UNIVERSITY OF HULL

Agricultural Change and Rural Development in an Upland Area of France: The Case of "La Cerdagne".

being a Thesis submitted for the degree of

PhD in Sociology

in the University of Hull

by

Simon Peter Bugler BA(Hons)

(December 1990).

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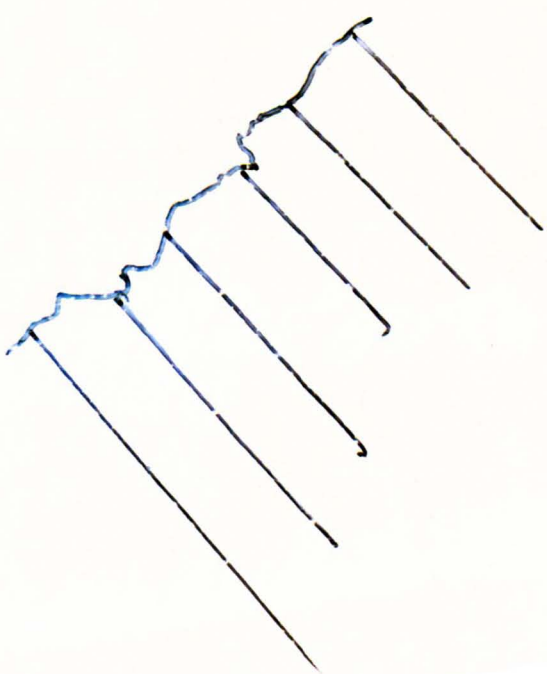
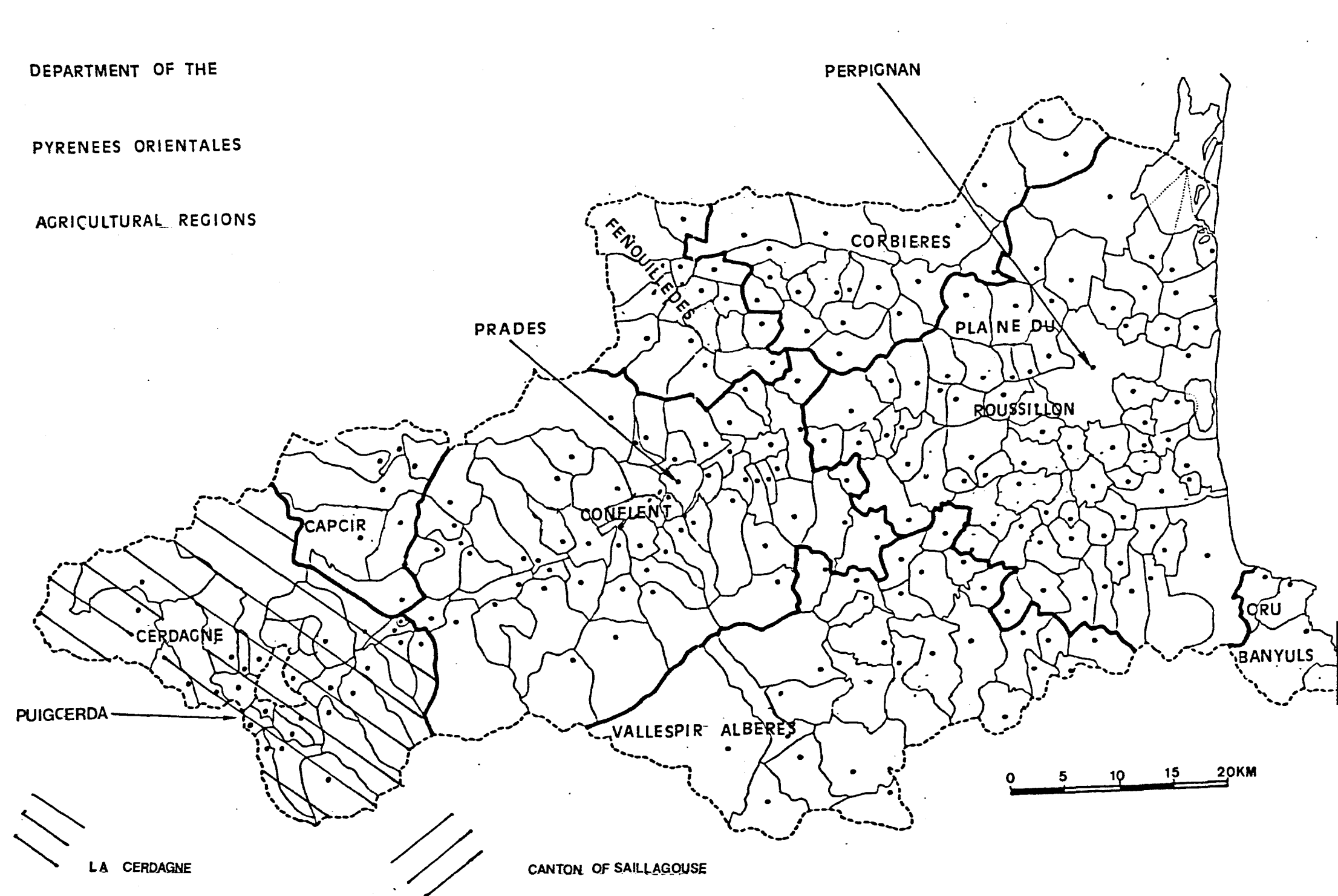
Agricultural Change and Rural Development in an Upland Area of France: The Case of "La Cerdagne"

The restructuring of post-war West European agriculture has had repercussions for general economic activity, local labour markets, local rural economic structures and the provision of local services. This study addresses these and related issues in one region of France. The region-La Cerdagne Française-is located in the Pyrenees, approximately 100 km west of Perpignan. The region is an upland area, falling within the remit of special EC agricultural policies designed to maintain an agricultural presence in the region.

Economists and geographers have dominated research on agricultural and rural change. This study adopts a sociological and anthropological focus, and is based on extensive fieldwork. Whereas structural-functionalist approaches have taken the rural village as the object and location of study, Marxian writings link agricultural change and rural development to wider processes within the capitalist mode of production. This study utilizes an actor based perspective, examining the processual nature of change within the region. Archive research, historical reconstruction and ethnographic fieldwork are used to examine the processes of change in the region from the early nineteenth century to to-day.

The post-war restructuring of agriculture in France has left farming families facing acute difficulties in terms of labour supply, low farm incomes, lack of off-farm economic opportunities, and problems of succession. These problems are particularly acute in La Cerdagne where local agriculture has become marginal. The particular form that agricultural restructuring has taken in La Cerdagne has been influenced by a small number of powerful local farming families and locally-grounded kinship systems that extend beyond the agricultural sector in the region. These families and the importance of kinship underpin the patterns of continuity and change in the region.

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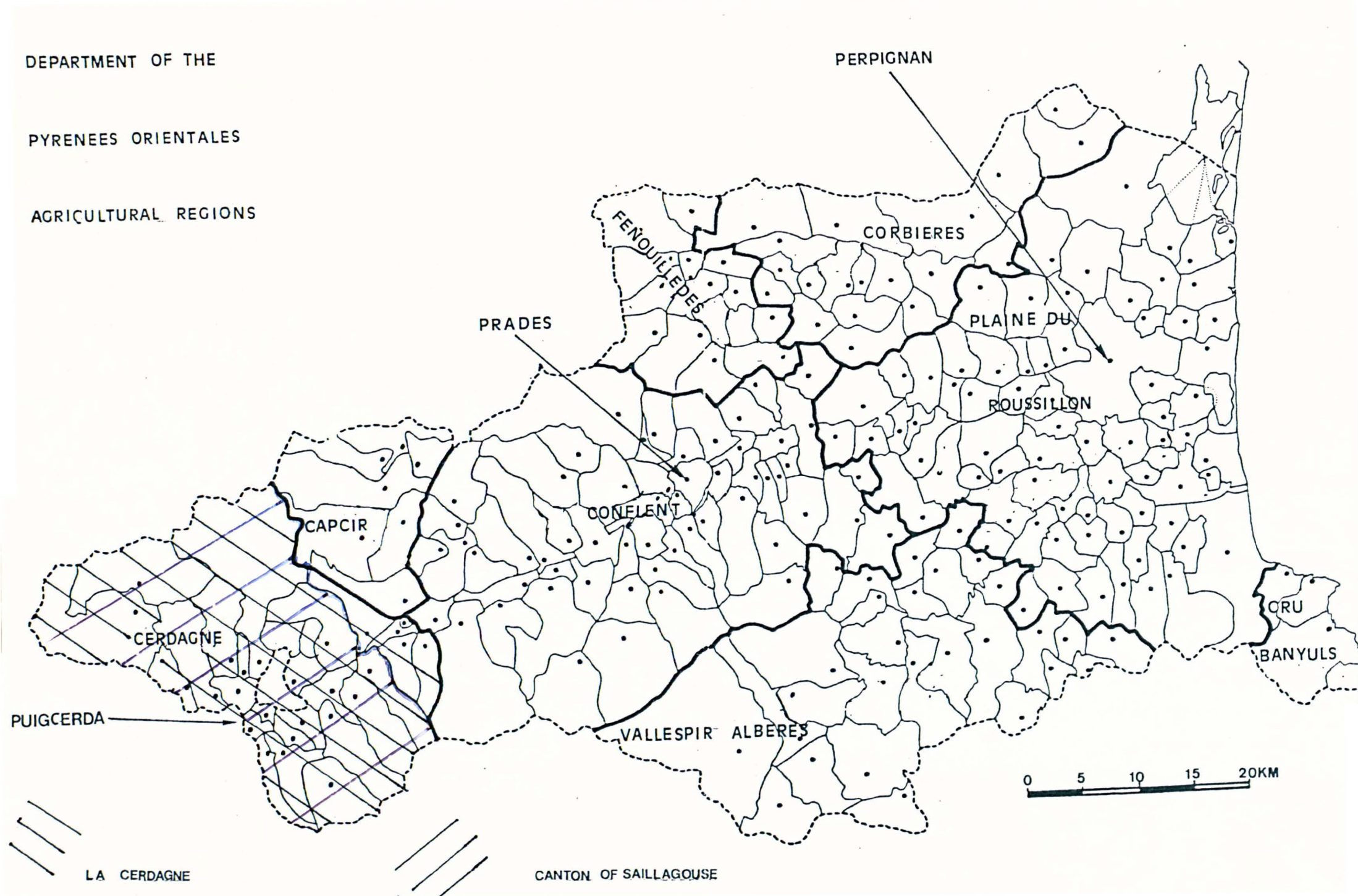
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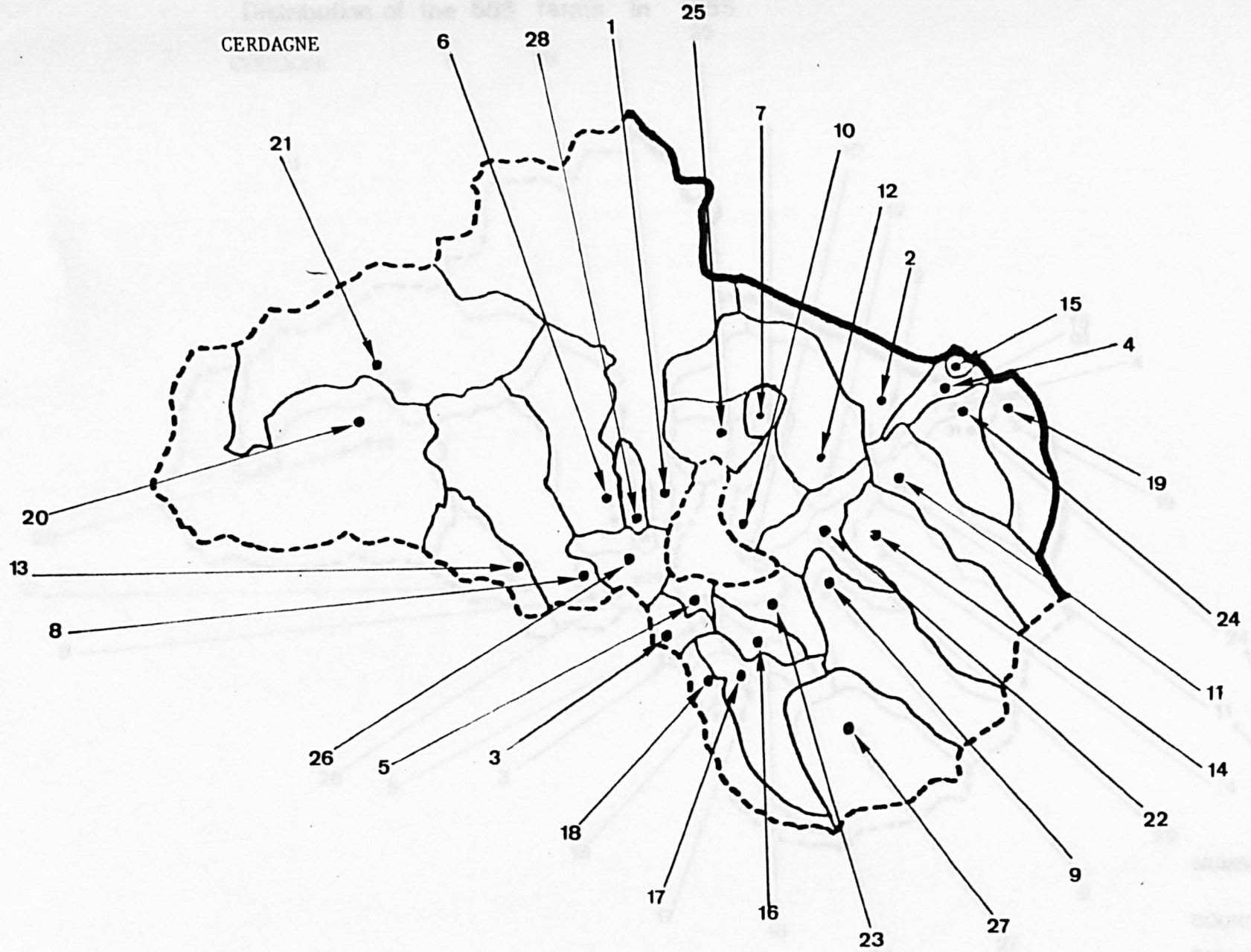

COMMUNES IN LA CERDAGNE.

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21 PORTE-PUYMORENS
22 SAILLAGOUSE
23 SAINTE LEOCADIE
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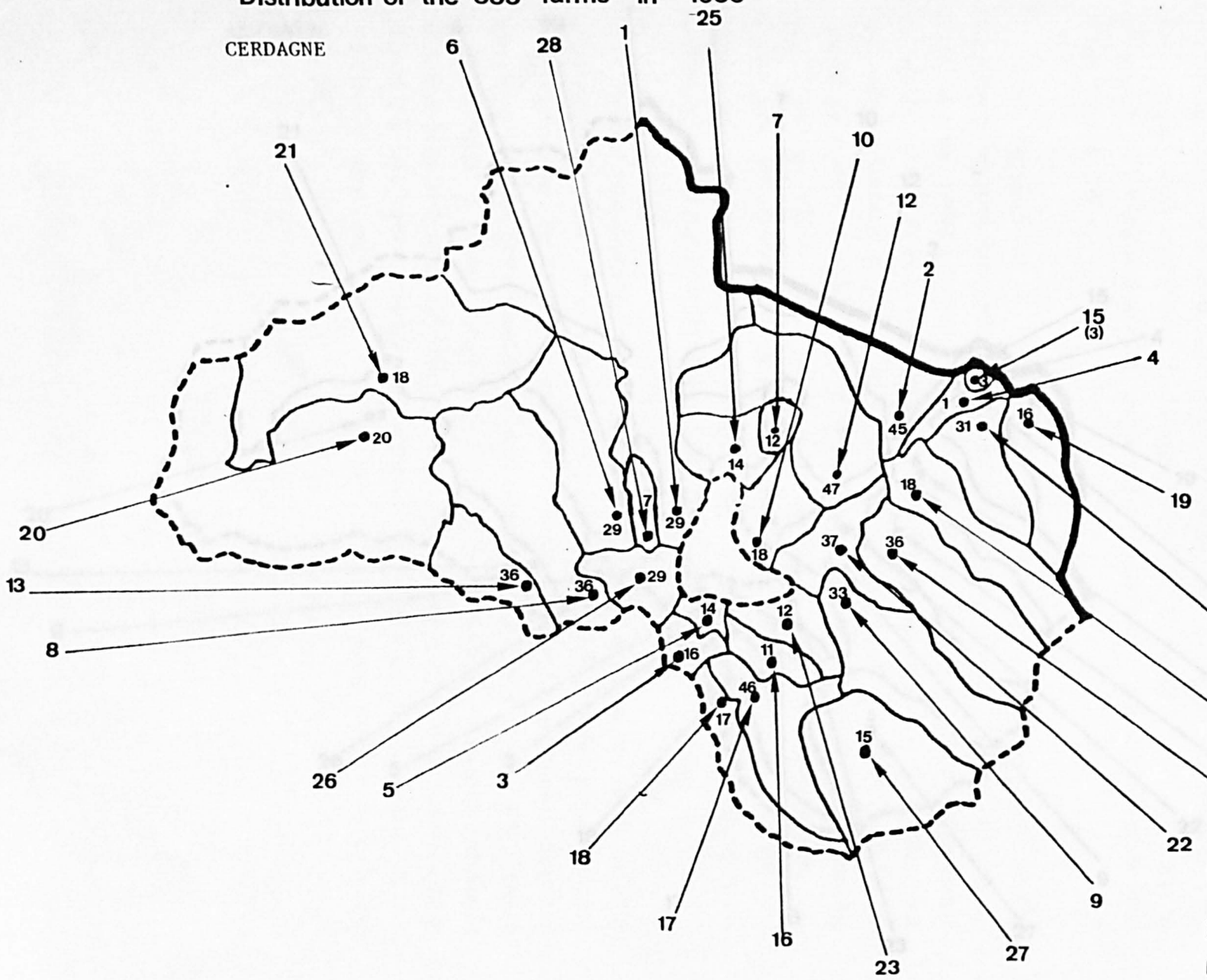
27 VALCABOLLERE
28 VILLENEUVE DES ESCALDES.

Distribution of the 655 farms in 1955

CERDAGNE



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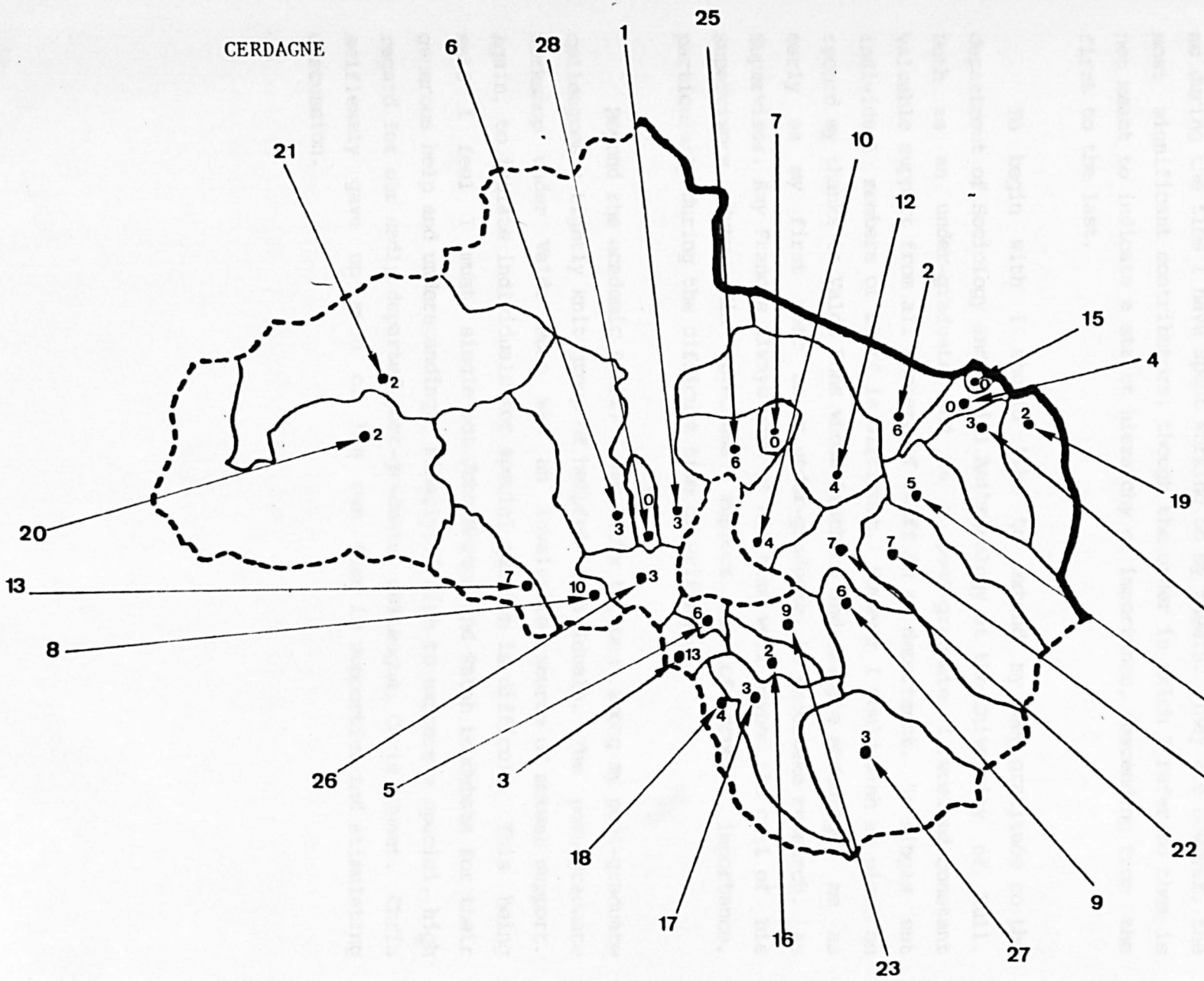
28 VILLENEUVE DES ESCALDES.

