

Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha Collective:
A political analysis from a gender perspective of the
emergence of women activists as political subjects

Patricia Diz Neira

Main supervisor: Berteke waaldijk

Second reader: Koen Leurs

Utrecht University - Faculty of Humanities

Gender Studies MA - 2021



Universiteit Utrecht



Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha Collective:

*A political analysis from a gender perspective of the emergence
of women activists as political subjects*



Patricia Diz Neira - Utrecht University

Gender Studies MA - 2021

Abstract

The main goal of this research project is to analyze the discourses and practices that constitute the female agriculture day workers of the collective Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha as political subjects. I focus on their public narratives gathered in specialized magazines, newspapers, conferences, interviews, and social media, where they define their syndicalist activism as feminist, antiracist, and environmental. Using the notion of parrhesia, coined by Foucault, and the Arendtian conceptualization of political action as my main theoretical approaches, I argue how by acting in the public sphere, these women introduce themselves into the world, reappropriating the political arena by constituting themselves as political subjects. Furthermore, I elaborate on the importance the emergence of these female activists from low extracts of society has on modern democracies and their politics. In a contemporary world ruled by the capitalist system and gripped by a political crisis, it may be necessary to start looking for solutions at the margins, and rethink the political subject if we want to find new strategies. The second goal of this research project is to contribute more female references within education and society by disseminating the work that women do in different fields.

Acknowledgements

Thanks to the Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha for their amazing and necessary work. Special thanks to Ana Pinto for her time, a wonderful interview, and her passion.

To Berteke Waaldijk, my tutor, for your ideas, your feedback, and your patience.

To Maria Tamboukou for having written such an inspiring and amazing article.

To my friends and their support. Special thanks to Tania for her design of the front page.

Contents

Introduction.....	1
Chapter one. The complex issue in the agriculture fields in Huelva and the organization of Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha.....	7
1.1 The context: The intensive agriculture in Huelva (Andalusia).....	7
1.2 The organization “Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha”	9
Chapter two. Theoretical approach: analyzing the female political subject through women’s political narratives.....	12
2.1 Analyzing political narratives from the perspectives of Foucauldian genealogy.....	12
2.2 Narratives as political tool through the revealing Cavarero’s theory: <i>Relating Narratives</i>	13
2.3 Parrhesiastic acts, action, and speech in the emergence of the political subject.....	14
2.4 Women’s political narratives in the context of the rise of “The Syndicalist Feminism to Come”	16
Chapter three. Assuming the risk: analyzing the narratives of parrhesiastic acts in the emergence of the political subjects.....	19
3.1 On the political technologies of individuals.....	20
3.2 On parrhesia.....	22
3.3 On parrhesia, citizenship, and collective organization.....	27

Chapter four. The emergence of JHL¹ as political subjects through the Arendtian conceptualization of political action.....	33
4.1 The disclosure of JHL as political subjects through action and speech.....	34
4.1.1 Acting in the public sphere as a mode par excellence to express the uniqueness and plurality of human beings.....	34
4.1.2 Actualizing power: opening new spaces of debate, relations and realities.....	37
4.1.3 Actualizing feminism: claiming their position within the movement and questioning its political subject.....	43
Conclusions.....	46
Bibliography.....	50

¹ JHL stands for Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha.

Introduction²

*“En la plaza de mi pueblo
le dijo el jornalero al amo:
nuestros hijos nacerán
con el puño levantado.*

*Y esta tierra, que no es mía,
esta tierra, que es del amo,
la riego con mi sudor
la trabajo con mis manos.”*
(Extract of a Spanish popular song)³

*“In the square of my town
the day laborer said to the master:
our children will be born
with raised fists.*

*And this land, which is not mine,
this land, which belongs to the master,
I water it with my sweat
I work it with my hands.”⁴*

² This introduction is inspired and follows the same organization that Raquel Álvarez- Riera Escandón (2018) thesis: “With a Kiss I die”, Love, Suicide and Vulnerability.

³ “En la plaza de mi pueblo” is a Spanish popular song link to the Spanish Second Republic. The song has its origin during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), and it is usually attributed to the anarchists of the trade union CNT-FAI. (Wikipedia)

⁴ I made the translation of this popular song.

As in the extract of the popular song selected, the women activists of the organization *Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha* denounce the vulnerability and exploitation to which day laborers in Andalusia are subjected and fight for an improvement of their rights and quality of life. Their fight is defined as feminist, antiracist, and environmental, understanding that their working problems are subjected to patterns of inclusion and exclusion that revolve around class, gender, and race discriminations. My first contact with the situation of day laborers in Huelva was from the perspective of Moroccan women who work in Andalusia fields and the abuses they suffer. Since I migrated to the Netherlands and after finishing a postgraduate about psychosocial intervention in immigrants, I have been interested in processes related to migration, especially stories of women that migrate because this collective has received little acknowledgment on this subject.

Researching the female Moroccan agriculture workers' situation is how I discovered the syndicalist activism that these women carry out. This activism comprises a complex social network of female agriculture workers, some of them foreign (mainly from Morocco and East Europe) and some from Spain that work hand in hand to solve the working issues that affect them. The activism of these women had a determinant impact on my research. On a theoretical level, it proposed a change in the subject of the research and its perspective. From this point, my research was centered on these women's syndicalist job, highlighting the women's agency and their capacity to effectively fight their oppressions rather than being center in the abuses they suffer. For me, this subject links with one of the thresholds that feminism has taught me and which has had a significant impact in my life: the acknowledgment of the lack of female references within our education and the importance of unveiling these references through women's stories through their contribution to society, politics, arts, and science. On a personal level, this research helped me better understand my mother's story and the influence that has in my life. My mother, an essential reference for me, started her job as a syndicalist in her 40s without any academic education or experience, and she continued with this activity until her retirement. This fact had made this research personally touching. It has been fascinating to analyze how the discourses and practices of these activists in the public sphere through defending

their rights constitute them as political subjects and the implications of this fact in questioning the historically constructed dichotomies between the private/public and political/social and the impact that has in society.

The article by Maria Tamboukou (2005), "Rethinking the political subject: narratives of parrhesiastic acts", has been an essential piece in the elaboration of this research, working as a source of knowledge, inspiration, and a methodological tool. In this article, Tamboukou analyzes the constitution as political subjects and subjects of politics of women educators (suffragettes) at the beginning of the last century through their auto/biographical narratives using the Arendtian conceptualization of political action and Foucault's concept of parrhesia. My research project follows the same main research question and uses the same theoretical framework, but instead, I analyze the narratives of women activists of *Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha* in their constitution as a political subject. Consequently, during this thesis, Tamboukou's article will be very present, being used to make comparisons, establish dialogues between the two researches, and as a theoretical tool in analyzing the activism of these women.

This thesis explores the emergence of these female activists as political subjects by focusing on their collected narratives in interviews, conferences, their website, and their Facebook page. All interviews come from magazines, Youtube, and websites specializing in political, feminist, or social issues, except for an interview that I conducted myself with Ana Pinto, spokeswoman of *Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha*, held at the beginning of this year. The organization's website has provided information on the theoretical bases of their syndicalism, activities, achievements, and social networks established with other organizations. At the same time, their Facebook page has provided sensitive information on their activities, issues they encounter, and political and syndicalist actions.

The main research questions are the following: How do the practices and discourses of the activists of *Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha*, claiming their rights in the public realm allow them to be constituted as political subjects and, subsequently, subjects of politics, and reappropriate positions that usually are in

the hand of men or people that have a better preparation or social position? How do these narratives that emerge from the interstices in the dichotomies of the private/public, social/political, and productive/reproductive question and create new spaces for the emergence of the political subject? Furthermore, these questions and the analysis of these women's narratives through Arendt's theory and Foucault's notion of parrhesia from a gender perspective leads to more specific research questions: How the parrhesiastic acts (brave acts that challenge power relations) permit to appropriate political positions and resignify their subjective position in society? How do these narratives reveal how the organization emerges from collectivity, solidarity, and social relationships, which then allows these activists to emerge as relational subjects? How do these narratives, which open up new dialogue spaces that conform to the conditions to create new realities and strategies to combat capitalism from the margins? How does this activism, in its questioning of central questions for the feminist movement, such as its subjects, concepts, and strategies, bring the opportunity to actualize it from an intersectional perspective? How does this criticism introduce new ideas into the feminist movement beyond the academic contribution?

This research project is divided into four chapters. Chapter 1 works as a general introduction to the complexity of the working problems in the agriculture sector in Huelva (Andalusia) which are interlocked with issues of class, gender, and race discrimination. Moreno Nieto (2012) and Milán Fernández (2021), from academia and journalism respectively, work from a gender perspective that highlights the racist and sexist bias that prevails in the hiring process of Moroccan female day laborers at origin, giving a vision of the social problems that surround this struggle for labor rights. On the other hand, Delgado Cabeza (1999), who does not work from a gender perspective but, instead, offers us a global vision on how this sector has become highly precarious since its globalization in the market, gives a perspective that enables a better understanding of working issues. In the second part, I will describe the activities of the collective *Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha* highlighting the theoretical foundations, their political actions, and the relational and social network they have developed.

In Chapter 2, I explain the theoretical approaches I have used to analyze the narratives of these women activists, and I will contextualize the work of the *Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha*. This research project bases its analysis on Foucault's genealogy, a methodological tool that problematizes the study of the narratives considering the contextualization, paradoxes, tensions, and different perspectives that may be involved. I approach the study of the genealogical lines of the emergence of these activists as political subjects from a feminist perspective, using the genealogical method as a tool to analyze the feminist praxis of these women and to make visible their contribution in the political and social realm, as Retrespo (2016) explains in her article. In the second part, I expose how the analysis of these narratives has been conducted through the theoretical approach of Cavarero (2000), where narratives in the public sphere are understood as political tools that open relational spaces and challenge conceptualizations of the female self. In the third section, I explain the theoretical approaches that I have used to analyze the emergence of these women activists as political subjects: the notion of parrhesia by Foucault (2001) and the political theory of action and speech of Arendt (1958). To conclude, I expose the main characteristics of "The Syndicalist Feminism to Come" as a mechanism to contextualize this collective's activism further and better understand the importance of their activism within the contemporary crisis of politics of this globalized world.

