

The Catalan peasantry: Sociability, politicisation, mobilisation and citizenship (1870-1939)*

Ramon Arnabat, Montserrat Duch and Antoni Gavalda**
ISOCAC Research Group (Universitat Rovira i Virgili)

Received 18 May 2019 · Accepted 20 October 2020

ABSTRACT

Long-term research and communication are combined in this text in a series of individual units that band together to provide an overall picture. The text analyses the configuration and vicissitudes of the peasantry during the period in which capitalist social relations were being forged in the Catalan countryside (1870-1939), conflicts were raging over the distribution of the agricultural surplus and the peasants' 'moral economy' was being radically questioned by agrarian capitalism. It also describes how Catalan peasants became a social group with an identity of its own through sociability, politicisation and mobilisation, which made the peasants citizens, first *de facto* and then *de jure*, in a long, complex process that involved various forms of association and sociability around the political cultures of republicanism, anarchism, socialism and Catholicism.

KEYWORDS: Catalan social history, agrarian sociability, class associationism, cooperativism/syndicalism

THE CATALAN PEASANTRY BETWEEN 1870 AND 1939

During the last third of the nineteenth and first third of the twentieth centuries, private landownership took root in the Catalan countryside and capitalist social relations became hegemonic, accelerating the process of social distinction in rural communities between a small group of wealthy farmers and a large, heterogeneous group of peasants. Throughout this period, the peasant family farm was shown to be compatible with agrarian capitalism, albeit at the expense of its self-exploitation.

The crux of peasant conflicts was the distribution of the agricultural surplus, so the clashes almost always revolved around how the costs of agricultural production would be defrayed and its profits divided. However, no less important was the conflict around the peasant 'moral economy' which was being radically questioned by agrarian capitalism.¹ The feelings of injustice caused by the

capitalist redefinition of social, cultural and economic relations in the countryside spurred peasant sociability, mobilisation and politicisation in Catalonia. The 'petty peasantry' (smallholders, sharecroppers, *rabassaires* and day labourers) were the participants in increasingly radicalised social struggles in the Catalan rural world, in a process that ran parallel to the peasants' formation as citizens.²

The ways the petty peasantry mobilised and organised and the prominence of several sectors within it shifted between 1870 and 1939. The new Catalan peasant associationism sought to be grounded on self-organisation, often outside the control of the owners and/or the Catholic church, and instead with ties to the urban world and the new political cultures (republican, anarchist, socialist or communist). This new associationism developed in four main directions: mutual aid societies for assistance in cases of illness and death; cooperativism to control production and consumption; cultural and recreational societies to manage leisure and culture; and union organisations to deal with large landowners and the bourgeois state. Furthermore, the Catalan peasantry increasingly participated in different political projects parallel to their burgeoning awareness as citizens and politicisation, such that they were more engaged in relations with the local, economic, political, social and cultural powers.³

* This text is part of the project 'Sociabilidades de construcción de la ciudadanía en Cataluña (1868-1939)' financed by the Ministry of the Economy and Competitiveness of the government of Spain, HAR2014-54230, and affiliated with the ISOCAC consolidated research group at the Universitat Rovira i Virgili.

** **Contact address:** Grup de Recerca ISOCAC, Universitat Rovira i Virgili. Facultat de Lletres, Avinguda Catalunya, 35, 43002 Tarragona. Tel.: +34 977559737. E.mail: ramon.arnabat@urv.cat; montserrat.duch@urv.cat; antoni.gavalda@urv.cat



FIGURE 1. Peasants at the grape harvest (c. 1910).

ASSOCIATIONISM IN THE CONTEMPORARY CATALAN PEASANTRY (1870-1899)

Starting in the 1870s, Catalan peasants began to organise themselves autonomously. They did so initially, between 1870 and 1873, by forming Fieldworkers' Sections in 65 municipalities affiliated with the *Unió de Treballadors del Camp* (Union of Fieldworkers, UTC) and therefore with the Spanish Regional Federation of the International Workers' Association (abbreviated FRE-AIT), which had anarchist leanings (Guillaume, 1907; Nettleau, 1969; Termes, 1977). Yet despite the FRE-AIT's efforts to organise fieldworkers into a single union, many of them aligned and organised with the federal republicans.⁴

The majority of organised peasants, *rabassaires* and sharecroppers, placed high expectations in the First Spanish Republic (1873-1874), which were initially met when laws were approved that declared *rabassa morta* and other contracts rescindable. Despite the fact that these laws had no practical effects because they were abolished prematurely, they served as a clarion call to landowners because, alongside techniques that extended the life of the rootstock, they also reinforced *rabassaires* and sharecroppers in their clashes with landowners.⁵

After the repressive post-republican period, in 1882 the *Lliga de Viticultors Rabassaires de Catalunya* (League of Winegrowing *Rabassaires* of Catalonia, LVRC) was created in Rubí, which had 21 local sections, most of them in the province of Barcelona. Its objective was to unite the peasants in order to secure improvements in farm contracts and deal with the eviction trials which were beginning to abound.

In the late 1880s and early 1890s, dissenting 'resistance' and cooperative societies were created, such as the *Societat Agrícola de Valls* (Agricultural Society of Valls, 1888) and the *Societat Agrícola de Barberà de la Conca* (Agricultural Society of Barberà de la Conca, 1894). These societies, which were particularly prevalent in the Tarragona counties, worked on many fronts to defend peasant interests

related to the commercialisation of yields and the struggle against consumption taxes, along with cultural and training activities.⁶ While the LVRC was more closely associated with the republican world, the agricultural societies were more closely aligned with anarcho-syndicalism.

The outbreak of phylloxera in Catalonia and the devastation of the grapevines (1879-1894) sparked a major crisis that led to a host of conflicts in the winegrowing counties, spurring peasants to organise and thus kindling a social crisis which lasted until the 1930s.⁷ The conflicts involving different peasant associations in the 1890s were accompanied by collective confrontational acts as the peasants refused to hand over the owners' share of the output, or gave them less, while the landowners started initiating eviction processes. Within this context, the anarcho-syndicalists tried to reassemble their sections of farm workers, and in May 1893 the *Unió Agrícola del Pacte Lliure* (Agricultural Union of the Free Pact, UAPL) was created in Barcelona through a Conference of Fieldworkers which 13 delegations attended. At this conference, they agreed to adhere to the *Pacte d'Unió i Solidaritat de la Regió Espanyola* (Union and Solidarity Pact of the Spanish Region) (*Conferència*, 1893).

The union that really took root among Catalan peasants is the *Federació de Treballadors Agrícoles de la Regió Espanyola* (Federation of Farm Workers of the Spanish Region, FTARE), also called the *Federació d'Obrers Agricultors de la Regió Espanyola* (FOARE), which was aligned with federal-republican culture. Between 1893 and 1897, the FTARE managed to bring together 30,000 peasants organised into 94 agricultural societies, most of them in the winegrowing areas in the Catalan coastal and pre-coastal regions. The first steps were taken by the *Centre Obrer de Vilanova i la Geltrú* (Workers' Centre of Vilanova i la Geltrú) in 1891, but its first congress was not held in that city until October 1893, with 54 affiliated societies and around 26,000 peasant members. The local sections had a variety of names; the Federation had an autonomous county organisation, published *El Campesino* (1895-1897) and advocated joint action with other workers' organisations. The Federation also acted as a mutual aid society and an umbrella providing services to its members, primarily healthcare and education. The FTARE managed to attract much of the Catalan winegrowing peasantry during the 1890s.⁸

In February 1895, the second FTARE congress was held at the Federal Centre in Vilafranca del Penedès, with the attendance of delegates from 46 local sections. At this congress, they agreed to adhere to the socialist ideals articulated by the Spanish Federal Republican Party in its 1894 manifesto, which should come as no surprise if we bear in mind that the three top FTARE leaders also belonged to the county committee of the Democratic Federal Republican Party. In January 1896, the third congress was held in El Vendrell, with the attendance of 53 delegates representing 33 sections and around 10,000 members, that is, one-third of its membership at its peak in

1893. The fourth and last congress was also held in El Vendrell in 1897, at a time when the Federation was experiencing a severe decline. From then until the end of the century, the Federation virtually ceased to exist, even though an expert commission continued to operate in Vilanova i la Geltrú. It did not altogether disappear, but instead the peasant conflict came to be led by peasant organisations or by collective and individual actions that followed more traditional parameters.⁹

The establishment of male universal suffrage in 1890 promoted republican representation in the Congress of Deputies, despite the cacique system that prevailed during the Bourbon Restoration (1875-1923). This, coupled with the FTARE's position in favour of electoral participation, gave the federal republicans several local, provincial and national election victories in 1891 and 1895. The creation of the Centres Republicans Democràtics Federals (Federal Democratic Republican Centres) came parallel to the creation of the FTARE local sections, such that in 1893 the federal republicans won the municipal elections in 24 of the 47 municipalities in the winegrowing regions of Penedès. And that same year, the Unió Republicana (Republican Union) candidate for Parliament won in a total of 50 Catalan winegrowing towns in the districts of Vilanova, El Vendrell, Vilafranca del Penedès and Tarragona-Reus-Falset.¹⁰ Social and political action converged, parallel to the politicisation of the Catalan peasants.