Distribution of the 120 farms in 1985



COMMUNES IN LA CERDAGNE.

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INTRODUCTION

There have been wide ranging and profound changes in agriculture throughout Western Europe since 1945. Despite their very different experiences both before and during the war, Western European states have sustained a post-war programme designed to restructure agriculture. The decision to adopt this policy was based on the experience of food shortages before, during and immediately after the war. Priority was placed on assuring national self-sufficiency in food supplies, effected through a range of inputs into farming (chemical fertilizers, artificial insemination, the introduction of bio-chemical and genetic science and the mechanisation of the work processes). Such inputs were part of general modernisation programmes, largely financed by state subsidised credit facilities. Although taking place at different times, and at different rates, this has been a general feature of Western Europe. Within the EC, the CAP has assisted member state policies, particularly with regard to price support and the purchase of surplus production. It is precisely these additional policies that have brought to the surface the relatively low elasticity of demand for food, the result of which has emerged in the over-production crisis of the post 1980's. In turn this has raised questions concerning the sort of agriculture that has developed in the post-war period. Concern has recently focused on food production systems; the purity of food produced; the use of the countryside, as well as ecological issues relating to pollution, land use and land degradation.

The role of agriculture has clearly altered in the post-war years. There has been more emphasis on the contribution made by the agricultural sector to the GNP and export revenues of the different national economies despite the fact that there has been a continuing tendency for this contribution to fall as a proportion of the overall GNP. High on the policy agenda of Western European governments has been the concern to integrate agriculture into the national economic framework, alongside other sectors of industrial economic activity. The European Community, and in particular, the Common Agricultural Policy, have been crucial in reinforcing this concern, and in restructuring the agricultural sector within the national economies of the different member states. National agricultural development

policies have become subject to international economic considerations, as the commoditisation of agriculture has become the focus of concern in world markets. Such policies have had to increasingly operate within national, intra-national and international political frameworks. In both the political and the economic domains, there has been an intensification of competing interests, not only between agricultural and non-agricultural sectors, but also between different interests within agriculture itself.

In addition to the national and international implications - though as a consequence largely thereof - the integration of regional and micro-regional (indeed village) economic and political structures has been accentuated. Throughout Western Europe agricultural policy and policy interests have ramifications from the top down and from the bottom up. The political economy of agriculture even at the level of the village needs thus to be contextualised against policy and structural developments at the national and even international level. A clear example of this is the EC's imposition of, for example, milk quotas on production levels. This was due to both rising world production levels and stagnant levels of demand on the one hand, and changing EC policy on agricultural subsidies on the other. There is, as a consequence, a direct implication for dairy producers right down to the remotest parts of the EC.

It is thus abundantly clear that the EC, and - in particular - the CAP, have been crucial in the restructuring of agriculture within the national economies of the different member states. The effect of the post-war restructuring has been - among other things - to change our perceptions as to what agriculture is; what role it plays in our national economies; and, as consumers, what role it occupies in our daily lives. A corollary has been a shift in our perception of farming, farming practices and the farmer himself. The image of the latter has often been seen as having changed from that of the 'rustic stoic' integrated into a qualitatively different - 'rural' - way of life, to a business operator like any other, dictated by the profit motive within a market economy.

The principle aims behind the changes in both the role and the structure of agriculture have been to increase levels of production and

productivity as well as, (crucially) to effect national food self-sufficiency for the different states. Meanwhile, the late 1980's witnessed the perception of over production crises in agriculture. However, while arguments calling for further rationalisation of agriculture exist (Body 1982, 1984), the implications of this have to be weighed against the current social, economic and political conjuncture in Western Europe. This includes the problems facing rural economies where the labour market may not afford alternative employment. In addition, out-migration from rural areas due to further rationalisation of agriculture and a lack of alternative employment would need to be measured against the implications relating to high concentrations of urban unemployment.

It is in this global context that more recent arguments have focused on another possible change in the role of farmers. In order to avoid or at least reduce the problem of over production, it is argued that farmers could be employed as custodians of the countryside. This idea is particularly developed in the case of upland farming where both the local agriculture and the rural economy in general reflect an acute fragility. In this role, farmers would become state landscape farmers as it were, with subsidies directed from agricultural production, towards maintenance of the countryside. Other proposals suggest the scaling down of the productive area of farmland as another means to reduce the overproduction problem. Such arguments continue to restructure the perception of farming and farmers.

The problem of overproduction has highlighted other areas of concern. For example, while farming has been capable of achieving impressive levels of production and productivity, these have largely been effected by a massive reduction in the level of labour employed in agriculture on the one hand, and by the introduction of inputs such as fertilizers, mechanisation, and genetic science on the other. A highly productive, capital intensive agriculture with a low level of labour requirement raises the broader issue of rural development as opposed to more narrowly, agricultural development. Thus, if agriculture is to provide decreasing levels of employment, and be directed by, and in the interest of, GNP considerations, what precisely is its role in the local rural economy to be? This is an urgent problem, and will be taken up-together with the question of agricultural development - in this thesis.

The three principle guiding aims of French agricultural policy in the wake of the 1960 (Loi d'Orientation) and 1962 (Loi Complémentaire) initiatives were structural land reform, rejuvenation of the agricultural population, and social reform with regard to employment and conditions of work in the agricultural sector. The impact of agricultural policy on both agricultural change and rural development, throughout France since the 1960's has been significant. The dearth of research on post-war agricultural change and rural development in 'La Cerdagne' provides a major justification for this study. What research has been carried out in the region has been mainly limited to a historical approach. There has been little attention paid to the study of socio-cultural, political or economic change in more contemporary periods. Moreover, even the most incisive historical studies (Sahlins, 1986; Assier-Andrieu, 1980) have paid scant attention to agricultural development, less still to the question of agricultural development in the broader context of the rural economy. This concern contrasts with the large number of Alpine studies, where much stress has been placed on the apparent cultural and economic specifity of mountain areas (Bailey, 1971; 1973), and more recently on the relationship between environment, demography and social structure (Viazzo, 1989).

More broadly, the majority of post-war research into agricultural and rural change in Western Europe has been conducted by economists, geographers and historians. The economists' model of 'economic man' has tended to prevail, explicity or implicitly concerning attitudes among the farming population. However, it is true to say that sociologists and anthropologists in France have been historically more active than their counterparts in Britain as far as agricultural and rural change has been concerned. For some twenty years now there has been however a growing interest among sociologists in Britain, to promote, prompt, and develop research more specifically aimed at agricultural and rural development. This present study, focusing on a region in France is aimed at contributing to this trend.

This study reconstructs the changing political economy of 'La Cerdagne Francaise' from the early nineteenth century through to the introduction of

the post-war agricultural modernisation programme and analyses the impact of the restructuring of agriculture within the local economy and within the local socio-cultural context of the farming population.

The study examines post-war social and agricultural change and rural development in 'La Cerdagne', an upland area in the French Pyrénées. I shall look at the active role of farmers in the introduction of agricultural modernisation in the region, and the manner in which farmers have adapted to the resultant changes. Central to the farmers' adaptation has been the use of strategies to organise the commercialisation of production, land resources and labour requirements. Kinship has been a crucial organising feature of these strategies. I shall examine the position of farmers within agriculture and the position of the latter within the broader setting of rural development in the region. The socio-economic changes will also be examined, embedded as they are in the socio-cultural structures of the region. Despite the radical nature of post-war socio-economic changes in the region, socio-cultural factors, such as kinship and the influence of Notables in the locale, continue to be felt. The continuing rationalisation of agriculture in the region makes the future for farmers and farming in the region appear bleak. This is compounded by the decision of the younger generation within the farming population, to leave farming in order to follow alternative life strategies. The combination of these two factors - at once structural and subjective - places the future of farming in 'La Cerdagne' in some doubt.

Such a research project demands its own methodological framework, which needs some justification in terms of the data necessary to throw light on the processual nature of socio-economic and socio-cultural change and my intention to prioritise the role of farmers as active agents in changes in agriculture within the region.

The first methodological issue to resolve prior to starting my research was the level of focus; the choice being between an intensive village ethnography, or a regional focus. Both approaches carry advantages and disadvantages. Opting for a village ethnography facilities the collection of detailed and sophisticated qualitative data on individual and

group organisation within the village. As such, a greater degree of in-depth information is available over the whole social unit i.e. the village. This represents in a sense an advantage over a larger scale project aimed at a larger social unit. On the other hand, a village ethnography has an inherent weakness regarding the generalisability of research findings; how relevant are conclusions drawn from one village ethnography to experiences in another village elsewhere? An investigation of agricultural change and rural development seems to be better served by adopting a wider frame of reference than that of the village.

The problem relates more specifically to the type and quality of data to be gathered. If the focus is too wide, obvious problems emerge. For example, research carried out the national level poses the problem of an over reliance on quantitative data at the expense of qualitative data. This is particularly problematic when quantitative data is extracted only from existing official sources. The accuracy of such data is difficult to ascertain as is the validity and therefore the usefulness of such data. Data collected at first hand allows for assessment in the process of collection itself. This is the distinct advantage of ethnographic research. My own research was conducted in the ethnographic style, combining an actor-oriented perspective with a global methodological framework pitched at the regional level. The combination of these two aspects does not imply that I have resolved the problem of combining qualitative and quantitative data in any definitive manner but it did appear to be a useful compromise between macro and micro-level analyses for the sort of overall project planned.

There is, however, a further, more purposeful reason for choosing this approach beyond that of the simple compromise. This relates back to Long's discussion on the usefulness of a combination of a regional level analysis and an actor-oriented perspective (Long, 1977: 185-192). Although it is now some thirteen years since Long laid out his argument for such a methodological position, there have been too few studies of agricultural and rural development in Western Europe that have been carried out within this framework. A reason perhaps for Long's restatement of his general methodological position (Long, 1988). The principle advantages of Long's methodology relate to both the range of data to be collected, and the

sophistication of the data at the level of explanation. It is the methodological, empirical and theoretical considerations, running through Long's argument, that influenced the selection of my methodology. From my position, there are a number of points of particular interest in Long's discussion.

Long suggests that by focusing on social groups within a regional as opposed on a local community context, the researcher can highlight the :

> "varying economic and political strategies and perspectives on change from the point of view of actors occupying different social locations within the economic or geographical structure of the region". (ibid : 189) (my emphasis).

By this, Long is alluding to the advantage of the regional over the village level analysis. However, the extent to which this in itself may yield useful comparative data would be linked to :

> a prior "systematic historical and structural account of the characteristics of the regional economy, its links with the national system and its changes over time: (op cit).

This involves, for example, an analysis of the spread of market relations, the emergence of exchange relations and the construction of new types of production. Alongside the focus on such changes, the researcher must be sensitised to the possibility that existing socio-cultural structures may be activated in order to creatively incorporate change. Clearly, an actor-oriented approach is particularly useful here.

With regard to linking socio-economic and socio-cultural change in the region to the national economy, Long argues that an understanding of the role of the state and state policies is crucial to an understanding of the problems associated with planned change. Given that post 1930's, and particularly post-1945, National Planning has become a central feature of

all Western States, this is an important area of empirical research. With the setting-up of the EC and the development of the CAP, this is even more the case with agriculture which has been increasingly policy-led. Long also notes the importance of the changing nature of state policies relating his empirical commitment to his proposed global methodological strategy. Long discloses his theoretical commitment in the following, clear terms.

> "The best that can be expected is that those particular programmes and policies impinging upon the locality or region in question be examined in detail in order to determine their effectiveness in promoting certain kinds of structural and organisational change. This involves giving careful attention to how particular local groups interpret the aims of government and its programme, how they participate in them, and how they may utilise newly available resources in pursuit of their own goals" (ibid : 191). (My emphasis).

The linchpin of Long's particular combination of macro and micro level perspectives is the importance of empirical research that investigates the differential response of local groups to regional and economic change. However, it is not only group responses to, or initiatives for, change that concern Long. He argues that the regional level and actor-based perspective:

> "enables one to explain the persistence of certain traditional institutions as well as the emergence of new patterns of differentiation and social inequality, without adopting a simple modernisation or dependency approach to the problems" (ibid:190)

This focus is important in the light of most of the existing literature on agricultural change and rural development in Western Europe.

The decision to conduct research in the region known as 'La Cerdagne' was based on the following specific reasons.

a) Firstly, this region has experienced significant agricultural change in the post-war years, providing an opportunity to investigate the impact of policy on agricultural change and rural development.

Scant research has been carried out in the region. Most of the research that has been done has been historical and in any event has not looked at the question of agricultural change and rural development.

b) Secondly, given the need to understand agriculture and agricultural change in terms of the broader issue of rural development, a focus on 'La Cerdagne' was justified, particularly since agricultural policy, as it has applied to the region, is couched primarily in terms of the region's status as a 'backward rural upland area', within the EC.

c) Thirdly, 'La Cerdagne' represents a homogeneous type of agriculture, basically a livestock farming area. This allows for a clarity of focus in terms of understanding agricultural change within the region. In addition, 'La Cerdagne' is defined by the Ministry of Agriculture as an agricultural region, which simplifies (though does not eliminate) the problem of using official agricultural data. All agricultural data for the region corresponds with other administrative data on the region. Moreover, 'La Cerdagne' is a "natural region", with clearly defined geographical demarcation. The region is also a clearly defined socio-linguistic region with French and Catalan being being the two languages used in the region.

d) Fourthly, the region is small enough to permit a combination of methodological approaches, both quantitative and qualitative. Regarding the quantitative style of research, the gathering of general data on farms and farming families is possible, given the relatively small number of farms (120 in all). Given the relatively small farming population in the region, it is possible to collect qualitative data for the construction of, for example, life histories, based on oral history, personal documents etc. This sort of data requires an intimate and detailed knowledge of individual biography and group organisation in the region. Access to, and understanding of such data is best accomplished with an actor-oriented perspective.

e) Finally, the research will supplement research carried out elsewhere in the Pyrénées (Codd 1971; Redclift 1973a; Redclift 1973b) and in other

upland areas in France (Bailey 1973). These studies have tended to concentrate on the cultural specificity of mountain communities and/or the special autarctic nature of mountain economies. This present study sets out specifically to contextualise the local political economy of 'La Cerdagne' in the wider embrace of the national and EC policy framework, thereby conceptualising the region as interconnected politically and economically into a wider frame of reference.

Of course, even by combining methodological approaches, disadvantages remain. Thus, although the total population of the region is not overly large (some 10,734 in 1982), any in-depth research within the region such as life histories, is by definition, highly selective. A village ethnography would be less selective in this respect but in the absence of existing data on the region, we would still have the problem of generalisability. Despite the fact that my choice to combine perspectives made it possible to focus on the agricultural population over the whole region (given the small farming population), time and resource constraints meant that the same was not possible for the non-farming population.

Obviously, there is no ideal methodology to hand. Given the advantages and the disadvantages, I chose the regional level together with an actor-oriented perspective. By combining a quantitative style at the level of the region and a qualitative approach at the level of the farming families, the end product served to produce an account of post-war regional socio-population and socio-cultural change as this concerns farming and the farming population in 'La Cerdagne'. As such, it can be seen as providing background baseline research for future ethnographic village studies.

The research itself was carried out between 1984 and 1989. The fieldwork in the region was concentrated mainly into the summer months, from mid-May to early October. These periods were spent in the villages in 'La Cerdagne'. Archival research was conducted in the different archival centres at Perpignan, Montpellier, and Toulouse. This took place during the winter and spring (December-January; March-April). In addition, one winter (December-January 1986-7) and one spring period (March-April 1986) were spent in 'La Cerdagne'. These latter two visits allowed observation of the

farming population at other times of the year, supplementing summer fieldwork. The data collected fall into a number of broad categories. The archival sources used are listed at the end of the thesis in Appendix Nine.

i) Archival and Historical Sources : including census returns, agricultural census, land register, agricultural and building land price surveys, birth, death and marriage registers, other official data on agriculture, as well as newspaper articles, and letters between agricultural officials.

This source provided general background data used to reconstruct the changing political economy of the region from the early nineteenth century, through to the introduction of the agricultural modernisation programme. The range of data sources used included : population census returns; agricultural census returns; the land register; agricultural and building land price surveys; birth, death and marriage registers; other official data on agriculture; as well as newspaper articles and correspondence between agricultural officials. These different data covered for example, levels of agricultural production; the division and distribution of land; and highlighted major issues in the agricultural sector in the region over a period of a century and a half. Apart from the statistical data on for example, production levels, valuable data was collected from particularly, letters written by agricultural and/or political leaders in the region, relating to particular social and economic problems both during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century. Newpaper articles from local newspapers covering the same period were also of immense value as sources of data.

ii) A fieldwork survey/questionnaire : this was designed to collect general data on all the 120 farms and 129 farming family households in the region in 1985. The purpose of using a fieldwork survey/questionnaire was to provide a working data base on all farms and farming families as a means to generate more specific lines on inquiry, and as a means to direct early fieldwork in order to gather more qualitative data on farmers and farming in the region. The fieldwork survey/questionnaire was not designed to be used in an analytic manner, there was no hypothesis or set of hypotheses to test using the fieldwork survey/questionnaire.

iii) In-depth interviews : informal, in-depth interviews were employed to develop a more subtle understanding of agricultural change as seen from the position of the farming families. Again, they were aimed at all the farms and farming households in the region. The open-ended interview style allowed respondents to express themselves more freely, and to open areas of interest that I could thereafter follow up. The interviews also allowed the collection of data for the construction of life-histories. In addition to oral history accounts during the interviews, personal documents of the respondents, such as letters, dairies, and farm logbooks were consulted.

iv) Key informants : a list of my key informants is provided in Appendix Nine at the end of the thesis. The key informants were individuals whose particular intimate knowledge of certain aspects of farming and agriculture in the region was invaluable in directing my research for further investigation-historical and contemporary - as well as serving as a useful source of data sui generis. While not conducting an ethnography, the ethnographic style employed during my fieldwork proved useful with regard to my finding key informants.

The rationale for using different types of data was based on the complexity of my research programme which required information that could not be collected using one single method. Thus, a questionnaire for example could not on its own yield sufficient data for my purposes. Similarly, archival and informal interviews could not alone suffice. The overall research strategy combined a regional level analysis with an actor-oriented approach. The research work itself involved both quantitative and qualitative data, drawn from a variety of sources. Data from different sets of sources was compared and cross-checked during and after the fieldwork periods. Such a complex and somewhat eclectic methodology seemed justified given the aim of the research and the multi-dimensional character of agricultural change and rural development in the region.

CHAPTER ONE

The Family Farm and Agricultural Change

Structural-functionalist and Structural-Marxist approaches have had a major impact on the post-war literature on farmers, farming and the farming family in France. From the 1940's to around the late 1960's, structural functionalism focused on the 'rural' as opposed to the 'urban'. The main object of study was the village, a spatially defined local community, within which farmers and farming families were contextualised. Post-war changes in agriculture together with socio-economic and demographic change concerning the farming population were viewed within the spatial framework of the rural village. Particular attention was paid to the impact of such changes on the farmer, the farming family, farming and the local village community.

The post-war agricultural socio-economic changes were often seen as 'endangering' an apparent 'rural way of life'. Given the perceived importance of the village in structuring the daily life of (particularly) the farming population, depopulation and changes internal to the agricultural sector were phenomena regarded as causally significant in the 'loss of community'. Attention was often drawn to a decline, or loss, of community. This was directly associated with proclaimed loss of a 'traditional' way of life.

Farmers and the farming population in general, were seen as representing the 'traditional' (rural) way of life. As such, the farming population occupied centre stage of a general debate over the post war socio-economic changes, which themselves were framed in terms of the spatial referents, 'rural' and 'urban'. There was, apparently, something causal in a sociological sense about the 'urban' in terms of bringing about change in the 'rural'.

On the other hand other studies in the structural-functionalist mode sought to portray the resistance to a decline or loss of community/ traditional way of life. It was asserted that despite the generalisation of national patterns and forms of association, agricultural and

non-agricultural populations alike in the rural villages incorporated social and economic change into existing locale-specific patterns of association. As a result, a sense of local identity and continuity of social forms were maintained. Locally-based systems of values and cultural forms were of central importance in assuring the continuation of a local community. This apparent resistance was ranged against the encroachment of a perceived 'urban way of life' which was considered to be the principal cause of the loss of community or decline of traditional (rural) way of life.

From around the mid to late 1960's, Structural Marxist influences began to place emphasis on macro-level economic explanations of post war socio-economic changes in agriculture and the local economies of 'rural' areas. Such changes were understood as resulting from the restructuring of Western capitalism. This more global approach shifted the focus away from the spatial specificity of the locale (the 'rural' village) towards the post war restructuring of capital in terms of an economic system and an international economic system at that. Where reference to value systems appeared, changes in values were not seen in terms of a 'rural way of life' as opposed to an 'urban way of life', with the latter prevailing over the former. Rather, changes in local value systems was simply a reflexive social response to the changing nature of the local (village) economy as part of the restructuring of capital. Change in the base produced change in the superstructure to use Marxist terminology.

