

# Values and Strategies of Greenhouse Family Farmers in South-east Andalusia

*Valores y estrategias de los agricultores familiares de invernadero del sudeste andaluz*

**Francisco Entrena-Durán and José Francisco Jiménez-Díaz**

## Key words

- Farmers
- Agricultural Development
- Agricultural Economics
- Autobiographical Materials
- Narratives
- Social Values

## Palabras clave

- Agricultores
- Desarrollo agrícola
- Economía agrícola
- Materiales autobiográficos
- Narrativas
- Valores sociales

## Abstract

Andalusian Southeast has passed between 1960 and 2010 from traditional-subsistence farming to a modern greenhouse agriculture, increasingly innovative, professionalized and disconnected from the household. This article intends to identify and classify social values internalized by family farmers in their socio-labor trajectories. Therefore, the article focuses on the autobiographical narratives of farmers, which have been obtained through participant observation and biographical interviews with them. In parallel to the profound changes in the socio-economic practices of family farmers, their social values related to such practices have undergone successive variations. These are considered here as active strategies by those farmers aimed to redefining their views and perceptions of the reality they live, more and more affected by globalization's uncertainties.

## Resumen

El sudeste andaluz ha pasado entre 1960 y 2010 de una agricultura tradicional de subsistencia a otra modernizada de invernaderos, crecientemente desfamilizada, profesionalizada e innovadora. Este artículo pretende identificar y clasificar los valores sociales interiorizados en sus trayectorias socio-laborales por los agricultores familiares de la zona. Para ello se analizan sus narrativas autobiográficas. Éstas, obtenidas mediante observación participante y entrevistas biográficas, muestran cómo, paralelamente a los profundos cambios en las prácticas socioeconómicas de los agricultores familiares, sus valores sociales relacionados con esas prácticas han experimentado sucesivas variaciones. Tales variaciones se conciben como estrategias activas de resignificación de sus percepciones y valoraciones de la realidad por parte de dichos agricultores, cada vez más afectados por las incertidumbres de la globalización

## Citation

Entrena-Durán Francisco and Jiménez-Díaz José Francisco (2014). "Values and Strategies of Greenhouse Family Farmers in South-east Andalusia". *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 147: 21-52.  
(<http://dx.doi.org/10.5477/cis/reis.147.21>)

**Francisco Entrena-Durán:** Universidad de Granada | [fentrena@ugr.es](mailto:fentrena@ugr.es)

**José Francisco Jiménez-Díaz:** Universidad Pablo de Olavide, de Sevilla | [josefco@upo.es](mailto:josefco@upo.es)

## INTRODUCTION

In south eastern Spain, along the coast of the Andalusian provinces of Almeria and Granada, widespread traditional subsistence farming, predominant from the beginning of the 1960s, has given way to a system of intensive, highly technologically based greenhouse agriculture (García, 2005: 154). The spectacular development of this type of farming has converted the local economy into one of the most dynamic and advanced in Europe, while simultaneously bringing about deep social transformations. As a result, an area, which since ancient times had been dedicated to cattle raising and dry land farming (cultivating grapes, almonds and various cereals), has undergone significant demographic growth and a steady increase in the foreign immigrant population (Table 1). This explains the numerous socio-economic studies in the past decades focused on the provinces of Almeria and Granada, included among them Licerias (1988), Palomar (1996),

Silva (2004), Matarán (2005), Molina (2005), Delgado (2006), González *et al.* (2006), Aznar and Sánchez (2010) and Pérez-Díaz and Rodríguez (2010).

Although the socio-economic and demographic transformations in these provinces have been primarily concentrated in the municipalities of El Ejido and Roquetas de Mar, they also extend to an area encompassing nearby municipalities such as Adra, Albuñol, Motril and Sorvilán, the area this paper focuses on. The intense economic dynamism of the area, exemplified by its evolution from a place of emigration to one of immigration (Aznar and Sánchez, 2005), is the result of a combination of the following factors: a mild climate and abundant sunshine; underground aquifers and their exploitation by drilling wells; the effort and innovation of local farmers; easy access to land in the 1960s and 70s; the introduction of the soil mix 'enarenado' (a mixture of beach sand, manure and soil) for soil conditioning; building

**TABLE 1:** Demographic evolution of the population and of the foreign population in the municipalities studied (1991-2011)

Variables/ Municipalities	Pop. 1991	For. pop. 1991	Pop. 2001	For. pop. 2001	Pop. 2011	For. pop. 2011
Adra	20,104	113 (0.6%)	21,983	837 (3.8 %)	24,375	2,767 (11.4%)
Ejido (El)	41,374	254 (0.6%)	57,877	8,656 (15.0 %)	80,839	24,965 (30.9%)
Roquetas de Mar	26,842	369 (1.4%)	50,096	6,980 (13.9 %)	86,799	26,130 (30.1%)
Motril	46,500	224 (0.5 %)	51,298	1,164 (2.3 %)	60,460	6,290 (10.4%)
Albuñol	5,336	30 (0.6%)	5,784	329 (5.7 %)	6,610	1,522 (23.0%)
Sorvilán	952	12 (1.3%)	696	50 (7.2 %)	557	54 (9.7%)
Totals	141,108	1,002 (0.7%)	187,734	18,016 (9.6 %)	259,640	61,728 (23.8%)

Source: By authors with data from the Population Census, 1991, 2001 and 2011.

greenhouses to cultivate produce for international exportation (Tout, 1990), primarily to the European Union, and finally, large scale development of the transport system and highway infrastructure (Checa, F. *et al.*, 2009: 123).

Due to the technological particularities of greenhouse agriculture, the transformations experienced in this geographic area constitute a unique and paradigmatic case within the overall context of the evolution of the peasantry and the changes that have taken place in rural Spanish society as it has passed along the path of modernization and the advance of capitalism<sup>1</sup>. In this regard, the uniqueness of the area we are studying is based on, among other factors, the close ties of its modernisation and progress to its passage from a relatively autarchic, traditional peasant world to one that is increasingly embedded in the dynamics of globalization and intensely affected by these dynamics in its socio-economic functioning. In reality, no peasant society is or has been completely isolated and autarchic, such that we disagree here with authors such as Redfield (1957, 1969, 1989), Foster (1974, 1980), Banfield (1958) and Rogers and Svenning (1973), who share a decidedly culturalist vision of traditional peasant societies, which they perceive as quite isolated, autarchic and closed realities. In contrast, we find those approaches that emphasise the importance of economics, developed by a number of authors, such as Sidney Mintz (1973), Eric R. Wolf (1971), Ángel Palerm (1980) and Theodor Shanin (1976, 1979a, 1979b), more plausible. The positions of these authors seem to better fit the reality, as beyond their different interpretive nuances,

they see peasant societies as forming part of a larger society: A society that is increasingly more globally interconnected and whose transformations are determined by technological and economic factors.

Specifically, it is not possible to understand the deep changes that have taken place in the area we are studying without taking into account its insertion into the dynamics of globalization. This is reflected in factors such as: a) the great diversity in origin of the large foreign immigrant population in the area; b) the increasing connection of the family farmers we study to global markets, both in regard to their demand for inputs and their production and supply of outputs (in global markets that are to a large extent in the hands of transnational agro-food companies (Bonnano, 1994); c) the process of delocalisation of greenhouse agriculture to other countries with lower labour and environmental costs and d) the increase in the socio-economic problems of family farmers due to their growing difficulties competing with products from these other countries, as well as the resulting continuous fluctuations in the prices at source paid for their production.

But all of these problems, as well as the capitalist modernization that has led to the development of greenhouse agriculture, have not prevented the persistence of typical forms of family agriculture, already analysed in classic studies such as Karl Kautsky's (2002) *The Agrarian Question* (originally published in 1899) and Aleksander Chayanov's (1985) *Peasant Farm Organisation* (published in 1925). However, as will be seen in this article, the predominantly family greenhouse agriculture that will be examined in this paper—far from constituting the manifestation of the persistence of pre-capitalist forms of production, as argued in the classic studies above, and far from reflecting the situation described by Chayanov, in which peasant farmers work only to cover family necessities and without a clear maximizing criteria—manifests a clear capacity for adaptation to

<sup>1</sup> There is an abundant bibliography on this issue, and even a brief analysis of it would require writing a different article. In our judgment, some of the most representative and interesting work is that of Sevilla-Guzmán, 1979; Etxezarreta, 1977; Leal *et al.*, 1986; Naredo, 2004; Breton, 1993.

the socio-productive logics inherent in the advance of modernization and capitalism. Here we present then a significant example of the gradual insertion of family agriculture into these logics (Servolin, 1979)

The changes that occurred in the area being studied reached their peak in the decade between 1980 and 1990. During this period, the surface of cultivated land (mainly horticultural crops grown in greenhouses) increased to at least 7,146 hectares in the municipalities being studied. These towns account for more than 50% of the greenhouses in the provinces of Almería and Granada, although geographically they only account for 4% and 1.6% of the provincial territory, respectively. The average size of greenhouses range between 0.54 and 1.93 hectares. Even with the differences found among official sources in recording the expansion of the land covered by greenhouses (quite uncontrolled in recent decades) in municipalities such as El Ejido and Roquetas de Mar (see Tables 2A and 2B and their respective notes), the above features characterise this intensive agriculture as an activity, for the average size of the farms and the evolution of the cultivated land where they are located, that can essentially be classified as family farming. The development of this type of agriculture, as well as the biographical trajectories of the families involved, has been closely linked to the intense socio-economic and demographic transformations this area has undergone.

The expansion of greenhouses would not have been possible without the contribution of foreign immigrants employed as workers in these greenhouses. The percentages of foreign workers began to increase in 1991, though most notably after 2001 (Table 1). Whether these immigrants are undocumented (quite common) or whether they have work permits, they face very low wages and harsh living and housing conditions. The occasional outbursts of xenophobic violence aimed at these workers (for example, in El

Ejido in February of 2000 and in Roquetas de Mar in September of 2008) and widely reported in the Spanish and international press, combined with the negative ecological impact of greenhouse agriculture, have had a decisive impact in spreading a negative image of this area nationally and internationally, an image that has focused primarily on the municipality of El Ejido, considered to be an area with a high level of pollution, and exploitation and social exclusion of immigrants. This negative image is based on reality, given the extreme difficulties and exploitation suffered by a significant part of the immigrant population, who have to deal with relationships of inequality and structural violence in relation to the growers<sup>2</sup>. Under these circumstances, there have been numerous studies focused on analysing the difficult situation of immigrants, as well as the discourses and perceptions of farmers about immigrants (Roquero, 1996; Ruiz, 1999; Calvo, 2000; Castaño, 2000; SOS Racismo, 2001; Checa, F., 2001; Martínez, 2001; García and Pedreño, 2002; Izcara-Palacios, 2005; Herranz, 2008; Checa, J.C. *et al.*, 2010).

However, while recognizing that new contributions can still be made regarding the situation of immigrants in the area, this article focuses on other actors, who are also essential in understanding the changes that have taken place. These are the family farmers. Our research on their autobiographical narratives, instead of being conceived as a way to study the views they have of immigrants, has been designed and used, above all, to gather information regarding diverse aspects related to their social and work histories from

<sup>2</sup> The term structural violence refers here to a situation in which damage to the satisfaction of basic human needs (survival, well-being, identity and freedom) is produced as a consequence of processes of social stratification, that is, without direct forms of violence. This usually leads to the distribution, access or possibility of use of resources systematically favouring certain parts of the society and in detriment to others (Tortosa and La Parra, 2003).

**TABLE 2A:** Greenhouses and size of farms in the municipalities studied, 2009

Variables/ Municipali- ties	Land area of municipalities (Km.2)*	Surface area covered by greenhouses in 2009 (hectares)**	Number of farms in 2009	Average size of farms (hectares)
Adra	89	900.23	875	1.03
Ejido (El)	226	8,194.33	4,250	1.93
Roquetas de Mar	59	1,451.51	778	1.87
Motril	109	1,018.04	773	1.32
Albuñol	63	415.53	454	0.92
Sorvilán	34	9.78	18	0.54
Total municipalities	580	11,989.42	7,148	1.68
Total prov. Almería	8,775	20,036.74	11,076	1.81
Total prov. Granada	12,647	2,810.45	2,306	1.22

Source: INE, Agricultural Census 2009 and by authors.

\* Land area in square kilometres (Km.2). Source: Sistema de Información Multiterritorial de Andalucía (SIMA).

\*\* The surface area covered by greenhouses, by municipality, is in hectares (ha) and coincides with the variable "Land Use: detail of crops, produce cultivated in greenhouses" from the Agricultural Census 2009.

Clarification:

In 1984 the construction of new greenhouses in El Ejido was prohibited due to problems of overexploitation of aquifers and wells, which led to salinization and groundwater contamination. However, throughout the 1980s and 90s, there was an uncontrolled expansion of greenhouse surface area, which could have led to many greenhouses not being reported in the agricultural statistics, as they placed great pressure on the already limited water supply (Aznar and Sánchez, 2010: 159). Thus, it is very likely that the official statistics underestimate the real greenhouse surface area, as is the case in the agricultural censuses. In fact, the real extension of greenhouse surface area is higher than what is shown in the census data, especially in El Ejido and in Roquetas de Mar, the two municipalities with the highest greenhouse surface area, and hence, more complicated to record. It is very significant that the municipal government of El Ejido recognised in 2000 a greenhouse surface area of approximately 11,500 hectares and that at the beginning of 2013, on its municipal webpage, it says specifically that: "In El Ejido we have an agricultural system [...] primarily consisting of horticultural crops that occupies a surface area of 12,500 hectares of greenhouses in the municipal space, accounting for 52% of the municipality surface area." In addition, the municipal government of Roquetas de Mar recognised that: "Intensive agriculture with more than 3,000 hectares dedicated to crops under plastic has changed the life of Roquetas de Mar." As can be seen, both figures greatly exceed the figures cited in the Agricultural Census of 2009. Moreover, in 2006, it was recognised that "the surface area of production in Almería has stabilised at 28,100 hectares, with an average size of 2 hectares per farm and with a management structure based on a family model, although the trend is toward professionalisation of management" (Céspedes, J. *et al.*, 2006: 74). This last figure does not match the 20,036 hectares of greenhouses in the province of Almería that the Agricultural Census reported in 2009.

El Ejido municipal webpage:

[http://www.elejido.es/tuayto/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=46:la-agricultura-en-el-ejido&catid=56:informacion-general&Itemid=63](http://www.elejido.es/tuayto/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=46:la-agricultura-en-el-ejido&catid=56:informacion-general&Itemid=63) (accessed 7/01/2013).

Roquetas de Mar municipal webpage:

[http://www.aytoroquetas.org/seccion/agricultura\\_181](http://www.aytoroquetas.org/seccion/agricultura_181). (accessed 7/01/2013).

the beginning of their agricultural activity up to the present. This analytical choice is due to a large extent to the fact that in the initial years of greenhouse farming the foreign pop-

ulation in the area was very small, and in the overwhelming majority of cases, family greenhouse farms did not rely on foreign labour. In fact, the huge increase in the foreign

**TABLE 2B:** Evolution of land cultivated with arable crops, 1982-2009

Variables/ Municipa- lities	Land area of municipa- lities (Km.²)#	Cultivated land in 1982 (hectares)	Cultivated land in 1989 (hectares)	Cultivated land in 1999 (hectares)	Increase in cultivated land 1982- 1999 (hectares)	Cultivated land in 2009 (hectares)	Increase in cultivated land 1982- 2009 (hectares)
Adra	89	1,843	1,697	1,296	-547	1,196	-647
El Ejido (en 1982: Dalías)	226	3,685	8,040	11,618	7,933	9,383	5,698
Roquetas de Mar	59	1,848	1,567	1,938	90	1,605	-243
Motril	109	2,231	2,209	1,642	-589	1,563	-668
Albuñol	63	294	323	657	363	572	278
Sorvilán	34	123	99	37	-86	79	-44
Total municipalities	<b>580</b>	<b>10,024</b>	<b>11,935</b>	<b>17,188</b>	<b>7,164</b>	14,398	4,374

Source: Agricultural Census 1982, 1989, 1999, 2009 and by authors.

# land area is in square kilometres (Km.²).

Source: Sistema de Información Multiterritorial de Andalucía (SIMA).

Clarification:

The evolution of cultivated arable land in the municipalities studied has to be considered with the same concerns expressed regarding the data in Table 2.A. The variable cultivated land is obtained from the census for the years cited by looking at the variable “land use : groups of crops, arable crops” in the Agricultural Census of 2009; “use of cultivated land/arable crops and fallow land (irrigated)” in the Agricultural Census of 1999; and the variable “use of cultivated lands/arable crops including fallow land”, which, in addition to horticultural crops, includes potatoes, beets and other traditional arable crops, in the 1989 and 1982 Agricultural Census. Therefore, in some towns, such as Adra and Motril, the evolution was negative between 1982 and 1999 as a result of the rapid decline of important traditional arable crops such as potatoes and sugar cane. Obviously, this explains the variation in cultivated land in the period 1982-1999. However, to explain the variations in cultivated land of arable crops between 1999-2009, in certain cases the changes were negative, especially in the municipalities of El Ejido and Roquetas de Mar, the significant urban development between 1999 and 2008 in these municipalities has to be considered, as it led to the loss of a large area of cultivated land, as many farmers sold their land for construction in those municipalities, and, in turn, some farmers acquired land in other nearby municipalities for new greenhouses. Regarding this, it was said in 2006 that: “Real estate pressure is leading to the disappearance of many farms in the local production system in Almería and to increased land prices. In many cases, this means farms moving inland and, apparently, a reduction in land devoted to agriculture” (Céspedes, J. et al, 2006: 70). However, the provincial greenhouse surface area appears to have remained stable or to have even increased (Aznar and Sánchez, 2010: 165).

population in this area did not begin until 2001 (see Table 1).

The great transformations experienced in the region have led to significant changes in the socio-economic practices and social values of family farmers. However, little systematic study of this population has been carried out, the majority of whom are from peasant families, originally from different municipalities in the county of La Alpujarra, Granada, such as Albondón, Albuñol, Murtas and Sor-

vilán. These families settling on the coast coincided with the restrictions placed on Spanish emigration to Europe that began in 1973; some bought land, some farmed as share croppers and others worked as wage earners (Ruiz, 1999: 109).

These family farmers are a diverse and heterogeneous group, although they have all benefited from the above mentioned “structural violence” and are the main promoters of the economic growth in the area and have

played an active and key role in the socio-economic and demographic transitions being experienced. It is specifically the aim of this text to gain a deeper understanding of this role and of the perceptions and understanding of these actors. To do so we analyse the social values manifested in their socio-economic and work trajectories. These values are conceived here as the preference criteria and judgements of acceptability or rejection attributed to the ideas and acts that guide the behaviour of social actors in their courses of action (Del Pino and Bericat, 1998: 2; Giner, 2010: 397). Specifically in this article, values and courses of action refer to the successive changes in the valorisations and/or perceptions of family farmers regarding their socio-productive practices, to the extent that through active strategies of reinterpretation and modification, these practices are resignified and transformed.

In this regard, it is important to clarify that when we talk about strategies here we are not referring to what have been defined as *family strategies*; a conceptualisation that, as argued by Louise Tilly (1979), is useful for analysing and discovering the principles that induce the observable regularities or behaviour patterns of domestic groups. Thus, although this conceptualisation has given rise to much fruitful work in the field of rural sociology (Garrido and Gil-Calvo, 1993; González, 1993; Cruces, 1994a; González and Gómez-Benito, 1997; Contreras, 1997; Pedreño, 1999; Díaz-Méndez, 1999; etc.), it also raises issues such as the reification of these groups, who may end up being considered 'units of consciousness' or of volition, leading to "claims that all the members of a domestic group share the same goals and develop a single strategy" (Contreras, 1997:18). In contrast, the reality is that family groups are often far from behaving as perfectly integrated entities, whose actions are the result of decisions agreed upon by all their members. As a result, we have not focused our attention

on the strategies of the families of farmers. In addition, studying these strategies would be problematic not only for the reasons just explained, but because they would obviously be modified in parallel with the major transformations experienced in the area. For these reasons, what we are basically examining is how these farmers manifest a considerable "degree of purpose and creativity, through which we find diverse responses to dynamic social processes" (Cruces, 1994b: 19). This *purpose and creativity* are demonstrated in the fact that throughout their biographical trajectories, they have developed different active strategies resignifying the social values that guide their economic practices and actions in general. They have done this in response to the great changes experienced in their social and economic world, which to a great extent they have also been the architects of. The expression 'active strategies' implies an understanding of social values in a sense similar to that of Talcott Parsons (1968, 1976)<sup>3</sup>; that is, as motivation/guide for the actions and attitudes of the farmers studied. But this does not mean that we share the idealist implications that place values on a higher level in the Parsonian functionalist hierarchy. Instead, when we speak of social values here, we refer, not only to the representations that motivate the social actions and economic practices of the farmers, but also to the objective material context in which these actions and practices are produced and reproduced. At the same time, it must also be kept in mind that these farmers are, both individually and as a group, architects of these actions and practices and hence, also more or less active producers and/or reproducers of the social values that guide them. Thus, changes in the social values of the family farmers are considered to

---

<sup>3</sup> The two classical studies of Parsons referred to here are *The Structure of Social Action* and *The Social System*, published for the first time, respectively, in 1937 and 1951.

be the result of their own active strategies leading to the resignification of their perceptions of their social and economic reality and the redefinition of their positions and actions as this reality is transformed, to a certain extent, as result of these very actions.

Consistent with the above, in the following pages we first look at the evolution of family farmers' socio-economic practices and how these practices have undergone significant changes. Next, we explain the fieldwork carried out and discuss the reasons for using autobiographical narratives from the farmers studied as the empirical basis to examine changes in their social values. Finally, we identify and classify four sets or configurations of values linked to the socio-economic practices of three generations of family farmers, whose narratives demonstrate processes of reflection and resignification of these values connected to the broad changes they have gone through and/or been part of.

### **EVOLUTION OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC PRACTICES: FROM FAMILY SCALE FARMING TO SALARIED AND PROFESSIONAL FARMING**

Traditionally, greenhouse farmers on the coast of Almeria and Granada practised a form of agriculture based on the collaboration and work of the whole family unit; in other words, this is a characteristic case of family farming, consisting of farms that use solely or mainly a labour force consisting of the family group, with the economic activity of all family members tied to the farm (Gómez-Benito *et al.*, 1999). This is in keeping with the small-scale character of traditional greenhouse agricultural production, which only permitted partial mechanisation (Martínez, 2001: 32). This small-scale character explains why greenhouse agriculture functioned and was "profitable while preserving the component of a family economy, in which all the adults and

children of the domestic group worked. From the moment in which practically all the labour force came from outside, whether national or foreign, the profits of these family businesses began to greatly decrease" (Checa, F. *et al.*, 2009: 123-124).

The 1970s represented the heyday of family greenhouse farming, as it was in that decade when they obtained greater profit margins, which were essentially a result of "self-exploitation and the minimisation of wage costs" (Cruces, 1994b: 37)<sup>4</sup>. Subsequently, after the relative recovery from the crisis that occurred between 1982 and 1986, maintaining profitability became, in the 1990s, a very expensive task that necessitated an increase in cultivated land (Table 2B). At the same time, production was increasingly becoming reliant on technology.

As a result, family farming entered into a sharp crisis, incapable of assimilating the required technological knowledge and face the growing indebtedness this implied. The crisis became particularly evident in the 1990s when agricultural yields fell; this was due among other reasons to the fact that from 1995 on, intensive agriculture faced a number of environmental problems and challenges stemming from inadequate management of agricultural waste. Thus, "each growing season, the farmer has to pay more to obtain the same number of kilos" (Delgado, 2006: 111). In addition, the costs of production increased as intensive farming increased the need to hire outside employees, just at the time that children in these farming families were more often opting to continue their studies and, along with many farmers' wives, seeking outside employment. In this scenario, with the gradual professionalisation of agricultural practices, the cheap and easy labour provided by "the immigrant population became

<sup>4</sup> This took place in intensive agriculture on the eastern and western coasts of Andalusia (see Cruces, 1994b: 16-18).

an important factor in the competitiveness of agriculture in Almeria” (Silva, 2004: 29).

The concept of professionalisation, when applied to the agricultural sector, is not well-defined and is polysemic (Gómez-Benito, 2003: 2). Among other reasons, this is because the agricultural profession can be conceived of as an unfinished process, or even as an “incomplete profession”. As a result, at least since the 1980s, agriculture has been described as being in “a process of transformation into a profession” (Arribas and López, 1989: 111). Specifically, it is since the 1980s that we can talk about the professionalisation of the greenhouse farmers in this study, as it is since that time that they have incorporated the values of owning their own land, independence and labour autonomy.

Given the imprecise and polysemous nature of the term, it is important to be explicit about what professionalisation refers to here. Specifically, following Alonso *et al.* (1991), professionalisation, in geographic area we are studying, refers to the transition from traditional subsistence farming, with the predominance of very poor farmers in what was known as the Campo de Dalías in the 1960s, to another form of family farming, but one that was increasingly intensive, technical and business-like: greenhouse farming of horticultural crops. The spread of greenhouse farming has led to a major transformation in agrarian practices toward modes of production that are increasingly industrialised, globalised and informational (Pedreño, 1999). The current computerised irrigation and fertilization systems, soilless cultivation and integrated production systems<sup>5</sup> used in many greenhouses provide clear evidence of the high level of modernisation and technological development of horticultural farming practices. These

are, therefore, practices that require a constantly increasing level of training and specialization among those who carry them out. This professionalisation in terms of farming practices has happened in parallel to a gradual professionalisation of farmers as a social and economic group, which also implies a change in their productive identity, an identity which is very much defined by and, to some extent, divided between, the memory of a traditional peasant order, characterised by production processes involving virtually every member of the family, and today’s technologically advanced, entrepreneurial and professionalised agriculture mediated by commercial managers and experts (Camarero *et al.*, 2002). All of this has taken place at the same time as a growing defamilisation of intensive horticultural agriculture, as there is a decreasing involvement of the entire family unit, a growing separation between family and farming, the two becoming distinct realities (Hervieu, 1996: 63 ff.), leading to growing difficulty for the reproduction of small-scale farming through transmission from parents to children (Gómez-Benito *et al.*, 1999).

This is all closely related to a series of general tendencies in Spanish agriculture and among modernised family farms leading toward a rupture in the close identity between family and farm (Arnalte *et al.*, 1997; Arnalte, 1997). These tendencies can also be seen in the evolution of the family farms in this study. Among the causes of this are: the gradual disengagement of spouses (especially wives) from farming and their choice of other professional alternatives; the decrease in marriages between farm families and in which both spouses are from rural areas, and the greater individualisation of decision-making processes regarding the educational and career paths of family members, especially wives and children, who are often following other professional paths. There is a growing rejection of farming, which is perceived as a profession lacking an institutional and symbolic framework capable of providing mean-

---

<sup>5</sup> Integrated production consists of the combined utilization of phytosanitary products and organic-natural products to control pests, using only at certain times low contaminating synthetic chemical products.

ing and social recognition (González and Gómez-Benito, 1997: 578). This context explains the findings of different authors that have shown how it is often the farming families themselves who decide that certain members (usually wives) should not continue working on the farm and instead look for outside paid work (Arnalte and Estruch, 1999; Langreo, 1999). In this context it is very significant that many wives go from being 'farmers wives' to 'housewives'<sup>6</sup>.

These tendencies have been greatly accentuated in the present scenario of increasing globalization and competition, which has had a huge effect on agriculture in the area studied. In these circumstances, there are fewer and fewer farmers or their children who see a future in farming as it has been traditionally exercised. This is related to the fact that despite high rates of productivity and its capacity to create employment, the practice of farming is now characterised by the irregularity and unpredictability of prices, an increase in the cost of inputs, labour precariousness and uncertainty (Cruces, 1994b: 17-18; Martín and Rodríguez, 2001: 47; Silva, 2004: 28). This uncertainty is largely due to the imbalance between the major investments that the greenhouse farmer must make and the prices at which products can be sold, prices which are determined in the present global market by foreign companies,

as nearly "80% of production is aimed at the European market, [and] completely controlled by less than a dozen companies (all foreign) who determine the price at source [...]" (Checa, F. *et al.*, 2009: 123-124).

In short, in the current situation of overproduction, saturation of markets and growing competition from horticultural crops from other countries with lower labour and production costs (for example, Morocco), the difficulties for the survival of greenhouse family farmers have intensified. This has led these farmers to look for ways to maintain profitability, whether through increasing production or through improving the quality of their crops using *organic production* or *integrated production* techniques. The gradual implementation of both these types of agriculture, above all, integrated production, has meant that on the coast of Almeria and Granada since 2003 "the trend in the consumption of phytosanitary products [is] clearly negative" (Céspedes, A. *et al.*, 2009: 109). To a large extent, this is due to the fact that in recent years a new consciousness has arisen, both among farmers and environmental policy makers, about the necessity of promoting environmentally sustainable agricultural practices. This can be seen in the following comment:

"Agriculture in Almeria has made a qualitative leap in recent seasons, and this has happened thanks to the massive implementation of ecological pest control, which in barely two years, has become the model for cultivation in the province. Farmers have demonstrated, therefore, that they are capable of responding to the demands of different target markets that today are asking for a better quality product that guarantees food safety and that is also grown with the greatest respect for the environment [...]" (Revista Fhalmeria, 2009: 4)<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Women's retreat to the domestic sphere, and the consequent departure from the work sphere that this entails, is closely related to the ambiguous position occupied by rural women immersed in family modes of production, a position in which "the simultaneously productive and reproductive nature of their work has deprived them of all the social benefits associated with employment or the position of housewife, without sparing them practically any of their disadvantages. An essential dimension in the gender strategies of rural women is, therefore, the search for a definition of their role in production or reproduction, a movement of specialization, in short, that largely explains why deagrarianization is accompanied, generationally and territorially, by an increase in domesticity, and why the economic activity levels of rural women have not increased to the same extent as those of women in other types of habitat" (Sampedro, 1996: 256).

<sup>7</sup> The Revista Fhalmeria [Fhalmeria magazine] is published by the City Council of El Ejido.

This new consciousness and these agrarian practices require significant investments, which cannot always be made by family farmers (those with greenhouse farms of 2 hectares or less), as it will increase their indebtedness and dependence on the banks. This places them at a disadvantage in comparison to larger farms with greater financial assets and available tax breaks (those with greenhouse farms over 2 hectares). Hence, this explains, according to local agricultural organizations, why in the course of the price crisis in the 2002-03 season, around 3,000 farms on the coast of Almería, due to the low prices of their products, could not make the payments on their loans.

In this setting, apart from the 1980s and 90s, when the number of larger farms increased significantly, farms of less than 5 hectares decreased from 13,057 in 1999 to 7,954 in 2009. During this same period, the number of farms larger than 5 hectares (Table 3A) also decreased, although to a lesser extent. This decline indicates that a process of concentration and restructuring of property has taken place, which is in line with the before mentioned growing economic difficulties of small family greenhouse farmers. These difficulties are greater for farms of one hectare or less and less severe in the farms over one hectare, with their greater capacity to capitalise. Thus, what we find since 1999 is a trend toward a decline in the percentage of small farms (one hectare or less), although an increase in the average size of these and all other farms (Table 3B). In addition, the use of more modernised greenhouse structures has spread in entrepreneurial farms with an average size greater than the traditional greenhouses (García, 2005: 177).

### **AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVES: EVIDENCE OF CHANGES IN VALUES AND STRATEGIES**

The study of social change must take into account both its social and individual caus-

es. As the authors in a classic work of sociology already cautioned, “if this issue is ignored, social theory faces an infinite task when trying to explain the simplest social change” (Thomas and Znaniecki, 2004: 129). In this sense, narrative studies allow us to observe how subjects “give meaning to their experiences” (Bernasconi, 2011: 29). They are useful for analysing how these subjects internalise, perceive, reflect on and explain discursively the changes that take place in their lives. Thus, “to understand something human, personal or collective, it is necessary to tell a story” and “narrative reasoning” (Ortega y Gasset, 1971: 53) contributes to studying processes of change in values and the practices associated with these values in the course of subjects’ lives. It has, therefore, been said that narrative reasoning “thrusts life into history itself and widens its scope” (Thompson, 2000: 23), and that “[although it] is not a unique mode of organising or reporting experience,... it is one pervasive and important way of so doing” (Atkinson, 2005: paragraph 10). Along these lines, in order to study changes in values, resignification strategies and the socio-economic practices of family greenhouse farmers, we collected diverse autobiographical stories told by these farmers and carried out participant observation.

These autobiographical stories were obtained through biographical interviews carried out during fieldwork from April to September of 2006, as well as during different months in 2008 and 2009. We classified the subjects’ narratives regarding their socio-economic practices and social values based on a comprehensive and thematic analysis of their discourses, which made it possible to “relate ‘what the subject says’ with its articulation in the field of actual social practices [...]” (Ortí, 1990: 184). The issues we focused on in the interviews included the following: family of origin; family members’ work; childhood educational experience; work experiences during childhood; chang-

es in residence; when they began farming and/or other work activities; the evolution of their lives as farmers, etc. The comprehensive and thematic analysis was done through an open coding and recoding of the interview texts during the first phase of the research, which led to the identification of almost fifty substantive codes. After this, theoretical coding was done (Glaser, 1978: cap. 4), which resulted in the identification of four configurations of social values, shown in Table 4.

This table shows the reflective processes among the practices, resignification strategies and social values of the farmers, who, as will be seen, resignify their values in their stories: “the subject does not recite his life, he reflects on it at while he is talking about it” (Bertaux, 1993: 161). The practices are de-

tailed in the columns “types of socio-economic practices” and “thematic analysis of practices”; the resignification strategies are in the column “comprehensive analysis of practices”, and the values of the farmers are specified in the column “configurations of social values”, based on the language of the subjects and on the researchers, respectively. The analysis has shown that “the effort to understand the practices can lead to interest in the semantic level of the beliefs, representations, values and projects that [...] inspire the logic of actors’ actions” (Bertaux, 2005: 11-12).

Hence, during the fieldwork two techniques were used to produce information: the interview and participant observation. First, we interviewed a leader in an agricultural organization in Albuñol (Granada), who

**TABLE 3A:** Evolution in the number of farms based on size in hectares (1982-2009)

Number of hectares	1982	1989	1999	2009	% variation (1982-1999)	% variation (1982-2009)
Between 0.1 and 5	8,720	13,669	13,057	7,954	149.7	91.2
Between 5 and 10	380	578	691	492	181.8	129.5
Between 10 and 20	202	222	252	147	124.8	72.8
Between 20 and 50	65	97	97	67	149.2	103.1
More than 50	31	61	37	29	119.4	93.5

Source: By authors with data from the Multiterritorial Information System of Andalusia (SIMA).

**TABLE 3B:** Evolution of greenhouse farms by size, 1999-2005

Size of farm in hectares*	Percentage of farms in 1999	Average surface area 1999 (hectares)	Percentage of farms in 2005	Average surface area 2005 (hectares)
Farms of 1 ha or less	20.3	0.75	16.6	0.81
Farms between 1 and 2 ha	34.6	1.50	37.8	1.53
Farms larger than 2 ha	45.0	3.97	45.6	4.05

Source: Céspedes, A. *et al.* (2009: 49); survey data.

\* Farms of 1 ha or less are considered “primarily family farms and with certain fragility due to their size as they can only guarantee subsistence”; farms between 1 and 2 hectares are considered “family farms with a certain capitalization capacity”; and the farms of more than 2 hectares are considered to be “entrepreneurial farms” (Céspedes, A. *et al.* 2009: 48). This criteria is established based on the level of capital investment demanded by the types of greenhouse farms mentioned.

provided us with most of our contacts through telephone numbers and/or by introducing us directly to them<sup>8</sup>. The interviews with farmers were carried out either in their homes or at work, once the amount of time and the number of interviews to be held had been agreed upon. The interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed. Our participant observations were recorded in field notes during the period of research. The discourses obtained in the interviews and the notes taken in the field were stored in text files (Microsoft Word 2003), through which the thematic analysis was done (Bertaux, 2005: 99-100), dividing up the discourses and notes into textual fragments (paragraphs) that corresponded to the different subjects mentioned by the farmers. After various readings of the material gathered, the comprehensive analysis of the discourses was carried out (Bertaux, 2005: 90-95), which consisted of recoding the subjects previously identified. In this task, sociological knowledge regarding the peasantry and farmers in contexts of modernization was invaluable (Camarero *et al.*, 2002; Gómez-Benito and González-Iturri, 2002; Pedreño and Quaranta, 2002; Domínguez, 1993; Sevilla-Guzmán and Pérez-Yruela, 1976; Shanin, 1979b).

