Cleavages in participation ... pg. 43
    - i. Permanent occupation ... pg. 43
    - ii. Sporadic occupation ... pg. 44
    - iii. Sporadic Support ... pg. 45

#### **SECTION 4: ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS**

#### **CHAPTER 5**

Discussion ... pg. 48

#### **CHAPTER 6**

Conclusion ... pg. 54

References ... pg. 55

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## List of acronyms

- CAP (Common Agricultural Policy)
- EC (Empleo Comunitario) (*Community Employment*)
- IARA (Instituto Andaluz de Reforma Agraria) (*Andalusian Institute of Agrarian Reform*)
- MST (Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra) (*Landless Workers' Movement*)
- PER-AS (Plan de Empleo Rural) (Subsidio Agrario) (*Plan of Rural Employment (Agrarian Subsidy)*)
- PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Español) (*Spanish Workers' Socialist Party*)
- SOC (Sindicato de Obreros del Campo) (*Farmers' Worker Union*)
- SPS (Single Payment Scheme)
- SAT (Sindicato Andaluz de Trabajadores) (*Union of Andalusian Workers*)
- TAM (Transnational Agrarian Movement)

## **Abstract**

In the context of contemporary agrarian and new social movement studies, the post-modernist approaches of framing processes seeks to explain how participation in said organization is achieved through constructed meanings, interests and values. However, a class-based analysis that considers class-consciousness and collective agency, reveals that while framing processes can help explain mass participation to an extent, by itself it leaves aside important socio-economic and socio-political considerations of that make up class-based movements like the SAT (Sindicato Andaluz de Trabajadores) (*Andalusian Workers' Union*). The present paper examines how through a specific grounded framing processes, class-consciousness is constructed and influenced in the land occupation campaign of *Somonte*, in the province of Córdoba, Andalusia.

**Key words:** collective action, class, class-consciousness, class struggle, framing processes, new social movement

## **SECTION 1 – INTRODUCTION**

## **CHAPTER 1:**

“as long as *the day laborer of today* keeps demanding (...) “*la tierra para quien la trabaja*” [land for whoever works it], it is left clear that the agrarian question has not been answered.” (Martin 2006:12, own underscore).

### **Introduction:**

#### 1. Collective action of internally differentiated movements

Historical and material evidence showcased in the literature of social movements and peasant studies, shows how an individual’s agency in collective political action is partly dependent by socio-economic complexities of his/her site in the social division of labor. Studies of revolutions (Wolf 1969; Paige 1975; Scott 1976; Scokpol 1982) and *land occupations* (Wolford 2003, 2004, 2005), have demonstrated how individuals may participate differently in collective struggles for land depending on the their specific relation to the means of production, their source of income and their interest in the land being claimed. In agrarian movements like the MST (Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra) (*Landless Workers’ Movement*) with mass bases of members coming from different classes of labor of a specific class structure, the *degree* of participation in campaigns claiming land is conditioned partly to the specific need of land as a source of livelihood.

Aware of this, a compelling action some TAMs (Transnational Agrarian Movements) are able to do is the ability to unite and mobilize its differentiated ranks of members and supporters (Edelman and Borrás 2016:39). Some literature on social movement seeks to understand this ability through *the framing perspective*, and how collective participation is mobilized by unifying meanings constructed around objects and events (Snow *et al.* 1982; McAdam *et al.* 1996). Regardless of unifying efforts like the creation of community ties (Wolford 2004, 2003), class-linked interests need to be critically understood as they can create important cleavages in participation.

#### 2. Participation in Somonte

If you drive from the town *Palma del Río*, in the province of Córdoba, Spain, taking the highway towards *La Campana*, you will see on your left on kilometer 14, the entrance to the farm of *Somonte* (See photograph 1.1). After the demise of the IARA (Instituto Andaluz de Reforma Agraria) (*Andalusian Institute of Agrarian Reform*) in 2011, the Government of Andalusia announced the selling of 20,000 hectares (ha) of land including a 400 ha portion of *Somonte*. After announcing its selling on March 5<sup>th</sup> 2012 in the midst of a record unemployment in 2011-2012 in Andalusia (Borrás *et al.* 2013:24), *jornaleros*<sup>1</sup> (day laborers) – seasonal agricultural workers – from the nearby town of Posadas in the province of Córdoba, with the support of the Andalusian radical trade union, the SAT (Sindicato Andaluz de Trabajadores) (Union of Andalusian Workers)<sup>2</sup>, claiming the use of the farm, decided to permanently occupy the farm on March 4<sup>th</sup> with the intention of providing an alternative source of livelihood for the nearby

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<sup>1</sup> Spanish words are written in their original form in italics when used for the first time. A translation will be provided in the same page.

<sup>2</sup> Henceforth referred to as the SAT or the Union interchangeably.

unemployed rural workers by setting up an agro-ecological farming cooperative, and obtaining the usufruct of the land (See photograph 1.2).

Photograph 1.1<sup>3</sup>.



Shortly after the first occupation, the first of many evictions by the Andalusian government removed the 30+ day laborers from the premises, just to have them re-occupy the next day. The leader in the occupation during that time, SAT-branch spokesperson of the town *Posadas*, day laborer Lola Álvarez, mentioned the firm reluctance of giving up the occupation:

*“If they expel us in the morning, we will come back by the afternoon, and if they kick us out by night, we will come back by morning, (...) we will not take a single step back.”*<sup>4</sup>, **mentioned Álvarez in an interview.**

The same objectives, and this same reluctance to give up occupying the premises are still very much alive in 2016.

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<sup>3</sup> Own photograph.

<sup>4</sup> Juan J. Sánchez. ABC-Córdoba (2012). Palma del Río. Wednesday 18 April 2012. Palma del Río: “La mecha de la era <<okupacional>>”

Photograph 1.2.<sup>5 6</sup>



Today, the participant base and style of the occupation has qualitatively changed. While a significant number of the permanent occupants in the initial phases of the occupation were day laborers that could benefit livelihood-wise from obtaining the use of land in Somonte and setting up a cooperative<sup>7</sup>, today a more heterogeneous base of participants from differing class locations *outside* of the agrarian class structure occupy sporadically. After 2014, with the departure of Álvarez and most of the original 30 day laborers from the occupation, Somonte has received support from SAT members and sympathizers that are not exclusively day laborers, or have a direct interest in the land as a potential source of income. By framing the occupation with perceived historical and current injustices of the agrarian and political structure in Andalusia that have high *resonance* and *inclusivity* levels, the Union has been able to mobilize members from different classes of labor, *not* limited to day laborers or agricultural workers in the occupation efforts. An unemployed day laborer from Posadas, a communication student from Granada capital, a university staff employee from Seville and his partner, all have been occupants at different times. However, the *need* of the land in Somonte as a potential source of income, conditions the *type* and *degrees* of participation in the occupation. Cleavages in participation rooted in specific material interests, then, manifest in different typologies of participation when one critically unboxes the occupation based on a class analysis.

### 3. Relevance of Study

Exploring *how* the SAT is able to maintain and create participation, and *why* this participation manifests in different ways in relation to the class location of a person, presents an opportunity to explore existing areas of interests of peasant resistance and social movement studies. At the

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<sup>5</sup> Source: [http://www.nytimes.com/2012/08/24/world/europe/economic-crisis-in-spain-reignites-an-old-social-conflict.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/08/24/world/europe/economic-crisis-in-spain-reignites-an-old-social-conflict.html?_r=0)

<sup>6</sup> Workers picking up peppers back in 2012. Woman in White is Lola Álvarez

<sup>7</sup> Since the first occupation, Somonte has seen support from members that are not day laborers. However, the point is made to underscore that in 2012 more day laborers permanently occupied Somonte as opposed to today.

same time, the present paper makes an effort to address a perceived gap in the literature by linking approaches of both areas.

The study of the issues that unite and divide collective action is one of the main areas of study concerning the study of agrarian movements (Bernstein 2010:122). However, problematizing and linking how the political *and* agrarian structures are interlinked with these issues are commonly left out of the analysis (Borras 2008:181). Building on Smith (1989), Veltmeyer (1997) writes about the importance of connecting peasant movements to the agrarian structures they are embedded in and how they are conditioned by larger structures like markets (1997:151). Wolford (2004) demonstrates how changes in the international price of sugar, for example, caused the reopening of sugar-cane factories and plantations in northeastern Brazil, and influenced the decision of specific wage-oriented members to leave the participation of land occupation campaigns of the MST and return to work in the factories, in spite of the cohesive efforts of the organization. (2004:149).

Studying participation in Somonte attends this gap as the mobilizing efforts are linked with the framing of grievances and injustices perceived in the political and agrarian structures of Andalusia. Firstly, elements of the political and agrarian structures have been used to generate a *master frame* that generates participation in the occupation. Secondly, the very occupation of Somonte is one of the many forms of challenges to the historical ‘Andalusian agrarian problem’<sup>8</sup>.

Scholars and activists are, through empirical and ethnographic approaches, learning the complex reality of peasant and social movements when explored up close and personal (Edelman 2010:15). In the case of the SAT, in 2007 the trade union underwent a renovation exercise that extended its ranks beyond the specific classes of Andalusia’s agrarian structure<sup>9</sup>, the opportunity to explore how participation is achieved and manifests among differentiated members, becomes even more compelling. Furthermore, the geographical location of the occupation – Andalusia, Spain – presents an opportunity draw on the growing literature on the financialization of agriculture and its subsequent resistance in contemporary Europe<sup>10</sup>. Moreover, this study revolves around the SAT, a radical trade union that has received, to my knowledge, no empirical, in-field study of the specific issue of cleavages and synergies in participation.

## 2. Scope of the study

Andalusia is one of the 17 autonomous communities of the Spanish State, located in the southern part of the peninsula<sup>11</sup>. It is the most populated autonomous community in Spain, and it is the second largest in terms of size. The community is officially recognized as a nationality in the Spanish State<sup>12</sup>. It is divided in 8 provinces – Jaen, Málaga, Granada, Cádiz,

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<sup>8</sup> The juxtaposition of large estates of land concentrated in few hands, and large masses of unemployed landless seasonal workers (Martin 2006)

<sup>9</sup> See Roca (2015) and Martínez and Parra (2012).

<sup>10</sup> See Borras *et al* (2013); Mamonova, (2015)

<sup>11</sup> See: <http://www.spain.info/en/consultas/ciudades-y-pueblos/comunidades-autonomas.html>

<sup>12</sup> See the Andalusian Autonomy Statute: <http://www.boe.es/boe/dias/2007/03/20/pdfs/A11871-11909.pdf>

Seville, Córdoba, Huelva and Almería – having as a capital the city of Seville (See Maps 2.1 and 2.2.)