Chapter 3 is dedicated to analyzing the emergence of these activists as political subjects through the notion of parrhesia coined by Foucault (2001). Firstly, I examine through their narratives how the political actions of these women in the public realm allows them to speak the truth to power (parrhesiastic act) as a mechanism to transgress power barriers and emerge as political agents. I highlight how these actions open a dialogue between them and the state and question systems of oppression based on class, gender, and race, that form part of the frame of the state. In the last section, I problematize Foucault's idea about citizenship as a prerequisite to use parrhesia. Through Samaddar's (2010) theory about the emergence of the political subject, I argue that the category of citizenship does not fully capture the complex category of the political subject. The goal is to uncover how when the political subject emerges from below,

reappropriating political positions, it dislocates the general understanding of the political subject and creates underground discourses of resistance that problematize the dichotomies of the private/public and social/political. To finalize, I elaborate on the importance of these women's activism based on acting collectively as an act of solidarity between people, which work in favor of the social and democratic lives of a livable and dignified life.

Chapter 4 is dedicated to analyzing how their action and discourses in the public realm conforms them as political subjects according to Arendt's (1958) political theory. I explore how in keeping their stories public, these female activists introduce themselves into the world through action and speech, exposing their singularity and plurality as political agents, becoming political. As Arendt argues, acting and speaking together is a condition for all forms of political action. Furthermore, I elaborate how the action of these activists in the public space opens up new political spaces to deliberate and create new realities, new forms of doing politics, and different ways of organization.

Chapter one. The complex issue in the agriculture fields in Huelva and the collective Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha

This chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, the main characteristics of production on which the Andalusian agricultural system is based are exposed. The labor issues that affect the agriculture day workers, which reveal how these problems are entangled in discriminative mechanisms of class, gender, and race will be explained. In the second part, the birth of the organization "Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha" will be described as a response to solving the labor and discriminative problems they suffer. This chapter allows readers to locate the emergence of women day laborers as political subjects within their historical and social context. This contextualization enables a better understanding of the discourses and practices of these syndicalist activists which will be exposed through the analysis of their narratives.

1.1 The context: The intensive agriculture in Huelva (Andalusia)⁵

Agriculture is one of the most important engines of the Andalusian economy, however many social and environmental problems also mark it. During the last decades, Andalusia has become the largest exporter of vegetables and berries in Europe. Specifically, the province of Huelva is famous for producing red fruits, being the largest exporter of this product to Europe and the second largest worldwide. Moreno Nieto (2012) explains how in order to produce on a large scale, the region nourishes by intensive farming. Huelva has a substantial number of underground aquifers and a climate that favors its production of red fruits. These characteristics allow Huelva to be highly competitive in the international market.

⁵ Although, the specific case that is treated in this short thesis is based in Huelva, sometimes I will refer to Andalusia in general since the conditions in the agriculture sector are the same.

This overexploitation not only has consequences for the environment but also hangs over the entire agricultural production system, especially towards the workers who collect the product. Delgado Cabezas (1999) explains how the last decades Andalusian agriculture has been under the influence of globalization, which has resulted in numerous changes in the sector. Among those changes, Andalusian agriculture has experienced an increasing disconnection with the agro-food industry and a growth in its international exportations. These changes made farmers lose power in the sector, favoring large agri-food companies and the fluctuation of their prices. Moreno Nieto (2012) highlights how under these circumstances farmers are under tremendous economic pressure, although many agricultural entrepreneurs continue to enrich themselves. To survive under these circumstances, farmers have increased the production per hectare and reduced labors costs. These changes have had a negative impact on the environment, and have created a situation where workers carry out their jobs in a context of high productivity and low salary remuneration.

In addition, Moreno Nieto (2012) explains how this sector is nourished by foreign workers because it does not have enough national workforce to carry out the harvest of the red fruits. Most of the foreign workers are coming from Eastern Europe and Africa. Many of them, due to situations of vulnerability and discrimination, are forced to accept fewer working rights than local workers and poor living conditions, as Milán Fernández (2021) explains. Many of these workers are undocumented or subjected to contracts based on circular migration⁶ that are designed to exploit them, especially for women. For instance, Spain and Morocco have an agreement to hire workers already in Morocco to come to work in Spain. Nevertheless, this hiring process obeys a sexist logic in which it was decided to hire only Moroccan women and no men since it is considered that women from this country are more obedient and are submissive as Moreno Nieto (2012) highlights in her article. Furthermore, these women have to come from a rural environment, being married, divorced, or widowed (but not single), and have

⁶ Circular migration: it is a temporary migration, usually based on employment. In this case, these women stay in Spain between 5 to 9 months during the recollection season; after, they have to return to their countries (Nieto Moreno, 2012).

children under age. Under these hiring conditions, companies are looking for workers who are not conflictive, work hard, and are forced to return to their countries. Companies and farmers benefit of the vulnerability of these people. When these women are already in Spain, their working contracts are not respected, their lack of knowledge of the culture and the language, and the fact they are that usually living in places far from towns and cities, prevents them from reporting and defending their rights. Therefore, as Milán Fernandez highlights, the life and working conditions that these women are submitted to, condemn them to extreme vulnerability and social exclusion.

In a labor context that is extremely precarious, feminized, and marked by segmentation based on the place of origin of their workers, the working problems that agriculture day laborers encounter are developed within a complex net of patterns of inclusion and exclusion based on the discriminatory systems of gender, class, and race

1.2 The organization “Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha”⁷

Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha is an organization created in 2018 by women day laborers in order to defend their labor rights and to achieve decent working and living conditions. These women work and live in the province of Huelva. Some of them are Spanish, and others are immigrants, coming from Eastern Europe or Africa, specifically from Morocco. They define their syndicalist job as feminist, antiracist, and environmentalist:

Feminist because they are aware that they work in a highly feminized sector. Ana Pinto, spokeswoman of the organization, explains in an interview to Pikara magazine (Borrego and Báez, 2020), how in recent years, more women than men have been hire in the red fruit sector. The employer’s association assures that this happens because women are better harvesting the red fruit because they are more delicate. But, behind this explanation, the truth is that women are in a more

⁷ The information of this section has been taken from the website of the organization Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha.

vulnerable and precarious situation and it is easier to exploit them. At the same time, the large trade unions have neglected the more feminized labor sectors and have not addressed their specific needs and issues.

Antiracist because the situation of immigrant workers is even worse than for locals. The employer's association takes advantage of the situation of vulnerability and need that immigrant workers encounter and give them even more precarious working conditions. In addition, employers threaten local workers not to hire them or pay them less because they can hire immigrants more cheaply. This collective of women, both local and foreign, are conscious that to solve their working issues all workers need to have the same rights and protection from the law. It is for that they also demand a change in the migration law.

Environmental because the intensive farming in Huelva, characterized by overexploitation and illegal extraction of water, is putting the aquifers of the area in danger. Therefore, they demand an agroecological model that respects both the environment and people.

Aware that their situation is not determined only by labor problems but also by social ones, such as class, racist, and gender issues, as well as the overexploitation of the capitalist system, they carry out different actions to gain working rights and better life conditions. These women give information about labor rights to workers, denounce situations of irregularity, organize demonstrations, open communication channels with the government, trade unions, and employers, carry out public awareness campaigns about the products we eat, participate in organizing conferences, and speak to the press and different media.

Finally, these workers know that their problems are not solved individually, so they work through a social network as relational subjects. First, among themselves, from the workers who give information about what is happening in the fields, and then to those who work directly in the organization carrying out the necessary actions, and finally, to larger social organizations from which they obtain information and help. At the same time, they know that this is a global problem, therefore, they also work together with collectives from other sectors

such as sex workers, cleaners, caregivers, miners, among others, in order to advance the fight.

Chapter two. Theoretical approach: analyzing the female political subject through women's political narratives in the context of "The Syndicalist Feminism to Come"

2.1 Analyzing political narratives from the perspectives of Foucauldian genealogy

In this chapter, I am going to explain the theoretical approaches I have based my analysis on. In order to analyze the discourses and practices that allow the activists of *Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha* to emerge as political subjects, I am using Foucault's genealogical methodology (1986). Waller (2020) highlights how this theory permits to problematize the universal history approach since it develops an analysis of history that takes into consideration our dispositions, beliefs, sexualities, contradictions, paradoxes and ways of living/doing investigating their relation with the social context, historical processes, and power relations. This theory problematizes the ideas of normality, objectivity, and universality that we tend to attach to our history, scientific knowledge, social processes, and norms. In Foucault's words (1986, p.76), "genealogy is gray, meticulous, and patiently documentary". In this sense, using as well what Tamboukou (2005) does in her research project, I follow genealogical lines that allow me to analyze the emergence of these activists as political subjects considering the contradictions, paradoxes, tensions, and some of the different perspectives that are involved in this process.

Furthermore, the genealogical analysis of this syndicalist activism is approached from a feminist perspective. Retrespo (2016) argues that feminist genealogy has been used by feminism to make visible the legacy and contributions of women in different fields, identify female oppression, and review the feminist thought and its political action by situating everything within a socio-historical scope. In following feminist lines, I investigate the praxis of politics of these female activists in their emergence as political agents and make visible their contributions in the contemporary political world. This proposal also permits me to analyze forms of

power involved in the social construction of gender, acting to the detriment of women's rights and lives (Ibid, p.13). Here, again, I draw on Tamboukou's (2005, p.2) analysis, exploring “the genealogical realm of subjugated knowledges and marginalized voices” (ibid), searching for stories of these activists that were not “politicians or into politics” (ibid) before their involvement in this syndicalist movement.

2.2 Narratives as political tool through revealing Cavarero's theory: *Relating Narratives*

The sense given to the narratives of these women activists has been elaborated and analyzed through Adrianna Cavarero's (2000) theory called *Relating Narratives*. The sense that Cavarero gives to the narratives related to a “life-story”⁸ is characterized essentially by three features. First, narratives have the power to uncover “who” one person is. What does she mean by this? Primarily the categories and words we use to describe somebody have the limitation to deploy “what” somebody is, trapping this person into the categories that have been assigned to her/him. Contrary, Cavarero's argumentation says that “who someone is can be “known” (...) through the narration of the life-story of which that person is the protagonist” (Cavarero, 2000, p. viii). When talking about these agriculture day workers, we may describe them as women, low-class, foreigners, or elderly, mothers, and so on; nevertheless, hearing and reading into their stories, permit one to go beyond these rigid labels and encounter a “who”, a unique and singular agent that emerges from public actions, unveiling a narratable self that become political because it reappropriates the political arena. Secondly, Cavarero's understanding of narratives is always characterized by a sense of “relating” to others because narrating our life-story needs and desires for others that can hear, tell, and retell them, revealing “who” we are. Therefore, narratives do not reveal the essence of the self because this exposition and the permanent retelling of the stories creates “narrative relations [that] open up

⁸ This is the word that Cavarero (2000) uses to name the narratives of a person's life.

political spaces” (Tamboukou, 2005, p.4), new realities, and permit the transformation of these narratable selves.