During the research, forty-two farmers were interviewed from the six municipalities being studied (Adra, El Ejido, Roquetas de Mar, Albuñol, Sorvilán and Motril). For the present article, thirty farmers (both men and women) from three different generations (born respectively between 1914 and 1949, 1950 and 1969, and after 1970) from the six municipalities were selected. Most of those interviewed can be classified as family farmers, as only seven of them have farms that

exceed 2 hectares; that is, farms that can be characterised as “entrepreneurial” (Céspedes, A. *et al.*, 2009: 48). In any case, of these seven entrepreneurial farms, only three are over 4 hectares and relatively medium-sized: 4.5, 6 and 10 hectares respectively.

The thirty farmers chosen represent an intentional sample based on five socio-demographic and categorical variables that provide homogeneity as well as diversity to the sample (Castro, M. A. and Castro, L., 2001: 185-186). These variables, shown in Table 5, are: age, gender, residence, education level and farm size. This allows “the possibility of making comparisons, classifying the informants [and their narratives]” (Pujadas, 2002: 52). Most of those in the sample are second generation farmers (between 40 and 60 years old) primarily dedicated to greenhouse farming. Around 60% of local farmers belong to this generation (Céspedes, A. *et al.*, 2009: 21-24), which has experienced the transformations from traditional peasant farming patterns, as well as the implementation of the most innovative, intensive farming techniques.

Despite the range in terms of age, residence, gender, education and farm size, the interviewees autobiographical narratives reiterate certain themes due to their similar positions and social values. Specifically, the thirty cases analysed reveal “a structural/discursive position” (Castro, M. A. and Castro, L., 2001: 186) characteristic of greenhouse farmers, whose social and work trajectories generally have the following features: They are men, (although there are also women who run farms<sup>9</sup>) who are married and be-

<sup>8</sup> We are grateful for the kindness and assistance received from the leaders and farmers affiliated with COAG (Coordinadora de Organizaciones de Agricultores y Ganaderos) [Coordinator of Organizations of Farmers and Ranchers] of Albuñol, Motril and Roquetas de Mar.

<sup>9</sup> Among the women farmers studied, Carmen, Josefa and Teresa are the heads of their farms. They all inherited small properties from their parents (Table 5). This trend, still in its infancy, toward a certain feminisation of the management of farms in the area being studied has to be placed in the context of the changes in social values (more egalitarian) that are affecting the positions and roles of women and reducing the weight of traditional masculine and paternal dominance (Mazariegos *et al.*, 1993).

**TABLE 4:** Analysis of the socioeconomic practices, strategies and values of the farmers studied

Types of socioeconomic practices	Thematic analysis of practices/Substantive codes	Comprehensive analysis of practices and active resignification strategies Substantive codes	Configurations of social values/Theoretical codes
<p><b>Traditional family subsistence farming</b></p> <p>Dependent on weather Traditional extensive crops Knowledge transmitted through experience Rudimentary techniques</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Child labour</li> <li>-Scarcity of resources</li> <li>-Little or no schooling</li> <li>-Temporary day labourers</li> <li>-Part-time farmer</li> <li>-Labour mobility</li> <li>-Individual and family effort</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Family subsistence in a context of economic precariousness</li> <li>-Part-time farming and outside contributions</li> <li>-Part-time farmer</li> <li>-Peasants with little or no land</li> <li>-Migrant day labourers</li> <li>-Multiple jobs</li> <li>-Deprivation and subordination</li> <li>-Labour precariousness</li> <li>-Cohesion of the domestic group</li> <li>-Mutual support</li> <li>-Relative autarchy</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-The values of effort, work, family solidarity, mutual support and learning</li> </ul>
<p><b>Intensive small-scale family farming</b></p> <p>Intensive irrigated crops in 'enarenados' (mixture of beach sand, manure and soil) Parral greenhouse Drip irrigation, etc. First innovations</p>	<p>Emigration to coast of Almeria Family farmer: family support and effort Low capital investment and in technology High yield Problems with marketing</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Economic progress based on self-exploitation of family labour on their own property</li> <li>-Family cohesion</li> <li>-Relative autonomy in work</li> <li>-Mass production</li> <li>-Dependence on the market</li> <li>-Emerging process of professionalisation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Values of owning land, independence and labour autonomy</li> </ul>
<p><b>Professionalised-technical farming intensive in work, capital and technology</b></p> <p>Select crops and new knowledge: Innovation as feature of production process Soiless crops New greenhouse structures Computerised irrigation system, climate control system, etc. New seeds Integrated and organic production Recuperation of certain traditional practices, etc.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Immigrant labour</li> <li>-Less importance of family help</li> <li>-Small business farmer</li> <li>-Modernization of farms</li> <li>-Integrated production system</li> <li>-Growing investment in technology</li> <li>-International competition</li> <li>-Lower yield</li> <li>-Consolidated debt</li> <li>-Challenges and alternatives in production</li> <li>-Crisis of family farmer</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Continuous modernization and innovation of farm</li> <li>-Diversification of family economy: alternative employment opportunities for children and/or spouse</li> <li>-Professionalisation of farming consolidated</li> <li>-Defamilisation of farming</li> <li>-Dependence on auxiliary sectors</li> <li>-Uncertainty and globalisation</li> <li>-Production adapted to consumers</li> <li>-New production and sales regulations</li> <li>-Certification of production quality</li> <li>-Sustainability of local farming</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Values of unity and cooperation in collective action</li> <li>-Values of what is organic, production quality, agricultural innovation and trust in experts</li> </ul>

Source: Domínguez (1993), Camarero *et al.* (2002) and authors.

tween 35 and 60 years of age, typically with two or three children, and they come from very large families. They began to work as children and during their childhood and adolescence, they helped their families work their own land or worked as wage labourers. As they began their socialization in work early, this would later be reproduced in their socio-economic practices in family greenhouse farming. Due to their early work experiences, the majority did not attend school regularly, typically only completing primary education. In addition, a significant number held various jobs before farming, married early and finally emigrated to the coast of Almería or Granada to do intensive greenhouse farming on small farms between 1 and 2 hectares. Others gained access to larger entrepreneurial farms of 2 hectares or more. Many of these farmers employed family to work on their farms as well as immigrant day labourers (Table 5).

Moreover, as can be seen in the analysis of the configurations of social values, no significant differences are observed with respect to gender in the autobiographical narratives elaborated by the men and women farmers; rather, the narratives reveal a certain process of saturation. For this reason, no differences by gender have been established in this analysis. As we are studying the discourses that construct these configurations, as well as the active strategies of resignification of values throughout the lives of these farmers, and not so much the actual social positions our subjects have, we find that men and women tend to construct similar discourses and legitimisations for them. In other words, the discourses and strategies of both men and women farmers respond to important processes of change in their social and work world, which has undergone processes of modernization and professionalization. The agriculture they practice is increasingly less dependent on the family unit, and depends more and more on the knowledge and innovations of agricultural experts.

## IDENTIFICATION AND CLASSIFICATION OF THE SOCIAL VALUES OF FARMERS

Thus, the main contribution of the present article is the methodological focus that is used to study the narratives of the farmers and to identify four configurations of values derived from these narratives: Narratives that are analysed based on the methodological potential of the biographical perspective (Bertaux, 1993; Pujadas, 2002; Bernasconi, 2011), which contributes a dual diachronic and contextual dimension to the autobiographical discourses of the subjects studied. This dual dimension makes it possible to classify the discourses in this article based on the meanings that the subjects attribute to the various types of farming they recall and that are outlined in Table 4. In addition, the biographical perspective makes it possible for the subject to not only talk about his or her life over a period of time and in a changing context, but also to develop his or her own reflections on what he or she has experienced during this time and context. Thus, such reflections provide valuable material to analyse the farmers' strategies of resignification of values during their social and work trajectories.

Indeed, the changes in their trajectories, as well as in the socio-economic practices of greenhouse family farming, with the consequent uncertainties and social shifts involved, have influenced the personal histories of the subjects who have shaped and/or experienced them. We will, therefore, in what follows, analyse the narrations of a significant sample of subjects, as a basis to characterise the family greenhouse farmer, as well as to identify and classify the social values internalised by this farmer. These social values have been incorporated by these family farmers through a socialization process and therefore, have to be understood in relation to the diverse circumstances and practical situations in which they have been shaped (Table 4). In turn, their changes in

TABLE 5: Socio-demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the farmers studied

Name*	Place and year of birth (age)	Residence	Education level reached	Number of siblings (and children)^	Farm size in greenhouses	Day la-bourers employed in green-houses. &	Receives help from family	Level of technology in green-houses
Carmen	Los Castillas, 1963	Los Castillas, Albuñol	Secondary ed.	5 (2)	1.5 ha	3-4	No	Medium
Pedro	Albuñol, 1944	El Pozuelo, Albuñol	No Education	7 (2)	0.5 ha	2	No	Low
Miguel	Albuñol, 1954	La Rábita, Albuñol	Primary	4 (3)	1 ha	2-3	Yes	Low
Joaquín	Murtas, 1958	Albuñol	Primary	3 (3)	1.4 ha	2-3	Yes	Low
Jorge	Sorvilán, 1955	Melicena, Sorvilán	Secondary	4 (2)	1 ha	2-3	Yes	Medium
Fernando	Dallas, 1948	El Ejido	No Education	5 (2)	1.6 ha	1-2 occasionally	Yes	Low
Antonio	Roquetas de Mar, 1975	Roquetas de Mar	Secondary	3 (0)	3 ha	3	Yes	Medium
Enrique	Guadix, 1958	Roquetas de Mar	Secondary	4 (2)	3 ha	2-3	Yes	High
Eduardo	Roquetas de Mar, 1957	Roquetas de Mar	Vocational Training	4 (2)	1.6 ha	1-2	Yes	High
Emilio	Motril, 1957	Motril	Secondary	4 (2)	2.5 ha	3-4	No	Medium
Cristóbal	Bérchules, 1932	El Ejido	No Education	8 (4)	0	0	No	—
Tomás	Albodón, 1934	El Ejido (+ 2008)	No Education	10 (1)	2 ha	0	Yes	Low
Matilde	Albuñol, 1937	El Ejido	No Education	4 (2)	2 ha	0	Yes	Low
María	Albuñol, 1967	El Ejido	Secondary	1 (2)	2 ha	1-2 occasionally	Yes	Low
Manuel	Tánger, 1955	Roquetas de Mar	Primary	7 (2)	4.5 ha	4-5	No	High
Mateo	Adra, 1969	Roquetas de Mar	Secondary	3 (2)	1.5 ha	3-4	No	High

Mariano	Adra, 1944	Adra	Primary	6 (3)	1.2 ha	1-2 occasionally	Yes	Medium
Eugenio	Sorvilán, 1965	Melicena (Sorvilán)	Vocational Training	2 (2)	1 ha	1-2 occasionally	Yes	Medium
Ernesto	Adra, 1953	Adra	No Education	5 (3)	0.2 ha	0	Yes	Low
Andrés	Motril, 1960	Motril	Primary	3 (0)	10 ha	20-30	No	Low
Elena	Adra, 1957	Adra	No Education	5 (4)	0.3 ha	0	Yes	Low
Jaime	El Pozuelo, 1914	El Pozuelo (+ 2007)	Primary	4 (3)	1.5 ha	0	No	Low
Alfonso	Guadix, 1945	Foquetas de Mar	No Education	12 (3)	6 ha	2-3 occasionally	Yes	Medium
Mónica	Albuñol, 1978	Albuñol	Secondary	3 (2)	1.2 ha	2-3	Yes	Medium
Teresa	Albuñol, 1971	Albuñol	Secondary	3 (2)	1.5 ha	4-5	Yes	High
Josefa	Albuñol, 1967	Albuñol	Secondary	3 (3)	1 ha	2-3	Yes	Medium
Inma	Adra, 1961	Adra	Baccalaureate	3 (2)	3 ha	6-7	No	High
Santiago	Polopos, 1964	Melicena (Sorvilán)	Baccalaureate	5 (2)	0.5 ha	0	Yes	Medium
Julio	Adra, 1973	Albuñol	Primary	5 (1)	0.9 ha	2-3 occasionally	Yes	Medium
Ricardo	Los Castillas, 1968	Albuñol	Baccalaureate and Univ Prep	4 (0)	0.5 ha	0	Yes	Low

Source: by authors based on biographical interviews. Fieldwork done over ten months, between April 2006 and August 2009.

\* The names of the farmers have been changed to protect their anonymity.

^ The column, "number of siblings (and children)" shows the size of family of origin, including farmer and siblings, the number of children the farmer has appears in parentheses. & The majority of day labourers employed by these farmers are immigrants.

social values are seen as active strategies of resignification of perceptions and evaluations of reality. These strategies were deployed by these subjects during the intense process of change in their socio-economic practices, which we have previously linked to the globalization of agriculture and which has affected, to a greater or lesser degree, the social and work trajectories of family farmers in two ways: On the one hand, there has been significant fragmentation in the collective action of farmers, which hinders their strategies of organization and/or mobilization. On the other hand, there has been a gradual individualisation and professionalisation of the productive processes developed by these farmers, which is a consequence of growing global competition and the socio-economic and productive restructuring of farming (Bonnano, 1994; Lowe *et al.*, 1993; Lash and Urry, 1987; Mingione, 1993). This restructuring is not giving rise to a new form of farming in the sense of a radical rupture with past forms (Pedreño and Quaranta, 2002: 17); rather, it is a redefinition of economic and productive strategies as well as a process of resignifying past social values. Thus, in this case, we find the persistence of family size farms, the gradual introduction of agricultural innovations and methods of cultivations, progressive technological change, a combination of traditional and expert knowledges, specialization in production, greater requirements in terms of the quality of production and new requirements regarding the qualifications for greenhouse farming. This situation involves growing uncertainty and insecurity for farmers in structuring their identity, which is subject to transition (Camarero *et al.*, 2002) in response to the demands from an environment perceived as gradually becoming more complex and involving new risks (Martín and Hormigos, 2006: 38), as we found in the deep changes in the social values of this group of farmers.

### **The values of effort, work, family solidarity, mutual support and learning**

For many of the family farmers who began the practice of greenhouse farming, the constant effort and work involved has occupied a central place in their lives, their sociability and their social identity. For these farmers, work and farming create a particular world view that conditions all their social relationships, as can be seen in the cases of Mariano (Adra, 1948)<sup>10</sup>, Alfonso (Guadix, 1945) and Matilde (Albuñol, 1937):

“Well I have always loved the valley; I’ve never left my whole life. I began working with my father when I was eight, I’ve never left” (Mariano).

“Many farmers my age can’t read because we have been workin’g in the countryside since we were kids” (Alfonso).

“I have worked in the country with my parents and grandparents since I was child. My parents were one third dry land farm share croppers<sup>11</sup>, picking almonds, figs and grapes, which is what we lived on then” (Matilde).

Indeed, many of the farmers interviewed and their parents were peasants with very few resources to start out with. Hence, their childhood and adolescence were usually very precarious, marked by temporary migrations as migrant workers<sup>12</sup> and self-exploitation. This led to a slow process of adaptation

<sup>10</sup> The information in parentheses corresponds to place and date of birth.

<sup>11</sup> Farming ‘*al tercio*’ [one third] meant cultivating and working the land —the peasants were usually not land-owners— and getting one-third of the crops, with the landowner getting the other two-thirds.

<sup>12</sup> The few local opportunities to find stable employment and the little land they possessed, led these persons to emigrate seasonally from their towns of origin to other towns in Andalusia, such as Granada and Seville, to work during the farming season. Matilde’s (Albuñol, 1937) uncles and aunts and grandparents on her father’s side even emigrated to Brazil in the 1920s and never returned, as she explained when interviewed.

to multiple changes. This was the case of Joaquin's father (1914-2004) and Ernesto (Adra, 1953).

"My father made his living as a bricklayer and farmer. But for many years he had to go to the countryside of Seville to find work during the harvest season, to make some money, as the dry land brought in very little money [...] During the harvest season, my father would be gone almost a month [...] (Joaquin).

"I started helping my father when I was ten years old [...]. My father, at that time, had very little work [...] and when it was needed, I would go with my father and I would get in four days pay [...] And I remember working from sunrise to sunset back then [...] And from there, I went to Ibiza when I was twenty-something, I went to Ibiza because you could make more money there [...] and I spent about three or four months there" (Ernesto).

The precariousness and lack of economic resources experienced by these peasant families meant that their children grew up in a world characterised by the need for constant effort as a strategy to ensure the survival of the family. That world, in which most of the farmers interviewed were socialised, created the conditions through which they developed the resilience, sacrifice and self-exploitation that was the foundation for their success as family greenhouse farmers. The childhood and work trajectory of Pedro (Albuñol, 1944) is a paradigmatic case, as he explains:

"when I was four years old I went with my grandfather to take care of goats; life then wasn't what it is now [...] I have enjoyed working a lot [...] I started with them [señoritos/well-off *landowners*]<sup>13</sup> earning 12 pesetas a day [currently 7 euro centimes]; then I was about 19. We were seven broth-

ers and sisters [...] I went wherever I was needed (Pedro).

Along the same lines, Mateo (1969), son of farmers from Adra and today an organic farmer in Roquetas de Mar, where he was born, has a structured discourse about the hard work that everyone in the family had to do in order to reach their current situation. He defends children working as necessary for the family to make progress and as part of their shared commitment to farming.

"There were four of us, brothers and sisters. All four of us grew up farming [...] Farmers' children at that time, logically, always helped with farm chores [...] it was very much family farming, and we were able to make a living thanks to everyone in the family working [...] My parents began here with leased land, later they were able to buy; well, it's a process where they would buy as the children started growing up and they had more labour power" (Mateo).

A farmer from Albuñol (Josefa, 1967), the head of a one hectare greenhouse, recounts a very similar experience to that of Mateo.

"I started working when I was 11. I stopped going to school when I was 12 [...] and already I was helping my parents every day on the land [...] I remember that before getting married, all our family was working the land; even my youngest sister who was 9 or 10 had already started picking beans with a little bucket my mother had" (Josefa).

To a large extent, the development and modernization of greenhouses were due to the effort of farmers, their wives and children. Child labour in particular played a major role. As recognised by Jaime (1914-2007), a farmer in his youth and bookkeeper in a corn exchange in El Pozuelo (Granada) for fifty years, child labour was seen as something normal:

<sup>13</sup> Clarifications of the farmers' discourses appear in brackets and italics.

“Well, before the standard of living was low. And even if there were schools, what would happen was when a little kid was able to take care of a goat, they would buy him a goat to take care of, and then he wouldn’t go to school any more [...]” (Jaime).

Jaime represents a paradigmatic case of the deprivation and scarcity suffered by farmers at the beginning of the twentieth century. His schooling was short-lived; as a child he worked as a baker, fisherman, and servant<sup>14</sup>, becoming in his youth a farmer. A typical job for the children of poor peasant families then was taking care of domestic livestock, as in the cases of Pedro, Cristóbal and Mariano. Having livestock was a decisive contribution to the subsistence of these frequently large families.

Little basic schooling, often interrupted before finishing, is a recurring pattern in the lives of many of the farmers interviewed, including the youngest ones. That is the case of Julio (Adra, 1973), a farmer in Los Castillas (Albuñol), who only reached the fifth grade of primary school.

“I went to school to fifth grade and when I was ten years old I left school, as I started to work on a fishing boat [...] I remember that I wasn’t bad in school, but my family was poor and I remember that we had to wear hand-me-down clothes from my cousins; I never had all the books [...]” (Julio).

Carmen’s case (Albuñol, 1963) was similar to Julio’s:

“I stopped going to school when I was thirteen and started working, a lot of years working [...]” (Carmen).

<sup>14</sup> Working as a servant was linked to the social position of the young person - single and belonging to a poor family, as was the case for Pedro, Jaime and Cristóbal. This work implied a relationship based on obedience and the acceptance of local power structures.

Socialization in the idea of the traditional peasant family as a socio-economic unit, with children contributing to its support, was a good antecedent that favoured the modernization of farming on the coast of Almeria and Granada, to a large extent based on the help and family solidarity of the first and second generation of greenhouse farmers. This solidarity transcended the nuclear family and included the extended family and even neighbours, as expressed in the recollections of Emilio (Motril, 1957), Ricardo (Albuñol, 1968) and Pedro:

“My father’s brothers also had land and we would help each other [...] I work for you; you work for me”<sup>15</sup> (Emilio).

“Well, in principle, if I helped my father a little, and my sisters and brothers-in-law too, they helped me, since I had helped them” (Ricardo).

“I’ve worked with up to ten, between brothers and friends. We worked really well together [...]” (Pedro).

Eduardo (Roquetas de Mar, 1957), Jorge (Sorvilán, 1955) and Mónica (Albuñol, 1978) also allude to the role of the family and local community in the reproduction and mutual learning of productive practices throughout the development of intensive greenhouse farming:

“[My uncle] taught me how to do everything, how to plant, how to dig, even how to put the plastic on [...] I grew up with my uncle. We lived together and we farmed the land together” (Eduardo).

“Until now, with the little that I know, they helped me, especially my brother-in-law and his brother-in-law who died. He was a great farmer. The little bit I know they taught me” (Jorge).

“The first year, when I got married, my husband who didn’t know about farming, was running the

<sup>15</sup> Reciprocity between farm families and neighbours in various farm tasks, where “work is paid by work”.

farm with the help of my father and me. My father helped him to plant, water, fertilise and lots of other things on the land, and I also gave him a little guidance” (Mónica).

### **The values of having your own land, independence and labour autonomy**

For farmers from such precarious socio-economic origins, the possibility of buying land meant gaining access to the independence and labour autonomy they had longed for and that they did not have during their childhood and adolescence (and that had also been denied to many of their parents and grandparents). One farmer, originally from the municipality of Guadix, who moved to Roquetas de Mar during childhood (Enrique, 1958), describes in the following way the aspirations for labour autonomy and economic independence through the acquisition of land:

“My father was a very enterprising guy; he liked doing things his own way, didn’t like having anyone over him. My father was a free man, [...] he had it clear that as soon as he could, he would buy a piece of land [...]” (Enrique).

In the above quote, owning land is identified with freedom and autonomy, as many farmers, as in this case, lacked their own means of subsistence. This meant that small peasant farmers, employed occasionally as temporary day labourers, were subjugated to a labour market dominated by large local landowners. This is how Enrique and Cristóbal (Bérchules, 1932) talk about this subjugation:

“Well, there was this lady who owned everything, the land, the houses [...] You were either on good terms with her or you didn’t work” (Enrique).

“[My life has been] a life of slavery [...] I served the owners as a slave [...] Working from dawn to dusk” (Cristóbal).

Thus, working one’s own land is a fundamental value for family farmers, which relates independence to work:

“Working for yourself, well, it’s very different from having a schedule [*paid work*]” (Elena)<sup>16</sup>.

“The advantage you have it that it is yours and you go when you want” (Eduardo).

“I didn’t want to work for or depend on anybody. If I worked, I could get my own land” (Tomás)<sup>17</sup>.

“The greenhouse, what it offers is that nobody tells you what to do” (Fernando)<sup>18</sup>.

In this sense, the autobiographical narratives of the farmers reveal a clear preference for labour autonomy. This preference is normally connected to the fact that these farmers see themselves as self-made individuals, who through their own effort and the help of their families have managed to overcome great disadvantages. This can be seen in the accounts of Andrés (Motril, 1960), María (Albuñol, 1967), Alfonso and Manuel (Tánger, 1955):

“And things related to farming, I could do them with my eyes closed because that’s what I saw growing up. Maybe someone else would screw it up [...] But I had it all in my head [...]” (Andrés).

“My father built greenhouses on the first land we bought when we came here [*El Ejido*] and our family has spent our whole lives working in them” (María).

“When we needed people to pick, well, we got them. But just a few, we [*the family*] could manage [...] And we would take our food and spend all day in the greenhouse, from morning till night [...]” (Alfonso).

“I remember I made a small tube greenhouse and that greenhouse I put together myself [...] and it was well-made” (Manuel).

<sup>16</sup> Part-time farmer, resident of Adra (1957).

<sup>17</sup> Tomás (1934-2008) was born in Albondón and worked in intensive agriculture in El Ejido.

<sup>18</sup> Farmer from El Ejido born in Dalías in 1948.

Without a doubt, the preference for the autonomy of family work and the degree of self-confidence that this entailed was an economic strategy of family farmers that put them in conditions to overcome the initial phases of labour precariousness, typical of traditional and subsistence farming. It also made it possible for them to face great hardship and the sacrifices they had to make in when first farming their own land. However, this strategy of labour autonomy continued and remained necessary in the phases of intensive family farming that followed, as in this type of farming, the entire family unit was usually involved, sharing the spirit of sacrifice leading them to work long and exhausting days when necessary.

However, under the current circumstances of globalization, characterised by the gradual defamilisation, professionalisation and modernisation of greenhouse farming, as well as by increasing competition and uncertainty, new preferences are emerging among farmers, such as unity and cooperation, the production of organic crops, innovation and trust in experts. Such preferences are formed through reflection on and resignification of traditional values and the practices associated with them.

### **The values of unity and cooperation in collective action**

A growing number of family farmers recognise that under the present circumstances of globalization, new challenges and problems very different from those of the past, such as growing international competition from other farmers, must be addressed. These can be more effectively faced if farmers act in a more coordinated manner and with greater solidarity. This is recognised by Alfonso, Mateo and Manuel:

“I am affiliated with a union [...] We stand up for the farmers but there are all types, some who have the nerve to not do anything [...] And if we get something, those who don't do anything also benefit, just like everyone else” (Alfonso).

“And I think, just like the individualism there is, that farmers in this area have had, it has allowed an economic monster to be created out of nothing; this same individualism is very bad for the phase where there starts to be no profitability” (Mateo).

“The problem is that in the auctions the farmers are not united and are uninformed. With the cooperatives it's just the opposite [...] In fact, the majority of the people that are outstanding in farming are the people from the cooperatives” (Manuel).

The fragmentation and individualization referred to, implicitly or explicitly, in the preceding quotes, appear as factors in the difficulties organizing and mobilizing farmers today; in the opinion of some, their fellow farmers tend to protect only their own interests and even take advantage of the organization and the collective mobilization carried out by others. There are more examples of this in the following comments:

“Well the first thing is that we're not united” (Carmen).

“But now we are [...] every man for himself [...] And then there is a lot of individualism among the farmers and selfishness” (Miguel)<sup>19</sup>.

“There is nothing that unites all [...] the farmers” (Ricardo).

“But it's clear that if the farmers don't unite, things are going to get worse and worse” (Inma)<sup>20</sup>.

“Yeah, it's always the same ones who go [*to the demonstrations*], we're always the same ones; we're not united. Unity! I'm not asking for more than unity, to defend what is ours” (Jorge)<sup>21</sup>.

“And in some farmers' demonstrations, I like to see people united to defend what is theirs [...]” (Santiago).

<sup>19</sup> Farmer from La Rábida (Albuñol), born in 1954.

<sup>20</sup> Farmer from Adra (1961) not affiliated with any farm organization, but a member of a cooperative.

<sup>21</sup> Jorge, Santiago and Eugenio are affiliated with a farm organization and live in Melicena.

“The solution is unity, but how do we unite?” (Eugenio).

Hence, because they perceive a growing individualism among themselves, perhaps exaggerated in their narratives, they value the unity and cooperation of collective action, although they have not found adequate ways to coordinate their interests to confront the challenges and problems they face together. While the farmers had assimilated values of mutual aid and intra-group solidarity in an earlier context of great economic and social precariousness, for many years they have been reinterpreting these values, appealing for greater unity and group cooperation in their productive practices under the current circumstances of great uncertainty and globalization. However, this has not led to effective collaboration and or unity among farmers or among their respective professional agricultural organizations, such that in the area we are studying, there are at least five organizations representing a diversity of interests (ASAJA, COAG, ECOHAL, UPA and COHEXPAL<sup>22</sup>). A leader of COAG complained about the lack of participation among affiliates in the different protests organised in reaction to the lowering of prices at source impelled by the so-called “horticulture monsters” (distributors and trading companies, agribusiness multinationals, etc.):

“Farming has a future, but not the farmers here who don’t know how to defend what is theirs. The only solution is to fight together against the new horticulture monsters [...] COAG will not unite with

other agricultural organizations that do not really defend farmers”<sup>23</sup>.

### **The values of organic growing, productive quality, innovation and trust in experts**

Other new values, which redefine the framework of values that had guided farmers in the initial stages of greenhouse agriculture (more in keeping with the modernization and intensification of production at that time), are the preference for organic agricultural production, innovation and a growing trust in experts, all necessary to ensure the quality of agricultural production, increase profitability, meet increasingly demanding international production regulations and satisfy a growing segment of both autochthonous and foreign consumers. These new values have, in turn, led to the professionalisation of farmers, although also to their indebtedness, as crops are more demanding, and the agricultural practices required are highly specialised.

Regarding this, various farmers recognised the risk for human health involved in the massive use of phytosanitary products, as employed in intensive greenhouse farming. For this reason, Mateo has been farming organically for more than a decade. The inadequate use or abuse of synthetic chemical products in intensive agriculture can cause and /or accelerate certain degenerative diseases, as well as cause intoxication in the farmers themselves. Fernando and Teresa (Albuñol, 1971), who are very knowledgeable about this, have the following to say, emphasizing farmers’ need for technical advice:

“Today, farmers no longer trust the products they have to spray on the crops [...] Now there is also the problem of waste; you have to be very careful

<sup>22</sup> ASAJA: Asociación Agraria de Jóvenes Agricultores [Agricultural Association of Young Farmers]. COAG: Coordinadora de Organizaciones de Agricultores y Ganaderos [Coordinator of Organizations of Farmers and Ranchers]. ECOHAL: Empresarios Comercializadores Hortofrutícolas de Andalucía [Horticultural Entrepreneurs of Andalusia]. UPA: Unión de Pequeños Agricultores [Union of Small Farmers]. COHEXPAL: Cosecheros y Exportadores de Productos Hortofrutícolas de Almería [Produce Growers and Exporters of Almería].

<sup>23</sup> Discourse obtained through participant observation in a meeting of COAG held in El Pozuelo (Albuñol), 24 July, 2006. Twenty farmers attended this meeting in a municipality with 1,000 farmers.

with the products that contain sulphates or fertilisers [...] because we have to ask the experts about the products that can be used” (Fernando).

“Before the crops weren’t controlled so much: the farmer was in charge of everything. Now an expert comes every week to our farm to tell us which products to use when we water, which products to fertilise with, if we have to have tomatoes with more colour or smaller size [...] (Teresa).

The discourse of Miguel, however, is contradictory, saying that although the phytosanitary products used before were more efficient and cheaper, they were less subject to controls. In his opinion, these products have to be well regulated to protect public health.

“well, they [*agricultural technicians*] also can’t do whatever they want; we’re talking about health, the environment, consumers, I mean, if they give them a free hand, they will come out with stronger poisons, and this would also, of course, endanger the health of consumers” (Miguel).

Mateo, on the other hand, belongs to the organic movement, and since he was young has been conscious of the need for innovation. For this reason, he re-examined the intensive farming exercised by the first and second generations of farmers. Moreover, Mateo and various farmers appreciate the innovations in their greenhouses and demonstrate great confidence in “technicians”, as they guarantee productive quality.

“I came from the organic movement and was aware that we had to do things in a different way [...] and afterwards I met a technician who gave me support and who I could consult with and who helped me solve problems. I think the expert help in the beginning was key [...] (Mateo).

“And from these courses you get information; the comments you hear on the street, especially from the agricultural technicians, because they are the ones who get around the most in the country and

they visit farms [...] I’ve always tried to have the greenhouse as up to date as possible regarding technology” (Manuel).

“And yes, you have to have quality products and if you don’t, you can’t do anything [...] this year I grew the peppers with integrated production and it went well” (Carmen).

“You have to take the time to get a little training, guidance from the technicians, because [...] in our agriculture [...] there is a lot you have to take into account” (Enrique).

“This same year I got a score of 100 out of 100 in the quality programme of the cooperative [...] and two or three experts had to come to see all the installations and resources” (Julio).

“A year ago we had very good cherry tomatoes, even an expert from the cooperative brought some farmers from Carchuna to see how our tomatoes were [...] It’s our obligation to raise good crops so our products do well on the market” (Mónica).

These farmers have combined the farming knowledge acquired from their own experience with the knowledge transmitted by agricultural technicians in their practice of organic and conventional farming, Mateo being a pioneer in implementing organic methods in the greenhouses of Roquetas de Mar, in the mid 1990s.

The above comments provide evidence of the great trust in knowledge acquired from agricultural technicians to ensure greater productive quality. The following reflections are very revealing regarding what we have argued here and point toward the unavoidable professionalization of farming:

“[...] the initial years were a little about acquiring experience, learning, also I liked to experiment a lot [...] within the traditional farming I tried to do things differently; integrated pest control and finally organic farming [...] We set up a cooperative, and some people were interested [...] It is true is that the organic agricultural products have more possibilities. It is a more select market and more constant, and the prices are also more stable [...] (Mateo).

Mateo combines the knowledge of traditional farming with a great capacity to introduce new methods into the way he farms. He talked about how he has specialised in crops with fewer problems with pests (courgettes, eggplant and tomatoes) and that organic farming has allowed him to extend the production period, return to traditional harvesting cycles and obtain greater productivity.

## CONCLUSIONS

Over the last fifty years, family greenhouse farmers on the coast of Almería and Granada have experienced great changes in their socio-economic practices and social values. In fact, different generations of these farmers have been socialised in very changing circumstances, from the traditional subsistence farming predominant in the 1960s, to the highly modernised intensive farming, which began in the 1980s.

These farmers' stories reveal their remarkable capacity to reinterpret and/or resignify their social values based on the changing context in which they have had to carry out their farming practices. This capacity has enabled them to adapt and respond in each moment to the diverse problems and major changes they have faced in their social and economic trajectories. Thus, we find a reflexive process between the social values internalised by these farmers and their socio-economic practices, increasingly subject to the processes of globalization; in other words, we find an interdependence between the micro and macro dimensions in the social and economic trajectories of these farmers. As a result, the social values of family farmers have undergone important changes as they have been resignified and /or reinterpreted in interaction with the changing socio-economic practices to which they are connected.

Consequently, the configurations of the values identified have had diverse effects, as

they have emerged in very different socio-economic and temporal contexts, which is proof that "a story is not static, [...] precisely because it comes from an individual who is also alive, undergoing constant change and transformation [...] making it possible to signify, resignify and give meaning to experience" (Cornejo *et al.*, 2008: 31). Thus, in the process of change in the values of the subjects studied, we have observed an increasing loss in the centrality of the values of work, effort, mutual support and learning, independence and labour autonomy, which were part of the initial strategies deployed by these subjects in the modernisation of their greenhouse farming. In contrast, in today's circumstances of the growing professionalisation and globalisation of agriculture, new values have arisen, without the old ones totally disappearing, such as unity and group cooperation, the preference for organic and quality production, agricultural innovation, and trust in experts. These values are more in line with what these circumstances demand: collaboration, the articulation of common interests and environmental sustainability in the face of greater international competition. These circumstances have led family farmers to actively reinterpret the values incorporated during their childhood and adolescence in order to face new challenges and problems, such as the marketing of their produce, quality certification, the difficulties in capitalizing their farms, the lack of expert knowledge to modernise, and above all, the elimination of the toxic waste in the production and proper processing of plant waste.