Map 2.1<sup>13</sup>



Map 2.2<sup>14</sup>



Research was carried out in several of the provinces of Andalusia. The SAT has branches in all of the 8 provinces, but I did not have the resources or time to meet people from every single branch in all of the provinces. However, Somonte, being one of the two current national campaigns due to its historical meaning as a land occupation and its four year duration, brings together people from every SAT branch in Andalusia at various times. The 4-year occupation has seen ‘everything and everyone’ come and go through its doors. That is why people who are longtime members of the Union show their face there, as well as people who are new. Studying the occupation empirically, allowed me to interact with people from several branches from the SAT without having to travel to all of the provinces. I recognized the limit of staying in Somonte and ‘hoping’ that people would show up. To counteract these limits I did two things.

I chose the dates of July 18 to July 30 and then August 11 to August 15, 16 days total. Those dates were chosen because it coincided with the period when Somonte would have most

<sup>13</sup> Source: <http://www.andalucia.com/intro.htm>

<sup>14</sup> See: <http://www.mapsofworld.com/spain/maps/spain-political-map.jpg>

amounts of occupants in the months of July and August. During the first dates, the *Jaleo Brigades* organized by the group *Jaleo* were held, a series of talks, workshops and activities where around 100 people around the ages of 19 and 30 showed up (more information of this group will be provided in Chapter 3). Secondly, an effort was made to visit as many provinces, cities and towns as possible and to talk to members of different branches. The visits were limited to – Seville, Granada, Málaga, Córdoba, and Jaen. One of the places I talked to the most with people who were not physically occupying Somonte was the town of Gilena, in the province of Seville, due to its physical closeness to every other province.

Uniting elements and dividing elements along with the SAT's and Somonte's evolution cannot be assumed to have a 4-year life period, this would mean taking away attention from origin points that have dates that pre-date 2012. So my research focused on the period of 2012 – 2016, but does not disregard how prior political and capitalist forces affected the evolution of Andalusia's agrarian structure or the occupation.

## 5. Research Paper

### *a. Main argument and objectives*

The main argument of this research paper is that the SAT is able to mobilize participation of a differentiated mass base of members, by using a specific highly resonant and inclusive framing process that reinforces the 'working class-consciousness' of individuals regardless of the socio-economic or socio-political characteristics specific to their class of labor. However, this perceived mass heterogeneous participation, reflects cleavages that manifest in different types of participation in relation to specific socio-economic and socio-political elements of class.

The main objective of the present research seeks to critically understand how perceived participation of differentiated individuals – in terms of classes of labor and source of income – is achieved in Somonte, and how when critically examined reveals divergences in the form of different degrees and types of participation linked to the particularities of an individual's class of labor.

Secondary objectives of this paper are firstly, to explore how framing is constructed and how it mobilizes individuals from different classes of labor, and the extent to which these mobilize participation.

### *b. Research questions*

I will focus on answering the following primary research question: *To what extent do mobilizing frames based on elements of the political and agrarian structures of Andalusia constructed by the SAT to generate participation?* Besides this primary research question, I sought out to answer the following secondary research questions that help will me understand in a more critical way the former: *How do the specificities of an individual's class of labor influence the degree and type of participation he/she has in the occupation of Somonte, and how is the collective action framing of Somonte constructed?*

## 6. Structure of Arguments

The research paper is made up of 6 chapters including this introductory chapter. Chapter 2 addresses the analytical framework used – the methodology used to acquire data, the theoretical framework, concepts used in later chapters and the unit of analysis. Chapter 3 focuses on the specific elements of the agrarian and political structures of Andalusia, and how they have been used as injustice frames by the SAT in order to mobilize heterogeneous participation in Somonte. Chapter 4 presents how the class of labor of an individual and his/her relative need for land as a productive capital of individuals translates into different degrees and types of participation. Chapter 5 presents a discussion on the findings, and a general analysis, and Chapter 6 is a general conclusion.

## **SECTION 2: ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK**

## CHAPTER 2:

### Analytical Framework

*“I’ve heard the story of Somonte (...) the reality that lies underneath this project, the struggle, the joy, the pain and of course: the humanity in it.”<sup>15</sup>*

#### 1. Methodology: Multi-sited ethnography, Interviews, Secondary data

I went to Andalusia and listened to the voices of its people, saw the olive trees first-hand and experienced Somonte as an occupant (Photograph 1.3). I experienced the resistance undertaken, explored what conditions the agency of occupants, and the context that in which the occupation and its participants lie embedded.

Photography 1.3<sup>16</sup>.



Data was gathered through 3 methodologies – multi-sited ethnography; semi-structured and unstructured interviews; secondary data review.

I spent 16 days in Somonte as an occupant on the condition that I help out in whatever was needed in the farm. This involved simply occupying the premises, and working on the small plots of cultivated. Besides that, I spent sporadic amounts of time in the different cities and towns of Andalusia, getting in touch with different SAT members and sympathizers, and being in touch with informal and formal events organized by the Union. The town I spent the most time in during my time in Andalusia was Gilena, a small town in the province of Seville.

I engaged in informal talks with the occupants and visitors of Somonte, and with the people in the different cities and towns over the course of 16 days while taking notes or recording. I account for over 50 informal conversations and interactions with members, visitors, affiliates, non-affiliates, etc. Furthermore, during my time in Andalusia, I was part of several SAT-

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<sup>15</sup> Entry from research journal: ‘Dead Roaches and Sunny Days’ 19/07/16.

<sup>16</sup> Own photograph: Sign at one of the entrances to the farm, it reads “Somonte farm”.

coordinated events – the Blas Infante Anniversary<sup>17</sup>, and the Jaleo Brigades for example. I conducted 8 semi-structured interviews after my stay in Somonte with the members I considered relevant to the research<sup>18</sup>, and 1 unstructured interview with the National Spokesperson of the SAT. The questions of the interviews were based on the findings during the stay in Somonte. They were aimed at filling any gaps that may not have been answered through field observations and to help answer the research questions. Secondary data review was done throughout my stay in Andalusia, and was taken from several sources – newspapers, the University of Córdoba Peasant Studies Archive, University of Granada Faculty of Letters and Philosophy, Gilena’s Trade Union Branch of the SAT.

#### a. Ethnography

I chose an ethnographic approach as with this method we can empirically understand how large phenomena like globalization, nationality and modernity; and institutional and social discourses that “tend to shape history” (Cerwonka 2007:25), have an effect on the agency of individuals and specific local contexts. Ethnography as a method, allowed me to understand global tendencies, studies and ideas of TAMs (Transnational Agrarian Movements) and social movements –embedded in an increasingly globalized and capitalist-influenced context –, and localize them through the SAT, and thus empirically challenge, any monolithic conceptualizations in the literature of my areas of research. Furthermore, localizing these elements could have only been constructed through the multi-sited ethnographic my positionality as both a researcher and “circumstantial occupant”<sup>19</sup> (See photograph 1.4).

Photograph 1.4<sup>20</sup>



The ethnographic process of this research resembles what Marcus (1995) calls multi-sited ethnography. Marcus’s work describes and explores the conditions, limitations and nature of multi-sited ethnography, the ethnographic research process of moving ethnographies that move from a single-site location to multiple areas of participation and observation that cut

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<sup>17</sup> The SAT-led act was done to commemorate Blas Infante, considered the father of Andalusia by many.

<sup>18</sup> Relevant members were interviewed in person, through phone or Skype, depending on financial resources at that time.

<sup>19</sup> Term adapted from what Marcus (1995) calls a ‘circumstantial activist’ role ethnographers tend to take.

<sup>20</sup> Own photograph showing the result of me weeding out a parcel in Somonte.

specific dichotomies (ie. global-local, discursive-material) (1995:95). In the case of the occupation of Somonte – and generally the campaigns of the SAT – a lot can be understood in terms of ideological framing and general superficial realities, however to truly understand participation and cleavages in Somonte, I needed to move away from the headlines, the literature and into the occupation, under the heat and among the flies and chickens. By participating in the occupation as a circumstantial SAT supporter I was able to observe things, construct dialogue and thus construct empirical knowledge. Feeding chickens at 6am, and attending an anti-repression workshop in the *Jaleo Brigades*, allowed me to construct and understand specific elements crucial to the understanding of uniting and dividing elements an actual militant member of the SAT undergoes (See photograph 1.5). The study of interviews done by academics and the media that date back to the initial occupation of Somonte back in 2012 (and before) was done through this same multi-sited, or ‘tandem-ethnography’ that moves around different locations (temporal-spatial) (1995:114; Molland 2013:300).

Photograph 1.5<sup>21</sup>



a. Interviews and secondary data

Interviews were conducted between the 29<sup>th</sup> of July and 15 of August, except for the only unstructured interview that was done to the national spokesperson of the SAT, Oscar Reina, which was done the first day I arrived at the occupation on the 18<sup>th</sup> of July 2016. 8 semi-interviews were done based on the position, history, and relation the people interviewed had with the SAT, and whose in depth interviewing, based on my judgment, closed gaps on data I encountered during my initial month of observation. 1 semi-structured interview was done through a phone call, and the rest were done using either a notebook to take notes or a recording device.

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<sup>21</sup> Own photograph: 2 occupants of around 50 years old standing next to an oven in one of the warehouses of Somonte. The man in the pink shirt built that oven back in 2014.

Not only was position considered, but age, time in the organization, and geographical origin in Andalusia. Furthermore, gender-balance was sought to be achieved, but as far as in-depth semi-structure interviews and informal conversations go, I recognize that there were more men available than woman, and made achieving a gender balance in my sample selection very complicated. Out of the 9 interviews conducted, only 3 were done to women, and most informal conversations with members and supporters in and out of the occupations were held with men.

## 2. Theoretical Framework

### a. Agrarian Political Economy

An agrarian political economy analytical lens is used in this paper as it can give meaning to different macro elements of the ‘economic sociology’ of class, and it provides a useful micro level of analysis of individuals by understanding the heterogeneity that makes up the different classes of labor in contemporary times. Furthermore, it gives room to challenge the ‘assumed deterministic nature’ of class relation to explain social practices, by considering other elements and approaches (Bernstein 2010:115). This research paper proposes to use this analytical lens considering other approaches that make the larger debates on social differentiation. Rationalists take on moral economists (Popkin 1980) and Chayanov on the peasantry vis-à-vis Lenin (Bernstein 2009), all served this research to distinguish the analytical usefulness of class analysis as exhibited by agrarian political economists and other authors.

#### *i. Defining class*

This paper will categorize *individuals* participating or supporting the occupation based on the conceptualization as ‘working class’ in relation to the ownership of the means of production. Before doing that, a conceptual definition of ‘class’ must be provided, as well as the socio-economic and socio-political differences this class entails.

Bernstein underscores the analytical usefulness of a class-based approach that identifies classes in relation to other classes based on the “relation to the means of production” (2010:21), to explain practices like social conflict. In Bernstein’s words – *Who owns what?* At the core of Marxism, class is conceptualized as the objective and defined relationship of an individual to the means of production, this relationship is structured based on the division of those who *own* the means of production, and those are the *direct producers*, or *workers* (Veltmeyer1997:145). In this way, “a class can only be identified through its relations with another class” (Bernstein 2010:101). In capitalist societies, the social relation between owners of the means of production and the ‘*working class*’ is “structured by the exploitation of labor and the extraction of surplus value.” (Veltmeyer 1997:145). An individual, then, belongs in the working class if he/she, *must* sell his/her labor power in order to achieve a daily reproduction.