The third characteristic emerges from the previous two and it is related to a “new sense of politics” (Cavarero, 2000, p. viii) where narrative relations open a plural space of interactions and the exchange of life-stories with each other “takes on the character of political action” (ibid, p.xxiii). If we think about JHL, others have narrated the life-story through different media, allowing these narratives “to become political technologies” and being used as a “means to forge [their] political identities” (Tamboukou, 2005, p.6). Furthermore, in Cavarero’s terms, narratives are a “feminine art” since the feminine self within them cannot be reduced to the stereotypes that the binarism of the genders produces. Considering as well that the political has been historically constructed upon the private/public dichotomy and between the social/political domains (Tamboukou, 2005, p.6), the narratives of these activists have permitted them to question these dichotomies and to help find within the fissures of the conceptualization of the female self spaces, which allow them to emerge as political subjects.

2.3 Parrhesiatic acts and action and speech in the emergence of the political subject.

As explained in the section above, narratives can work as a form of political action. In this regard, Arendt (1958) highlights how historically narratives have been used by human being acting in the public realm as a tool to preserve their stories through the work of artists, historiographers, and journalists. Tamboukou (2005) sharply argues how important it has been for women activists to leave their trace in history by writing, or letting people write about their stories. Similarly, the syndicalist job of these women in the public sphere permits their narratives to emerge as political tools, keeping their stories alive through the work of different professionals and their public diffusion. For me, this fact triggers two essential processes in the emergence of these women as political subjects. The first is that in performing their stories, reappropriating for themselves the right to defend their working rights, these women become what they perform: political agents, carrying

out the “public/political role usually performed by men” (Tamboukou, 2005, p.7). Second, this fact reveals the discursive character of their narrative that can be registered and analyzed from different perspectives, revealing a who that manifests in new and unexpected directions.

From this position, this thesis elaborates on the analysis of the emergence of these activists as political subjects drawing principally upon two theories, notion of parrhesia coined by Foucault, and the Arendtian conceptualization of action and speech. Both theories understand telling stories and acting in the public sphere as political tools whose narratives open political spaces. This understanding of narratives links to feminist genealogical lines, and to the importance of telling feminist life-stories; the narratable self that emerges is not only exposed but also transformed and dislocated from its original position and context, permitting it to emerge as political subject.

Parrhesia (Foucault, 2001) is a Greek word that means to speak frankly, to tell the truth in the public space (agora). This act is a form of political action where a person in an inferior position assumes the risk to openly criticize power, and she does so as an act of duty as citizen. Through the narratives of these activists, I analyze the parrhesiastic acts that led these women to emerge as political subjects. Additionally, considering that the activism of these women emerges from collective work, which allows a better understanding of their complex working issues, the analysis follows Butler's approach on parrhesia based on collective responsibility and solidarity between groups of people and its relation to the basic principles that conform our social and democratic lives of a livable and dignified life. Furthermore, this analysis becomes more complex through the theory of Sammadar (2010) which is about the emergence of the political subject and the conditions of its emergence. In his theory, Sammaddar problematizes the understanding of political history and analyzes the emergence of the political subject from an approach that focuses on agency and autonomy rather than submission (Sammadar, 2010). This theory allows the analysis of different population groups such as refugees, laid off workers, or women who demand more autonomy and agency. The complex case of the Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha whose labor problems are inserted in a network of problems that revolve around class, gender and race benefits from this analysis of the political

emergency since it allows to problematize categories such as citizenship and also the emergency conditions of the political subject.

In chapter 4, the analysis of the political transformation of these women will follow the political theory of Arendt (1998) from her conceptualization of acting and speaking in the public realm as a political tool. Arendt's idea of politics is based on the active involvement of citizens in the issues of their communities through collective deliberation. Arendt conceptualizes action and speech in the public sphere as a political action where humans appear to each other revealing their uniqueness and singularity and opening new political spaces of debate, creating new realities and communities. From this theory and through the analysis of the political action recorded in the narrative of these women, I analyze the conditions for their emergence as political subjects. Therefore, as Tamboukou (2005, p.2) gives in her analysis, drawing upon Foucault and Arendt, I focus on the stories that follow the processes "wherein the female self" (ibid) as protagonist of the story "transgresses boundaries and limitations" (ibid) revealing the constitution of the political subject.

2.4 Women's political narratives in the context of the rise of "The Syndicalist Feminism to Come"⁹

"The Syndicalist Feminism to Come" was a gathering point where through conferences, different people and organizations came together to discuss the ways of carrying out a feminist and intersectional, grassroots-based, and self-organized syndicalism that goes beyond labor issues and that allows them to join in struggle and resistance as a form of achieving their objectives (La Laboratoria-Nodo¹⁰ Madrid, 2021). Fifteen organizations¹⁰ participate in the organization of this event and in the conferences' tables, between them *Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha*. It is particularly interesting how these collectives, through these

⁹ The title was inspired by Tamboukou's article (2005).

¹⁰ La Laboratoria is an online space to support feminist activist research, present in 6 cities: Buenos Aires, Quito, New York, Mexico City, Porto Alegre and Madrid (each of them is a node (in Spanish *nodo*)). *Nodo-Madrid* means that the information used is coming from the node of Madrid.

conferences, participate in the discussion and elaboration of the premises that define the forms of organization, action and objectives of this new syndicalism.

In recent years in Spain, within the most precarious labor sectors, such as the cleaning and care sector, agriculture, prostitute organizations, food couriers, among others, self-organized syndicalist movements have emerged that denounce their precariousness, emphasizing the particularities of their discriminations. These struggles have a clear female protagonism and are based on a feminist movement that is aware that the capitalist, patriarchal and colonial systems are interlocked (La Laboratoria-Nodo Madrid, 2021). This fact explains why all around the world, most female workers find themselves at the bottom of the hierarchies of class, gender, and race (Semantic Scholar, 2016). These syndicalist movements present a new imaginary of resistance based on self-protection strategies where mechanisms of material and affective support and the mutual help between groups sustain the fight and become the seed for a new society (La Laboratoria-Nodo Madrid, 2021).

This new syndicalism nourishes from the traditional workers' struggle, but it does so from a new perspective that goes beyond the labor field by highlighting other types of violence such as financial, sexual, or extractive violence, as part of the problem (La Laboratoria-Nodo Madrid, 2020). The women of JHL are organized under these principles and work using these strategies. They describe their movement as feminist, antiracist, and environmentalist, as well they work hand in hand with other organizations and groups to achieve together their objectives and create a strong social network. This social syndicalism problematizes the social domain by showing that the labor issues, suffered by the most precarious sectors are mired in a complex network of discrimination based on classism, sexism, and racism. The capitalist system has always used patterns of inclusion and exclusion based on these discriminatory systems to support its extractives methods and to be able to accumulate capital. At the same time, it is essential to understand, as Tamboukou (2005) explains that historically, the social and the political domain have been conceptualized as a dichotomy where the political is related to the representation of the nation and the social “to individuals and collective relations” (ibid, p.3). In addition, Tamboukou highlights that the political is sustained not only through its schism from the social but also through the dichotomies of the

public/private and the productive/reproductive. By problematizing their situation in the public sphere, these women reveal not only the discriminatory bases of capitalism and the complexity of their labor problems that go beyond wage relations but also question the dichotomies of the political/social private/public and productive/reproductive on which the political domain lays. It is within the analysis of their narratives as union agents that it is possible to observe the interstices of these dichotomies and the fissures in the conceptualization of the female self emerging as political subjects, as Tamboukou (2005) does in her analysis of the narratives of the suffragettes at the beginning of the last century.

Chapter three. Assuming the risk: analyzing the narratives of parrhesiastic acts in the emergence of the political subjects

In this section, I will analyze the narrative lines of the female activists of *Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha* that arise from their speech and personal experiences connecting them with the notion of parrhesia coined by Foucault as a mechanism to explain their emergence as political subjects. In the first part, I will explain how, according to Foucault, the political technologies of the individuals work in favor of the state to maintain its status quo and strength, and how the political activities of these women push forward a dialogue between them and the government, which promotes change in this context. In which ways does the discourse of these activists question the rationality of the state? How are they trying to push a dialogue with the government to allow them to participate as political agents? How are they defying the state's framework based on their marginality and exclusion?

In the second part, I will explain parrhesia and its characteristics, highlighting all the parrhesiastic themes present in the practices and discourses of these women. How does *Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha* convey the main characteristics of parrhesia which constitute them as political subjects? How are those acts coming from below become a form of criticism? Finally, I will discuss specific characteristics from this movement that transcend certain concepts that Foucault associates with parrhesia, such as citizenship and individualism, in order to face this concept and its relation to activism from a more modern and democratic perspective where the political action of certain groups reconceptualizes the legal category of citizenship and its collectivity with solidarity and social relations. I will also explain the circumstances that allow parrhesia to be enacted: What kind of power does the category of citizenship have and how does that role play into the emergence as a political subject? What are the material conditions that create the psychological conditions that push them to use their right of parrhesia? What is the importance and consequences of this collective arising from mutual support and solidarity, despite their different situations and backgrounds?

3.1 On the political technologies of individuals

In this chapter, I analyze the formation of these women activists as political subjects through the concept of parrhesia rescued by Foucault from Greek literature, which refers to speaking truth to power. Tamboukou (2005) highlights that Foucault used this term to theorize about the political technologies of the individual, meaning the study of how political technologies made us, as individuals, believe that we belong to a particular society or state. This term is based on the political rationality of modern states where coexist the antinomy between “large destructive mechanisms and institutions orientated toward the care of individual life” (Foucault, 1988, p.147), inherent to their political structures. In relation to these political mechanisms, it is interesting how the activism of *Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha* in the public realm, permits to question the schisms between public and private, political and personal, and productive reproductive, which form part of the conceptualization of the state. Furthermore, highlighting through their political action the importance to work towards politics that defend values based on the good living and the good dying (Reina Sofía Museum, 2020) they essentially problematize the antinomy mention before.