Today's processes of increasing globalisation and socio-economic dislocation, combined with post-Fordist labour deregulation and flexibilisation, are seriously undermining the ability of states (if not generating the definitive end to their effective capacity) to articulate capitalist markets relatively focused and organised on a national scale (Lash and Urry, 1987). In these circumstances, there is constant and in-

creasing change and socio-economic uncertainty, such that family greenhouse farmers, if they wish to survive, must be able to come up with and put into practice appropriate associative strategies that contribute to collective cooperation, coordination and the commonality of interests. In this regard, the deeply rooted values (at least in the first stages of the period studied here) of the family greenhouse farmers, such as effort, work, family solidarity and mutual support and learning, that were effective strategies in response to the enormous socio-economic difficulties these farmers initially had to overcome, continue to be necessary to guarantee the survival of family greenhouse farming today, given the fragmentation, social breakdown and unpredictability brought on by the current globalisation of markets (Mingione, 1993). This is independent of the fact that, in these uncertain circumstances, farmers are in the process of redefining their productive practices and the values legitimizing these practices in accord with the new and rapidly changing economic and environmental challenges they face. This redefinition is essential if farmers are to ensure their social reproduction and survival as a group, especially in the current context of greenhouse production processes, increasingly complex, technical and costly. Moreover, in this context farmers are increasingly unwilling (nor should they be) to make the great effort and self-sacrifice that in the past was usually shared by the entire family. Therefore, the articulation of effective strategies for cooperation linked to the new preferences revealed by the farmers in their autobiographical narratives are necessary to slow down the present trends toward the disappearance of family farming. Ongoing demands for efficiency, competitiveness and technological development will increasingly hinder their possibilities of survival as small, individual farmers without solid cooperation among them.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alonso, Luis E.; Arribas, José M. and Ortí, Alfonso (1991). "Evolución y perspectivas de la agricultura familiar: de "propietarios muy pobres" a agricultores empresarios". *Política y Sociedad*, 8: 35-69.
- Arnalte, Eladio (1997). "Formas de producción y tipos de explotaciones en la agricultura española: viejas y nuevas formas de diferenciación". In: Gómez Benito, C. and González, J. J. (eds.). *Agricultura y sociedad en la España contemporánea*. Madrid: CIS-MAPA.
- ; Estruch, Vicente and Muñoz, Carmen (1997). "Relaciones familia-explotación en las agriculturas modernizadas. Algunas contrastaciones empíricas en la Comunidad Valenciana". In: Bretón, V.; García, F. and Mateu, J. J. (coords.). *La agricultura familiar en España. Estrategias adaptativas y políticas agropecuarias*. Lleida: Ediciones Universitat de Lleida.
- and Estruch, Vicente (1999). "Explotaciones familiares en la agricultura mediterránea. Tendencias y perspectivas". *Anuario de la agricultura familiar en España 1999*, Madrid: Fundación de Estudios Rurales.
- Arribas, José M. and López, Antonio (1989). "El proceso de profesionalización de los agricultores cerealistas". *Agricultura y Sociedad*, 51: 107-134.
- Atkinson, Paul (2005). "Qualitative Research - Unity and Diversity" [25 paragraphs]. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 6 (3), (on line). <http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs-texte/3-05/05-3-26-e.htm>, access February 11, 2011.
- Aznar, José Á. and Sánchez, Andrés (2005). "Almería: paradigma de la inversión de los flujos migratorios". *Informe Económico de la Provincia de Almería, 2003. El reto de la inmigración*, El Ejido: Cámara de Comercio, Industria y Navegación de Almería.
- and — (2010). "Innovación y distrito en torno a un "milagro": la configuración del sistema productivo local de la agricultura intensiva de Almería". *Revista de Historia Industrial*, 42 (año XIX): 157-193.
- Banfield, Edward C. (1958). *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society*. New York: The Free Press.
- Bernasconi, Oriana (2011). "Aproximación narrativa al estudio de fenómenos sociales: principales líneas de desarrollo". *Acta Sociológica*, 56: 9-36.

- Bertaux, Daniel (1993). "La perspectiva biográfica: validez metodológica y potencialidades". In: Marinas, J. M. and Santamarina, C. (eds.). *La historia oral: métodos y experiencias*. Madrid: Debate.
- (2005). *Los relatos de vida. Perspectiva etnológica*. Barcelona: Bellaterra.
- Bonnano, Alessandro (ed.) (1994). *La globalización del sector agroalimentario*. Madrid: MAPA.
- Bretón, Víctor (1993). "¿De campesino a agricultor? La pequeña producción familiar en el marco del desarrollo capitalista". *Noticiero de historia agraria: Boletín informativo del seminario de historia agraria*, 3(5): 127-159.
- Calvo, Tomás (2000). "El conflicto estructural en El Ejido: "A la caza del moro"". *Sociedad y Utopía*, 16: 39-56.
- Camarero, Luis; Sampedro, Rosario and Vicente Marzariegos, José I. (2002). "Los horticultores: una identidad en transición (1988)". *AREAS, Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 22: 43-69.
- Castaño, Ángeles (2000). *Informe sobre la población inmigrante en Almería*. Sevilla: Consejería de Asuntos Sociales, Junta de Andalucía.
- Castro, Miguel Á. and Castro, Luis (2001). "Cuestiones de metodología cualitativa". *Empiria*, 4: 165-190.
- Céspedes, José et al. (2006). *Plan Estratégico de la Industria Auxiliar de la Agricultura de Almería. Diagnóstico y estrategias 2006-2010*. Almería: Fundación Tecnova.
- Céspedes, Antonio et al. (2009). *Caracterización de la explotación hortícola protegida almeriense*. Almería: Fundación para la Investigación Agraria en la Provincia de Almería (FIAPA) y Fundación Cajamar.
- Chayanov, Aleksandr (1985). *La organización de la unidad económica campesina*. Buenos Aires: Nueva Visión.
- Checa, Francisco (2001). *El Ejido: la ciudad cortijo. Claves socioeconómicas del conflicto étnico*. Barcelona: Icaria.
- ; Arjona, Ángeles and Checa, Juan C. (2009). "El comportamiento del campesinado en Andalucía: de la agricultura familiar al empleo asalariado". In: Rodríguez, S. and Macías, C. (comps.). *El fin del campesinado. Transformaciones culturales de la sociedad rural andaluza en la segunda mitad del siglo XX*. Sevilla: Centro de Estudios Andaluces.
- Checa, Juan C.; Arjona, Ángeles and Checa, (2010): "Actitudes recientes hacia los inmigrantes en El Ejido (España)". *Convergencia*, 52: 125-154.
- Contreras, Jesús (1997). "Estrategias familiares de producción y reproducción". In: Bretón, V.; García, F. and Mateu, J. J. (coords.). *La agricultura familiar en España. Estrategias adaptativas y políticas agropecuarias*. Lleida: Ediciones Universitat de Lleida.
- Cornejo, Marcela; Mendoza, Francisca and Rojas, Rodrigo C. (2008). "La investigación con relatos de vida: pistas y opciones del diseño metodológico". *Phykhe*, 17 (1): 29-39.
- Cruces, Cristina (1994a). *Navaceros, "nuevos agricultores" y viñistas: las estrategias cambiantes de la agricultura familiar en Sanlúcar de Barrameda*. Sevilla: Fundación Blas Infante.
- (1994b). "Trabajo y estrategias económicas en las explotaciones de Sanlúcar de Barrameda". *Revista de Estudios Regionales*, 38: 15-39.
- Delgado, Manuel (2006). "Economía, territorio y desigualdades regionales". *Revista de Estudios Regionales*, 75: 93-128.
- Díaz-Méndez, Cecilia (1999). "Estrategias familiares para el tránsito a la vida activa de la juventud rural: modelos de inserción sociolaboral". *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 85: 47-66.
- Domínguez, Rafael (1993). "Caracterizando al campesinado y a la economía campesina: pluriactividad y dependencia del mercado como nuevos atributos de la campesinidad". *Agricultura y Sociedad*, 66: 97-136.
- Etchezarreta, Miren (1977). "La evolución de la agricultura campesina". *Agricultura y Sociedad*, 5: 51-142.
- Foster, George (1974). "La sociedad campesina y la imagen del bien limitado". In: Bartolomé, L. J. and Gorostiaga, E. E. (comps.). *Estudios sobre el campesinado latinoamericano*. Buenos Aires: Periferia.
- (1980). *Las culturas tradicionales y los cambios técnicos*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica (FCE).
- García, Roberto (2005). "El sector agrario". In: Molina, J. (comp.). *La economía de la provincia de Almería*. El Ejido: Instituto de Estudios de Cajamar.
- García, Iñaki and Pedreño, Andrés (2002). "El Ejido, entre la política y la sociología". *Sociología del Trabajo*, 46: 99-119.
- Garrido, Luis and Gil-Calvo, Enrique (1993). "El concepto de estrategias familiares". In: Garrido, L. and Gil-Calvo, E. (eds.). *Estrategias familiares*. Madrid: Alianza.

- Giner, Salvador (2010). *Sociología*. Barcelona: Península.
- Glaser, Barney (1978). *Theoretical Sensitivity: Advances in the Methodology of Grounded Theory*. Mill Valley: C. A. Sociology Press.
- Gómez-Benito, Cristóbal (2003). "La Formación y Profesión en la Agricultura Española". *Libro Blanco de la Agricultura y el Desarrollo Rural*, Jornada sobre "Formación e Innovación Agrarias", (on line). [http://www.libroblancoagricultura.com/libroblanco/jtematica/formacion/comunicaciones/c\\_gomez.pdf](http://www.libroblancoagricultura.com/libroblanco/jtematica/formacion/comunicaciones/c_gomez.pdf), access January 15, 2013.
- ; González, Juan Jesús and Sancho-Hazak, Roberto (1999). *Identidad y profesión en la agricultura familiar*. Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.
- and González-Iturri, Juan José (2002). "Profesión e identidad: el caso de la agricultura familiar". In: Gómez-Benito, C. and González-Rodríguez, J. J. (coords.). *Agricultura y sociedad en el cambio de siglo*. Madrid: McGraw-Hill.
- González, Juan Jesús (1993). "Efectos perversos de las estrategias familiares en la agricultura". In: Garrido, L. and Gil-Calvo, E. (eds.). *Estrategias familiares*. Madrid: Alianza.
- and Gómez-Benito, Cristóbal (1997). "Clases agrarias, estrategias familiares y mercado de trabajo". In: Gómez-Benito, C. and González, J. J. (comps.). *Agricultura y sociedad en la España contemporánea*. Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.
- González, Miguel et al. (2006). *La economía de la Costa Tropical de Granada: situación actual y perspectivas*. Granada: Fundación Caja Rural de Granada.
- Herranz, Gonzalo (2008). "Xenofobia: un estudio comparativo en barrios y municipios almerienses". *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 121: 107-132.
- Hervieu, Bertrand (1996). *Los campos del futuro*. Madrid: Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación (MAPA).
- Izcara-Palacios, Simón Pedro (2005). "Inmigrantes marroquíes en el sector agrario andaluz". *Estudios Fronterizos*, 6 (12): 9-38.
- Kautsky, Karl (2002). *La cuestión agraria*. México DF: Siglo XXI Editores.
- Langreo, Alicia (1999). "Evolución y tendencias en el trabajo agrario". *Anuario de la agricultura familiar en España 1999*. Fundación de Estudios Rurales.
- Lash, Scott and Urry, John (1987). *The End of Organized Capitalism*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Leal, José Luis; Leguina, Joaquín and Naredo, José Manuel (1986). *La agricultura en el desarrollo capitalista español (1940-1970)*. Madrid: Siglo XXI.
- Liceras, Ángel (1988). *Una transformación agraria: la actuación del I.N.C. en la zona de nuevos regadíos de Motril y Salobreña (Granada)*. Granada: Gráficas Granada.
- Lowe, Philip; Marsden, Terry and Whatmore, Sarah (1993). *Cambio tecnológico y medio ambiente rural (procesos y reestructuraciones rurales)*. Madrid: MAPA.
- Martín, Antonio and Hormigos, Jaime (2006). "La sociedad del riesgo y la necesidad moderna de seguridad". *Barataria*, 7: 27-40.
- Martín, Emma and Rodríguez, Margarita (2001). "Inmigración y agricultura en la Comunidad de Andalucía: la agricultura de invernadero en Almería". In: Martín, E.; Melis, A. and Sanz, G. (comps.). *Mercados de trabajo e inmigración extracomunitaria en la agricultura mediterránea*. Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía.
- Martínez, Ubaldo (2001). *El Ejido. Discriminación, exclusión social y racismo*. Madrid: Catarata.
- Matarán, Alberto (2005). *La valoración ambiental-territorial de las agriculturas de regadío en el litoral mediterráneo: el caso de Granada*. Granada: Universidad de Granada.
- Mazariegos, José I. Vicente et al. (1993). "Situación profesional de la mujer en la agricultura". Vol. V, *Análisis Sociológico*. Madrid: Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación (MAPA).
- Mingione, Enzo (1993). *Las sociedades fragmentadas. Una sociología de la vida económica más allá del paradigma de mercado*. Madrid: Ministerio de Trabajo y Seguridad Social.
- Mintz, Sidney (1973). "A Note on the Definition of Peasantries". *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 1(2): 91-107.
- Molina, Jerónimo (comp.) (2005). *La economía de la provincia de Almería*. El Ejido: Instituto de Estudios de Cajamar.
- Naredo, José Manuel (2004). *La evolución de la agricultura en España (1920-2000)*. Granada: Editorial de la Universidad de Granada.
- Ortega y Gasset, José (1971). *Historia como sistema*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.

- Ortí, Alfonso (1990). "La apertura y el enfoque cualitativo o estructural: la entrevista abierta semidirigida y la discusión de grupo". In: García-Ferrando, M.; Ibáñez, J. and Alvira, F. (comps.). *El análisis de la realidad social. Métodos y técnicas de investigación*. Madrid: Alianza.
- Palerm, Ángel (1980). *Antropología y marxismo*. México: Nueva Imagen.
- Palomar, Francisco (1996). *Los invernaderos en la provincia de Almería*. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses.
- Parsons, Talcott (1968). *La estructura de la acción social*. Madrid: Guadarrama.
- (1976). *El Sistema Social*. Madrid: Editorial Revista de Occidente.
- Pedreño, Andrés (1999). *Del jornalero agrícola al obrero de las factorías vegetales. Estrategias familiares y nomadismo laboral en la ruralidad murciana*. Madrid: Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación (MAPA).
- and Quaranta, Germán (2002). "Introducción. Trabajo y sociedad en los campos de la globalización agroalimentaria". *AREAS, Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 22: 9-27.
- Pérez-Díaz, Víctor and Rodríguez, Juan C. (2010). *Un futuro hecho con sus manos. Situación y horizonte del Campo de Dalías, en la provincia de Almería*. El Ejido: Fundación Cajamar.
- Pino, Juan del and Bericat, Eduardo (1998). *Los valores sociales de la cultura andaluza*. Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.
- Pujadas, Juan José (2002). *El método biográfico: el uso de las historias de vida en las ciencias sociales*. Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.
- Redfield, Robert (1957). *A Village that Choose Progress*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- (1969). *The Primitive World and its Transformation*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- (1989). *The Little Community and Peasant Society and Culture*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Revista fhalmeria (2009). "Monthly Agrarian Journal of Almería County". Special Edition, Sponsored by the Local Council of El Ejido (Contents in: Spanish, English and German). (on line): <http://www.fhalmeria.es/revistas/fruitlogistica2009.pdf>, access January 5, 2011.
- Rogers, Everett M. and Svenning, Lynne (1973). *La modernización entre los campesinos*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Roquero, Esperanza (1996). "Asalariados africanos trabajando bajo plástico". *Sociología del Trabajo*, 28: 3-24.
- Ruiz, Purificación (1999). "La inmigración al Poniente almeriense. Alpujarreños y africanos en El Ejido". *Anuario Etnológico de Andalucía 1995-1997*. Sevilla: Consejería de Cultura, Junta de Andalucía.
- Sampedro, Rosario (1996). *Género y ruralidad. Las mujeres ante el reto de la desagrarización*. Madrid: Instituto de la Mujer.
- Servolin, Claude (1979). "La absorción de la agricultura en el modo de producción capitalista". In: Etxezarreta, M. (coord.). *La evolución del campesinado. La agricultura en el desarrollo capitalista*. Madrid: Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación (MAPA).
- Sevilla-Guzmán, Eduardo (1979). *La evolución del campesinado en España*. Barcelona: Ediciones Península.
- and Pérez-Yruela, Manuel (1976). "Para una definición sociológica del campesinado". *Agricultura y Sociedad*, 1: 15-39.
- Shanin, Theodor (1976). *Naturaleza y lógica de la economía campesina*. Barcelona: Anagrama.
- (1979a). "Definiendo al campesinado: conceptualizaciones y desconceptualizaciones. Pasado y presente en un debate marxista". *Agricultura y Sociedad*, 11: 9-52.
- (comp.) (1979b). *Campesinos y sociedades campesinas*. México: FCE.
- Silva, Rocío (2004). "Redes socio-institucionales, dinámica innovadora y disfunciones territoriales en los sistemas agrocomerciales andaluces". *Revista de Estudios Regionales*, 70: 13-40.
- Sistema de Información Multiterritorial de Andalucía (SIMA, 2011-2013). Consultations made in the process of writing the article.
- SOS Racismo (2001). *El Ejido: racismo y explotación laboral*. Barcelona: Icaria.
- Thomas, William and Znaniecki, Florian (2004). *El campesino polaco en Europa y en América*. Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.
- Thompson, Paul (2000). *The Voice of the Past*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tilly, Louis (1979). "Individual Lives and Family Strategies in the French Proletariat". *Journal of Family History*, 4 (2): 137-152.

Tortosa, José M. and La Parra, Daniel (2003). "Violencia estructural: una ilustración del concepto". *Documentación social*, 131: 57-72.

Tout, David (1990). "The Horticulture Industry of Almería Province, Spain". *Geographical Journal*, 156: 304-312.

Wolf, Eric R. (1971). *Los campesinos*. Barcelona: Labor.

**RECEPTION:** May 5, 2012

**REVIEW:** January 22, 2013

**ACCEPTANCE:** January 26, 2014

# Valores y estrategias de los agricultores familiares de invernadero del sudeste andaluz

*Values and Strategies in the Greenhouse Family Farmers of the Andalusian Southeast*

Francisco Entrena-Durán y José Francisco Jiménez-Díaz

## Palabras clave

- Agricultores
- Desarrollo agrícola
- Economía agrícola
- Materiales autobiográficos
- Narrativas
- Valores sociales

## Key words

- Farmers
- Agricultural Development
- Agricultural Economics
- Autobiographical Materials
- Narratives
- Social Values

## Resumen

El sudeste andaluz ha pasado entre 1960 y 2010 de una agricultura tradicional de subsistencia a otra modernizada de invernaderos, crecientemente desfamiliada, profesionalizada e innovadora. Este artículo pretende identificar y clasificar los valores sociales interiorizados en sus trayectorias socio-laborales por los agricultores familiares de la zona. Para ello se analizan sus narrativas autobiográficas. Estas, obtenidas mediante observación participante y entrevistas biográficas, muestran cómo, paralelamente a los profundos cambios en las prácticas socioeconómicas de los agricultores familiares, sus valores sociales relacionados con esas prácticas han experimentado sucesivas variaciones. Tales variaciones se conciben como estrategias activas de resignificación de sus percepciones y valoraciones de la realidad por parte de dichos agricultores, cada vez más afectados por las incertidumbres de la globalización.

## Abstract

Andalusian Southeast has passed between 1960 and 2010 from traditional-subsistence farming to a modern greenhouse agriculture, increasingly innovative, professionalized and disconnected from the household. This article intends to identify and classify social values internalized by family farmers in their socio-labor trajectories. Therefore, the article focuses on the autobiographical narratives of farmers, which have been obtained through participant observation and biographical interviews with them. In parallel to the profound changes in the socio-economic practices of family farmers, their social values related to such practices have undergone successive variations. These are considered here as active strategies by those farmers aimed to redefining their views and perceptions of the reality they live, more and more affected by globalization's uncertainties.

## Cómo citar

Entrena-Durán, Francisco y Jiménez-Díaz, José Francisco (2014). «Valores y estrategias de los agricultores familiares de invernadero del sudeste andaluz». *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 147: 21-52. (<http://dx.doi.org/10.5477/cis/reis.147.21>)

La versión en inglés de este artículo puede consultarse en <http://reis.cis.es> y <http://reis.metapress.com>

**Francisco Entrena-Durán:** Universidad de Granada | [fentrena@ugr.es](mailto:fentrena@ugr.es)

**José Francisco Jiménez-Díaz:** Universidad Pablo de Olavide, de Sevilla | [josefco@upo.es](mailto:josefco@upo.es)

## INTRODUCCIÓN

En el sudeste español, en la costa de las provincias andaluzas de Almería y Granada, se ha pasado de la agricultura campesina extensiva de subsistencia, predominante a comienzos de los años sesenta, a una agricultura intensiva de invernaderos altamente tecnificada (García, 2005: 154). El espectacular desarrollo de esa agricultura ha situado a la economía local entre las más dinámicas y avanzadas de Europa, a la vez que ha desencadenado profundas transformaciones. De esta forma, una zona que desde antiguo se venía dedicando a la ganadería y a la agricultura extensiva de secano (cultivándose en ella vides, almendros y cereales diversos), ha experimentado un considerable crecimiento demográfico y un progresivo aumento de la población extranjera inmigrante (cuadro 1). Se explica así que en las últimas décadas hayan abundado los estudios socioeconómicos sobre las provincias de Almería o Granada, entre los que cabe citar a Liceras (1988), Palomar (1996), Silva (2004), Matarán (2005),

Molina (2005), Delgado (2006), González et al. (2006), Aznar y Sánchez (2010) y Pérez-Díaz y Rodríguez (2010).

Aunque las transformaciones socioeconómicas y demográficas se han concentrado sobre todo en los términos municipales de El Ejido y Roquetas de Mar, también se han extendido por un área que engloba los municipios próximos, tales como Adra, Albuñol, Motril y Sorvilán, área en la que se centra este trabajo. El intenso dinamismo económico de esta zona, que ha hecho posible que haya pasado de ser lugar de emigración a escenario de inmigración (Aznar y Sánchez, 2005), es el resultado de la combinación de los siguientes factores: un clima templado y abundancia de sol; los acuíferos subterráneos y su explotación mediante pozos; el esfuerzo e innovación de los agricultores locales; el fácil acceso a la propiedad de la tierra en las décadas de los sesenta y los setenta; la introducción de la técnica del enarenado al inicio (mezcla de arena de la playa con abono y tierra) para acondicionar el suelo; la construcción de invernaderos

**CUADRO 1** Evolución demográfica y de la población extranjera en los municipios estudiados, 1991-2011

Variables/ Municipios	Pob. 1991	Pob. ext. 1991	Pob. 2001	Pob. ext. 2001	Pob. 2011	Pob. ext. 2011
Adra	20.104	113 (0,6%)	21.983	837 (3,8 %)	24.375	2.767 (11,4%)
Ejido (El)	41.374	254 (0,6%)	57.877	8.656 (15,0 %)	80.839	24.965 (30,9%)
Roquetas de Mar	26.842	369 (1,4%)	50.096	6.980 (13,9 %)	86.799	26.130 (30,1%)
Motril	46.500	224 (0,5 %)	51.298	1164 (2,3 %)	60.460	6.290 (10,4%)
Albuñol	5.336	30 (0,6%)	5.784	329 (5,7 %)	6.610	1.522 (23,0%)
Sorvilán	952	12 (1,3%)	696	50 (7,2 %)	557	54 (9,7%)
Totales	141.108	1002 (0,7%)	187.734	18.016 (9,6 %)	259.640	61.728 (23,8%)

Fuente: Elaboración propia con datos de los Censos de Población de 1991, 2001 y 2011.

deros para cultivar frutas y hortalizas destinadas a la exportación internacional (Tout, 1990), principalmente a la Unión Europea; y, por último, un amplio desarrollo del sistema de transportes e infraestructuras viarias (Checa, *et al.*, 2009: 123).

Debido a las particularidades de la agricultura de invernadero, en el marco de la cual tienen lugar, las transformaciones agrarias experimentadas en la zona constituyen un caso singularmente paradigmático dentro del contexto general de la evolución del campesinado y de los cambios experimentados en el conjunto de la sociedad rural española, a medida que esta ha transitado por la senda de la modernización y el avance del capitalismo<sup>1</sup>. A este respecto, la singularidad de la zona estudiada estriba, entre otras diversas razones, en el hecho de que dicha modernización y avance han estado estrechamente vinculados a un proceso de paso, desde un mundo campesino tradicional relativamente autárquico a otro cada vez más glocalizado o inserto en las dinámicas de la globalización e intensamente afectado en su funcionamiento socioeconómico por ellas. En realidad, ninguna sociedad campesina es o ha sido completamente aislada y autárquica, por lo que se discrepa aquí de autores tales como Redfield (1957, 1969, 1989), Foster (1974, 1980), Banfield (1958) o Rogers y Svenning (1973), quienes compartían una visión acentuadamente culturalista de las sociedades campesinas tradicionales, a las que percibían como realidades más bien aisladas, autárquicas y cerradas. Contrariamente a este planteamiento, se conciben más plausibles los enfoques que enfatizan la importancia de lo económico desarrollados por una serie de autores, entre los que cabe incluir a Sidney Mintz (1973), Eric R. Wolf (1971), Án-

gel Palerm (1980) o Theodor Shanin (1976, 1979a, 1979b). Parecen más ajustadas a la realidad las posiciones de tales autores, quienes, más allá de sus diferentes matices interpretativos, consideran a las sociedades campesinas contextualizándolas en la sociedad general de la que forman parte. Una sociedad que en nuestros días está cada vez más interconectada a escala más planetaria, y cuyas transformaciones están determinadas por factores tecnológicos y económicos.

Específicamente, no se pueden entender los profundos cambios experimentados en la zona aquí estudiada sin tomar en cuenta el alto grado de inserción de esta en las dinámicas de la globalización. Esta inserción se refleja en hechos como: a) la gran diversidad de procedencias de la numerosa población extranjera existente en esa zona; b) la creciente vinculación de los agricultores analizados con los mercados globales de los inputs que demandan y de los outputs que producen y ofertan. Mercados, en muy gran medida, en manos de intereses de compañías transnacionales agroalimentarias (Bonnano, 1994); c) los procesos de deslocalización de la agricultura de invernadero hacia otros países con menores costes laborales y ambientales; d) el aumento de los problemas socioeconómicos de los agricultores familiares ante sus crecientes dificultades para competir con los productos de tales países, así como las subsiguientes fluctuaciones continuas de los precios en origen pagados por las producciones de dichos agricultores.

Pero todos estos problemas, así como la modernización capitalista que ha conllevado el desarrollo de la agricultura de invernadero, no han impedido esa persistencia de formas de agricultura típicamente familiares que ya pusieran de manifiesto, desde diferentes perspectivas, clásicos como Karl Kautsky (2002) en *La cuestión agraria* (publicada originalmente en 1899) o Aleksandr Chayanov (1985) en *La organización de la unidad económica campesina* (aparecida en 1925). Sin embargo, como se verá en este artículo, la

<sup>1</sup> Sobre este asunto existe una abundantísima bibliografía de la que solo un somero análisis requeriría escribir un artículo diferente. A nuestro juicio, algunas de las obras más representativas y sugerentes son: Sevilla-Guzmán, 1979; Etxezarreta, 1977; Leal *et al.*, 1986; Narredo, 2004; Bretón, 1993.

agricultura preponderantemente familiar de invernaderos que aquí se investiga, lejos de constituir la manifestación de la persistencia de formas precapitalistas de producción, tal y como sostenían los dos clásicos referidos, lejos de reflejar esa situación descrita por Chayanov en la que los campesinos trabajan solo para cubrir sus necesidades familiares y sin un claro criterio maximizador, manifiesta una clara capacidad de adaptación a las lógicas socio-productivas inherentes al avance de la modernización y del capitalismo. Aquí se presenta, pues, un significativo ejemplo de la progresiva inserción de la agricultura familiar en dichas lógicas (Servolin, 1979).

Los cambios acontecidos en el área investigada tuvieron su máximo auge entre las décadas de los ochenta y los noventa. Durante ese periodo se incrementó la superficie de tierras labradas (principalmente cultivos de hortalizas bajo plástico) en, al menos, 7.164 hectáreas en los municipios seleccionados, los cuales acumulan más del 50% de los invernaderos pese a que su extensión territorial conjunta no supera el 4 y el 1,6% de las superficies provinciales de Almería y Granada, respectivamente, y ello en una situación en la que el tamaño medio de las explotaciones invernadas oscila entre 0,54 y 1,93 hectáreas. Aun con las diferencias mostradas por las fuentes oficiales para registrar la expansión (bastante incontrolada durante las últimas décadas) de la superficie de invernaderos en municipios como El Ejido y Roquetas de Mar (cuadros 2.A y 2.B y sus respectivas notas aclaratorias), los anteriores rasgos caracterizan a la agricultura intensiva como una actividad que, por el tamaño medio de las explotaciones y la evolución de las tierras labradas donde las mismas se ubican, puede ser tipificada como básicamente de tipo familiar. La evolución de esta agricultura, así como la de las trayectorias biográficas de las familias en ella implicadas, han estado estrechamente vinculadas a las intensas transformaciones socioeconómicas y demográficas experimentadas en la zona.

Desde luego, la referida expansión de los invernaderos no hubiera sido posible sin la contribución de los inmigrantes extranjeros empleados como asalariados en dichos invernaderos, cuya proporción no ha dejado de aumentar desde 1991 y, más notablemente, a partir del 2001 (cuadro 1). Tanto si dichos inmigrantes son ilegales (lo que sucede con elevada frecuencia) como si están regularizados, han de sobrellevar condiciones salariales, de vida y de vivienda bastante penosas. El amplio eco que han alcanzado en la prensa española y mundial los ocasionales estallidos de violencia xenófoba relacionados con esta situación (como, por ejemplo, los disturbios ocurridos en El Ejido en febrero de 2000 o los sucedidos en la localidad de Roquetas de Mar en septiembre de 2008), junto con los negativos impactos ecológicos derivados de la agricultura de invernadero, han repercutido decisivamente en la difusión de una mala imagen nacional e internacional del territorio aquí estudiado. Imagen que ha estado focalizada prioritariamente en el municipio de El Ejido, considerado como un entorno de elevada contaminación ambiental y de alto grado de explotación laboral y marginación social de los inmigrantes. Esta imagen negativa se asienta sobre bases reales, como también son ciertas las extremas dificultades y la explotación que sufre una considerable parte de los inmigrantes, los cuales han de soportar las relaciones de desigualdad y «violencia estructural» existentes entre ellos y los agricultores<sup>2</sup>. En estas circunstancias, se explica que hayan abundado investigaciones centra-

<sup>2</sup> El término violencia estructural hace referencia aquí a una situación en la que se produce un daño en la satisfacción de las necesidades humanas básicas (supervivencia, bienestar, identidad o libertad) como consecuencia de los procesos de estratificación social; es decir, sin necesidad de que se produzcan formas de violencia directa. Ello suele conllevar que el reparto, acceso o posibilidad de uso de los recursos se resuelva de manera sistemática a favor de alguna de las partes de la sociedad y en perjuicio de las demás (Tortosa y La Parra, 2003).

**CUADRO 2.A.** *Invernaderos y tamaño de explotaciones en los municipios estudiados, 2009*

Variables/municipios	Extensión territorial de municipios (km <sup>2</sup> )*	Superficie invernaderos en 2009 (hectáreas)**	Número explotaciones en 2009	Tamaño medio de las explotaciones (hectáreas)
Adra	89	900,23	875	1,03
Ejido (El)	226	8.194,33	4.250	1,93
Roquetas de Mar	59	1.451,51	778	1,87
Motril	109	1.018,04	773	1,32
Albuñol	63	415,53	454	0,92
Sorvilán	34	9,78	18	0,54
Total municipios	580	11.989,42	7.148	1,68
Total prov. Almería	8.775	20.036,74	11.076	1,81
Total prov. Granada	12.647	2.810,45	2.306	1,22

*Nota:* en 1984 se prohibió la construcción de nuevos invernaderos en El Ejido, debido a los problemas de sobreexplotación de los acuíferos y pozos, lo que llevó a la salinización y contaminación del agua subterránea. Por ello, a lo largo de las décadas de los ochenta y noventa se produjo la expansión incontrolada de la superficie invernada, lo que pudo originar que muchos de los nuevos invernaderos no fuesen declarados en las estadísticas agrarias, pues suponían una fuerte presión sobre la ya escasa oferta hídrica local (Aznar y Sánchez, 2010: 159). Así, es muy probable que las estadísticas oficiales infrarrepresenten la superficie real invernada, como en el caso de los censos agrarios. De hecho, la extensión real de la superficie invernada supera los datos que ofrecen los censos agrarios, sobre todo en El Ejido y en Roquetas de Mar, que son las localidades en las que la superficie invernada es mayor y, por ende, es más complicado registrar. Es muy significativo que el Ayuntamiento de El Ejido reconociera desde el año 2000 una superficie de unas 11.500 hectáreas de invernadero y, a inicios del año 2013, en la página web del citado Ayuntamiento, se dice expresamente que: «En El Ejido estamos ante un sistema agrícola [...] fundamentalmente hortalizas que en el espacio municipal ocupan una superficie de 12.500 has en invernadero, lo que supone el 52% del total del municipio». Asimismo, el Ayuntamiento de Roquetas de Mar reconoce que: «La agricultura intensiva, con más de 3.000 hectáreas dedicadas a los cultivos bajo plástico, ha cambiado la vida de Roquetas de Mar». Como se puede observar, ambas cifras superan con mucho las cantidades que recoge el Censo Agrario en 2009. Además, en 2006 se reconocía que «la superficie de producción en Almería se encuentra estabilizada en 28.100 has, con un tamaño medio por explotación de 2 has, y con una estructura de gestión basada en un modelo familiar, aunque con tendencia hacia la profesionalización de la gestión» (Céspedes *et al.*, 2006: 74). Esta última cifra no coincide con las 20.036 hectáreas de invernadero de la provincia de Almería que el Censo Agrario recabó en 2009.

Página web del Ayuntamiento de El Ejido:

[http://www.elejido.es/tuayto/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=46:la-agricultura-en-el-ejido&catid=56:informacion-general&Itemid=63](http://www.elejido.es/tuayto/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=46:la-agricultura-en-el-ejido&catid=56:informacion-general&Itemid=63) (acceso el 7/01/2013).

Página de Internet del Ayuntamiento de Roquetas de Mar:

[http://www.aytoroquetas.org/seccion/agricultura\\_181](http://www.aytoroquetas.org/seccion/agricultura_181) (acceso el 7/01/2013).

\* La extensión territorial se ofrece en kilómetros cuadrados (km<sup>2</sup>). <http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/intitutodeestadisticaycartografia/sima/index2.htm> [Consulta el 16/01/2013].

\*\* La superficie de invernaderos, por municipios, se ofrece en hectáreas (ha) y se hace coincidir con la variable «Aprovechamiento de tierras: detalle de cultivos, hortalizas cultivadas en invernadero» ofrecida en el Censo Agrario de 2009.

*Fuente:* INE, Censo Agrario 2009 y elaboración propia. Consultado en:

das en analizar la difícil situación de los inmigrantes, así como los discursos y percepciones de los agricultores sobre los inmigrantes (Roquero, 1996; Ruiz, 1999; Calvo, 2000; Castaño, 2000; SOS Racismo, 2001; Checa, 2001; Martínez, 2001; García y Pedreño,

2002; Izcara-Palacios, 2005; Herranz, 2008; Checa, et al., 2010).

Sin embargo, este artículo, aun cuando se reconoce que todavía pueden hacerse nuevas aportaciones respecto a los inmigrantes y la visión que de ellos existe en la

**CUADRO 2.B.** Evolución de las tierras labradas de cultivos herbáceos, 1982-2009

Variables/municipios	Extensión territorial de municipios (km <sup>2</sup> ) #	Tierras labradas en 1982 (hectáreas)	Tierras labradas en 1989 (hectáreas)	Tierras labradas en 1999 (hectáreas)	Incremento tierras labradas 1982-1999 (hectáreas)	Tierras labradas en 2009 (hectáreas)	Incremento tierras labradas 1982-2009 (hectáreas)
Adra	89	1.843	1.697	1.296	-547	1.196	-647
El Ejido (en 1982: Dalías)	226	3.685	8.040	11.618	7.933	9.383	5.698
Roquetas de Mar	59	1.848	1.567	1.938	90	1.605	-243
Motril	109	2.231	2.209	1.642	-589	1.563	-668
Albuñol	63	294	323	657	363	572	278
Sorvilán	34	123	99	37	-86	79	-44
Total municipios	580	<b>10.024</b>	<b>11.935</b>	<b>17.188</b>	<b>7.164</b>	14.398	4.374

*Nota:* La evolución de las tierras labradas de cultivos herbáceos en los municipios estudiados se ha considerado con todas las cautelas expresadas en la nota aclaratoria del cuadro 2.A. La variable tierras labradas se obtiene de los citados censos consultando la variable «aprovechamiento de tierras: grupos de cultivos, cultivos herbáceos» para el Censo Agrario de 2009; «aprovechamiento de las tierras labradas/cultivos herbáceos y barbecho (regadío)» para el Censo Agrario de 1999; y la variable «aprovechamiento de las tierras labradas/cultivos herbáceos incluidos barbechos», que incluyen, además de las hortalizas, patatas, remolacha y otros cultivos herbáceos tradicionales, para el Censo Agrario de 1989 y Censo Agrario de 1982. Por ello, en algunos pueblos, como Adra y Motril, la evolución ha sido negativa, entre los años 1982 y 1999, como consecuencia de la rápida disminución de importantes cultivos herbáceos tradicionales como la patata y la caña de azúcar. Evidentemente, ello explica la variación de las tierras labradas en el periodo 1982-1999. No obstante, para explicar las variaciones de las tierras labradas de cultivos herbáceos entre 1999-2009, en diversos casos variaciones negativas, sobre todo en los municipios de El Ejido y Roquetas de Mar, se ha de considerar el fuerte desarrollo urbanístico entre 1999 y 2008 de dichos municipios, lo cual les hizo perder una gran extensión de cultivos bajo plástico, pues muchos agricultores vendieron sus invernaderos como suelo para la construcción en dichos municipios y, a su vez, algunos agricultores adquirieron tierras en otros municipios próximos para hacer nuevos invernaderos. En ese sentido se decía en 2006 que: «La presión inmobiliaria está propiciando la desaparición de muchas explotaciones en el sistema productivo local almeriense y el incremento del precio de la tierra. En muchos casos, esto está implicando un traslado de las explotaciones hacia tierras del interior y, aparentemente, una reducción del terreno que se dedica a la agricultura» (Céspedes *et al.*, 2006: 70). Sin embargo, la superficie provincial de invernaderos parece haberse mantenido estable o, incluso, aumentado (Aznar y Sánchez, 2010: 165).