With the 1887 Law on Associations, grassroots associationism underwent extraordinary expansion in Catalonia, which contributed to the politicisation of rural Catalan society and the construction of a network of associations that contested the cultural and class hegemony of the landowners and the Catholic Church.¹¹ In practice, and beyond ideological divergences, the peasant associations and anarchist, republican and socialist organisations were closely interrelated on a local level between 1870 and 1930. There were two reasons for this. First, the spaces of sociability in villages were shared, such that regardless of their political leanings, peasants converged in these spaces and in the same recreational and cultural societies, athenaeums, mutual aid societies, cooperatives, cafés and taverns and barbershops. Secondly, they also shared certain aspects of political culture: anticlericalism, federalism, secularism, social concerns, a focus on education and culture and free thinking, among others.¹²

THE SYNDICALIST ROUTE (1900-1930 / I)

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Catalan peasants were feeling offended on several fronts: the drop in agrarian prices, the sense of exploitation by the new types of contracting, the increase in current production expenses and instability in farming. All of this translated into their demands for the landowners to reconsider costs and profits. To achieve this, there were three kinds

of associations during the first three decades of the twentieth century: peasant associations (agrarian syndicates and cooperativism) related to the cultural policies of republicanism, anarcho-syndicalism and socialism; landowner associations (agrarian chambers, landowners' associations, etc.), related to conservative culture; and mixed associations (Catholic syndicates and cooperatives) driven by sectors of social Catholicism, Carlism and centrist republicanism.

The landowners and the Catholic Church tried to buffer the social clashes and neutralise class syndicalism by attracting peasants into their associations, offering material advantages and becoming the mouthpieces of 'agrarian interests' to the public administration. That is, they attempted to encourage vertical solidarity and to separate the peasants from republican, socialist and anarchist sociability and cultures. Yet at the same time, they delegated the more direct struggle against the peasants to the forces of law and order (Civil Guard and rural guards), the courts of justice and the local and state administrations by creating their own associations that were organised around the Institut Agrícola Català de Sant Isidro (IACSI), founded in 1851.¹³

In 1904, the radical and federal republicans tried to revive the Federation of *Rabassaires*, but the federation did not thrive and only 21 entities in the Barcelona province joined, although others from the Tarragona province expressed their interest in joining. Nonetheless, the social mobilisation of the peasants did not disappear, and although it was less intense, it did include large-scale collective actions, such as the 1905 peasants' strike in Banyeres del Penedès.¹⁴

During the second decade of the twentieth century, winegrowing was thrown into a profound crisis in Catalonia due to the drop in agrarian prices owing to a world that was saturated with products, along with increased productivity and yields and fertiliser prices. All of this sparked intense conflicts in the Catalan countryside between 1910 and 1923, whose peak expression was the eviction lawsuits that a host of landowners undertook against their sharecroppers, *rabassaires* and settlers.¹⁵ This was the backdrop of the formation of the Federació de Rabassaires de Catalunya (Federation of *Rabassaires* of Catalonia, FRC) and the Federació Comarcal de Societats Obreres Agrícoles de l'Alt i Baix Penedès (County Federation of Agricultural Workers' Societies of the Alt and Baix Penedès, FCSOAABP), whose goal was to strengthen the peasants opposed to the landowners and improve their living conditions. In 1921, the FCSOAABP reached 5,800 affiliates—most of them sharecroppers and *rabassaires*—and 29 sections. Meantime, the Federació de Sindicats Agrícoles del Litoral (Federation of Agricultural Syndicates of the Coast) was founded in Maresme county.¹⁶ The main driving forces behind the FCSOAABP were the republicans and socialists, who shared reformist agrarian objectives: a law that would promote sharecropping and tenancy, a revision of pacts in favour of farmers

and the creation of mixed tribunals. However, the local sections were also the home to peasants with more anarcho-syndicalist leanings. The policy of pacts and mixed juries had somewhat positive results between 1917 and 1919, but it fell into crisis after 1920-1921, when the landowners systematically failed to honour their commitments, taking advantage of governmental repression against peasant syndicalism. This led to a decline in the FCSSAABP and pushed the majority of its societies to become the core of the new *Unió de Rabassaires* (*Rabassaires Union*). Meantime, the socialists were trying to organise sections of the *Federació de Treballadors del Camp* (Fieldworkers' Federation), affiliated with the UGT.

In the counties of Camp de Tarragona and Terres de l'Ebre, peasant syndicalism with anarcho-syndicalist and socialist leanings was gaining ground. The majority of the sections in these counties had joined or partnered with the *Federació Agrícola de la Província de Tarragona* (Agricultural Federation of the Province of Tarragona, FAPT), also known as the *Federació Provincial de Tarragona d'Obrers del Camp* (FPTOC), founded in May 1913 in Reus and promoted by the socialists. Seventeen municipal unions from Camp de Tarragona and Terres de l'Ebre were represented in its constituent assembly. In March 1914, the federation declared its opposition to political action and joined the *Federació Nacional d'Obrers Agricultors d'Espanya* (National Farmworkers' Federation of Spain, FNOAE), which meant that the following year some local societies quit it and became affiliated with the UGT. The federation held its third congress in November 1916, attended by 10 delegations which agreed to allow all the local societies to join the FNOAE and stay in touch via *La Voz del Campesino*. Later, the *Federació Provincial d'Obrers del Camp de Tarragona* (Provincial Fieldworkers' Federation of Camp de Tarragona) had 42 affiliate societies in the Tarragona counties, along with one society in El Garraf and three in Maresme.¹⁷

The FNOAE had been founded in Córdoba in 1913 with the participation of just four Catalan societies. The following year it moved to Valls, where *La Voz del Campesino* was published, and in 1916 it held its fourth congress in Vilanova i la Geltrú, with the participation of 10 Catalan sections. After 1919, the FNOAE joined the anarcho-syndicalist-leaning CNT, which had 48 sections. The power of the FNOAE became clear with the establishment of several county federations, such as the *Federació Comarcal de Valls* (Valls County Federation) and its surrounding area and the *Federació d'Obrers Camperols del Vendrell* (Federation of Peasant Workers of El Vendrell) and its county, which had delegations in 26 population nuclei and 1,800 members. The CNT itself boasted that it had managed to unite workers in the countryside and city. At the same time, the landowners were asking the public authorities to intervene in defence of landownership.

The fact is that between 1919 and 1922, there was a great deal of social upheaval in the Catalan winegrowing counties, and the situation gradually radicalised with

boycotts and strikes, and even a few murders. This prompted harsh repression that led to the dissolution of the FNOAE and the imprisonment or exile of its leaders. The landowners took advantage of the new repressive climate by failing to honour the pacts they had reached with the sharecroppers and initiating evictions against the peasant leaders, which just served to aggravate the conflict and push it underground, only to resurface during the Second Spanish Republic.

In the first two decades of the twentieth century, the landowners bolstered their associations and created new ones in the main population nuclei under the auspices of the IACSI, which provided them with support. Since the early twentieth century, new agricultural chambers had been created, and 26 with more than 6,000 members had been founded by 1924.¹⁸ Furthermore, the support from the IACSI, the *Unió de Vinyaters de Catalunya* (Winegrowers' Union of Catalonia, UVC) and the *Federació Catòlica Agrària Barcelonesa* (Catholic Agrarian Federation of Barcelona, FCAB) fostered interclass, Catholic syndicalism and cooperativism through the creation of syndicates and cooperatives under the control of them and the merchants. In 1909, the FCAB had affiliate entities in 81 Catalan municipalities, and between 1917 and 1922, the *Federacions de Sindicats Catòlics Agraris* (Federations of Catholic Agrarian Syndicates) encompassed 146 entities.¹⁹

The problems of selling farm products led to the creation of sectoral associations which mobilised the peasants vertically. In Catalonia, the most obvious case is the Winegrowers' Union of Catalonia, created in 1910 to combat the competition from artificial alcohol; within a brief period it had established delegations in more than 200 towns and had more than 20,000 members in a sphere of influence that encompassed 173 agricultural syndicates and farmers' unions grouped into 15 county councils.²⁰ During the Second Republic, it became the winegrowing section of the *Unió de Sindicats Agrícoles de Catalunya* (Union of Agricultural Syndicates of Catalonia), which was organised into sectors and geared at defending the economic interests of Catalan agriculture.

Between 1921 and 1922, republicanism managed to make the most of the anarcho-syndicalist retreat caused by repression, socialism's lower influence among peasants and their disenchantment with the reformist republicanism represented by Josep Zulueta to create what would become the leading peasant union: the *Rabassaires Union*, whose ranks were joined by the majority of local peasant sections with republican, socialist or anarcho-syndicalist leanings. The *Unió de Rabassaires de Catalunya* (*Rabassaires Union of Catalonia, UdR*) was founded in May 1922, and its first Congress was held in January 1923. It was joined by around 3,000 peasants, who approved the protest agenda which set the tone of its pursuits: '*considera la terra Propietat de Tots els homes i que Solament el Treball crea drets efectius per a la possessió i usdefruit de la mateixa*' (land is considered the Property

of All men and the Only Work creates *de facto* rights to own and use it), in other words, '*la terra per a qui la treballa*' (the land for those who farm it).²¹

The growth of the UDR was spectacular, and by 1926 it had almost 5,000 members and 48 sections. In 1932, during the Spanish Second Republic, now with the name of *Unió de Rabassaires i Altres Conreadors del Camp de Catalunya* (Union of *Rabassaires* and Other Farmers of Catalonia, 1928), it had 20,000 peasant members organised in 173 local sections. The *Rabassaires* Union was the main peasant organisation in the winegrowing region within the counties in the province of Barcelona during the years of the Republic. However, at the same time it had to compete with the *Unió Provincial Agrària* (Provincial Agrarian Union), which had 8,000 members in the counties of Lleida, and with *Acció Social Agrària de les Terres Gironines* (Agrarian Social Action of the Girona Lands) in the province of Girona, which had 12,000 members. Both of them were under the influence of the *Bloc Obrer i Camperol* (Workers' and Peasants' Bloc, BOC).²²

THE COOPERATIVE ROUTE (1900-1930 / II)

Agrarian cooperation in Catalonia emerged relatively late compared to in neighbouring countries like France.²³ In the late nineteenth century, the convergence of ideas from political movements from outside the Restoration system (and therefore, not in the majority), which included republicans of all stripes, emerging anarcho-syndicalists and socialists in the organisational phase, helped lay a sediment of social change in working-class and peasant segments in certain specific areas.²⁴ The parties that alternated in power—conservatives and liberals—represented continuity and clientelism, while the ideas from the new parties and unions came to the forefront in the quest for solutions in the area of social justice, essentially by improving working conditions and securing decent wages.