The substantive socio-economic changes in post war France influenced the sociological concern with the 'rural question', farming and the farming family. Having established itself as an independent academic discipline only in the late 1950's (1), sociology in France acquired its independent status precisely at a moment of rapid social and economic change. On the one hand, there was a steep rural exodus, while on the other there was a demographic concentration in the towns and cities. These demographic shifts were accompanied by agricultural modernisation and urban based industrial expansion (Holmes & Fawcett 1983, Coffey et al, 1973). In contrast with the dispersed small-scale rural artisanal industry of the early nineteenth century (Duby et al 1976, a: 67-71, 388-401) the post 1945 period witnessed large-scale industrial development concentrated in and around the towns and

cities. In the historical context of a rapidly declining rural and agricultural population, and the simultaneous expansion in the urban population and non-agricultural forms of employment, there quickly developed two distinct sub-disciplines; namely rural and urban sociology. As a consequence of this intellectual division of labour, rural sociologists focused on the concerns of farmers, farming and 'rural' society in a broader sense.

During the 1950's and 1960's, French rural sociology was occupied with research into the socio-economic, socio-political and socio-cultural 'problems' of the village which were seen as associated with the general social and economic changes in post war France. A number of village studies carried out by historians and geographers (for example, Faucher 1964, Friedman 1953, Dugrand 1953, Lebeau 1955, Juillard 1953, Philipponneau 1956, Moreau 1958 and Brunet 1960) influenced the early sociological studies, highlighting the importance of the specific historical and geographical background to sociological research into agricultural change. The major contemporaneous theoretical and conceptual contribution that the early sociological work brought to bear was the introduction of the rural-urban continuum.

The rural-urban continuum was used in an attempt to describe and explain the different 'ways of life', social organisation and association which - it was assumed - pertained (respectively) in the two spatially distinct contexts. Emphasis was to be placed on the idea of a 'rural' (and traditional) way of life, in contradistinction to an 'urban' (and modern) way of life. The social categories - farmer, farming family and the family farm - were contextualised against the broader object of research; namely (and variously) the village, the rural community, or the rural collectivity ('la collectivité rurale', à la Mendras and Jollivet, 1971).

The rural-urban model itself was substantively influenced by official, government concerns and definitions. What constituted the 'rural'? (2) Government and state planners sought research data on farmers and their adoption of, or (more generally) their apparent resistence to, the post 1960's agricultural modernisation programme. In addition, much of the early French village studies were influenced conceptually and theoretically by the

American literature on 'folk societies', and, in particular, by the work of Redfield (Redfield 1947).

Three broad interrelated themes emerged from the mid 1940's, and remained prominent until around the late 1960's - early 1970's. Firstly, framed within the rural-urban continuum, a number of studies looked at the emergence of spatially (rural and urban) determined 'ways of life'. In these studies, the central question was: 'what is the impact of the post war urban expansion on the different 'collectivités rurales?' (Mendras and Jollivet, 1971). Secondly, this question was often linked to the discussion of a 'loss of community' (Morin 1967). Thirdly, the post 1960's agricultural modernisation programme became an important thematic concern in its own right. This was often discussed in relation to a decline of 'traditional' social forms of organisation within the farming population (Royer 1970). In this sense discussion of agricultural modernisation often dovetailed into the wider framework of the 'loss of community' debate. A number of studies within the general 'cadre' known as 'Les Etudes Sociopsychologiques' focused specifically on the agricultural modernisation programme. These studies were concerned with the impact of the agricultural policy on farmers, farmers' attitudes and farming practices. These studies were contemporaneous with the Structural-functional village studies. Indeed some were themselves underwritten by structural-functionalist assumptions concerning social organisation and social change.

Structural Functionalist Approaches
Farmers and Agriculture Modernisation

Research into the adoption or non-adoption of the agricultural modernisation programme gained its impetus from the implications of the French 1960-62 agricultural policy. The research was largely aimed at the level of the individual farmer, stressing the psychological barriers of the 'traditional' farmer to accepting the need to modernise the farm unit. The substantive aims of much of this research were to encourage the direction of production away from mainly subsistence, to mainly commercialised forms of production (Dubost and Darré 1964). This fitted with a broader strategy led by agricultural planners and policy makers which sought to develop an

entreprise culture among French farmers. The emphasis in the 'Loi Complémentaire' (1962) on the commercialisation of agricultural commodities via the creation of producers' groups (e.g. cooperatives) was taken up in research projects (e.g. Bovet and Chabot 1965). The general conclusions pointed to a widespread 'psychological' resistence to such changes on the part of a substantial proportion of farmers.

These psychological barriers were seen as rooted in a set of 'traditional', 'rural' value systems which were diammetrically opposed to 'urban' value systems. The latter were supposed to espouse innovation and modernity. This elision between spatial referents and types of behaviour, attitudes and values, was typical of much of the research into the effects of agricultural modernisation. Thus, de Farcy, for example, discussing urbanisation in the 'région Lyonnaise', refers to the apparent erosive impact this had upon neighbouring farmers' traditional production methods. De Farcy focusses on the resistence of many local farmers to agricultural mechanisation, and the general processes of technological innovations in agricultural production. Central to de Farcy's discussion is a dichotomy between the innovatory, modern urban world, and the backward, traditional rural context of the surrounding farming population (de Farcy, 1950). Elsewhere, a reported resistence by farmers, to the emergent forms of contractualised sale of agricultural production was referred to as :

> "The opposition between modernism and archaism (which) exists at the level of the individual." (Flatrès, 1963: 54)

It was, the 'relics from ancient folklore' (op cit) that lay behind the resistence to the modernisation programme. Moreover, this explained for Flatrès why the 'second agricultural revolution [had] not yet been achieved' (op cit). It was the resistence of individual farmers, bound by traditional culture and manifesting itself at the level of the individual psychology, that formed the collective resistence ("une résistence paysanne") to the post 1960-62 agricultural modernisation programme.

As a contemporary critic of the emphasis on the individual psychology of farmers, Bodiguel argued that innovation and acceptance of innovation may not be identified as exclusive to any given type of society. For Bodiguel, the rural/traditional - urban/modern distinction was misleading; innovations not being brought about by, nor accepted according to, appropriate psychological proclivities of a given individual. Moreover such 'proclivities' cannot simply be read off from the spatial context of the actor. Following her ethnographic research on the diffusion of techniques in a farming community in Northern France, Bodiguel suggests that the adoption of new farming techniques is processual. What has always been important, following Bodiguel is the testing and trial of innovations in the social context of the farming community (Bodiguel 1967 & 1968).

Another contemporary criticism of the emphasis on individual farmers directs our attention more specifically at the content of the 1960-62 policy. Lamonisse focuses on the limitations inherent in the early policies which aimed at the modernisation of individual farms. Although limited to structural problems of a technical and technico-financial order, Lamonisse's criticism is directed at the very basis of the focus of the 'études sociopsychologiques'. In his study of agricultural development in the Cévennes, Lamonisse pointed out that the 'deliberate break with the old economy' might prove a way out of individual poverty on those farms where a modernisation programme is introduced. However, in mountain areas such as the Cévennes, solutions beyond the scope of individual farmers and the individual farm enterprise would be required.

> "... the levelling out of slopes, the preparation and irrigation of land and pastures can only be the work of a powerfully equipped collectivity." (Lamonisse, 1964: 133)

The guiding aim of the 1960-62 agricultural modernisation policy was, however, limited to creating an enterprise culture based on the individual farmer and his individual farm unit. The focus was limited to the development of homo economicus (Rambaud 1964 : 103), a notion central to the 1960-62 policies, and measured strictly in terms of the increased market activity on the part of French farmers (Lanneau 1970).

Behind the research into farmers' attitudes towards agricultural modernisation, lay the assumption that farmers who rejected modernisation were somehow irrational. The refusal of the 'paysan traditionel' to accept the rational economic goals, as viewed by agricultural planners, became itself a principal obstacle to planners. As Robertson notes in the context of LDC's (3) the refusal to give up 'tradition' was difficult for the planner to understand (Robertson 1984:30). 'Obstacle' was a much used word by planners in the 1960's in France when referring to farmers and the apparent reluctance of farmers to modernise their farm. 'Obstacles' were what stood in the way of rational technique and rational economic policies for agricultural development. As Crowe notes western economists' and planners' assumptions vis-a-vis the 'irrational' small farmer continue to persist (Crowe 1987b).

In France attempts were made to move beyond the focus on individual farmers and their apparent psychological resistance to agricultural modernisation, to examine the manner in which the modernisation programme was communicated within the farming population. Farmers' information networks were the subject of attention here, as well as state information networks used by agricultural planners and technicians. Much of this work was akin to the use of information network analysis among farmers carried out in America (Rogers and Shoemaker 1971). In France, for example, rather than the individual psychology of farmers being responsible for a slow uptake of modernisation programmes, it was, according to Houée, the result of poor, ineffective information networks between planners and farmers in their locale (Houée 1972). Houée asserts that by 1970, only 10-15% of farmers knew of the 1960-62 legislation and that with better information networks from planners to farmers, more farmers would have taken up the recommendations of the 1960-62 policies.

Little attention was paid by Houée, nor indeed in the American literature (Rogers and Shoemaker 1971), to the structural limits facing many (particularly) small farmers with regard to the agricultural modernisation programme. Attention was limited to inefficient information networks between State planners and farmers. In fact, smaller farmers faced more problems in terms of implementing credit-financed improvement schemes, while

the assumption that somehow ALL farmers would benefit from the agricultural modernisation should have been subjected to criticism. In France itself (Lambert 1970, Bodiguel 1968 and Puijk 1984), in Ireland (Commins 1980) and elsewhere (Bodenstadt 1981 and Long 1977), evidence suggests that the larger, already relatively well mechanised, capital intensive farms tend to benefit most from agricultural modernisation programmes. The smaller, less well off farms tend to be marginalised by agricultural modernisation schemes. The low uptake of a modernisation programme may well have been more to do with the perceived increased financial problems that such a move would have incurred. This was however not considered as significant by Houée.

Elsewhere, research looked specifically at information networks constructed and used by farmers within their local milieu. Influenced by the work on social networks and the diffusion of innovations literature (Coleman, Katz and Menzel 1957, Katz, Levin and Hamilton 1963, Katz 1958 and 1966) the work in this genre moved away from the State planners to the social milieu and social networks in which the farmer conducted his daily activities. Maho and Morin highlighted the primary role played by the local commercial class ('les commerçants') in the diffusion of new ideas, values, techniques and agricultural products. In particular, these local socio-economic leaders were analysed in terms of the impact their role had on social and economic change within the village. According to both authors, the 'commerçant' (e.g. baker, miller, ironmonger etc.) played a pivotal role as the 'go-between', as a sort of cultural broker, communicating between the urban, commercial centre (and its values), and the rural village and its values).

The 'commerçant', it was reasoned, was held in high esteem locally, and as such, was 'trusted' to act as a 'filtre' (a filter). Thus, Maho argued, the 'commerçant' would resist too rapid a modernisation of the village economy, since this could pose strains on existing local socio-economic processes, and thereby be detrimental in the long term to the local village economy. This could, as a result, jeopardise the central position of the 'commerçant'. On the other hand, the 'commerçant', having contact with the urban centres, being increasingly obliged to conduct his

affairs at markets outside the village, was aware of an 'external' pressure to bring about a transformation of the village economy. In the position of the local 'responsable', therefore, the 'commerçant' gauges the pace of transformation. Each purchase of a new product by a farmer [fertilizers, machinery, new seeds etc.] reconfirmed the 'commerçant's' decision to introduce the product into the village economy. The 'commerçant' informed the farmer that other farmers had recognised the benefits of a given product or piece of machinery. The 'commerçant' only ceased to promote a product if, by so doing, this 'threatened' the 'equilibrium' in his local social system. In this way, according to Maho and Morin, the 'commerçant' played a crucial role in the diffusion of post-war agricultural modernisation in the villages throughout France (Maho 1968, Morin 1967).

The structural-functionalist position is clear here, with stress on the need for change, yet the 'need' to maintain an 'equilibrium' in the village social system. Moreover, although Maho and Morin move away from the focus on the individual psychology of farmers-acknowledging the importance of social processes - they maintain the position that innovation and change necessarily come from the urban external sources. Innovation is a priori exogenous; an 'accoûtrement' of the 'urban way of life'. The assumption is that there is something particular about the rural village and its 'traditional' 'way of life'. The spatially defined conceptual framework, rural-urban, was transposed onto a socially defined conceptual framework, traditional-modern. Moreover, there was still little reference to the differential impact of agricultural modernisation on different groups of farmers.

In general, the early work that took agricultural modernisation and farmers in France as its focus was not very critical of the implications nor the purposes, of agricultural modernisation. There was also very little critical input in the body of research that developed out of the village studies, and that generally purported to relay a 'loss of community'.

Loss Of Community?

The main ideas behind the loss of community crystallised around the

argument that the socio-cultural identity of the different localities had been eclipsed by the uniformity of the processes of urbanisation. For Morin, the expansion of communication networks; the growth of a local market economy; and the influence of neighbouring cities led to the 'intégration culturelle' of Plodemet in Britanny. As a result of this 'intégration culturelle', traditional forms of association [gemeinschaftlich] had disappeared (Morin 1967). A similar theme is taken up by Raulin (1972) who argued that the loss of community - what Gasché identified as being typified by a complementarity of exchange of services (Gasché 1972) and echoed by Rees in the context of Wales (Rees 1951: 91,99 and 182) - had been eliminated by the post war social, economic and technological effects of agricultural modernisation (4).

The reciprocities of exchange, and the intricate social fabric of traditional village society were, for Rees, Raulin and Gasché, absent in urban culture. In the case of Etormy in Bourgogne, Royer is specific in suggesting that the loss of traditional community was due to the decline of traditional forms of agriculture, with the post war shift from small-scale unmechanised farming, to large-scale commercial farming (Royer 1970). Agricultural modernisation was perceived as posing deliterious consequences for a whole (rural) way of life. This way of life was held to embody a particular set of values which underlined the importance of the subordination of individual interest to that of the group. In this sense, 'modern' and 'traditional' forms of agriculture came to be conceptualised as opposites in the dichotomy, Modernity-Tradition.

Indeed this claim is noted elsewhere in for example Arensberg and Kimball's study of a farming community in Ireland:

> "The large and small farmers are quite distinct beings and belong to a different way of life which are quite opposed." (Arensberg and Kimball, 1968:3)

The former are orientated towards market activity, while the latter tend to organise production around subsistence farming. The large-scale commercialised farmer - the representative of modernity-was the negation of all that is traditional. (Arensberg and Kimball 1968: 46).

Frankenberg identifies in Arensberg and Kimball's work evidence that community based forms of cooperation and association were yielding to an individualism coterminous with (he claims) an urban way of life. Frankenberg points out for example that :

> "(with the) impact of the town and industrialism, things were beginning to change .... "
> (Frankenberg, 1966: 43-44)

In Rees' study of a Welsh village, the 'modern industrial civilisation', the 'intrusion of industrial standards' and the 'diffusion of urban standards' were indicated by the adoption of rational book-keeping (Rees 1961 : 30,62 and 167). This was seen as part of a wider shift from a subsistence economy (ibid : 29) to a money economy, with subsistence farming being replaced by the specialised production of pastoral products for cash (ibid : 167). Rees suggests that the community in the parish of Llanfihangel yng Ngwynfa could not withstand the socio-economic and socio-cultural changes taking place during the 1940's. The pressures for change were again identified as being external to the village. At different times in the monograph, they are identified as 'industrialisation', 'commercialisation' or 'urbanisation' (ibid : 29, 62).

The culture of the Welsh village was in 'full decline' due to these forces (ibid : 168). However, this 'erosion' was not even and did not apparently apply to farmers (ibid : 30). According to Rees, the reason for the tenacity of the farmer in the face of the 'externally' initiatied changes lay in the fact that :

> "the farm remains a home and a means of subsistence as well as an instrument for making money"
> (ibid : 29)

Nevertheless, the influence of a money economy (ibid : 145) and the displacement of traditional, often non-economic values (ibid : 144) coupled with :

> "the replacement of subsistence agriculture by the specialised production of pastoral products for cash (which) involved the introduction of capitalist standards and the conversion of a way of life into a means of production" (ibid : 167)

posed, for Rees, a threat to the 'native way of life' (ibid : 108 and 169). Further :

> "the little community in Llanfihangel, through accepting current values and becoming part of the contemporary economic system is already in the initial stages of the social atomisation which is general in Western civilisation" (ibid: 168)

Similar conclusions were drawn from village studies in France. According to Morin, the cause of the change in values was due to the spread of a consumer economy from the town and city to the villages. This led to a change in values within both the farming and the non-farming populations in villages. Prior to the post-war period, Morin reports that his respondents distinguished between two different markets: one which was endogomous, the other, exogenous. The former typified by monetary relations which were based upon 'trust, familial solidarity and neighbourly friendship'. In the case of the latter, one had to 'defend oneself in a bitter power struggle, in the inevitable combat with the big industrial meat traders'. However, the increasing influence of the nearby towns and cities led to the spread of a rational-economic model for transactions and behaviour. This contrasted for Morin with both the attitudes and the understanding of older 'paysans'. This is indeed what Morin meant by a 'loss of community'. (Morin 1967; 73).

It was the growth of an urban based consumer society according to Morin that led to the change in values among farmers and non-farmers alike in the villages. The previous emphasis on saving as a valued act sui generis was replaced by the emphasis on consumption :

> "... if you don't spend, you'll never have anything, you'll be dead without having anything ... the consumer pleasure will legitimise purely and simply the act of spending." (Morin 1967 : 75)

In the French village studies there was a clear identification of 'rural' and 'urban' cultures as coterminous with the idea of distinct 'ways of life'. It was the apparent predominance of the 'urban' over the 'rural' that was singled out as the reason for the loss of (traditional) community. The meeting of 'rural' and 'urban' cultures was seen mainly in France in terms of different 'modes d'expression', 'modes de vie', and culturally defined forms of presentation. Morin, for example, graphically describes this 'meeting of two cultures' in regard to both dress and the use of language in his village study in Plodemet (Morin 1967 : 21).

The appearance of two distinctive 'modes d'expression' was integrated into the social construction of a hierarchy of lifestyles in which the very expression 'la vie paysanne' became increasingly synonymous with an 'anachronistic', even 'inferior' 'way of life'. Thus as Rambaud reports one of his respondents, a twenty two year old woman:

> "... with the word 'paysan', one feels inferior; one has less money, one is less well dressed, and one speaks a different language, one is less refined .. the denomination, 'paysans' formulated by urban dwellers, rural inhabitants receive it as a manifestation of contempt" (Rambaud, 1966 : 167)

In the case of the French village studies, it was argued that the 'alien' culture (variously referred to as urban, industrial, or consumer) became dominant during the post-war period, associated with the general socio-economic changes of the period. The process by which this 'alien' culture appeared within the daily social and economic life of the village was often linked to the younger post-war generation which had increasingly close contact with nearby towns and cities. Delbos' article echoes Morin's observation (Morin 1967 : 79) in this respect (Delbos, 1979).

With the closure of many village schools throughout France, due to the post-war administrative rationalisation, children often became boarders in nearby towns and cities. The result was the gradual introduction of different forms of interaction and expression which - according to Delbos and Morin - reflected a more individualistic perception of 'le quotidien',

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'le vécu' (5). Thus the changes in the political economy of France post-war were apparently accompanied by a shift in values in the villages, brought about by the younger generation's close contact with an 'urban way of life'. The asserted individualistic, urban-based metropolitan culture, or 'way of life' was to predominate over a locally based 'rural way of life', or culture.

The sharp post-war decline in the importance of the agricultural sector within the local (village) economy, to the benefit of urban located industrial and tertiary sectors, served to reinforce a perceived urban value system and way of life. This underlined the cultural hegemony of the urban industrial workforce and urban population in general. This is indeed the broad tenor of much of the French village studies material, which tends to assume that social and economic change in the national economy led to an economic decline in the (mainly) agricultural base to the village economy which was followed by a collapse of social and cultural forms of association and locally based value systems.

However, the two studies by Greenwood and Delbos in particular, as well as a study by Bucher and the work of Mendras and Jollivet suggest a different reading of socio-economic and socio-cultural change. Greenwood (1976) portrays farmers as leaving farming, not for economic (push) factors, since Greenwood discusses only economically profitable farms. Rather, the farmers left farming and moved into employment in nearby towns in order to protect a cultural identity which they felt was being compromised by agricultural modernisation. Farms were being abandoned because :

> "... the very same economic changes that helped to make them profitable have brought farming as a way of life into conflict with long held Basque ideas about Man and dignity in work. By migrating to the cities, they are sacrificing known economic rewards in the service of these ideas" (Greenwood 1976 : 208).

Further,

> "Farmers are abandoning agriculture not because their values have changed, but because their values have not changed ... It is the continuity in the values in conjunction with the economic changes that have come about, that makes it reasonable for them to leave. The young Basque are moving to the cities not because they are rejecting the fundamental ideas of Basque culture in search of some vague substitutes, but, precisely because they are so deeply committed to these Basque ideas that they must try to find new work roles"
>
> (ibid : 159)

The introduction of agricultural modernisation brought about an emphasis on individualism which itself was at odds with the farmers' concept of mutual help and group-based systems of work and association. The decision to leave farming and to out-migrate was more to do with preserving a cultural identity, rather than a simple reflex either to economic push factors from within agriculture itself, or pull factors from the urban industrial sector, where, in any event, economic loss was likely.