Before turning into the term parrhesia, I would like to highlight two more characteristics related to the political technologies of the individuals, that shed more light on how these women have emerged as political subjects, and the meaning that this may have inside modern states. First, inside this political rationality, the state is conceived as having its nature oriented toward its strengthening. Therefore, modern states are conformed to “a set of forces and strengths that could be increased or weakened according to the politics followed by the government” (Foucault, 1988, p. 151); politicians are the people who rule others within the frame of the state. Second, the government has to worry about individuals only because they reinforce the state’s strength through their work, behavior, way of living, etc. Nevertheless, for the government, an individual becomes into existence insofar as he can produce changes in this strength.

At this point, I think is important to highlight the use of masculine pronouns used by Foucault in relation to the politics of the state; something that Tamboukou (2005) brings also up in her article when Foucault talks about parrhesia. This is

related to the fact that the concept of parrhesia was born in classical antiquity where women were excluded from the political and social arena. In the contemporary world, women can access political positions but there is still a gender gap between men and women, as women continue being associated to the reproductive and the private sphere. The activist work of these women in the public sphere decontextualizes those associations and permit them to question these historical constructed dichotomies. As well as Tamboukou's suffragettes, these female agriculture workers, denouncing their working situation in the agora¹¹, claim their right to tell their truth and their right of becoming political as a way "to rule as politicians", questioning the frame of the state that oppresses and marginalizes them. In their way of pushing forward new laws, new collective agreements, and new rights for the agriculture workers, these women maintain a dialogue with the state trying to make an impact in the set of forces that are intertwined with power structures such as sexism, racism, and classism. Therefore, they are trying to defy and to overcome these systems of discrimination. The next extract, taken from their own website shows their main goals and demands in their fight for better working rights and relates to what has just been explained.

"Now we fight in order to push the main trade unions that negotiate the Huelva Agriculture Workers' Collective Agreement, (...), bring our demands to the table of negotiation to be held this year 2021, and that these petitions get reflected on paper.

(...) All of this also implies carrying out political advocacy work that leads legislation in our favor and puts day laborers at the center once and for all. We need a real agrarian reform and a modification of the immigration law that regularizes those who support food production to improve the working class's socio-labor conditions. This can only be

¹¹ In this chapter, I will use the word agora, as Foucault does, to talk about the public space. Foucault uses it because in ancient Greek agora was a central public space in cities where, among other events, citizens did their assemblies.

done by those who govern.” (Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha website, 2021)¹²

In this extract, their demands advocate not only for a new collective agreement but also new laws, especially important in migration, that may improve their quality of living and working rights while giving all workers, including foreigners, the same rights and opportunities. At the same time, they are aware that politicians are the ones that can change these laws and rule on their favor. It is for this reason that they decide to become public and try to open spaces of dialogue where to expose their reality and claim their rights; and, in doing so, they, themselves, become political agents.

3.2 On parrhesia

“I am Ana, I am from the organization of “Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha”. Well, I started working in the agriculture fields when I was 16 years old, I am now 34 (...). In 2018 (...) Well, there was all these... accumulation of things. The complaints of the Moroccan comrades (...) And above all, always earning the same pittance. All-day enduring abuses, (...) and... well, I decided to report everything that was happening. (...) because I discovered that the comrades from Morocco were even in a worse situation than us, the Andalusian agriculture laborers from the towns. And, then, the struggle began, and all doors to work in the agriculture field were closed to me. And, well, I was going to migrate but, it happened that a cooperative of female lawyers offered to me working as a union mediator¹³ (...) here I have with me (pointing out her colleague), my colleague who is a translator. She is Moroccan; she

¹² I made all translations of JHL narratives. Some of them belong to recorded interviews; therefore, they can reflect a spontaneous and informal speech.

¹³ Job mediation allows to create spaces of communication and cooperation to approach a labor conflict. Ana Pinto's job entails transmitting agriculture day workers' issues to the press, trade unions, etc, being also the spokeswomen of the collective.

used to work with me gathering blueberries. And, we both started this struggle together. And now, she is working as a translator with me; (...).

They offered to me to do this job with a project that the Andalusian female lawyers cooperative had, where Pastora Filigrana¹⁴ works. And, well, I decided to stay to do this struggle because I think it is necessary to take the risk and fight for better life's conditions for the people that we work in the agriculture fields. Our work is essential; people eat thanks to us (she used the female personal pronoun).” (Ana Pinto, spokeswoman of “Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha”, interview¹⁵, 2021)

This is the beginning of the interview that I conducted in February 2021 with Ana Pinto, the spokeswoman of this organization, where she recounts how claiming their rights and reporting the abuses lead them to face some risks, among them the impossibility of working again in the agriculture field. As explained before, the agricultural industry is one of the most important economic sectors in Andalusia. Therefore, the loss of all work opportunities means facing a terrible situation, sometimes even worse than the one they already have, for these women whose work is one of the most precarious in the entire country.

Faced this situation of lacking any right to keep their jobs when fighting their working situation, they decided to speak their truth to the power structures that subjugate them. It is in this claiming their right to speak in the public realm, denouncing their situation as collective that these women use their right of parrhesia, and, therefore, they become political subjects as well as subjects of politics. This fact links with the principal characteristics that Foucault (2001) gives to parrhesia. This concept refers to the act of telling the truth towards power, acknowledging that this will put us in a risky situation, but that we do it as a duty as citizens. Furthermore, Foucault argues that the act of parrhesia is inherently a precondition for the exercise of freedom. In Foucault (2001) words:

¹⁴ Pastora Filigrana is a Spanish lawyer and a human rights activist. She is specialized in Labor and Union Law and Immigration Law.

¹⁵ The extracts where is written, *Ana Pinto, spokeswoman of “Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha”, interview¹⁵, 2021* refers to the one I made.

“My intention was not to deal with the problem of truth, but with the problem of the truth-teller, or of truth-telling as an activity: ... who is able to tell the truth, about what, with what consequences, and with what relations to power...

[W]ith the question of the importance of telling the truth, (...)” (Foucault, 2001, p.5)

Foucault (2001) describes the five main characteristics that constitute the act of parrhesia. The first one is related to frankness and what one thinks about a situation or an issue from her own beliefs. Second, the fact that we are in front of a courageous behavior when telling the truth. Third, a person is a parrhesiastes¹⁶ if telling her truth encounters a risk. Fourth, this linguistic act has to deal with a particular form of criticism directed towards oneself or another person, and it has to come from a below position. Lastly, the person releases her truth regarding it as a duty. Nobody forces the person to do it; therefore, it is also related to freedom.

All these characteristics are at play in the act of speaking as syndicalist activists in the agora, publicly denouncing their situation. It is interesting how in the extract above where Ana Pinto talks about the beginning of this working struggle, it is possible to see all these characteristics. Telling publicly her truth and the one of her co-workers is a form of criticism towards the situation they suffer, their employers, and the government. This action of speaking the truth in the agora put her in a risky situation since she lost her job, in a region where most of the jobs are related to agriculture. This is the reality of these women that when they denounce their situation, facing the possibility of not being employed anymore in the agriculture field. This reality may condemn them to migrate or to live under very difficult living conditions, including extreme poverty. I find it touching in her speech how she manifests her decision to stay and perform this activist job as a duty for herself and her colleagues. Their activism as a political act of defending

¹⁶ Foucault (2001) defines it as the person who uses parrhesia.

their rights in the public realm, is directly related to their right of exercising their freedom as human beings, transforming their own reality.

Tamboukou (2005) argues in her article about the activism of the suffragettes, how the narratives of these women in the public space permits to trace the fissures of the female self in their emergence as political subjects. To trace these fissures, it is necessary to look within the interstices of the conceptualization of the dichotomies of the public/private, political/social, and reproductive/productive that are constructed the political arena. Based on this analysis, it is possible to understand how the activism of *Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha* in the public sphere defies these dichotomies and the discourses associated with them in creating new political spaces. It is in these new political spaces that these fissures can be observed, and the female self associated to the private and the reproductive sphere becomes decontextualized and emerges as political subject. At the same time, considering this act of parrhesia as an act of freedom, based on their duty towards gaining rights for agriculture day workers, it is possible to argue that these changes in the female self are as well an act of freedom where they consciously choose their own identities defying and deconstructing the female identities historically constructed.

Parrhesia, as a verbal act, is a concept that I associate to Butler because she links concepts such as power, politics, and resistance to linguistic processes. Mills (2003), a researcher with a strong background in feminist philosophy and biopolitics explains, in an article, how Foucault and Butler understand power and resistance. Mills argues that for Butler power creates subjects to the extent that it is able through its speech to bring them into existence, therefore, as a linguistic process of naming and conceptualizing. Considering this idea, we emerge as subjects when we conceptualize ourselves through the discourses of power that signify us: "within subjection, the price of existence is subordination" (Butler cited in Mills, 2003, p.259). This process is what is called the paradox of subjection, in Butler's theory, because through power, the process of subjection makes us become subjects and at the same time subjects us to power itself. Talking about the political arena, Butler argues that politics happens principally in the realm of linguistic. At the same time, the act of resistance produces a resignification of the subject, and occurs if there is "a political commitment to "democratic contestation"

(Mills, 2003, p.254). All those processes are interrelated to or are produced by linguistic processes.

“In Butler’s view, political motivation and action derive from the failure of terms to fully capture that which they purport to name and the correlative potential for terms to be misappropriated and resignified” (Mills, 2003, p.254)

Butler’s theory on power, politics, and resistance helps me to better explain how the narratives of these women in the public realm, permits them to understand their turn from precarious workers to political subjects. When the collective of *Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha* claim their right of parrhesia, they reappropriate the arena of politics, resignifying themselves as political subjects, and resignifying also the conceptualization of the term political subject itself. This resignification of the concept of the political subject permits to problematizing historical questions, such as why women have mainly been excluded from the political arena, why, throughout history women have been conceptualized as naturally belonging into the reproductive, personal, and private realm, or why women cannot be part of the conceptualization of the state. As Butler (Mills, 2003) explains, this resignification is possible because the mechanisms of power survive due to the repetition of their conditions that have to be constantly reiterated through and by the subject. Therefore, it is the subject, through her performativity repeating the set of norms, that conforms to the conditions of power, who maintains and reproduces it. Nevertheless, this mechanism of the perpetuation of the conditions of power carries its own vulnerability since it is not entirely mechanical. Therefore, it opens the possibility to reinscribe and reiterate these conditions in a different way (Mills, 2003).