One point of convergence in this regard was the drive to rechannel labour towards cooperative models.²⁵ In agriculture, this happened after the depression in the late nineteenth century due to the consequences of the phylloxera plague. This circumstance forced a reconsideration of redistribution and profits from labour because the grapevines, the most common crop in the country, were uprooted. The dire economic problem was exacerbated by another endemic problem, namely that landownership by those who actually farmed it was quite unequal, as the majority of land was owned by just a few landowners, who saw the land as a business, or by owners who were not even familiar with their land. This meant that the landowners had a variety of labour contracts with the farmers who worked their land. One quite widespread kind of contract among those working in vineyards was known as *rabassa morta*, in which the farmer was allowed to farm the lands as long as there were living grapevines, a factor that led to lawsuits because some properties were in

decline and produced very little given the farmer's fear of having to give it back and be left landless. Other contracts were sharecropping, a modality that meant that the farmers had to give the landowners part of the harvest, such as half each for the owner and the farmer, one-third for the owner and two-thirds for the farmer or other ratios. There was also land leasing in which the farmer paid the landowners a set amount in cash.

These conditioning factors partly dovetailed with the enactment of the 1887 Law on Associations, which opened the door to allowing some farmers' associations, called agricultural societies, to be organised with bylaws and have a legal standing. Some of those that took advantage of the law were in the resistance syndicates, even though as a whole very few were made into agricultural societies. This gave rise to early agrarian socialisation which took shape within specific territories but did not extend around all of Catalonia. These societies, which were democratic and plural, were based on the rule of one man, one vote. Still, the major surge in cooperatives was slow to take root and did not occur until twenty years after this first law, with a new regulation, namely the 1906 Law on Agricultural Syndicates, which prompted a huge explosion in cooperative sociability with the formation of new syndicates.²⁶ The peculiarity of this law was three articles which stated that the agricultural syndicates were exempt from the stamp tax and real rights, were reimbursed customs costs and were preferentially supplied with select seeds and animals. The law sought a pragmatic kind of associationism, and in many syndicates it meant proportional voting based on the capital provided by each member. The exemptions to be granted to the syndicates came upon difficulties, and the issues on customs and stamps were not resolved until 1914-1915. The 1906 law meant that agricultural cooperatives grew in almost all the towns in Catalonia and were more or less powerful depending on factors like the number of members and the volume of transactions. The large landowners promoted this associationism by creating interclass syndicates with certain economic and social profiles. At these favourable junctures, the landowners were important to cooperativism, driven by a desire for social and moral domination over the peasants' demands. While the first societies were based on one man, one vote, these were based on vote proportional to the capital contributed.

In Catalonia, this rise dovetailed with a unique political period when the Spanish state allowed the four provinces to be jointly administered through the *Mancomunitat de Catalunya* (1914-1925). This was a supra-provincial federation which did not bring Catalonia more resources but did enable it to think and act with a view to the entire country. The launch of *Acció Social Agrària* (Agrarian Social Action, ASA), under a Catalanist impetus, was a major milestone in agrarian policy. This body encouraged the towns to have agrarian cooperatives, which it viewed as the foundation of social organisation, while it also tried to ensure that agrarian workers avoided the si-

ren call of anarchism and socialism, which it partially achieved.²⁷ The ASA's efforts were effective, and the number of agrarian syndicates went from 216 on the official 1916 census to 558 in 1922.²⁸

Cooperativism in this region, the most dynamic in Spain as a whole, was sustained on orderly agrarianism which sought to follow in Europe's footsteps. It also entailed the desire to modernise agriculture, which was rendered visible with the replacement of old machinery and investment in training—with a variety of courses—and in technical areas—soil components, forms of fertiliser, pruning systems and seed sowing.²⁹ These successes were complemented by the construction of wineries and oil mills, which were the culmination of cooperativism. These collective projects succeeded in attenuating individual labour, but they did not make the market shares of all products profitable, partly because of the decapitalisation of the majority of farmers, who had to sell precisely when the harvest was coming in. Yet instead of resolving the core of the agrarian problem at that time, landownership, it even further aggravated it. The *Mancomunitat* was abolished by the Primo de Rivera dictatorship (1923-1929), even though the agricultural base was already firmly entrenched. During that dictatorship, a draft law began to be gestated by the *Institut de Reformes Socials* (Institute of Social Reforms) that was finished by 1927; it went on to be approved as a law and regulation in September 1931. This was the first Law on Cooperatives in Spain. The law contained the principles of the International Cooperative Alliance and classified cooperatives into four types; agricultural cooperatives were included within producers, and within that category they were classified as professional cooperatives. In the regulation, professional cooperatives were excluded from assistance, such that agricultural cooperatives were uninterested in this law, as the 1906 law was more beneficial. That is, the Spanish law thwarted the Catalan regulation.

The Catalan Statute of 1932 placed cooperative matters within the authority of the Catalan Ministry of Economy and Agriculture of the *Generalitat*, the autonomous Catalan government. The laws that the *Generalitat* promoted were the Law on the Bases of Cooperation for Agricultural Cooperatives, Mutual Aid Societies and Syndicates, dated February 1934, and the Framework Law on Cooperatives from the same year. The regulations reinstated the Rochdale Society's principle of one man, one vote; an Audit Committee was established; cooperatives following the popular or mercantile form could be established; and agricultural syndicates were also called agricultural cooperatives and fell within the mercantile form. Likewise, the Cooperative High Council was established as the body in charge of studying, proposing and disseminating legal provisions. The aspects regulated included annual oversight through the submission of a copy of the annual report, balance sheet and profit and loss statement to the regional Ministry, and inspections every three years.³⁰ According to the 1933 Agrarian Census, there were 540

active agricultural societies or syndicates in Catalonia which had 79,018 members and capital of 28,213,305 pesetas. The timeline was as follows: the first wave came between 1906 and 1916 with the creation of 73 agricultural syndicates; the peak expansion of agricultural cooperativism came between 1917 and 1922, with 237 new syndicates; during the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, there was a clear regression, with only 83 new syndicates; and dovetailing with the first few years of the Spanish Second Republic (1931-1933), there was another large wave, with the creation of 147 new agricultural syndicates. However, if we look at the number of syndicates created per year, the period 1931-1933 was the most fruitful, with 49 each year, followed by the period from 1917 to 1922, with 39.³¹

According to confederal calculations, the situation of cooperatives in Catalonia at the start of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) was that the *Institut Agrícola Català de Sant Isidre* (Sant Isidre Catalan Agricultural Institute) and the conservative Catalanist party, the *Lliga Catalana*, dominated 40% of the agricultural syndicates; the ERC and the UDR 40%; the CNT 15%; the UGT 3%; and the Catholic agricultural syndicates 2%. In those first 30 years of the twentieth century, some of these cooperative organisations were also involved in a phenomenon that entails a high level of sociability: the construction of wineries. The first cooperative winery in Catalonia was built in 1901 in one of the counties where there was a syndicate according to the 1887 law: Barberà de la Conca in the province of Tarragona. This cooperative, which had republican and socialist leanings, was established in 1894 as the *Societat de Treballadors Agrícoles* (Farm Workers' Society) of the town of Barberà, a section in the first *Unió de Rabassaires*. In the period 1906 to 1911, records show that ten wineries were built in Catalonia, nine in the same zone: four more in Conca de Barberà, two in Alt Camp, and one each in Penedès, Priorat and Maresme. The peculiarity was that most of them were promoted by wealthier farmers, according to the capital they contributed.

What transpired in the Penedès winegrowing regions is very significant, as the wineries were built later than in



FIGURE 2. Hazelnut pickers.

the other zones, with the exception of El Vendrell. It was not until the end of what was called the Bolshevik triennium—1918-1921—that five wineries were built in 27 municipalities in the Alt Penedès and three in 14 municipalities in the Baix Penedès. The reasons for this lack of momentum is that they were built to handle commercialisation, but the outcomes were scant and partial due to market saturation, the oligopolistic practices of traditional trade, the scant rise in cooperativism and the financial fragility of the peasant entities.³²

FROM PEASANTS TO CITIZENS: POLITICISATION AND AGRARIAN REFORM (1931-1936)

The *Unió de Rabassaires*

During the Second Republic, the agrarian question sparked an open clash between social classes and became the main point of friction in the public debate. Catalan agriculture had been suffering from a profound structural crisis for three decades, the main expression being depopulation of the countryside. The need to adapt to market competition and the instability caused by global overproduction were accentuated after 1929, when salaries rose. In this context, the tendency was to boost indirect farming via leases, sharecropping or *rabassa* in order to lower the costs of salaried labour, with the consequent effects on peasant families, who suffered as their living conditions became more precarious. Winegrowing must inevitably be mentioned, as it occupied one-third of the cultivated land in Catalonia in 1930 and was predominant in the most populous agrarian counties.³³