#### *ii. Economic sociology of class and the working class*

Agrarian political economy considers several analytical complexities that are relevant to the analysis for the participants of Somonte, and form part of the ‘economic sociology’ of class analysis.

This approach pays attention to the changes in the social relations of production and the access to productive capital like land – mainly in pre-capitalist societies – perpetuated by the penetration of capitalist forces led at times by State policies and actions, in the name of different goals (modernizing agriculture, economic development, ideological goals, etc.). It contemplates the effects and responses – from proletarianization to resistance – of those alienated of the means of production by various means and actors, and who are subjugated to sell their own labor power (Stavenhagen 1975:4). Changes in the factors of production, then, may lead to different degrees of proletarianization of the peasantry (Bernstein 2010:111), or revolution (Scott 1976; Wolf 1969; Paige 1975).

The agrarian political economy presented by Bernstein considers how urban and rural workers compromise complex ‘*classes of labor*’, it considers how individuals “*might not be dispossessed of all the means of production*” (2010:111, author’s emphasis), contemplating varying types of combinations between self-employed farming, wage laboring and others. By classes of labor Bernstein refers to the rural and/or urban individuals who depend “*directly and indirectly on the sale of their labor power for their own daily reproduction*” (2010:111 ct. Panitch and Leys 2000: ix, Bernstein’s emphasis). These individuals pursue this daily reproduction under increasing conditions of income and employment insecurity, which leads them to “*pursue their means of reproduction across different sites of the social division of labor: urban and rural, agricultural and non-agricultural, wage employment and marginal self-employment*” (2010:111).

### *iii. Socio-political aspect of the classes of labor*

The question of agency in class analysis to explain social conflict arises and complicates itself as this ‘working class’ diversified by the economic-sociology of class described, is ‘fragmented’ by political-sociology aspects and identity politics – elements like ideology, religion, ethnicity, race, and gender (Wright 1997:196). The circumstances that surround this socio-political differentiated working class are experienced differently by, as they are not experienced purely as ‘class oppression/exploitation in general’, but in terms of particular identities like “*urban/rural dwellers, industrial, industrial workers/agricultural laborers (...)*” (Bernstein 2010:117 ct. Gibbon and Neocosmos 1985:19).

As said, in capitalist societies social relations are based on the extraction of surplus value through the exploitation of labor, this creates the objective and subjective conditions for social change (Veltmeyer 1997:145). However, one of the issues of this socio-political element of the classes of labor according to Bernstein building on Harris-White and Gooptuu, is the position of “*struggles over class*” preceding and limiting actual “*struggles between class*” (2010:117 ct. 2000:89), which ultimately bring about the transformation of society and class structure (Wright 1997:205). This brings forth the debate of class consciousness to explain collective action of classes in pursue of collective class interests – the debate of a class “*in itself*” or a class “*for itself*”. This is especially important in the analysis of participation in internally differentiated worker movements like the SAT.

### *iv. Class-consciousness*

Authors like Wright (1997) conceptualize class-consciousness in very broad terms that have to do with the incumbency of an individual in a specific class location of a class structure (1997:193). Thompson (1971) and Marxist author Lukács (1971) on the other hand have two different but useful conceptualizations and visions of *class-consciousness*.

Starting with Lukács, the author mentions that class-consciousness has an implied *class-unconsciousness*, an “unconsciousness of one’s own socio-historical and economic conditions” (1971:60). He considers class-consciousness as the “appropriate and rational reactions ‘imputed’(...) to a particular position in the process of production” (1971:59). However, differing from this ‘ascribed/imputed’ class-consciousness, a social class – specifically the proletariat which he mentions as being the first to achieve it – can achieve what genuine class-consciousness by realizing through struggle, the totality of the historical material process and the class’s *assigned* position in the process of production (1971:61). He then establishes the practical and historical function of class-consciousness by establishing that this realization of a concrete totality of the process of historical materialism, allows – according to Lukács – to see and *challenge* a conceived structure, as a class. For Lukács, only if a class is able to see from their vantage point, and through ascribed thoughts, the totality of an existing society is it able to challenge the structure itself (1971:61). Otherwise, a class will be doomed to passivity, and may by chance engage in conflict, but is “doomed to ultimate defeat” (1979:61).

On the other hand, moral economist Thompson (1971), views class and class-consciousness as a process created through experiences rather than stemming from a position in a structure. Thompson does not see class as “a structure, nor even as a category” (1971:9), but rather as a result of similar experiences - shared, felt, inherited – that create the identity of their common interests and against other individuals with usually opposed interests (1979:9). Class-consciousness, on the other hand, “is the way in which these experiences are handled in cultural terms: embodied in traditions, value-systems, ideas and institutional forms” (1970:11). In this way, Thompson approaches creation of the ‘working class consciousness’ in the differentiated English working class in the late 1700s and 1800s, by prioritizing the collective experiences and core values of that class – solidarity, political radicalism, collectivism – during that time, rather than the materialistic/structuralist approach of Lukács, to explain collective action in the pursuit of collective class interests.

The authors’ approach the debate of ‘class-in itself’ and ‘class for itself’ of class-consciousness differ greatly. But, both authors present useful analytical elements to their approaches in relation to individual and collective agency in class struggles, as both Lukács’s and Thompson’s takes on class-consciousness show how and why, movements made up of a fragmented or differentiated working class can come together with common interests. However, I believe that the fact that conceptualization of class and class-consciousness of Thompson is too limited due to the time and object study it was done on. I believe that the English working class of the late 1700s and early 1800s experienced exploitation and oppression in a more ‘similar’ fashion as opposed to the fragmented classes of labor in contemporary times (Bernstein 2010). Similar experiences and identities may not be as easily perceived as *completely similar*. Therefore, the conceptualization of Lukács serves a more useful explanatory tool.

#### v. *Social movement and class dynamics*

Bernstein (2010) recognizes how “class relations are *universal but not exclusive* “determinants” of social practices in capitalism” (2010:115). Including collective action. However, some works post-structuralist and ‘new social movement’ approaches have given priority to constructed identities and meanings during struggle as determinants for collective action, displacing class dynamics sometimes completely (Melucci 1995, Snow *et al.* 2000). Building on the 1994 case of the Chiapas uprising in Mexico and the post-modernist analysis of ‘new peasant movements’ that rose as the dominant approach for understanding it, displacing in turn historical materialism and class analysis in this field, Veltmeyer (1997) argues that ‘new social movement’ approaches that focus on constructed and scripted identities need to re-consider this displacement of class analysis and consider peasant movement like the Chiapas uprising not as ‘new peasant movements’ that makes class analysis obsolete, but as a “resurgence of class-based movements in Latin America” (1997:140). New social movement advocates of approaches like *the framing process approach* – which along resource mobilization theories and political opportunity processes has come to be regarded as a key dynamic to understand the outcome, actions and character of social movements (Benford and Snow 2000:612) – state that a *constructed meaning* “is prefatory to action” (Benford 1997:410), and multi-class movements and middle-class led movements proved complicated objects to be explained by Marxist class analysis (Edelman 2001:289).

However, as Veltmeyer (1997) showcases through his analysis of Latin American studies on peasant movement, new social movement theories have “profoundly misunderstood the nature and dynamics of these movements and miscast their participants” (1997:148). To an extent they have invalidated *wrongly* the class-type framing Marxist theories had privileged in analysis by considering citizens as complex individuals that move ‘beyond’ the class analysis of Marxism and with self-constructed identities (1997:152). Building on Smith (1989) and his study of a peasant movement in Peru, Veltmeyer (1997) explores how elements of new social movement theories do not have to necessarily invalidate class analysis, and can in fact compliment it (1997:151). These new social movements can in fact be analyzed in class terms, but based in the ‘new working class’, which evolved differently than what Marx constructed theoretically (Bernstein 2010).

*vi. Framing approach, class analysis and class-consciousness*

The study of participation in social movements is part of ongoing debates among different approaches – resource mobilization, political opportunity and new social movement theories being three major ones – that seek to explain different dynamics of social movements. With the merits of different approaches being weighed in different works (McAdam *et al.* 1996; Buechler 1993).

Framing in collective action means “the production of mobilizing and counter-mobilizing ideas and meanings” (Snow and Benford 2000:613). From the perspective of framing processes, social movements are not viewed as the carriers of existing ideas and meanings that come out automatically of a context or an event, rather they are viewed as “signifying agents actively engaged in the production and maintenance of meaning for constituents, antagonists, and bystanders or observers.” (2000:613 *ct.* Snow & Benford 1988). By framing events or specific situations, then, social movements seek to identify a problem, attribute blame to a specific

cause or actor, underscore the possibility of an alternative, and create motivation and urgency to participate (2000:615). By giving meaning to events or occurrences, frames seek to “organize experience and guide action, whether individual or collective.” (Snow *et al* 1986:464). Using *frame alignment* processes<sup>22</sup>, social movements are able to mobilize individuals *not* based on material interests, but by the linking of “individual and social movement interpretive orientations, such that some set of individual interests, values and social movement activities, goals and ideology are congruent and complimentary” (Snow *et al.* 1986:464).

McAdam *et al.* (1996) and Snow *et al.* (1986) explore *master frames* – frames so in broad in scope, inclusivity, flexibility, and cultural resonance that they generate more participation from a broader variety of individuals, in contrast to less broad frames (Benford and Snow 2000:619) – as constructed and contested processes of social movements and other actors for mobilizing and demobilizing purposes. The study of master frames have resulted in a vast repertoire of *descriptive* works of the types of master there are<sup>23</sup>, but have not connected the socio-economic and political historical contexts that give cultural resonance to these frames, and have not analyzed empirically the mobilizing effects of them (Benford 1997:416-418).

Considering the last statement of Benford, I argue that I can use the concept of *master frame* in conjunction to the concept of class-consciousness of Lukács. Following the line of thought of Veltmeyer (1997) I will use the framing approach, specifically the concept of *master frames*, to explain how the cohesive meanings, ideas, and interests of a specific frame used – rooted in the cultural milieu of a historical class struggle – reinforces the *true class-consciousness* of a fragmented working class movement as referred to Lukács, making an effort, to complement class analysis with social movement theories.

### c. Objects of study

My main objects of study are the individuals inside and outside of the occupation that have participated the occupation in different ways. The data obtained from observations, interviews and/or talks centers around 11 members of the SAT and supporters with specific variables of the socio-political and socio-economic aspects of the class of labor discussed in Chapter 4. Besides these individuals, I focused on the surrounding static/changing elements of the political and agrarian structure in Andalusia and how they are linked to the framing processes the SAT uses.

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<sup>22</sup> Concepts to be developed as they are used in later chapters.

<sup>23</sup> See Benford (1997) for a full critique of the framing approach.