Delbos (1982) is explicit in her discussion of 'paysans' who also leave agriculture in order to maintain the identity of (in this case) 'paysans', rather than modernise their farms and become 'agriculteurs' (6). Delbos discussed the decision by farmers to leave agriculture as a result of the perceived impact of post-war agricultural changes. Agricultural modernisation had rendered the farmers' conception of what constituted a 'paysan' untenable as long as they remained in farming. The move away from subsistence and polyculture farming to the commercial and specialised forms of farming with the emphasis on individualism in production, was incompatible with the farmers' conception of 'le comportment paysan'. The farmers therefore left farming, taking up alternative forms of employment in order to maintain their social network as 'paysans', continuing to live in the village.

Delbos' study may be compared with that of the Basque farmers carried out by Greenwood. Both emphasise the importance attached by farmers to maintaining a sense of cultural identity. In the case of the Basque

farmers, however, this led to out-migration, to work in industry. In Delbos' case, farmers left farming, remaining in the village . It is important to bear in mind, as Delbos makes clear in an earlier article, that the presence of an industrial development in the village was often crucial to farmers' decisions to stay in their village. The presence of a steel industry (which started in 1947) played a key part in shaping a sense of continuity in the village which was the focus of earlier work by Delbos in the Lorraine region (Delbos 1979).

By providing non-agricultural work, farmers were no longer obliged to leave the village. 'Etre prolétarianisé' did not equate with leaving the village. Delbos argues that in this way, the sense of the 'collectivité locale' was maintained. The steel industry provided the material means whereby the 'société locale' could incorporate and restructure the social form that the local industrialisation would take, within the existing 'cadre social'. Farmers' attitudes towards urban and industrial development were less antipathetical than was generally the case elsewhere according to Delbos. The importance of the farmers being able to remain in the village is summed up by Delbos :

> "One is witness to a convergent multiplication of individual actions which combine local and external resources by preserving the presence of the former farmers in the village and assuring thus the permanence of the collectivity" (Delbos 1979 : 87).

In both Greenwood's and Delbos' work, the important factor is the farmers' aim to preserve a continuity of social forms and cultural models.

In a similar manner to Jenkins et al (1960) in Wales, as well as Arensberg and Kimball (1968 : 184, 289, 301) in Ireland, Jollivet and Mendras (1971) emphasise a continuity of local social forms and associations in France despite the post-war changes. Mendras and Jollivet present an analysis of a selection of post-war French village studies. This formed part of a series of thematic and theoretical syntheses of post-war French village studies (for example, Chiva 1958, Mendras 1962, and Desroche and

Rambaud 1971, eds). The guiding theme of the collection presented by Mendras and Jollivet is that of a strong cultural diversity which they claimed assured the continuity of a diversity of social forms of expression and social organisation (Mendras and Jollivet 1971 : 163).

Mendras and Jollivet made an intended virtue out of seeking diversity in the existing rural research material. They did this precisely in order to oppose the predominant assumption that the post-war social and economic changes had introduced a uniformity throughout France which reflected an urban pattern of social organisation and lifestyle. Mendras and Jollivet sought to identify the cultural specificity of the different 'collectivités rurales'. They focused especially on the manner in which the different village communities responded to the post-war social and economic changes in order to preserve the socio-cultural specificity of their village. In a structural-functionalist manner, Mendras and Jollivet argued that the 'collectivité rurale' adapts to change by substituting an institution that had ceased to perform its role in the 'collectivité rurale' by a functional equivalent (Mendras and Jollivet 1971 : 164). In this manner the sense of continuity was assured.

Bucher's (1980) work in the Vendée similarly identifies the manner in which the agricultural modernisation programme, rather than erasing local value systems associated with work, was in fact, modified by values grounded in the local social system. Agricultural modernisation was thereby incorporated into the value system of the farming population in the village. Thus the locally esteemed values of 'vaillance' (courage, bravery), 'travail' (work), and 'capacité' (ability, competence) - all integral to the organisation of local agricultural work - were used in an 'active' manner to shape the form and contours that the agricultural modernisation programme followed in the Vendée. The rentier class, which did not embody these values, was simply left thereby on the margins of the post 1960's agricultural modernisation programme. The rentier class was organised socially around privilege and a system of values which embraced inheritance; an ascriptive form of status. This class did not adapt to a system which was founded quite simply on levels of production and productivity; a system underpinned by an achievement oriented status. It is clear that some

importance in the literature is placed on the role of ideas and values. Modernisation of agriculture took place on a generalised scale from the 1960's, though the form that this has taken appears, according to some researchers, to have been largely defined by the local values and cultural forms.

On the question of culture, Cohen's work is relevant in the context of the socio-economic and demographic changes post-war in France (Cohen et al 1982 and 1986). Discussing culture as fundamentally identifiable in a relational context, Cohen makes the point that :

> "... we become aware of culture - more specifically of A culture - when we are brought up against its boundaries: that is, when we become aware of ANOTHER culture, of behaviour which deviates from the norms of our own. Put briefly ... we are not aware of the distinctiveness and the circumscription of our own behaviour until we meet its normative boundaries" (Cohen et al, 1982 : 4)

Cohen's point is apposite to the aforegoing discussion regarding the apparent 'meeting of different lifestyles' or 'ways of life' within the village. To take the French context, the researchers, in their different ways, and more or less explicitly, are in large part discussing the meeting of two cultures which, it is argued, relate to different socio-economic demands and forms of organisation. Internal to agriculture we find the emergence of a more commercial form of agricultural production alongside an older form which was organised more specifically along subsistence lines. In a broader context we find the post-war urban concentration of economic development, employment and population against the background of a rural and agricultural exodus.

This is the general context in which two apparently different 'ways of like' based on different socio-economic organisation became the focus of interest to many of the writers of the village monographs. For most farmers, the question was : Do I modernise my farm, and in so doing, change the orientation of my farming? Or, not modernise, retaining existing methods, and if economically marginalised; remain in farming; or leave

farming altogether? A decision to leave farming entails another question : Do I stay in the locale, or migrate out to find alternative work? These questions were the result of a socially constructed set of alternatives facing farmers following rapid social and economic change in the post-war political economy of France. These rapid changes threw into relief the diversity of local cultural forms in France for many writers, though most writers emphasised the post-war construction of a dominant 'urban culture', or 'way of life'. Most of the French researchers in fact suggested that the 'paysannerie' became aware of its own culture in the presence of what was perceived as an alien and exogenous 'urban' culture. Again, Cohen is useful on this very point :

> "... we do not simply become AWARE of our culture; we also attribute value to it, positively or negatively. The desertion of what they may regard as 'traditional' culture in peripheral areas, is often assisted by their inhabitants' views of the economic disadvantages of geographical peripheral-ity and their tangible expression in the decision to emigrate" (ibid : 5)

Out-migration in the case of Greenwood's farmers was not a simple reflex to economic push or pull factors. Similarly, the decision by the farmers in Delbos' study to leave farming in order to remain a 'paysan' cannot be reduced to economic considerations. Evaluation and the construction of decision models based on the actors' own perception of the situation, and the degree of positive attachment to a conception of a 'traditional' culture, as well as the availability of alternative forms of employment, informs both the decision to out-migrate (or not) and the decision to modernise the farm (or not). However, the discussion of a social construction of a hierarchy of lifestyles (urban and rural) was crucially accompanied in France by both economic push factors due to agricultural modernisation, and economic pull factors due to the urban industrial and tertiary expansion. Bordieu's (1962) study of farmers, lifestyles and socio-economic change in post-war France is particularly interesting in the context of this discussion.

The importance of Bordieu's post-war study of farmers and farming in

the Béarnaise region of South West France rests on the fact that he addresses both the economic changes in agriculture, the local economy of the farming hamlet under study and that of the local bourgs. Further, he deals with the question of changing cultural models that underpinned a locally based 'mode de vie'. This 'mode de vie' had previously been intertwined with the daily social and economic activities of the farming population, constructed in the very acting of the 'quotidien', 'le vécu' of the farming population.

Bordieu highlights the important and subtle interconnectedness between a system of cultural values which underpinned marriage and land strategies (Bordieu, 1962 : 33) within the farming population on the one hand, and the socio-economic organisation of agriculture on the other (ibid: 64). Moreover, Bordieu does not locate this in the 'rural-urban' continuum model. Rather, he conceptualises the question of 'lifestyles' in terms of the 'national' context, (principally non-agricultural lifestyles) and the 'local' (principally agricultural lifestyles). 'Lifestyles' for Bordieu have less to do with spatially determined referents, and more to do with contrasting 'national' and 'local' cultural models within the different 'socio-economic contexts'. That the former cultural model became predominant over the latter in the post war period, reflected in large part the concentration of economic and cultural forms of capital in non-agricultural activities. What is interesting is Bordieu's treatment of the processes whereby national images, lifestyles and values were incorporated into the redrawing of social boundaries within the farming population. Bordieu's study serves as a foil to the use of the 'rural-urban' continuum in the village monographs.

Bordieu suggests that the socio-economic changes internal to agriculture, together with the prioritisation of national cultural images and models grounded in the post-war industrial expansion, undermined the cultural and material base of the local agricultural sector (Bordieu, 1962: 66, 100). The classic example of this was shown in the decision by increasing numbers of farm women to leave and marry outside farming thereby undermining succession to farms (ibid: 67,71). This is echoed elsewhere in France (Rambaud, 1966: 167). The hitherto locally dominant image of the thrifty 'paysan' had been replaced by the image of the 'Monsieur' and the

'idéal de sociabilité urbaine' (ibid: 66). The earlier social cleavage had been constructed at the interface between large and small landowning farming families. During the post-war period, the demarcation was constructed in the separation of the respective categories, 'citadin' and 'paysan'. In former times, marriage alliances between small and large landowning farming families were discouraged by customary practice. During the post-war period, the closure operated between farming and non-farming families. This reinforced the negative image of the farmer in post-war France. (ibid, 79-80). 'Marrying up' on the part of farmers' daughters was seen as reinforcing the asserted 'superior' status of the post-war non-agricultural lifestyle. The social reconstruction of the image of 'la paysannerie' was a national phenomenon. It was formed by the non-agricultural population and its concept of what constituted 'la paysannerie Francaise' : backward and illiterate. The use of such perjorative terms as 'plouc' and 'pequenaud' (7) was indicative of the negative values with which the notion of the 'paysannerie Francaise' was imbued. This is exemplified in the following quote :

> "Doubtless, the paysan often lends himself to ironic attack ... He has always been, for example, the object of mockery because of his being behind in clothes fashion. While the 'gentleman from the highstreet' was already wearing a suitjacket in 1885, the 'country folk' kept their linen shirt, woven, sewn and embroidered at home ... You should have seen their gawkiness! They had enormous berets! In order to make them bigger and to make them stay rigid, they put a strand of whicker inside. You should have seen them march past on a stormy day, when the wind would blow up and lift their shirt, uncovering their red belt ... sometimes their beret flew off and rolled like a hoop, and they would try clumsily to catch it" (Bordieu citing a respondent, ibid : 95)

One is presented thus with the 'Monsieur' on the one hand, with his sophisticated clothes sense, contrasted with, on the other hand, the 'anachronistic' performance of 'le paysan'.

What is important for Bordieu is that the social construction of the

post-war social hierarchy was impregnated with the value judgements of the culturally dominant group, 'les citadins'. The inferior status accorded to 'le paysan' was significant as a contributory factor in the increase of unmarried farmers during the post-war period. The 'paysan' was restricted to marrying within the farming population, since farmers' sons were constrained from 'marrying up'. On the other hand, 'le citadin' could marry from within either the agricultural or non-agricultural population. The socially defined marriage strategies were therefore more open for the 'citadin' than for the 'paysan'. The older generation of farmers, and those younger farmers in Bordieu's study who remained in farming, found themselves physically (spatially) at home, but culturally and socially 'abroad' (à l'étranger) in an 'alien' culture :

> "Right at the heart of his universe, the peasant discovers a world in which he is no longer at home" (ibid : 91).

The central argument in Bordieu's research focuses on the manner in which changes in the system of cultural values (with a national culture predominating over the locality - specific culture) had, over time, undermined the system of land transmission, itself fundamental to the material basis for the social reproduction of the farming population.

Importantly Bordieu links the material changes in the local and national economy with the emergent cultural hegemony of a non-agricultural population. He links the changing structure of the local economy, which from the inter-war period became increasingly dependent on the local bourgs, and the cultural influence of the 'mode de vie urbain'. Moreover, he highlights the active participation of the post-war younger generation in the social construction of new social forms. This tended to be overlooked in many of the other village studies, where the focus was more on a Type (rural/traditional) of society in decline. Bordieu is less concerned with the rurality per se, as with the question of the locality - in social, economic and cultural terms - and its interlinkage with the wider national political economic context. Rather than seeing a Type of society in decline, Bordieu shows how the actors concerned reconstructed the material

and cultural processes of the daily life in redefining the farming hamlet and the local bourgs and the exchanges both cultural and economic that were the product of these processes.

Criticism of the Village Monographs and the Rural-Urban Continuum

The post-war village monographs had attempted to deal with the problem of social and economic change. The emphasis was mainly on the agricultural population, and the impact of urban-industrial expansion on local value systems. The monographs were written within a structural-functionalist perspective, with little attention paid to the processes of change. The structural-functionalist approach is clear in Rees' study of a Welsh village, and most notably in Rees' claim that :

> "Every person counts as a part of the social organism, and when one dies or leaves the hamlet ... [it is] .. as though an organism had lost a limb" (Rees 1951:99)

The conceptual framework of the rural-urban continuum appears to have been inadequate as a means to provide explanations for the processes of social change. The use of the rural-urban continuum and the accompanying empiricism which typified so many of the monographs led to the classification of 'rural' societies as Types of society according to a list of social indices. It was indeed this empiricism that allowed for the construction of the rural-urban continuum in the first place, according to Long. Long points out that the rural-urban model has been variously understood in terms of the 'folk-urban' and 'traditional-modern' dichotomies (Long 1977 : 33-39). This of course was heavily influenced by Redfield who focused more specifically on the typological construction of different societies rather than change within any given society (Redfield 1947). Emphasis was on change caused from without (from the town and city) with little attention paid to the restructuring of the 'rural' (folk) societies from within (Long op cit). There was therefore more attention placed on pull rather than push factors. This indeed corresponded with Redfield's overall concern with differences between Types of society on his rural (folk) - urban continuum, and his reluctance to examine the internal dynamics for change within a given society.

The influence of Redfield's work may be noted in the series of French village studies edited by Mendras and Jollivet. In this collection, the editors tried to classify the different studies within a framework of Types of rural society. The overall tenor of the project was guided by the problem set out by the editors. This was; to find the diversity of the different Types of rural societies. Indeed the title of the collection for studies itself was indicative: 'Inventaire Typologique et Comparatif des Sociétés Rurales Francaises'. Throughout the collection, emphasis is placed on the typology of 'rural' societies, rather than on the analysis of the processes of change, both internal and external to any of the given ten societies in the collection. Indices as to the continued existence of 'rural' forms was the main focus (Jollivet and Mendras, 1971).

The general early, uncritical acceptance of Redfield's work in Britain is seen in Frankenberg's attempt to analyse - in a morphological manner-social systems in Britain. He places the different social systems on a typological continuum, stressing more the typology than the processes of social change. The concern moreover with the spatial referents concerning what are fundamentally sociological issues is evident in Frankenberg's designation of Llanfihangel (Rees' study of a Welsh village, 1951) as 'truly, truly rural' (Frankenberg 1966 : 46).

In France, the discussion of post-war agricultural modernisation within the village studies format took form within the conceptual framework of the rural-urban model. The village was seen as the repository of things 'positively' valued (in a neo-rural populist manner) such as gemeinschaftlich forms of association, typified by the farming population. The apparent sense of permanence of this image was contrasted with the claimed ephemeral, atomised, alienated and alienating setting of the urban environment. Cuisinier describes the latter as :

> "The tiresome and cold abstractions of the great development blocks." (Cuisinier, 1964 : 172)

Following de Farcy, Faucher goes further, suggesting the negative

effect of the 'urban way of life' on 'traditional ways of life', with particular regard to traditional forms of agricultural production (de Farcy 1950, Faucher 1964). For Friedmann, the rural village was the 'milieu naturel', as opposed to the 'milieu technique'. The introduction, therefore, of new agricultural techniques in the sphere of production, and the application of recent technological developments were for Friedman, incongruous in the village (Freidmann 1953). Such writers saw themselves as defenders of something which they perceived as 'rural' as opposed to something else they perceived as 'urban'.

The proclaimed importance of spatial referents underpinned in a conceptual and theoretical sense, the village monographs. The influence behind this approach may be traced back to an uncritical acceptance of Redfield's and Sorokin and Zimmerman's conceptual and theoretical assumptions (Redfield 1947, Sorokin and Zimmerman 1929 : 9). In the absence of a comprehensive rural policy during the 1950's and 1960's, and in the context of the rapid demographic, social and economic changes in the French countryside, French rural sociologists (as well as historians and geographers) saw themselves as protectors of what they assumed to be a model of traditional French society. It is in this context that Cuisinier could talk of the 'abstraction ennuyeuse et froide' (Cuisinier, op cit) of the urban industrial expansion. And it is in this framework that early rural sociological discussion of post-war social change took place.

The literature which pointed to an apparent 'loss of community' was premised on the assumed importance of the spatial referents, 'rural' and 'urban'. What constituted - in sociological terms - a 'traditional' society was not itself critically examined. Hedley points out that the opposition between the 'traditional peasant of the past', and the 'modern, rational economic farmer' of today is more due to the researcher's own imposed categories (Hedley 1985). In the village studies, the focus was often on the decline of 'traditional' forms of (for example) cooperation between farmers. Hedley discounts the discontinuity between 'traditional' and 'modern' Types. In fact Hedley suggests there is more continuity than is often acknowledged. This is echoed in Germany where 'traditional' subsistence agriculture and 'traditional' work values are evident (Pongratz

1990). Hedley further argues that if there is less informal mutual cooperation it is simply because such arrangements are less relevant now to the farmer and farming family than was the case in former times. In earlier times aid offered to someone meant that one could expect a reciprocal offer. If, due to mechanisation (for example) there is less need to expect aid, there is less need to continue with the system of mutual cooperation for labour requirement input. A 'non-payment' of reciprocal labour had, formerly constituted a 'bad' neighbour. With the changes in technology and a more mechanised work process which has introduced the notion of hours and work units as the basis for calculation, the 'bad' neighbour has been replaced by the 'bad debtor' in the case of non-payment for labour provided by another farmer.

There were notable exceptions to the early village studies such as the work by Williams (1963) and Littlejohn (1963). In these two studies, gesellschaftlich forms of association, status and class were emphasised as playing an important part in the social construction of the daily life in the village. In particular, Williams points to the conflict between farmers' sons over the question of land inheritance. Bordieu's work also stood outside the genre of the village studies as criticised above. Bordieu underlined the processual nature of change, highlighting the change from within as well as the influence of national lifestyles, and the dynamic manner in which national social forms and value systems became integrated into existing but changing social forms in the locale.

However, most of the early village studies did tend to trade on the assumed importance of the rural-urban model. Criticism of the rural-urban model followed evidence from Lewis, Willmott and Young, and Gans (Lewis 1949, Willmott & Young 1960 and Gans 1962), and culminated in Pahl's oft quoted assertion that :

> "Any attempt to tie patterns of social relationship to specific geographic milieux is a singularly fruitless exercise" (Pahl, 1968 : 328)

In France, similar criticism was forthcoming. The net result of this

criticism was effectively to remove the theoretical and conceptual basis to rural sociology from the end of the 1960's, and early 1970's, leaving it as a sub-discipline in a theoretical vacuum (Benevuti et al 1975, Galjart 1973 and Newby 1979 : 99). Although Pahl's assertion was somewhat modified by Pahl himself in relation to his own work on urban inequality (Pahl 1970), the general criticism relating to the significance of spatial factors in the analysis of social change and forms of association, remained. As Newby points out, paraphrasing Pahl: 'there is no rural population as such; rather there are specific populations which for various but identifiable reasons find themselves in rural areas' (Newby 1979 : 100). Critics of the use of the rural-urban model in the French village studies, sought an alternative intellectual framework within structural-Marxism.

Structural-Marxism, Farming and the Family Farm

(a) The Future of the Family Farm

Criticism of the 'rural-urban' model continued within structural-Marxist debates. Jollivet, for example suggests that the differences in cultural expression between the different 'collectivités rurales', were less important than the similarities in terms of the economic change experienced throughout the post-war restructuring of French agriculture and urban-industrial capitalism (Jollivet 1974 : 245). The differences ('la diversité') according to Jollivet :

> "only bear upon the form of the logic of the development of the capitalist mode of production which only transforms the anterior modes of production and the social formations in which it establishes itself progressively, in function of its own demands for development" (Op cit)

Further, Dion, again criticising the village studies of the 1950's and 1960's, suggests that :

> "the problem, badly posed by many writings on social change should be expressed differently; to understand how the economic infrastructure reproduces itself in fact poses the problem of development of one mode of production from another; the dissolution by the new one of the old one, and reduces to one single point of departure, the historic process of the whole" (Dion, in Jollivet, 1974 : 120-121)

This Marxist critique opposed the emphasis on the socio-cultural uniqueness of the particular Type of village. This critique reflects a shift from Bordieu's emphasis on a more cultural or humanist Marxist approach. The position of Dion and Jollivet reflects a strict emphasis on Marxist macro-structural economic analysis. It also betrays a different methodological emphasis from that professed by Mendras and Jollivet. Rather than attempting - as Jollivet and Mendras had in 1971 - to construct a theoretical understanding of post-war socio-economic change in France by aggregating the findings of the different village monographs, the reverse methodological procedure was invoked by structural-marxists. It was suggested that research into social change in the rural areas in France should start from the general (i.e., an analysis of the development of capitalism as an international economic system) and seek to understand how this had taken form in the particular, different locales. The sum of the particulars was not, Jollivet argued in 1974, equal to the whole. It is worth pointing out from the outset, however, that there was some ambiguity with this sort of criticism. This appears precisely with regard to the methodological question. As was the case generally concerning the community studies (see Francis 1983 : 119-120), the various critics of the French village monographs used the data from the village studies while simultaneously criticising the method employed to collect the data.