Meantime, in terms of syndicates, from the start the *Unió de Rabassaires* was defined as a class syndicate bringing together sharecroppers, *rabassaires*, leasers and day labourers with a twofold purpose: to spread political-syndicalist propaganda in the rural areas and to achieve social agrarian legislation. In the hopeful years of the Second Republic, the UdR went through two stages: the first one between 1931 and 1933 was characterised by following a syndicalist and political line that identified with the *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya* (ERC), a party founded in 1931 which enjoyed electoral hegemony. However, in the second two-year period of the Second Republic, it orbited around the *Unió Socialista de Catalunya* (Socialist Union of Catalonia, USC). The association process between the syndicate and the political parties meant that by 1932, the UdR had quadrupled its original membership and had 21,542 members grouped into 173 local sections. One year later, in 1933, it had 216 federated local sections, most of them in the Barcelona counties (176) but also in the provinces of Tarragona (33), Girona (6) and Lleida (1). The expansion of the UdR continued, and throughout 1936 it added 81 new sections located in the Barcelona and Tarragona counties, reaching 297 affiliated sections. In 1937-1938, it added 107 new sections from the Lleida and Girona counties, reaching 404 sec-

tions and 30,000 members. During the years of the Republic, the UdR was the peasant organisation that best connected with the syndicalist legacy of agrarian cooperativism grounded on republicanism.³⁴

In turn, CNT syndicalism had few peasant members in Catalonia during the Second Republic. The Trentista current within the CNT led to mass desertions, while what were known as the Opposition Syndicates surged (Vega, 2004). Only 29 sections participated in the CNT's congress of peasant syndicates held in 1932: 15 from the Barcelona counties, 9 from Tarragona, 3 from Lleida and 2 from Girona. In contrast, 165 sections and syndicates gathered together in the unified plenary of peasant syndicates in Catalonia held in September 1936, most of them from the Barcelona and Tarragona counties. And in 1937, this figure reached 576 syndicates and sections with 66,000 members. Yet nor did the UGT manage to bring the peasants into its ranks during the republican years. In 1937, when syndication became compulsory, it had 30 sections primarily located in the Barcelona and Tarragona counties.³⁵

Historiography claims that there was no proletarianisation during the Second Republic, and that this is why the social clashes were not manifested in a collectivistic utopia but instead advocated regulating cultivation contracts, lowering rents and providing farmers with access to landownership.³⁶ Within a brief period of time, the peasant politicisation and mobilisation process became radicalised in reaction to the landowners' attitudes, as the latter appealed to the Court of Constitutional Guarantees in Madrid to contest one of the first laws enacted by the Parliament of Catalonia as part of the integral State recognised in its Constitution (1931) as a 'democratic Republic of workers of all classes who organise themselves under a regime of Freedom and Justice'. The proclamation of the new regime had been tantamount to a 'grassroots celebration'.

The expectations created with the fall of the monarchy pointed to laws in favour of peasants, not landowners, as had been the norm in contemporary Spain. The republican parties' electoral platforms included a reconsideration of social agrarian relations congruent with the course being taken by many European societies which had introduced major reforms in farming systems after the Great War ended in 1919, reforms that Spain had postponed due to the landowning oligarchy's systematic obstruction of any agrarian reform.³⁷ The 1931 Constitution guaranteed the 'subordination of wealth to the interests of the national economy [which] affects the maintenance of public positions' (art. 44), as well as that 'the ownership of all kinds of goods may be subject to forced expropriation for the cause of social utility, with appropriate indemnification'.

The conflicts in the countryside shifted to politics. The peasants, who played a decisive role in the proclamation of the Republic, glimpsed the possibility of improving their living conditions with the new political regime. On

the other hand, the recently created Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC) hitched its fortune to that of the peasants through the UdR, as it needed their votes, while the peasants needed the town halls to support their claims and the Parliament, where the ERC had a majority, to approve laws in favour of their interests.³⁸ In fact, this alliance is what allowed the ERC to win the elections in the majority of Catalan municipalities during that period.³⁹ Thus, via the ERC and the UdR, the peasants managed to gain access to the town halls, and, in fact, three-quarters of the town councillors were from the ERC and UdR. This led to a stir among the wealthy sectors, who were used to controlling local political power. In rural Catalonia, the political-electoral clash between right and left triggered a social clash between landowners and peasants, a division that had been incubating in the 1920s, had radicalised in the 1930s and was reflected in the two-layered local sociability visible in the two recreational societies found in many towns.⁴⁰

In Catalonia, decrees issued by the provisional government banned the cancellation of farm contracts, with the possibilities of up to 50% discounts off the farmer's contribution to the landowner. The procedure stipulated that legal review claims could be submitted, a possibility that thousands of peasants took up. Thus, in 1932, almost 30,000 requests for review were submitted, which accounted for 70% of all legal claims in Spain as a whole, according to the landowners' association IACSI. If the claims filed by sharecroppers were dismissed, they were able to appeal the rulings, and in the meantime they only had to pay half. Frustration with the tangible results of this transitory regulation only magnified the discord in the Catalan countryside, which experienced a quick, intensive and widespread process of grassroots agrarian associationism and politicisation of republican sociability.⁴¹ The landowners rejected agreements, the conflict was further aggravated and they further mobilised to 'defend the property, which will be permanently ruined', as did the peasants, who 'were not willing to pay, with the Republic, the abusive allowances of the Monarchy'. The agrarian conflict took shape in violent clashes between landowners and sharecroppers, which included acts of physical aggression and sabotage, and strikes and clashes with the forces of law and order. In some counties, criminal and civil charges were filed against sharecroppers.

On 26 June 1933, the Parliament of Catalonia approved a law that sought to resolve the conflicts stemming from the farm contracts; it was transitory and limited to the revisionist conflict. The law was favourable to sharecroppers and *rabassaires* in that it suspended the legal rulings issued on the failure to pay the allowances and instead offered the solution of establishing arbitration committees made up of the two main organisations, the Unió de Rabassaires (UdR), the leading agrarian syndicate with a reformist bent, and the IACSI, the landowners' association. Many landowners boycotted the rule, and the peasants reacted by refusing to give the owners their share of the

harvest, as their political positions around the conflict radicalised.

The social polarisation was heightened in the most populous agrarian counties, and it broke the traditional social hegemony of the landowners in the Catalan countryside. One substantive factor in this process was the nature of the peasant social movement, which was bolstered by the Law on Associations and thus had the capacity to organise an extensive mutual support network, a network of sociability forged in republican centres. This was a historic process which seems paradigmatic of the theoretical framework defined by Maurici Agulhon, who pinpointed the origin of the evolutionary trend of contemporary sociability in the appearance of gradually more numerous and diversified voluntary associations.⁴² The French historian who revived that old word, sociability, claimed that these are systems of relations that bring individuals together or gather them in groupings that are more or less natural, more or less obligatory, more or less stable, more or less numerous.

The Law on Farm Contracts

The rupture during the Second Republic was essentially a process of peasant emancipation with the advent of syndicates outside the aegis of the landowners and with open clashes with the latter over improvements in farm contracts. Meantime, the owners viewed the new laws as a threat to their property rights, which accentuated their stance of open confrontation with the social mobilisation. This reached such extremes that on 21 March 1934, three years after the Republic had been proclaimed, or, from another vantage point, two years after the regional Parliament had been established, the landowners filed an appeal with the Court of Constitutional Guarantees over the Law on Farm Contracts (Llei de Contractes de Conreu, LCC) which the Parliament of Catalonia had just approved, to the despair of the *rabassaires*.

The text of the LCC recognised the limiting social function of private landownership geared at guaranteeing peasants' stability and increasing the number of smallholders. Joaquim de Camps i Arboix, a jurist, claimed that it was difficult to understand how that text 'could unleash such anger and passions'.⁴³ Although the law did not fully meet the UdR's claims, it came upon the utter intransigence of the landowners, who went through the conservative Catalan party, the Lliga Catalana, to appeal a 'juridically monstrous law which is economically destructive of Catalonia's agricultural wealth, patriotically disastrous as a promoter of civil struggle and discord among Catalans, constitutionally abusive' in the justice system. This was a serious challenge that cast doubt on the regional Parliament's authority to enact laws on agrarian social relations; at the core, it was against a reformist text that stipulated a minimum length of six years for contracts and only allowed peasant evictions in the event that the farmer failed to meet his obligations. It also limited the size of the leased plots of land and the maximum rent to be paid,



FIGURE 3. Demonstration by the *Unió de Rabassaires* to defend the Law on Farm Contracts, 1934 (Romeu Family Fund).

which could not exceed 4% of the land's value. The most controversial aspects was the right for family units that had farmed it for more than 18 years to possibly acquire the land in instalments.

On 8 June 1934, the Court declared the nullity of the LCC, but four days later, the Parliament of Catalonia reiterated its majority support for the law, which sparked a reaction by the most intransigent landowners who controlled the IACSI and were against any transactional possibility that favoured the government of Catalonia, presided by Lluís Companys. The reconciliation solution advocated by the government of the Republic did not find support in the Spanish Parliament given the union of right-wing forces, which ended in the resignation of the president of the Council of Ministers, Ricard Samper. The conflicts in the Catalan countryside continued unabated. There were frequent clashes between landowners and peasants, some of them violent. These social and political tensions led to what are called the *Fets d'Octubre* (Events of October, 1934), when Companys declared the Catalan State within the Spanish Federal Republic and a peasant insurrection got underway. Both actions failed, sparking brutal repression against the Catalan government, left-wing and union forces and the peasants: between 7,000

and 8,000 people were arrested in Catalonia, 5,200 of whom were sent to prison. The Judge Advocate heard 1,085 cases that affected 2,300 people, most of them unionised peasants, essentially from the UdR and the ERC, and to a lesser extent, members of the CNT, UGT, BOC and the *Unió Socialista de Catalunya* (USC). The locales of the left-wing parties and syndicates were closed, and so were the cultural and recreational centres that had expressed their support of the *rabassaires*. A total of 496 town halls were dissolved, and around 3,000 town councillors and mayors were deposed and replaced by oversight commissions appointed by the military. In fact, 40% of those imprisoned were town councillors and mayors.⁴⁴

The tension in rural areas was heightened when a new repressive framework against peasants was established which subjected any contractual violation to military jurisdiction and made the overextended household economies even more fragile by forcing families to pay all the agrarian income from previous harvests. The most prominent *rabassaires*, republicans and anarcho-syndicalists in the agrarian syndicate movement were arrested, and the landowners filed 1,400 requests for eviction in 237 Catalan municipalities, some of which were against peasants who had spent their entire lives farming these estates.⁴⁵

The majority of evictions were in the counties with the most active syndicates: Terres de l'Ebre, Camp de Tarraçona, Conca de Barberà, Penedès and Vallès.