As explained above, fissures in the female self can be traced through the narratives of these activists in the public space, permitting these women to emerge as political agents. These fissures on the conceptualization of the female self are the vulnerability that Butler describes in her understanding of the mechanisms of power. The work of resistance that these activists carry out allows

the reappropriation and resignification of the political arena, through parrhesiastic acts that expose their counter-hegemonic discourses: exposing their situation publicly, denouncing the abuses judicially, and pushing big trade unions to negotiate their demands. Therefore, as Butler argues, “resistance is not simply opposed to power but instead it derives from it and reinstates its conditions in the very moment of subversion” (Mills, 2003, p.261).

3.3 On parrhesia, citizenship, and collective organization

Foucault (2001), in his analysis about parrhesia, develops its evolution in relation to three different fields: rhetoric, politics, and philosophy. In the case of politics, Foucault highlights how parrhesia is a requisite for public speech that occurs in the agora and that it is citizens who make use of it. The next extract exposes the personal story of Fatiha Suleman, coming from a video on the conferences of “the New Feminist Syndicalism that is coming” held in the Reina Sofía Museum in Spain.

“I came with a contract to collect strawberries. And think to stay here in Huelva to change my life. I only worked with contract for a month and then stay here. My money was finished, and where to go? where to come...? nobody knows. We are without job, without drinks, without food, without anything (...) Where do I have to look for job? Everyone wants to take advantage. Somebody wants to make love with you, somebody wants you to work more hours but without paying. Each person wants to take advantage of people. And after, I have lived in a shack. During a period, I sent all my money to my country. I have a son, my mother is sick, my father is sick. I finished the season without almost anything. I was living in a shack with a woman but I was afraid. People can get inside. But then, I did not have money and then I decided to arrange my own shack, and live there. Always people bother us. Always during the night, someone knocks the door: “do you want to work” they want only women’s body. (...) I came to work with my arms, I am strong, very young. I can work. Without my family. I want to work with my arms

not with other things. Always, we are suffering. (...) the problem is that I do not have the papers, I wanted to go there to talk, to change the things but I could not go because I do not have papers. Always, if you do not have papers nobody helps you. We are people with or without papers. But not equal. People with papers have much more things than us. But all work together. People without papers suffer more, work more and then we get less payment. (...) the city hall does not give registrations. Why they do not give us the job. We work and then we pay everything as Spanish people, like everybody.” (Fatiha Suleman, conferences of “The Syndicalist Feminism to Come”, Reina Sofía Museum, 2021)

Fatiha is a Moroccan agriculture day worker and a member of the organization *Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha* that could not attend these conferences because her legal situation has not been regularized. Nevertheless, she wanted to participate in this event anyway. It is for that she did the interview from Huelva, keeping her identity hidden. Fatiha narrates her story and experiences working in Spain, as a mechanism to denounce the abuses that foreign people, especially those without papers, suffer when working in the agriculture sector. She tells us how she came to the country with a contract, and because of her personal and family situation, she decided to stay, even if she did not have a permanent permit. This situation of irregularity and vulnerability places a lot of immigrants in risky situations, where defending their rights means not being able to work again or in worst cases, deportation or detention. Despite these risks, Fatiha, among other women, decided to tell her story and denounce the abuses they suffer. Through these actions, as we can see in their narratives, they make use of their right of parrhesia, becoming political agents while demanding their rights in the public space.

Despite the fact that these women lack the condition of citizens by law, their use of parrhesia and the risks they assume when speaking in the agora defies the idea that only citizens can use parrhesia, described by Foucault (2001) in his

book. In this respect, Tamboukou (2005) argues how because suffragettes exposed their stories in the public sphere, this made evident the capacity of women have to exercise as citizens, especially because this fact defied the idea that women are naturally linked to the private realm, which justified their exclusion of the public and political sphere. I take the analysis of Tamboukou to argue that the activism of JHL, especially considering the members of the collective that lack, by law, the condition of citizenship, acting in the public space, reappropriates for themselves the condition of citizenship by showing their capacity to exercise as such. Just like suffragettes, these activists performing as political agents in the public realm, become what they enact, as Tamboukou (2005) would say, full citizens with the right to participate in politics.

About citizenship, I would like also to bring up the ideas of Samaddar (2010) about the political subject in relation to its emergence and its implications. In his book, *Emergence of the Political Subject* (2010), Samaddar discusses why we need less Western political theories to understand colonial and postcolonial life. I will not enter to explain these complex theories and their characteristics in this work, mainly due to its length but also because of its scope. Nevertheless, I will use some of his ideas on the emergence of the political subject since they apply to this specific case. Samaddar (2010) argues that the concept of citizenship does not fully capture the complex category of the political subject. This idea comes from his work on immigrants, illegal immigrant groups, informal labor, dismissed workers, persecuted minorities, among others, many of whom lack this legal category or even having it, the category makes little sense to them. In fact, if we remember the words of Ana Pinto, talking about not being able to find a job after starting complaining about the abuses they suffer, her words allude directly to this point. Ana also acknowledges that the situation of foreign workers is even worse than the Spanish people, and how this complex political and working framework is used against both groups. The following extract, from an interview that Ana Pinto made for an online space for feminist research called La Laboratoria, reflects these ideas.

“Since the arrival of our comrades from other countries, people from the countryside get less jobs than before. And this is a reality that cannot be ignored. What is happening is that we have to start thinking who is to blame for this. Because there is enough job for everybody in the fields. In fact, every year, there is a lack of labor in the fields. What happens is that these same people, this employer's association, have the system very well set up to confront us. What do they do? If the agriculture season started in December, in this month I hire only foreign people that furthermore, I can exploit easily and they are more vulnerable people; and, in March the Spanish ones. And there, you have the hate speech created. And while, we are discussing between ourselves, we are not fighting for our rights. Then, one of the fundamental questions for all of us and I think it would benefit us and we need it as priority is the regularization of all immigrants. When these people are regularized, we not only get rights for them, both at the labor level and human rights level; but also, we get labor rights for ourselves. Why? Because if those people have their legal papers and are on an equal footing; the same as me. The manager would not be able to tell me what he said two years ago: if you want this is what you get, and if not, you are already in the fucking street.” (Ana Pinto activist of JHL, La Laboratoria, 2021)

In this extract, Ana Pinto uncovers the complex situation that surrounds them as agriculture workers, highlighting why it is important all workers have to fight together; despite their difference they are on the same boat. As we can see from the situation, the category of citizen, admitting to the differences between both groups of workers, does not guarantee the protection of their rights in any case. In fact, as it was said before, the collective agreement in Andalusia is one of the worse and, with also one of the lowest wages in the whole country.

Samaddar (2010) argues that the emergence of the political subject occurs under process that takes place under specific conditions, and permits individuals to emerge as actors of politics. This idea finds parallelism with “the psychic life of

power” where Judith Butler exposes how the psychosocial conditions, under which people are subjected, are the ones that enable the emergence of the political subject, as Tamboukou (2005) highlights in her article. Considering these ideas about the conditions for the emergence of the political subject, it has sense that the category of citizenship does not need to be a prerequisite to use parrhesia and claim political agency. As Samaddar argues (2010, p.xv) in these cases, the “political subject exceeds rules of politics” since the legal, political and conceptual framework of the state eludes these people on the basis of their class, gender and/or nationality. From these ideas, Samaddar (2010) asserts that it is political action, in this case, the act of speaking in public against power, as the element that allows of activists to emerge as subjects of politics.

“This is an attempt to understand how politics creates its subject, the subject who is not the slave of a politics guided by others, but who authors politics.” (Samaddar, 2010, p. xiii)

Considering this theory, I argue that these activists, using their voices in the public sphere, begins to permit them to claim their right of parrhesia, and, by doing so, they are becoming the authors of their own politics. This way of doing politics links with Samaddar’s ideas about how in modern democracies the right of doing politics is a human right that may dislocate the fine lines of the democratic politics especially when the political subject emerges from below. This happens because when the emergence comes from below, the speech reveals underground discourses of resistance, alternative ideas, collectivity and friendship that make it possible to question the problematic of the private/public, political/personal and the production/reproduction from a new perspective. As explained above, the principal reasons that motivate these activists to start with their political and syndicalist movement are found in the conditions of their realities. In the next extract, Veronica Domínguez, a member of the Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha, explains how their working situation, and the lack of action from the people that supposed to protect them, creates the conditions to emerge as political subjects.

“Because we have been suffering for decades being tamped down by those who are supposed to ensure our integrity, our dignity, and our

labor rights. We were already tired of seeing the same thing. And despite the fear of showing our face and being out of work, we decided to move forward because if no one did anything for us, we would have to stand up for ourselves.” (Verónica Domínguez, Conferences “The Syndicalist Feminism to Come”, Reina Sofía Museum, 2021)

The text shows how these workers demand to be treated as human beings with fundamental rights in their works and in their lives. Since the last century, women gradually enter the political sphere and the labor market. Nevertheless, still nowadays, women are underrepresented in the public sphere, including in government, institutions, and trade unions. In the labor market, women earn less than men, have worse jobs, and carry out most of the more part-time jobs. This situation is derived because women are still related to the private and reproductive spheres carrying most of the weight of family caring. As well as suffragettes (Tamboukou, 2005), taking part in feminist politics these women are not only fighting for their rights but also creating new identities for themselves while imagining different realities. The activists of JHL bring with themselves their own personal stories and history, moving forward their subject positions through different social structures when they forged their public persona.

To finish, I would like to draw attention to the ideas that Butler (2020) highlights about parrhesia as understood more as a collective expression than the brave speech from an individual, in her book, *Sin Miedo*¹⁷. In fact, thinking about the parrhesiastic acts in the context of JHL, they do not come as an individual act of bravery, instead, they are courageous acts born from a common agreement based on solidarity, social relations, ties between people, sharing space and the possibility of interrelations as Butler would express. For Butler, this mode of acting in a collective way is a manner to acknowledge the basic principles that conform to our social and democratic lives of a livable and dignified life.

¹⁷ *Sin Miedo* (Butler, 2020) is a book (published in Spanish) that includes a series of lectures in which the author talks about different modes of resistance to power. The first chapter is dedicated to the concept of parrhesia as a form of collective resistance.