The Marxist input was nevertheless to play a significant role in the post 'rural-urban' model, attempting to find some theoretical understanding of the post-war social changes in agriculture and the local rural economy throughout France. Marxist and neo-Marxist writers such as Gratton, Lambert, Gervais et al and Servolin all rejected both the focus on the individual farmers' psychology (of the 'études sociopsychologiques') and the 'autonomous' village agenda of Mendras and Jollivet (Gratton 1971 and 1972,

Lambert 1970, Gervais et al 1965, Servolin 1972, Mendras and Jollivet 1971). The broad contours of the argument was that social change in the French countryside was part of the historical processes in the development of Western agricultural and industrial capitalism. Thus any references to a change in values within the 'paysannerie' (such as the reported emergence of individualism and consumerism) was not to be seen as reflecting the change from one Type of society to another e.g., from traditional/rural society to a modern/urban society. Rather, this was to be seen simply as the social manifestation of a 'stage' in the development of capitalism as an economic system. This 'stage' was referred to as consumer capitalism (Lambert, 1970).

Moreover, the modernisation of agriculture and the farm was to be seen in terms of the restructuring of agricultural capitalism, with the vertical integration of farmers into the circuits of production and commercialisation of the agro-food industry. This itself was seen as a response to the needs of agricultural capitalism :

> "leading to the decomposition of the small peasantry into a strata of worker-farmers"
> (Jollivet 1974 : 236)

The capitalist mode of production became the focus - indeed the object - of this sort of reasoning. Attention was paid to the post-war expansion of the agro-food industry; the penetration of the farm sector by finance capital; and the replacement of variable capital (farm labour) by fixed capital investment in the form of machinery, assisted by the 1960-62 agricultural modernisation policy (Gervais et al 1965, Servolin 1972, Gratton 1971 & 1972, and Lambert 1970). In a general - though not identical - manner, the call by French scholars for a more holistic sociological approach found some resonance in Britain (Newby 1978) and elsewhere, in America (Buttel 1982). Much of the underlying intellectual influence arose from a re-reading of earlier Marxist classics such as the work of Lenin and Kautsky (Hussain and Tribe 1981 vols 1 and 2, and Benaji 1976).

A major concern to emerge from such intellectual 'consultations' was

the future of the 'family' (or, as often referred to, peasant) farm (8). A significant input came from work on the peasantry in the 'Peasant Studies' literature. Was the demise of the family farm under the advance of capitalism inevitable? Or, was its retention the most likely outcome under capitalist development? The guiding thread in the Marxist literature in France - and elsewhere - from the 1970's was organised around two fundamental questions :

1) If small-scale production units were inefficient, why does small-scale family farming continue?
2) Can family production relations co-exist alongside large-scale agricultural production under capitalism? (Goodman and Redclift. In Cox et al, 1986 : 21).

Discussions about the future of the family farm integrated into a quest for theories of development in agriculture raising questions about the future of capitalist development in agriculture and the role of the family farm. To enquire into rural society was, first and foremost a question of enquiring into the future of the 'paysannerie' within the capitalist mode of production. More precisely, what would be the evolving function of the 'paysannerie' with regard to the development of agricultural capitalism (Jollivet 1974 : 230).

The debate was expressed in Structural-Marxist systems-language. For Jollivet, the family farmer - or, more precisely, the petty commodity producer - had been conserved under capitalist development due to specific qualities inherent in agricultural production. The specific qualities are, according to Jollivet : the obstacle to a rational division of labour and the non-reproducibility of land. Such obstacles resist the transformation of the petty commodity producer by capitalist development (see also Buttel 1982: 37-8). It is this, according to Jollivet, that led some Marxists to suggest that the small-scale family farm would remain untransformed in terms of its relations of production within the farm, as a response to a functional requirement of capitalist development (Jollivet 1974: 237).

However, the continuation of the family farmer, or the petty commodity

producer in agricultural production was not, according to Jollivet, unconditional. The compatibility of this category of producers with the needs of capitalist development would be the deciding factor (Jollivet, 1974 : 230). Again, the French debate had its counterpart elsewhere. In general, classical Marxism assumed that capital accumulation, centralisation and competition - being the main laws of motion - would direct and shape the development of agriculture both on and off the farm. The assumption of classical Marxist theory was that a concentration of agrarian capital would be accompanied by proletarianisation, with the small-scale family producer being separated from ownership of the land to join the rural proletariat. The elimination of the small family farmer was of course a quasi natural law of economics for both classical Marxists and liberal economic theorists (Giner and Sevilla - Guzman 1980). Winter, on the other hand, points to the empirical 'resurgence' of the family farm in the post-war period. This, he argues, has been due to a reduction in the use of hired labour as a cost cutting exercise, and technological developments allowing for even small-scale intensification of production (Winter 1984).

However, Amin and Vergopoulous take up the empirical evidence of a widespread incidence of family farms, suggesting that contrary to a process of proletarianisation, the major trend of the twentieth century has been towards the persistence of the family farm. According to Amin and Vergopoulous, this has been due - a la Jolivet - to the obstacles to full captialist development (Amin and Vergopoulous, 1974). In this case, the obstacles are : the limited availability of land and diminishing returns. Servolin and later, Goodman and Redclift add the observation that inter family rivalry for limited land supplies also poses an obstacle for capitalist development, in that land prices are pushed above that of the market (Sevolin 1972, Goodman and Redclift 1985).

Private capital seeks, therefore, to exploit the farmer in the sphere of circulation. The desire of producers to remain in production obliges a constant modernisation of the productive forces. The result, it is argued, is the production of cheap food, made possible by the use of non-wage (family) labour. This is the process that Amin and Vergopoulous suggest is functional to capitalism in general. Cheap food is, as a result, provided

for the means to reproduce the next cycle of productive labour. Low income to farmers as producers is thus, according to Amin and Vergopoulous, itself functional to capitalist development.

Amin and Vergopoulous have met with criticism from Mouzelis (1979) for their over reliance on rigid systems - needs assumptions. In attempting to avoid a unilinear evolutionist position which assumed that the concentration of capital would entail proletarianisation for the family farmers, Amin and Vergopoulous took a different system - needs position; agricultural development within capitalism follows another unitary path engaging the retention of the family farmer. Mouzelis questions, moreover, whether the exploitation of agricultural producers in the sphere of exchange is in fact functional to capitalist development. Rising agricultural incomes would allow for the industrial expansion (due to higher income - related demand) that Amin and Vergopoulous claim depends on low agricultural (family labour) incomes (Mouzelis 1979 : 355). Indeed, Krasovec makes the point that the post-war economic growth in Japan was partly the direct result of the increased purchasing power in the countryside (Krasovec 1981). Similarly, in Norway, agricultural policy on agricultural income assistance has been designed specifically for this purpose (Almas 1984).

As a variation, Lenin (Nelson 1982) and Kautsky (Hussain and Tribe 1981, vols 1 and 2) suggest that rather than an ineluctable move towards proletarianisation, formal ownership of the means of production could be maintained, while economic necessity would oblige poorer farmers to seek off-farm additional income. This process of differentiation would lead to the appearance of 'worker peasants'. However, any sociological usefulness of this more cautionary prognosis as to the future of the family labour farm is undermined by the teleological assumptions regarding the eventual demise of the family labour farm. According to Kautsky, all things being equal, the family labour farm would disappear as a result of the desertion by the producers themselves, unable to compete with the income of industry and 'modern' agriculture (Hussain and Tribe, 1981, vols 1 and 2).

Mann and Dickinson and Goodman and Redclift seek to establish the lack (in the case of Mann and Dickinson) or only partial (in the case of Goodman

and Dickinson) penetration of the family labour farm by capitalist development. They identify the importance of organic nature as an obstacle to the capitalist development of agricultural production on the farm itself. This thereby allows for the continued existence of the family labour farm, or petty commodity producer (Mann and Dickinson 1978, Goodman and Redclift, 1985).

According to Mann and Dickinson, the absence of wage labour (proof they claim of a dearth of capitalist development) is the visible evidence of the continuation of 'petty commodity production'. Mann and Dickinson's use of language reveals the type of teleological assumptions in the Marxist evolutionist theories of social change and agricultural development. In the introduction to their paper, the authors refer to the 'reasons for the maintenance and persistence and the survival of the family farm' (my emphasis). This language reflects the assumption of classical Marxist theory that petty commodity production would only be a transitional stage in the development of capitalism. It is for this reason that the presence of a large number of family labour farms in Western Europe appears as a 'significant anomoly' (Mann and Dickinson 1978 : 466-7).

For Mann and Dickinson, the reason why capitalism 'appears to stop at the farmgate' is due to the lack of identity between production and labour time. This adversely affects the rate of profit, and thereby discourages capitalist development. Rejecting 'subjective factors' (the result of action on the part of the farmer and farming family) as being capable of explaining the continued existence of the family labour farm, they suggest that technological developments would overcome the problem of disparity between production and labour time and thereby allow for the development of capitalist social relations inside the farmgate, (Friedman 1986). This does not seem to hold up empirically. In France the expansion of the most technologically developed and highly mechanised form of farm production (chicken and pig breeding) has in fact, during the post-war period, been based primarily on the use of family labour. Although integrated vertically into the food industry, the unit of production has remained that of the family labour farm. (Duby et al 1976, b: 120-124). In other words, despite the technological developments, capitalist development has - in Mann and Dickinson's words - 'stop[ped] at the farmgate'.

There is a problem with Mann and Dickinson's insistence on the presence of wage labour as an indicator of capitalist development. By maintaining an orthodox Marxist position, focusing on the social relations on the farm, these authors are left open to the criticism indicated by Mooney :

> "Wisdom prevents the interpretation of a reduction in hired labour as an indicator of capitalist undevelopment. Yet if we seek capitalist development only in the form of hired labour that is the logical conclusion" (Mooney 1982 : 289)

More recent criticism from Mooney has highlighted the functionalist form of Mann and Dickinson's conceptualisation of social change and capitalist development in agriculture (Mooney 1987 : 287). Goodman and Redclift on the other hand argue that the family labour farm is merely a variety of incomplete subordination to capital of the rural labour process. It is thus inevitable - in their systems language - that the family labour farm will disappear (Goodman and Redclift 1985). In a teleological manner, therefore, Goodman and Redclift assert that given that all non-pure forms are by definition incomplete, then irrespective of any obstacles, or counter tendencies, agricultural development will inevitably follow a generally linear path through stages until the pure form manifests itself.

Friedman takes issue with Goodman and Redclift, pointing out that the family labour farm and simple commodity production appeared first in agriculture <u>after</u> capitalist production was already established. The evidence for this in France may be seen in the break up of large farms based on hired labour at the end of the nineteenth century, and the beginning of the twentieth century (Bozon 1961, Grantham 1975, Clément 1953 and Derruau 1949). These large hired labour intensive farms fared less well economically following the internationalisation of agricultural commodity markets than did the smaller family labour farms. This was due to the additional (wage) bills that the larger farms had to meet. Friedmann asserts that the family labour farm superceded capitalist production in agriculture as a result of the absence of a need for an average rate of

profit return, as well as, crucially, the introduction of technological developments. The latter allowed for example, a more productive use of family labour. This is akin to Chayanov's argument concerning the position of family farms whose existence is assisted by'the willingness of the family farm unit to forego profit, and even to accept a return on labour lower than the market wage' (Reinhardt & Bartlett, 1989 : 204).

In a sense this is what Gervais et al argue. Since, the eighteenth century fodder revolution in France the family labour farm has provided the flexibility, particularly in the use of intensive labour in production, 'that only members of the farming family are prepared to consent to'. Moreover, they observe that 'the multiplicity of tasks in agricultural production requires a suppleness in the organisation of work as well as a broad diversity of competence'. Historically, the family labour farm has been better equipped in this respect (Gervais et al 1965 : 22-26). In direct contrast with Mann and Dickinson, therefore, Friedmann and Gervais et al emphasise the subjective input on the part of the different members of the farming family, with regard to the successful social reproduction of the family labour farm. This position is critical of the classical approaches of Marx, Kautsky, Lenin (Hussain & Tribe, 1981 vols 1 & 2) and Weber (Reinhardt & Bartlett 1989). It keeps good company however with Chayanov who identified the underlying behavioural logic of small-scale family farming as being driven by the primacy of household consumption needs over profit maximisation (Reinhardt & Bartlett, 1989 : 204-5). Other writers have stressed not so much the inevitable demise or retention of the family labour farm - as a functional requirement of capitalism - but rather, they have addressed the question of <u>how</u> the family labour farm has been integrated into the wider economy.

(b) <u>The Family Farm and the Agro-Food Industry</u>

The main area of interest here has been the expansion of the agro-food transformation or processing industry, and the increased use of forward contracted production agreements between the farmer and the food industry. The development of vertical integration accelerated during the 1960's and was the focus for political and academic encouragement (Papi and Nunn 1969,

Poli 1969). The general argument was that vertical integration would be inevitable with anticipated future developments in agricultural production and commercialisation. Thus, writers such as Poli, Dubos and Darré and Bovet and Chabot along with EC and French State planners - urged the horizontal organisation of agricultural production via farmers' cooperatives. Producer groups were seen as the only form of farmers' organisation capable of facilitating what Poli saw as the 'last line of defence' for farmers (Poli 1969, Dubos and Darré 1964, Bovet and Chabot 1966).

A more critical approach focused on the specific form of this vertical integration into the agro-food industry. Davis, for example, refers to the formal maintenance of the farmer's ownership of the farm and land, while the farmer is integrated into a disadvantageous relationship with, the food industry. The relationship is seen as exploitative, based on piece wage payments, with the farmer considered as a 'propertied labourer'. The piece-wage is taken as one form in which capitalist development has occurred in agriculture (Davis 1980). The farmer is thus exploited, in the circuit of exchange, though Davis does not go as far as Amin and Vergopoulous in suggesting that this is functional to the requirements of urban industrial capitalism.

With this line of discussion, the status of the independent producer has come under scrutiny, given the control that the food industry exercises over production. In the case of pea production and Bird's Eye, for example:

> "The production of the crop is closely controlled by the food processing firms ...in order to ensure both quality and continuity of supply. The companies dictate to the individual farmers when to sow, when to spray, and when to harvest" (Newby 1979 : 286).

Davis' position implies capitalist development taking 'detours' in the circuits of exchange to avoid the obstacles at the point of production, as noted by Goodman and Redclift, and Servolin (see above). Thus, capitalist development has taken different forms in agriculture. This line of

reasoning suggests that it is via the control that the food industries have over the production and commercialisation of agricultural production that, 'capitalism has embarked on the path of a direct annexation of agriculture' (Lambert 1970 : 69).

Thus farmers have been integrated into production and commercialisation circuits with the food industry, while the spread of credit and finance capital to the family labour farm itself has ensured further integration of the family labour farm into the wider economy. The focus has shifted in this case from the functional requirements of capitalism and the need to maintain or eliminate the family labour farm, to consider the way(s) in which the latter has been integrated into the food industry's own structures. The question in this context is thus more to do with the independence of the farmer as producer.

In France, Evard et al (1976), argue that the post-war integration of farmers has rendered the farmer a simple 'ouvrier à domicile' (9). Lambert moreover, gives a graphic illustration of this point in the case of the small-scale hillside stock famers who :

> "earn, if all goes well, and it's not always the case, far from it just about what is necessary to maintain and reproduce their labour power ... they are ... home-based workers, and despite secondary differences, their situation is closely related to that of the proletariat" (Lambert 1970 : 70).

This statement is echoed in earlier work by an agricultural economist, who, regarding the system of contractual integration, wrote :

> "This trend is likely to lead both to a reduction in the numbers employed in agriculture and a decline in the managerial role of those farmers remaining.. leaving them with caretaker functions". (Metcalf 1969 : 104. My emphasis)

The idea of the independent farmer as producer is rejected by Evard et al, Vogeler and Banaji (Evard et al 1976, Vogeler 1982, Banaji 1976). They do

so in view of the degree of control exercised by the food industries. Evard et al take the specific case of the dairy farmer and the integration of the latter into the dairy industry where vertical integration is the 'only mode of valorising capital in the agricultural sector', while Vogeler suggests the formal ownership of the means of production is merely a formal state of independence. These writers argue that the 'atypical' position of the family farmer in capitalist society - as both owner of the means of production and provider of labour power - is reduced such that the significance of the former is subordinated to the latter. This is reminiscent of Bernstein's idea of 'wage labour equivalents'. Agricultural producers are neither totally independent as producers, nor totally subsumed by capital (Bernstein 1979 : 421-424).

Goodman and Redclift point out that the question of concealed 'wage equivalents' is not subject to any unanimity in the literature (Goodman and Redclift 1981: 98-9). On the other hand, there appears to be more agreement over the significance of the integration of farmers into wider circuits of capital (ibid : 94). Once the consumption of commodities becomes a necessity for the social reproduction of the simple commodity producer (Bernstein 1979 : 63), then the relative lack of control over "the technical process ... who he (the producer) sells his product to, or the system of marketing" (Petit 1982 : 334-5) becomes of great significance.

The relative lack of control over the production and commercialisation of agricultural commodities is seen as essentially reducible to the specific relationship between the farmer and the food industry. While it may be true to an extent that farmers' producer groups or cooperatives may be able to procure a better deal with food processing industries (Newby et al 1978 : 74-5), the general tenor of the debate suggests a relationship that favours the food industry. The reason for this is that there is a tendency towards monopolisation of the markets by large private food companies which leaves the farmers in a weak market position as to whom they should sell their produce. It is this sort of argument that is put forward to explain the disparity between the evolution of farmers' incomes and the prices paid to the industrial wing of agricultural production (see Chapter Two).

For Williams (1980), farmers' cooperatives have been ineffective against the processes of centralisation and concentration in both the production and the commercialisation of agricultural commodities. This is due, according to Lambert, to the fact that farmers' cooperatives have to compete with the private food companies (Lambert 1970). The result has been a rationalisation of the food industry at all levels in the manner anticipated by Kautsky (Banaji 1976 : 44-45).

Three issues have been linked in an attempt to explain both the continued presence of the family labour farm, and the question of its integration into the post-war economic restructuring of agriculture. The three issues are : (i) the current status and the future of the family labour farm; (ii) the form of integration of the family labour farm into the agro-food industry; and (iii) the role of the State in regard to (i) and (ii), and agricultural development in general. Having already dealt with (i) and (ii), we may now turn to the idea that the increasing role of the State has assisted the post-war integration of the family labour farm into the wider economy.

(c) The Family Farm and the State

Although Kautsky had asserted that the family labour farm would - all things being equal - dissolve itself in the face of superior productivity and incomes of 'large-scale, capital intensive modern' farms, he also argued that the State could play a decisive role in preventing this dissolution (Banaji 1976: 30-34). In France, as elsewhere in Western societies, the State has indeed occupied a prominent place in terms of articulating agricultural policy post war (Newby 1978). In France (see Servolin 1972, Gratton 1971 & 1972, Boisseau 1979 and Duby et al 1976, b), as in Norway (Almas 1984), it is argued that the principal role of the State has been to assume the management of overproduction problems in agriculture. This has been seen as part of both the post-war restructuring and rationalisation of the agricultural productive forces on the one hand, as well as a means to maintain income support for farmers on the other. Central to the restructuring of the agricultural productive forces thesis has been State-led encouragement of the vertical integration of farmers into the food transformation industry.

As Buttel (1980) notes, however, the extent to which one may suggest that the State has intervened in the agricultural sector specifically to ensure capital accumulation depends on the extent to which one is prepared to accord a coherent rationality to the State in regard to agricultural policy - or, in general terms - any policy. Cited in Buttel, Caldwell and Woolley extend a critique of functionalist Marxist writers; such as Gratton and Servolin; who tend precisely to gravitate around this assumed rationality in State policy (Gratton 1971 and 1972, Servolin 1972). Caldwell and Woolley argue as a general point :

> "... although the State is pushed to rationalise the economy it does so poorly ... with so many groups, and with no unambiguous criteria for choice in policy-making, the State adds to economic dislocation. In fact the State itself is divided into competing bureaucracies and institutions, each with an organisational interest. Policy making ends up to be an endless and aimless process of self-adaptation, which creates as many problems as it solves" (Calder and Woolley 1976, p:118. Quoted in Buttel 1980, p:50).

The issue as to the role of the State in assisting capital accumulation in agriculture turns on the identification of specific interests within agriculture which benefit from the State intervention.

Seen from Amin and Vergopoulous' position, State intervention and subsidies would be seen as a means to maintain the family labour farm since this social form is instrumental in providing cheap food, and therefore favours urban capitalist development. Given the argument that the food processing industry signifies the modern location of exploitation of the farmer (Davis, 1980 and Amin & Vergopoulous 1974), then State support for the farmer and/or the food processing industry would be interpreted as a form of intervention to promote the interest of the food processing industry. Thus in the French context, the entire 'Politique d'Orientation Agricole' (10) from 1960's onwards would be viewed from this angle. This was the position of earlier French Marxists (Bye and Mounier 1972, Lambert 1970 and Gratton 1971 and 1972).