The peasants who had managed to politicise their fragile living and working conditions through networks of sociability became radicalised and took collectivist positions at the UdR congress in May 1936. The cumulative resentment, the disparagement they had suffered, has to be associated with the explosion of violence which took place after 18 July 1936, when the grassroots and worker resistance to the coup d'état led by Franco devolved into social revolution.

Between reform and revolution (1936-1939)

In Catalonia, the coup d'état in July 1936 dovetailed with the time when some products were being harvested—grains and fruit—while others were late in the ripening stage—essentially grapes, nuts and a bit later olives, just to cite the most characteristic products in the Mediterranean trilogy. The harvests were collected by the settlers, sharecroppers, leasers or day labourers. The initial social upheaval meant that some poor peasants, who were highly sensitised by politics or syndicates, declared vengeance against the large landowners, some of whom even lost their lives.⁴⁶

One of the syndicates' first measures as the war was getting underway was their declaration that workers had to be syndicated, and farmers were no exception. In the countryside, the Decree on Compulsory Syndication dated 27 August 1936 stipulated that during the war, all farmers had to choose the same pathway in order to win the battle over the enemy. This led to increasing membership in the three class syndicates. Thus, the farmers who were not yet members had to choose one of the leftist syndicates that the fascist movement in Catalonia had aborted. The three syndicates were: the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Workers' Confederation, CNT), the Unió General de Treballadors (General Workers' Union, UGT) and the Unió de Rabassaires (UdR).

In this initial stage of the war, the syndicates' power was uneven. The CNT, the anarcho-syndicalist syndicate, was undergoing a process of reunification after a harsh schism, which was not entirely resolved, that had led it to lose members; this schism resurged in 1931-1932 when the more moderate wing split off because it disagreed with the tactics of the Federació Anarquista Ibèrica (Iberian Anarchist Federation, FAI). The UGT, which was affiliated with the socialist and communist party, was a little-known syndicate in the Catalan countryside, yet it had unbeatable growth prospects as it became the base syndicate of the newly emerging party called the Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya (PSUC). Finally, the UdR, the syndicate that had emerged in total harmony with the Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC), the governing party during the Republic, was the best-positioned syndicate. The PSUC, the party with which it was affiliated, had gradually aligned with communist positions.

As a whole, compulsory membership was received well in certain syndicates but hotly debated in others. The UdR, which was in charge of agricultural matters within the Comitè Central de Milícies Antifeixistes de Catalunya (Central Committee of Antifascist Militias of Catalonia) and the Economic Council, was the driving force behind this, joined by the UGT, which needed to grow and consolidate. This led both of them to welcome a large influx of new members.⁴⁷ The agrarian CNT, which was not consulted on compulsory membership by the industrial sector within its own syndicate, ended up accepting the law without conviction, realising that it was the best remedy for the countryside. Either position led to the cooperative structure because agrarian societies and syndicates earned more members via compulsory syndicate membership, the majority of whom joined out of convenience or were forced into membership, even if they did not believe in the cooperative model.

Nonetheless, the most profound reform of the agrarian structure in most cases was the creation and launch of collectives. Collectivisation signalled the shift from landownership dominated by the landowners to landownership dominated by those who farmed it. In this way, landownership was curtailed for the sake of a common project. Thus, there were problems in which the landowners continued to enjoy ownership of the lands while their only loss was a decrease in the income they received—in cash or crops—due to the official provisions issued, as the contracts still in force became a dead letter. In other cases, landownership was collectivised and the lands were farmed by the same farmers who had worked them under lease or as sharecroppers, or by other farmers who joined the collective, common effort. This total or partial usurpation of the land led to different scenarios. This process was not uniformly widespread in each town, as this movement depended on the power of the syndicates and the organisational will of each town. The syndicate that used this form of communitarian work the most was the CNT, while the other two—the UdR and the UGT—were against the system, either overtly or subtly. These two syndicates agreed to collectivisation because the CNT was the syndicate with the furthest-reaching tentacles and was considered the iron arm of the revolution. At first, the agrarian collectives emerged spontaneously, although they were soon organised, and many of them drew up rules or bylaws. However, having bylaws was not tantamount to legalisation. In fact, the Regional Ministry of Agriculture, which was perennially in the hands of the UdR, slowed down the regulation on legalisation. The collectives primarily sustained themselves in two different ways: they were initially voluntary for their members in most of Catalonia, but some were forced, especially in the southern part of the country. The former came from a place where there was a substrate of syndicalism via the CNT woven into the idiosyncrasies of the region, where members already belonged to the agricultural societies and syndicates. In some cases the latter, the forced mem-

bers, originated upon the militias' transfer to the Aragon front, forcing those who were not members of collectives to join them. This translated into numerous disputes, some of which became tragic, with internal deaths in open struggles.⁴⁸

Once the class syndicates had the lands within their power, they were divided according to different variables and needs. If there were sharecroppers and leasers on the estate, they had the option of continuing to farm the lands or joining what would become the agricultural collective. If, however, the estate had been farmed only by day labourers, a clearly collective form of farming was established. In both cases, they usurped the lands of the right-wing landowners, most of whom were absent, adding those provided by the collectivists. In an attempt to control production to feed the population, the Regional Ministry created the *Federació de Sindicats Agrícoles de Catalunya* (Federation of Agricultural Syndicates of Catalonia, FESAC), a body that oversaw the purchase of products from the agricultural cooperatives in order to sell them to get other goods from republican Spain or abroad. This body was directed by the UdR, which was increasingly dependent on the PSUC, which, in turn, was associated with the Communist International. This meant that some CNT-affiliated collectives decided not to join the agricultural societies or syndicates, alleging that the FESAC dominated trade for its own ends, accusing it of abusive practices just like any merchant and claiming that the earnings did not revert back to or affect the producers. These groups took this complaint to the Peasant Relations Committee of the CNT, and the latter, with no opposing opinions, agreed not to pay the products that the CNT collectives owed the FESAC. The consequence was that the FESAC counter-attacked by leaving the non-compliant collectives with no products. The FESAC issue was major, demonstrating the dual powers in commercialisation matters. The issue was that there were collectives that did not believe in agricultural societies and syndicates, accusing them of being bourgeois, such that from the start of the war they had chosen to create their own cooperatives with the consent of part of the Peasant Relations Committee of the CNT, which had created the Economic Section within the Committee, leading to a distancing among the anarcho-sindicalist leaders themselves.

The collectives had problems finding their place. They were not legalised until the October 1937 regulation, even though many of them no longer initiated the cumbersome process because more young members were called to the front as the war wore on. Under these circumstances, the Peasant Relations Committee made an effort to defend collectives until the end of the war by providing accounting and oversight advisors, and the Committee itself brought some of the collectives under its own responsibility in an attempt to prevent this autonomous experience from becoming diluted. In June 1937, it created the Agriculture Council of the Generalitat. Created as an advisory body of the Regional Ministry, it was born late and had

limited authorities. It was initially comprised of the three syndicates with an agrarian base, although when it started operating and began acting, that composition was changed and representatives were added from the antifascist political parties: ERC, PSUC and *Acció Catalana Republicana* (Catalan Republican Action). One of its missions was to conduct the proceedings to determine the actual ownership of the land confiscated by the syndicates by sifting through the data from the Responsibilities Commission, a decisive body in elucidating whether the confiscated lands should remain owned by the collectives or be returned to the owners claiming them. A second strand of work of the Agriculture Council was to organise the renewal of the boards of the agricultural syndicates. The elections based on submitting candidacies were challenged from many fronts, such as from the farmers who did not appear in the syndicate's census, and even the candidates associated with the previous regime who could not be elected. To support the Agriculture Council, Municipal Agrarian Boards were created with almost the same representation patterns as the Agriculture Council, with the addition of the mayor and a representative of the local agricultural society or syndicate. One of its missions was to enforce the Decree on Land Redistribution by returning lands to owners who had demanded them or redistributing surplus lands to farmers who worked individually or collectively. As a whole, they played a crucial role. However, the 1939 military victory of the enemies of the Spanish Republic and the Generalitat de Catalunya signalled the restoration of the old order and the exile, imprisonment and even elimination of the members of the previous peasant organisations.



FIGURE 4. Poster by Josep Subirats Samora (1936). The slogan 'Camperol, la revolució necessita el teu esforç!' (Peasant, the revolution needs your effort!) makes clear the need to stimulate agricultural production, while at the same time glossing over the dramas of collectivisation in the countryside and the problems of land ownership. 100 x 70 cm. *Col·lecció Cartells del Pavelló de la República* (Barcelona).

