

DI NATALE, SILVIA. Die andalusischen Landarbeiter. Geschichte, Lebenswelt, Handlungsstrategien. Leske + Budrich, Opladen 1994. 407 pp. Ill. DM 68.00; S.fr. 68.00; S 531.00.

Although the growing resignation among the Spanish *jornaleros* can be appreciated, they still show a great deal of creativity and dynamism when looking for work; they find productive cooperatives and take part in political activities, insisting on their traditional demands of land distribution (*reparto*) and agrarian reform.

In her book, Silvia Di Natale starts with José Ortega y Gasset's famous essay "Theory of Andalusia" (*Teoría de Andalucía*, 1927). In this essay, Ortega y Gasset describes the invariability over a long time of the culture and the "character" of the population that lives in the Andalusian countryside. According to the Spanish philosopher, the mild climate and the rich land of Andalusia explain a supposedly existent "culture of laziness", characteristic of the Andalusian people over the centuries. Di Natale rejects this idea, insisting on the importance of latifundism as an invariable social structure throughout the centuries that dominated the lives of the people in this region.

Starting from an extensive theoretical basis, she defines the goal of her study as the investigation and comprehension of the "strategies of collective action" of the Andalusian day labourers. Although the very extensive methodological discussion at the beginning of her book tends somewhat to eclecticism, making it difficult to understand the theoretical premises of her study, basically Di Natale makes use of the "Theory of Structuration", developed by Anthony Giddens. Latifundism is defined as a "system" that constitutes "an order of social relations through time and space, that manifests itself through reproduced practices".

The book has three parts, each of which is subdivided into many chapters. The first part deals with "latifundism and day labourers in the history of Andalusia". Here, Di Natale discusses the historical formation of latifundism as a regime of production and as a social system of specific dependencies between *jornalero* and grand landowner. She characterizes the latifundist system as "capitalistic" because it has depended on paid work since its formation in the fifteenth century; she shows that until the 1960s, when large numbers of Andalusian *jornaleros* emigrated, its existence was not seriously questioned by the workers. With the mechanization of the Andalusian agriculture that began some decades ago (and which was accelerated by the emigration of the *jornaleros*), the necessity for manpower slowly disappeared; therefore, in the future the "occupation" of *jornalero* will probably disappear.

It is in this situation, where the traditional system of latifundism and with it the *jornalero* as a social type tend to disappear from the Andalusian land, that Di Natale starts her empirical study. The second part of her book deals with the day labourers as individuals and as a collectivity. The third part examines the "strategies of action" of the *jornaleros*. In the years 1984 and 1985 the author was in Spain collecting a great deal of material; she interviewed many representatives of labour organizations and, in particular, the *jornaleros* themselves. With this material, Di Natale wrote "oral history". First, she "(re)constructs" the conditions of the daily life and the world in which the *jornaleros* live (*Lebenswelt*); she deals with the childhood of the day labourers,

with their families, their school years, their first experiences of work, their looking for a job, their collective identity as *jornaleros*, their sense of justice and morals. Her main source in this part of the study are the interviews with the affected persons themselves. Through these interviews, Di Natale elaborates a "collective structure" of thought.

With respect to the "strategies of action", the author stresses that they are derived directly from the "social system" of latifundism in which the *jornaleros* and their way of thinking are embodied. Many ideas and possibilities are discussed in order to solve or at least to alleviate the problem of *paro* (unemployment). The ideological world of the ideas and claims of the *jornaleros* is composed of concepts like agrarian reform, the establishment of agrarian collectives and productive cooperatives, the (symbolic) occupation of land, even the utopia of finishing with "the unjust system of capitalism" in society. In spite of the different political affiliations of the workers, nearly all of them expressed a conviction that the *jornaleros* had a certain right to possess the land upon which they were working; this basic idea is still quite close to the anarchist concepts of a century ago.

In her final remarks, quoting E.P. Thompson, the author speaks of the *jornaleros* as a social stratum that has been run down by the development of history. Although it is not yet possible to draw an analogy with the industrialization process of the nineteenth century, there is no doubt that the basis of the *jornalero* existence is being destroyed continuously by the technological development of Andalusian agriculture. The mental structure of the day labourers is still determined by a social system that is disappearing.

Di Natale's study is very informative, from a historical as well as a present-day point of view. It contributes to an understanding of the latifundist system as a historical phenomenon. The "strategies of action" of the *jornaleros* of our day show so many parallels with Spanish agrarian history of the last 150 years that this book could be the basis for an extensive historical comparison. The longevity of the "agrarian worker's culture" could probably be shown to be part of the structural continuity of the latifundist system. The way the *jornaleros* acted depended and depends heavily on their *Lebenswelt*, and this *Lebenswelt* has been acting as a historical continuity. It is worth while continuing to examine these questions.

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DUBOFSKY, MELVYN. *The State & Labor in Modern America*. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill [etc.] 1994. xviii, 321 pp. \$44.95. (Paper: \$24.95.)

Historians have been urged to "bring the state back in" for over two decades. Melvyn Dubofsky takes this advice to heart in *The State and Labor in Modern America* as he plots the relationship between the American labour movement and the federal government. Examining the upper echelon of labour leaders and federal policy-makers, Dubofsky takes us through familiar and not so familiar court cases, legislation, strikes and political battles from the 1870s through to the 1980s. The result is a well-written narrative that moves briskly through a wealth of secondary sources, augmented in places with original primary research.