Chapter four. The emergence of Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha as political subjects through the Arendtian conceptualization of political action

In this chapter, I will analyze through the Arendtian conceptualization of action and speech how in JHL, female workers, that were not politicians or involved in politics prior to engaging with syndicalist activism and reporting their experiences and problems within the public sphere, they become political subjects. Through this analysis, I will try to answers my research questions about their emergence as political subjects and their implications into politics through Arendt's political theory. At the same time, I will continue using Tamboukou's article and Cavarero's conceptualization of narratives as a reference and methodological tool in my research. The research questions of this section are: How does using action and speech guide the transformation from precarious workers to union activists? What are the practices and discourses that mediate in the formation of the political subject? In which ways do their actions and speech constitute them as unique agents and relational subjects of politics? How does their public discourse allow for their personal disclosure and opens new spaces for political dialogue? In which ways do these facts create new relationships and realities? How do these activists, in their emergence as political subjects, question and push towards a more modern and inclusive feminist movement?

4.1 The disclosure of JHL as political subjects through action and speech:

4.1.1 Acting in the public sphere as a mode par excellence to express the uniqueness and plurality of human beings.

To answer these questions, first, how Hannah Arendt conceptualized politics should be explained. In her article about what it is politics for Arendt, Sánchez Muñoz (1998) clarifies Arendt's sense of politics as a way of being together with each other while encountering our differences. The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (2019), in its entrance about Arendt, says:

“Arendt did not conceive of politics as a means for the satisfaction of individual preferences, nor as a way to integrate individuals around a shared conception of the good. Her conception of politics is based instead on the idea of active citizenship, that is, on the value and importance of civic engagement and collective deliberation about all matters affecting the political community.” (The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2019)

In this quote, the two main characteristics of Arendt's conceptualization of politics are found. From Arendt's theory (1998), firstly, the political realm cannot be developed from an isolated individuality based on a shared and unique collective thought. Second, politics always happens in the public space as a means of personal disclosure and collective dialogue. In this sense, Tamboukou (2005) highlights that for Arendt “action in the presence of others is sine-qua-non condition for the emergence of the political subject” (p.2). Arendt (1998) argues that it is this distinction in front of the others that renders visible our “human plurality”. This Arendtian concept refers to this beautiful and paradoxical idea that we all are the same, human beings, due to us all being different, thus, it is our capacity to express our own stories and our uniqueness that makes us humans.

In Arendt words (1998, p.8), “plurality is the condition of human action because we are all the same, that is, human, in such a way that nobody is ever the same as anyone else who ever lived, lives, or will live”. And it is this action of uniqueness the one that is allowed to enter the political realm and emerge as a political subject.

These processes that Arendt discloses as the means to do politics using our political agency are at play in the practices and discourses of the activists of JHL. Firstly, their emergence as political subjects and the formation of the organization originates from the moment they realize the necessity to act publicly and collectively as a mechanism to denounce and change their reality. When the activists of JHL uncover their stories through mass and social media their narratives, including interviews and conferences, reflect this process of uniqueness of the human condition through their political agency:

“(...) The Moroccan comrades reporting the abuses they suffer in the fields of Huelva. It was a coincidence that I was working with fifty of them (...) And, I was sick myself of enduring all the norms and all the abuses every year, they impose over us (...) And... well, I decided to report all of this” (Ana Pinto, spokeswoman of JHL, interview, 2021)

“Then, we can say, (...) We knew that we all work in the same sector. And, we ended up realizing that we pursued the same objectives and we thought in the same way (...) And, we decided to fight together (...) We don't have adequate resources. But I think we didn't need those resources to raise our voices. Because of social media, we could stop being ashamed (...) We were tired that the Spanish society had a wrong idea about our job. And, them trying to confront us against each other when we know that our comrades from other countries are not the people to blame.” (Verónica Domínguez, JHL, Conferences “The

Syndicalist Feminism to Come", *Reina Sofía Museum, 2-5 December*
2020)

These are pivotal moments in the constitution of this labor movement and in the genealogical emergence of these women as political subjects. What I found really interesting in these two extracts is that human plurality was already present in the moment of constituting their fight within their own activism. In both extracts, it is really striking to acknowledge the importance of the differences and similitudes in their personal stories as agriculture day workers to renegotiate their positions within the realm of the social and the political, realizing that their labor problems were embedded in a network where gender, class, and race are interrelated. It is at this point of awareness of their own human plurality that they decided to act publicly, as active citizens, engaging in collective deliberation, using their political agency, and emerging as political actors. In Verónica's part, it is particularly fascinating how organizing and deliberating together allowed them to overcome the shame they felt in relation to their discrimination, and helped them to begin to go public on social media as a means of reporting the abuse they suffer. For Arendt (1998), it is through deed and word that we introduce ourselves in the world, always through our own willing, as a second birth, being this acting the means to initiate something new. In her own words, "the acting and speaking together, (...) is the condition of all forms of political organization" (1998, p.202). Engaging with this idea, in telling their stories publicly they show, through their action and speech, their singularity as agents, the human plurality, and their becoming political. Action helped them not only to repositioning themselves within the social and political arena, but also to reconceptualize their own understanding of their discrimination.

4.1.2 Actualizing power: opening new spaces of debate, relations and realities

Botero Marino and Leal Granobles¹⁸ (2015) argue that Arendt's conceptualization of action allows the construction of a political community; manifesting the singularity of the agent, action creates a common world establishing a space where to act and deliberate. From this perspective, action allows discovering an agent whose public appearance creates a political space where a network of human relationships, despite the disagreements that may exist between them, is built. Moreover, this action has to come together with speech as a way to reveal the agent, a "distinct and unique being among equals" (Arendt, 1998, p.178). "The action is then an action-discourse which in the act of creating something new, reveals a someone" (Botero Marino and Leal Granobles, 2015). In Arendt's theory, this action-discourse is performative because it goes beyond what is expressed and does something: it creates a new reality and establishes relationships between human beings. This action is a form of communication that reveals the agents and requires spectators¹⁹ to acknowledge the agents and give the meaning²⁰ of "who" agents are through a narrative identity as Botero Marino and Leal Granobles explain.

"This revelatory quality of speech and action comes to the fore where people are with others and neither for nor against them— that is, in sheer human togetherness." (Arendt, 1998, p. 180)

This quote reveals how action and speech are considered "political tools" that open a debate space, the political realm, characterized as relational, discursive, performative, and agonal. Its agonal character is determined by two principal

¹⁸ These two authors are researchers of the Icesi University in Colombia. They are both specialized in in Hannah Arendt's political thought. I am using their article "Subject and action in Hannah Arendt's political thought" (2015) where they explain how Hannah Arendt understands the political subject through action and speech in the public space. This article has helped me to better understand the political thought of Arendt and to do a better analysis of these activists.

¹⁹ I borrow the term "spectators" from Arendt (1998) who uses it to name the people in the public space that witness the acts of the agents and establish relations with them.

²⁰ For Arendt (1998), it is through acting in the public realm that these agents acquire an identity, a "who", determined by the stories that the spectators narrate about their performances. Then, the spectators are the ones who give meaning to the agent.

characteristics of this political space. Firstly, it is always relational and all participants are considered as equals. Second, the different actors do not act against each other, since they do not perceive themselves as enemies but as rivals that use persuasion (discourse) as a tool to reach various compromises, but never coercion.

Without entering on an in-depth explanation about Arendt's conceptualization of the private and the public, I will explain briefly her understanding of them to set the standpoint from which I approach her theory and conduct this part of the analysis. The main critic towards Arendt's political theory coming from feminist politics is based on her exclusion from the political of issues such as "social justice and gender" as Honig (1992, p.215) highlights in her article²¹. Arendt relegates everything related to the body, and the social to the private realm because she conceptualizes them as producers of fixed and constative categories, governed by irresistible needs, common rules, and a set of arrangements that normalize people's behavior, preventing "spontaneous action or outstanding achievement" (Arendt 1958, cited in Honig, 1992, p.218). Since Arendt understands her politics as performative, agonal, and creative, a place where action reveals a multiple self and a singular, unique agent, activities related to the private realm (activities that prevent action) must be kept apart from the public to protect politics. Arendt's understanding of politics and her rigid vision of the private realm and its activities²² leads her to link certain bodies, class of people and women to this realm. Here, the division between the private and public remains nonnegotiable and categories such as sex, gender, and race are left outside of the public realm.

Honig (1992) sees Arendt's political theory as a useful tool for feminist politics not because what it excludes, but because of the opportunities that it opens to the feminist politics due to its performative and agonal character. Honig deconstructs

²¹ Bonnie Honig is a theorist of gender and politics. In this article, called "Toward and Agonistic Feminism: Hannah Arendt and the politics of Identity" (1992), she argues the agonal and performative politics of Arendt, even though they are not being feminist, may be useful for a feminist politics.

²² Arendt (1998), as in the ancient Greece, considers that certain subjects must remain apart from the public realm. Those subjects are called "laboring subjects" since they are regulated by their body and material needs. They are passive, predictable and repetitive in their behavior exclusively related to the body and working activities.

the Arendtian idea about the private realm and the activities that belong to it, arguing that “Arendt’s real worry about labor²³ and work²⁴ is that they require and engender particular “sensibilities”²⁵ that hinder or destroy action” (Honig, 1992, p.221). Under this idea, there is not particular class of people that should be excluded from the public realm, instead, it is those sensibilities (attitudes and dispositions) that mechanically reproduce certain behaviors, subjectivities, and activities that should be excluded from the public realm. This reinterpretation of the private realm’s categories permits to conceptualize labor, work, and action as “performative productions” (ibid, p.222) not as the essence of a particular class of people or gender. This amendment to Arendt’s theory allows the possibility of acting in the private realm as well as finding sites of political action in constitutions such as gender, class, and race.

It is from this amendment of Arendt’s political theory that I analyze the activism of JHL, acknowledging within their narratives how their use of action and speech reveals them as singular political agents, disclosing their multiple selves as well as in which ways the exposition of their stories in the public sphere opens different political spaces of debate, where all the political actors involved are pushed towards a relation where agonistic politics is the tool used to reach different compromises. The next extracts from their Facebook profile and journals’ articles show different moments of this working fight bursting into the public sphere and blurring the lines between the social and the political allowing the creation of new relations and new realities.

“The friendship between two women agriculture day workers, one Spanish and one Moroccan, as the seed of a collective struggle for labor rights in the countryside: “We began to report abuses without realizing that we were engaging in unionism.” Ana Pinto and Najat

²³ Labor is how Arendt (1998) name all the needs and activities related to the body.

²⁴ Work belongs to the social realm and contains all activities and relations related to the working sector. For Arendt (1998), it belongs to the private realm and it has to be kept apart from the political realm.