CONCLUSIONS

Throughout the period analysed (1870-1939), we have seen how the diverse, heterogeneous Catalan peasantry took shape as a social actor with increasing prominence thanks to their spaces of sociability and organisations. Both contributed to conferring an identity and a capacity for mobilisation on the peasants, which in turn enabled them to become active citizens and to influence the political, economic, social and cultural development of the country.

Since the late nineteenth century, Catalan peasant associationism developed in two directions, one led by the *rabassaires* and sharecroppers, with a heavy presence in the Barcelona counties and strong leanings towards radical/federal republican political culture, and another populated by day labourers and poor peasants in the Tarragona counties, associated with the culture of peasant anarcho-syndicalism. This broad peasant social movement has often gone unnoticed by historians, who view peasants as tangential, sporadic players. However, peasants are a constant, and sometimes decisive, presence as soon as we dig deeply into contemporary Catalan social history, as we have attempted in this text.

The social struggles in the agrarian world directly overlap with political life, and issues like protectionism or free trade, technological modernisation, the defence of land-ownership, the allocation of taxes and the forms of agrarian contracting were debated in the public administration, the Parliament and the government, town halls, and even provincial councils and other public bodies. Peasant associations became agents of peasant politicisation.⁴⁹

The county-based geography of Catalan peasant syndicalism had a core comprised of five counties with a constant, varied presence of peasant syndicalism between 1870 and 1939: Baix Llobregat, Barcelonès, Garraf, Alt Penedès and Vallès Occidental. There were two concentric circles around them: the first one with nine counties (Maresme, Bages, Anoia, Alt Camp, Baix Penedès, Tarragonès, Baix Camp, Priorat and Conca de Barberà) and the second one with ten (Baix Empordà, Gironès, Pla de l'Estany, Vallès Oriental, Osona, Ripollès, Urgell, Segrià, Terra Alta and Baix Ebre). In short, the winegrowing counties in the coastal and pre-coastal regions were the crux of peasant associationism from the late nineteenth century through the first four decades of the twentieth century. And among them, Camp de Tarragona, Priorat and Penedès led the way in both syndicates and cooperatives.

The analysis of peasant mobilisation enables us to see that after the last third of the nineteenth century and especially in the first few decades of the twentieth century, there was an 'accumulation of resources' by peasants upheld on a balance between labour supply and demand; a contracting system that guaranteed a certain degree of stability; a dual economy (agrarian and industrial) and families with mixed employment in some counties, which reinforced the peasantry's fortitude and organisation; and

increasing literacy, which provided access to the written culture and new ideas, while also fostering the permeability of political cultures.⁵⁰

A temporally discontinuous yet culturally continuous process of peasant organisation developed, which led to a grassroots, autonomous associative network which was mutual, cooperative, cultural and recreational, syndicalist and political. This generated new spaces of sociability where a 'collective identity' coalesced that contributed to shaping a political culture, breaking interclass (vertical) bonds and consolidating class (horizontal) bonds, and giving republicans and peasants (smallholders, sharecroppers and *rabassaires*) access to local political power, which enabled them to equip themselves with more and better 'mobilisation resources'.⁵¹ On the other hand, the profound inequality in agrarian society and the peasants' ignored claims ended up creating a host of grievances which only heightened their sense of dissatisfaction, of 'relative deprivation'.⁵²

Associationism, spaces of sociability and social action were the cornerstones that shaped a 'collective identity' (common beliefs, network of social relations, etc.), which fostered processes of interpreting, distributing and socially constructing shared meanings. This identity gave coherence to individuals, groups and the movement; it generated a common interest; and it justified the action of collective mobilisation.⁵³ These identities were multiple and constantly being built and rebuilt through social interaction, negotiation and conflict both among the peasants and between them and the landowners. This was the process that enabled a 'we' and an 'others' to be created, which facilitated social action and social mobilisation.⁵⁴

As we have seen, these resources of grassroots mobilisation, shared perceptions and collective identities found their 'political opportunity' to be expressed at different times during this period: in the Law on Associations; in the phylloxera crisis and universal suffrage (1887-1897); in the crisis of low prices and evictions within the overall social upheaval in Catalonia (1919-1922); and during the Republican period and especially the events of 6 October 1934. This made it possible for the peasantry to express itself in a wide range of repertoires, and at certain times in what Charles Tilly (2009) calls demonstrations that are WUNC: worthy, unified, numerous and committed, that is, public efforts that were organised and sustained by conveying the collective claims (campaigns) to the relevant authorities and creating specific associations, public gatherings, demonstrations and other events which form the repertoire of social movements.

NOTES AMB REFERENCES

- [1] Teodor SHANIN. *Campesinos y sociedades campesinas*. FCE, Mexico 1979. / Karl POLANYI. *La gran transformación. Crítica del liberalismo económico*. La Piqueta,

- Madrid 1979. / Edward Palmer THOMPSON. *Costumbres en común*. Crítica, Barcelona 1995.
- [2] Jordi PLANAS & Francesc VALLS. 'Desigualdad, asociación y conflictividad social en un núcleo de la Catalunya rabassaire (1890-1936)'. *Historia Social*, 77 (2002), pp. 89-111. / Raimon SOLER. *Viticultura, desigualtat i conflicte agrari. La lluita per la terra a la Catalunya vitícola (1900-1936)*. Vilafranca del Penedès 2018, at press. / J. Eugen WEBER. *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France 1870-1914*. Stanford University Press, Stanford 1976. / Ramon ARNABAT & Antoni GAVALDÀ. 'Sociabilidad y asociacionismo como factores de movilización social: El mundo rural catalán entre 1870 y 1980'. In: Santiago CASTILLO & Montserrat DUCH (dir.). *Sociabilidades en la historia*. Catarata, Madrid 2015, pp.169-193.
- [3] Albert BALCELLS. *El problema agrari a Catalunya, 1890-1936. La qüestió Rabassaire*. La Llar del Llibre, Barcelona 1983, (2nd edition) / Antoni GAVALDÀ. *L'associacionisme agrari a Catalunya (El model de la Societat Agrícola de Valls, 1888-1988)*. Institut d'Estudis Vallencs, Valls 1989. / Andreu MAYAYO. *De pagesos a ciutadans. Cent anys de sindicalisme i cooperativisme agrari a Catalunya, 1893-1994*. Afers, Catarroja 1995. / Jordi POMÉS. *La Unió de Rabassaires*. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Barcelona 2000. / Jordi PLANAS & Francesc VALLS. *Cacics i Rabassaires. Dinàmica associativa i conflictivitat social: Els Hostalets de Pierola (1890-1939)*. Eumo, Vic 2001. / Antoni SAUMELL. *Viticultura i associacionisme a Catalunya. Els cellers cooperatius del Penedès (1900-1936)*. Diputació de Tarragona, Tarragona 2002. / Ramon ARNABAT & Antoni GAVALDÀ. 'Sociabilidad y asociacionismo...'. / Raimon SOLER. *Viticultura... The rabassa morta contract was a contract to grow grapevines that lasted as long as the rootstock planted lived and the landowner received a proportional part of the fruit. Some people viewed it as a kind of temporary emphyteusis which could therefore be rescinded, while others viewed it as a form of long-term sharecropping which could therefore not be rescinded at the farmer's will*.
- [4] Santiago ALBERTÍ. *El republicanisme català i la restauració monàrquica*. Albertí Editor, Barcelona 1973. / Josep TERMES. *Federalismo, anarcosindicalismo y catalanismo*. Anagrama, Barcelona 1976. / Josep TERMES. *Anarquismo y sindicalismo en España. La Primera Internacional (1864-1881)*. Crítica, Barcelona 1977. / Ángel DUARTE. *Història del republicanisme a Catalunya*. Pagès-Eumo, Lleida-Vic 2004.
- [5] Albert BALCELLS. *El problema agrari... / Josep COLOMÉ. 'L'explotació de la terra: El contracte de rabassa morta'*. In: Josep COLOMÉ (Coord.). *De l'Aiguardent al Cava. El procés d'especialització vitivinícola a les comarques del Penedès-Garrafr*. El 3 de Vuit, Vilafranca del Penedès 2003, pp. 225-238. / Emili GIRALT. 'El conflicto rabassaire y la cuestión agraria en Catalunya'. *Revista del Trabajo*, 7 (1965), pp. 51-72.
- [6] Joan FUGUET & Andreu MAYAYO. *El primer celler cooperatiu de Catalunya. Centenari de la Societat de Barberà de la Conca (1894-1994)*. Generalitat de Catalunya, Barcelona 1994. / Antoni GAVALDÀ. *L'associacionisme agrari...*
- [7] Ramon GARRABOU, Josep PUJOL & Josep COLOMÉ. 'La crisis finisecular i la recomposició del món rural a Catalunya'. *Recerques*, 26 (1992), pp. 107-132. / Josep PUJOL. 'La crisi de malvenda del sector vitivinícola català entre el 1882 i el 1935'. *Recerques*, 15 (1984), pp. 57-78. / Marc BADIA-MIRÓ et al. 'The grape phylloxera plague is a natural experiment: The upkeep of vineyards in Catalonia (in Spain), 1858-1935'. *Australian Economic Review*, 50-1 (2010), pp. 39-61. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-3446.2009.0027. / Josep COLOMÉ & Francesc VALLS. 'Las consecuencias demográficas de la crisis filéxérica en la región vitícola del Penedès (Catalunya)'. *Historia Agraria*, 57 (2012), pp. 47-77. historiaagraria.com/articulo.php?id=609&num=57. / Llorenç FERRER, Carme ÀLVAREZ, Carme SANTMARTÍ & Àngela GÜELL. *Vinya, fil·loxera, propietat i demografia a la Catalunya central*. Centre d'Estudis del Bages, Manresa 1992.
- [8] Antonio LÓPEZ ESTUDILLO. 'Federalismo y mundo rural en Cataluña (1890-1905)'. *Historia Social*, 3 (1989), pp. 17-32. / Jordi PLANAS. 'La crisi del sector vitivinícola i el moviment associatiu agrari (1876-1912)'. In: Josep COLOMÉ (Coord.). *De l'Aiguardent al Cava. El procés d'especialització vitivinícola a les comarques del Penedès-Garrafr*. El 3 de Vuit, Vilafranca del Penedès 2003, pp. 239-256. / Ramon ARNABAT. 'Republicanisme i conflicte rabassaire al Penedès'. In: Josep SANTESMASES (ed.). *Republicans i republicanisme a les terres de parla catalana*. Cossetània, Valls 2008, pp. 795-816.
- [9] Josep COLOMÉ. 'Las zonas vitícolas catalanas durante la segunda mitad del siglo XIX'. *Noticario de Historia Agraria*, 13 (1997), pp. 106-125.
- [10] Albert BALCELLS, Joan CULLA & Conxita MIR. *Les eleccions generals a Catalunya 1901-1923: Relació de resultats electorals de 1869 a 1899*. Fundació Jaume Bofill, Barcelona 1992. / Gemma RUBÍ & Josep ARMENGOL. *Vots, electors i corrupció. Una reflexió sobre l'apatia a Catalunya*. PAM, Barcelona 2012. / Raimon SOLER. *Eleccions i política a Vilafranca del Penedès, 1891-1903*. Museu de Vilafranca, Vilafranca del Penedès 1991.
- [11] Ramon ARNABAT & Xavier FERRÉ. *Ateneus: Cultura i llibertat*. Federació d'Ateneus de Catalunya, Barcelona 2015, pp. 151-247.
- [12] Josep SANTESMASES. 'Els inicis de l'associacionisme agrari a Vila-rodona: La Societat de Treballadors Agrícoles'. *Quaderns de Vilaniu*, 17 (1990), pp. 3-38. / Ramon ARNABAT. *Els treballadors de Vilafranca al darrer terç del segle XIX*. Museu de Vilafranca, Vilafranca del Penedès 1992. / Elena GONZÁLEZ & Josefina BAÑERES. *Aproximació a l'associacionisme agrari a Alguaire: 1915-1997*. Ajuntament d'Alguaire, Patronat Municipal Josep Lladonosa i Pujol, Alguaire 1997. / Josep Maria RAMON. *El sindicalisme agrari a la Segarra*. Pagès Editors, Lleida