Cox et al (1987) on the other hand argue that the corporatist bargain in Britain forged between the State and agriculture - in the form of price support or the purchase of surplus production - has been of mutual benefit to farmers and government alike. This has been for both political and economic reasons. More importantly, and as a criticism of the economism of Amin and Vergopoulous, this highlights the problem of reducing the analysis of State intervention to any one single interest within the agricultural sector. While it may be true that food processing industries, as purchasers of farm produce may seek to maintain low prices to farmers, industries which supply farm inputs would be more interested in an increased purchasing power on the part of farmers. This would itself suppose higher prices paid to farmers by the food processing industries. In short, the theoretical problem remains still in identifying a particular net beneficiary in the relationship between the farmer as producer and the food industry in general as a result of State intervention.

Although it appears that empirical evidence suggests that the food industry in general has benefitted more than the farmers in the last twenty five years (see Chapter Two) Archetti would argue that there is no theoretical, a priori reason why this should be so (Archetti 1978). The empirical argument might of course by that State subsidies to farmers as well as the purchase of surplus production provide an income support (direct and indirect) to farmers. This would thereby allow farmers sufficient income to purchase inputs for production while the monopolistic position of the large food processing companies allows the latter to exercise their own monopoly position to impose low prices to farmers. Thus, the argument would be that the State subsidies the low prices paid by the food processing industry to farmers in the exploitation of the latter. The problem with this explanation - taken to a theoretical explanatory level - is that it still faces the difficult issue of the 'rational State' as policy making agent, as discussed above.

Following Habermas, other Marxist arguments have attempted to see the role of the State in agricultural policy in terms of the conflict between supporting accumulation on the one hand, and assuring its own legitimation on the other. This has been dealt with in a general sense by O'Connor and

Offe, but, tends, according to Buttel to assume a functionalist, teleological character when used to explain the role of the State in agricultural policy (O'Connor 1973, Offe 1976 and Buttel 1980: 48-9). The consequences of State policy are invoked as their explanation. More modestly, Sinclair suggests that the State has a certain degree of autonomy and interdeterminedness, and that what is required is research into specific case studies. Emphasis, according to Sinclair should be placed on the processes and consequences of specific policy determination as opposed to post hoc presumptions as to the functional requisites of State policy (Sinclair 1980).

Recent evidence from Portugal provides an interesting example of the limitations to State determinist models, and highlights the extent to which State rational-technico-economic policies and models have been frustrated by farmers' own informal systems of organisation. Despite attempts by the Portuguese State to implement an agricultural modernisation programme, the State has appeared incapable of controlling 'peasant' decision making. Indeed, despite a general increase in the post-war influence of the State in planning in Portugal, the 'peasant' appears to have extended its own autonomy in decision making via the deployment of informal strategies. The 'peasant' has not become integrated into agri-business, nor has it been transformed into 'entrepreneurs modernisés' (Cabral 1986 : 6). Rather, family strategies, using multiple income sources, and remittances from other members of the household working elsewhere, together with piece work carried out by members of the household for a decentralised rural industry, have been combined to provide a flexible strategy for the farming family. It is this flexibility that has provided the material means for the relative autonomy of the 'peasant' in Portugal. If therefore one is cautious with regard to functionalist Marxist models of the State in agriculture, and reluctant to accept the determinist model of the rational State in policy terms, how might one usefully understand the role of the State in post-war agricultural policy?

Perhaps one of the most useful approaches is discussed by Cox et al. Following Newby (Newby 1982) Cox et al understand the State as integrated into a set of dynamic and cyclical processes, as opposed to following any

unilinear path. Following Newby's model of the State in agricultural policy, Cox et al point out that there are a number of organised or 'institutionalised' interest groups which emerge from the social structure of agriculture, forming part of a number of influences on the State and policy formation. Changing social relations are brought about by the differential impact that policy has on the conditions of production of the different groups of food producers. Thus :

> "The precise balance between agriculture's and the State's determination of policy outcomes is an empirical question and can best be understood through the analysis of the survival strategies of producers. These [survival strategies] form the analytical link between causes of changing structures, the nature of State intervention in organising agricultural production, and the changing class structure of the rural sector. These ideas are predicted on a particular non-instrumentalist view of the State. The State is not seen as serving a particular class nor as a unity in itself" (Cox et al 1987:7) (My emphasis)

Notwithstanding the above criticisms of the determinist and funtionalist posture of much of the Marxist literature, it has engendered much critical research into agricultural and rural change, informing the development of sociological theory and debate on such issues. Consequently, research on agricultural and rural social change has been rescued from the 'spatially-determined' character of the structural-functionalist approach. It has also opened up a series of thematic and conceptual issues. One of the conceptual issues concerns basic definitional problems. The object of much of the Marxist debate - the family labour/peasant farm - has been the subject of ideological interest. In part the discussion concerning the family labour farm has been obfuscated by definitional problems and the debate as to the future of the family labour farm, for example, has been affected by a lack of clarity.

Although Ghorayshi accepts some general agreement over the importance of the distinction between a 'capitalist' farm and a 'family' farm, there is no unanimity as to what constitutes a capitalist farm (Ghorayshi 1986 : 146). Conceptual consideration of what is meant by a family farm is thereby

hampered. Ghorayshi indicates at least three possible definitions of a capitalist farm. Firstly, the definition used by Faure in the French context (Faure 1978 : 67) and by Goodman and Redclift (Goodman and Redclift 1986). Here a capitalist farm is a farm which employs any hired labour. Secondly, a capitalist farm might be a farm that employs one person full-time over the year. Thirdly, a capitalist farm may be understood as a farm on which the amount of hired labour input exceeds that of family labour. Clearly, depending on the definition, data supporting the widespread distribution of family labour farms as opposed to capitalist farm enterprises or vice-versa will be affected.

The most common definition of a family farm refers to the level of family labour input. Thus, Friedmann understands a 'family farm' by referring to the concept of 'simple commodity production unit'. This applies to market-oriented producers, dependent on family labour (Friedmann 1978, 1980 and 1986). The main difference between a capitalist farm and a family labour farm lies in the fact that the latter organises the relations of production on principles of kinship and partriarchy. (Friedmann 1986 : 187).

Criticism has been directed at the construction of the dichotomy : family 'labour farm-capitalist farm'. The main thrust of this criticism suggests that the definitions of whether a farm is a family labour or capitalist farm have centred solely on the internal relations of production. The external relations in terms of the 'degree of subsumption of individual businesses' have not been examined (Marsden et al 1986 & 1987). Marsden claims that what is required is a shift in emphasis such that :

> "... the farm business ... be treated as a heterogeneous category of labour/capital relations within which the continuity of control exerted by the nuclear family is regularly threatened by the need for it to make new and more fundamental compromises with external capitals" (Marsden et al, 1987:34-5).

The focus thus shifts from the internal relations of production (the concern, for different reasons of Mann and Dickinson, Freidmann and Goodman

and Redclift) to the external relations between the farm as an enterprise and the various external formations of capital. This is Amin and Vergopoulous' focus without the economic determinism regarding the functional requirements of urban industrial capitalism.

(d) Ideology and the Family Farm

Other criticism, alongside the definitional problems concerning the family labour farm has highlighted an ideological discourse in policy making, as well as literary and academic writings. Vogeler for example is critical of what he sees as the 'mythological overtones' in the portrayal of the family labour farm as the dominant form of agricultural production unit. This he argues is due to the numerical preponderance of the family labour farm. He points out on the other hand that 40% of all private farmland in America belongs to non-farmers, while 35% of all farm sales are attributable to 5% of 'capitalist' farms (Vogeler 1982).

In France, the idealisation of the family labour farm has had a long history, lending support to much ideological debate. In the inter-war period this was typified by arguments seeking to re-establish the old rural social order of pre-Repubican France. Caziot argued that State support should be provided to support the family labour farm, arguing also for the breaking up of the larger farms (Caziot, 1919). The promotion of the family labour farm was to provide the material basis for the ideological resistence to liberal capitalism and socialism. The small 'independent' farmer would, it was reasoned, oppose large-scale capital interests and their pursuit of liberal capitalism. As property owners in their own right, family farmers would also resist socialist policy aims. For the 'rural' right, support of the family labour farm was aimed at the maintenance of the traditional land based social structures and hierarchy in the village, the basis of which was the widespread (small-scale) family labour farm.

For the French left, support came in terms of promoting the (small-scale) family labour farm as opposed to, monopoly forms of capital. Both left and right converged during the inter-war period, with their call for 'la terre a ceux qui la travaillent'. (11) This took particular

strength during the 1930's; a period when the family labour farm was seen as providing economic protection against the inter-war economic depression. There was in fact an increase in the population living from agriculture in seventeen departments in France during the 1920's and 1930's (Ariès 1948). This general climate (social, political and economic) offered Caziot the context to propose that the future of France lay with the family labour farm. (Caziot 1941). It was moreover the ideological dimension to the family labour farm that led Labat to discern that the 'exode féminin' (which started after the first world war in many areas of France) posed a threat not only to the family labour farm, but to France as a nation! (Labat 1919).

Again, the problem of definition is most clear in the context of the 'family labour farm ideology'. Many 'family labour farms' - as proclaimed by the likes of Caziot - in fact depended on seasonal labour. Moreover, many would-be 'family labour farms' had a permanent worker resident 'en famille' on the farm. Traditionally, farm workers lived in, being fed, lodged, and having their cleaning done for them (Darpoux 1946, Risler 1923). According to Risler, this was an effective way of ensuring a correspondence between the views of the farmer and farm worker regarding work, ensuring thereby a general deference to 'le patron'. Indeed, on the larger, wealthier farms, Risler points out that the butler or domestic was often seen as one of the family.

Bennett highlights both the definitional problem and the ideological implications of much of the concern with the family labour farm :

> "the family farmer ... is not only multi-talented; he is also multi-economic interested. He is manager, capitalist, and labourer and in the majority of cases he is his own landlord. The family farmer who operates the farm he owns, combines, management, capital and labour into a single entity. If these four economic interests are normally antagonistic, to wrap them all up in a single unit is an ingenious device ... without exaggeration, it minimizes class conflict within agriculture, and this is a reason rural people have long been viewed as a seat of stability" (quoting Breiminger 1956 :71; in Bennett 1982 :113)

The question of ideology, the family labour farm and class conflict became manifest in the French Structural-Marxist work of the early 1970's. Jollivet, for example discusses the tendency for 'la paysannerie' to seek an alliance with 'la bourgeoisie'. According to Jollivet, this tendency is ideologically powerful, since it masks what for Jollivet is the reality of the situation of 'le paysan'. That is, as a peasant-worker Jollivet argued the 'paysan' should form an alliance with the urban industrial and rural working class (Jollivet 1974: 246). However, the explanation for the chosen alliance, according to Vogeler, may lie in the relationship that the farmer has with land as property on the one hand :

> "variation in land-based power distinguishes family farmers from the true rural proletariat" (Vogeler 1982 : 289).

and the relationship between the requirements internal to the family labour farm (personal consumption) and external to the farm (productive consumption) on the other (Friedmann 1978 : 555). The sum of these two factors is the status of a producer who is both owner of the means of production - to which he is attached for social, cultural and economic reasons - and operator as seller of products in a market economy.

Goodman and Redclift are critical of what they see as the ideological positioning of the family labour farm which they argue has laid claims to non-capitalist identity and thereby been able to make demands on State resources (Goodman and Redclift 1985). However, the claim to non-capitalist identity is not, according to Friedmann, simply a false, self-interested system of ideas (Friedmann 1986 : 191). There is, as Vogeler implies a material basis for the appearance of a non-capitalist form. This is the basis at the heart of what Winter refers to as the 'contradictory' position of the family labour farm in the class structure (Winter 1984: 107). As property owners, hiring occasional labour, investing in machinery, producing and selling goods, the farmer appears to behave in a manner consonant with the social category, loosely termed, 'capitalist'. In relation to the agro-food industry - and in the 'spirit of the small versus big enterprise populist imagery - appeal is made to the farmer's status as the exploited agent'. This is reinforced by the fact that unlike the big financial

institutions such as ICI which buy land as a pure form of investment (Newby et al 1978: 78-9), the farmer works the land himself (Friedmann 1986). The material basis therefore resides in the fact that the simple commodity producer and production unit (family labour farm and farmer) embodies :

> "the contradictory interests of the two predominant classes of capitalism" (Friedmann 1986 : 188).

Friedmann argues that the family labour farm exists sociologically in an unambiguous relationship which places the farmer between patriarchal property and labour markets. Thus :

> "On the one hand, use of family labour and inter-generational continuity are both threatened by pulls from the outside. All family members are potentially wage workers. The 'opportunity wage' stands as a basis for explicit or implicit comparison by members of farm families. On the other hand, non-capitalist interests - dread of proletarianisation, commitment to a 'way of life' lead to survival strategies, nonsensical from a capitalist point of view; they continue with loss-making activities beyond the logic of capitalist profit accounting; they go further and subsidise unprofitable enterprises through wages earned from outside" (op cit. My emphasis).

Between Structure and Agency : The Use of Strategies

The reluctance to leave the farm re-emphasises the importance of the subjective position of farmers and the farming family. This is a point dismissed by systems-language Marxists such as Mann and Dickinson (Mann and Dickinson 1978). The reluctance to leave the farm is echoed elsewhere by Laite. Laite stresses the symbolic significance of the subjective and ideological aspects affecting members of a farming family. The moral weight often constrained individuals to stay on the farm. (Laite 1981). Mendras suggests that, in a moral and puritannical manner, the relative poverty of

many farmers and the hard work involved was part and parcel of an appeal to stay on the farm : 'être courageux'; to suffer the work and harsh conditions, for one's independence" (Mendras 1970 : 163-5). Nalson reasons that the reluctance to leave the farm in part led to the use of part-time farming by the farmer, or off-farm work by other members of the farming family household as a strategy to remain in farming (Nalson 1968: 49-50). The recognition of the subjective definition releases from the literature the idea of strategies as being constructed, defined, developed and deployed by the farmer and/or members of the farming family. In a sense this ties in with the observation by Greenwood, Deblos and - in a more general sense - Cohen (Greenwood 1976, Delbos 1982, Cohen 1982 and 1986) as to the importance of the definition of the situation from the actor's point of view.

The idea of "strategies" devised and used by farmers and farming families has become a specific research theme in the 1980's. While Greenwood and Delbos described strategies which led to farmers leaving agriculture in order to preserve a cultural identity. (Greenwood 1976, Delbos 1982), the idea of strategies is used to emphasise the different ways farmers devise and use means to remain in farming. This approach to the use of strategies by farmers acknowledges the farmer as an actor as opposed to regarding them simply as an abstract category of political economy. There is, however, also a recognition that farmers are confronted by constraints (such as access to land, availability of labour, and the increasing pressure to commercialise agricultural production) which must be negotiated and resolved if they are to remain active in farming. The range of solutions effected, including the incorporation of off-farm income, determine under what conditions they remain in farming.

Goodman and Redclift distinguish between two broad types of strategies, Firstly, survival strategies which apply to 'marginal' farmers. Secondly, strategies that go beyond survival, often operating as a means to effect farm expansion or diversification of investments into other farm or non-farm income generating activities. Such strategies lead to an increase in the global economic project of the farmer, while the former type of strategy would seek to ensure a continued farming activity tout court as an end

in itself (Goodman and Redclift 1986 : 218-227). The idea of strategies leads us to consider more broadly, the problem of choice and constraint. Not only is this apparent at the level of the individual actors (the farmers and members of the farming family). This also emerges in the context of local and national decision making, policy choice and policy implementation. Clearly this is of improtance when considering social and agricultural change and rural development, since such issues affect the choice and constraint at the level of individual farmers and members of the farming family.

Much of the sociological and anthropological research on farming and the farming family, as discussed above, has sought (in different ways and from different perspectives) to address the problems posed by post-war socio-cultural and economic changes within agriculture and the rural sector. However, 'homo economicus' often appeared explicitly or implicitly, and remained in any event largely unquestioned. The structural-functionalism of the post-war village studies was succeeded by structural Marxist accounts from the late 1960's and early 1970's through to the 1980's. Throughout, the underlying theoretical problem to emerge from the post-war literature, has been that of structure and agency. Where this is considered, it appears often within a unidirectional cause-effect relationship, with economic change at the macro level determining responses by the farmer. There have, of course been some notable exceptions, (Mendras and Jollivet 1971, Bucher 1980, Greenwood 1976 and Delbos 1982). These latter studies focused on local-based relationships and value systems that played a pivotal role in shaping and defining economic activities. The relationship between the social and economic and the local and national contexts remains at the heart of any consideration of rural and agricultural development. This is true both with regard to the policy framework (i.e. how does a given policy effect a given response?) and from the point of view of the academic researcher (i.e. how best is one to conceptualise changes in agricultural and rural development?).

A consideration of the non-economic factors that influence economic activities is essential to understand the social context in which the farmer and farming family oeprate in the first instance. Examining the non-economic

criteria by which decisions are arrived at, allows an analysis of how people choose to act as participating, active agents. This distances any study from the simple reading off of actions from imposing macro economic forces. This position also allows an appreciation of the manner in which non-economic factors in reality do not simply surround economic activity as additional factors; they run through and assist in the definition of the contours of economic activity; they serve to define, construct and enact selected economic activity. An example of this is the decision of farmers to use off-farm employment strategies in order to maintain a loss-making farm (Nalson 1968). The emphasis on selection is an attempt to underline the import of the purposeful human agent for whom economic activity is fundamentally a question of moral decisions. This concerns decisions over different kinds of alternative actions, not simply the comparing of different economic costs of actions. Choices and actions are influenced by socio-cultural processes, such as those embedded in local status systems.

The theory of industrial society anticipated a decline in the importance of ascribed status and the importance of personal connaissances : individual merit alone would prevail. It assumed that locally-defined and community-based social, economic, political and cultural relationships and identities would decline in importance. National, homogeneous cultural identity and status systems would predominate in the general restructuring of modern industrial society. A restructuring, and a homogeneity, underpinned by the drive towards an all-integrating national market economy. In France, this 'prise de position' informed many structural-functionalist accounts of post-war socio-economic change, and was not challenged openly until the early 1970's (Mendras and Jollivet, 1971). The importance of local identity emerged again briefly in the work of structural-Marxists but was quickly dismissed in the haste to establish the mode of production framework (Jollivet, 1974). A few researchers continued to emphasise the importance of local socio-cultural influences on economic activity (see, for example, Greenwood, 1976; Bucher, 1980; Delbos, 1982). In general, however, throughout the 1970's accounts of economic restructing were concentrated at international and national levels of analysis, couched in a priori abstract as system-theorising predominated. The importance of local socio-cultural relationships and identities were defined out by a classificatory system based on abstract categories of political economy.

Social scientific, and specifically sociological, interest in Western European agricultural change and rural development has developed rapidly since the mid-1970's. The "new political economy of agriculture", as encapsulated and exemplified in such works as Buttel and Newby (1980), led to a reconceptualisation of agriculture and rural social structures within industrial capitalist societies. The central issues, around which later theoretical and empirical works have ranged, were very clearly set out.

> "the structure of agriculture in advanced capitalism, state agricultural policy, agricultural labour, regional inequality and agricultural ecology." (ibid : 15).

In line with these developments, Friedland (1984) outlined a framework for the study of agricultural production as a system within which technical and manufacturing inputs are incorporated into a labour process whereby commodities are produced, processed and marketed in distinctive industrial structures. Long and Van Der Ploeg (1988), drawing on their experience in developing countries, have pursued a broadly similar line but with less of a strictly political economy emphasis. Their work seeks to link agrarian transitions and development policies to household livelihood strategies, rural enterprises and agricultural production and knowledge systems. Marsden (1989) has developed the focus on commoditisation processes, seeing within it great potential for linking state policies to the multi-dimensionality of agricultural and rural change, as well as for developing methods of incorporating the consumption sphere into comparative analyses.

The theoretical frameworks and debates that currently characterise this field of study are diverse and wide-ranging (see, for example, Hoggart and Buller, 1988; Lowe and Bodiguel, 1990). On the one hand, there is a concern to develop a broader and more comprehensive political framework that will be widely accepted (Buttel and Goodman, 1989: 86). On the other hand, there is an explicit concern to avoid the sectarianism, introspection and reductionism that characterised political economy frameworks in the 1970's and early 1980's (Kenney, et al, 1989: 146; Marsden, 1989: 316; Crow, Marsden and Winter, 1990: 257). Marsden et al provide a good example of this concern (Marsden et al 1987).

These theoretical developments underly a great deal of contemporary research on national and international food and agricultural regimes (Krasner, 1986), the impact of agricultural science and technology on agriculture (Goodman, Sori and Wilkinson, 1987), and on the CAP and international agricultural trade policies (Moyer and Josling, 1990). In Britain, they have informed research on commercialised farming and farm business structures (Winter, 1984; Gasson, et al, 1988), family farming (Crow, 1987), part-time farming (Gasson, 1988), and the goals and values of farmers (Halliday, 1989), to name but a few.