²⁵ I borrow the term “sensibilities” from Honig (1992).

*Bassit are founders of the organization Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha.”
(Rodríguez, 2021)*

*“Because it is us who better know our reality since we are who live it and
suffer it.*

*That we are recognized as trade unionists and political subjects means
that we are setting the agenda for our own working struggle. And that
our rights are negotiated by us, the ones who know perfectly what
benefits and hurts us.*

*We continue to make history, breaking up with the obsolete and
creating new formulas.” (Facebook profile JHL, 8 of April 2021)*

These two extracts show how exposing their stories in the public sphere allows one to observe how action and speech reveal them as agents. This fact allows the spectators to determine the meaning of a “who” through the “construction of a narrative identity” (Botero Marino and Leal Granobles, 2015) defining these activists as trade unionists and political subjects. The first extract comes from the newspaper elDiario.es, where the journalist Olga Rodríguez (2021) talks about the emergence of these women as trade unionists and about different features of this working struggle. There are two things that strike me in this text. First, how acting in the public, denouncing their abuses, is the event that permits to discover their multiple self, disclosing an identity that goes further than being agriculture day workers, working women, and/or working immigrants. This matter engages with the ideas that Arendt (1998) highlights in relation to this multiple self, which appears while acting in the public realm, and it is not only multiple, but also self-creative and transformative. Second, the disclosure of the idea that they started acting on is particularly interesting because they did so without acknowledging that they were engaging in trade unionist activism. This links with Honig’s idea that action has a “self-surprising quality” (1992, p.223) because the actor never knows “who” she is going to turn to since “action produces its actors” (ibid), and as well as we can see in the case of JHL, it can happen initially to the private self. Therefore, these identities that Arendt considered constative and immutable are

in reality performative productions that when repeated in subversive ways produce alternative identities that challenge and resist binaries related to gender, class, and race as Honig (1992) argues.

The second extract comes from the Facebook profile of JHL, it is the headline that these activists added to a post of the Spanish Ministry of Equality which talks about a meeting between this Ministry and these activists that took place in April of this year. What I think is important here is how their recognition from public actors as trade unionists, gives them the feedback to acknowledge that they have become political subjects and also subjects of politics, being the agents that lead their working struggle on their own terms. Here, we can see specifically how the spectators are the ones who give meaning to a “who”, to the agent because it is within this network of communicative relationships that the meaning of the agent comes into being. In addition, as Tamboukou (2005) argues about how women educators in the UK have been becoming political subjects and setting a parallelism with the case of JHL. It is through these performative productions that these “women attempt (...) to inhabit this subject position by appropriating political actions, they become political through the Arendtian route of exposing themselves in the public sphere” (p.6).

The following texts belong to their Facebook profile and show different contexts where, through deed and word, these women inserted themselves as political subjects opening new spaces of debate.

“Ccoo Huelva and Ugt Huelva: Do we have to demand you publicly to give us an answer or you even don't think to answer us?

Where is the working table that you promised us this summer in the meeting we held in the Huelva Provincial Council, in which its previous president was present?

Stop giving us the runaround one and for all. We demand information on the negotiation of our rights!” (Facebook profile JHL, 15 June 2021)

"Thanks to @Yolanda_Diaz_ and to the #Ministry of Labor for receiving us, for listening to us and for the commitment.

We continue the fight!!" (Facebook profile JHL, 29 June 2021)

"This morning we had a meeting with the Ministry of Equality, an act of commitment that we appreciate, and that gives us with hope to continue with our struggle. It is essential that institutional feminism is present in the reality of day laborers. We cannot continue on the periphery.

We continue to join the fight for our rights" (Facebook profile JHL, 8 April 2021)

The first extract shows the difficulties they encounter to establish a dialogue and work together with the main Spanish trade unions. These activists demand transparency on their collective labor agreement negotiation and their participation in it since they are the ones who better know the issues of their struggle. They are aware of the complexity of their situation, as Ana Pinto makes it clear in an interview to Goteo Foundation (2021), a crowdfunding network, arguing that their struggle goes further than being just a labor problem: "Because this reality is not a struggle that we can claim as just a labor struggle. And that's it. Here many problems come together, such as social problems, immigration, racism (...)" (Cabot, 2021). Because they know better than everybody else the characteristics of their problems and what they need, they demand being the agents that lead and negotiate their rights. Nevertheless, despite the issues encountered with the trade unions, these female activists have found their own way to establish relations and open spaces of debate with different government cabinets. The last two texts expose two meetings that these activists held with the Spanish ministers of Labor and of Equality, respectively, during this year. This

is a significant moment in their struggle because it proves that they have reached political spaces that are usually reserved to big institutions such as the trade unions, among others. Therefore, acting in the public sphere has already created new realities where new spaces of debate and relationships between different political actors are already present. In opening these political spaces, these women become political subjects have proven themselves capable of practicing agonistic politics allowing them to advance their social and working rights through reaching new compromises. All these processes make it possible to see the real and symbolic importance that exposing their narratives in the public realm have been in becoming political. In this regard, Tamboukou (2005, p.6) highlights Arendt's idea that action and speech create meaningful stories that permit human beings "to emerge as (...) [the] "heroes" of their stories, but also as relational subjects". As Arendt said:

"Power is actualized only where word and deed have not parted company, where words are not empty and deeds not brutal, where words are not used to veil intentions but to disclose realities, and deeds are not used to violate and destroy but to establish relations and create new realities"
(1998, p.200)

4.1.3 Actualizing feminism: claiming their position within the movement and questioning its political subject

In their rise as political subjects, these women interrogate the public/private and social/political dichotomies by what Tamboukou (2005, p.3) calls "crisscrossing its already fragile discursive boundaries". They also actualize the power mechanisms that sustain them. Furthermore, in this ascent, their definition of their political movement as an intersectional feminism permits them to critically position themselves within this movement. Their critiques towards the institutional feminism, its political subject, and its overlooking of certain women's problems bring the opportunity to produce a more inclusive and modern feminism. The next two extracts gather the words about this subject of these activists.

"This sector is very feminized.

Before there were the same number of men as women, but they increasingly require a female workforce, (...)

they know that women can be exploited more because of their precarious condition and the vulnerability they face on a daily basis."

(Ana Pinto, Borrego and Bàez, 2020)

"I think this struggle (...) is true feminism because the feminism that everybody talks about does not represent me. (...) I do not feel identified with a woman from Madrid who is trying to break the glass ceiling. what I have on top of my head is the plastic of a greenhouse, and nobody is talking about what is happening to us. (...)

We carry a stigma as agriculture day workers. Maybe, this is why they did not consider us as part of the feminist fight. Women from the villages or immigrant women who come with a veil, what are they going to know about feminism? And maybe, it is from these women that we have to learn more to make true feminism. And syndicalist feminism is what we are doing. And intersectional. This is the feminism that we need, the feminism of those that are at the bottom, of the poor, of the women that have nothing." (Ana Pinto and Verónica Domínguez, *La Laboratoria*, 2021)

These two extracts, explain the reasons that have led them to define this syndicalist movement as an intersectional feminism, and their criticism towards the mainstream and institutionalized feminism since it has failed in representing all women, leaving aside the problems of those who face fewer privileges. It is remarkably striking how they reconceptualize the feminist metaphor about breaking the glass ceiling, pointing out that their ceiling is made of plastic and the

other ceiling is very far from their work and life reality. This idea engages directly with the visual metaphor that Crenshaw (1989) proposes to explain how intersectionality works: people in a basement ("feet standing on shoulders" (ibid, p.151)) facing different axes of discrimination such as "race, sex, class, sexual preference, age and/or physical ability" (ibid) and at the very bottom the ones that experience all of them, far away from the mentioned glass ceiling. As we have seen through the analysis of their narratives, these activists have made clear how their working problems result from different systems of oppression that are interlocking. This is the reason why they claim that these "outsider women", without rights and covered with a veil, the ones at the bottom of the system, are the ones that should be heard more. Filigrana (2020) argues in her beautiful book "*Roma People Against the World-System. Reflections from a Feminist and Anti-Capitalist Militancy*", that since "white and western dissidents"²⁶ (ibid, p.20) have failed in their attempt to overthrow the capitalist system, it may be time to start looking to the margins of society for different and more suitable solutions. This is also the proposal of these activists in relation to feminism. It is from this approach that these activists demand their position within feminism and question the subject of this movement. For all these reasons, the meeting held with the Equality Ministry is one of the most important milestones in their struggle, as they highlight in their Facebook profile on April 8, saying: "It is essential that institutional feminism is present in the reality of agriculture day laborers. We cannot continue on the periphery." Scott (1996, cited in Tamboukou, 2005, p.2) argued that the subject of feminism has been changing along its history and the shifts in her representation uncover "not only women's history but also histories of philosophy, psychology, and politics" (ibid). In opening this space through acting in the public sphere, these women open a debate with the institutional feminism emerging as subjects of the movement and leading, among other feminist groups a possible shift in the subject of its representation and contributing to a more modern and inclusive feminism.

²⁶ The quotes taken from this book are my own translation from the original text in Spanish.

Conclusions

The appearance of these female activists in the public realm through their political action and the narration of their stories is what has allowed me to get to know their working realities and their syndicalist work. I have used Cavarero's (2000) understanding of the narratives because clearly explains how narratives when occupying the public space allow us to recognize new political agents emerging from the relationships that these narratives (relating narratives) generate with others and by opening the public space to new political scopes. The telling, retelling, and writing by themselves and by others the parrhesiastic acts of action and speech of the activists *Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha* is what has permitted them to enter the public space emerging as political subjects and also creating the possibility of social changes that go beyond acquiring working rights.

On a representational level, the appearance of these women in the collective imagination through the dissemination of their stories permits new forms of representing the female political subject, which is required to deconstruct hegemonic representations of women. As Tamboukou has argued the registration of "unbelievable stories" of women's political action permits to form "discursive registers and provided the cultural codes for the female political subject to be represented, made intelligible and found a position—albeit a marginalised one— in the symbolic order" (2005, p.14). Based on these ideas, one of my aims was showing how these women, in making themselves public figures, cross the boundaries between the public/social and the social/political. In doing so, these boundaries become diffuse, permitting to reconceptualize the vision of women in the public sphere and deconstructing historical ideas attached to them, such as their natural belonging to the private, reproductive, and social realm. Furthermore, the record of these stories through different social and mass media permits them to leave a trace in history that, at the same time, is a way of making visible more female references, which will lead to reduce the representational gap between genders and give women mirrors in which to look at themselves.