1999. / Josep CASANOVAS. 'L'associacionisme agrari a Osona (1903-1939). Transformació i conflictivitat al camp osonenc contemporani'. *Estudis d'Història Agrària*, 10 (1994), 85-104. <https://www.raco.cat/index.php/EHA/article/view/99663>. / Judith ANSÓ. *100 anys d'associacionisme agrícola a Santa Perpètua de Mogoda*. La Perpetuenca, Santa Perpètua de Mogoda 2011. / Pere AUDÍ. *Cooperativistes, anarquistes i capellans al Priorat (1910-1923)*. Diputació de Tarragona, Tarragona 2010. / Montserrat SORONELLAS. *Cooperació agrària a La Selva del Camp 1900-2000*. El Mèdol, Tarragona 2000.
- [13] Montserrat CAMINAL. 'La fundació de l'Institut Agrícola Català de Sant Isidre: Els seus homes i les seves activitats (1851-1901)'. *Recerques*, 22 (1989), pp. 117-135. / Jordi PLANAS. 'L'IACSI i l'associacionisme agrari català a l'inici del segle XX'. In: Jaume BARRULL, Joan BUSQUETA Barrull & Josep VICEDO (eds.). *Solidaritats pageses, sindicalisme i cooperativisme*. Institut d'Estudis Ilerdencs, Lleida 1998, pp. 323-351. / Jordi PLANAS. *Els propietaris i l'associacionisme agrari a Catalunya (1890-1936)*. AHRG - CRHR - Documenta Universitària, Girona 2006.
- [14] Josep Maria RAMON. *El sindicalisme agrari a la Segarra*. Pagès Editors, Lleida 1999. / Jordi POMÉS. 'El sindicalisme rabassaire a Martorell (1907-1923). La Federació de Rabassers de Catalunya'. *Materials del Baix Llobregat*, 2 (1996), pp. 19-28. / Jordi PLANAS & Francesc VALLS. *Cacics i Rabassaires...*
- [15] Ramon ARNABAT. *La gent i el seu temps. Història de Santa Margarida i els Monjos. De la fil·loxera a la Guerra Civil, 1890-1940*. Ajuntament, Santa Margarida i els Monjos 1993. / Juan CARMONA & James STIMPSON. 'A l'entorn de la qüestió agrària catalana: El contracte de rabassa morta i els canvis en la vitivinicultura (1890-1929)'. *Recerques*, 38 (1999), pp. 105-124. <https://www.raco.cat/index.php/Recerques/article/view/137766>. / Jordi PLANAS & Francesc VALLS. 'Desigualdad...'
- [16] Jordi POMÉS. *Les Mataró's Potatoes i el cooperativisme agrari al Maresme (1903-1939). La Federació de Sindicats Agrícoles del Litoral*. Caixa Laietana, Mataró 1991.
- [17] Antonio BAR. *La CNT en los años rojos*. Akal, Madrid 1981. / Susanna TAVERA & Eulàlia VEGA. 'L'afiliació sindical de la CNT de Catalunya: Entre l'eufòria revolucionària i l'ensulsiada confederal, 1919-1936'. In: *Colloqui Internacional Revolució i Socialisme*. UAB, Bellaterra 1990, pp. 265-279. / Andreu MAYAYO. *De pagesos...* pp. 85-108. / Jordi POMÉS. *Les Mataró's Potatoes i el cooperativisme agrari al Maresme (1903-1939). La Federació de Sindicats Agrícoles del Litoral*. Caixa Laietana, Mataró 1991, pp. 123-158.
- [18] Ramon ARNABAT. 'Sociabilidad, sindicalismo y movilización campesina en la Catalunya rural (1870-1920)'. In: Santiago CASTILLO (ed.). *Mundo del trabajo y asociacionismo en España. Collegia, gremios, mutuas, sindicatos*. La Catarata, Madrid 2013. / Lorenzo MUÑOZ. *La Acción Social Agraria en España. Memoria estadística de las Entidades Agrícolas y Pecuarias en 1º de Enero de 1927*. Ministerio de Fomento, Madrid 1927.
- [19] Antoni SAUMELL. 'El cooperativisme vitivinícola al Penedès durant el segle XX'. In: Josep COLOMÉ (coord.). *De l'Aiguardent al Cava. El procés d'especialització vitivinícola a les comarques del Penedès-Garraf*. El 3 de Vuit, Vilafranca del Penedès 2003, pp. 279-285.
- [20] Josefina CUESTA. *Sindicalismo católico agrario en España (1917-1919)*. Narcea, S.A. de Ediciones, Madrid 1978. / Andreu MAYAYO. *De pagesos...* pp. 109-129. / Jordi POMÉS. *La Unió...* pp. 159-236.
- [21] *La Terra* 15 January 1923.
- [22] Albert BALCELLS. *El problema agrari...* pp. 85-136. / Jordi POMÉS. *La Unió...* pp. 237-501.
- [23] Joan VENTOSA. *Importancia y estado de la cooperación en el mundo*. Mexico 1947.
- [24] Samuel GARRIDO. *Treballar en comú. El cooperativisme agrari a Espanya (1900-1936)*. Alfons el Magnànim, València 1996. / Antoni SAUMELL. *Viticultura...* / Josep COLOMÉ, Jordi PLANAS & Francesc VALLS (eds.) *Vinyes, vins i cooperativisme vitivinícola a Catalunya*. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Barcelona 2015.
- [25] Ramon ARNABAT & Antoni GAVALDÀ. 'El cooperativisme agrícola catalán: Un espacio de sociabilidad y ciudadanía (1887-1939)'. In: *XIII Congreso de la Asociación de Historia Contemporánea*. AHC, Albacete 2016, pp. 831-843.
- [26] Samuel GARRIDO. 'Alentar y obstruir. Las vacilaciones de la política estatal sobre cooperativismo en los inicios del siglo XX'. *Noticiero de Historia Agraria*, 7 (1994), pp. 131-154.
- [27] Jon RAVENTÓS. *El movimiento cooperativo en España*. Ariel, Barcelona 1960. / Joan VENTOSA. *El moviment cooperatiu a Catalunya*. Moll, Palma de Mallorca 1961. / Antoni GAVALDÀ. *Josep M. Rendé i Ventosa*. Fundació Roca i Galès, Barcelona 2005.
- [28] Ministerio de Fomento. *Memoria estadística social agraria de las entidades agrícolas y pecuarias en 1 de abril de 1918*. Madrid: Ministerio de Fomento, Madrid, 1928; and Ministerio de Agricultura (1934). *Censo Estadístico de Sindicatos Agrícolas y Comunidades de Labradores*. Viuda de M. Navarro, Madrid, 1934.
- [29] Antoni GAVALDÀ. 'La implantació i transformació del cooperativisme agrari al segle XX'. In: Ignaci ALDOMÀ (ed). *Perspectives de l'associacionisme agrari*. Edicions de la Universitat de Lleida, Lleida 2016a, pp. 29-46.
- [30] Antoni GAVALDÀ. 'La implantació...' pp. 29-46. / Enrique GADEA. *Evolución de la legislación cooperativa en España*. CSCE-EKKG, Vitoria-Gasteiz 1999. / Raimon SOLER. *Viticultura...*
- [31] Ministerio de Agricultura. *Censo Estadístico...*
- [32] Joan FUGUET & Andreu MAYAYO. *El primer celler...* / Antoni SAUMELL. *Viticultura...*
- [33] Generalitat de Catalunya, *El contractes de conreu a Catalunya. Documents pel seu estudi*. Generalitat de Catalunya, Barcelona, 1933.
- [34] Albert BALCELLS. *El problema agrari...* pp. 115-352. / Andreu MAYAYO. *De pagesos...* pp. 131-180. / Nonit PUIG. *Què és la Unió de Rabassaires?*. Nagsa, Barcelona 1935.