Over the last decade research on Western European agriculture and rural development has consistently sought to locate itself within the mainstream of contemporary social scientific analyses of advanced capitalism (Buttel and Goodman, 1989: 86). In the process, class, labour markets, gender relations, environmental issues and tourism have been added to the existing list of research topics. Three aspects of future research, identified in the 1970's but largely ignored until recently, have emerged as important for the further development of this field of study. First, the historical and contemporary linkages between agricultural and rural socio-cultural structures require more specific attention (ibid : 88; Pontratz, 1990: 5). Second the way farmers and households manage their particular life-worlds through strategies and projects merits special attention (Long and Van Der Ploeg, 1988: 38). Third, there is a need to develop research on agriculture and rural development in the context of particular types of local and regional socio-economic and political structures (ibid: 37; Long, 1977: 191; Crow, Marsden and Winter, 1990: 258). Underpinning the importance attached to these three aspects are two fundamental concerns that research on agriculture and rural development has increasingly come to share with researchers in most other fields of contemporary social science: (a) the status of "economic" structures and processes in analysing social, cultural and political developments, and (b) the issue of structure and agency.

The precise definition and status of economic structures and processes in analysing social, cultural and political developments has been debated for many years. Recently, a particularly strong case has been made for

reconceptualising economic activities and relationships as deeply embedded in social and cultural structures and relationships (Roberts, Finnegan and Gallie, 1985). The theoretical and methodological implications of such a reconceptualisation have yet to emerge, but its relevance for empirical research cannot be denied. It reminds researchers that social and cultural structures and relationships, either dispersed throughout society and communities or concentrated in households and kin, are part-and-parcel of so-called "economic" activities and relationships. Moreover, activities and relationships which may appear to be organised for "economic" purposes may, in fact, be primarily organised to provide or maintain a "way of life" (ibid: 7) or to remain in a given locale (Delbos, 1979: 1982). Researchers in the field of agricultural change and rural development have been consistently critical of the use made of narrowly circumscribed economic assumptions, frameworks and formal models (Cox, et al, 1986). The move towards a political economy framework was, in part, a response to these criticisms (Newby, 1982). While this move allowed for a more sophisticated and comprehensive approach to agricultural change and rural development, it has brought with it several other issues and problems (see, Crow, Marsden and Winter, 1990) and highlighted the need for more research on the three aspects outlined in the preceeding paragraph.

The issue of structure and agency centres on the relationship between individuals and social, economic, political and cultural structures. The issue revolves around the problem of how structures determine what individuals do, how structures are created, and what are the limits on individuals to act independently of structural constraints (Abercrombie, Hill and Turner, 1984: 17). Much of sociological theory in the 1970's was dominated by a debate between approaches which attributed social action and human agency to the workings of structures and approaches which attributed the nature of structures to the workings of social action and human agency (Giddens, 1976). The 1980's have witnessed consistent attempts to find a compromise between these two extremes. Despite the insightful work of such as Giddens (1984) and Archer (1988), the problem of establishing a comprehensive theoretical framework, within which structure and agency can be adequately related, remains and reverberates throughout contemporary social research (Fielding, 1988; Held and Thompson, 1989). The issue of

structure and agency is quite explicitly recognised in contemporary research on agricultural change and rural development, and there have been heated debates as to how it may be resolved (see, Mooney, 1987; Mann and Dickinson, 1987). There is widespread recognition that there is, "a pressing need to resolve the structure-agency dilemma on grounds that neither lapse into idealism nor ignore the subjectivity of actors" (Buttel and Goodman, 1989: 90). Hence, the importance attached to the need for more research on the links between agricultural and rural socio-cultural structures, on farmers and household strategies, and on the links between local, regional and national processes.

Given the importance attached to this range of issues, it is rather surprising that research on agricultural and rural development has not paid more attention to the anthropological and sociological work on kinship structures and relationships. Much of this work deals quite directly with the way economic activities and relationships are embedded in social and cultural activities, and with family and household strategies. Early sociological and anthropological accounts of agricultural and rural change acknowledged the importance of such work(de Farcy, 1950; Rees, 1951; Clement, 1953, Friedmann, 1953; Frankenberg, 1966; Arensberg and Kimball, 1968). Later researchers, particularly French Marxists, read the study of kinship structure against the structural needs of capitalism as an economic system (Dion-Salitot, 1971; 1977; Coulomb, 1973). Here kinship was defined in terms of strict economic needs in response to macro-economic changes. Leach (1969) accorded priority to economic concerns in his approach to kinship, arguing that economic constraints are more important than moral constraints when considering kin and kinship obligations.

> "Kin groups do not exist as things in themselves without regard to the rights and interests which centre on them". (ibid: 65)
>
> "I want to insist that kinship systems have no 'reality' at all in relation to land and property. What the social anthropologist calls kinship structure is just another way of talking about property relations." (ibid: 305)

While the views of Dion-Salitot and Leach highlight the importance of land and property in any analysis of family and kinship relationships, their position today appears overly economistic and deterministic. Can family and kinship relations be defined solely in terms of land and property? Are not land and property simply part of a range of resources utilised by families and kin groups to develop existing or new strategies to meet the changing conditions of everyday life?

In contrast to Leach, and more in line with Bordieu (1962; 1976), Fortes (1969) examined the way property and economic activities were organised around kinship and a reflection of the moral obligations entailed in kinship. In general terms, Fortes was more interested in why it is that kinship legitimises property and inheritance, as opposed to other principles of incorporation (ibid: 222-223). For Geertz (1979), economic activity is culturally defined. The bazaar economy in Sefrou was grounded in traditional economic practices structured on local culture, kinship and 'amitié', which provided the foundations for the organisation of activities designed to procure and provide goods and services. These themes and issues can be found in more recent work on kinship, discussed in the context of symbolic and cultural analysis (Strathern, 1981; Cohen, 1982; 1986). More recently still, specific attention has been directed towards the analysis of kinship as a resource; as a source of assistance, generating obligation (though not necessarily specific obligations) among the members of kinship networks (Finch, 1989). Family and kinship relationships are often based on "sharing without reckoning" (Roberts, Finnegan and Gallie, 1985: 8), such that the market economic value of exchanges are not always the most significant factor taken into consideration.

All of this literature reinforces the point that family and kinship relations cannot be reduced to simplistic economic rationalisation, and that the analysis of family and kinship relations provides a sophisticated understanding of economic activities and responses to economic change. The relevance of such work for research on agricultural change and rural development becomes very clearly seen in the context of Friedmann's (1982) work. Friedmann sought to move beyond the deterministic and economistic model of structural-Marxism, while avoiding the focus on the farmer's

"rationality", typical of many micro-studies. Her analysis of agricultural development acknowledges the influence of the law of value on household production for the market and the importance of competition on the structural adjustments made on farms. However, she is unambiguous in asserting that there are limits to the adequacy of analyses couched in terms of economic determinism, particularly with regard to family farms.

> "The law of value stops at the boundaries of simple commodity production, whose internal relations are governed by other principles - general variations of the gender division of labour, kinship obligations, and partriarchy. (ibid : 12)

The anthropological and sociological literature on family and kinship relationships is also relevant for understanding the way labour is viewed, supplied and used on farms. This is an important issue in this research project, since it is concerned with a region where family and kinship networks are an important source of labour on farms. Fortes (1969) argued that kin support has little to do with legal or contractual duties, since it is based on 'amitié', underpinned by a sense of voluntarism, and that this is particularly clear in the case of kin-based labour supplies. Bloch (1973) and Allen (1982) have examined the importance of long-term reciprocity in the context of kin-based cooperation. For Bloch, kinship morality is enmeshed in systems of reward that take the form of inheritance and succession to land, balanced with the care of elderly parents. For Allen, property and its transmission are directly connected to the social and moral obligations generated within family and kin relations.

The importance of kinship and non-economic factors in analysing land and labour strategies on family farms has recently been stressed by Bouquet and de Haan (1987). They argue that the analysis of family farms cannot be read-off from a political economy analysis of farm structures, and that there is a need to look beyond the family unit to the kinship networks of which the family farm is but one part.

> "property, labour and distribution are culturally bound as well as structurally specific manifestations, an adequate explanation of which requires us to draw upon a number of anthropological to the study of kinship." (ibid: 247)

It is against the background of the literature, topics and issues discussed in this chapter that this study examines post-war agricultural change and rural development in an upland area of the French Pyrénées. It charts the relationship between socio-economc and socio-cultural processes in the region as they bear on agriculture and the farming population. The study concentrates on the role of farmers' production, land and labour strategies and the role of kinship in these strategies.

Strategies are not once-and-for-all solutions to problems. Rather, they are the means by which individuals and groups manage or seek solutions to problems that are redefined and changed as a consequence of structural impositions and constraints. The study of strategies highlights rather than resolves the problem of structure and agency, since they involve an analysis of both constraint and choice. However, the study of strategies does enable researchers to illuminate the problem of structure and agency in methodological and empirical terms. The concept of strategies is employed as a heuristic device in this research project. Firstly, as a means to give direction to the collection of data from farmers and farming families. Secondly, as a means to focus on the problems experienced by farmers in the region and their responses to those problems. Thirdly, as a means to analyse the data on farming and agricultural change to the changing political economy of the region.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER ONE

1) Bodiguel, 1987.
2) See footnote 1), Chapter Two.
3) LDC's - Less developed countries.
4) This techno-economic determism was in fact widespread throughout much of the structural-functionalism of the village studies.
5) Literally the everyday life experience of individuals.
6) 'Paysans' denotes a way of life based more broadly on social and cultural values identified with 'traditional' patterns of socio-economic organisation in the village as a whole. Thus systems of reciprocity between individuals and groups within the village are emphasised. 'Agriculteur' came to be associated with the narrower definition of the farmer as a socio-economic category concerned solely with the farm unit as an economic unit. A 'paysan' was often at once part-farmer, part local artisan for example. An 'agriculteur' is seen as a specialised socio-economic category - a farmer purely and simply.
7) Translated as country bumpkin.
8) The term 'paysan' was used in part as a response to a widespread cultural norm in France which kept the denomination peasant, and part in response to structural-marxist debates on the evolution of capitalism through stages of development. The 'paysan' was associated with a pre-capitalist stage - the pre-capitalist mode of production. The interest therefore was concentrated on the role of this "anachronistic" socio-economic category (le paysan) within the capitalist mode of production.
9) Home-based out-worker.
10) This refers to the post-1960 ensemble of agricultural policies in France.
11) Literally, calling for policy to ensure that land was in the hand and control of those who worked the land.

CHAPTER TWO

Agricultural Policy and Post-War Change in French Agriculture

Agricultural change and rural development in 'La Cerdagne' must be seen in the context of national changes in agriculture and agricultural policies, including those stemming from the European Community. Post-war changes in the internal structure of French agriculture have been accompanied by socio-economic and demographic changes resulting in a steep post-war 'exode rural et agricole', variously interpreted as a 'Révolution Rurale' (Wright, 1964) or a 'Révolution Silencieuse' (Debatisse, 1963). The widespread modernisation of French agriculture from the early 1960's onwards and the decline of the rural population, and of the farming population in particular, took place against the background of the creation of the EC. The main thrust of both French and EC agricultural policy initiatives have been specifically directed towards agricultural modernisation programmes. Among the original and central aims of the EC contained in The First General Report on the Activities of the Community (1958), -point 88- states that the full integration of agriculture into the rest of the economy stands as the guiding policy initiative. Viard (1971) observes that alongside the setting up of the 'Meline Tarrif' (Golob, 1968) in 1892, the other major date in the modern history of French agriculture, not withstanding the relative importance of the 'Plan Monnet', was the establishment of the EC in 1957.

EC policies, and in particular the Common Agricultural Policy, assumed a special importance with regard to France's agricultural modernisation programme articulated in the 1960-1962 agricultural policy (Chardonnet, 1976; Rehfeldt, 1980). The eventual and successful implementation of this programme can be seen in the way France moved from being a net importer of agricultural goods in the 1960's to second place on the world market for the export of agricultural goods by the early 1980's (Rehfeldt, 1980: 171). The CAP had a significance beyond the modernisation of French agriculture. EC support for agricultural production and the commercialisation of agricultural commodities allowed elements of the French National budget to be released for developing the industrial sector in line with the then contemporaneous 'Imperatif Industriel' (Storélu, 1969).

While the EC and the CAP have played a pivotal role in the modernisation of French agriculture, arguments for the restructuring of agriculture have a longer history. Braibant (1941: 54), along with other agronomists, argued that the modernisation of French agriculture required direct state intervention, and that the general expansion of the French economy, assisted by the modernisation of agriculture, would be best served by the creation of a European common market for the export of French goods (Braibant, 1943: 67). Dumont (1946: 32) echoed the call for a full restructuring of French agriculture, including the "vertical integration" of agricultural production into the industrial wing of food production. These arguments deeply influenced France's later decision to enter the EC as a founder member and develop national agricultural policies which dovetailed into the broad structural development plans of the EC.

The post-war decline in rural and agricultural populations needs to be seen in the historical context of France's changing political economy from the nineteenth century onwards. It is from this period that France experienced a shift towards industrial-urban development. The previously dominant position of agriculture, at least in terms of persons deriving a living from agriculture, has increasingly yielded to industrial and urban development. Between the end of the eighteenth century and 1936, the proportion of persons living in rural areas (1) and living from agriculture decreased from 78% and 67% to 47% and 25% respectively. The proportion of the rural population deriving a living from agriculture (including farming families, farm labourers and their families) for the same period shows a decline from 87 to 53 (Toutain, 1963). While the decline in the proportion of the rural population living from agriculture indicates changes internal to the local rural economy, the French population was still located in areas defined as "rural" due largely to the continuing socio-economic importance of agriculture. It was not until the end of the inter-war period that the urban population in France exceeded that of the rural population.

declined from 41% of the total population in 1954 to less than 27% by 1982 (SCEES, 1984: 238). The agricultural population, as a proportion of the total population, fell from 25% in 1954 (Toutain, 1963) to 8.2% by 1982 (INSEE 1983). Between 1954 and 1987 the number of persons actively engaged in agriculture fell by 3.5 million; almost 70% of the total in 1954. In recent years the 'exode agricole' has slowed: in 1970 the average annual outflow of persons from agriculture stood at 150,000: between 1975 and 1982 this fell to 40,000. The proportion of the total rural population currently actively engaged in agriculture stands at 22%.

Alongside the general rural and agricultural exodus, the local economy of rural areas has experienced a degree of diversification. Since 1950 secondary and tertiary activities have expanded in many rural areas, largely independently of the evolution of agriculture (Bontron and Cabanis, 1988). Whereas between 1975 and 1982 1.5 million industrial jobs (19%) were lost in France as a whole, in rural areas there was an increase of 3% in such forms of employment. The main areas of rural-industrial gain have been the more remote areas where environmental and planning restrictions have been weaker and where there was a large supply of low-qualified labour (ibid). This labour supply has been engaged in assembly line work, producing electronic equipment and clothing. The main areas of net gain have been have been in Brittany and the 'Grand Sud-Ouest'. There has been a significant expansion of employment in the food industry in rural areas close to large concentrations of livestock farming, such as the West, Picardy and Dordogne.

The most notable expansion in rural employment has been in the tertiary sector post-1975. In 1984, of the 415 supermarkets created 34% were in rural communes or in small towns with populations under 5,000 (Bontron and Cabanis, 1988). Banks, health centres and tourist developments typify the recent diversification of the local economy in many rural areas. Between 1975 and 1982 the increase in non-agricultural employment in rural communes was 10% as opposed to 4% in urban communes. For Bontron and Cabanis "scale of enterprise" has been a major factor in the recent diversification of rural economies. Most recently developed rural economic activities are based on small-scale enterprises that have been less vulnerable to the post-1973 economic climate.

Urban and Rural Populations France and the U.K. 1851-1931

		Urban Population (%)	Rural Population (%)
United Kingdom	1861	62.3	37.7
	1891	72.0	28.0
	1911	78.1	21.9
	1929	79.7	20.3
France	1861	25.0	75.0
	1891	37.4	62.6
	1911	44.2	55.8
	1926	49.1	50.9
	1931	51.0	49.0

Adapted from Birnie, 1933: 381; Vaughan, et.al., 1980: 146

Between the middle of the nineteenth century and the end of the inter-war period, the structural composition of the agricultural population changed significantly. The use of hired labour declined as a proportion of the total population actively engaged in agricultural production, while family and kin came to provide an increasing proportion of the on-farm input.

Changing Composition of Agricultural Population 1862-1929

Total (in 000's)	1862	1882	1892	1929
Farmers	4388	4188	4192	3656
of which, not day workers*	3254	3461	3603	3656
of which landless day workers**	1134	727	689	-
All employees:	2965	2725	2369	2081
of which, labourers and domestics	2096	1972	1848	1153
of which dayworkers	869	753	621	928
Total	7353	6913	6561	5737

* Farmers, fullt-ime

** Some small landless tenant farmers were also dayworkers for part of the year. From 1929 this distinction disappears.

Agricultural Surveys 1862-1929 INSEE.

These trends continued in the post-war period. The rural population

The recent diversification of local rural economies is not without its problems. Bontron and Cabanis point to the top heavy age structure of most small-scale rural enterprises and the lack of young persons with appropriate skills to replace the present 'chefs d'enterprises'. With the retirement of the present generation of 'chefs d'enterprises', many small-scale enterprises are likely to disappear. Regarding the agricultural sector, the age structure poses a particularly acute problem. In 1982 35% of farmers were over 55 years of age and the rate of replacement (20-25,000 per year) is less than that of departure (35-40,000 per year). Behind the top heavy age structure of French farming lies the additional problem of succession. In 1985, 450,000 farms (over a third of the total) were without successors. The problem of succession is reflected in the high incidence of unmarried farmers without direct successors.

Proportion of Unmarried Farmers in France

% of Célibataire by age	On small farm	On medium farm	On large farm
40 - 44	26	15	10
45 - 49	28	13	9
50 - 54	24	12	9
55 - 60	20	12	7

INSEE 1986

In terms of the agricultural population, the post-war years have seen a continuation in the proportional decline in the use of hired labour.

Active Agricultural Population 1954-1987 (in 000's)

	Farmers	Family Labour	Salaries	Total
1954	1920	2064	1153	5137
1962	1677	1368	826	3871
1968	1395	1096	584	3075
1975	1147	504	376	2027
1982	985	482	269	1736
1987	917	467	223	1607

INSEE 1988

The proportionately greater decline in the use of hired labour has led to an increased incidence of the family labour farm, and the consequent close academic attention paid to the position of the family farm in post-war agricultural development. The following Table shows the average decline in the different social categories engaged in agricultural production at the level of the farm between 1955 and 1983.

Social Composition of Agricultural Population 1955-1983

	Agricultural Population Proportional Decrease 1955-1983			
	1955-1970	1970-1979	1979-1981	1981-1983
Farmers:	-2.4%	-2.5%	-2.6%	-2.9%
Spouse:		-4.0%	-1.8%	-3.6%
Other Family Labour:	-3.4%	-6.8%	-0.1%	-2.3%
All Family Labour	-2.9%	-3.9%	-1.9%	-3.0%
Permanent Salaries	-4.1%	-5.0%	-4.6%	-4.0%
Total Active Population:	-3.1%	-4.0%	-2.1%	-3.1%

SCEES, 1985: 26

While there is a high degree of variation throughout France regarding the use of hired agricultural labour - due to regional, seasonal and farm size factors - the general trend has been in the direction of reduced dependence on hired labour. The agricultural census of 1979/80 shows that 90.86% of all farms employed no permanent hired workers. Of the remaining 9.13% of all farms, 69.09% employed only one permanent worker with only 0.58% employing more than five permanent farm workers. Although seasonal hired labour is a widespread phenomenon in France, the last agricultural census shows that such labour constituted only 4.52% of total labour input (Recensement General Agricole, 1979/80). These trends follow a pattern established in the 1950's, and have been accompanied by widespread mechanisation of on-farm work processes. For example, the number of tractors, motorised cultivators and combine harvesters increased between 1950 and 1982 from 137,000, 33,000, and 5,000 to 1,493,300, 444,500 and 15,020 respectively (SCEES, 1965: 146 and 1984). There has been an increase in all types of on-farm machinery as all forms of agricultural work and production have become increasingly mechanised.

The reduction of variable capital, in the form of hired farm labour, may be seen in the light of a shift towards fixed capital investments, in the form of on-farm mechanisation. However, it is also important to see the reduction in hired labour and the mechanisation of farm work in the context of the post-war concentration of agricultural land. The latter has in many respects been linked to the 'exode agricole'. Land left by farmers departing from agriculture has in large part been incorporated into the land used by those remaining in farming. As the following Table shows, between 1929 and 1955 a large proportion of small farms (less than 10ha) disappeared while the number and proportion of farms over 50ha had increased by the agricultural census of 1979/80. This trend reflects a concentration of farm land on the larger farms. In France, post-war land concentration resulted in the average size of farms increasing from 14ha in 1955 to just over 25ha by 1980. INSEE SCEES, 1983: 238.