## SECTION 3: FINDINGS

### CHAPTER 3

*“It’s a crime against humanity that land is traded like a stock. They are playing with hunger and life.”<sup>24</sup>*

This chapter explores how the SAT has been able to mobilize resistance in Somonte from a base of supporters and members from different sites of the social division of labor using a specific *master frame* in Somonte linked to elements of the political and agrarian structure in Andalusia perceived as injustices. Whilst this chapter develops, specific aspects of the agrarian and political structure of Andalusia will be underscored, as they are key elements in the development of the *master frame*.

#### 1. Land tenure and the andalusian agrarian problem

You cannot drive more than a kilometer between the province of Seville and Jaen without seeing oceans of olive trees cultivated (See photograph 1.6).

(Photograph 1.6)<sup>25</sup>



Beginning as early as the XVI century with land ownership distribution after the ‘Spanish Reconquest’, the consolidation of *latifundia* (large estates of privately owned land) occurred with the Liberal Agrarian Reforms of the XIX century (Baena 2014). Latifundism consolidated itself as the main form of exploitation in Andalusia following two logics – rent and benefits (González de Molina and Sevilla Guzmán 1990:9). This concentration of land over the centuries lead large estates of privately owned land to utilize cheap seasonal labor, while specializing crop production to the market needs; the dominant binomial of massive agribusiness-led grain-olive production reflects this specialization with Andalusia having the highest concentration of olive trees planted in Europe<sup>26</sup> (Aparicio *et al.* 2013:37-38).

The penetration of capitalism through different methods and policies throughout the centuries left the landless rural dweller in rural areas more vulnerable to negative effects. In the XIX century between 1820-1900 the liberal regimes set forth ‘de-communalizing agrarian reforms’ whose main objective was to suppress any territorial goods that were untouchable to market operations, increasing land concentration and masses landless and unemployed (Souzión

<sup>24</sup> Informal conversation with Oscar Reina, national spokesperson of the SAT.

<sup>25</sup> Own photograph: monocultures of olives near the town of Gilena, Seville.

<sup>26</sup> See: <http://niche-canada.org/2016/04/13/the-largest-tree-crop-concentration-in-europe-the-making-of-olive-landscapes-in-southern-spain/>

2014:9); during the 50s and 60s a process of rapid industrialization began with the introduction of the mechanization of the harvesting of certain crops like olive, further displacing the agricultural worker from the fields and causing an exodus to industrial hubs in other parts of Spain<sup>27</sup>. (Baena 2012:14-15). The mechanization and modernization of agriculture in general has displayed a dual tendency in rural Andalusia – a decrease in the number of day laborers; a need to exert a greater effort in the work done by the day laborer: “the machines are made for the boss, and not for the day laborer.” (Martin 2006:25).

*“They said that the machines came to lessen the subject of effort and it is actually backwards, it’ is more the effort than we did before. Before, everything was done with a stick, but now the machines drop an olive every 35-40 seconds. Each olive does not even reach the minute. It [the machine] drops a day 350 to 400 olives. (...) you now pick up double the amount. It is a very hard job.”* (Martin 2003:26, Interview: Andrés Bódalo, day laborer and member of the SOC, Jódar (Jaen), 03/04/03).

*“When we were young we would spend from September to May picking olives, now machines do it from September to December. Machines have driven out people from the fields.”*<sup>28</sup>

Moreover, the concentration of land modernization of agriculture (use of chemical fertilizers, mechanization) created environmental burdens for the environment in Andalusia:

*“Diverse works published in the 80s evaluated the loss or destruction of the fertility of agricultural soil, the transcendence of the erosive processes, (...) the contamination of waters (...)”* (Moreno and Delgado 2013:77)

*“That’s the other thing with olive trees (...) besides its harvesting becoming given to ‘buggies’<sup>29</sup>, the chemicals the companies use poison our soil (...)”*<sup>30</sup>

The State and European policies like the CAP (Common Agricultural Policies) and its SPS (Single Payment Scheme) have facilitated further concentration of land in few hands by favoring the expansion of large estates of agribusiness-owned land for monocultures of market-oriented crops like olives and cereal (Aparicio *et al.* 2013). CAP and its SPS make up a ‘direct payment subsidy’ policy and mechanism of the European Commission that seeks to “encourage farmers to produce according to market demands” (2013:59). The direct payment of the subsidies is not attached to an obligatory ‘agricultural production itself’, “farmers” and beneficiaries receive the SPS, if they are engaged in “agricultural activity” and have “eligible land”. But, like Aparicio *et al.* mention, “the lack of a precise definition of these terms and the application of the related provisions has allowed persons or entities with only marginal or no agricultural activity to receive SPS payments.” (2013:59). Somonte has acquired around € 800,000 in the last 4 years without producing any ‘market-demanded crops’<sup>31</sup>.

Since the implementation of the CAP and the SPS in 2003, olive monoculture has extended its area of cultivation and production 16% and 60% respectively (2013:44). The State on the other

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<sup>27</sup> The active agrarian population in 1950 was 49.6%, and in 1990 it was only 11.2% (Baena 2012:15).

<sup>28</sup> Remy, from Gilena, Seville.

<sup>29</sup> Buggies refer several types of one-man vehicles that through a ‘band mechanism’, take the trunk of olive trees, and vibrate them. This causes olives to fall at a faster rate than it would if it were shaken with a stick by a person, like it was done originally in decades before.

<sup>30</sup> Informal conversation with Oscar Reina.

<sup>31</sup> See: [http://www.eldiario.es/andalucia/cordoba/Somonte-Tribunal-Supremo-Canamero-Podemos\\_0\\_568693204.html](http://www.eldiario.es/andalucia/cordoba/Somonte-Tribunal-Supremo-Canamero-Podemos_0_568693204.html)

hand, specifically the Andalusian Government, ran by the same party for over 40 years – the PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Español) (*Spanish Workers' Socialist Party*) – has acquired large pieces of land through institutions like the now disassembled IARA (Instituto Andaluz de Reforma Agraria) with the announced intentions of redistributing them (Aparicio *et al.* 2013), and has sold them favoring private agribusinesses as buyers. Land concentration, then, has accentuated over the past centuries accompanied by increasing unemployment rates; around 2% of the population owning 50% of the land in 2010, and unemployment affecting 40% of the active population (2013:35). Emigration – a solution to unemployment – has resulted in around 49,279 Andalusian leaving the region in 2013, around double the amount that left in 2008 when the economic crisis began<sup>32</sup>.

*a. The struggle for land*

Photograph 1.7.

*SAT flag in an entrance of Somonte, in the distance, a thermo-solar power plant on 1000 ha of land owned by the Andalusian Government shines its light.*



The historical patterns of commodification and class formations in rural Andalusia resulted in a State-facilitated concentration of land and wealth in few hands, and in the formation of formal and informal organizations of an agrarian and non-agrarian working class that was reduced to wage-labor. This working class has been exposed to increasing conditions of employment insecurity and has been almost completely alienated to one of the main means of production – land (Baena 2014). During my research in Andalusia, I did not meet a single SAT member with even a small parcel of land<sup>33</sup>. During this historical process of land appropriation and social conflict between those with land and this landless class that has been forced to sell its labor power to subsist, informal and formal working class formations inspired by Bakunin's 'rural anarchism' spearheaded claims for land in Andalusia by forming collective land

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<sup>32</sup> See: [http://www.eldiario.es/andalucia/crisis-duplicado-emigracion-Andalucia\\_0\\_282071889.html](http://www.eldiario.es/andalucia/crisis-duplicado-emigracion-Andalucia_0_282071889.html)

<sup>33</sup> Field Notes 10/08/16.

cooperatives during the 1910s and 1920s, but were met with severe repression and dissolution from the State during and after the civil war (Roca 2015). The Bakunin rural anarchist thesis held that pre-modern peasant society was able to re-construct communal solidarities needed for the disarticulation of capitalist society and the State (Fernandez 2014). Building off Brenan (1990), Fernandez mentions that rural andalusian anarchism involved the ideas of the communal ownership of the means of production, but the private consumption of what is produced, it also considers that the alliances between communities and societies should always be the result of the most absolute of freedoms (2014:10). Still building on Brenan, Fernandez states that rural andalusian anarchism was a very specific form of organizing, rooted in intolerable life conditions and a specific land tenure that pushed peasants towards conflict and survival as an only route for survival (2013:10).

After the end of the dictatorship of Franco, enough democratic maneuverability allowed for the formation of the SOC (Sindicato de Obreros del Campo) in 1976 – a radical trade union who represented the formal organization of the *jornalero* (day laborer) movement – and brought together *rural* and *urban* workers in the historical claim for land redistribution through spectacular direct actions like farm occupations (Galindo 2014). The SOC became the SAT (Sindicato Andaluz de Trabajadores) in 2007 in a renovation exercise that opened its membership to workers from urban and rural settings, without losing sight of one of its main goals – an integral agrarian reform (mentioned below).

Since the beginning, the SOC made the redistribution of underused land its *main claim*, following the goals and struggle of the *day laborer movement* in Andalusia: *la tierra para quien la trabaja* (land for whoever works it). Precisely conceptualizing a debated subject, Baena analyzes the *day laborer movement* in Andalusia as: the different degrees, shapes and *methods* capitalism has penetrated the Andalusian countryside with the *support of the State* resulting in several degrees of adaptation and *resistance by day laborers* throughout the centuries, followed by repression of the State (2012:7, own emphasis). In this social struggle, *land* (its ownership and use) would be the main independent variable fought after by the two capitalist-created social groups: those with land, and those without it force to sell their labor power to the landed (2012:8). In this struggle, the SOC and now the SAT, have demanded the redistribution of land to day laborers and rural workers in the form of an ‘integral agrarian reform’, that does not give *formal ownership* of land to anyone, but rather allows for the use of land for the cultivation of *social crops*, through environmentally friendly agro-ecological *methods* of farming and the formation of agricultural cooperatives (Cásero and Sánchez 1978). These are the same principles that surround Somonte.

*“It’s always been land in Andalusia. Up there [Bilbao, Catauña] they have industry, we have land, and it was taken from the people (...) It has always been our main struggle.”*<sup>34</sup>

Through a peaceful repertoire of contention of direct actions like farm occupations, hunger strikes, sit-ins and building occupations, the SOC sought to make its claims heard (Galindo 2014). It is important to mention that several ideological sources have historically made up the membership of the Union, with influences of Marxism, Anrachim, Christianity and

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<sup>34</sup> Interview with Mari Carmen García, long time member of the SOC.

Andalusian Nationalism. The ideas of farm cooperative and direct action, for example, have been linked to the Anarchist influence the day laborer movement and the SOC-SAT adopted due to the historical anarchist presence in the Andalusian countryside starting with its introduction in the late XIX century (Roca 2015; Fernandez 2014)<sup>35</sup> (See Photograph 1.8). The imaginary of land as being something ‘you cannot buy or sell’ on the other hand, is part of the influence ‘working-class priests’ like Diamantino García had on the SOC (Galindo 2014).