Another goal of this thesis was posing how these women's narratives are active in uncovering their complex social formation, such as low-class women and immigrants, that lack the right of belonging to the country. This allows one to question stereotypes and exclusions formed based on class, race, and gender. To argue this, I have based my analysis on the ideas of Samaddar (2010), who explains that the emergence of these female activists as political subjects, doing politics from below, creates a more modern and democratic society where doing politics is considered a human right and the concept of citizenship is based on the idea of collective participation, for a better life for everybody (dislocating power relations embedded on class, gender and race discriminations). The syndicalist action and speech that the women of *Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha* carry out goes beyond gaining working rights, breaking from a more traditional syndicalism. Their syndicalism based on feminism, antiracism, and environmentalism defends not only better salaries and schedules but also advocates for a change in the productive system that maintains a dignified way of life beyond the immediate present, by preserving the environment and guaranteeing the same rights to all workers. These political actions favor the creation of more diverse and inclusive societies that emerge from collectivity, and are necessary, as Butler (2020) argues, to have dignified lives and more democratic societies.

The Arendtian conceptualization of action and speech, and the notion of parrhesia, coined by Foucault, have been used as central theories of analyzing the emergence of these female activists as political subjects. Through this analysis, I could emphasize, as Tamboukou does in her article, the importance of rethinking the political subject in this period of profound political crisis as a means to find new solutions and ways of living more sustainably and fair. This task has become extremely urgent in a capitalist system where the unequal distribution of wealth condemns millions of people to extreme poverty, and capital accumulation has an environmental impact. Filigrana (2020, p.19) argues that the capitalist system reinvents itself after each crisis and the anti-capitalist strategies that western and white political classes have tried, have failed. That is why I found Filigrana's proposal essential about starting looking into the margins in a search for new forms of dissent that challenge the system itself and its scale of values.

It is in this context that I have argued that the syndicalist fight of the collective *Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha* is based not only on gaining working rights but also on the sustainability of all lives and on the questioning of the productive system itself, an excellent example to analyze and rethink the political subject.

Based on the proposal of Tamboukou in rethinking the political subject and the research from *Filigrana* about searching into the margins to find new strategies to fight capitalism and the political crisis looming over the contemporary world; I suggest, for future research, rethinking this political subject by following genealogical lines of its constitution, through the analysis of the narratives, and the practices of forms of activism and dissent coming from the margins. Continuing with the syndicalist activism of *Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha*, it would be interesting to analyze in greater depth the importance that collectivity has in the emergence and maintenance of this movement as well as an anti-capitalist strategy, considering “friendship and social networks as [a] political matrix that (...) serve[s] to maintain their cause” (Tamboukou, 2005, p.9). This element has been studied in this research project but I believe it deserves more attention and research due to its importance. In addition, I suggest that this line of research be continued through the study of other groups and activists, from the forms of resistance of Roma people, as *Filigrana* proposes, to revolts from peasants and indigenous peoples, among others.

To conclude, I want to mention the contributions of these activists to the feminist movement. As I have argued during this research project, these women defining themselves as feminists, claiming the position of the women at the bottom as main subjects of this movement, have been opening political spaces of dialogue with institutional feminism, and making their persona and their realities an important part of this movement. In addition, this fact contributes to a more modern and inclusive feminism which, I believe facilitates the opening of new lines of research in academic feminism, allowing the inclusion of contributions made from feminist, intersectional, and anti-colonialist activism. In relation to the public institutions, the proposals from these activists can create more inclusive political institutions and policies that can have an importance in advancing

working rights, immigration laws, equality, and work towards a fair and sustainable life.

Bibliography

Arendt, H. (1958) *The Human Condition*. 2nd edn. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

Borrego Castellano, C. and Bàez Boza, A. (2020) "Se siguen dando casos de explotación masiva que rozan la esclavitud en la recogida de la fresa", *Pikara magazine*, [Online]. Available at: <https://www.pikaramagazine.com/2020/06/se-siguen-dando-casos-de-explotacion-masiva-que-rozan-la-esclavitud-en-la-recogida-de-la-fresa/> (Accessed: 30 July 2021)

Botero Marino, J. and Leal Granobles, Y. (2015) "Sujeto y acción en el pensamiento político de Hannah Arendt", *Signos Filosóficos*, 17 (33(6)) [online]. Available at: <https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=34348294003> (Accessed: 1 June 2021)

Butler, J. (2020) *Sin miedo. Formas de resistencia a la violencia de hoy*. 1st edn. Taurus

Cabot, J. B. (2021) JornALERAS en Lucha: "Combatir los discursos de odio es lo que más trabajo nos está costando", *Goteo.org* [online]. Available at: <https://fundacion.goteo.org/blog/jornaleras-en-lucha?lang=sv> (Accessed: 15 July 2021)

Cavarero, A. (2000) "Translator's introduction", *Relating Narratives: storytelling and selfhood*, London: Routledge, pp. vii-xxxi

Crenshaw, K. (1989) "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics" *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1989(1), pp. 139-167

Delgado cabeza, M. (1999) "Globalización, agricultura y ordenación del territorio en Andalucía", *REVISTA DE ESTUDIOS REGIONALES*, 54, pp. 183-202, [online]. Available at: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/189092147.pdf> (Accessed: 15 May 2021)

Filigrana, P. (2020) *El pueblo gitano contra el sistema-mundo*. 1st edn. Mexico City: Sakal

Foucault, M. (2001) *Fearless Speech*, Pearson, J. (Ed.), (Los Angeles, Semiotext(e))

Foucault, M. (1986) "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History" in Rabinow, P. (ed.) *The Foucault Reader*. Harmondsworth: Peregrine, pp.76-100

Foucault, M. (1988) "The political technology of individuals" in Michel Foucault, Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman & Patrick H. Hutton (eds.), *Technologies of the self: A Seminar with Michael Foucault*. University of Massachusetts Press, pp.145-162

Goteo.org (2021, 27 June) Charlamos con Ana Pinto (Jornaleras en Lucha) sobre derechos laborales y cooperación [Online]. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q53RpTMbm4M&t=2s> Accessed: 30 June 2021

Honig, B. (1992) "Towards an agonistic Feminism: Hannah Arendt and the Politics of Identity", in Butler, J. and Scott, J.W. (Eds.) *Feminists theorize the political*, London: Routledge, pp.215-235 [online] Available at: <https://www-taylorfrancis-com.proxy.library.uu.nl/chapters/edit/10.4324/9780203723999-17/toward-agonistic-feminism-hannah-arendt-politics-identity-honig-215?context=ubx&refId=fe207315-555e-49ad-9adf-eb95d3a81ac3> (Accessed: 20 May 2021)

Jornalerasdehuelvaenlucha.org (2021) *Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha* [Online]. Available at: <https://jornalerasenlucha.org/sustrato/> (Accessed: 27 May 2021)

La Laboratoria (2021, January 2) *Verónica Domínguez y Ana Pinto | El #FeminismoSindicalista que viene* [Online]. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eA8JXhFao4Q> (Accessed: 20 April 2021)

La Laboratoria-nodo Madrid (2020) "Claves del feminismo sindicalista para acciones colectivas", *Pikara magazine*, [online]. Available at:

<https://www.pikaramagazine.com/2021/04/claves-del-feminismo-sindicalista-acciones-colectivas/> (Accessed: 15 July 2021)

La Laboratoria-nodo Madrid (2021) “Jornadas: El feminismo sindicalista que viene. Trabajadoras somos todas”, [online]. Available at: <http://laboratoria.red/actividad/jornadas-el-feminismo-sindicalista-que-viene-trabajadoras-somos-todas/> (Accessed: 8 July 2021)

Milán Fernández, M. (2021) “Hablemos de los derechos de las freseras marroquíes”, *La mar de Onuba*, [online]. Available at: http://revista.lamardeonuba.es/hablemos-de-los-derechos-de-las-freseras-marroquies/?fbclid=IwAR2m-He1nenMebC_zmicpNKx1yKDFXCGWZJilx7fQdalurMwbuDM5fmOPpo (Accessed: 05 May 2021)

Mills, C. (2003) *Contesting the Political: Butler and Foucault on Power and Resistance*, *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 11 (3) [online]. Available at: <https://onlinelibrary-wiley-com.proxy.library.uu.nl/doi/pdfdirect/10.1111/1467-9760.00177> (Accessed: 20 April 2021)

Moreno Nieto, J. (2012) “Movilidad transnacional, trabajo y género: temporeras marroquíes en la agricultura onubense”, *Política y Sociedad*, 49(1), pp. 123-140, [online]. Available at: https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/c698/39a0e7b854dbcdd07727c8805b648b09c38e.pdf?_ga=2.142618103.31885320.1631271752-1782391515.1629124524&_gac=1.150912452.1629206644.Cj0KCQjwvO2IBhCzARIsALw3ASphBr_KC8_QXNrVK9jvbXcx8Wy2xJxX1mXNwhotyISEwkm6JWQDIyYaAmWNEALw_wcB (Accessed: 21 May 2021)

Reina Sofía Museum (2021, March 4) *El feminismo sindicalista que viene. Pan y rosas. Conflictos feministas en la lucha sindical* [online]. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XI-LITLdVAo> (Accessed: 15 May 2021)

Rodríguez, O. (2021) “Jornaleras en Huelva: Aquí se necesita una inspección desde que empieza la temporada hasta que termina”, *elDiario.es*, [online]. Available at: <https://www.eldiario.es/desalambre/jornaleras-huelva-necesita->

[inspeccion-empieza-temporada-termina_1_8045911.html](#) (Accessed: 15 June 2021)

Sánchez Muñoz, C. (1999) “El Sentido de la Política”, *Revista de Libros*, [online]. Available at: <https://www.revistadelibros.com/articulos/hannah-arendt-que-es-la-politica> (Accessed: 29 May 2021)

Samaddar, R. (2010) *Emergence of the Political Subject*. 1st edn. *E-book library* [online]. Available at: <https://utrechtuniversity-on-worldcat-org.proxy.library.uu.nl/oclc/593304551> (Accessed: 20 April 2021)

Tamboukou, M. (2005) ‘Rethinking the political subject: narratives of parrhesiastic acts’ *International Journal of Critical Psychology*, 14, pp.138-157

The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (2006) “Hannah Arendt”, *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* [online]. Available at: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/arendt/> (Accessed: 5 of June 2021)