*Fuente:* Censos Agrarios; 1982, 1989, 1999, 2009 y elaboración propia.

# La extensión territorial se ofrece en kilómetros cuadrados (km<sup>2</sup>). [Consulta el 26/04/2011].

zona estudiada, se ha focalizado en otros actores también esenciales para comprender los cambios acontecidos en esa zona. Tales actores son los agricultores familiares, y la investigación de sus narrativas autobiográficas, en vez de haber sido ideada para estudiar las visiones que estos tienen de los inmigrantes, ha sido diseñada y utilizada sobre todo para recabar información acerca de diversos aspectos relacionados con sus trayectorias socio-laborales desde los comienzos de su actividad agrícola hasta la actuali-

dad. Una opción analítica que ha sido debida, en gran medida, a que, en los primeros años de dicha actividad, la población extranjera en el área investigada era muy escasa y, en la inmensa mayoría de los casos, no recurrían a ella las explotaciones familiares de invernadero. De hecho, el gran crecimiento de la población extranjera en tal área se produjo a partir del 2001 (cuadro 1).

Las grandes transformaciones experimentadas en la zona han implicado significativos cambios en las prácticas socioeco-

nómicas de los agricultores familiares y en los valores sociales de estos relacionados con ellas. Sin embargo, pocos investigadores se han ocupado del estudio sistemático de dichos agricultores, la mayoría de los cuales proceden de familias campesinas originarias de diferentes municipios granadinos de la comarca de La Alpujarra como Albondón, Albuñol, Murtas, Sorvilán, etc. Se establecieron en la costa de Almería y Granada, coincidiendo con las restricciones que encontró la emigración española hacia Europa a partir de 1973, bien comprando tierras, explotándolas en régimen de aparcería o, simplemente, trabajando como asalariados (Ruiz, 1999: 109).

Los agricultores familiares, además de personificar el principal grupo social beneficiario de las antedichas relaciones de «violencia estructural» y ser los impulsores fundamentales del crecimiento económico del litoral almeriense y granadino, constituyen un colectivo diverso y heterogéneo que ha asumido un papel activo y clave en las transformaciones socioeconómicas y demográficas experimentadas en su medio. Es precisamente la finalidad de ahondar en el conocimiento de ese papel, así como de las percepciones y valoraciones de la realidad de los actores que lo han protagonizado, lo que lleva al presente artículo a analizar los valores sociales incorporados por los agricultores familiares en sus trayectorias socioeconómicas y laborales. Esos valores se conciben aquí como los criterios de preferencia y juicios de aceptabilidad, o de rechazo, atribuidos a las ideas y los hechos que orientan el comportamiento de los actores sociales en sus cursos de acción (Del Pino y Bericat, 1998: 2; Giner, 2010: 397). Particularmente en este artículo, los referidos valores y cursos de acción se concretan en los sucesivos cambios en las valoraciones y/o percepciones que los agricultores familiares analizados tienen de sus prácticas socio-productivas, a medida que, a través de estrategias activas de reinterpretación y modi-

ficación de las mismas, las van resignificando y transformando.

A este respecto, debe aclararse que cuando aquí se habla de estrategias no se alude con ello a lo que ha sido definido como estrategias familiares. Una conceptualización que, coincidiendo con Louis Tilly (1979), es útil para analizar y descubrir los principios que inducen las regularidades observables o las pautas de comportamiento de los grupos domésticos. Así, si bien esta conceptualización ha dado lugar a numerosos y fructíferos trabajos en el campo de la sociología rural (Garrido y Gil-Calvo, 1993; González, 1993; Cruces, 1994a; González y Gómez-Benito, 1997; Contreras, 1997; Pedreño, 1999; Díaz-Méndez, 1999, etc.), puede suscitar problemas de reificación de dichos grupos, los cuales pueden acabar siendo considerados como «unidades de conciencia» o de volición, lo que conlleva «pretender que todos los miembros de un grupo doméstico comparten los mismos fines y desarrollan una única estrategia» (Contreras, 1997: 18). Sin embargo, la realidad es que, a menudo, los grupos familiares distan bastante de comportarse como esas entidades perfectamente integradas que harían posible que sus acciones fueran el resultado de decisiones consensuadas entre todos sus miembros. De acuerdo con esto no se ha focalizado la atención en las estrategias de los grupos familiares de los agricultores investigados. Estrategias cuyo estudio sería problemático, aparte de por las razones antedichas, porque las mismas se han ido obviamente modificando en paralelo a las grandes transformaciones experimentadas en la zona estudiada. Por estas razones, lo que se investiga aquí es, básicamente, cómo tales agricultores manifiestan un apreciable «grado de voluntarismo y creatividad, a través de los cuales se verifican diversas respuestas en los procesos dinámicos de la sociedad» (Cruces, 1994b: 19). Ese voluntarismo y creatividad se muestran en el hecho de que, a lo largo de sus trayectorias biográficas, han ido generando diferen-

tes estrategias activas de resignificación de los valores sociales que orientan sus prácticas económicas y actuaciones en general, lo cual han hecho en consonancia con los grandes cambios experimentados en su mundo socio-laboral, de los que, en gran medida, también ellos han sido artífices destacados. Con la expresión «estrategias activas» se entienden los valores sociales en un sentido similar a como lo hiciera Talcott Parsons (1968, 1976)<sup>3</sup>, esto es, como motivadores / orientadores de las actuaciones y las actitudes de los agricultores estudiados. Pero esto no significa que se compartan las implicaciones idealistas que sitúan a los valores en el nivel superior de la jerarquía funcionalista parsoniana. Contrariamente a ello, cuando aquí se habla de valores sociales, se hace referencia, desde luego, a las representaciones que motivan las acciones sociales y las prácticas económicas de los agricultores, pero sin perder de vista el contexto objetivo material en el que esas acciones y prácticas se producen y reproducen, a la vez que el hecho de que los agricultores son, cada uno de ellos individualmente y como colectivo, artífices de las mismas, y por ende también productores y / o reproductores más o menos activos de los valores sociales que las orientan. Así pues, se consideran los cambios en los valores sociales de los agricultores familiares como resultado de estrategias activas, por parte de estos, encaminadas a la resignificación de sus percepciones sobre su realidad socio-laboral y la redefinición de sus posiciones y actuaciones ante ella a medida que esta se transforma, en cierta medida, como efecto de dichas actuaciones.

En consonancia con lo antedicho, en las páginas siguientes se estudia inicialmente la evolución de las prácticas socioeconómicas de los agricultores familiares y se destaca

cómo tales prácticas han experimentado importantes mudanzas. A continuación, se explica el trabajo de campo realizado y se reflexiona sobre la conveniencia de tomar las narrativas autobiográficas, y en particular las de los agricultores estudiados, como base empírica para examinar los cambios en los valores sociales de esos agricultores. Finalmente, se identifican y clasifican cuatro conjuntos de valores ligados a las prácticas socioeconómicas de tres generaciones de agricultores familiares, cuyos relatos muestran procesos reflexivos y de resignificación de dichos valores vinculados a los cambios que han vivido y/o protagonizado.

### **EVOLUCIÓN DE LAS PRÁCTICAS SOCIOECONÓMICAS: DESDE UNA AGRICULTURA FAMILIAR-ARTESANAL HACIA OTRA SALARIAL Y PROFESIONALIZADA**

Tradicionalmente los agricultores de los invernaderos del litoral almeriense y granadino han practicado una agricultura basada en la colaboración y el trabajo conjunto de la unidad familiar; es decir, aquí aparece un caso característico de agricultura familiar, en tanto que estaba integrada por explotaciones que utilizaban exclusiva o mayoritariamente la fuerza de trabajo del grupo familiar vinculado en su conjunto a la explotación (Gómez-Benito *et al.*, 1999). Ello está en concordancia con el carácter artesanal de la producción tradicional agrícola de invernadero que solo permitía una parcial mecanización (Martínez, 2001: 32). Dicho carácter artesanal explica que la agricultura de invernadero funcionara y fuera «rentable mientras conservaba el componente de economía familiar, en la que trabajaban todos los adultos y niños del grupo doméstico. Desde que la práctica totalidad de la mano de obra se convirtió en ajena, independientemente de si es nacional o extranjera, los beneficios de estas empresas familiares empezaron a verse muy mermados» (Checa *et al.*, 2009: 123-124).

<sup>3</sup> Las dos clásicas obras de Parsons aquí referenciadas, *La estructura de la acción social* y *El Sistema Social*, fueron publicadas por primera vez, respectivamente, en 1937 y en 1951.

Los años setenta supusieron el apogeo de la práctica de la agricultura familiar de invernadero, ya que por entonces se obtuvieron mayores márgenes de beneficios, debido básicamente a la «autoexplotación y la minimización de los costes salariales» (Cruces, 1994b: 37)<sup>4</sup>. Después, tras la relativa recuperación de una crisis entre 1982 y 1986, el mantenimiento de la rentabilidad fue una tarea muy costosa que exigió, en la década de los años noventa, el incremento de las tierras labradas (cuadro 2.B), a la vez que tenía lugar una creciente tecnificación de la producción.

Como consecuencia, la agricultura familiar entró en una acentuada crisis, incapaz de asimilar los conocimientos técnicos necesarios y de afrontar el creciente endeudamiento que ello implicaba. La crisis se hizo particularmente patente en los años noventa, cuando caían los rendimientos agrícolas; entre otras razones, debido a que, desde 1995, la agricultura intensiva tuvo que afrontar un conjunto de problemas y retos medioambientales derivados de la inadecuada gestión de los residuos agrícolas. De esta forma, en «cada campaña, el agricultor tiene que pagar más para obtener los mismos kilos» (Delgado, 2006: 111). Además de ello, los costes de producción han aumentado debido a que la agricultura intensiva ha acrecentado la necesidad de contratación de empleados externos, al mismo tiempo que los hijos y la esposa del agricultor suelen optar preferentemente por dedicarse a estudiar, los primeros, o a trabajar en otras actividades laborales, ambos. Y, en este escenario, de gradual profesionalización de las prácticas agrarias, la mano de obra barata y dócil que constituye «la población inmigrante se convierte en un importante factor de competitividad de la agricultura almeriense» (Silva, 2004: 29).

Cuando se aplica al sector agrario el concepto de profesionalización no deja de ser un

término indefinido, poco concreto, genérico y bastante polisémico (Gómez-Benito, 2003: 2). Entre otras razones, esto es así debido a que la profesión agrícola puede ser concebida como un proceso inacabado o en marcha, o incluso como «profesión incompleta». De esta forma, desde los años ochenta, por lo menos, se viene hablando del «proceso de transformaciones que experimenta la profesión agrícola en la dirección de convertirse en una profesión» (Arribas y López, 1989: 111). Precisamente, desde los años ochenta puede hablarse de profesionalización en el caso de los agricultores de invernadero aquí estudiados, pues es a partir de entonces cuando estos incorporan los valores de la tierra propia, independencia y autonomía laboral.

Dada su imprecisión y polisemia, se hace especialmente necesario aclarar lo que significa con el término profesionalización. En concreto, siguiendo a Alonso *et al.* (1991), cuando en la zona estudiada se habla de profesionalización, se alude al paso de una agricultura tradicional de subsistencia, con predominio de agricultores muy pobres en lo que se conocía como el campo de Dalías en los años sesenta, a otra forma de agricultura familiar pero con un carácter cada vez más intensivo, técnico y empresarial, tal y como ha sucedido con los cultivos hortofrutícolas de invernadero. La generalización de estos cultivos ha supuesto, donde ha tenido lugar, como es el caso aquí analizado, una profunda transformación de las prácticas agrarias hacia modos de producción cada vez más industrializados, globales e informacionales (Pedreño, 1999), de tal forma que los actuales sistemas de riego y abonado por ordenador, los cultivos sin suelo y los sistemas de producción integrada<sup>5</sup> desarrollados en muchos invernaderos constituyen la clara evi-

<sup>4</sup> Ello sucedió en la agricultura intensiva de la costa oriental y occidental andaluza (véase Cruces, 1994b: 16-18).

<sup>5</sup> La producción integrada consiste en la utilización combinada de productos fitosanitarios y productos biológicos-naturales para controlar las plagas, introduciendo solo en ciertos momentos productos químicos sintéticos de baja contaminación.

dencia del elevado grado de modernización y tecnificación alcanzado por las prácticas agrarias hortofrutícolas. Prácticas que, por lo tanto, requieren de un progresivo aumento del grado de formación y especialización de quienes las llevan a cabo. Esto se produce paralelamente a una paulatina profesionalización de los agricultores como grupo socio-laboral, lo que también implica un cambio en su identidad productiva. Una identidad muy definida y hasta cierto punto quebrada, entre la memoria de un orden campesino tradicional, caracterizado por procesos productivos protagonizados por la práctica totalidad de la unidad familiar, y la actual agricultura avanzada, tecnológica, empresarial y profesionalizada, asociada a procesos productivos muy tecnificados y mediatizados por los gestores comerciales y los expertos (Camarero *et al.*, 2002). Todo esto ha transcurrido en paralelo con una creciente desfamilización de la agricultura intensiva hortofrutícola, ya que esta cada vez es menos una tarea en la que se implica la totalidad de la unidad familiar, a la vez que se experimenta una progresiva separación entre la familia y la explotación como dos realidades distintas (Hervieu, 1996: 63 y ss.), con lo que tiene lugar una creciente dificultad para la reproducción, mediante la transmisión de padres a hijos, de la práctica familiar-artesanal (Gómez-Benito *et al.*, 1999).

Todo esto está estrechamente relacionado con una serie de tendencias generales en la agricultura española y en el conjunto de las agriculturas familiares modernizadas hacia la ruptura de la identidad estricta familia-explotación (Arnalte *et al.*, 1997; Arnalte, 1997). Tendencias que, como se observa en este trabajo, también se han manifestado y manifiestan en los procesos de evolución de la agricultura familiar hortofrutícola de la zona aquí estudiada. Entre las causas de ello cabe mencionar la progresiva desvinculación del cónyuge (especialmente de las esposas) de la explotación y su opción por otras alternativas profesionales distintas, así como la

menor proporción de matrimonios entre familias de agricultores y de esposos/esposas procedentes del medio rural o la mayor individualización de los procesos de toma de decisiones de los itinerarios educativos y laborales de los miembros de la familia, especialmente de la esposa y de los hijos e hijas, quienes suelen seguir otras trayectorias profesionales diferentes de la agricultura. Sobre todo, en unas circunstancias de paulatino rechazo de la actividad agraria, percibida como una profesión que carece de un marco institucional y simbólico capaz de proporcionar sentido y reconocimiento social (González y Gómez-Benito, 1997: 578). En este contexto se explica que diferentes autores hayan mostrado cómo, a menudo, sean las propias familias las que opten por desvincular a algunos de sus miembros (especialmente a los cónyuges femeninos) de dicha actividad, sustituyéndolos por fuerza de trabajo asalariado externo (Arnalte y Estruch, 1999; Langreo, 1999). Es muy significativo el hecho de que un gran número de esposas pasa de ser «agricultora-consorte» a «ama de casa»<sup>6</sup>.

Las antedichas tendencias se acentúan sobremanera en el presente escenario mundial de creciente globalización y competitividad, que con tanta intensidad ha afectado y afecta a la agricultura de la zona estudiada.

---

<sup>6</sup> Este repliegue de la mujer hacia el ámbito doméstico, así como el consiguiente apartamiento de la misma del ámbito laboral que ello conlleva, está estrechamente relacionado con la ambigua posición que han ocupado, y en gran medida siguen ocupando, las mujeres rurales inmersas en modos de producción de carácter familiar. Posición en la que «el carácter simultáneamente productivo y reproductivo de su trabajo las ha privado de todas las ventajas sociales asociadas a la situación de empleadas o de amas de casa, sin ahorrarles casi ninguno de sus inconvenientes. Una dimensión esencial en las estrategias de género de las mujeres rurales es, por tanto, la búsqueda de una definición de su papel laboral en la producción o en la reproducción, un movimiento de especialización, en fin, que explica en gran medida por qué la desagrarización va acompañada, generacional y territorialmente, por un aumento de la domesticidad, y por qué los niveles de actividad femenina rural no han aumentado en la misma medida que los de las mujeres de otros tipos de hábitat» (Sampedro, 1996: 256).

En estas circunstancias, cada vez son menos los agricultores, o los hijos de estos, que ven futuro al oficio de agricultor tal y como ellos lo han ejercido tradicionalmente. Esto está relacionado con el hecho de que, a pesar de los importantes índices de productividad y su capacidad para generar empleo, la práctica de la actividad agraria ha experimentado una evolución caracterizada por la irregularidad e indefinición de precios, el incremento del costo de los inputs, la precariedad laboral y la incertidumbre (Cruces, 1994b: 17-18; Martín y Rodríguez, 2001: 47; Silva, 2004: 28). Incertidumbre debida, en gran parte, al desajuste entre las elevadas inversiones que debe asumir el agricultor de invernaderos y los precios a los que este puede vender sus productos. Precios muy determinados en el presente mercado global por empresas foráneas, pues cerca «del 80 % de la producción va encaminada al mercado europeo, completamente controlado por menos de una docena de comercializadoras (todas extranjeras), que son las que determinan los precios en origen [...]» (Checa *et al.*, 2009: 123-124).

En suma, en la actual situación de superproducción y de saturación de los mercados, así como de progresiva competencia con hortalizas procedentes de países con costes laborales y productivos inferiores (por ejemplo, de Marruecos), se han agudizado las dificultades para la supervivencia de la agricultura familiar de invernaderos. Ello ha llevado a los agricultores a buscar el mantenimiento de la rentabilidad, ya sea mediante el incremento de la producción, ya a través de la mejora de la calidad acreditada de sus hortalizas, cultivadas con técnicas de producción ecológica o integrada. La progresiva implantación de ambos tipos de agriculturas, sobre todo la integrada, ha implicado en el litoral almeriense y granadino que, desde 2003, «la tendencia en el consumo de productos fitosanitarios [sea] claramente negativa» (Céspedes *et al.*, 2009: 109). En gran medida, esto sucede debido a que en los últimos años ha aparecido una nueva concien-

cia, tanto entre agricultores como en los responsables públicos del medio ambiente, sobre la necesidad de fomentar prácticas agrícolas medioambientalmente sostenibles. Se explica así que en una publicación de la zona se haya afirmado que:

La agricultura almeriense ha logrado dar un salto cualitativo en las últimas campañas y lo ha hecho gracias a la aplicación masiva del control biológico de plagas que, en apenas dos años, se ha convertido en el método de cultivo referente en la provincia. Los agricultores han demostrado así que son capaces de dar respuesta a las demandas de los diferentes mercados de destino y que, a día de hoy, piden un producto de mayor calidad, que garantice la seguridad alimentaria y que, además, haya sido cultivado con el mayor respeto posible al entorno [...] (*Revista fhalmeria*, 2009: 4)<sup>7</sup>.

La implementación de las prácticas agrarias inherentes a esta conciencia «ecológica» requiere considerables inversiones que no siempre pueden ser realizadas por los agricultores familiares (aquellos con explotaciones de invernadero de tamaño inferior o igual a 2 hectáreas) y, cuando se deciden a hacerlas, se ven forzados a aumentar su endeudamiento y dependencia de los bancos, por lo que están en desventaja frente a las mayores facilidades fiscales y financieras de los agricultores de carácter empresarial (aquellos con explotaciones invernadas de tamaño superior a 2 hectáreas). Se explica, así, que, según las organizaciones agrarias locales, en el transcurso de las crisis de precios de la campaña 2002-2003, alrededor de unas 3.000 explotaciones del litoral almeriense no podían pagar las deudas bancarias contraídas en ese momento debido a las bajas cotizaciones de sus productos.

En este escenario, aparte de que en los años ochenta y noventa se incrementó con-

<sup>7</sup> *Revista fhalmeria* es una publicación patrocinada por el Consejo Local de El Ejido.

siderablemente el número de explotaciones con mayor tamaño, las explotaciones menores de 5 hectáreas han pasado de 13.057 en 1999 a 7.954 en 2009. Durante ese mismo intervalo se han reducido también, aunque en mucha menor medida, el número de explotaciones mayores de 5 hectáreas (cuadro 3.A). Esta reducción indica que se está produciendo un proceso de concentración y reestructuración de la propiedad, el cual está en consonancia con las antedichas dificultades económicas crecientes de las pequeñas explotaciones familiares de invernadero. Sobre todo, estas dificultades son mayores en las explotaciones de una o menos hectáreas y menos acentuadas en las explotaciones a partir de una hectárea, con más capacidad para capitalizarse. De ahí que se esté observando, a partir de 1999, una tendencia hacia

la reducción porcentual de las explotaciones de una o menos hectáreas, al tiempo que aumenta la superficie media de tales explotaciones y la de las explotaciones de más de una hectárea (cuadro 3.B). Asimismo, se extiende el uso de estructuras de invernadero más modernizadas en explotaciones de carácter empresarial con una dimensión media superior a los invernaderos tradicionales (García, 2005: 177).

### **LAS NARRATIVAS AUTOBIOGRÁFICAS: EVIDENCIAS PARA ESTUDIAR LOS CAMBIOS EN LOS VALORES Y ESTRATEGIAS**

El estudio del cambio social ha de contemplar necesariamente sus causas sociales e

**CUADRO 3.A.** Evolución del número de explotaciones según su tamaño en hectáreas, 1982-2009

Nº de hectáreas	1982	1989	1999	2009	% variación (1982-1999)	% variación (1982-2009)
Entre 0,1 y 5	8.720	13.669	13.057	7.954	149,7	91,2
Entre 5 y 10	380	578	691	492	181,8	129,5
Entre 10 y 20	202	222	252	147	124,8	72,8
Entre 20 y 50	65	97	97	67	149,2	103,1
Más de 50	31	61	37	29	119,4	93,5

Fuente: Elaboración propia con datos del Sistema de Información Multiterritorial de Andalucía (SIMA).

**CUADRO 3.B.** Evolución de las explotaciones de invernadero según su tamaño, 1999-2005

Tamaño de la explotación en hectáreas*	Porcentaje explotaciones 1999	Superficie media 1999 ha	Porcentaje explotaciones 2005	Superficie media 2005 ha
Explotaciones de 1 ha o menos	20,3	0,75	16,6	0,81
Explotaciones entre 1 y 2 ha	34,6	1,50	37,8	1,53
Explotaciones de más de 2 ha	45,0	3,97	45,6	4,05

\* Las explotaciones de 1 ha o menos se consideran «explotaciones de carácter eminentemente familiar y con cierta fragilidad debido a su tamaño ya que el mismo solo garantiza la subsistencia»; las explotaciones entre 1 y 2 ha se consideran «explotaciones familiares con cierta capacidad de capitalizarse»; y las explotaciones de más de 2 ha son «explotaciones con un carácter más empresarial» (Céspedes *et al.*, 2009: 48). Este criterio se establece de acuerdo al nivel de inversión en capital que exigen los tipos de explotaciones de invernadero mencionados.

Fuente: Céspedes *et al.* (2009: 49); datos de encuesta.

individuales. Como ya advirtieron dos clásicos de la Sociología, «si se ignora esta cuestión, la teoría social se enfrenta a una tarea infinita cuando intenta explicar el cambio social más simple» (Thomas y Znaniecki, 2004: 129). En este sentido, los estudios narrativos permiten observar cómo los sujetos «otorgan significados a sus experiencias» (Bernasconi, 2011: 29), siendo muy útiles para analizar cómo tales sujetos interiorizan, perciben, reflexionan o explican discursivamente los cambios acontecidos a lo largo de sus vidas. Así, «para comprender algo humano, personal o colectivo, es preciso contar una historia», y la «razón narrativa» (Ortega y Gasset, 1971: 53) contribuye a investigar los procesos de cambio de los valores y de las prácticas asociadas a estos en el transcurso de las vidas de los sujetos. Por ello, se ha dicho que la razón narrativa «introduce la vida en la misma historia y amplía sus horizontes» (Thompson, 2000: 23), así como que «es uno de los modos más penetrantes e importantes» para «organizar o dar cuenta de la experiencia» (Atkinson, 2005: párrafo 10). En esta dirección, para estudiar los cambios en los valores, estrategias de resignificación y prácticas socioeconómicas de los agricultores familiares de invernadero se recabaron diversos relatos autobiográficos producidos por ellos y, a la vez, se hizo observación participante.

Tales relatos autobiográficos se obtuvieron mediante entrevistas biográficas realizadas a lo largo de un trabajo de campo desarrollado entre abril y septiembre de 2006, así como en varios meses de 2008 y 2009. La clasificación de las narraciones de los sujetos estudiados, acerca de sus prácticas socioeconómicas y valores sociales, fue establecida a partir del análisis temático y comprensivo de sus discursos, lo cual permite «relacionar “lo que el sujeto dice” con su articulación en el campo de las prácticas sociales efectivas [...]» (Ortí, 1990: 184). Los asuntos en que se centraron dichas entrevistas fueron los siguientes: la familia de origen,

el trabajo de los familiares, la etapa escolar, trabajos durante la infancia, cambios de residencia, el momento de inicio en la agricultura u otras actividades laborales, el desarrollo de sus vidas como agricultores, etc. El análisis temático y comprensivo se elaboró mediante la codificación abierta y la recodificación de los textos de entrevista, en una primera fase de la investigación, que dio lugar a la identificación de casi medio centenar de códigos sustantivos; y, tras ello, se procedió a la codificación teórica (Glaser, 1978: cap. 4), que resultó en la identificación de cuatro configuraciones de valores sociales, como muestra el cuadro 4.

Este cuadro revela procesos reflexivos entre las prácticas, las estrategias de resignificación y los valores sociales de los agricultores, quienes, como se verá más adelante, resignifican tales valores en sus relatos, «pues el sujeto no recita su vida, reflexiona sobre ella al mismo tiempo que la cuenta» (Bertaux, 1993: 161). Así, las prácticas se detallan en las columnas «tipos de prácticas socioeconómicas» y «análisis temático de prácticas»; las estrategias de resignificación se expresan en la columna «análisis comprensivo de prácticas»; y los valores de los agricultores se especifican en la columna «configuraciones de valores sociales», atendiendo a los lenguajes de los sujetos estudiados y de los investigadores respectivamente. Por tanto, los análisis expuestos avalan que «el esfuerzo de comprensión de las prácticas puede llevar a interesarse por el nivel semántico de las creencias, representaciones, valores y proyectos que [...] inspiran la lógica de acción de los actores» (Bertaux, 2005: 11-12).

Así pues, durante el trabajo de campo se aplicaron dos técnicas de producción de información: la entrevista y la observación participante. En primer lugar, se entrevistó a un dirigente de una organización agraria de Albuñol (Granada), quien proporcionó gran parte de los restantes contactos mediante números de teléfonos y/o presentaciones

**CUADRO 4.** Análisis de las prácticas socioeconómicas, estrategias y valores de los agricultores estudiados

Tipos de prácticas socioeconómicas	Análisis temático de prácticas / Códigos sustantivos	Análisis comprensivo de prácticas y estrategias activas de resignificación/ Códigos sustantivos	Configuraciones de valores sociales / Códigos teóricos
<p><b>Agricultura familiar-tradicional y de subsistencia.</b></p> <p>Dependiente de las condiciones meteorológicas. Cultivos extensivos tradicionales. Saberes transmitidos mediante experiencia. Técnicas rudimentarias.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Trabajo infantil.</li> <li>-Escasez de recursos.</li> <li>-Escarificación precaria o nula.</li> <li>-Jornalero temporal.</li> <li>-Agricultor a tiempo parcial.</li> <li>-Movilidad laboral.</li> <li>-Esfuerzos individuales y familiares.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Subsistencia familiar en un contexto de precariedad económica.</li> <li>-Agricultura a tiempo parcial y aportaciones externas.</li> <li>-Campesinos con pocas tierras o sin ellas.</li> <li>-«Jornaleros nómadas».</li> <li>-Pluriactividad.</li> <li>-Privación y subordinación.</li> <li>-Precariedad laboral.</li> <li>-Cohesión del grupo doméstico.</li> <li>-Ayuda mutua.</li> <li>-Relativa autarquía.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Valores del esfuerzo, el trabajo, la solidaridad familiar, la ayuda y el aprendizaje mutuos.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Agricultura familiar-artesanal intensiva en trabajo.</b></p> <p>Cultivos intensivos de regadío en enarenados. Invernadero tipo parral. Riego por goteo, etc. Primeras innovaciones.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Emigración hacia el litoral almeriense.</li> <li>-Agricultor familiar: ayudas y esfuerzos familiares.</li> <li>-Escasa inversión en capital y tecnología.</li> <li>-Alto rendimiento.</li> <li>-Problemas de comercialización.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Avance económico basado en la autoexplotación laboral del grupo familiar en explotación agrícola en propiedad.</li> <li>-Cohesión familiar.</li> <li>-Relativa autonomía en el trabajo.</li> <li>-Producción en masa.</li> <li>-Dependencia del mercado.</li> <li>-Proceso de profesionalización incipiente.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Valores de la tierra propia, independencia y autonomía laboral.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Agricultura profesionalizada-técnica intensiva en trabajo, capital y tecnología.</b></p> <p>Cultivos selectos y nuevos conocimientos: innovación como rasgo del proceso productivo. Cultivos sin suelo. Nuevas estructuras de invernadero. Sistema de riego por ordenador, sistema de climatización, etc. Nuevas semillas. Producción integrada y ecológica. Recuperación de algunas prácticas tradicionales, etc.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Mano de obra inmigrante.</li> <li>-Menor importancia de ayudas familiares.</li> <li>-Agricultor de pequeña empresa.</li> <li>-Modernización de las explotaciones.</li> <li>-Sistema de producción integrada.</li> <li>-Creciente inversión en tecnología.</li> <li>-Competencia internacional.</li> <li>-Rendimiento menor.</li> <li>-Endeudamiento consolidado.</li> <li>-Retos y alternativas en la producción.</li> <li>-Crisis del agricultor familiar.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Modernización e innovación continua de las explotaciones.</li> <li>-Diversificación de la economía familiar: salidas laborales alternativas para hijos/as y cónyuges.</li> <li>-Profesionalización consolidada del agricultor/a.</li> <li>-Desfamiliarización de la explotación agrícola.</li> <li>-Dependencia de sectores auxiliares.</li> <li>-Incertidumbre y globalización.</li> <li>-Producción adaptada a los consumidores.</li> <li>-Nuevas normas de producción y comercialización.</li> <li>-Acreditación de la calidad productiva.</li> <li>-Sostenibilidad de la agricultura local.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Valores de la unidad y cooperación en la acción colectiva.</li> <li>-Valores de lo ecológico, la calidad productiva, la innovación agrícola y confianza en expertos.</li> </ul>

Fuente: Domínguez (1993), Camarero *et al.* (2002) y elaboración propia.

personales<sup>8</sup>. Las entrevistas a los agricultores se desarrollaron bien en los hogares de estos o bien en sus lugares de trabajo, una vez que se pactaron con ellos los encuentros y la duración temporal que conllevaron tales entrevistas; y asimismo estas fueron registradas en una grabadora y transcritas durante el periodo de investigación. La observación participante se recogió en un cuaderno de campo que abarcó dicho periodo de investigación. Los discursos obtenidos en las entrevistas y las notas tomadas en el cuaderno de campo fueron registradas en un procesador de textos (Microsoft-Word 2003), mediante el cual se efectuó el referido análisis temático (Bertaux, 2005: 99-100), dividiendo dichos discursos y notas en fragmentos textuales (párrafos) que se correspondían con los diferentes temas suscitados por los agricultores. Después de diversas lecturas exploratorias del material recopilado, se procedió a un análisis comprensivo (Bertaux, 2005: 90-95) de los discursos, que consistió en la recodificación de los temas previamente identificados. En esta tarea fueron de gran ayuda los conocimientos sociológicos sobre el campesinado y los agricultores en contextos de modernización (Camarero *et al.*, 2002; Gómez-Benito y González-Iturri, 2002; Pedreño y Quaranta, 2002; Domínguez, 1993; Mignon, 1982; Sevilla-Guzmán y Pérez-Yrue-la, 1976; Shanin, 1979b).

A lo largo de la investigación se entrevistó a cuarenta y dos agricultores de los seis municipios objeto de estudio. Para elaborar el presente artículo se seleccionan treinta agricultores y agricultoras de tres generaciones distintas (nacidos o nacidas, respectivamente, entre 1914 y 1949; entre 1950 y 1969; y a partir de 1970), residentes en los seis municipios del litoral almeriense o granadino

aquí estudiados: Adra, El Ejido, Roquetas de Mar, Albuñol, Sorvilán y Motril. La mayoría de estos entrevistados puede catalogarse dentro de la agricultura familiar, pues solo siete de ellos sobrepasan las 2 hectáreas; es decir, cultivan explotaciones «con un carácter más empresarial» (Céspedes *et al.*, 2009: 48). En cualquier caso, de esas siete explotaciones, únicamente tres tienen más de 4 hectáreas, siendo sus extensiones también de tamaños relativamente medianos: 4,5, 6 y 10 hectáreas respectivamente.

Los treinta agricultores seleccionados constituyen una muestra intencional en función de cinco variables, tanto socio-demográficas como categoriales, que aportan homogeneidad y diversidad a la muestra (Castro y Castro, 2001: 185-186). Dichas variables son: edad, género, residencia, nivel de estudios y tamaño de la explotación, como se observa en el cuadro 5. Ello permite «la posibilidad de realizar comparaciones, categorizaciones de los informantes [y de sus narrativas]» (Pujadas, 2002: 52). En la muestra predominan los agricultores y agricultoras de la segunda generación (entre 40 y 60 años), pues son los mayoritariamente dedicados a la agricultura de invernaderos; alrededor de un 60% de los agricultores locales pertenecen a dicha generación (Céspedes *et al.*, 2009: 21-24), la cual ha vivido las transformaciones de las pautas campesinas tradicionales, así como la aplicación de las técnicas más innovadoras de la agricultura intensiva.

Pese a la variedad generacional, residencial, de género, educativa y del tamaño de explotación del grupo de agricultores estudiado, sus narrativas autobiográficas muestran reiteraciones de acuerdo a sus similares posiciones y valores sociales. En concreto, los treinta casos analizados evidencian «una posición estructural / discursiva» (Castro y Castro, 2001: 186) característica de los agricultores de invernaderos, cuya trayectoria socio-laboral suele corresponderse con los siguientes rasgos. Generalmente, este agri-

<sup>8</sup> Se agradece la amabilidad y atención recibida por los dirigentes y agricultores afiliados a COAG (Coordinadora de Organizaciones de Agricultores y Ganaderos) de Albuñol, Motril y Roquetas de Mar.