*“The ‘four ideological legs’ that have historically made up the Union have always been Marxism, anarchism, those with Christian values, and Andalusian nationalists.”<sup>36</sup>*

Photograph 1.8<sup>37</sup>



In September 2007, a considerable decline of agrarian workers in Andalusia, a shift into a post-industrial economy and the need to preserve its influence, lead the members of the SOC to found the SAT (Roca 2015:187). To put this into perspective, “the proportion of agricultural workers has been continuously declining in relation to the total labour force, so that by 2009 agriculture accounted for only 3.9% of the economically active population” (Borras *et al.* 2013 ct. INE, 2009).

Including in the organization leftist-nationalists organizations like *Jaleo* (See picture 1.9) and *Nación Andaluza*, the SAT, in the midst of an economic crisis, “renewed the enthusiasm of an important part of the radical Andalusian left, which perceived the SOC and agrarian laborers as a reference” (2015:187).

*“We wanted to take the SOC struggle in the countryside to the cities. The day laborer in the city and the day laborer in the fields are all workers.”<sup>38</sup>*

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<sup>35</sup> Referring to Gerald Brenan, Fernandez (2014) mentions that Bakunin’s rural anarchism ideas of cooperatives to share the means of production are still implanted in the imaginaries of day laborers, who back in the XIX century easily adopted the ideas of radical unionism and rural anarchism due to the intolerable conditions of life and land tenure structure (2014:10)

<sup>36</sup> Interview with Oscar Reina.

<sup>37</sup> Own photograph: the famous ‘A’ of Anarchism on one of the walls in Somonte.

<sup>38</sup> Interview with Fran, campaign secretary of the SAT.

The Union kept the historical influence and struggle for land and labor justice of the SOC, but began taking the defense of the right of workers from the countryside to the city. Each Union branch deals with issues that concern them most – hotel and tourism in Granada, capital; agrarian worker rights and land struggles in several towns of Jaen; student rights in Seville, capital<sup>39</sup>. And although the claim for land is still alive, the variety of struggles and membership cannot be categorized as simply rural:

*“We still fight for land (...) regardless of what anyone says, the SAT is the trade union reference for the struggle in the countryside (...) However, each branch of the SAT has its own struggles and concerns (...) we have an important fight on the right of hotel workers in Granada, and an important task with student in Seville (...) Still, Somonte shows that the claim for land is still very much alive.”<sup>40</sup>*

*“We’ve always had members of different parts of Andalusia in our campaigns (...) even back in the day professors and political members of urban center participated with the SOC in its farm occupations, just like in Somonte.”<sup>41</sup>*

Picture 1.9<sup>42</sup>.



b. *The Master Frame in Somonte*

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<sup>39</sup> Field Notes (10/08/16)

<sup>40</sup> Interview with Curro, SAT spokesperson for the Jaen province.

<sup>41</sup> Interview with Mari Carmen García.

<sup>42</sup> Own photograph: Jaleo members and myself participating in the *Jaleo Brigades* in Somonte, a series of workshops and talks on associated with leftist topics like gender freedom and rights, an anti-repression workshop, and pirate-radio stations.

Photograph 1.10<sup>43</sup>

*“He who reaps evictions sows resistance!”*



The historical dispossession of land in Andalusia and marginalization of the working class, have been used by the Union as part of a *master frame* with such degrees of resonance and inclusivity that it produces participation from individuals from different class locations, and motivates participation from people that would not necessarily benefit directly from the cooperative proposed in Somonte.

Collective action framing refers to “the production of mobilizing and counter mobilizing ideas and meanings” (Benford and Snow 2000:613). By giving meaning to events or occurrences, frames seek to “organize experience and guide action, whether individual or collective.” (Snow *et al.* 1986: 464). Framing is a contested process that is, facilitated and/or challenged by actors within a collective or by outside actors like the State and the media (McAdam *et al.* 1996). The core tasks of collective action framing include: a) identifying a problem and attributing a blame; b) proposing an alternative; c) motivation action (Benford and Snow 2000:615)<sup>44</sup>. The degree to which collective action framing mobilizes has to do in part with the relative degrees of *resonance* and *inclusivity* it has, the more resonance – theoretically – the more mobilization generated. Resonance refers in part to how salient and credible a frame’s claims are in relation to the everyday experiences and reality of individuals sought to be mobilized; inclusivity refers to how broad and flexible in scope and interpretation the values, ideas and goals of the collective action frame are (2000:691).

The collective framing surrounding Somonte attends the 3 tasks described using very relatable and grounded elements of the historic and current Andalusian agrarian and political structure, which highlight the historical process of commodification of land, the proletarianization of the general rural population and its alienation from land and the marginalization perpetuated by State-supported classes who own the means of production. In other words, it reinforces the rational realization of the objective position of the working class in a particular exploited position within the historical process of production, and it highlights the classes that perpetuate this structure.

<sup>43</sup> Own photograph: graffiti on wall in Granada capital.

<sup>44</sup> The authors call these core tasks – diagnostic framing; prognosis framing; motivational framing

*i. Identifying a problem and attributing blame*

The selling of Somonte – since day one – was condemned as *another* large selling of land by the State following capitalist interests and further concentrating land:

*“Selling Somonte was another example of even more land concentration (...) same motivation as other land sales in the past, but different bad guys. (...) it angers people that people don’t have land (...) and the Andalusian government is selling land.”<sup>45</sup>*

*“It’s the same story with the same villains (...) the only socialist thing the PSOE has is it’s the word ‘socialist’ in its name<sup>4647</sup>”*

*“We cannot allow that 400 ha go to a another señorito<sup>48</sup> or a speculator.”<sup>49</sup>*

The problem identified is the *further* concentration of land in the hands of private hands, and the blame attributed is directed to the Andalusian Government, in this case the PSOE which has been in power in Andalusia for 40 years now, and is seen as responsible for the capitalist policies like the efforts to sale Somonte. The PSOE, moreover, has been responsible for the evictions done in the past, which has created a generalized resentment towards them. An interesting point that is used in the collective action framing of Somonte in regards to the blame attribution of the PSOE, is how they mention larger elements like the CAP subsidies to further underscore the antagonistic and perceived corrupt nature of the government’s actions:

*“They have received almost 1 million euros in subsidies, and what do they have to show for it? Where is the money? Where is the investment in this land?”<sup>50</sup>*

*ii. Proposing an alternative*

“Land for whoever works it” – taken from the Zapatista movement in Mexico – refers to the historical claim of the SAT (See picture 1.11). The phrase concretely summarizes and represents the objectives and alternatives the SAT proposes in Somonte: a) the use of land for workers as *opposed* to the formal ownership b) an agro-ecological cooperative that creates jobs for the unemployed in the nearby towns, and promotes Somonte-grown products through networks of cooperation. The alternative proposed attracts members and supporters who see that the historical continuity of the capitalist project in Andalusia in relation to the management of land has lead to land and wealth concentration, unemployment, emigration and environmental degradation, and see an alternative project in Somonte. What the SAT proposes in Somonte, could not be better summarized than the modification Tadeo – one of the most active occupants and SAT members – made to the historical slogan

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<sup>45</sup> Interview with Pablo, 28. Member of the SAT. Own underscore.

<sup>46</sup> Occupants mentioned this several times. Mocking the fact that the PSOE calls itself socialists and yet facilitates/promotes selling land to agribusinesses.

<sup>47</sup> Mario, 24, SAT member from Granada. Own underscore

<sup>48</sup> *Señorito* is a word referring to a rich landowner. It alludes to ‘tiny lord’, as a lot of latifundia were/are owned by ‘royal families’ of Spanish families with ‘aristocratic titles’.

<sup>49</sup> Interview in 2012 to Diego Cañamero, ex-national spokesperson of the SAT

<sup>50</sup> Informal talk with Oscar.

Photograph 1.11<sup>51</sup>

*“Land for whoever works it, and respects it.”*<sup>52</sup>



*What is trying to be proven in Somonte?*

*“Everyone is unemployed, Somonte can be a great opportunity to generate jobs, it has the space.”*<sup>53</sup>

*“It is a struggle aimed at showing that emigration is not the only option, that we can appropriate the resources, the natural resources like land and cooperate, that there is another way than this current system.”*<sup>54</sup>

Furthermore, the proposal of Somonte being an *agro-ecological* cooperative managed in part with *local networks of cooperation* attracts people who support environmentally friendly farming and food sovereignty policies.

*Why do you think an occupation like Somonte is important?*

*“Agro-ecology is the only sustainable future, and the fact that Somonte seeks that brought me here.”*<sup>55</sup>

*“In the objectives of the Union, you find food sovereignty and agro-ecology, so, we seek to do it here [Somonte]”*<sup>56</sup>

*“It is an occupation inspired to create horizontal work (...) Horizontal relationships of work between men and men, women and women, and women and men”.*<sup>57</sup>

The proposed alternative focuses on a *different project* that challenges the *historical development* of the Andalusian government, and the Spanish State’s project with land.

### *iii. Motivation to participate*

<sup>51</sup> Own photograph: mural that reads “Land is for whoever works it”.

<sup>52</sup> Tadeo, 49, SAT member from Córdoba.

<sup>53</sup> Manuel, 24, SAT member from Gilena.

<sup>54</sup> Interview with Amanda, 27. SAT sympathizer, Jaleo formation coordinator from Málaga

<sup>55</sup> Mariana, 22. Jaleo member, SAT sympathizer from Málaga, occupant of Somonte.

<sup>56</sup> Interview with Fran, campaign secretary of the SAT.

<sup>57</sup> Interview with Amanda.

The motivation to participate refers to the mobilizing ability of the collective action framing constructed (Snow *et al.* 1986). It relies on how resonant and inclusive the frame is. As it has been said, resonance refers to how empirically credible the collective action framing is, and inclusivity refers to how broad and inclusive it can be to the mobilizing targets. The fact that Somonte relies on the framing of the perceived injustices and grievances of *historically present* political and agrarian structures, makes the experiential relation to this collective action framing very resonant and inclusive to members and supporters.

*Why do you support Somonte if you're not a day laborer?*

*"What's not to support? You see inefficient and unused large tracts of land every day in Andalusia (...) Somonte can give work against the option of emigration."*<sup>58</sup>

*"You walk outside, you see the fields, you walk outside and you see the latifundia. You see this and ask yourself: Why is this like this?"*<sup>59</sup>

*"latifundia and large landowners own most of Andalusia (...) everytime you see a field, it probably belongs to one of them (...) Somonte is just another example of the government doing that."*<sup>60</sup>

The supporters and occupants can *see* the arguments used in the framing of Somonte, the problems it reflects, the antagonists that perpetuate these problems, the meaning it has to challenge those problems – and the effects they cause – seen every day they step out of their house. Isidoro Moreno (1984) for example – andalusian Anthropologist – indicates that the claim for land became an essential indicator for andalusian identity, as well as resentment towards latifundia and large landowners (González de Molina and Sevilla Guzmán 1990 *ct.* Moreno 1984). Another example is the fact that 4 out of 10 Andalusians knows someone close that has emigrated to obtain work<sup>61</sup>. Members and sympathizers regardless of the specific class location then construct the collective action framing in Somonte in such a context that is empirically proven. The fight for land is apparently embedded in the imaginaries of Andalusians<sup>62</sup>.