- [35] Andreu MAYAYO. *De pagesos...* pp. 265-279.
- [36] Jordi PLANAS. 'La tensa qüestió agrària'. In: Borja de RIQUER (dir). *De la gran esperança a la gran ensulsiada, 1930-1939*. Enciclopèdia Catalana, Barcelona 1999, pp. 152-169. / Raimon SOLER. *Viticultura...*
- [37] Edward MALEFAKIS. *Reforma agraria y revolución campesina en la España del siglo XX*. Ariel, Barcelona 1972.
- [38] Raimon SOLER. 'La Esquerra de los "rabassaires". La participación política del campesinado en el Penedès, 1931-1936'. In: *XIII Congreso de Historia Agraria*. Universidad de Murcia, Murcia 2011, unpublished.
- [39] Raimon SOLER. *Les Eleccions municipals del 12 d'abril de 1931 a Catalunya*. ICPS, Barcelona 2015a. <http://hdl.handle.net/2072/258176>. / Raimon SOLER. 'Les eleccions municipals de 1934 a Catalunya'. *Segle XX*, 8 (2015b), pp. 47-75. / Mercè VILANOVA. *Atlas electoral de Catalunya durant la Segona República: Orientació del vot, participació i abstenció*. La Magrana, Barcelona 1996.
- [40] Ramon ARNABAT. 'Canvi i continuïtat en el poder local a l'Alt Penedès. L'exemple de Santa Margarida i els Monjos, 1890-1940'. In: *Actes II Congrés Internacional d'Història Local de Catalunya: Formes i relacions del poder local a l'èpocacontemporània*. L'Avenç, Barcelona 1995, pp. 191-198. / Jordi PLANAS & Francesc VALLS. *Cacics i Rabassaires...* / Pere BOSCH. *La lluita per la terra. Solidaritats pageses i conflictivitat rural a la regió de Girona (1931-1936)*. Associació d'Història Rural de les Comarques Gironines, Girona 2015. / Josep Maria RAMON. *El sindicalisme agrari a la Segarra*. Pagès Editors, Lleida 1999.
- [41] Amadeu ARAGAI. *El problema agrari català*. Imprempta Porcar, Barcelona 1933. / Ricard VINYES. *La Catalunya Internacional. El frontpopulisme en l'exemple català*. Curial, Barcelona 1983. / Manel LÓPEZ. *Els fets del 6 d'octubre de 1934*. Base, Barcelona 2013. / Montserrat DUCH. Ramon ARNABAT & Xavier FERRÉ (eds.). *Sociabilitats a la Catalunya contemporània. Temps i espais en conflicte*. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Barcelona 2015.
- [42] Maurice AGULHON. *Política, imàgenes, sociabilidades de 1789 a 1989*. Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, Zaragoza 2016.
- [43] Joaquim CAMPS. *Història de la llei de contractes de conreu*. Rafael Dalmau, Barcelona 1971.
- [44] Amadeu ARAGAI. *El problema agrari...* / Arnau GONZÁLEZ, Manel LÓPEZ & Enric UCÉLAY (eds.) *6 d'octubre. La desfeta de la revolució catalanista de 1934*. Base, Barcelona 2014. / Manel LÓPEZ. *Els fets...* / Ricard VINYES. *La Catalunya...*
- [45] Sebastià CAMPOS. *El 6 d'octubre a les comarques*. Impremta Popular, Tortosa 1935. / Vicenç VERNADES. *Estampes de l'Uruguai*. Catalònia, Barcelona 1935. / Ricard VINYES. *La Catalunya...* / Josep MATA. *Pau Baqués, republicà i rabassaire*. Ajuntament de Subirats, Subirats 2010. / Ramon ARNABAT. 'Mobilització i revolta social al Penedès durant els fets d'octubre de 1934'. In: Arnau GONZÁLEZ, Manel LÓPEZ & Enric UCÉLAY (eds.) *6 d'octubre...* pp. 251-279.
- [46] Josep Antoni POZO. *Poder legal y poder real en la Cataluña revolucionaria de 1936*. Espuela de Plata, Sevilla 2012.
- [47] David BALLESTER. *Els anys de la guerra. La UGT de Catalunya (1936-1939)*. Columna, Barcelona 1998. / Mercè RENOM et al. *Collectivitzacions al Baix Llobregat*. Centre d'Estudis Comarcals del Baix Llobregat – Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Barcelona 1989. / Marciano CÁRDABA. *Campesinos y revolución en Cataluña. Colectividades agrarias en las comarcas de Girona, 1936-1939*. Fundación de Estudios Libertarios Anselmo Lorenzo, Madrid 2002. / Ignaci CENDRA. *El Consell d'Economia de Catalunya (1936-1939). Revolució i contrarevolució en una economia collectivitzada*. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Barcelona 2006. / Antoni GAVALDÀ. 'La implantació...' pp. 29-46. / Antoni GAVALDÀ. *Fam de pa i de terra. La collectivització agrària a Catalunya*. Publicacions URV, Tarragona 2015b. / Antoni GAVALDÀ. *La collectivització agrària a l'Alt Camp (1936-1939)*. Publicacions URV, Tarragona 2016c.
- [48] Felipe ALÁIZ. *Por una economía solidaria entre el campo y la ciudad*. Oficinas de Propaganda CNT-FAI, Barcelona 1937. / Juan LÓPEZ. *El sindicato y la colectividad*. Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia (1938). / Gastón LEVAL. *Colectividades libertarias en España*. Aguilera, Madrid (1977).
- [49] Gilles PÉCOUT. 'Cómo se escribe la historia de la politización rural. Reflexiones a partir del estudio del campo francés en el siglo XIX'. *Historia Social*, 29 (1997), pp. 89-110. / Jaume BARRULL, Joan BUSQUETA & Enric VICEDO (eds.). *Solidaritats pageses...* / Maurice AGULHON et al. *La politisation des campagnes en Europe au XIXe siècle. France, Italie et Portugal*. Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Rome 2000. / Josep COLOMÉ et al. 'The rabassaire struggle: Long-term analysis of a social movement'. *International Review of Social History*, 63-1 (2018), pp. 1-27. doi: 10.1017/S0020859017000633.
- [50] Ramon ARNABAT. 'Sociabilitat, sindicalisme y movilizació...' / Ramon ARNABAT. 'Sociabilitat i mobilització pagesa i obrera al Penedès el primer terç del segle XX'. In: Enric VICEDO (ed.). *Pagesia, Indústria i món rural*. Institut d'Estudis Ilerdencs, Lleida 2016, pp. 393-426.
- [51] Anthony OBERSCHALL. *Social Conflict and Social Movements*. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 1973. / Anthony OBERSCHALL. *Social Movements: Ideologies, Interests, and Identities*. Transaction, New Brunswick, N.J. 1993. / Charles TILLY. *The Contentious French: Four Centuries of Popular Struggle*. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Massachusetts 1986. / Charles TILLY. *Los movimientos sociales, 1768-2008. Desde sus orígenes a Facebook*. Crítica, Barcelona 2009. / William GAMSON. *The Strategy of Social Protest*, 1990. Wadsworth Pub., Belmont-California 1990. / Doug MCADAM, John MCCARTHY & Mayer ZALD (eds.). *Movimientos sociales: Perspectiva comparadas*. Istmo, Madrid 1999.
- [52] Ted GURR. *Handbook of Political Conflict: Theory and Research*. The Free Press, New York 1980.

- [53] Alberto MELUCCI (ed.). *Movimenti de rivolta teorie e forme dell'azione collettiva*. Etas Libri, Milan 1976. / Alberto MELUCCI. 'The symbolic challenge of contemporary movements'. *Social Research*, 52-4 (1985), pp. 789-816. / Ronald HUBSCHER. 'Réflexions sur l'identité paysanne au XIXe siècle: Identité réelle ou suppose?'. *Ruralia*, 1 (1997), pp. 65-80. / Jordi PLANAS. 'Identidades, corporativismo y autonomía del campesinado en la acción colectiva agraria'. *Historia Agraria*, 50 (2010), pp. 65-90.
- [54] Sidney TARROW. *El poder en movimiento. Los movimientos sociales, la acción colectiva y la política*. Alianza Universidad, Madrid (1997). / Joseph GUSFIELD, Enrique LARAÑA & Hank JOHNSTON. 'Identidades, ideologías y vida cotidiana en los nuevos movimientos sociales'. In: Joseph GUSFIELD, Enrique LARAÑA & Hank JOHNSTON (eds.). *Los nuevos movimientos sociales. De la ideología a la identidad*. Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, Madrid 1984, pp. 3-42.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Montserrat Duch and Ramon Arnabat hold PhDs in History and are lecturers in Contemporary History at Universitat Rovira i Virgili. Antoni Gavaldà holds a PhD in Philosophy and Arts and lectures in Didactics of Social Sciences, also at the Universitat Rovira i Virgili. All three are members of the consolidated research group "Ideologies i societat a la Catalunya contemporània" -ISOCAC- directed by Dr. Duch, with research lines on sociability and associationism, among others. The latest group publication is *La Catalunya associada, 1868-1938 (2020)*.