CUADRO 5. Características sociodemográficas y socioeconómicas de los agricultores estudiados

Nombre*	Lugar y año nacimiento	Residencia	Nivel de estudios	Número hermanos (e hijos)^a	Tamaño de explotación en inver. #	Jornaleros ocupados en inver. &	Recibe ayuda familiar	Nivel de tecnología en inver.
Carmen	Los Castillas, 1963	Los Castillas, Albuñol	Graduado escolar	5 (2)	1,5 ha	3-4	No	medio
Pedro	Albuñol, 1944	El Pozuelo, Albuñol	Sin estudios	7 (2)	0,5 ha	2	No	bajo
Miguel	Albuñol, 1954	La Rábita, Albuñol	Elemental	4 (3)	1 ha	2-3	Sí	bajo
Joaquín	Murtas, 1958	Albuñol	Elemental	3 (3)	1,4 ha	2-3	Sí	bajo
Jorge	Sorvilán, 1955	Melicena, Sorvilán	Graduado escolar	4 (2)	1 ha	2-3	Sí	medio
Fernando	Dalias, 1948	El Ejido	Sin estudios	5 (2)	1,6 ha	1-2 ocasionales	Sí	bajo
Antonio	Roquetas de Mar, 1975	Roquetas de Mar	Graduado escolar	3 (0)	3 ha	3	Sí	medio
Enrique	Guadix, 1958	Roquetas de Mar	Graduado escolar	4 (2)	3 ha	2-3	Sí	alto
Eduardo	Roquetas de Mar, 1957	Roquetas de Mar	F.P.**	4 (2)	1,6 ha	1-2	Sí	alto
Emilio	Motril, 1957	Motril	Graduado escolar	4 (2)	2,5 ha	3-4	No	medio
Cristóbal	Bérchules, 1932	El Ejido	Sin estudios	8 (4)	0	0	No	-
Tomás	Albondón, 1934	El Ejido (+ 2008)	Sin estudios	10 (1)	2 ha	0	Sí	bajo
Matilde	Albuñol, 1937	El Ejido	Sin estudios	4 (2)	2 ha	0	Sí	bajo
María	Albuñol, 1967	El Ejido	Graduado escolar	1 (2)	2 ha	1-2 ocasionales	Sí	bajo
Manuel	Tánger, 1955	Roquetas de Mar	Elemental	7 (2)	4,5 ha	4-5	No	alto
Mateo	Adra, 1969	Roquetas de Mar	Estudios secundaria	3 (2)	1,5 ha	3-4	No	alto

Mariano	Adra, 1944	Adra	Elemental	6 (3)	1,2 ha	1-2 ocasionales	Sí	medio
Eugenio	Sorvilán, 1965	Melicena (Sorvilán)	F.P.**	2 (2)	1 ha	1-2 ocasionales	Sí	medio
Ernesto	Adra, 1953	Adra	Sin estudios	5 (3)	0,2 ha	0	Sí	bajo
Andrés	Motril, 1960	Motril	Elemental	3 (0)	10 ha	20-30	No	bajo
Elena	Adra, 1957	Adra	Sin estudios	5 (4)	0,3 ha	0	Sí	bajo
Jaime	El Pozuelo, 1914	El Pozuelo (+ 2007)	Elemental	4 (3)	1,5 ha	0	No	bajo
Alfonso	Guadix, 1945	Roqueñas de Mar	Ein estudios	12 (3)	6 ha	2-3 ocasionales	Sí	medio
Mónica	Albuñol, 1978	Albuñol	Graduado escolar	3 (2)	1,2 ha	2-3	Sí	medio
Teresa	Albuñol, 1971	Albuñol	Graduado escolar	3 (2)	1,5 ha	4-5	Sí	alto
Josefa	Albuñol, 1967	Albuñol	Graduado escolar	3 (3)	1 ha	2-3	Sí	medio
Inma	Adra, 1961	Adra	Bachillerato	3 (2)	3 ha	6-7	No	alto
Santiago	Polopos, 1964	Melicena (Sorvilán)	Bachillerato	5 (2)	0,5 ha	0	Sí	medio
Julio	Adra, 1973	Albuñol	Elemental	5 (1)	0,9 ha	2-3 ocasionales	Sí	medio
Ricardo	Los Castillas, 1968	Albuñol	Bachillerato y COU	4 (0)	0,5 ha	0	Sí	bajo

\* Los nombres reales de los agricultores y/o agricultoras se han cambiado por otros ficticios para así garantizar su anonimato.

\*\* F.P.: Formación Profesional.

^ En la columna «número de hermanos (e hijos)» se enumera al agricultor y a sus hermanos para observar el tamaño de las familias de origen de los agricultores; y entre paréntesis se enumera el número de hijos de los agricultores.

& La mayoría de los jornaleros empleados por estos agricultores son inmigrantes.

# Inver.: es la abreviatura de invernadero.

Fuente: Elaboración propia a partir de entrevistas biográficas. Trabajo de campo a lo largo de diez meses, entre abril de 2006 y agosto de 2009.

cultor es un varón, aunque también hay mujeres jefas de explotación<sup>9</sup>, casado, de entre 35 y 60 años, con dos o tres hijos, y su familia originaria fue numerosa. Empezó a trabajar en su infancia y, durante ella y su juventud, ayudó a su familia en las tierras propiedad de sus padres o se empleó como asalariado. Así, comenzó su socialización en el trabajo que luego reproduciría en sus prácticas socioeconómicas de agricultura familiar en los invernaderos. Debido a su prematuro acceso al trabajo, la mayoría de estos jóvenes no asistieron regularmente a la escuela, por lo que, como mucho, solo completaron la formación elemental. Además, una parte significativa de ellos ocuparon diversos empleos, se casaron pronto y finalmente emigraron hacia el litoral almeriense o granadino para ejercer la agricultura intensiva en cultivos bajo plástico de una extensión media de entre 1 y 2 hectáreas, al tiempo que algunos accedieron a explotaciones de carácter empresarial de tamaño superior a 2 hectáreas. Muchos de estos agricultores emplearon tanto mano de obra familiar como jornaleros inmigrantes (cuadro 5).

Además, como se puede comprobar en el análisis de las configuraciones de valores sociales, no se observan diferencias significativas, respecto al género, en las narrativas autobiográficas que elaboran tanto los agricultores como las agricultoras. Más bien se muestra cierto proceso de saturación en tales narrativas desarrolladas por las mujeres y por los varones empleados en la agricultura intensiva. Es por ello que en los análisis de

las configuraciones de valores no se han establecido diferencias por género, ya que se estudian los discursos que conforman tales configuraciones, así como las estrategias activas de resignificación de los valores a lo largo de las vidas de los/as agricultores/as, y no tanto las posiciones reales que estos/as desempeñaron y/o desempeñan, con lo que los sujetos estudiados tienden a construir similares discursos y legitimaciones de los mismos. En otras palabras, los referidos discursos y estrategias, desplegadas por los agricultores y agricultoras, responden a importantes procesos de cambio en su mundo socio-laboral, el cual ha estado inmerso en las tendencias hacia la modernización y profesionalización, pues practican una agricultura en la que cada vez se implica menos la generalidad de la unidad familiar, a la vez que esta agricultura depende más de los conocimientos e innovaciones que generan los técnicos y/o expertos agrícolas.

## IDENTIFICACIÓN Y CLASIFICACIÓN DE LOS VALORES SOCIALES DE LOS AGRICULTORES

Así pues, la principal aportación de este artículo es el enfoque metodológico que se utiliza para el estudio de las narrativas de los agricultores y la identificación de las cuatro configuraciones de valores derivados de tales narrativas. Narrativas que se analizan considerando las potencialidades metodológicas de la perspectiva biográfica (Bertaux, 1993; Pujadas, 2002; Bernasconi, 2011), la cual aporta una doble dimensión diacrónica y contextual a los discursos autobiográficos de los sujetos estudiados. Esta doble dimensión permite la clasificación de los discursos, de acuerdo a los significados que los sujetos atribuyen a los diversos tipos de agriculturas que rememoran y que aparecen esquematizadas en el cuadro 4. Asimismo, la perspectiva biográfica posibilita que el sujeto no solo cuente su vida a lo largo de un tiempo y contexto cambiante, sino que también elabore

<sup>9</sup> Entre las agricultoras estudiadas, Carmen, Josefa y Teresa son jefas de explotación agrícola. Todas ellas coinciden en que heredaron una pequeña propiedad de sus padres (cuadro 5). Esta tendencia, todavía muy incipiente, hacia una cierta «feminización» de la gestión de las explotaciones agrarias de la zona estudiada hay que situarla en el contexto de los cambios en los valores sociales (más igualitarios) que viene afectando a las posiciones y roles de las mujeres y disminuye el peso del tradicional predominio masculino y paterno (Mazariegos et al., 1993).

sus propias reflexiones sobre lo vivido en ese tiempo y contexto. Por tanto, tales reflexiones, a su vez, aportan un material muy valioso para analizar las estrategias de resignificación de los valores que desplegaron los/as agricultores/as durante sus trayectorias socio-laborales.

En efecto, los cambios en las trayectorias socio-laborales, así como en las prácticas socioeconómicas de los/as agricultores/as familiares de invernadero, con las consiguientes incertidumbres y mudanzas sociales que ello implica, han condicionado las historias personales de los sujetos que las han protagonizado y/o experimentado. Por ello, seguidamente se analizan las narraciones que una significativa muestra de estos hace de sus vidas como base para caracterizar al agricultor familiar de los invernaderos, así como para identificar y clasificar los valores sociales interiorizados por dicho agricultor. Estos valores sociales se han incorporado por los agricultores familiares durante su proceso de socialización y, por ello, se han de entender relacionados con las diversas circunstancias y situaciones prácticas en las que se conformaron y aún se conforman (cuadro 4). A su vez, las variaciones en los valores sociales de los/as agricultores/as se conciben como estrategias activas de resignificación de las percepciones y valoraciones de la realidad desplegadas por tales agricultores/as, a lo largo del intenso proceso de cambio de sus prácticas socioeconómicas. Proceso de cambio vinculado a la globalización de la agricultura, que ha afectado, en mayor o menor medida, a las trayectorias socio-laborales de los/as agricultores/as familiares de dos formas. Por un lado, se observa una notable fragmentación en la acción colectiva de dichos/as agricultores/as, lo que dificulta sus estrategias de organización y/o movilización grupal. Por otro lado, se manifiesta una progresiva individualización y profesionalización de los procesos productivos desarrollados por tales agricultores/as como consecuencia de la creciente

competencia global y de la reestructuración socioeconómica y productiva en que se insertan sus prácticas (Bonnano, 1994; Marsden *et al.*, 1993; Lash y Urry, 1987; Mingione, 1993). Dicha reestructuración no da lugar a una nueva agricultura en el sentido de una ruptura radical con formas pasadas (Pedreño y Quaranta, 2002: 17). Más bien se presenta una redefinición de las estrategias económicas y productivas, así como un proceso de resignificación de los valores sociales pasados. Así, en este caso, se aprecia la persistencia de la explotación de tamaño familiar, la gradual introducción de innovaciones agrícolas y métodos de cultivo, el cambio tecnológico progresivo, la combinación de saberes tradicionales y saberes expertos, la especialización en las producciones, los mayores requerimientos de calidad productiva y nuevos requerimientos de cualificaciones en la agricultura de invernadero. Esta situación suele implicar una creciente incertidumbre e inseguridad por parte de los agricultores para estructurar su identidad, sometida a un proceso de transición (Camarero *et al.*, 2002), como respuesta a las exigencias de un entorno percibido como gradualmente complejo y envuelto en nuevos riesgos (Martín y Hormigos, 2006: 38), tal y como evidencian los profundos cambios en los valores sociales del grupo estudiado.

### **Los valores del esfuerzo, el trabajo, la solidaridad familiar, la ayuda y el aprendizaje mutuos**

Para gran parte de los/as agricultores/as familiares que iniciaron la práctica de los invernaderos, el esfuerzo y el trabajo continuados que ello les ha supuesto han ocupado un lugar central en su vida, sociabilidad e identidad social. Para estos/as agricultores/as, trabajo y explotación agrícola generan una cosmovisión particular que condiciona el conjunto de sus relaciones sociales, como así se observa en los casos de Mariano

(Adra, 1948)<sup>10</sup>, Alfonso (Guadix, 1945) y de Matilde (Albuñol, 1937):

Si es que la vega me ha gustado siempre, si es que no he salido de ahí en toda mi vida. Empecé ya desde los ocho años con mi padre, pues de ahí no he salido (Mariano).

Muchos agricultores de la edad mía no sabemos ni leer, porque hemos estado en el campo trabajando desde muy chicos (Alfonso).

He trabajado en el campo, con mis padres y con mis abuelos, desde que era niña. Recuerdo que mis padres labraban tierras de secano al tercio<sup>11</sup>, recogiendo almendras, higos y uvas, que entonces era lo que teníamos para vivir (Matilde).

Efectivamente, muchos de los/as agricultores/as entrevistados/as y sus padres fueron campesinos/as con muy pocos recursos de partida. Por ello, sus infancias y juventudes habitualmente fueron muy azarosas, estando marcadas por sus migraciones temporales como «jornaleros nómadas»<sup>12</sup> y la autoexplotación laboral. Ello conllevó un proceso lento de adaptación a múltiples cambios. Ese fue el caso del padre de Joaquín (1914-2004) y del de Ernesto (Adra, 1953).

Mi padre se buscó la vida de albañil y también en la agricultura. Pero muchos años tenía que irse a trabajar en la temporada de la siega a [...] la vega

de Sevilla, para traer algún dinero, pues el secano daba muy poco dinero. [...] En la temporada de la siega mi padre se tiraba casi un mes entero [...] (Joaquín).

A los diez añillos empecé a ayudarle a mi padre [...] Mi padre en aquel tiempo tenía muy poca labor [...] y ya cuando hacía falta iba con mi padre y mientras tanto iba a echar cuatro jornales [...] Y yo me acuerdo que entonces trabajábamos desde que se veía hasta que se ponía el sol [...] Y de ahí emigré a Ibiza; con veinte tantos años me fui a Ibiza, porque allí se ganaba más [...] y me tiré una temporada de tres o cuatro meses (Ernesto).

La precariedad y la escasez de recursos económicos vividas por estas familias campesinas conllevaron que sus hijos crecieran en un mundo caracterizado por los esfuerzos constantes como estrategia para asegurar la supervivencia familiar. Ese mundo, en el que se socializaron gran parte de los/as agricultores/as entrevistados/as, creó las condiciones a partir de las que se desarrollaron la capacidad de resistencia, sacrificio y autoexplotación que constituyeron las bases sobre las que se sustentó el éxito de las explotaciones familiares de invernaderos. La infancia y la trayectoria laboral de Pedro (Albuñol, 1944) constituye un caso paradigmático de las referidas bases, tal y como él lo expresa en este relato:

[...] con cuatro años me fui a guardar cabras con mi abuelo, pues la vida de antes no es lo que tenemos ahora [...] Trabajar a mí me ha gustado mucho [...] yo comencé con ellos [*señoritos propietarios de tierras*]<sup>13</sup> ganando 12 pesetas todos los días [7 céntimos de euro]; entonces yo iba para los 19 años. Éramos siete hermanos. [...] Yo estaba donde me llamaban (Pedro).

En la misma línea, Mateo (1969), hijo de agricultores procedentes de Adra y actual-

<sup>10</sup> Las aclaraciones entre paréntesis corresponden respectivamente al lugar y año de nacimiento.

<sup>11</sup> Labrar al tercio implica que a quien cultiva y trabaja la tierra (habitualmente el campesino no propietario) le corresponde un tercio de la cosecha, mientras que el propietario de dicha tierra se apropia de la parte restante de la cosecha: dos tercios.

<sup>12</sup> Las pocas oportunidades locales de conseguir un empleo estable y las escasas tierras que poseían llevaban a estas personas a emigrar estacionalmente de sus pueblos de origen a otras localidades andaluzas, tales como Granada y Sevilla, para trabajar en las temporadas agrícolas. E incluso, todos los tíos y abuelos paternos de Matilde (Albuñol, 1937) emigraron hacia Brasil en la década de los años veinte para nunca regresar a España, según declaró la entrevistada.

<sup>13</sup> Las aclaraciones a los discursos de los agricultores aparecen entre corchetes y cursiva.

mente agricultor ecológico en Roquetas de Mar, donde nació, muestra un discurso estructurado en torno al trabajo duro que tuvo que realizar toda la familia para llegar a la situación presente. Justifica el trabajo infantil en beneficio del progreso familiar y del compromiso común en la explotación agrícola.

Éramos cuatro hermanos. Los cuatro nos hemos criado en la agricultura [...] Los hijos de los agricultores en aquella época, pues lógicamente siempre ayudábamos en las tareas agrícolas [...] ha sido una agricultura muy familiar y que se sacó adelante gracias al trabajo de la familia [...] Mis padres aquí empiezan con tierras arrendadas, luego pues van comprando, pues es un proceso en el que van comprando en la medida que los hijos se van poniendo grandes y tienen más mano de obra (Mateo).

Una agricultora de Albuñol (Josefa, 1967), responsable de una hectárea de invernadero, narra una vivencia muy similar a la de Mateo.

Yo empecé a trabajar a los 11 años. Me quité de la escuela a los 12 [...] y ya todos los días a ayudar a mis padres en la vega [...] Recuerdo que, antes de casarme, trabajábamos toda la familia en la vega, hasta mi hermana más pequeña que con nueve o diez años ya empezaba a recoger habichuelas en un cubo pequeño que le tenía mi madre (Josefa).

En gran medida, el desarrollo y la modernización de los invernaderos se debieron a los esfuerzos de los agricultores, sus esposas, hijos e hijas. Particularmente, el trabajo infantil desempeñó en ello un papel primordial. Como reconoce Jaime (1914-2007), agricultor en su juventud y contable en una alhóndiga de El Pozuelo (Granada) durante cincuenta años, el trabajo en la niñez era percibido como algo normal:

Pues antes el nivel de vida era bajo. Y sí había escuelas, lo que pasa es que cuando un chiquillo

podía guardar una cabra, le compraban una cabra para que fuera a guardarla y ya no iba a la escuela [...] (Jaime).

Jaime constituye un caso paradigmático de las privaciones y la escasez que padecieron los agricultores a principios del siglo XX. Su escolarización fue efímera, pues trabajó en la infancia como panadero, pescador y sirviente<sup>14</sup>, siendo en su juventud agricultor. Una ocupación muy habitual de los hijos de las familias campesinas pobres de entonces era cuidar del ganado doméstico, como así ocurrió en los casos de Pedro, Cristóbal y Mariano. Disponer de ese ganado contribuía decisivamente a la subsistencia de aquellas familias, frecuentemente numerosas.

La escasa escolarización básica, a menudo interrumpida antes de tiempo, es una pauta recurrente en las vidas de muchos de los agricultores entrevistados, incluso entre los más jóvenes. Ese es el caso de Julio (Adra, 1973), un agricultor de Los Castillas (Albuñol), quien solo cursó hasta quinto curso de la enseñanza primaria.

Yo en la escuela estuve hasta quinto y a los diez años dejé de ir, pues ya empecé a trabajar en un barco de pesca. [...] Yo me acuerdo que no iba mal en la escuela, pero mi familia era pobre y me acuerdo de eso, que vestíamos con ropa de mis primos, siempre me faltaban libros [...] (Julio).

Un caso similar al de Julio es el de Carmen (Albuñol, 1963):

Yo con trece años me quité de la escuela y me puse a trabajar a jornal, una pila de años trabajando [...] (Carmen).

<sup>14</sup> La tarea de sirviente estaba ligada a la posición social de joven, soltero y perteneciente a una familia pobre, como fueron los casos de Pedro, Jaime y Cristóbal. Ello implicaba una relación basada en la obediencia y en la aceptación de las estructuras de poder locales.

La socialización en la idea de la familia tradicional campesina como una unidad socioeconómica, a cuyo sostenimiento contribuyen incluso los niños y las niñas, ha constituido un buen precedente para favorecer que la modernización agrícola del litoral almeriense y granadino haya estado, en muy gran medida, basada en las ayudas y la solidaridad familiar de la primera y segunda generación de los agricultores de invernaderos. Esta solidaridad trascendía la familia nuclear y se extendía a la familia extensa o al vecindario, tal y como expresan los relatos de Emilio (Motril, 1957), Ricardo (Albuñol, 1968) y Pedro:

Los hermanos de mi padre también tenían campo e íbamos a ayudarnos a [...] torna-peón<sup>15</sup> (Emilio).

Pues en principio sí me ayudó mi padre un poco, y mis hermanas o mis cuñados también me ayudaron; como yo a ellos les ayudaba (Ricardo).

Yo he estado trabajando hasta con diez, entre hermanos y amigos. ¡Eso!, se colaboraba muy bien [...] (Pedro).

Asimismo, Eduardo (Roquetas de Mar, 1957), Jorge (Sorvilán, 1955) y Mónica (Albuñol, 1978) aluden al papel de la familia y de la comunidad local en la reproducción y aprendizaje mutuo de las prácticas productivas a lo largo del desarrollo de la agricultura intensiva de invernaderos:

[Mi tío] me enseñó cómo tenía que hacerlo todo, cómo tenía que sembrar, cómo tenía que cavar, hasta echar el plástico [...] mi infancia la viví con él. Es que vivíamos juntos y llevábamos la vega juntos (Eduardo).

Hasta ahora en lo poco que sé a mí me han ayudado, sobre todo, mi cuñado y su cuñado que ya murió. Era un gran agricultor. Pues la mijilla que sé es lo que ellos me enseñan (Jorge).

El primer año, que me casé, mi marido que no sabía de agricultura, llevaba la vega con la ayuda de mi padre y mía. Mi padre le ayudaba a sembrar, a regar, a sulfatar y a muchas otras cosas de la vega y yo también lo orientaba un poco (Mónica).

### **Los valores de la tierra propia, la independencia y autonomía laboral**

Para agricultores con orígenes socioeconómicos tan precarios la posibilidad de comprar tierras significó acceder a una anhelada independencia y autonomía laboral que no tuvieron en su infancia y juventud y que les había sido negada a muchos de sus padres y abuelos. Un agricultor oriundo de Guadix y desplazado a Roquetas de Mar en su infancia (Enrique, 1958) describe así la aspiración a la independencia laboral y económica mediante la adquisición de tierra:

Mi padre era un tío muy emprendedor; le gustaba hacer las cosas a su aire, que nadie estuviera encima suya. Mi padre ha sido un hombre libre, [...] tenía claro que en el momento que pudiera iba a comprar un trozo de tierra [...] (Enrique).

En el relato anterior la posesión de tierra se identifica con libertad y autonomía, pues muchos agricultores, como en el caso citado, habían carecido de medios propios de subsistencia. Esto supuso el sometimiento de los pequeños campesinos, empleados ocasionalmente como jornaleros temporales, a un mercado laboral dominado por grandes propietarios locales de tierra. Así expresan Enrique y Cristóbal (Bérchules, 1932) el referido sometimiento:

Luego había una señora que era la dueña de todo; de las tierras y de las casas [...] O estabas bien con ella o no tenías trabajo (Enrique).

[Mi vida ha sido] una esclavitud [...] He estado sirviendo con amos, de esclavo [...] Trabajaba desde que se veía hasta que anocheía (Cristóbal).

Así, trabajar la tierra propia representa para los agricultores familiares un valor fun-

<sup>15</sup> Ayudas recíprocas entre familiares y vecinos de agricultores en diversas tareas agrícolas, donde «el trabajo se paga con el trabajo».

damental, que relacionaban con la independencia en el trabajo:

Es que trabajar en lo de uno, pues es diferente a un horario [*trabajo asalariado*] (Elena)<sup>16</sup>.

La ventaja que tiene es que es tuyo y vas cuando quieres (Eduardo).

Yo buscaba no estar a cara ajena ni depender de nadie. Si yo trabajaba podía tener mis propias tierras (Tomás)<sup>17</sup>.

El invernadero lo que tiene es que no te manda nadie (Fernando)<sup>18</sup>.

En este sentido, las narrativas autobiográficas de los agricultores revelan una clara preferencia por la autonomía laboral. Esta preferencia se vincula, habitualmente, a que esos agricultores se perciben como personas hechas a sí mismas, que con su esfuerzo y la ayuda de sus familiares han salido adelante, superando situaciones de partida muy desventajosas. Así se muestra en los relatos de Andrés (Motril, 1960), María (Albuñol, 1967), Alfonso y Manuel (Tánger, 1955):

Y lo del campo lo llevaba yo con los ojos cerrados, porque era lo que había visto siempre de pequeño. A lo mejor otro se hacía un lío [...] Y yo lo llevaba todo en la cabeza [...] (Andrés).

Mi padre hizo los invernaderos en las primeras tierras que compramos cuando llegamos aquí [*El Ejido*] y ya la familia nos hemos pasado la vida trabajando en esos invernaderos (María).

Cuando hacía falta gente para recoger, pues metíamos alguna gente. Pero la mínima, nosotros [*la familia*] nos apañábamos [...] Y nos llevábamos la *comía* y todo el día en el invernadero, desde la mañana hasta la noche [...] (Alfonso).

Me recuerdo que me hice un invernadero de tubillo pequeño, y que ese invernadero lo monté yo mismo [...] y se quedó bien hecho (Manuel).

Sin duda, la preferencia por la autonomía laboral de la familia y el grado de autoconfianza que ello conllevaba constituyó una estrategia económica de los agricultores familiares que los puso en condiciones de superar las primeras fases de precariedad laboral, típicas de la agricultura tradicional y de subsistencia, a la vez que les permitió hacer frente a las grandes dificultades y sacrificios que hubieron de afrontar en aquellos primeros tiempos de sus explotaciones. No obstante, dicha estrategia de autonomía laboral siguió estando presente y siendo especialmente necesaria en las siguientes fases de la agricultura familiar-artesanal intensiva, pues en esta solía implicarse la unidad familiar completa compartiendo un espíritu de sacrificio que les conducía a realizar jornadas de trabajo largas y agotadoras cuando lo requería la tarea urgente a efectuar.

Sin embargo, en las presentes circunstancias de globalización, caracterizadas por la gradual desfamilización/profesionalización y tecnificación de la agricultura de invernadero y por la creciente competitividad e incertidumbres a que se ve sometida la práctica de la misma, emergen nuevas preferencias entre los agricultores como son la unidad y cooperación colectiva, la producción de hortalizas ecológicas y de calidad, la innovación y la confianza en expertos. Tales preferencias son conformadas por los agricultores mediante su reflexión y resignificación de los valores tradicionales y prácticas a ellos asociadas en las referidas circunstancias de globalización.

### **Los valores de la unidad y cooperación en la acción colectiva**

Un creciente número de agricultores familiares percibe que, en las presentes circunstancias de globalización, ha de asumir retos y

<sup>16</sup> Agricultora a tiempo parcial, residente en Adra (1957).

<sup>17</sup> Tomás (1934-2008) nació en Albondón y ejerció la agricultura intensiva en El Ejido.

<sup>18</sup> Agricultor de El Ejido nacido en Dalías en 1948.

problemas muy diferentes a los del pasado. Tales retos y problemas, como puede ser la creciente competencia internacional en la comercialización de hortalizas, serían más eficazmente afrontados si los agricultores actuaran más coordinada y solidariamente. Así lo reconocen Alfonso, Mateo y Manuel:

Estoy afiliado a un sindicato [...] Nosotros damos la cara, pero hay de todo entre los agricultores; hay caraduras que no van a ningún sitio [...] Y si se saca algo, el que no va también se beneficia igual que todos (Alfonso).

Y ahí yo creo, que igual que el individualismo que hay, que ha tenido el agricultor de esta zona, ha permitido, de la nada, construir un monstruo económico; ese mismo individualismo es muy malo para la fase en donde empieza a no haber rentabilidades (Mateo).

El problema es que un agricultor en las subastas es un agricultor desunido y desinformado. Cuando las cooperativas es todo lo contrario [...] De hecho, la mayoría de la gente que hay puntera en la agricultura es gente de las cooperativas (Manuel).

La fragmentación y la individualización que muestran los anteriores relatos, implícita o explícitamente, aparecen como algunas de las causas de las actuales dificultades organizativo-movilizadoras de los agricultores, según opinan algunos de ellos, para los que sus compañeros de profesión tienden a proteger solo sus propios intereses e, incluso, a aprovecharse de la organización y movilización colectiva que llevan a cabo otros. Seguidamente se aportan más ejemplos:

Y es que lo primero es que no hay unión entre nosotros (Carmen).

Pero que ahora estamos [...] cada uno por su lado. [...] Y entonces existe mucho, hay mucho individualismo entre los agricultores y egoísmo (Miguel)<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Agricultor de La Rábita (Albuñol), nacido en 1954.

No hay algo que nos una a todos [...] los agricultores (Ricardo).

Pero está claro que si los agricultores no nos unimos, iremos cada vez a peor (Inma)<sup>20</sup>.

Si es que vamos siempre los mismos [a las manifestaciones], somos siempre los mismos, no nos unimos. ¡Unión!; yo no pido nada más que unión, para defender lo nuestro (Jorge)<sup>21</sup>.

Y en algunas manifestaciones de agricultores a mí me gusta ver a la gente unida y que defienda lo suyo [...] (Santiago).

La solución es la unión, pero ¿cómo nos unimos? (Eugenio).

Así, debido a que los agricultores perciben entre ellos un creciente individualismo, quizá exagerado en sus narrativas, los propios agricultores valoran la unidad y cooperación en la acción colectiva, aunque no encuentran los modos adecuados de concertación de intereses para afrontar conjuntamente los referidos retos y problemas. Si bien los agricultores familiares incorporaron los valores de la ayuda mutua y la solidaridad intragrupal en un contexto de gran precariedad socio-laboral, desde hace unos años reinterpretan dichos valores reclamando una mayor unidad y cooperación colectiva en unas circunstancias de gran incertidumbre y globalización de sus prácticas productivas. Sin embargo, ello no facilita la efectiva colaboración y/o unidad entre los agricultores o entre sus respectivas organizaciones profesionales agrarias, de tal forma que, en la zona estudiada, existen al menos cinco de esas organizaciones, que representan la diversidad de intereses en juego, como son ASAJA, COAG, ECOHAL, UPA y COHEXPAL<sup>22</sup>. Un

<sup>20</sup> Agricultora de Adra (1961) que no está afiliada a ninguna organización agraria, pero es socia de una cooperativa.

<sup>21</sup> Jorge, Santiago y Eugenio están afiliados a una organización agraria y viven en Melicena.

<sup>22</sup> ASAJA: Asociación Agraria de Jóvenes Agricultores. COAG: Coordinadora de Organizaciones de Agricultores

dirigente de COAG se quejaba de la escasa participación de sus afiliados en las diferentes protestas convocadas, como reacción a la bajada de precios en origen impulsada por los llamados «monstruos de la horticultura» (empresas distribuidoras y comercializadoras, multinacionales del sector agroalimentario, etc.), y hacía declaraciones como esta:

La agricultura tiene futuro; pero no los agricultores de aquí que no saben defender lo suyo. La única solución es luchar juntos contra los nuevos monstruos de la horticultura [...] COAG no se une a otras organizaciones agrarias que no defiendan realmente a los agricultores<sup>23</sup>.

### **Los valores de lo ecológico, la calidad productiva, la innovación y la confianza en los expertos**

Otros nuevos valores, que redefinen los marcos valorativos orientadores de las primeras fases de la agricultura de invernaderos (más en consonancia con la modernización y la intensificación productivas de entonces), son la preferencia por la producción ecológica, la innovación y la creciente confianza en los expertos, como requisitos para asegurar la calidad de las producciones agrícolas y aumentar su rentabilidad, así como para respetar las, cada vez más exigentes, normativas de producción internacionales y para satisfacer a una buena parte de los consumidores autóctonos y foráneos. Estos nuevos valores, a su vez, posibilitan la profesionalización de los agricultores y el endeudamiento de estos, en tanto que los cultivos son más exigentes y

las prácticas agrícolas que conllevan están sumamente especializadas.

En este sentido, varios agricultores reconocen el riesgo para la salud humana que conlleva el empleo masivo de productos fitosanitarios, como los que se han venido utilizando en los cultivos intensivos de invernadero. Por este motivo, Mateo practica la agricultura ecológica desde hace más de una década. La inadecuada utilización o abuso de los productos químicos sintéticos en la agricultura intensiva puede provocar y/o acelerar determinadas enfermedades degenerativas, así como producir intoxicaciones en los propios agricultores. Conocedores de ello, tanto Fernando como Teresa (Albuñol, 1971) exponen lo siguiente, enfatizando la necesidad de asesoramiento técnico por parte de los agricultores:

Hoy el agricultor no se fía de la clase de productos que se tienen que echar. [...] Ahora es que también hay muchos problemas con el asunto de los residuos; tienes que tener mucho cuidado con los productos con los que sulfatas o abonas [...] porque tenemos que preguntar a los peritos por los productos que se pueden echar (Fernando).

[...] antes no se controlaban tanto los cultivos: era el propio agricultor el que lo llevaba todo. Ahora un perito viene todas las semanas a nuestra finca para decirnos con qué productos tenemos que regar, con qué productos sulfatar, si tenemos que coger el tomate con más color o con menos tamaño [...] (Teresa).

Miguel, en cambio, muestra un discurso contradictorio, pues expone que si bien los productos fitosanitarios utilizados antes eran más eficaces y baratos, estaban menos sujetos a controles. En su opinión, los productos fitosanitarios han de estar bien regulados para proteger la salud pública.

[...] pues ellos [*técnicos agrícolas*] también no pueden hacer lo que les dé la gana, pues está sanidad, el medio ambiente, los consumidores, o sea, que si

y Ganaderos. ECOHAL: Empresarios Comercializadores Hortofrutícolas de Andalucía. UPA: Unión de Pequeños Agricultores. COHEXPAL: Cosecheros y Exportadores de Productos Hortofrutícolas de Almería.

<sup>23</sup> Discurso recabado mediante observación participante en Asamblea de COAG, celebrada en El Pozuelo (Albuñol), 24 de julio de 2006. A esta asamblea asistieron solo 20 agricultores en una localidad en la que viven más de 1.000 agricultores.

ellos dejaran la mano libre, pues sacarían venenos mucho más fuertes, pero, claro, eso iría también en perjuicio de la salud de los consumidores (Miguel).

Mateo, por su parte, pertenece al movimiento ecologista y desde joven era consciente de que tenía que innovar. Por ello, se replanteó la agricultura intensiva ejercida por los agricultores de la primera y segunda generación. Además, Mateo y varios agricultores aprecian las innovaciones en sus invernaderos y muestran gran confianza en los «técnicos», pues ellos garantizan la calidad productiva.

Yo provenía también del movimiento ecologista y tenía conciencia de que tenía que hacer las cosas de forma distinta [...] y después conocía a un técnico que me permitía tener un soporte que pudiera consultar y resolverme problemas. Creo que el técnico en los primeros años fue clave [...] (Mateo).

Y de esos cursillos recibes información; los comentarios que escuchas en la calle, sobre todo de los técnicos agrícolas, porque son los que más se mueven por el campo y hacen visitas a fincas [...] Yo siempre he intentado tener el invernadero lo mejor posible en el aspecto de la tecnología (Manuel). Y eso sí, tienes que llevar productos de calidad y si no la tienes no tienes nada que hacer [...] este año los pimientos los he llevado con producción integrada y me ha ido bien (Carmen).

Te has tenido que preocupar de formarte un poquito, de dejarte guiar por un técnico, porque [...] nuestra agricultura [...] tiene un montón de cosas a tener en cuenta (Enrique).

Este año mismo he conseguido una puntuación del cien por cien en el programa de calidad de la cooperativa [...] y tienen que venir dos o tres peritos a ver todas las instalaciones y recursos (Julio).

Hace un año tuvimos unos tomates cherries muy buenos, pues incluso un perito de la cooperativa trajo a unos agricultores de Carchuna para que vieran cómo teníamos los tomates [...] Es que nuestra obligación es criar buenas cosechas, para que nuestros productos tengan salida (Mónica).

Estos agricultores han conjugado los conocimientos agrícolas adquiridos mediante su propia experiencia laboral con los conocimientos transmitidos por los técnicos agrícolas en su práctica de la agricultura ecológica o convencional, siendo Mateo un pionero en implantar los métodos ecológicos en los invernaderos de Roquetas de Mar, a mediados de los años noventa.

En los anteriores relatos se evidencia una gran confianza en los conocimientos adquiridos a través de los expertos agrícolas para asegurar una mayor calidad productiva. El siguiente relato es muy revelador de lo aquí argumentado y apunta hacia la ineludible profesionalización del agricultor:

[...] los primeros años fueron un poco de adquirir experiencia, de aprendizaje, también me gustaba mucho experimentar [...] dentro de lo clásico intenté hacer cosas distintas; lucha integrada, y finalmente agricultura ecológica [...] Constituimos una cooperativa y alguna gente se interesó [...] Lo que sí es verdad es que los productos de la agricultura ecológica tienen más salida. Tiene un mercado más selecto y más continuo y luego también los precios más estables [...] (Mateo).

Mateo combina los saberes de la agricultura tradicional con una gran capacidad para introducir nuevos métodos agrícolas en su explotación. Relata que él se ha especializado en cultivos con menos problemas de plagas (calabacines, berenjenas y tomates) y que la agricultura ecológica le permite prolongar el tiempo de producción, recuperar los ciclos tradicionales de cosecha y obtener mayor rendimiento.

## CONCLUSIONES

Desde 1960 hasta ahora, los agricultores familiares de invernadero de la costa de Almería y Granada han vivido una gran mudanza en sus prácticas socioeconómicas y valores sociales. De hecho, la socialización de di-

chos agricultores se ha desarrollado en circunstancias muy cambiantes, como las de una agricultura tradicional y de subsistencia, predominante en los años sesenta, y las de una agricultura intensiva de invernaderos altamente modernizada a partir de los años ochenta.

Las narraciones autobiográficas de los/as agricultores/as familiares evidencian su notable capacidad para reinterpretar y/o resignificar sus valores sociales de acuerdo con el variable contexto en el que han desarrollado sus prácticas socioeconómicas. Sin duda, esto ha facilitado que se adaptaran o reaccionaran activamente, en cada momento, ante los diversos problemas y grandes cambios que han vivido durante sus trayectorias socio-laborales. Así pues, se observa un proceso reflexivo entre los valores sociales interiorizados por dichos/as agricultores/as y sus prácticas socioeconómicas progresivamente inmersas en los procesos de globalización; esto es, se muestra la interdependencia entre las dimensiones micro y macro social de las trayectorias socio-laborales de los agricultores. De modo que los valores sociales de los agricultores familiares han experimentado mudanzas relevantes en la medida en que estos últimos los han resignificado y/o reinterpretado mediante su interacción con las cambiantes prácticas socioeconómicas a las cuales han estado y están ligadas tales valores.