*What is the common point for support in Somonte?*

*"Being from Andalusia is the common ground, and Somonte serves as a reference point for everyone (...) Land has historically been the resource to reclaim."*<sup>63</sup>

The *collective action framing of injustices, meaning and proposed alternatives* surrounding Somonte, makes the vision in the occupation – in my opinion – enough to qualify it as a *master frame* it is resonant and inclusive enough. The problem, antagonists and solutions create a motivation to act that allows for a broad base of participation. The frame is very relatable to the experiences and interpretations of reality of Andalusians. Even supporters of the movement who are have

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<sup>58</sup> Manuel, 26, SAT member from Gilena. Own underscore.

<sup>59</sup> Sebas, 21. SAT member from Cádiz. Own underscore.

<sup>60</sup> Interview with Pablo. Own underscore.

<sup>61</sup> See: <http://www.europapress.es/andalucia/sevilla-00357/noticia-cuatro-cada-diez-andaluces-sabe-alguien-cercano-emigra-trabajo-ultimo-ano-20160310102046.html>

<sup>62</sup> Field Notes 27/07/16.

<sup>63</sup> Interview with Amanda.

physically occupied Somonte – but support the occupation – and have never worked in agriculture like Sofia can relate to the framing used in Somonte:

*“I would not occupy, I’m too old and do not like farming, but I buy things from the Union when they try to gather money for the occupation (...) I think it’s very just what they are doing.”<sup>64</sup>*

The resonance of this frame moves people and groups from urban hubs in Spain like Cataluña and Bilbao, and other countries like Germany that feel related to the actions and meaning embedded in Somonte, to physically travel from their hometowns and briefly occupy for a short period of time<sup>65</sup>. A leftist youth group from Berlin, in fact, did one of the biggest murals in the occupation (See photograph 1.10).

This does not disregard actual agrarian and environmentally inclined social movements and organizations like the French *Longo Mai* and the Spanish political party ECOA to have shown support in the occupation<sup>66</sup>. However, the compelling nature of the collective action in Somonte is how it mobilizes people from different locations within the Union. And if one critically scrutinizes the *master frame* surrounding Somonte – at least through my findings – one finds that it *exposes and challenges the capitalist project and its exploitation of workers and resources surrounded in a context of unemployment, land and wealth concentration and emigration*, which makes heterogeneous participation and support possible. Heterogeneous specifically in relation to the socio-political elements of the classes of labor, like Mario, a ‘city boy’ from Granada, a student who is partially unemployed and occupied Somonte for a few weeks:

*“I have never worked the land (...) but if you believe that other workers, like yourself, have a problem, like capitalist exploitation, then you can relate to the occupation. The day laborer suffers exploitation, not from an urban bourgeoisie like I would, but a señorito.”<sup>67</sup>*

It showcases an *historical form of contention* to the historical development of agriculture and the land tenure structure, and its effects on the population, by proposing, *“that there is another way of living.”<sup>68</sup>* This challenge, historically undertaken by the day laborer movement in Andalusia, is a relatable form of contention for any SAT supporter or member. Land occupations are an historical form of challenge, surrounded by a highly resonant frame, which is easily connected to an historical milieu of the group, specially with Andalusians, regardless of the class of labor – the capitalist appropriation of land:

*What do you think is what unites every branch of the SAT with the support of Somonte?*

*“To retake what is ours, in a material level (land and territory), and a dignity layer, to retake our rights, our rights to territory, our right for work (...) land is what has been taken from us.”<sup>69</sup>*

A note worth mentioning but not analyzed here due to the direction of this paper, is the role that the media as a source of contention and shaping of frames. Back in 2012, the media allowed for Somonte to acquire international attention, causing the visit and support of anti-

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<sup>64</sup> Sofia, 58. SAT sympathizer from Gilena.

<sup>65</sup> Field Notes (22/07/16) and (13/08/16).

<sup>66</sup> EQUO for example, gave around 1000 trees to be cultivated in Somonte as a sign of support.

<sup>67</sup> Mario, 24.

<sup>68</sup> Mentioned in the interviews with Fran, Curro, Amanda and Oscar

<sup>69</sup> Interview with Curro.

capitalist and communist-oriented groups and even nations like the Zapatistas of Mexico and even North Korea:

*“Chinese, North Korean television stations here, in my town, television places of places you would never imagine. Zapatista groups also! North Korean, television shows in my town, my town! It [Somonte] just went around the world”.*<sup>70</sup>

The collective action framing process carried out by the SAT have been able to mobilize individuals regardless of the specificities of their location in the social division of labor due the resonance and inclusivity of. Different participants with different characteristics regarding socio-political and socio-economic variables of the ‘classes of labor’ (ie. city worker or agricultural worker, income source, with landed property or landless, rural or urban origin, unemployed or employed etc.), feel related enough with the elements of these frames that they participate.

However, this assumption would disregard how class interests like the very land being sought in Somonte may create cleavages or divisions in participation. In Somonte, class-linked characteristics create cleavages in the form of different types and degrees of participation undertaken. Table 1.1 in Chapter 4 shows different individuals categorized encountered throughout my research phase that *participated* in the occupation. Table 1.2, shows the different *categorizations* of their participation. Chapter 4 makes an effort to critically examine how different characteristics of an individual’s class of labor conditions their participation in Somonte.

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<sup>70</sup> Interview with Fran.

## **CHAPTER 4:**

### **1. Heterogeneous participation**

Photograph 1.15

*“Andalusians do not emigrate, fight! Land is yours, retake it!”*



This mural in Somonte shows an Andalusian flag with one of the most famous phrases of Blas Infante<sup>71</sup>, within it stencils of people famous for their roles in liberation, democratic or agrarian movements like Emiliano Zapata, are shown.

During my research in Andalusia, I talked to, worked with, and interviewed Somonte participants that were from every single province of Andalusia, and with different socio-political and socio-economic characteristics of different classes of labor: women and men, young and old, farmers and industry workers, students and retired workers, affiliates and non-affiliated members, employed and unemployed. The combinations I could mention would go on indefinitely.

However, it would be uncritical to analyze this perceived mass heterogeneous participation without critically exploring it. Specially considering how different interpretations of framings can lead to different degrees of participation Benford (1997), and how there is material and historical evidence of how the specific socio-political and socio-economic characteristics of an individual in a specific location in the social division of labor (ie. his/her source of income, her relation with other classes etc.), conditions their agency in political action<sup>72</sup>. A class-based analysis reveals that regardless of the mobilization set in motion by the highly resonant framing constructed by the Union, the type of participation undertaken by an individual is partly conditioned by the socio-political and socio-economic of his/her location in the social division of labor.

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<sup>71</sup> Blas Infante is the author of the Andalusian anthem, and he designed the Andalusian flag. Considered by a lot of SAT members – and even the current PSOE government – as the father of Andalusia.

<sup>72</sup> See Edelman and Borrás (2016) and Wolford (2003, 2004)

a. *Classes of labor*

The different characteristics of an individual's specific location in the social division of labor – in relation to other classes – may condition what Wright (1997) calls *class practices*. Class practices are any actions with *class pertinent* consequences – earning a wage, disciplining an employee, or participating in a strike, are all class practices. The class location of an individual to an extent conditions their sources of income (1997:193). However, in urban and rural settings, in conditions of employment insecurity and precariousness, individuals move around different locations trying to achieve daily reproduction, resulting in individuals with varying socio-political and socio-economic characteristics (Bernstein 2010:111). Some complexities of class analysis in turn, refer to how individuals combine and move around different sites in the social division of labor to secure their daily reproduction – embedded in a context of precariousness and employment insecurity – and thus result in different combinations of employed, self-employed, wage labor, subsistence agriculture etc. (Bernstein 2010:110). In regards to the socio-political aspect of the classes of labor, it refers to *how* an individual differently experiences commodification and exploitation patterns in terms of his/her socio-political characteristics – woman/man; urban/rural dweller; race; race etc. (2010:114) – and *how* both are translated.

The variables chosen to categorize individuals are (8), four of them have to do with their *affiliation with the SAT, their geographical origin, gender* and their *age*, the other four have to do with elements that relate to the socio-political or socio-economic complexities of classes of labor – 1) *unemployed, employed or self-employed* 2) *city or town dweller; or rural dweller* 3) *agrarian or non-agrarian usual employment/source of income* 4) *interest of land in Somonte as a personal source of daily reproduction* – i) *high*, ii) *medium* or iii) *low*. These variables – specially the latter four – were chosen because they were perceived as having the most weight in the conditioning of participation.

An important note, is that data acquired does not reveal if *every* individual has some type of 'social aid' or 'unemployment security' fund. Considering how works like Chamorro (1991) and Oliver (1993) reveal the demobilizing effects social aid policies like PER (Programa de Empleo Rural)<sup>73</sup>, this research recognizes that it misses this variable. Furthermore, this element has been mentioned to actually demobilize participation in the Union:

*“the PER is implemented to calm the motivation of the day laborer to act, and it is achieved, they got it.”*  
Martin (2006:37, Interview: Francisco Olmos, day laborer and member of the SOC, Morón de la Frontera, Sevilla)

*“They get the PER, and they calm down (...) they stop helping out in the occupation.”<sup>74</sup>*

Finally, this research recognizes that it overlooks relevant elements of race, beliefs, religion and ethnicities, which are crucial in the analysis of internally, differentiated movements (Edelman

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<sup>73</sup> The PER is the successor of the Empleo Comunitario (EC), a social-aid policy launched in 1971 that gave an economic aid to the head of the family after working a certain amount of days, these days are still called *peonadas (labor days)* (Chamorro 1991:215). The, PSOE, experiencing a period of increased trade union mobilizations between 1976 and the early 80s, launched the PER, which now did not limit its aid to the head of the family, but per *individual*. It is seen by some authors like Chamorro as destabilizing for the day laborer movement (1991:216). This because the EC organized day laborers together per-family to demand the distribution for aid, but the PER did not need for this collectivization of individuals.

<sup>74</sup> Informal conversation with Joaquin, age 43, from Seville.

and Borrás 2016:38). The present research, then, suggests that future research on this matter is conjoined with more *in-depth* research techniques like the *life history approach* that allow for a more scrutinized framing of individuals in terms of life experiences, information that can only be acquired through a more in-depth methodology.

*b. The complexities of participants*

I noticed that a *discursive* level, no one *had second thoughts on the occupation*, during my research, no Union member I talked to demonstrated any type of opposition to Somonte<sup>75</sup>. Although different opinions on the specific management of the occupation were mentioned, everyone agreed that Somonte was *the right thing to do*, this coming from different individuals that had did not have a direct benefit of the land in Somonte.