Por consiguiente, las configuraciones de valores identificadas han tenido diversos efectos, pues emergieron en contextos temporales y socioeconómicos muy distintos, lo que constituye una prueba de que «el relato no es estático, [...] justamente porque da cuenta de un individuo también vivo, en constante cambio y transformación [...] permitiendo significar, resignificar y dar sentido a la experiencia» (Cornejo *et al.*, 2008: 31). Así, en el proceso de cambio de los valores de los sujetos estudiados se observa una creciente pérdida de centralidad de los valores del trabajo, el esfuerzo, la ayuda y el

aprendizaje mutuo, la independencia y la autonomía laboral, que formaron parte de las primeras estrategias que desplegaron tales sujetos en el proceso de modernización de los invernaderos. En cambio, en las actuales circunstancias, de creciente profesionalización y globalización de la agricultura, surgen nuevos valores, sin que desaparezcan totalmente los anteriores, tales como la unidad y cooperación colectiva, la preferencia por la producción ecológica y de calidad, la innovación agrícola, así como la confianza en los expertos. Valores estos más acordes con las exigencias de colaboración, articulación de intereses comunes, de mayor competencia internacional y sostenibilidad medioambiental, que plantean las referidas circunstancias. Tales circunstancias llevan a que los agricultores familiares reinterpreten activamente los valores incorporados durante su infancia y juventud para así afrontar nuevos retos y problemas, como son la comercialización de sus cosechas, la acreditación de su calidad, las dificultades para capitalizar sus explotaciones, la carencia de conocimientos expertos para modernizarlas, y, sobre todo, la erradicación de los restos de tóxicos en las producciones y el procesamiento adecuado de los residuos vegetales.

Los actuales procesos de creciente globalización y deslocalización socioeconómica, junto con las desregulaciones y flexibilizaciones laborales de índoles postfordista que en paralelo a ellos se están produciendo, están mermando seriamente la capacidad de los Estados (cuando no suponiendo el definitivo fin de la vigencia de la misma) como articuladores de una economía y un mercado capitalistas relativamente centrados y organizados a escala nacional (Lash y Urry, 1987). En estas circunstancias, se experimenta una constante y creciente mudanza e incertidumbre socioeconómica, por lo que los agricultores familiares de invernaderos, si quieren sobrevivir, han de ser capaces de idear y poner en práctica estrategias asociativas adecuadas que contribuyan a la

cooperación colectiva, coordinación y concertación de intereses. A este respecto, el fuerte arraigo (por lo menos en las primeras fases del periodo aquí estudiado) entre los agricultores familiares de invernadero de los valores del esfuerzo, el trabajo, la solidaridad familiar, la ayuda y el aprendizaje mutuos constituyeron estrategias eficaces de reacción frente a las enormes dificultades socioeconómicas que hubieron de superar dichos agricultores en las fases iniciales de su actividad. Una solidaridad que sigue siendo especialmente necesaria para garantizar la supervivencia de la agricultura familiar de invernadero en los presentes tiempos de fragmentación, desarticulación social e imprevisibilidad que propicia la forma actual de globalización de los mercados (Mingione, 1993). Todo ello independientemente de que, en estas inciertas circunstancias, los agricultores están procediendo a una redefinición de sus prácticas productivas y de los valores legitimadores de las mismas acorde con los nuevos y altamente cambiantes retos económicos y ambientales que han de enfrentar. Una redefinición que resulta un requisito ineludible para asegurar su reproducción social y pervivencia como colectivo profesional, muy especialmente en las actuales circunstancias de cada vez mayor complejidad, tecnificación y encarecimiento de los procesos productivos de los invernaderos, en las que, además, los agricultores están cada vez menos dispuestos (ni tendrían porque estarlo) a los grandes esfuerzos y autosacrificios que en el pasado solía compartir la unidad familiar completa. Por tanto, la articulación de estrategias cooperativas eficaces vinculadas a la nueva relación de preferencias mostradas por los agricultores en sus relatos autobiográficos podrían frenar las presentes tendencias hacia la desaparición de la agricultura familiar, sin olvidar que las exigencias de eficiencia, competitividad y desarrollo tecnológico dificultan cada vez más sus posibilidades de persistencia como explotaciones de reduci-

do tamaño, individualizadas y sin lazos cooperativos sólidos entre ellas.

## BIBLIOGRAFÍA

- Alonso, Luis E.; Arribas, José M. y Ortí, Alfonso (1991). «Evolución y perspectivas de la agricultura familiar: de “propietarios muy pobres” a agricultores empresarios». *Política y Sociedad*, 8: 35-69.
- Arnalte, Eladio (1997). «Formas de producción y tipos de explotaciones en la agricultura española: viejas y nuevas formas de diferenciación». En: Gómez Benito, C. y González, J. J. (eds.). *Agricultura y sociedad en la España contemporánea*. Madrid: CIS-MAPA.
- ; Estruch, Vicente y Muñoz, Carmen (1997). «Relaciones familia-explotación en las agriculturas modernizadas. Algunas contrastaciones empíricas en la Comunidad Valenciana». En: Bretón, V.; García, F. y Mateu, J. J. (coords.). *La agricultura familiar en España. Estrategias adaptativas y políticas agropecuarias*. Lleida: Ediciones Universitat de Lleida.
- y Estruch, Vicente (1999). «Explotaciones familiares en la agricultura mediterránea. Tendencias y perspectivas». *Anuario de la agricultura familiar en España 1999*. Madrid: Fundación de Estudios Rurales.
- Arribas, José M. y López, Antonio (1989). «El proceso de profesionalización de los agricultores ce-realistas». *Agricultura y Sociedad*, 51: 107-134.
- Atkinson, Paul (2005). «Qualitative Research - Unity and Diversity» [25 paragraphs]. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 6 (3), (en línea). <http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs-texte/3-05/05-3-26-e.htm>, acceso 11 de febrero de 2011.
- Aznar, José Á. y Sánchez, Andrés (2005). «Almería: paradigma de la inversión de los flujos migratorios». *Informe Económico de la Provincia de Almería, 2003. El reto de la inmigración*. El Ejido: Cámara de Comercio, Industria y Navegación de Almería.
- y — (2010). «Innovación y distrito en torno a un “milagro”: la configuración del sistema productivo local de la agricultura intensiva de Almería». *Revista de Historia Industrial*, 42 (año XIX): 157-193.
- Banfield, Edward C. (1958). *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society*. New York: The Free Press.

- Bernasconi, Oriana (2011). «Aproximación narrativa al estudio de fenómenos sociales: principales líneas de desarrollo». *Acta Sociológica*, 56: 9-36.
- Bertaux, Daniel (1993). «La perspectiva biográfica: validez metodológica y potencialidades». En: Marinas, J. M. y Santamarina, C. (eds.). *La historia oral: métodos y experiencias*. Madrid: Debate.
- (2005). *Los relatos de vida. Perspectiva etnociológica*. Barcelona: Bellaterra.
- Bonnano, Alessandro (ed.) (1994). *La globalización del sector agroalimentario*. Madrid: MAPA.
- Bretón, Víctor (1993). «¿De campesino a agricultor? La pequeña producción familiar en el marco del desarrollo capitalista». *Noticario de historia agraria: Boletín informativo del seminario de historia agraria*, 3(5): 127-159.
- Calvo, Tomás (2000). «El conflicto estructural en El Ejido: "A la caza del moro"». *Sociedad y Utopía*, 16: 39-56.
- Camarero, Luis; Sampedro, Rosario y Vicente Mazarriegos, José I. (2002). «Los horticultores: una identidad en transición (1988)». *AREAS, Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 22: 43-69.
- Castaño, Ángeles (2000). *Informe sobre la población inmigrante en Almería*. Sevilla: Consejería de Asuntos Sociales, Junta de Andalucía.
- Castro, Miguel Á. y Castro, Luis (2001). «Cuestiones de metodología cualitativa». *Empiria*, 4: 165-190.
- Céspedes, José et al. (2006). *Plan Estratégico de la Industria Auxiliar de la Agricultura de Almería. Diagnóstico y estrategias 2006-2010*. Almería: Fundación Tecnova.
- Céspedes, Antonio et al. (2009). *Caracterización de la explotación hortícola protegida almeriense*. Almería: Fundación para la Investigación Agraria en la Provincia de Almería (FIAPA) y Fundación Cajamar.
- Chayanov, Aleksandr (1985). *La organización de la unidad económica campesina*. Buenos Aires: Nueva Visión.
- Checa, Francisco (2001). *El Ejido: la ciudad cortijo. Claves socioeconómicas del conflicto étnico*. Barcelona: Icaria.
- ; Arjona, Ángeles y Checa, Juan C. (2009). «El comportamiento del campesinado en Andalucía: de la agricultura familiar al empleo asalariado». En: Rodríguez, S. y Macías, C. (comps.). *El fin del campesinado. Transformaciones culturales de la sociedad rural andaluza en la segunda mitad del siglo XX*. Sevilla: Centro de Estudios Andaluces.
- Checa, Juan C.; Arjona, Ángeles y Checa, Francisco (2010). «Actitudes recientes hacia los inmigrantes en El Ejido (España)». *Convergencia*, 52: 125-154.
- Contreras, Jesús (1997). «Estrategias familiares de producción y reproducción». En: Bretón, V.; García, F. y Mateu, J. J. (coords.). *La agricultura familiar en España. Estrategias adaptativas y políticas agropecuarias*. Lleida: Ediciones Universitat de Lleida.
- Cornejo, Marcela; Mendoza, Francisca y Rojas, Rodrigo C. (2008). «La investigación con relatos de vida: pistas y opciones del diseño metodológico». *Phykhe*, 17 (1): 29-39.
- Cruces, Cristina (1994a). *Navaceros, «nuevos agricultores» y viñistas: las estrategias cambiantes de la agricultura familiar en Sanlúcar de Barrameda*. Sevilla: Fundación Blas Infante.
- (1994b). «Trabajo y estrategias económicas en las explotaciones de Sanlúcar de Barrameda». *Revista de Estudios Regionales*, 38: 15-39.
- Delgado, Manuel (2006). «Economía, territorio y desigualdades regionales». *Revista de Estudios Regionales*, 75: 93-128.
- Díaz-Méndez, Cecilia (1999). «Estrategias familiares para el tránsito a la vida activa de la juventud rural: modelos de inserción sociolaboral». *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 85: 47-66.
- Domínguez, Rafael (1993). «Caracterizando al campesinado y a la economía campesina: pluriactividad y dependencia del mercado como nuevos atributos de la campesinidad». *Agricultura y Sociedad*, 66: 97-136.
- Etxezarreta, Miren (1977). «La evolución de la agricultura campesina». *Agricultura y Sociedad*, 5: 51-142.
- Foster, George (1974). «La sociedad campesina y la imagen del bien limitado». En: Bartolomé, L. J. y Gorostiaga, E. E. (comps.). *Estudios sobre el campesinado latinoamericano*. Buenos Aires: Periferia.
- (1980). *Las culturas tradicionales y los cambios técnicos*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica (FCE).
- García, Roberto (2005). «El sector agrario». En: Molina, J. (comp.). *La economía de la provincia de Almería. El Ejido*: Instituto de Estudios de Cajamar.
- García, Iñaki y Pedreño, Andrés (2002). «El Ejido, entre la política y la sociología». *Sociología del Trabajo*, 46: 99-119.

- Garrido, Luis y Gil-Calvo, Enrique (1993). «El concepto de estrategias familiares». En: Garrido, L. y Gil-Calvo, E. (eds.). *Estrategias familiares*. Madrid: Alianza.
- Giner, Salvador (2010). *Sociología*. Barcelona: Península.
- Glaser, Barney (1978). *Theoretical Sensitivity: Advances in the Methodology of Grounded Theory*. Mill Valley: C. A. Sociology Press.
- Gómez-Benito, Cristóbal (2003). «La Formación y Profesión en la Agricultura Española». *Libro Blanco de la Agricultura y el Desarrollo Rural*, Jornada sobre «Formación e Innovación Agrarias», (en línea). [http://www.libroblancoagricultura.com/libroblanco/jtematica/formacion/comunicaciones/c\\_gomez.pdf](http://www.libroblancoagricultura.com/libroblanco/jtematica/formacion/comunicaciones/c_gomez.pdf), acceso 15 de enero de 2013.
- ; González, Juan Jesús y Sancho-Hazak, Roberto (1999). *Identidad y profesión en la agricultura familiar*. Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.
- y González-Iturri, Juan José (2002). «Profesión e identidad: el caso de la agricultura familiar». En: Gómez-Benito, C. y González-Rodríguez, J. J. (coords.). *Agricultura y sociedad en el cambio de siglo*. Madrid: McGraw-Hill.
- González, Juan Jesús (1993). «Efectos perversos de las estrategias familiares en la agricultura». En: Garrido, L. y Gil-Calvo, E. (eds.). *Estrategias familiares*. Madrid: Alianza.
- y Gómez-Benito, Cristóbal (1997). «Clases agrarias, estrategias familiares y mercado de trabajo». En: Gómez-Benito, C. y González, J. J. (comps.). *Agricultura y sociedad en la España contemporánea*. Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.
- González, Miguel et al. (2006). *La economía de la Costa Tropical de Granada: situación actual y perspectivas*. Granada: Fundación Caja Rural de Granada.
- Herranz, Gonzalo (2008). «Xenofobia: un estudio comparativo en barrios y municipios almerienses». *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 121: 107-132.
- Hervieu, Bertrand (1996). *Los campos del futuro*. Madrid: Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación (MAPA).
- Izcara-Palacios, Simón Pedro (2005). «Inmigrantes marroquíes en el sector agrario andaluz». *Estudios Fronterizos*, 6 (12): 9-38.
- Kautsky, Karl (2002). *La cuestión agraria*. México DF: Siglo XXI Editores.
- Langreo, Alicia (1999). «Evolución y tendencias en el trabajo agrario». *Anuario de la agricultura familiar en España 1999*. Fundación de Estudios Rurales.
- Lash, Scott y Urry, John (1987). *The End of Organized Capitalism*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Leal, José Luis; Leguina, Joaquín y Naredo, José Manuel (1986). *La agricultura en el desarrollo capitalista español (1940-1970)*. Madrid: Siglo XXI.
- Liceras, Ángel (1988). *Una transformación agraria: la actuación del I.N.C. en la zona de nuevos regadíos de Motril y Salobreña (Granada)*. Granada: Gráficas Granada.
- Marsden, Terry; Philip Lowe, Philip y Whatmore, Sarah J. (1993). *Cambio tecnológico y medio ambiente rural (procesos y reestructuraciones rurales)*. Madrid: MAPA.
- Martín, Antonio y Hormigos, Jaime (2006). «La sociedad del riesgo y la necesidad moderna de seguridad». *Barataria*, 7: 27-40.
- Martín, Emma y Rodríguez, Margarita (2001). «Inmigración y agricultura en la Comunidad de Andalucía: la agricultura de invernadero en Almería». En: Martín, E.; Melis, A. y Sanz, G. (comps.).  *Mercados de trabajo e inmigración extracomunitaria en la agricultura mediterránea*. Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía.
- Martínez, Ubaldo (2001). *El Ejido. Discriminación, exclusión social y racismo*. Madrid: Catarata.
- Matarán, Alberto (2005). *La valoración ambiental-territorial de las agriculturas de regadío en el litoral mediterráneo: el caso de Granada*. Granada: Universidad de Granada.
- Mazariegos, José I. Vicente et al. (1993). «Situación profesional de la mujer en la agricultura». Vol. V, *Análisis Sociológico*. Madrid: Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación (MAPA).
- Mingione, Enzo (1993). *Las sociedades fragmentadas. Una sociología de la vida económica más allá del paradigma de mercado*. Madrid: Ministerio de Trabajo y Seguridad Social.
- Mintz, Sidney (1973). «A Note on the Definition of Peasantries». *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 1(2): 91-107.
- Molina, Jerónimo (comp.) (2005). *La economía de la provincia de Almería*. El Ejido: Instituto de Estudios de Cajamar.

- Naredo, José Manuel (2004). *La evolución de la agricultura en España (1920-2000)*. Granada: Editorial de la Universidad de Granada.
- Ortega y Gasset, José (1971). *Historia como sistema*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.
- Ortí, Alfonso (1990). «La apertura y el enfoque cualitativo o estructural: la entrevista abierta semidirigida y la discusión de grupo». En: García-Ferrando, M.; Ibáñez, J. y Alvira, F. (comps.). *El análisis de la realidad social. Métodos y técnicas de investigación*. Madrid: Alianza.
- Palerm, Ángel (1980). *Antropología y marxismo*. México: Nueva Imagen.
- Palomar, Francisco (1996). *Los invernaderos en la provincia de Almería*. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses.
- Parsons, Talcott (1968). *La estructura de la acción social*. Madrid: Guadarrama.
- (1976). *El Sistema Social*. Madrid: Editorial Revista de Occidente.
- Pedreño, Andrés (1999). *Del jornalero agrícola al obrero de las factorías vegetales. Estrategias familiares y nomadismo laboral en la ruralidad murciana*. Madrid: Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación (MAPA).
- y Quaranta, Germán (2002). «Introducción. Trabajo y sociedad en los campos de la globalización agroalimentaria». *AREAS, Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 22: 9-27.
- Pérez-Díaz, Víctor y Rodríguez, Juan C. (2010). *Un futuro hecho con sus manos. Situación y horizonte del Campo de Dalías, en la provincia de Almería*. El Ejido: Fundación Cajamar.
- Pino, Juan del y Bericat, Eduardo (1998). *Los valores sociales de la cultura andaluza*. Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.
- Pujadas, Juan José (2002). *El método biográfico: el uso de las historias de vida en las ciencias sociales*. Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.
- Redfield, Robert (1957). *A Village that Choose Progress*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- (1969). *The Primitive World and its Transformation*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- (1989). *The Little Community and Peasant Society and Culture*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Revista fhalmeria (2009). «Monthly Agrarian Journal of Almería County». Special Edition, Sponsored by the Local Council of El Ejido (Contents in: Spanish, English and German), (en línea). <http://www.fhalmeria.es/revistas/fruitlogistica2009.pdf>, acceso 5 de enero del 2011.
- Rogers, Everett M. y Svenning, Lynne (1973). *La modernización entre los campesinos*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Roquero, Esperanza (1996). «Asalariados africanos trabajando bajo plástico». *Sociología del Trabajo*, 28: 3-24.
- Ruiz, Purificación (1999). «La inmigración al Poniente almeriense. Alpujarreños y africanos en El Ejido». *Anuario Etnológico de Andalucía 1995-1997*. Sevilla: Consejería de Cultura, Junta de Andalucía.
- Sampedro, Rosario (1996). *Género y ruralidad. Las mujeres ante el reto de la desagrarización*. Madrid: Instituto de la Mujer.
- Servolin, Claude (1979). «La absorción de la agricultura en el modo de producción capitalista». En: Etxezarreta, M. (coord.). *La evolución del campesinado. La agricultura en el desarrollo capitalista*. Madrid: Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación (MAPA).
- Sevilla-Guzmán, Eduardo (1979). *La evolución del campesinado en España*. Barcelona: Ediciones Península.
- y Pérez-Yruela, Manuel (1976). «Para una definición sociológica del campesinado». *Agricultura y Sociedad*, 1: 15-39.
- Shanin, Theodor (1976). *Naturaleza y lógica de la economía campesina*. Barcelona: Anagrama.
- (1979a). «Definiendo al campesinado: conceptualizaciones y desconceptualizaciones. Pasado y presente en un debate marxista». *Agricultura y Sociedad*, 11: 9-52.
- (comp.) (1979b). *Campesinos y sociedades campesinas*. México: FCE.
- Silva, Rocío (2004). «Redes socio-institucionales, dinámica innovadora y disfunciones territoriales en los sistemas agrocomerciales andaluces». *Revista de Estudios Regionales*, 70: 13-40.
- Sistema de Información Multiterritorial de Andalucía (SIMA), (2011-2013).
- SOS Racismo (2001). *El Ejido: racismo y explotación laboral*. Barcelona: Icaria.
- Thomas, William y Znaniecki, Florian (2004). *El campesino polaco en Europa y en América*.

- Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.
- Thompson, Paul (2000). *The Voice of the Past*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tilly, Louis (1979). «Individual Lives and Family Strategies in the French Proletariat». *Journal of Family History*, 4 (2): 137-152.
- Tortosa, José M. y La Parra, Daniel (2003). «Violencia estructural: una ilustración del concepto». *Documentación social*, 131: 57-72.
- Tout, David (1990). «The Horticulture Industry of Almería Province, Spain». *Geographical Journal*, 156: 304-312.
- Wolf, Eric R. (1971). *Los campesinos*. Barcelona: Labor.

**RECEPCIÓN:** 07/05/2012

**REVISIÓN:** 22/01/2013

**APROBACIÓN:** 26/01/2014

# Values and Strategies of Greenhouse Family Farmers in South-east Andalusia

*Valores y estrategias de los agricultores familiares de invernadero del sudeste andaluz*

**Francisco Entrena-Durán and José Francisco Jiménez-Díaz**

## Key words

- Farmers
- Agricultural Development
- Agricultural Economics
- Autobiographical Materials
- Narratives
- Social Values

## Palabras clave

- Agricultores
- Desarrollo agrícola
- Economía agrícola
- Materiales autobiográficos
- Narrativas
- Valores sociales

## Abstract

Andalusian Southeast has passed between 1960 and 2010 from traditional-subsistence farming to a modern greenhouse agriculture, increasingly innovative, professionalized and disconnected from the household. This article intends to identify and classify social values internalized by family farmers in their socio-labor trajectories. Therefore, the article focuses on the autobiographical narratives of farmers, which have been obtained through participant observation and biographical interviews with them. In parallel to the profound changes in the socio-economic practices of family farmers, their social values related to such practices have undergone successive variations. These are considered here as active strategies by those farmers aimed to redefining their views and perceptions of the reality they live, more and more affected by globalization's uncertainties.

## Resumen

El sudeste andaluz ha pasado entre 1960 y 2010 de una agricultura tradicional de subsistencia a otra modernizada de invernaderos, crecientemente desfamilizada, profesionalizada e innovadora. Este artículo pretende identificar y clasificar los valores sociales interiorizados en sus trayectorias socio-laborales por los agricultores familiares de la zona. Para ello se analizan sus narrativas autobiográficas. Éstas, obtenidas mediante observación participante y entrevistas biográficas, muestran cómo, paralelamente a los profundos cambios en las prácticas socioeconómicas de los agricultores familiares, sus valores sociales relacionados con esas prácticas han experimentado sucesivas variaciones. Tales variaciones se conciben como estrategias activas de resignificación de sus percepciones y valoraciones de la realidad por parte de dichos agricultores, cada vez más afectados por las incertidumbres de la globalización

## Citation

Entrena-Durán Francisco and Jiménez-Díaz José Francisco (2014). "Values and Strategies of Greenhouse Family Farmers in South-east Andalusia". *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 147: 21-52.  
(<http://dx.doi.org/10.5477/cis/reis.147.21>)

**Francisco Entrena-Durán:** Universidad de Granada | [fentrena@ugr.es](mailto:fentrena@ugr.es)

**José Francisco Jiménez-Díaz:** Universidad Pablo de Olavide, de Sevilla | [josefco@upo.es](mailto:josefco@upo.es)

## INTRODUCTION

In south eastern Spain, along the coast of the Andalusian provinces of Almeria and Granada, widespread traditional subsistence farming, predominant from the beginning of the 1960s, has given way to a system of intensive, highly technologically based greenhouse agriculture (García, 2005: 154). The spectacular development of this type of farming has converted the local economy into one of the most dynamic and advanced in Europe, while simultaneously bringing about deep social transformations. As a result, an area, which since ancient times had been dedicated to cattle raising and dry land farming (cultivating grapes, almonds and various cereals), has undergone significant demographic growth and a steady increase in the foreign immigrant population (Table 1). This explains the numerous socio-economic studies in the past decades focused on the provinces of Almeria and Granada, included among them Licerias (1988), Palomar (1996),

Silva (2004), Matarán (2005), Molina (2005), Delgado (2006), González *et al.* (2006), Aznar and Sánchez (2010) and Pérez-Díaz and Rodríguez (2010).

Although the socio-economic and demographic transformations in these provinces have been primarily concentrated in the municipalities of El Ejido and Roquetas de Mar, they also extend to an area encompassing nearby municipalities such as Adra, Albuñol, Motril and Sorvilán, the area this paper focuses on. The intense economic dynamism of the area, exemplified by its evolution from a place of emigration to one of immigration (Aznar and Sánchez, 2005), is the result of a combination of the following factors: a mild climate and abundant sunshine; underground aquifers and their exploitation by drilling wells; the effort and innovation of local farmers; easy access to land in the 1960s and 70s; the introduction of the soil mix 'enarenado' (a mixture of beach sand, manure and soil) for soil conditioning; building

**TABLE 1:** Demographic evolution of the population and of the foreign population in the municipalities studied (1991-2011)

Variables/ Municipalities	Pop. 1991	For. pop. 1991	Pop. 2001	For. pop. 2001	Pop. 2011	For. pop. 2011
Adra	20,104	113 (0.6%)	21,983	837 (3.8 %)	24,375	2,767 (11.4%)
Ejido (El)	41,374	254 (0.6%)	57,877	8,656 (15.0 %)	80,839	24,965 (30.9%)
Roquetas de Mar	26,842	369 (1.4%)	50,096	6,980 (13.9 %)	86,799	26,130 (30.1%)
Motril	46,500	224 (0.5 %)	51,298	1,164 (2.3 %)	60,460	6,290 (10.4%)
Albuñol	5,336	30 (0.6%)	5,784	329 (5.7 %)	6,610	1,522 (23.0%)
Sorvilán	952	12 (1.3%)	696	50 (7.2 %)	557	54 (9.7%)
Totals	141,108	1,002 (0.7%)	187,734	18,016 (9.6 %)	259,640	61,728 (23.8%)

Source: By authors with data from the Population Census, 1991, 2001 and 2011.

greenhouses to cultivate produce for international exportation (Tout, 1990), primarily to the European Union, and finally, large scale development of the transport system and highway infrastructure (Checa, F. *et al.*, 2009: 123).

Due to the technological particularities of greenhouse agriculture, the transformations experienced in this geographic area constitute a unique and paradigmatic case within the overall context of the evolution of the peasantry and the changes that have taken place in rural Spanish society as it has passed along the path of modernization and the advance of capitalism<sup>1</sup>. In this regard, the uniqueness of the area we are studying is based on, among other factors, the close ties of its modernisation and progress to its passage from a relatively autarchic, traditional peasant world to one that is increasingly embedded in the dynamics of globalization and intensely affected by these dynamics in its socio-economic functioning. In reality, no peasant society is or has been completely isolated and autarchic, such that we disagree here with authors such as Redfield (1957, 1969, 1989), Foster (1974, 1980), Banfield (1958) and Rogers and Svenning (1973), who share a decidedly culturalist vision of traditional peasant societies, which they perceive as quite isolated, autarchic and closed realities. In contrast, we find those approaches that emphasise the importance of economics, developed by a number of authors, such as Sidney Mintz (1973), Eric R. Wolf (1971), Ángel Palerm (1980) and Theodor Shanin (1976, 1979a, 1979b), more plausible. The positions of these authors seem to better fit the reality, as beyond their different interpretive nuances,

they see peasant societies as forming part of a larger society: A society that is increasingly more globally interconnected and whose transformations are determined by technological and economic factors.

Specifically, it is not possible to understand the deep changes that have taken place in the area we are studying without taking into account its insertion into the dynamics of globalization. This is reflected in factors such as: a) the great diversity in origin of the large foreign immigrant population in the area; b) the increasing connection of the family farmers we study to global markets, both in regard to their demand for inputs and their production and supply of outputs (in global markets that are to a large extent in the hands of transnational agro-food companies (Bonnano, 1994); c) the process of delocalisation of greenhouse agriculture to other countries with lower labour and environmental costs and d) the increase in the socio-economic problems of family farmers due to their growing difficulties competing with products from these other countries, as well as the resulting continuous fluctuations in the prices at source paid for their production.

But all of these problems, as well as the capitalist modernization that has led to the development of greenhouse agriculture, have not prevented the persistence of typical forms of family agriculture, already analysed in classic studies such as Karl Kautsky's (2002) *The Agrarian Question* (originally published in 1899) and Aleksander Chayanov's (1985) *Peasant Farm Organisation* (published in 1925). However, as will be seen in this article, the predominantly family greenhouse agriculture that will be examined in this paper—far from constituting the manifestation of the persistence of pre-capitalist forms of production, as argued in the classic studies above, and far from reflecting the situation described by Chayanov, in which peasant farmers work only to cover family necessities and without a clear maximizing criteria—manifests a clear capacity for adaptation to

<sup>1</sup> There is an abundant bibliography on this issue, and even a brief analysis of it would require writing a different article. In our judgment, some of the most representative and interesting work is that of Sevilla-Guzmán, 1979; Etxezarreta, 1977; Leal *et al.*, 1986; Naredo, 2004; Breton, 1993.

the socio-productive logics inherent in the advance of modernization and capitalism. Here we present then a significant example of the gradual insertion of family agriculture into these logics (Servolin, 1979)

The changes that occurred in the area being studied reached their peak in the decade between 1980 and 1990. During this period, the surface of cultivated land (mainly horticultural crops grown in greenhouses) increased to at least 7,146 hectares in the municipalities being studied. These towns account for more than 50% of the greenhouses in the provinces of Almeria and Granada, although geographically they only account for 4% and 1.6% of the provincial territory, respectively. The average size of greenhouses range between 0.54 and 1.93 hectares. Even with the differences found among official sources in recording the expansion of the land covered by greenhouses (quite uncontrolled in recent decades) in municipalities such as El Ejido and Roquetas de Mar (see Tables 2A and 2B and their respective notes), the above features characterise this intensive agriculture as an activity, for the average size of the farms and the evolution of the cultivated land where they are located, that can essentially be classified as family farming. The development of this type of agriculture, as well as the biographical trajectories of the families involved, has been closely linked to the intense socio-economic and demographic transformations this area has undergone.

The expansion of greenhouses would not have been possible without the contribution of foreign immigrants employed as workers in these greenhouses. The percentages of foreign workers began to increase in 1991, though most notably after 2001 (Table 1). Whether these immigrants are undocumented (quite common) or whether they have work permits, they face very low wages and harsh living and housing conditions. The occasional outbursts of xenophobic violence aimed at these workers (for example, in El

Ejido in February of 2000 and in Roquetas de Mar in September of 2008) and widely reported in the Spanish and international press, combined with the negative ecological impact of greenhouse agriculture, have had a decisive impact in spreading a negative image of this area nationally and internationally, an image that has focused primarily on the municipality of El Ejido, considered to be an area with a high level of pollution, and exploitation and social exclusion of immigrants. This negative image is based on reality, given the extreme difficulties and exploitation suffered by a significant part of the immigrant population, who have to deal with relationships of inequality and structural violence in relation to the growers<sup>2</sup>. Under these circumstances, there have been numerous studies focused on analysing the difficult situation of immigrants, as well as the discourses and perceptions of farmers about immigrants (Roquero, 1996; Ruiz, 1999; Calvo, 2000; Castaño, 2000; SOS Racismo, 2001; Checa, F., 2001; Martínez, 2001; García and Pedreño, 2002; Izcara-Palacios, 2005; Herranz, 2008; Checa, J.C. *et al.*, 2010).

However, while recognizing that new contributions can still be made regarding the situation of immigrants in the area, this article focuses on other actors, who are also essential in understanding the changes that have taken place. These are the family farmers. Our research on their autobiographical narratives, instead of being conceived as a way to study the views they have of immigrants, has been designed and used, above all, to gather information regarding diverse aspects related to their social and work histories from

<sup>2</sup> The term structural violence refers here to a situation in which damage to the satisfaction of basic human needs (survival, well-being, identity and freedom) is produced as a consequence of processes of social stratification, that is, without direct forms of violence. This usually leads to the distribution, access or possibility of use of resources systematically favouring certain parts of the society and in detriment to others (Tortosa and La Parra, 2003).

**TABLE 2A:** Greenhouses and size of farms in the municipalities studied, 2009

Variables/ Municipali- ties	Land area of municipalities (Km.2)*	Surface area covered by greenhouses in 2009 (hectares)**	Number of farms in 2009	Average size of farms (hectares)
Adra	89	900.23	875	1.03
Ejido (El)	226	8,194.33	4,250	1.93
Roquetas de Mar	59	1,451.51	778	1.87
Motril	109	1,018.04	773	1.32
Albuñol	63	415.53	454	0.92
Sorvilán	34	9.78	18	0.54
Total municipalities	580	11,989.42	7,148	1.68
Total prov. Almería	8,775	20,036.74	11,076	1.81
Total prov. Granada	12,647	2,810.45	2,306	1.22

Source: INE, Agricultural Census 2009 and by authors.

\* Land area in square kilometres (Km.2). Source: Sistema de Información Multiterritorial de Andalucía (SIMA).

\*\* The surface area covered by greenhouses, by municipality, is in hectares (ha) and coincides with the variable "Land Use: detail of crops, produce cultivated in greenhouses" from the Agricultural Census 2009.

Clarification:

In 1984 the construction of new greenhouses in El Ejido was prohibited due to problems of overexploitation of aquifers and wells, which led to salinization and groundwater contamination. However, throughout the 1980s and 90s, there was an uncontrolled expansion of greenhouse surface area, which could have led to many greenhouses not being reported in the agricultural statistics, as they placed great pressure on the already limited water supply (Aznar and Sánchez, 2010: 159). Thus, it is very likely that the official statistics underestimate the real greenhouse surface area, as is the case in the agricultural censuses. In fact, the real extension of greenhouse surface area is higher than what is shown in the census data, especially in El Ejido and in Roquetas de Mar, the two municipalities with the highest greenhouse surface area, and hence, more complicated to record. It is very significant that the municipal government of El Ejido recognised in 2000 a greenhouse surface area of approximately 11,500 hectares and that at the beginning of 2013, on its municipal webpage, it says specifically that: "In El Ejido we have an agricultural system [...] primarily consisting of horticultural crops that occupies a surface area of 12,500 hectares of greenhouses in the municipal space, accounting for 52% of the municipality surface area." In addition, the municipal government of Roquetas de Mar recognised that: "Intensive agriculture with more than 3,000 hectares dedicated to crops under plastic has changed the life of Roquetas de Mar." As can be seen, both figures greatly exceed the figures cited in the Agricultural Census of 2009. Moreover, in 2006, it was recognised that "the surface area of production in Almería has stabilised at 28,100 hectares, with an average size of 2 hectares per farm and with a management structure based on a family model, although the trend is toward professionalisation of management" (Céspedes, J. *et al.*, 2006: 74). This last figure does not match the 20,036 hectares of greenhouses in the province of Almería that the Agricultural Census reported in 2009.

El Ejido municipal webpage:

[http://www.elejido.es/tuayto/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=46:la-agricultura-en-el-ejido&catid=56:informacion-general&Itemid=63](http://www.elejido.es/tuayto/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=46:la-agricultura-en-el-ejido&catid=56:informacion-general&Itemid=63) (accessed 7/01/2013).

Roquetas de Mar municipal webpage:

[http://www.aytoroquetas.org/seccion/agricultura\\_181](http://www.aytoroquetas.org/seccion/agricultura_181). (accessed 7/01/2013).

the beginning of their agricultural activity up to the present. This analytical choice is due to a large extent to the fact that in the initial years of greenhouse farming the foreign pop-

ulation in the area was very small, and in the overwhelming majority of cases, family greenhouse farms did not rely on foreign labour. In fact, the huge increase in the foreign

**TABLE 2B:** Evolution of land cultivated with arable crops, 1982-2009

Variables/ Municipa- lities	Land area of municipa- lities (Km.²)#	Cultivated land in 1982 (hectares)	Cultivated land in 1989 (hectares)	Cultivated land in 1999 (hectares)	Increase in cultivated land 1982- 1999 (hectares)	Cultivated land in 2009 (hectares)	Increase in cultivated land 1982- 2009 (hectares)
Adra	89	1,843	1,697	1,296	-547	1,196	-647
El Ejido (en 1982: Dalías)	226	3,685	8,040	11,618	7,933	9,383	5,698
Roquetas de Mar	59	1,848	1,567	1,938	90	1,605	-243
Motril	109	2,231	2,209	1,642	-589	1,563	-668
Albuñol	63	294	323	657	363	572	278
Sorvilán	34	123	99	37	-86	79	-44
Total municipalities	<b>580</b>	<b>10,024</b>	<b>11,935</b>	<b>17,188</b>	<b>7,164</b>	14,398	4,374

Source: Agricultural Census 1982, 1989, 1999, 2009 and by authors.

# land area is in square kilometres (Km.²).

Source: Sistema de Información Multiterritorial de Andalucía (SIMA).

Clarification:

The evolution of cultivated arable land in the municipalities studied has to be considered with the same concerns expressed regarding the data in Table 2.A. The variable cultivated land is obtained from the census for the years cited by looking at the variable “land use : groups of crops, arable crops” in the Agricultural Census of 2009; “use of cultivated land/arable crops and fallow land (irrigated)” in the Agricultural Census of 1999; and the variable “use of cultivated lands/arable crops including fallow land”, which, in addition to horticultural crops, includes potatoes, beets and other traditional arable crops, in the 1989 and 1982 Agricultural Census. Therefore, in some towns, such as Adra and Motril, the evolution was negative between 1982 and 1999 as a result of the rapid decline of important traditional arable crops such as potatoes and sugar cane. Obviously, this explains the variation in cultivated land in the period 1982-1999. However, to explain the variations in cultivated land of arable crops between 1999-2009, in certain cases the changes were negative, especially in the municipalities of El Ejido and Roquetas de Mar, the significant urban development between 1999 and 2008 in these municipalities has to be considered, as it led to the loss of a large area of cultivated land, as many farmers sold their land for construction in those municipalities, and, in turn, some farmers acquired land in other nearby municipalities for new greenhouses. Regarding this, it was said in 2006 that: “Real estate pressure is leading to the disappearance of many farms in the local production system in Almería and to increased land prices. In many cases, this means farms moving inland and, apparently, a reduction in land devoted to agriculture” (Céspedes, J. et al, 2006: 70). However, the provincial greenhouse surface area appears to have remained stable or to have even increased (Aznar and Sánchez, 2010: 165).

population in this area did not begin until 2001 (see Table 1).

The great transformations experienced in the region have led to significant changes in the socio-economic practices and social values of family farmers. However, little systematic study of this population has been carried out, the majority of whom are from peasant families, originally from different municipalities in the county of La Alpujarra, Granada, such as Albondón, Albuñol, Murtas and Sor-

vilán. These families settling on the coast coincided with the restrictions placed on Spanish emigration to Europe that began in 1973; some bought land, some farmed as share croppers and others worked as wage earners (Ruiz, 1999: 109).

These family farmers are a diverse and heterogeneous group, although they have all benefited from the above mentioned “structural violence” and are the main promoters of the economic growth in the area and have

played an active and key role in the socio-economic and demographic transitions being experienced. It is specifically the aim of this text to gain a deeper understanding of this role and of the perceptions and understanding of these actors. To do so we analyse the social values manifested in their socio-economic and work trajectories. These values are conceived here as the preference criteria and judgements of acceptability or rejection attributed to the ideas and acts that guide the behaviour of social actors in their courses of action (Del Pino and Bericat, 1998: 2; Giner, 2010: 397). Specifically in this article, values and courses of action refer to the successive changes in the valorisations and/or perceptions of family farmers regarding their socio-productive practices, to the extent that through active strategies of reinterpretation and modification, these practices are resignified and transformed.

In this regard, it is important to clarify that when we talk about strategies here we are not referring to what have been defined as *family strategies*; a conceptualisation that, as argued by Louise Tilly (1979), is useful for analysing and discovering the principles that induce the observable regularities or behaviour patterns of domestic groups. Thus, although this conceptualisation has given rise to much fruitful work in the field of rural sociology (Garrido and Gil-Calvo, 1993; González, 1993; Cruces, 1994a; González and Gómez-Benito, 1997; Contreras, 1997; Pedreño, 1999; Díaz-Méndez, 1999; etc.), it also raises issues such as the reification of these groups, who may end up being considered 'units of consciousness' or of volition, leading to "claims that all the members of a domestic group share the same goals and develop a single strategy" (Contreras, 1997:18). In contrast, the reality is that family groups are often far from behaving as perfectly integrated entities, whose actions are the result of decisions agreed upon by all their members. As a result, we have not focused our attention

on the strategies of the families of farmers. In addition, studying these strategies would be problematic not only for the reasons just explained, but because they would obviously be modified in parallel with the major transformations experienced in the area. For these reasons, what we are basically examining is how these farmers manifest a considerable "degree of purpose and creativity, through which we find diverse responses to dynamic social processes" (Cruces, 1994b: 19). This *purpose and creativity* are demonstrated in the fact that throughout their biographical trajectories, they have developed different active strategies resignifying the social values that guide their economic practices and actions in general. They have done this in response to the great changes experienced in their social and economic world, which to a great extent they have also been the architects of. The expression 'active strategies' implies an understanding of social values in a sense similar to that of Talcott Parsons (1968, 1976)<sup>3</sup>; that is, as motivation/guide for the actions and attitudes of the farmers studied. But this does not mean that we share the idealist implications that place values on a higher level in the Parsonian functionalist hierarchy. Instead, when we speak of social values here, we refer, not only to the representations that motivate the social actions and economic practices of the farmers, but also to the objective material context in which these actions and practices are produced and reproduced. At the same time, it must also be kept in mind that these farmers are, both individually and as a group, architects of these actions and practices and hence, also more or less active producers and/or reproducers of the social values that guide them. Thus, changes in the social values of the family farmers are considered to

---

<sup>3</sup> The two classical studies of Parsons referred to here are *The Structure of Social Action* and *The Social System*, published for the first time, respectively, in 1937 and 1951.

be the result of their own active strategies leading to the resignification of their perceptions of their social and economic reality and the redefinition of their positions and actions as this reality is transformed, to a certain extent, as result of these very actions.

Consistent with the above, in the following pages we first look at the evolution of family farmers' socio-economic practices and how these practices have undergone significant changes. Next, we explain the fieldwork carried out and discuss the reasons for using autobiographical narratives from the farmers studied as the empirical basis to examine changes in their social values. Finally, we identify and classify four sets or configurations of values linked to the socio-economic practices of three generations of family farmers, whose narratives demonstrate processes of reflection and resignification of these values connected to the broad changes they have gone through and/or been part of.

### **EVOLUTION OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC PRACTICES: FROM FAMILY SCALE FARMING TO SALARIED AND PROFESSIONAL FARMING**

Traditionally, greenhouse farmers on the coast of Almeria and Granada practised a form of agriculture based on the collaboration and work of the whole family unit; in other words, this is a characteristic case of family farming, consisting of farms that use solely or mainly a labour force consisting of the family group, with the economic activity of all family members tied to the farm (Gómez-Benito *et al.*, 1999). This is in keeping with the small-scale character of traditional greenhouse agricultural production, which only permitted partial mechanisation (Martínez, 2001: 32). This small-scale character explains why greenhouse agriculture functioned and was "profitable while preserving the component of a family economy, in which all the adults and

children of the domestic group worked. From the moment in which practically all the labour force came from outside, whether national or foreign, the profits of these family businesses began to greatly decrease" (Checa, F. *et al.*, 2009: 123-124).

The 1970s represented the heyday of family greenhouse farming, as it was in that decade when they obtained greater profit margins, which were essentially a result of "self-exploitation and the minimisation of wage costs" (Cruces, 1994b: 37)<sup>4</sup>. Subsequently, after the relative recovery from the crisis that occurred between 1982 and 1986, maintaining profitability became, in the 1990s, a very expensive task that necessitated an increase in cultivated land (Table 2B). At the same time, production was increasingly becoming reliant on technology.

As a result, family farming entered into a sharp crisis, incapable of assimilating the required technological knowledge and face the growing indebtedness this implied. The crisis became particularly evident in the 1990s when agricultural yields fell; this was due among other reasons to the fact that from 1995 on, intensive agriculture faced a number of environmental problems and challenges stemming from inadequate management of agricultural waste. Thus, "each growing season, the farmer has to pay more to obtain the same number of kilos" (Delgado, 2006: 111). In addition, the costs of production increased as intensive farming increased the need to hire outside employees, just at the time that children in these farming families were more often opting to continue their studies and, along with many farmers' wives, seeking outside employment. In this scenario, with the gradual professionalisation of agricultural practices, the cheap and easy labour provided by "the immigrant population became

<sup>4</sup> This took place in intensive agriculture on the eastern and western coasts of Andalusia (see Cruces, 1994b: 16-18).

an important factor in the competitiveness of agriculture in Almeria” (Silva, 2004: 29).

The concept of professionalisation, when applied to the agricultural sector, is not well-defined and is polysemic (Gómez-Benito, 2003: 2). Among other reasons, this is because the agricultural profession can be conceived of as an unfinished process, or even as an “incomplete profession”. As a result, at least since the 1980s, agriculture has been described as being in “a process of transformation into a profession” (Arribas and López, 1989: 111). Specifically, it is since the 1980s that we can talk about the professionalisation of the greenhouse farmers in this study, as it is since that time that they have incorporated the values of owning their own land, independence and labour autonomy.

Given the imprecise and polysemous nature of the term, it is important to be explicit about what professionalisation refers to here. Specifically, following Alonso *et al.* (1991), professionalisation, in geographic area we are studying, refers to the transition from traditional subsistence farming, with the predominance of very poor farmers in what was known as the Campo de Dalías in the 1960s, to another form of family farming, but one that was increasingly intensive, technical and business-like: greenhouse farming of horticultural crops. The spread of greenhouse farming has led to a major transformation in agrarian practices toward modes of production that are increasingly industrialised, globalised and informational (Pedreño, 1999). The current computerised irrigation and fertilization systems, soilless cultivation and integrated production systems<sup>5</sup> used in many greenhouses provide clear evidence of the high level of modernisation and technological development of horticultural farming practices. These

are, therefore, practices that require a constantly increasing level of training and specialization among those who carry them out. This professionalisation in terms of farming practices has happened in parallel to a gradual professionalisation of farmers as a social and economic group, which also implies a change in their productive identity, an identity which is very much defined by and, to some extent, divided between, the memory of a traditional peasant order, characterised by production processes involving virtually every member of the family, and today’s technologically advanced, entrepreneurial and professionalised agriculture mediated by commercial managers and experts (Camarero *et al.*, 2002). All of this has taken place at the same time as a growing defamilisation of intensive horticultural agriculture, as there is a decreasing involvement of the entire family unit, a growing separation between family and farming, the two becoming distinct realities (Hervieu, 1996: 63 ff.), leading to growing difficulty for the reproduction of small-scale farming through transmission from parents to children (Gómez-Benito *et al.*, 1999).

This is all closely related to a series of general tendencies in Spanish agriculture and among modernised family farms leading toward a rupture in the close identity between family and farm (Arnalte *et al.*, 1997; Arnalte, 1997). These tendencies can also be seen in the evolution of the family farms in this study. Among the causes of this are: the gradual disengagement of spouses (especially wives) from farming and their choice of other professional alternatives; the decrease in marriages between farm families and in which both spouses are from rural areas, and the greater individualisation of decision-making processes regarding the educational and career paths of family members, especially wives and children, who are often following other professional paths. There is a growing rejection of farming, which is perceived as a profession lacking an institutional and symbolic framework capable of providing mean-

<sup>5</sup> Integrated production consists of the combined utilization of phytosanitary products and organic-natural products to control pests, using only at certain times low contaminating synthetic chemical products.

ing and social recognition (González and Gómez-Benito, 1997: 578). This context explains the findings of different authors that have shown how it is often the farming families themselves who decide that certain members (usually wives) should not continue working on the farm and instead look for outside paid work (Arnalte and Estruch, 1999; Langreo, 1999). In this context it is very significant that many wives go from being 'farmers wives' to 'housewives'<sup>6</sup>.

These tendencies have been greatly accentuated in the present scenario of increasing globalization and competition, which has had a huge effect on agriculture in the area studied. In these circumstances, there are fewer and fewer farmers or their children who see a future in farming as it has been traditionally exercised. This is related to the fact that despite high rates of productivity and its capacity to create employment, the practice of farming is now characterised by the irregularity and unpredictability of prices, an increase in the cost of inputs, labour precariousness and uncertainty (Cruces, 1994b: 17-18; Martín and Rodríguez, 2001: 47; Silva, 2004: 28). This uncertainty is largely due to the imbalance between the major investments that the greenhouse farmer must make and the prices at which products can be sold, prices which are determined in the present global market by foreign companies,

as nearly "80% of production is aimed at the European market, [and] completely controlled by less than a dozen companies (all foreign) who determine the price at source [...]" (Checa, F. *et al.*, 2009: 123-124).

In short, in the current situation of overproduction, saturation of markets and growing competition from horticultural crops from other countries with lower labour and production costs (for example, Morocco), the difficulties for the survival of greenhouse family farmers have intensified. This has led these farmers to look for ways to maintain profitability, whether through increasing production or through improving the quality of their crops using *organic production* or *integrated production* techniques. The gradual implementation of both these types of agriculture, above all, integrated production, has meant that on the coast of Almeria and Granada since 2003 "the trend in the consumption of phytosanitary products [is] clearly negative" (Céspedes, A. *et al.*, 2009: 109). To a large extent, this is due to the fact that in recent years a new consciousness has arisen, both among farmers and environmental policy makers, about the necessity of promoting environmentally sustainable agricultural practices. This can be seen in the following comment:

"Agriculture in Almeria has made a qualitative leap in recent seasons, and this has happened thanks to the massive implementation of ecological pest control, which in barely two years, has become the model for cultivation in the province. Farmers have demonstrated, therefore, that they are capable of responding to the demands of different target markets that today are asking for a better quality product that guarantees food safety and that is also grown with the greatest respect for the environment [...]" (Revista Fhalmeria, 2009: 4)<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Women's retreat to the domestic sphere, and the consequent departure from the work sphere that this entails, is closely related to the ambiguous position occupied by rural women immersed in family modes of production, a position in which "the simultaneously productive and reproductive nature of their work has deprived them of all the social benefits associated with employment or the position of housewife, without sparing them practically any of their disadvantages. An essential dimension in the gender strategies of rural women is, therefore, the search for a definition of their role in production or reproduction, a movement of specialization, in short, that largely explains why deagrarianization is accompanied, generationally and territorially, by an increase in domesticity, and why the economic activity levels of rural women have not increased to the same extent as those of women in other types of habitat" (Sampedro, 1996: 256).

<sup>7</sup> The Revista Fhalmeria [Fhalmeria magazine] is published by the City Council of El Ejido.

This new consciousness and these agrarian practices require significant investments, which cannot always be made by family farmers (those with greenhouse farms of 2 hectares or less), as it will increase their indebtedness and dependence on the banks. This places them at a disadvantage in comparison to larger farms with greater financial assets and available tax breaks (those with greenhouse farms over 2 hectares). Hence, this explains, according to local agricultural organizations, why in the course of the price crisis in the 2002-03 season, around 3,000 farms on the coast of Almería, due to the low prices of their products, could not make the payments on their loans.

In this setting, apart from the 1980s and 90s, when the number of larger farms increased significantly, farms of less than 5 hectares decreased from 13,057 in 1999 to 7,954 in 2009. During this same period, the number of farms larger than 5 hectares (Table 3A) also decreased, although to a lesser extent. This decline indicates that a process of concentration and restructuring of property has taken place, which is in line with the before mentioned growing economic difficulties of small family greenhouse farmers. These difficulties are greater for farms of one hectare or less and less severe in the farms over one hectare, with their greater capacity to capitalise. Thus, what we find since 1999 is a trend toward a decline in the percentage of small farms (one hectare or less), although an increase in the average size of these and all other farms (Table 3B). In addition, the use of more modernised greenhouse structures has spread in entrepreneurial farms with an average size greater than the traditional greenhouses (García, 2005: 177).

### **AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVES: EVIDENCE OF CHANGES IN VALUES AND STRATEGIES**

The study of social change must take into account both its social and individual caus-

es. As the authors in a classic work of sociology already cautioned, “if this issue is ignored, social theory faces an infinite task when trying to explain the simplest social change” (Thomas and Znaniecki, 2004: 129). In this sense, narrative studies allow us to observe how subjects “give meaning to their experiences” (Bernasconi, 2011: 29). They are useful for analysing how these subjects internalise, perceive, reflect on and explain discursively the changes that take place in their lives. Thus, “to understand something human, personal or collective, it is necessary to tell a story” and “narrative reasoning” (Ortega y Gasset, 1971: 53) contributes to studying processes of change in values and the practices associated with these values in the course of subjects’ lives. It has, therefore, been said that narrative reasoning “thrusts life into history itself and widens its scope” (Thompson, 2000: 23), and that “[although it] is not a unique mode of organising or reporting experience,... it is one pervasive and important way of so doing” (Atkinson, 2005: paragraph 10). Along these lines, in order to study changes in values, resignification strategies and the socio-economic practices of family greenhouse farmers, we collected diverse autobiographical stories told by these farmers and carried out participant observation.

These autobiographical stories were obtained through biographical interviews carried out during fieldwork from April to September of 2006, as well as during different months in 2008 and 2009. We classified the subjects’ narratives regarding their socio-economic practices and social values based on a comprehensive and thematic analysis of their discourses, which made it possible to “relate ‘what the subject says’ with its articulation in the field of actual social practices [...]” (Ortí, 1990: 184). The issues we focused on in the interviews included the following: family of origin; family members’ work; childhood educational experience; work experiences during childhood; chang-

es in residence; when they began farming and/or other work activities; the evolution of their lives as farmers, etc. The comprehensive and thematic analysis was done through an open coding and recoding of the interview texts during the first phase of the research, which led to the identification of almost fifty substantive codes. After this, theoretical coding was done (Glaser, 1978: cap. 4), which resulted in the identification of four configurations of social values, shown in Table 4.

This table shows the reflective processes among the practices, resignification strategies and social values of the farmers, who, as will be seen, resignify their values in their stories: “the subject does not recite his life, he reflects on it at while he is talking about it” (Bertaux, 1993: 161). The practices are de-

tailed in the columns “types of socio-economic practices” and “thematic analysis of practices”; the resignification strategies are in the column “comprehensive analysis of practices”, and the values of the farmers are specified in the column “configurations of social values”, based on the language of the subjects and on the researchers, respectively. The analysis has shown that “the effort to understand the practices can lead to interest in the semantic level of the beliefs, representations, values and projects that [...] inspire the logic of actors’ actions” (Bertaux, 2005: 11-12).

Hence, during the fieldwork two techniques were used to produce information: the interview and participant observation. First, we interviewed a leader in an agricultural organization in Albuñol (Granada), who

**TABLE 3A:** Evolution in the number of farms based on size in hectares (1982-2009)

Number of hectares	1982	1989	1999	2009	% variation (1982-1999)	% variation (1982-2009)
Between 0.1 and 5	8,720	13,669	13,057	7,954	149.7	91.2
Between 5 and 10	380	578	691	492	181.8	129.5
Between 10 and 20	202	222	252	147	124.8	72.8
Between 20 and 50	65	97	97	67	149.2	103.1
More than 50	31	61	37	29	119.4	93.5

Source: By authors with data from the Multiterritorial Information System of Andalusia (SIMA).

**TABLE 3B:** Evolution of greenhouse farms by size, 1999-2005

Size of farm in hectares*	Percentage of farms in 1999	Average surface area 1999 (hectares)	Percentage of farms in 2005	Average surface area 2005 (hectares)
Farms of 1 ha or less	20.3	0.75	16.6	0.81
Farms between 1 and 2 ha	34.6	1.50	37.8	1.53
Farms larger than 2 ha	45.0	3.97	45.6	4.05

Source: Céspedes, A. *et al.* (2009: 49); survey data.

\* Farms of 1 ha or less are considered “primarily family farms and with certain fragility due to their size as they can only guarantee subsistence”; farms between 1 and 2 hectares are considered “family farms with a certain capitalization capacity”; and the farms of more than 2 hectares are considered to be “entrepreneurial farms” (Céspedes, A. *et al.* 2009: 48). This criteria is established based on the level of capital investment demanded by the types of greenhouse farms mentioned.

provided us with most of our contacts through telephone numbers and/or by introducing us directly to them<sup>8</sup>. The interviews with farmers were carried out either in their homes or at work, once the amount of time and the number of interviews to be held had been agreed upon. The interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed. Our participant observations were recorded in field notes during the period of research. The discourses obtained in the interviews and the notes taken in the field were stored in text files (Microsoft Word 2003), through which the thematic analysis was done (Bertaux, 2005: 99-100), dividing up the discourses and notes into textual fragments (paragraphs) that corresponded to the different subjects mentioned by the farmers. After various readings of the material gathered, the comprehensive analysis of the discourses was carried out (Bertaux, 2005: 90-95), which consisted of recoding the subjects previously identified. In this task, sociological knowledge regarding the peasantry and farmers in contexts of modernization was invaluable (Camarero *et al.*, 2002; Gómez-Benito and González-Iturri, 2002; Pedreño and Quaranta, 2002; Domínguez, 1993; Sevilla-Guzmán and Pérez-Yruela, 1976; Shanin, 1979b).

During the research, forty-two farmers were interviewed from the six municipalities being studied (Adra, El Ejido, Roquetas de Mar, Albuñol, Sorvilán and Motril). For the present article, thirty farmers (both men and women) from three different generations (born respectively between 1914 and 1949, 1950 and 1969, and after 1970) from the six municipalities were selected. Most of those interviewed can be classified as family farmers, as only seven of them have farms that

exceed 2 hectares; that is, farms that can be characterised as “entrepreneurial” (Céspedes, A. *et al.*, 2009: 48). In any case, of these seven entrepreneurial farms, only three are over 4 hectares and relatively medium-sized: 4.5, 6 and 10 hectares respectively.

The thirty farmers chosen represent an intentional sample based on five socio-demographic and categorical variables that provide homogeneity as well as diversity to the sample (Castro, M. A. and Castro, L., 2001: 185-186). These variables, shown in Table 5, are: age, gender, residence, education level and farm size. This allows “the possibility of making comparisons, classifying the informants [and their narratives]” (Pujadas, 2002: 52). Most of those in the sample are second generation farmers (between 40 and 60 years old) primarily dedicated to greenhouse farming. Around 60% of local farmers belong to this generation (Céspedes, A. *et al.*, 2009: 21-24), which has experienced the transformations from traditional peasant farming patterns, as well as the implementation of the most innovative, intensive farming techniques.

Despite the range in terms of age, residence, gender, education and farm size, the interviewees autobiographical narratives reiterate certain themes due to their similar positions and social values. Specifically, the thirty cases analysed reveal “a structural/discursive position” (Castro, M. A. and Castro, L., 2001: 186) characteristic of greenhouse farmers, whose social and work trajectories generally have the following features: They are men, (although there are also women who run farms<sup>9</sup>) who are married and be-

<sup>8</sup> We are grateful for the kindness and assistance received from the leaders and farmers affiliated with COAG (Coordinadora de Organizaciones de Agricultores y Ganaderos) [Coordinator of Organizations of Farmers and Ranchers] of Albuñol, Motril and Roquetas de Mar.

<sup>9</sup> Among the women farmers studied, Carmen, Josefa and Teresa are the heads of their farms. They all inherited small properties from their parents (Table 5). This trend, still in its infancy, toward a certain feminisation of the management of farms in the area being studied has to be placed in the context of the changes in social values (more egalitarian) that are affecting the positions and roles of women and reducing the weight of traditional masculine and paternal dominance (Mazariegos *et al.*, 1993).

**TABLE 4:** Analysis of the socioeconomic practices, strategies and values of the farmers studied

Types of socioeconomic practices	Thematic analysis of practices/Substantive codes	Comprehensive analysis of practices and active resignification strategies Substantive codes	Configurations of social values/Theoretical codes
<p><b>Traditional family subsistence farming</b></p> <p>Dependent on weather Traditional extensive crops Knowledge transmitted through experience Rudimentary techniques</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Child labour</li> <li>-Scarcity of resources</li> <li>-Little or no schooling</li> <li>-Temporary day labourers</li> <li>-Part-time farmer</li> <li>-Labour mobility</li> <li>-Individual and family effort</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Family subsistence in a context of economic precariousness</li> <li>-Part-time farming and outside contributions</li> <li>-Part-time farmer</li> <li>-Peasants with little or no land</li> <li>-Migrant day labourers</li> <li>-Multiple jobs</li> <li>-Deprivation and subordination</li> <li>-Labour precariousness</li> <li>-Cohesion of the domestic group</li> <li>-Mutual support</li> <li>-Relative autarchy</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-The values of effort, work, family solidarity, mutual support and learning</li> </ul>
<p><b>Intensive small-scale family farming</b></p> <p>Intensive irrigated crops in 'enarenados' (mixture of beach sand, manure and soil) Parral greenhouse Drip irrigation, etc. First innovations</p>	<p>Emigration to coast of Almeria Family farmer: family support and effort Low capital investment and in technology High yield Problems with marketing</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Economic progress based on self-exploitation of family labour on their own property</li> <li>-Family cohesion</li> <li>-Relative autonomy in work</li> <li>-Mass production</li> <li>-Dependence on the market</li> <li>-Emerging process of professionalisation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Values of owning land, independence and labour autonomy</li> </ul>
<p><b>Professionalised-technical farming intensive in work, capital and technology</b></p> <p>Select crops and new knowledge: Innovation as feature of production process Soilless crops New greenhouse structures Computerised irrigation system, climate control system, etc. New seeds Integrated and organic production Recuperation of certain traditional practices, etc.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Immigrant labour</li> <li>-Less importance of family help</li> <li>-Small business farmer</li> <li>-Modernization of farms</li> <li>-Integrated production system</li> <li>-Growing investment in technology</li> <li>-International competition</li> <li>-Lower yield</li> <li>-Consolidated debt</li> <li>-Challenges and alternatives in production</li> <li>-Crisis of family farmer</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Continuous modernization and innovation of farm</li> <li>-Diversification of family economy: alternative employment opportunities for children and/or spouse</li> <li>-Professionalisation of farming consolidated</li> <li>-Defamilisation of farming</li> <li>-Dependence on auxiliary sectors</li> <li>-Uncertainty and globalisation</li> <li>-Production adapted to consumers</li> <li>-New production and sales regulations</li> <li>-Certification of production quality</li> <li>-Sustainability of local farming</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Values of unity and cooperation in collective action</li> <li>-Values of what is organic, production quality, agricultural innovation and trust in experts</li> </ul>

Source: Domínguez (1993), Camarero *et al.* (2002) and authors.

tween 35 and 60 years of age, typically with two or three children, and they come from very large families. They began to work as children and during their childhood and adolescence, they helped their families work their own land or worked as wage labourers. As they began their socialization in work early, this would later be reproduced in their socio-economic practices in family greenhouse farming. Due to their early work experiences, the majority did not attend school regularly, typically only completing primary education. In addition, a significant number held various jobs before farming, married early and finally emigrated to the coast of Almería or Granada to do intensive greenhouse farming on small farms between 1 and 2 hectares. Others gained access to larger entrepreneurial farms of 2 hectares or more. Many of these farmers employed family to work on their farms as well as immigrant day labourers (Table 5).

Moreover, as can be seen in the analysis of the configurations of social values, no significant differences are observed with respect to gender in the autobiographical narratives elaborated by the men and women farmers; rather, the narratives reveal a certain process of saturation. For this reason, no differences by gender have been established in this analysis. As we are studying the discourses that construct these configurations, as well as the active strategies of resignification of values throughout the lives of these farmers, and not so much the actual social positions our subjects have, we find that men and women tend to construct similar discourses and legitimisations for them. In other words, the discourses and strategies of both men and women farmers respond to important processes of change in their social and work world, which has undergone processes of modernization and professionalization. The agriculture they practice is increasingly less dependent on the family unit, and depends more and more on the knowledge and innovations of agricultural experts.

## IDENTIFICATION AND CLASSIFICATION OF THE SOCIAL VALUES OF FARMERS

Thus, the main contribution of the present article is the methodological focus that is used to study the narratives of the farmers and to identify four configurations of values derived from these narratives: Narratives that are analysed based on the methodological potential of the biographical perspective (Bertaux, 1993; Pujadas, 2002; Bernasconi, 2011), which contributes a dual diachronic and contextual dimension to the autobiographical discourses of the subjects studied. This dual dimension makes it possible to classify the discourses in this article based on the meanings that the subjects attribute to the various types of farming they recall and that are outlined in Table 4. In addition, the biographical perspective makes it possible for the subject to not only talk about his or her life over a period of time and in a changing context, but also to develop his or her own reflections on what he or she has experienced during this time and context. Thus, such reflections provide valuable material to analyse the farmers' strategies of resignification of values during their social and work trajectories.

Indeed, the changes in their trajectories, as well as in the socio-economic practices of greenhouse family farming, with the consequent uncertainties and social shifts involved, have influenced the personal histories of the subjects who have shaped and/or experienced them. We will, therefore, in what follows, analyse the narrations of a significant sample of subjects, as a basis to characterise the family greenhouse farmer, as well as to identify and classify the social values internalised by this farmer. These social values have been incorporated by these family farmers through a socialization process and therefore, have to be understood in relation to the diverse circumstances and practical situations in which they have been shaped (Table 4). In turn, their changes in

TABLE 5: Socio-demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the farmers studied

Name*	Place and year of birth (age)	Residence	Education level reached	Number of siblings (and children)^	Farm size in greenhouses	Day la-bourers employed in green-houses. &	Receives help from family	Level of technology in green-houses
Carmen	Los Castillas, 1963	Los Castillas, Albuñol	Secondary ed.	5 (2)	1.5 ha	3-4	No	Medium
Pedro	Albuñol, 1944	El Pozuelo, Albuñol	No Education	7 (2)	0.5 ha	2	No	Low
Miguel	Albuñol, 1954	La Rábita, Albuñol	Primary	4 (3)	1 ha	2-3	Yes	Low
Joaquín	Murtas, 1958	Albuñol	Primary	3 (3)	1.4 ha	2-3	Yes	Low
Jorge	Sorvilán, 1955	Melicena, Sorvilán	Secondary	4 (2)	1 ha	2-3	Yes	Medium
Fernando	Dallas, 1948	El Ejido	No Education	5 (2)	1.6 ha	1-2 occasionally	Yes	Low
Antonio	Roquetas de Mar, 1975	Roquetas de Mar	Secondary	3 (0)	3 ha	3	Yes	Medium
Enrique	Guadix, 1958	Roquetas de Mar	Secondary	4 (2)	3 ha	2-3	Yes	High
Eduardo	Roquetas de Mar, 1957	Roquetas de Mar	Vocational Training	4 (2)	1.6 ha	1-2	Yes	High
Emilio	Motril, 1957	Motril	Secondary	4 (2)	2.5 ha	3-4	No	Medium
Cristóbal	Bérchules, 1932	El Ejido	No Education	8 (4)	0	0	No	—
Tomás	Albodón, 1934	El Ejido (+ 2008)	No Education	10 (1)	2 ha	0	Yes	Low
Matilde	Albuñol, 1937	El Ejido	No Education	4 (2)	2 ha	0	Yes	Low
María	Albuñol, 1967	El Ejido	Secondary	1 (2)	2 ha	1-2 occasionally	Yes	Low
Manuel	Tánger, 1955	Roquetas de Mar	Primary	7 (2)	4.5 ha	4-5	No	High
Mateo	Adra, 1969	Roquetas de Mar	Secondary	3 (2)	1.5 ha	3-4	No	High

Mariano	Adra, 1944	Adra	Primary	6 (3)	1.2 ha	1-2 occasionally	Yes	Medium
Eugenio	Sorvilán, 1965	Melicena (Sorvilán)	Vocational Training	2 (2)	1 ha	1-2 occasionally	Yes	Medium
Ernesto	Adra, 1953	Adra	No Education	5 (3)	0.2 ha	0	Yes	Low
Andrés	Motril, 1960	Motril	Primary	3 (0)	10 ha	20-30	No	Low
Elena	Adra, 1957	Adra	No Education	5 (4)	0.3 ha	0	Yes	Low
Jaime	El Pozuelo, 1914	El Pozuelo (+ 2007)	Primary	4 (3)	1.5 ha	0	No	Low
Alfonso	Guadix, 1945	Foquetas de Mar	No Education	12 (3)	6 ha	2-3 occasionally	Yes	Medium
Mónica	Albuñol, 1978	Albuñol	Secondary	3 (2)	1.2 ha	2-3	Yes	Medium
Teresa	Albuñol, 1971	Albuñol	Secondary	3 (2)	1.5 ha	4-5	Yes	High
Josefa	Albuñol, 1967	Albuñol	Secondary	3 (3)	1 ha	2-3	Yes	Medium
Inma	Adra, 1961	Adra	Baccalaureate	3 (2)	3 ha	6-7	No	High
Santiago	Polopos, 1964	Melicena (Sorvilán)	Baccalaureate	5 (2)	0.5 ha	0	Yes	Medium
Julio	Adra, 1973	Albuñol	Primary	5 (1)	0.9 ha	2-3 occasionally	Yes	Medium
Ricardo	Los Castillas, 1968	Albuñol	Baccalaureate and Univ Prep	4 (0)	0.5 ha	0	Yes	Low

Source: by authors based on biographical interviews. Fieldwork done over ten months, between April 2006 and August 2009.

\* The names of the farmers have been changed to protect their anonymity.

^ The column, "number of siblings (and children)" shows the size of family of origin, including farmer and siblings, the number of children the farmer has appears in parentheses. & The majority of day labourers employed by these farmers are immigrants.

social values are seen as active strategies of resignification of perceptions and evaluations of reality. These strategies were deployed by these subjects during the intense process of change in their socio-economic practices, which we have previously linked to the globalization of agriculture and which has affected, to a greater or lesser degree, the social and work trajectories of family farmers in two ways: On the one hand, there has been significant fragmentation in the collective action of farmers, which hinders their strategies of organization and/or mobilization. On the other hand, there has been a gradual individualisation and professionalisation of the productive processes developed by these farmers, which is a consequence of growing global competition and the socio-economic and productive restructuring of farming (Bonnano, 1994; Lowe *et al.*, 1993; Lash and Urry, 1987; Mingione, 1993). This restructuring is not giving rise to a new form of farming in the sense of a radical rupture with past forms (Pedreño and Quaranta, 2002: 17); rather, it is a redefinition of economic and productive strategies as well as a process of resignifying past social values. Thus, in this case, we find the persistence of family size farms, the gradual introduction of agricultural innovations and methods of cultivations, progressive technological change, a combination of traditional and expert knowledges, specialization in production, greater requirements in terms of the quality of production and new requirements regarding the qualifications for greenhouse farming. This situation involves growing uncertainty and insecurity for farmers in structuring their identity, which is subject to transition (Camarero *et al.*, 2002) in response to the demands from an environment perceived as gradually becoming more complex and involving new risks (Martín and Hormigos, 2006: 38), as we found in the deep changes in the social values of this group of farmers.

### **The values of effort, work, family solidarity, mutual support and learning**

For many of the family farmers who began the practice of greenhouse farming, the constant effort and work involved has occupied a central place in their lives, their sociability and their social identity. For these farmers, work and farming create a particular world view that conditions all their social relationships, as can be seen in the cases of Mariano (Adra, 1948)<sup>10</sup>, Alfonso (Guadix, 1945) and Matilde (Albuñol, 1937):

“Well I have always loved the valley; I’ve never left my whole life. I began working with my father when I was eight, I’ve never left” (Mariano).

“Many farmers my age can’t read because we have been workin’g in the countryside since we were kids” (Alfonso).

“I have worked in the country with my parents and grandparents since I was child. My parents were one third dry land farm share croppers<sup>11</sup>, picking almonds, figs and grapes, which is what we lived on then” (Matilde).

Indeed, many of the farmers interviewed and their parents were peasants with very few resources to start out with. Hence, their childhood and adolescence were usually very precarious, marked by temporary migrations as migrant workers<sup>12</sup> and self-exploitation. This led to a slow process of adaptation

<sup>10</sup> The information in parentheses corresponds to place and date of birth.

<sup>11</sup> Farming ‘*al tercio*’ [one third] meant cultivating and working the land —the peasants were usually not landowners— and getting one-third of the crops, with the landowner getting the other two-thirds.

<sup>12</sup> The few local opportunities to find stable employment and the little land they possessed, led these persons to emigrate seasonally from their towns of origin to other towns in Andalusia, such as Granada and Seville, to work during the farming season. Matilde’s (Albuñol, 1937) uncles and aunts and grandparents on her father’s side even emigrated to Brazil in the 1920s and never returned, as she explained when interviewed.

to multiple changes. This was the case of Joaquin's father (1914-2004) and Ernesto (Adra, 1953).

"My father made his living as a bricklayer and farmer. But for many years he had to go to the countryside of Seville to find work during the harvest season, to make some money, as the dry land brought in very little money [...] During the harvest season, my father would be gone almost a month [...] (Joaquin).

"I started helping my father when I was ten years old [...]. My father, at that time, had very little work [...] and when it was needed, I would go with my father and I would get in four days pay [...] And I remember working from sunrise to sunset back then [...] And from there, I went to Ibiza when I was twenty-something, I went to Ibiza because you could make more money there [...] and I spent about three or four months there" (Ernesto).