Name	Age	Gender	Geo. Origin	SAT relationship	Employed, Unemployed, family supported or self-employed	Agrarian or non-agrarian profession	City dweller or town dweller; or rural dweller	Interest in the land of Somonte
Tadeo	49	Male	Córdoba, town.	Affiliated member	Unemployed	Non agrarian + Agrarian	Rural	High
Pépe	43	Male	Córdoba, town.	Sympathizer	Self-employed	Agrarian	Rural	Medium
Genaro	32	Male	Seville, town.	Affiliated member	Employed	Non-Agrarian	City	Low
Teresa	46	Female	Jaen, town.	Affiliated member	Unemployed	Non-Agrarian + Agrarian	town	High
Sofia	42	Female	Seville, town.	Sympathizer	Employed	Non-Agrarian	Town	Low
Remy	51	Female	Seville, town.	Sympathizer	Employed	Non-Agrarian	Town	Low
Mariana	22	Female	Málaga, city.	Jaleo member + Sympathizer	Employed	Non-Agrarian	City	Low
Manuel	24	Male	Seville, town.	Affiliated member	Employed	Non-agrarian	Town	Low
Sebas	21	Male	Cádiz, city.	Affiliated member	Unemployed	Non-Agrarian	City	Low
Mario	24	Male	Granada, city.	Affiliated member	Employed	Non-Agrarian	City	Low
Raquel	21	Female	Seville, city.	Jaleo member +	Employed	Non-Agrarian	City	Low

<sup>75</sup> Field Notes 14/08/16.

				Sympathizer				
Joaquin	41	Male	Seville, town.	Affiliated member	Employed	Non-Agrarian	Town	Low

Table 1.1 shows *some* of the socio-political and socio-economic complexities of the classes of labor that belong to 11 individuals. A variable that was not considered was the relative *ownership* of the means of production. This is due to the fact that *all* of the 11 individuals must sell their labor power to achieve a daily reproduction in one way or another, just like most members and sympathizers of the SAT. Every individual in the table belongs within the conceptualization of working class stated in the beginning of this research paper.

An important note to be made is that not all members were *physically* in the occupation. So, by *participation*, I refer to the variety of actions – including but not limited to physically occupying Somonte – that benefits the farm, its resources or the occupant’s inside. This considers, then, that actions are not measured or ranked by their visible impact, but rather they all fit as useful to the occupation in one way or another. Scott (2012; 1990) considers how relevant small acts of rebellion in everyday life – not specifically in the realm of the visibly politically spectacular – can have an effect of organized or disorganized collective action. He diverges from works like Wolf (1969) and Paige (1975) who focus on the “heroic scale” of collective action (Bernstein 2010:97) – which would qualify as open revolution –, and proposes that there are other forms of resistance not as visible, that lie in the realm of “infra-politics” (Scott 2012:xx). Actions like foot-dragging, squatting or even gossiping about the antagonistic actions of a government in a bar, is all referred as action in this realm (Scott 1990:186).

Even though some participants of the occupation may more intensely “contribute” to the occupation, the fact of matter is that all “contributions” are considered as participation. This of course, does not seek to disregard the importance of critically analyzing the cleavages explored in the next section, and put them in context of the goals of the occupation.

*c. Cleavages in participation*

During my research phase I noticed that there were 3 types of participation in Somonte – *permanent occupation; sporadic occupation; and sporadic support*. These categories were created based on the in-field observations and comparing them to other occupants in the past mentioned by informants and current occupants. The socio-political and socio-economic qualities of each individual in relation to their specific class of labor, were chosen as they seemed to be related to the type of participation.

*i. Permanent occupation.*

*Permanent occupation* refers to individuals that decide to live in one of the 2 houses in Somonte (Picture 1.16) for a significant amount of time. Although the specific time frame these individuals spend in the 400 ha varies, my observations showed that individuals in this category like **Tadeo**, **Teresa** and **Genaro**, spent periods of at least 10 without leaving the farm completely. If they leave Somonte after that minimum period, they would do so for a couple of days, sometimes even a few hours, just to return and keep permanently occupying. Although

not exclusive to this type of participation, individuals in this category have deep knowledge on farming, and are ‘un-appointed leaders’ inside the farm. By this I mean they answer the questions of *sporadic occupants* and visitors in Somonte, they coordinate the tasks in the day concerning the needs of the farm – gardening, fixing anything that is broken, etc. Individuals in category had a *high* interest in the land of Somonte as a source of subsistence farming, as a source of small-scale commercial farming, and in the case of Tadeo, interest in being part of the proposed cooperative. All of the individuals were *unemployed*, and all of them except for Genaro, have extensive experience in *an agrarian profession*, Genaro being different as he only 4 years dedicating to farming. Individuals in this category are all *affiliated members* of the SAT. Lastly, all of the individuals in this category were from towns, that may not qualify as completely rural, but distinguish themselves from cities like Granada’s capital or Jaen’s capital. However, they all lived as *rural dwellers* at one point in their lives by living in the countryside. Lola Álvarez – the coordinator of the first occupation in 2012 – fits this category.

These occupants belong within an age that goes beyond the 30s, a quality exclusive to this type of occupants.

Photograph 1.16



ii. *Sporadic occupation*

*Sporadic occupation* refers to the action of occupying Somonte for a few days (between 2 or 10 days), ‘help out’ in whatever is needed in the farm, and leave after a week or so. Sporadic occupants include people like **Joaquín, Raquel, Mario, Sebas** and **Mariana**. These individuals are either from towns (Joaquín – small town in Seville) or big cities (Raquel – Seville capital; Mariana – Málaga; Mario – Granada capital). These individuals all have a *non-agrarian profession* and, except for Joaquín, are in their mid or early 20s of age. Furthermore, non of them have an extensive knowledge on agriculture as a profession, and they have a *low* interest in the land of Somonte as a source of livelihood for their own use, and have close to none interest in participating in the cooperative proposed. These individuals occupy Somonte for a short time, and help out in whatever it is needed or indicated by *permanent occupants*.

Something worth noticing is the *city or town dweller* category and *non-agrarian profession* the people mentioned have. In regards to the agricultural or ‘farming’ tasks that need to be done in Somonte, some of these individuals would have a hard time adapting to the tasks the farm sometimes required. The rural conditions of Somonte, would sometimes weigh on the motivations of these individuals. At least, it would affect them much more than permanent occupants with a rural dwelling past or agrarian professions. I would qualify a sporadic occupant, as a city dweller, with a non-agrarian profession, and who has low interest in the land of Somonte as a source of livelihood. I can testify of these difficulties that made occupying the farm the period of time that permanent spend:

*“Farm work is hard (...) the heat is unbearable sometimes, and the little 3G reception on my phone makes you feel isolated here (...) Mario and I almost had a heatstroke today weeding out parts of the farm (...) I miss civilization.”*<sup>76</sup>

*“People need to learn about agriculture, it’s important, specially if you want to help out here in the occupation (...) what am I going to do here [Somonte] if I do not know crap about farming? Tadeo can’t be coordinating everything by himself.”*<sup>77</sup>

In terms of employment and affiliation of the SAT, this varies. While Mario, Joaquin and Sebas were affiliated to the SAT, Raquel and Mariana were sympathizers of the SAT and Jaleo members<sup>78</sup>. Everyone mentioned spent at least 5 days in the occupation, while Mario spent around 9. All of the members were employed except for Mario, who is supported by his parents. Furthermore, it is important to mention that these individuals fully support Somonte, but they are also heavily concerned with the issues that the SAT branches of their hometown have *and* their work or profession:

*“I have an important project regarding the rights of workers in Seville with the SAT (...) So it is hard for me to be here [Somonte] for a lot of time. I have work, and I have to attend those issues in the city.”*<sup>79</sup>

*“Back in Cádiz, we have an important fight with the SAT with the labor rights of shipyard workers (...) I wish I could be here more, but I have school and also a job. Summer and vacations work best for me to come help!”*<sup>80</sup>

#### iv. *Sporadic Support*

This type of occupation refers to different degrees of support given by individuals sporadically throughout the year. Although not physically occupying – not even for 1 full day – individuals in this category will support the SAT activities in relation or not related to Somonte. By buying things like shirts, olive oil produced by a cooperative of the SAT or dropping off food, water, beer or other goods in the occupation, these people support the claims of the occupation (See photograph 1.17).

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<sup>76</sup> Research journal entry 21/07/16.

<sup>77</sup> Informal talk with Mario.

<sup>78</sup> All members of Jaleo would qualify for this category of participation.

<sup>79</sup> Informal talk with Joaquín

<sup>80</sup> Sebas.



## SECTION 4: ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

## **CHAPTER 5:**

### **Discussion**

Spending almost 2 months in Andalusia among the people of the SAT, spending 16 days in Somonte as a circumstantial occupant and exploring the evolution of the insertion of capitalism in Andalusia, presented a generally clear idea of *why* and *how* the occupation is happening. Put in the words of Curro:

*“Somonte is another effort to reclaim what was taken from us – land (...) it is an effort by Andalusian workers to show there is another way of living as opposed to the capitalist project that has marginalized the working class of Andalusia so much.”*<sup>85</sup>

The time spent revealed generally an occupation being carried out not solely by day laborers – the main group the SOC represented back in the 70s. Due to the employment insecurity surrounding Andalusia, the reduction labor opportunities in the agriculture sectors, SOC became the SAT in 2007 in an effort to expand its mass base, and “look after the *day laborer* in the field, and the *day laborer* in the city.”<sup>86</sup> To achieve this, the Union kept the historical struggle for land and labor justice the SOC had sought throughout the years, expanded its trade unionist struggles to workers in the cities, and included other leftist organizations with similar anti-capitalist or nationalist ideals. The very change in name alludes to this – from “Farm Workers’ Union”, to “Andalusian Workers’ Union”.

This reality can be seen in the current heterogeneity of members in terms of the different socio-economic and socio-political characteristics of the Bernstein’s (2010) classes of labor. The focus and interest of land as a claim, then, can be critically analyzed in the participation of Somonte, a national campaign of the Union claiming land. Needless to say, that the collective action framing of the campaign – and of the Union in general – has generated participation from this mass heterogeneous base. However, critically examining through class analysis participation in Somonte, reveals two things: 1) how a master frame influences the degree of the non-ascribed class consciousness of individuals, and 2) how participation cleavages in manifest in relation to how a particular individual *experiences* this class-consciousness

#### 1. Anti-capitalist master frame and class-consciousness

Beginning with the first, the Union has been able to canalize the experiences and reality of individuals through framing Somonte by using a very resonant *master frame* that can be best conceptualized as an *anti-capitalist master frame*. As mentioned by McAdam *et al.* (1996) and Snow *et al.* (1986), social movements will use culturally resonant elements to create mobilizing meanings and interests around specific actions and objects. By framing Somonte as a *physical challenge* to an *exposed capitalist* historical project con development and its perceived injustices, the Union has been able to ‘generate a metaphorical looking glass’, that allows a fragmented working class to better perceive the historical process that capitalism has undertaken in Andalusia, from their specific objectified exploited position. Allowing then, for a non-imputed class-consciousness, and the collectivization of this working class’s interests (Lukács 1971).

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<sup>85</sup> Interview with Curro, own underscore.

<sup>86</sup> Interview with Fran.

This anti-capitalist master frame, not only creates permits for different degrees of self realization of the specific objective position of this working class, but it also points out the perpetrators and keepers of this ascribed consciousness, and objective position – the landed classes, the State and the State-endorsed agribusinesses. In this case, the actors towards which the class-conscious individuals that participate Somonte, are not only landed classes, but the State. All of these have been involved in the historical patterns of commodification, and shapers of the factors of production in Andalusia. Thus, the anti-capitalist master frame not only reveals the position of this working class in relation to them and in relation to the specific economic structure of Andalusia, but it presents *empirically known* actors that go against the collective class interests realized through this class consciousness. By empirically known, I refer to the fact that the SAT and its members, through this anti-capitalist master frame, are aware that throughout the centuries the capitalist project that has set forth distinct patterns of commodification has been lead by the State and the landed elites in different forms and through different patterns. Furthermore, the fact that the PSOE has been in power for 40 years now only makes the identification of the actors that go against the working class interests of the occupants and supporters of Somonte clearer.

*“This is what unites the struggle in Somonte (...) this explains why a Granada Hotel is occupied by rural individuals and urban individuals (...) along with solidarity and andalusian identity, this ‘class-consciousness’ is what unites the struggle of urban and rural in search, a dignified life.”*<sup>87</sup>

*“It has to do with class consciousness, if you believe that other workers, like yourself, have a problem, like capitalist exploitation, then you can relate to day laborers and support them in farm occupations like Somonte”*<sup>88</sup>

Lastly, it is important to note the anti-capitalist master frame that shapes non-ascribed class-consciousness in participants and supporters as a process that changes and is contested (McAdam *et al.* 1996), and that is connected to larger economic structures that go beyond the occupation, which in is one of the qualities that make it a master frame (Snow and Benford 2000). The use of the CAP subsidies acquired by the Andalusian Government through Somonte, and the fact that there is no accountability in terms of where is the money, by neither the State nor the European Commission are exhibited and used to substantiate the claims for land in Somonte:

*“Like Cañamero said (...) the aid, goes into the hands of the Andalusian Government”<sup>89</sup>, and the land is still unproductive... And the money is lost, or something, nobody knows where it goes. No one knows what happens to that money, nor the State, nor the Andalusian Government, nor the European Union (...) it’s all part of the same interests to keep wealth where it is.”*<sup>90,91</sup>

The master frame has evolved along with the different socio-economic patterns of commodification, and the changes regarding forces of production and the financialization of agriculture in Andalusia, and in Europe in general.

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<sup>87</sup> Interview with Mari Carmen García.

<sup>88</sup> Interview with Mario.

<sup>89</sup> Formal ownership of Somonte belongs to the Andalusian Government

<sup>90</sup> So far close to 800,000 euros have been received by the Andalusian Government coming from the CAP.

<sup>91</sup> Interview with Mario.

As McAdam *et al.* (1996) mentions, social movements will use a common cultural stock of imaginaries, languages, symbols and images to reinforce and “condense the meaning of frames” (1996:129). The more these elements in the framing process resonate with the cultural milieu of a group, the more mobilizing potential a frame can have (Snow *et al.* 1986, Snow and Benford 2000).

*“The symbols we use are important and necessary to keep a struggle going”<sup>92</sup>*

Even though Lukács does not explicitly mention that culture, ideology, identity *per se* influence the acquisition of non-imputed class-consciousness, he does mention that it is through the continuous struggle that this class-consciousness of the proletariat is achieved (1971:62). Furthermore, there is no need to remove from the equation variables like culture and ideology that might allow for the transition of “class in itself” and “class for itself” (Bernstein 2010:117). Common language like “land for whoever works it”, the image of Che Guevara in the shirt of National Spokesperson Oscar Reina whilst holding the ‘Nationalist Andalusian flag’ (See photograph 1.18) and the numerous anti-capitalist and pro-revolution imagery throughout Somonte (See photograph 1.19), all maintain the struggle alive. Allowing this way, the formation of Lukács class-consciousness, and collectivizing the interests of the working class that makes up the participation in Somonte.

Photograph 1.18



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<sup>92</sup> Informal conversation with Oscar Reina.

Photograph 1.19

*“Somonte, resist!”*



By resonant to the cultural milieu of the group, I refer that the symbols and languages used to create the master frame that influences the achievement of class-consciousness, are coherent with the ideology, values and similar experiences of the SAT, as they have been lived and used throughout the history of the Union since 1976 with the creation of the SOC.

These last paragraphs show how the social movement method of framing influences through a very historically portraying and highly resonant construction of meaning, the un-ascribed class-consciousness of a fragmented working class, that realizes its objective position in an economic structure that has historically resulted in this working class's exploitation and marginalization. This like Lukács explains, creates objective and subjective interests for the collective agency of the working class to be achieved.

#### 1. Different degrees of class-consciousness

The participation in Somonte also reveals that in spite a collectivization of interests through an achieved class-consciousness in Lukács's terms, cleavages in participation appear as a result of socio-political and socio-economic characteristics of class.

Among the 11 individuals, the three unemployed individuals who were interested in the land of Somonte as a source of livelihood were the 3 only permanent occupants. The occupants that occupied the status of sporadic occupants were limited by the fact that they were not unemployed (except for Mario who is financially supported by his family), or by the 'class practices' or other responsibilities they fulfilled back in their hometown. Joaquín had work, and had an important role in the SAT branch of Seville, while Mariana, Raquel and Sebas had school to attend to. This also explains the type of participation performed by Pépe, who – being self-employed – chose to support Somonte whilst at the same time benefitting himself. Although he did not occupy the farm physically by spending days there, he would spend more time in the farm than sporadic occupants. As seen, the complexity of this fragmented working class in terms of socio-political variables (Bernstein 2010:111), makes the experience of

Somonte experienced differently, and translated differently. This would support the argument of Wright (1997) that mentions that a class location limits and conditions specific class practices and a specific incumbency-based class-consciousness (1997:192). But I would argue otherwise to an extent. The class-consciousness of Raquel, Mariana, Mario and Sebas portray is the same as Tadeo, Teresa and Genaro (the permanent occupants), their collective interests in regards to challenging the economic structure and the classes that perpetuate it is the same, but the specific socio-political conditions of their class of labor limits what they can *actually do*, and *actually want* in terms of achieving daily reproduction.

On the other hand, this could also reflect the theorizations of Lukács in regards to the different *degrees* and *levels* of non-ascribed class-consciousness, in combination to a specifically experienced oppression and exploitation of each individual. The second part of this assumption would benefit more from a ‘class’ and ‘class-consciousness’ conceptualization as portrayed by Thompson (1971) to identify the different members of the occupation, but this entails two difficulties of different types: The first being that the conceptualization of individuals through Thompson’s concept of class, would reveal individuals with vastly different experiences of oppression, identity and interest construction that would not fully explain differentiated participation in Somonte, I stand that Lukács conceptualization of class-consciousness explains participation from a fragmented working class better. Second, and as mentioned earlier, the conceptualizations of Thompson I feel were made in a context of more uniformity of needs and values, the fragmented working class that makes up the SAT is better analyzed the portraying of the working class as those who *are forced* to sell their labor power, *and* those with a unconscious class-consciousness.

The debate could be expanded on Sofia, Manuel and Remy, which have never been in Somonte but fully support it. These individuals, as opposed to the sporadic or permanent occupants have full-time jobs, and no interest of land. One could argue again on Wright (1997) that their class location shapes their class-consciousness, but to an extent they are aware of the objective position of exploitation they are in the specific economic structure of Andalusia:

*“It really angers me that the PSOE keeps stealing, and keeps giving away land to the big companies, and people keep voting for them! (...) that is why I support these guys [the SAT] any way I can, they try do things right, like they should be (...) but I do not think I could ever occupy Somonte like Oscar does, I need to work and support by kids, my family (...) [but] whenever he needs something, he has my help”<sup>93</sup>*

*“I’ve seen and heard the unfairness of working in olive harvesting (...) to look up and feel the “señorito” doing nothing while you sweat like a pig (...) I want to go to Somonte, I have never been, but I work from Monday to Sunday (...) but you have seen me, I am part of the SAT and support all of their actions, including Somonte”<sup>94</sup>*

Regardless of the different degrees of Lukács’s class-consciousness that may exist after participants are exposed to the SAT’s anti-capitalist framing, what is safe to assume is that the exploitation and resistance that represents and is reflected in Somonte, is experienced differently due to the socio-political and socio-economic particularities of the fragmented

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<sup>93</sup> Informal talk with Remy.

<sup>94</sup> Informal talk with Manuel.

classes of labor. This in turn, reveals cleavages in participation that can only be analyzed through a class-based analysis considering the contemporary fragmented nature of the classes of labor described by Bernstein (2010). The use of identity and culture as determinants and conditioning agents of social practices as exhibited by new social movement theorists (McAdam *et al.* 1996; Benford and Snow 2000), does not have to undermine or remove the element of class analysis as it helps reveal important internal dynamics of movements (Veltmeyer 1997). Furthermore, class analysis as used in this paper, could help in future research answer perceived gaps in the literature of frame approaches in relation to the socio-historical contexts that surround the construction of frames, and how frames relate to the agency of specific individuals (Benford 1997).

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **1. Conclusions**

*Wahat unites all those people (rural and urban) in Somonte?*

*“Class consciousness... That, and in the Union, the andalusian identity and sentiment (...) we may want different material things, but we want to retake the things that was taken from us (...) that is what makes the SAT the SAT”<sup>95</sup>*

The efforts of distancing class analysis from peasant social movement by advocates of new social movement theories claim that a deterministic and narrow portrayal of class as envisioned by Marx, leaves aside important elements that can explain social change. While efforts of new social movement and post-structuralist approaches have tried to show the displace the ‘narrow vision’ of class analysis by providing individuals with a self-constructing identity, interests and objectives that are removed from historical materialism (Veltmeyer 1997), empirical works have show the benefits of combining elements both focuses of study to understand contemporary movements (Wolford 2003, 2004, 2005) and Smith (1989). Furthermore, understanding categorized ‘new social movements’ through approaches that indicate that a constructed meaning is prefatory to action (Benford and Snow 2000; McAdam *et al.* 1996; Benford 1997; Snow *et al.* 1986), removes from view critical analysis of emerging and changing class-based movements like the SAT, whose goals, membership and actions are intrinsically embedded with the historical evolution of Andalusia’s economic structure. This embeddedness can analyzed only so much by these new social movement approaches, as they overlook how class dynamics, and the struggle that shapes a crucial class-consciousness has been achieved. However, new social movements like the framing approach can complement class analysis by exploring how the agency of formal class formations is used to influence the class agency of the members that make it up. I would suggest that future research on this subject (specifically the SAT), is aimed at conjoining the analytical tools and efforts of agrarian political economy, and the more humanist approach provided by Thompson (1971) to explain collective agency in movements of fragmented classes of labor.

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<sup>95</sup> Interview with Mario.

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