The precariousness and lack of economic resources experienced by these peasant families meant that their children grew up in a world characterised by the need for constant effort as a strategy to ensure the survival of the family. That world, in which most of the farmers interviewed were socialised, created the conditions through which they developed the resilience, sacrifice and self-exploitation that was the foundation for their success as family greenhouse farmers. The childhood and work trajectory of Pedro (Albuñol, 1944) is a paradigmatic case, as he explains:

"when I was four years old I went with my grandfather to take care of goats; life then wasn't what it is now [...] I have enjoyed working a lot [...] I started with them [señoritos/well-off *landowners*]<sup>13</sup> earning 12 pesetas a day [currently 7 euro centimes]; then I was about 19. We were seven broth-

ers and sisters [...] I went wherever I was needed (Pedro).

Along the same lines, Mateo (1969), son of farmers from Adra and today an organic farmer in Roquetas de Mar, where he was born, has a structured discourse about the hard work that everyone in the family had to do in order to reach their current situation. He defends children working as necessary for the family to make progress and as part of their shared commitment to farming.

"There were four of us, brothers and sisters. All four of us grew up farming [...] Farmers' children at that time, logically, always helped with farm chores [...] it was very much family farming, and we were able to make a living thanks to everyone in the family working [...] My parents began here with leased land, later they were able to buy; well, it's a process where they would buy as the children started growing up and they had more labour power" (Mateo).

A farmer from Albuñol (Josefa, 1967), the head of a one hectare greenhouse, recounts a very similar experience to that of Mateo.

"I started working when I was 11. I stopped going to school when I was 12 [...] and already I was helping my parents every day on the land [...] I remember that before getting married, all our family was working the land; even my youngest sister who was 9 or 10 had already started picking beans with a little bucket my mother had" (Josefa).

To a large extent, the development and modernization of greenhouses were due to the effort of farmers, their wives and children. Child labour in particular played a major role. As recognised by Jaime (1914-2007), a farmer in his youth and bookkeeper in a corn exchange in El Pozuelo (Granada) for fifty years, child labour was seen as something normal:

<sup>13</sup> Clarifications of the farmers' discourses appear in brackets and italics.

“Well, before the standard of living was low. And even if there were schools, what would happen was when a little kid was able to take care of a goat, they would buy him a goat to take care of, and then he wouldn’t go to school any more [...]” (Jaime).

Jaime represents a paradigmatic case of the deprivation and scarcity suffered by farmers at the beginning of the twentieth century. His schooling was short-lived; as a child he worked as a baker, fisherman, and servant<sup>14</sup>, becoming in his youth a farmer. A typical job for the children of poor peasant families then was taking care of domestic livestock, as in the cases of Pedro, Cristóbal and Mariano. Having livestock was a decisive contribution to the subsistence of these frequently large families.

Little basic schooling, often interrupted before finishing, is a recurring pattern in the lives of many of the farmers interviewed, including the youngest ones. That is the case of Julio (Adra, 1973), a farmer in Los Castillas (Albuñol), who only reached the fifth grade of primary school.

“I went to school to fifth grade and when I was ten years old I left school, as I started to work on a fishing boat [...] I remember that I wasn’t bad in school, but my family was poor and I remember that we had to wear hand-me-down clothes from my cousins; I never had all the books [...]” (Julio).

Carmen’s case (Albuñol, 1963) was similar to Julio’s:

“I stopped going to school when I was thirteen and started working, a lot of years working [...]” (Carmen).

<sup>14</sup> Working as a servant was linked to the social position of the young person - single and belonging to a poor family, as was the case for Pedro, Jaime and Cristóbal. This work implied a relationship based on obedience and the acceptance of local power structures.

Socialization in the idea of the traditional peasant family as a socio-economic unit, with children contributing to its support, was a good antecedent that favoured the modernization of farming on the coast of Almeria and Granada, to a large extent based on the help and family solidarity of the first and second generation of greenhouse farmers. This solidarity transcended the nuclear family and included the extended family and even neighbours, as expressed in the recollections of Emilio (Motril, 1957), Ricardo (Albuñol, 1968) and Pedro:

“My father’s brothers also had land and we would help each other [...] I work for you; you work for me”<sup>15</sup> (Emilio).

“Well, in principle, if I helped my father a little, and my sisters and brothers-in-law too, they helped me, since I had helped them” (Ricardo).

“I’ve worked with up to ten, between brothers and friends. We worked really well together [...]” (Pedro).

Eduardo (Roquetas de Mar, 1957), Jorge (Sorvilán, 1955) and Mónica (Albuñol, 1978) also allude to the role of the family and local community in the reproduction and mutual learning of productive practices throughout the development of intensive greenhouse farming:

“[My uncle] taught me how to do everything, how to plant, how to dig, even how to put the plastic on [...] I grew up with my uncle. We lived together and we farmed the land together” (Eduardo).

“Until now, with the little that I know, they helped me, especially my brother-in-law and his brother-in-law who died. He was a great farmer. The little bit I know they taught me” (Jorge).

“The first year, when I got married, my husband who didn’t know about farming, was running the

<sup>15</sup> Reciprocity between farm families and neighbours in various farm tasks, where “work is paid by work”.

farm with the help of my father and me. My father helped him to plant, water, fertilise and lots of other things on the land, and I also gave him a little guidance” (Mónica).

### **The values of having your own land, independence and labour autonomy**

For farmers from such precarious socio-economic origins, the possibility of buying land meant gaining access to the independence and labour autonomy they had longed for and that they did not have during their childhood and adolescence (and that had also been denied to many of their parents and grandparents). One farmer, originally from the municipality of Guadix, who moved to Roquetas de Mar during childhood (Enrique, 1958), describes in the following way the aspirations for labour autonomy and economic independence through the acquisition of land:

“My father was a very enterprising guy; he liked doing things his own way, didn’t like having anyone over him. My father was a free man, [...] he had it clear that as soon as he could, he would buy a piece of land [...]” (Enrique).

In the above quote, owning land is identified with freedom and autonomy, as many farmers, as in this case, lacked their own means of subsistence. This meant that small peasant farmers, employed occasionally as temporary day labourers, were subjugated to a labour market dominated by large local landowners. This is how Enrique and Cristóbal (Bérchules, 1932) talk about this subjugation:

“Well, there was this lady who owned everything, the land, the houses [...] You were either on good terms with her or you didn’t work” (Enrique).

“[My life has been] a life of slavery [...] I served the owners as a slave [...] Working from dawn to dusk” (Cristóbal).

Thus, working one’s own land is a fundamental value for family farmers, which relates independence to work:

“Working for yourself, well, it’s very different from having a schedule [*paid work*]” (Elena)<sup>16</sup>.

“The advantage you have it that it is yours and you go when you want” (Eduardo).

“I didn’t want to work for or depend on anybody. If I worked, I could get my own land” (Tomás)<sup>17</sup>.

“The greenhouse, what it offers is that nobody tells you what to do” (Fernando)<sup>18</sup>.

In this sense, the autobiographical narratives of the farmers reveal a clear preference for labour autonomy. This preference is normally connected to the fact that these farmers see themselves as self-made individuals, who through their own effort and the help of their families have managed to overcome great disadvantages. This can be seen in the accounts of Andrés (Motril, 1960), María (Albuñol, 1967), Alfonso and Manuel (Tánger, 1955):

“And things related to farming, I could do them with my eyes closed because that’s what I saw growing up. Maybe someone else would screw it up [...] But I had it all in my head [...]” (Andrés).

“My father built greenhouses on the first land we bought when we came here [*El Ejido*] and our family has spent our whole lives working in them” (María).

“When we needed people to pick, well, we got them. But just a few, we [*the family*] could manage [...] And we would take our food and spend all day in the greenhouse, from morning till night [...]” (Alfonso).

“I remember I made a small tube greenhouse and that greenhouse I put together myself [...] and it was well-made” (Manuel).

<sup>16</sup> Part-time farmer, resident of Adra (1957).

<sup>17</sup> Tomás (1934-2008) was born in Albondón and worked in intensive agriculture in El Ejido.

<sup>18</sup> Farmer from El Ejido born in Dalías in 1948.

Without a doubt, the preference for the autonomy of family work and the degree of self-confidence that this entailed was an economic strategy of family farmers that put them in conditions to overcome the initial phases of labour precariousness, typical of traditional and subsistence farming. It also made it possible for them to face great hardship and the sacrifices they had to make in when first farming their own land. However, this strategy of labour autonomy continued and remained necessary in the phases of intensive family farming that followed, as in this type of farming, the entire family unit was usually involved, sharing the spirit of sacrifice leading them to work long and exhausting days when necessary.

However, under the current circumstances of globalization, characterised by the gradual defamilisation, professionalisation and modernisation of greenhouse farming, as well as by increasing competition and uncertainty, new preferences are emerging among farmers, such as unity and cooperation, the production of organic crops, innovation and trust in experts. Such preferences are formed through reflection on and resignification of traditional values and the practices associated with them.

### **The values of unity and cooperation in collective action**

A growing number of family farmers recognise that under the present circumstances of globalization, new challenges and problems very different from those of the past, such as growing international competition from other farmers, must be addressed. These can be more effectively faced if farmers act in a more coordinated manner and with greater solidarity. This is recognised by Alfonso, Mateo and Manuel:

“I am affiliated with a union [...] We stand up for the farmers but there are all types, some who have the nerve to not do anything [...] And if we get something, those who don't do anything also benefit, just like everyone else” (Alfonso).

“And I think, just like the individualism there is, that farmers in this area have had, it has allowed an economic monster to be created out of nothing; this same individualism is very bad for the phase where there starts to be no profitability” (Mateo).

“The problem is that in the auctions the farmers are not united and are uninformed. With the cooperatives it's just the opposite [...] In fact, the majority of the people that are outstanding in farming are the people from the cooperatives” (Manuel).

The fragmentation and individualization referred to, implicitly or explicitly, in the preceding quotes, appear as factors in the difficulties organizing and mobilizing farmers today; in the opinion of some, their fellow farmers tend to protect only their own interests and even take advantage of the organization and the collective mobilization carried out by others. There are more examples of this in the following comments:

“Well the first thing is that we're not united” (Carmen).

“But now we are [...] every man for himself [...] And then there is a lot of individualism among the farmers and selfishness” (Miguel)<sup>19</sup>.

“There is nothing that unites all [...] the farmers” (Ricardo).

“But it's clear that if the farmers don't unite, things are going to get worse and worse” (Inma)<sup>20</sup>.

“Yeah, it's always the same ones who go [*to the demonstrations*], we're always the same ones; we're not united. Unity! I'm not asking for more than unity, to defend what is ours” (Jorge)<sup>21</sup>.

“And in some farmers' demonstrations, I like to see people united to defend what is theirs [...]” (Santiago).

<sup>19</sup> Farmer from La Rábida (Albuñol), born in 1954.

<sup>20</sup> Farmer from Adra (1961) not affiliated with any farm organization, but a member of a cooperative.

<sup>21</sup> Jorge, Santiago and Eugenio are affiliated with a farm organization and live in Melicena.

“The solution is unity, but how do we unite?” (Eugenio).

Hence, because they perceive a growing individualism among themselves, perhaps exaggerated in their narratives, they value the unity and cooperation of collective action, although they have not found adequate ways to coordinate their interests to confront the challenges and problems they face together. While the farmers had assimilated values of mutual aid and intra-group solidarity in an earlier context of great economic and social precariousness, for many years they have been reinterpreting these values, appealing for greater unity and group cooperation in their productive practices under the current circumstances of great uncertainty and globalization. However, this has not led to effective collaboration and or unity among farmers or among their respective professional agricultural organizations, such that in the area we are studying, there are at least five organizations representing a diversity of interests (ASAJA, COAG, ECOHAL, UPA and COHEXPAL<sup>22</sup>). A leader of COAG complained about the lack of participation among affiliates in the different protests organised in reaction to the lowering of prices at source impelled by the so-called “horticulture monsters” (distributors and trading companies, agribusiness multinationals, etc.):

“Farming has a future, but not the farmers here who don’t know how to defend what is theirs. The only solution is to fight together against the new horticulture monsters [...] COAG will not unite with

other agricultural organizations that do not really defend farmers”<sup>23</sup>.

### **The values of organic growing, productive quality, innovation and trust in experts**

Other new values, which redefine the framework of values that had guided farmers in the initial stages of greenhouse agriculture (more in keeping with the modernization and intensification of production at that time), are the preference for organic agricultural production, innovation and a growing trust in experts, all necessary to ensure the quality of agricultural production, increase profitability, meet increasingly demanding international production regulations and satisfy a growing segment of both autochthonous and foreign consumers. These new values have, in turn, led to the professionalisation of farmers, although also to their indebtedness, as crops are more demanding, and the agricultural practices required are highly specialised.

Regarding this, various farmers recognised the risk for human health involved in the massive use of phytosanitary products, as employed in intensive greenhouse farming. For this reason, Mateo has been farming organically for more than a decade. The inadequate use or abuse of synthetic chemical products in intensive agriculture can cause and /or accelerate certain degenerative diseases, as well as cause intoxication in the farmers themselves. Fernando and Teresa (Albuñol, 1971), who are very knowledgeable about this, have the following to say, emphasizing farmers’ need for technical advice:

“Today, farmers no longer trust the products they have to spray on the crops [...] Now there is also the problem of waste; you have to be very careful

<sup>22</sup> ASAJA: Asociación Agraria de Jóvenes Agricultores [Agricultural Association of Young Farmers]. COAG: Coordinadora de Organizaciones de Agricultores y Ganaderos [Coordinator of Organizations of Farmers and Ranchers]. ECOHAL: Empresarios Comercializadores Hortofrutícolas de Andalucía [Horticultural Entrepreneurs of Andalusia]. UPA: Unión de Pequeños Agricultores [Union of Small Farmers]. COHEXPAL: Cosecheros y Exportadores de Productos Hortofrutícolas de Almería [Produce Growers and Exporters of Almería].

<sup>23</sup> Discourse obtained through participant observation in a meeting of COAG held in El Pozuelo (Albuñol), 24 July, 2006. Twenty farmers attended this meeting in a municipality with 1,000 farmers.

with the products that contain sulphates or fertilisers [...] because we have to ask the experts about the products that can be used” (Fernando).

“Before the crops weren’t controlled so much: the farmer was in charge of everything. Now an expert comes every week to our farm to tell us which products to use when we water, which products to fertilise with, if we have to have tomatoes with more colour or smaller size [...] (Teresa).

The discourse of Miguel, however, is contradictory, saying that although the phytosanitary products used before were more efficient and cheaper, they were less subject to controls. In his opinion, these products have to be well regulated to protect public health.

“well, they [*agricultural technicians*] also can’t do whatever they want; we’re talking about health, the environment, consumers, I mean, if they give them a free hand, they will come out with stronger poisons, and this would also, of course, endanger the health of consumers” (Miguel).

Mateo, on the other hand, belongs to the organic movement, and since he was young has been conscious of the need for innovation. For this reason, he re-examined the intensive farming exercised by the first and second generations of farmers. Moreover, Mateo and various farmers appreciate the innovations in their greenhouses and demonstrate great confidence in “technicians”, as they guarantee productive quality.

“I came from the organic movement and was aware that we had to do things in a different way [...] and afterwards I met a technician who gave me support and who I could consult with and who helped me solve problems. I think the expert help in the beginning was key [...] (Mateo).

“And from these courses you get information; the comments you hear on the street, especially from the agricultural technicians, because they are the ones who get around the most in the country and

they visit farms [...] I’ve always tried to have the greenhouse as up to date as possible regarding technology” (Manuel).

“And yes, you have to have quality products and if you don’t, you can’t do anything [...] this year I grew the peppers with integrated production and it went well” (Carmen).

“You have to take the time to get a little training, guidance from the technicians, because [...] in our agriculture [...] there is a lot you have to take into account” (Enrique).

“This same year I got a score of 100 out of 100 in the quality programme of the cooperative [...] and two or three experts had to come to see all the installations and resources” (Julio).

“A year ago we had very good cherry tomatoes, even an expert from the cooperative brought some farmers from Carchuna to see how our tomatoes were [...] It’s our obligation to raise good crops so our products do well on the market” (Mónica).

These farmers have combined the farming knowledge acquired from their own experience with the knowledge transmitted by agricultural technicians in their practice of organic and conventional farming, Mateo being a pioneer in implementing organic methods in the greenhouses of Roquetas de Mar, in the mid 1990s.

The above comments provide evidence of the great trust in knowledge acquired from agricultural technicians to ensure greater productive quality. The following reflections are very revealing regarding what we have argued here and point toward the unavoidable professionalization of farming:

“[...] the initial years were a little about acquiring experience, learning, also I liked to experiment a lot [...] within the traditional farming I tried to do things differently; integrated pest control and finally organic farming [...] We set up a cooperative, and some people were interested [...] It is true is that the organic agricultural products have more possibilities. It is a more select market and more constant, and the prices are also more stable [...] (Mateo).

Mateo combines the knowledge of traditional farming with a great capacity to introduce new methods into the way he farms. He talked about how he has specialised in crops with fewer problems with pests (courgettes, eggplant and tomatoes) and that organic farming has allowed him to extend the production period, return to traditional harvesting cycles and obtain greater productivity.

## CONCLUSIONS

Over the last fifty years, family greenhouse farmers on the coast of Almería and Granada have experienced great changes in their socio-economic practices and social values. In fact, different generations of these farmers have been socialised in very changing circumstances, from the traditional subsistence farming predominant in the 1960s, to the highly modernised intensive farming, which began in the 1980s.

These farmers' stories reveal their remarkable capacity to reinterpret and/or resignify their social values based on the changing context in which they have had to carry out their farming practices. This capacity has enabled them to adapt and respond in each moment to the diverse problems and major changes they have faced in their social and economic trajectories. Thus, we find a reflexive process between the social values internalised by these farmers and their socio-economic practices, increasingly subject to the processes of globalization; in other words, we find an interdependence between the micro and macro dimensions in the social and economic trajectories of these farmers. As a result, the social values of family farmers have undergone important changes as they have been resignified and /or reinterpreted in interaction with the changing socio-economic practices to which they are connected.

Consequently, the configurations of the values identified have had diverse effects, as

they have emerged in very different socio-economic and temporal contexts, which is proof that "a story is not static, [...] precisely because it comes from an individual who is also alive, undergoing constant change and transformation [...] making it possible to signify, resignify and give meaning to experience" (Cornejo *et al.*, 2008: 31). Thus, in the process of change in the values of the subjects studied, we have observed an increasing loss in the centrality of the values of work, effort, mutual support and learning, independence and labour autonomy, which were part of the initial strategies deployed by these subjects in the modernisation of their greenhouse farming. In contrast, in today's circumstances of the growing professionalisation and globalisation of agriculture, new values have arisen, without the old ones totally disappearing, such as unity and group cooperation, the preference for organic and quality production, agricultural innovation, and trust in experts. These values are more in line with what these circumstances demand: collaboration, the articulation of common interests and environmental sustainability in the face of greater international competition. These circumstances have led family farmers to actively reinterpret the values incorporated during their childhood and adolescence in order to face new challenges and problems, such as the marketing of their produce, quality certification, the difficulties in capitalizing their farms, the lack of expert knowledge to modernise, and above all, the elimination of the toxic waste in the production and proper processing of plant waste.

Today's processes of increasing globalisation and socio-economic dislocation, combined with post-Fordist labour deregulation and flexibilisation, are seriously undermining the ability of states (if not generating the definitive end to their effective capacity) to articulate capitalist markets relatively focused and organised on a national scale (Lash and Urry, 1987). In these circumstances, there is constant and in-

creasing change and socio-economic uncertainty, such that family greenhouse farmers, if they wish to survive, must be able to come up with and put into practice appropriate associative strategies that contribute to collective cooperation, coordination and the commonality of interests. In this regard, the deeply rooted values (at least in the first stages of the period studied here) of the family greenhouse farmers, such as effort, work, family solidarity and mutual support and learning, that were effective strategies in response to the enormous socio-economic difficulties these farmers initially had to overcome, continue to be necessary to guarantee the survival of family greenhouse farming today, given the fragmentation, social breakdown and unpredictability brought on by the current globalisation of markets (Mingione, 1993). This is independent of the fact that, in these uncertain circumstances, farmers are in the process of redefining their productive practices and the values legitimizing these practices in accord with the new and rapidly changing economic and environmental challenges they face. This redefinition is essential if farmers are to ensure their social reproduction and survival as a group, especially in the current context of greenhouse production processes, increasingly complex, technical and costly. Moreover, in this context farmers are increasingly unwilling (nor should they be) to make the great effort and self-sacrifice that in the past was usually shared by the entire family. Therefore, the articulation of effective strategies for cooperation linked to the new preferences revealed by the farmers in their autobiographical narratives are necessary to slow down the present trends toward the disappearance of family farming. Ongoing demands for efficiency, competitiveness and technological development will increasingly hinder their possibilities of survival as small, individual farmers without solid cooperation among them.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alonso, Luis E.; Arribas, José M. and Ortí, Alfonso (1991). "Evolución y perspectivas de la agricultura familiar: de "propietarios muy pobres" a agricultores empresarios". *Política y Sociedad*, 8: 35-69.
- Arnalte, Eladio (1997). "Formas de producción y tipos de explotaciones en la agricultura española: viejas y nuevas formas de diferenciación". In: Gómez Benito, C. and González, J. J. (eds.). *Agricultura y sociedad en la España contemporánea*. Madrid: CIS-MAPA.
- ; Estruch, Vicente and Muñoz, Carmen (1997). "Relaciones familia-explotación en las agriculturas modernizadas. Algunas contrastaciones empíricas en la Comunidad Valenciana". In: Bretón, V.; García, F. and Mateu, J. J. (coords.). *La agricultura familiar en España. Estrategias adaptativas y políticas agropecuarias*. Lleida: Ediciones Universitat de Lleida.
- and Estruch, Vicente (1999). "Explotaciones familiares en la agricultura mediterránea. Tendencias y perspectivas". *Anuario de la agricultura familiar en España 1999*, Madrid: Fundación de Estudios Rurales.
- Arribas, José M. and López, Antonio (1989). "El proceso de profesionalización de los agricultores cerealistas". *Agricultura y Sociedad*, 51: 107-134.
- Atkinson, Paul (2005). "Qualitative Research - Unity and Diversity" [25 paragraphs]. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 6 (3), (on line). <http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs-texte/3-05/05-3-26-e.htm>, access February 11, 2011.
- Aznar, José Á. and Sánchez, Andrés (2005). "Almería: paradigma de la inversión de los flujos migratorios". *Informe Económico de la Provincia de Almería, 2003. El reto de la inmigración*, El Ejido: Cámara de Comercio, Industria y Navegación de Almería.
- and — (2010). "Innovación y distrito en torno a un "milagro": la configuración del sistema productivo local de la agricultura intensiva de Almería". *Revista de Historia Industrial*, 42 (año XIX): 157-193.
- Banfield, Edward C. (1958). *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society*. New York: The Free Press.
- Bernasconi, Oriana (2011). "Aproximación narrativa al estudio de fenómenos sociales: principales líneas de desarrollo". *Acta Sociológica*, 56: 9-36.

- Bertaux, Daniel (1993). "La perspectiva biográfica: validez metodológica y potencialidades". In: Marinas, J. M. and Santamarina, C. (eds.). *La historia oral: métodos y experiencias*. Madrid: Debate.
- (2005). *Los relatos de vida. Perspectiva etnociológica*. Barcelona: Bellaterra.
- Bonnano, Alessandro (ed.) (1994). *La globalización del sector agroalimentario*. Madrid: MAPA.
- Bretón, Víctor (1993). "¿De campesino a agricultor? La pequeña producción familiar en el marco del desarrollo capitalista". *Noticiero de historia agraria: Boletín informativo del seminario de historia agraria*, 3(5): 127-159.
- Calvo, Tomás (2000). "El conflicto estructural en El Ejido: "A la caza del moro"". *Sociedad y Utopía*, 16: 39-56.
- Camarero, Luis; Sampedro, Rosario and Vicente Marzariegos, José I. (2002). "Los horticultores: una identidad en transición (1988)". *AREAS, Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 22: 43-69.
- Castaño, Ángeles (2000). *Informe sobre la población inmigrante en Almería*. Sevilla: Consejería de Asuntos Sociales, Junta de Andalucía.
- Castro, Miguel Á. and Castro, Luis (2001). "Cuestiones de metodología cualitativa". *Empiria*, 4: 165-190.
- Céspedes, José et al. (2006). *Plan Estratégico de la Industria Auxiliar de la Agricultura de Almería. Diagnóstico y estrategias 2006-2010*. Almería: Fundación Tecnova.
- Céspedes, Antonio et al. (2009). *Caracterización de la explotación hortícola protegida almeriense*. Almería: Fundación para la Investigación Agraria en la Provincia de Almería (FIAPA) y Fundación Cajamar.
- Chayanov, Aleksandr (1985). *La organización de la unidad económica campesina*. Buenos Aires: Nueva Visión.
- Checa, Francisco (2001). *El Ejido: la ciudad cortijo. Claves socioeconómicas del conflicto étnico*. Barcelona: Icaria.
- ; Arjona, Ángeles and Checa, Juan C. (2009). "El comportamiento del campesinado en Andalucía: de la agricultura familiar al empleo asalariado". In: Rodríguez, S. and Macías, C. (comps.). *El fin del campesinado. Transformaciones culturales de la sociedad rural andaluza en la segunda mitad del siglo XX*. Sevilla: Centro de Estudios Andaluces.
- Checa, Juan C.; Arjona, Ángeles and Checa, (2010): "Actitudes recientes hacia los inmigrantes en El Ejido (España)". *Convergencia*, 52: 125-154.
- Contreras, Jesús (1997). "Estrategias familiares de producción y reproducción". In: Bretón, V.; García, F. and Mateu, J. J. (coords.). *La agricultura familiar en España. Estrategias adaptativas y políticas agropecuarias*. Lleida: Ediciones Universitat de Lleida.
- Cornejo, Marcela; Mendoza, Francisca and Rojas, Rodrigo C. (2008). "La investigación con relatos de vida: pistas y opciones del diseño metodológico". *Phykhe*, 17 (1): 29-39.
- Cruces, Cristina (1994a). *Navaceros, "nuevos agricultores" y viñistas: las estrategias cambiantes de la agricultura familiar en Sanlúcar de Barrameda*. Sevilla: Fundación Blas Infante.
- (1994b). "Trabajo y estrategias económicas en las explotaciones de Sanlúcar de Barrameda". *Revista de Estudios Regionales*, 38: 15-39.
- Delgado, Manuel (2006). "Economía, territorio y desigualdades regionales". *Revista de Estudios Regionales*, 75: 93-128.
- Díaz-Méndez, Cecilia (1999). "Estrategias familiares para el tránsito a la vida activa de la juventud rural: modelos de inserción sociolaboral". *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 85: 47-66.
- Domínguez, Rafael (1993). "Caracterizando al campesinado y a la economía campesina: pluriactividad y dependencia del mercado como nuevos atributos de la campesinidad". *Agricultura y Sociedad*, 66: 97-136.
- Etchezarreta, Miren (1977). "La evolución de la agricultura campesina". *Agricultura y Sociedad*, 5: 51-142.
- Foster, George (1974). "La sociedad campesina y la imagen del bien limitado". In: Bartolomé, L. J. and Gorostiaga, E. E. (comps.). *Estudios sobre el campesinado latinoamericano*. Buenos Aires: Periferia.
- (1980). *Las culturas tradicionales y los cambios técnicos*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica (FCE).
- García, Roberto (2005). "El sector agrario". In: Molina, J. (comp.). *La economía de la provincia de Almería*. El Ejido: Instituto de Estudios de Cajamar.
- García, Iñaki and Pedreño, Andrés (2002). "El Ejido, entre la política y la sociología". *Sociología del Trabajo*, 46: 99-119.
- Garrido, Luis and Gil-Calvo, Enrique (1993). "El concepto de estrategias familiares". In: Garrido, L. and Gil-Calvo, E. (eds.). *Estrategias familiares*. Madrid: Alianza.

- Giner, Salvador (2010). *Sociología*. Barcelona: Península.
- Glaser, Barney (1978). *Theoretical Sensitivity: Advances in the Methodology of Grounded Theory*. Mill Valley: C. A. Sociology Press.
- Gómez-Benito, Cristóbal (2003). "La Formación y Profesión en la Agricultura Española". *Libro Blanco de la Agricultura y el Desarrollo Rural*, Jornada sobre "Formación e Innovación Agrarias", (on line). [http://www.libroblancoagricultura.com/libroblanco/jtematica/formacion/comunicaciones/c\\_gomez.pdf](http://www.libroblancoagricultura.com/libroblanco/jtematica/formacion/comunicaciones/c_gomez.pdf), access January 15, 2013.
- ; González, Juan Jesús and Sancho-Hazak, Roberto (1999). *Identidad y profesión en la agricultura familiar*. Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.
- and González-Iturri, Juan José (2002). "Profesión e identidad: el caso de la agricultura familiar". In: Gómez-Benito, C. and González-Rodríguez, J. J. (coords.). *Agricultura y sociedad en el cambio de siglo*. Madrid: McGraw-Hill.
- González, Juan Jesús (1993). "Efectos perversos de las estrategias familiares en la agricultura". In: Garrido, L. and Gil-Calvo, E. (eds.). *Estrategias familiares*. Madrid: Alianza.
- and Gómez-Benito, Cristóbal (1997). "Clases agrarias, estrategias familiares y mercado de trabajo". In: Gómez-Benito, C. and González, J. J. (comps.). *Agricultura y sociedad en la España contemporánea*. Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.
- González, Miguel et al. (2006). *La economía de la Costa Tropical de Granada: situación actual y perspectivas*. Granada: Fundación Caja Rural de Granada.
- Herranz, Gonzalo (2008). "Xenofobia: un estudio comparativo en barrios y municipios almerienses". *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 121: 107-132.
- Hervieu, Bertrand (1996). *Los campos del futuro*. Madrid: Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación (MAPA).
- Izcara-Palacios, Simón Pedro (2005). "Inmigrantes marroquíes en el sector agrario andaluz". *Estudios Fronterizos*, 6 (12): 9-38.
- Kautsky, Karl (2002). *La cuestión agraria*. México DF: Siglo XXI Editores.
- Langreo, Alicia (1999). "Evolución y tendencias en el trabajo agrario". *Anuario de la agricultura familiar en España 1999*. Fundación de Estudios Rurales.
- Lash, Scott and Urry, John (1987). *The End of Organized Capitalism*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Leal, José Luis; Leguina, Joaquín and Naredo, José Manuel (1986). *La agricultura en el desarrollo capitalista español (1940-1970)*. Madrid: Siglo XXI.
- Liceras, Ángel (1988). *Una transformación agraria: la actuación del I.N.C. en la zona de nuevos regadíos de Motril y Salobreña (Granada)*. Granada: Gráficas Granada.
- Lowe, Philip; Marsden, Terry and Whatmore, Sarah (1993). *Cambio tecnológico y medio ambiente rural (procesos y reestructuraciones rurales)*. Madrid: MAPA.
- Martín, Antonio and Hormigos, Jaime (2006). "La sociedad del riesgo y la necesidad moderna de seguridad". *Barataria*, 7: 27-40.
- Martín, Emma and Rodríguez, Margarita (2001). "Inmigración y agricultura en la Comunidad de Andalucía: la agricultura de invernadero en Almería". In: Martín, E.; Melis, A. and Sanz, G. (comps.). *Mercados de trabajo e inmigración extracomunitaria en la agricultura mediterránea*. Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía.
- Martínez, Ubaldo (2001). *El Ejido. Discriminación, exclusión social y racismo*. Madrid: Catarata.
- Matarán, Alberto (2005). *La valoración ambiental-territorial de las agriculturas de regadío en el litoral mediterráneo: el caso de Granada*. Granada: Universidad de Granada.
- Mazariegos, José I. Vicente et al. (1993). "Situación profesional de la mujer en la agricultura". Vol. V, *Análisis Sociológico*. Madrid: Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación (MAPA).
- Mingione, Enzo (1993). *Las sociedades fragmentadas. Una sociología de la vida económica más allá del paradigma de mercado*. Madrid: Ministerio de Trabajo y Seguridad Social.
- Mintz, Sidney (1973). "A Note on the Definition of Peasantries". *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 1(2): 91-107.
- Molina, Jerónimo (comp.) (2005). *La economía de la provincia de Almería*. El Ejido: Instituto de Estudios de Cajamar.
- Naredo, José Manuel (2004). *La evolución de la agricultura en España (1920-2000)*. Granada: Editorial de la Universidad de Granada.
- Ortega y Gasset, José (1971). *Historia como sistema*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.

- Ortí, Alfonso (1990). "La apertura y el enfoque cualitativo o estructural: la entrevista abierta semidirigida y la discusión de grupo". In: García-Ferrando, M.; Ibáñez, J. and Alvira, F. (comps.). *El análisis de la realidad social. Métodos y técnicas de investigación*. Madrid: Alianza.
- Palerm, Ángel (1980). *Antropología y marxismo*. México: Nueva Imagen.
- Palomar, Francisco (1996). *Los invernaderos en la provincia de Almería*. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses.
- Parsons, Talcott (1968). *La estructura de la acción social*. Madrid: Guadarrama.
- (1976). *El Sistema Social*. Madrid: Editorial Revista de Occidente.
- Pedreño, Andrés (1999). *Del jornalero agrícola al obrero de las factorías vegetales. Estrategias familiares y nomadismo laboral en la ruralidad murciana*. Madrid: Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación (MAPA).
- and Quaranta, Germán (2002). "Introducción. Trabajo y sociedad en los campos de la globalización agroalimentaria". *AREAS, Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 22: 9-27.
- Pérez-Díaz, Víctor and Rodríguez, Juan C. (2010). *Un futuro hecho con sus manos. Situación y horizonte del Campo de Dalías, en la provincia de Almería*. El Ejido: Fundación Cajamar.
- Pino, Juan del and Bericat, Eduardo (1998). *Los valores sociales de la cultura andaluza*. Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.
- Pujadas, Juan José (2002). *El método biográfico: el uso de las historias de vida en las ciencias sociales*. Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.
- Redfield, Robert (1957). *A Village that Choose Progress*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- (1969). *The Primitive World and its Transformation*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- (1989). *The Little Community and Peasant Society and Culture*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Revista fhalmeria (2009). "Monthly Agrarian Journal of Almería County". Special Edition, Sponsored by the Local Council of El Ejido (Contents in: Spanish, English and German). (on line): <http://www.fhalmeria.es/revistas/fruitlogistica2009.pdf>, access January 5, 2011.
- Rogers, Everett M. and Svenning, Lynne (1973). *La modernización entre los campesinos*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Roquero, Esperanza (1996). "Asalariados africanos trabajando bajo plástico". *Sociología del Trabajo*, 28: 3-24.
- Ruiz, Purificación (1999). "La inmigración al Poniente almeriense. Alpujarreños y africanos en El Ejido". *Anuario Etnológico de Andalucía 1995-1997*. Sevilla: Consejería de Cultura, Junta de Andalucía.
- Sampedro, Rosario (1996). *Género y ruralidad. Las mujeres ante el reto de la desagrarización*. Madrid: Instituto de la Mujer.
- Servolin, Claude (1979). "La absorción de la agricultura en el modo de producción capitalista". In: Etxezarreta, M. (coord.). *La evolución del campesinado. La agricultura en el desarrollo capitalista*. Madrid: Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación (MAPA).
- Sevilla-Guzmán, Eduardo (1979). *La evolución del campesinado en España*. Barcelona: Ediciones Península.
- and Pérez-Yruela, Manuel (1976). "Para una definición sociológica del campesinado". *Agricultura y Sociedad*, 1: 15-39.
- Shanin, Theodor (1976). *Naturaleza y lógica de la economía campesina*. Barcelona: Anagrama.
- (1979a). "Definiendo al campesinado: conceptualizaciones y desconceptualizaciones. Pasado y presente en un debate marxista". *Agricultura y Sociedad*, 11: 9-52.
- (comp.) (1979b). *Campesinos y sociedades campesinas*. México: FCE.
- Silva, Rocío (2004). "Redes socio-institucionales, dinámica innovadora y disfunciones territoriales en los sistemas agrocomerciales andaluces". *Revista de Estudios Regionales*, 70: 13-40.
- Sistema de Información Multiterritorial de Andalucía (SIMA, 2011-2013). Consultations made in the process of writing the article.
- SOS Racismo (2001). *El Ejido: racismo y explotación laboral*. Barcelona: Icaria.
- Thomas, William and Znaniecki, Florian (2004). *El campesino polaco en Europa y en América*. Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.
- Thompson, Paul (2000). *The Voice of the Past*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tilly, Louis (1979). "Individual Lives and Family Strategies in the French Proletariat". *Journal of Family History*, 4 (2): 137-152.

Tortosa, José M. and La Parra, Daniel (2003). "Violencia estructural: una ilustración del concepto". *Documentación social*, 131: 57-72.

Tout, David (1990). "The Horticulture Industry of Almería Province, Spain". *Geographical Journal*, 156: 304-312.

Wolf, Eric R. (1971). *Los campesinos*. Barcelona: Labor.

**RECEPTION:** May 5, 2012

**REVIEW:** January 22, 2013

**ACCEPTANCE:** January 26, 2014