Distribution of Farms in France 1929-1979/80

Size of Farm (in hectares)	1929	%	1955	%	1970	%	1979	%
1.0	1017.7	25.8	173.0	7.5	127.4	8.0	119.7	9.5
1-1.99	1146.3	28.9	232.3	10.1	117.7	7.4	87.9	7.0
2-4.99			416.5	18.1	211.0	13.3	149.2	11.8
5-9.99	717.6	18.1	476.7	20.6	246.1	15.5	166.7	13.2
10-19.99	593.1	14.9	536.0	23.2	359.7	22.6	243.3	19.3
20-34.99	380.4	9.6	294.9	12.8	279.0	17.6	231.9	18.4
35-49.99			82.5	3.6	115.4	7.2	115.4	9.1
50-69.99	81.8	2.1	51.0	2.2	65.0	4.1	71.1	5.6
70-99.99			24.1	1.0	36.3	2.3	43.0	3.4
100+	32.5	0.8	20.0	0.9	30.0	1.9	34.5	2.7

SCEES, 1983: 429 and 1984: 430

Agricultural Policy and Agricultural Restructuring

Agricultural policy in France, as elsewhere in Western Europe, has sought to effect a structural modernisation of agriculture. The changes within the agricultural sector discussed above were central to the broad objectives of France's post-1960 modernisation programme: to increase the

levels of both production and productivity, and to restructure systems of commercialisation for the sale of agricultural commodities. These objectives dovetailed into the broader framework and goals of the EC.

The average annual increase in the volume of all agricultural production within the EC from the mid-1970's has been 2%. The net impact of this in the context of EC interventionist policies has been to generate a high level of self-sufficiency, a major concern of France's post-war agricultural policy. Within the EC as a whole, in many agricultural products, self-sufficiency is over 100%. For example, for 1985, butter supply was 147%, sugar stood at 146% and soft wheat reached 135% (Robson, 1985: 2). These high levels of self-sufficiency are due to increased absolute levels of production, the relatively low elasticity of demand for food, and the various support policies such as the intervention price system and the purchase of surpluses (Swann, 1984: 206-262). In France, the level of self-sufficiency in certain agricultural commodities has attained quite spectacular levels.

Self-Sufficiency in Key Agricultural Products 1956-1983

	Milk Concentrated Milk	Cheese	Butter	Whole Milk	Skimmed Milk Powder	Beef & Veal
1956-60	145	104	106	-	-	102
1968-69	186	109	119	169	183	109
1973	201	115	117	308	157	111
1983	253	116	131	652	135	113

Agricultural Report, 1985: 249-252

Increased levels of production have been accompanied by a tendency to restructure the form and methods of commercialisation for agricultural commodities. With regard to the research carried out in 'La Cerdagne', it is important to note that the proportion of all milk produced in France sold via farmer's cooperatives increased from 42% in 1974 to 52% in 1984 (EC, 1976; 1979; 1980; 1982; 1983; 1984). Moreover, at the industrial level of the agro-food sector there has been a concentration of both capital and labour. Thus, in 1984, out of a total of 1,166 private milk companies, the

four largest controlled 16.2% of all milk production in France, employing 70,000 workers out of a total of 607,000 and with a combined turnover of 75,568,000,000FF (INSEE, 1985: 99-107). Similarly, beef and veal production has been increasingly circulated through a series of socio-economic links from farmers' cooperatives to meat wholesalers and agro-food industries.

Proportion of National Beef and Veal Production Sold via Cooperatives and the Food Industry

	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Eight day Calves:	6.3	8.8	9.0	9.0	10.0	11.4	12.8	10.3	9.1	8.8	10.4
Six Month Old Calves:	28.0	37.0	44.0	50.0	52.0	54.0	54.8	53.2	53.7	56.8	61.5
Heifers:	6.3	6.6	8.8	10.7	13.0	15.5	14.5	13.2	12.7	12.9	14.0
Ex-Dairy Cattle:	5.4	6.4	6.8	7.5	9.5	10.1	10.6	11.2	13.1	13.1	14.5
Total:	8.4	10.4	13.1	14.7	16.8	18.5	19.1	18.6	19.5	20.2	22.0

FNCVB, 1984

In 1981, 74.5% of all beef sales were counted for by the four largest companies, out of a total of 2,474 (INSEE, 1985: 99). In general terms, the six sectors of agricultural production with an annual turnover in excess of 15,000,000,000FF produce two-thirds of the total income from the industrial transformation wing of the food industry. The milk sector alone takes up 25.2% of the total income of the food transformation industry; animals for slaughter 10.9%; livestock feedstuffs 10.1%; the production and fabrication of meat products 7%; sugar and sugar refining 6.7% and confectionary 5.5% (SCEES, 1983: 240).

One of the most significant policy-led changes in French agriculture has been the increased level of "intermediary investments" and the key role such investments have played in increasing agricultural productivity. The range of inputs subsumed under this rubric include fertilizers, pesticides, genetic-related research and development, and the full range of agricultural machinery. The annual average increase in intermediary consumption for on-farm production between 1959 and 1965 was 6.7% (SCEES, 1965: 156). In

relation to this study, it is important to note that the principal means of increasing productivity in cattle livestock and dairy farming was the introduction of artificial insemination. Between 1948 and 1964 the number of cows receiving artificial insemination increased from 135,000 to 6,531,000, an average annual increase of 5.67% (ibid: 102). Overall, the proportion of the total final production taken up by intermediary consumption increased from 23.67% in 1959, 26.75% in 1965, 44.3% in 1974 and 45.6% in 1984 (ibid: 156; EC, 1976 and 1986). In France, the combination of reductions in agricultural labour input and increased levels of production have been translated into higher levels of labour productivity.

From the 1960's onwards there have been mounting economic pressures on farmers to reduce the level of hired labour. The extension of farm workers' rights on pay and working conditions have been important factors. In 1968 French farm workers became entitled to the same minimum salary as other workers, while in 1974 a forty-hour working week with overtime rates was introduced (Duby, et.al., 1976:b 623). Further economic pressure resulted from the extension of Social Security and Health Insurance to farm workers. Between 1972 and 1982 this increased farming costs by 489.22%, whereas the total production of farms for the same period increased by 237.63% (INSEE, 1984: 442). Similarly, taking 1970 as base 100, agricultural wages rose from 89.2 to 159.0, while prices paid to farmers rose from 104 to 135.6 (EC, 1976: 158). More recently, taking 1980 as base 100, agricultural wages rose from 65.6 in 1979 to 148.8 in 1985, while prices paid to farmers rose from 68.9 to 141 for the same period (EC, 1986: 228). The net effect of all these changes has been to exert significant economic pressure on farmers to reduce their use of hired labour.

Policy-led structural changes in post-war French agriculture have led to a sharp decrease in the number of farms (650,000 lost between 1963 and 1984) and a sharp decrease in the agricultural population (from 5.13 million in 1954 to 1.6 million in 1987). The average production per person actively engaged in agriculture rose by 155% between 1963 and 1984 (BIMA, 1984: 29-30). Labour productivity has increased in livestock farming, e.g., while the total diary herd remained constant between 1965 and 1985. The average yield per cow increased by 40% (Robson, 1985: 1-2).

The EC and successive French governments have actively promoted the changes discussed here. Central to the concerns of both sets of policy-makers has been the encouragement of on-farm investments and, more recently, the use of accounting techniques as part of a general strategy to develop a cultural model of the 'entrepreneur agricole'. Farmers in France were to become 'chefs d'enterprises' (Rambaud, et.al., 1976). The development of the 'entrepreneur agricole' was part and parcel of the expansionist agricultural policy initiatives of the 1960's and early 1970's.

The Policy Framework

In France, major post-war agrarian restructuring policy initiatives were promulgated in the early 1960's. The central aims of the overall strategy were to increase the average farm size, reduce the number of farms (particularly small "marginal" farms), and lower the average age of farmers by encouraging older farmers to retire and leave their farms to the next generation. The latter was to be assisted by encouraging "newcomers", not from farming families, to enter farming. The guiding principle of the 1960's was to render the 'exploitation familiale' profitable. Legislative measures were drawn up in 1960 ('La Loi d'Orientation') and 1962 ('La Loi Complémentaire') and three State agencies were created: 'Fonds d'Action Sociale pour l'Aménagement des Structures Agricoles' (FASASA), 'Centre National pour L'Aménagement des Structures des Exploitations Agricole' (CNASEA), and 'Société d'Aménagement Foncier et d'Establissement Rural' (SAFER).

FASASA, created in 1962, was designed to concentrate on the social dimension of the agricultural population. Its principal aims were: (a) to provide supplementary pensions to retiring farmers to encourage more older farmers to leave farming; (b) to provide relocation allowances for farmers moving from over-populated agricultural regions to resettlement zones; (c) to provide loans and allowances for farmers giving up "non-viable" farms and settling on new farms, and for farmers remaining on "non-viable" farms to render them more profitable; (d) to provide financial assistance to improve living conditions on farms and to train farmers' sons remaining on the farm; and (e) to provide aid to farmers in poorer agricultural regions where their presence was judged necessary to the region.

CNASEA was created as a consequence of the 1966 Finance Bill and designed to implement the provisions of FASASA with a focus on the structure of French farms. A departmental network was set up, 'Organismes Départmentaux pour l'Aménagement des Structures Agricoles' (ODASEA). In addition to the aims of the FASASA, the CNASEA addressed itself to: (a) the promotion of the intensification of production methods and farm enlargement, with CNASEA providing grant facilities and credit facilities provided by the State bank primarily responsible for financing credit to farmers ('Crédit Agricole'); (b) the creation of a system for installing young farmers, 'Dotation d'Installation de Jeunes Agriculteurs' (DIJA), to assist farmers under 35 years of age to install themselves on farms in mountain areas with grants and low-credit facilities; and (c) a broad agricultural modernisation programme in response to EC policy requirements.

SAFER was created in 1960 to implement the agricultural modernisation programme. SAFER acquired agricultural land as and when it became available for sale in order to render it technically and economically "viable". Principally this entailed the regrouping of small 'parcelles' of land to produce larger areas of land amenable to the rational application of modern, mechanised farming techniques. Where necessary, work was undertaken to improve the quality of the soil and drainage. Thereafter the land was to be reallocated to farmers. SAFER was to assist in farm enlargement, and in pursuit of this aim it has had priority over available agricultural land on the open market ('le droit de préemption'). The main choice in reallocating land has been either to direct the land to already large farms, thereby contributing to land concentration, or to direct the land to smaller farms, thereby ameliorating local disparities between large and small farms (Ministry of Agriculture, 1974).

The general thrust of France's 1960's agricultural policy was to restructure farming by eliminating "marginal" farms and encouraging the consolidation of available agricultural land on the market (Chardonnet, 1976: 423-480). In Italy, Belgium and Holland, very similar policies were implemented (OECD, 1973a; 1973c; 1976). High level State planning has been typical of much West European agrarian restructuring since the 1960's. This

restructuring has been geared towards increasing levels of agricultural production and productivity; the elimination of "marginal" farmers; and the regrouping of remaining farm land, using special retirement schemes and credit to finance on-farm modernisation. The intention has been to capitalise agriculture at all levels of production and commercialisation while extending the role of finance capital in mechanising on-farm work processes. Such high levels of State planning and intervention in agriculture enjoyed a broad, though not unanimous, political acceptance. It was justified by reference to the deep concern expressed over the perceived instability and fragility of agricultural production if left to "pure market forces" (Newby, 1979: 57). In a very real sense, the post-war role of the State in agricultural planning was tied to the general desire for national planning resulting from the social, economic and political experiences of the inter-war period (Robertson, 1984: 3). In France, following the protectionist policy of the nineteenth century, and in the light of food shortages in WWI, support for State intervention in agricultural development gained ground (Braibant, 1941 and 1943; Dumont, 1946).

Other important initiatives, effected in the inter-war period, had a direct and indirect impact on agricultural development. The creation of the 'Services d'Améliorations Agricoles' was significant in the spread of electrification into rural areas (Duby et al, 1976: b 326-329). In 1920 the 'Société d'Intérêt Collectif Agricole' (SICA) was created to collect capital from outside the agricultural sector and to reorganise agricultural credit via the 'Crédit Agricole' (Braudel and Labrousse, 1980: 823-827). In 1930 Social Security and Health Insurance was extended to cover farm workers, albeit at a level inferior to that of farmers (ibid: 832). As for policy regarding agricultural production and commercialisation, there was a general liberalisation from the end of the nineteenth century protectionism. It was, however, in the post-war period that concern over agricultural development crystallised into a fully fledged State directed apparatus of support, intervention, investment and planning. The range and extent of French State intervention between 1972 and 1983 can be seen in the following Table.

State Budget for Agriculture 1972-1983

	1972 (M. francs)	%	1983 (M. francs)	%
1. Investments (total (of which: for the Caisses Nationale de Credit Special Loans	3129.5 1400.0	16.66 7.44	9953.9 3415.9	10.76 3.69)
2. For Price Support	4875.0	25.91	22284.4	24.10
3. Public Intervention	1370.0	7.28	6235.3	6.74
4. Social Protection	8364.9	44.45	47477.4	51.35
5. Administration	1075.5	5.71	6505.5	7.03
Total	18814.9	100	92456.5	100

Annuaire Statistique 1982:327; Annuaire Statistique 1983:436.

State support for Social Security and structural development has been particularly high since the 1960's, reflecting the aim to assist farmers to leave while effecting agrarian restructuring on the remaining farms. The budgetary share for Social security increased from 43.62% in 1972 to 51.35% in 1983. While State support for credit used in restructuring and on-farm modernisation decreased between 1972 and 1983, as a proportion of the overall agricultural budget, the credit actually used by farmers for on-farm modernisation programmes has continued to increase following a trend established in the 1950's. The total amount of credit accorded by the 'Caisse Nationale de Crédit Agricole' stood at 506.37 million FF in 1959, rising to 3,154.15 million FF in 1965 and 108,257.1 million FF in 1982 (SCEES, 1965, 152; 1984: 242). This sharp rise in the use of credit by farmers has been due to the pivotal role of the 'Crédit Agricole' in agricultural modernisation since the early 1960's. Although the 'Crédit Agricole' was established in the nineteenth century, it was not until the 1960's that it established itself as the dominant bank for the majority of farmers, becoming the main source of finance capital for agriculture, supplying credit to farmers. With support, albeit reduced in recent years, from the State in the form of subsidised loans ('prêt bonifiés'), the 'Crédit Agricole' assumed a virtual monopoly of the "farmers' market", which currently accounts for a third of the bank's clients. As early as 1977, the

'Crédit Agricole' accounted for 80% of farmers' credit, including land purchase loans (Gaudibert, 1977). State policies on agricultural modernisation established a direct link with farmers and farmers' cooperatives via the 'Crédit Agricole'. Provision for long-term credit, usually for land purchase or high-cost on-farm equipment such as milking and livestock sheds, has increased in line with the priorities of French and EC policy directives concerning on-farm modernisation. Of special relevance to this study is the report of the 'Confédération Nationale de la Mutualité, de la Coopération et de Crédit Agricole' (Perpignan, 1975), which stressed the need for a thorough modernisation of agriculture as laid down in the EC Directive 72/159 of 1972. High on the priorities discussed was the need to spread the use of mechanised milking and livestock sheds, particularly in upland areas where dairy and livestock farming was dominant. The proportion of credit for short and long-term loans is given in the following Table.

Outstanding Loans Accorded by the 'Crédit Agricole'

	1972		1982	
	(M.Francs)	%	(M.Francs)	%
Short Term Loans	21767	28.58	63572	17.71
*Medium/Long Term Loans	54372	71.42	295291	82.29
Total	76139	100.00	358863	100.00

* This included subsidies for land purchase and for construction of livestock and milking sheds.

Statistique Annuaire 1983: 436

While direct State support for credit has been reduced, the underlying trend is still towards increased use of credit for on-farm structural developments in keeping with EC farm modernisation policy.

EC legislation created the idea of a "Development Plan" for farmers, and successful applicants became eligible for special low-rate interest credit facilities. The EC's modernisation legislation (Directive 72/159/EEC of 1972) outlined the conditions to be fulfilled by farmers seeking a "Development Plan". Farmers were required to prove that they could provide

one or two "annual work units" (each unit refers to the full-time engagement of one person over one year) and procure from on-farm activity an income "comparable" with other non-agricultural incomes in the locale. Farmers were allowed to include income derived from off-farm activity up to a maximum of 20% of their total income. Assistance was limited to farmers for whom farming was their main occupation. In addition, farmers had to prove professional competence and, importantly, to agree to engage in using an accounting system on their farm. Not only did a farmer have to exercise the profession of farmer as a principal activity, he had to derive at least 50% of his total income from, and spend at least 50% of his active time on, the farm. The "Development Plan" is now known as the "Improvement of Material Plan", underpinning the EC's farm structural modernisation policy.

The EC's 1972 legislation provided the impetus and the framework for the earlier French agricultural legislation of 1960-1962. The essential financial and economic contexts were provided by the EC within which the French State sought to fulfil its policy aims. Article Two of the 'Loi d'Orientation' (1962) clearly states the guiding objective of the 1960-1962 policy:

> "promote and prioritise a family based farming structure susceptible to the best modern techniques of production, and to permit the full employment of labour and capital on the farm." (Cited, Chardonnet, 1976: 427)

French agricultural policy of the 1960's and 1970's has not been without its critics. With reference to the 1960-1962 French policy and the EC's 1972 farm modernisation policy, Cloarec (1978) argues that the main aim (at a macro-economic policy level) has been simply to maintain and improve the economic competitiveness of French agriculture in terms of its export value and its contribution to the GNP. Cloarec notes the ideological dimension inherent in the 1960 legislation, arguing that successive French governments, in concert with the EC, have sought "the ideal model farm" based on the use of family labour. This "ideal model farm" was to provide the most efficient form of production precisely to meet the macro-economic requirements of the GNP. While the 1960-1962 and 1972 policies rested on

structural development and market intervention, Cloarec points out that prices paid to farmers rose more slowly than prices paid by farmers for goods necessary for on-farm production. Although agricultural policies led to an increase in the share of the total value added by the agricultural sector, much of this has been taken up by social policy determinants rather than strictly economically determined prerogatives. This has, in fact, been central to French agricultural policy since 1960: to restructure agriculture in order to provide a more "efficient" economic climate for remaining farmers while formulating social policy to provide assistance for the departure of "marginalised" farmers.

With regard to the economics of agricultural policy, market support represents (in cost terms) the most important area of French public finance in agriculture after Social Security and health cover for the farming population. Market support finance has been inked to EC finance and the compensatory mechanisms of The European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (EAGGF), created in 1962 and known in France as 'Fonds Européen d'Orientation et Garantie Agricoles' (FEOGA) (Swann, 1984: 215). However, market support mechanisms have tended to create a bias in favour of the large, highly mechanised and capital intensive producers of sugarbeet, cereals and oil-producing crops in the Parisian Basin (Cloarec, 1978). French policy has posed increasingly exigeant demands on claimants for direct State support in the form of long-term loans for structural development at the level of the farm. As a result, Cloarec argues that there is a tendency to "target" already large and dynamic farms for this kind of support, often leading to the exclusion of less well-off farmers seeking to modernise their farms. In particular, he points to the demand for a minimum surface area (calculated by region and by type of agriculture) in order to qualify for structural development support from the 'Crédit Agricole'.

Much of the criticism concerning social policy in agriculture has been directed at the various early retirement schemes, all of which originated with the 'Indemnité Viagère de Départ' (IVD), and fall within the brief of FASASA and CNASEA. IVD was a scheme created in 1964, designed to release land for the installation of suitably qualified farmers under 35 years of

age and to facilitate the extension of remaining farms. The latter has tended to prevail over the former due to the fact that the defined threshold size for the "viability" of a farm has continued to increase, as has the minimum surface area for the initial installation of young farmers (Cloarec, 1978).

The minimum surface area, known as the SMI ('Surface Minimum d'Installation'), is fixed by prefectorial decision and varies according to the economic coefficients of different crops and forms of livestock farming. The increase in the SMI tends to favour the installation of sons from large farms against "outsiders" trying to enter farming (Duby et al, 1976: b : 620). The agricultural policies of the 1960's and 1970's have tended to replicate agricultural privilege at the level of the farm (Cloarec, 1978). While improving the position of farmers leaving farming, the IVD and the DIJA had little impact on new "potential" farmers. The sons of well-off farmers have tended to be the main beneficiaries.

In recent years the IVD and DIJA have come under criticism. It is now recognised, even in agricultural planning circles, that most of the land released under the IVD scheme has been simply transferred within farming families, reinforcing the land wealth of the larger landowning families. In 1984, 57% of all land released under the IVD scheme went to relatives of the retiring farmer (BIMA No. 1077, 1984). This figure rises to 62% if group farming units known as GAEC are included (2). Between 1971 and 1983 the average amount of land liberated under the IVD scheme and which was directed to a member of the retiring farmer's family stood at 60-65% of the annual total (ibid). Of all the land released, 90% was directed to the enlargement of existing farms, in the main to a member of the farming family (ibid). All this has reinforced the more strictly economic aspects of France's 1960-1962 agricultural policy. The proportion of land used for the installation of "newcomers" is currently less than 50% and is decreasing as a trend.

The 'Prime d'Apport Structurel' (PAS), created in 1974 and terminated in 1983, also became integrated into the inheritance strategies of farming families. Originally designed to assist farmers wishing to retire early and

targeted at those of 55 years of age, the aim was to effect the release of areas of land for farm extension. However, in practice, only 1.1% of all PAS claims were given without an IVD pension scheme. Most farmers simply integrated the PAS into their global retirement and inheritance strategies, with 79% of all land released under the PAS being ceded to relatives of the farmer. Most of the claims under the PAS (some 66%) were used to install the relatives of farmers and tended to be used to install sons on the already larger units. The PAS and the IVD provided retiring farmers with an income, releasing other capital from the farm to expand the farm on which to install a relative. Other pensions, such as the 'Indemnité Complémentaire' (ICC), created in 1979 as a pension for the spouses of farmers with IVD pensions, and the 'Indemnité d'Attente' (IA), created in 1969 and reserved for farmers in rural renovation and/or mountain areas, all tended to be integrated into farming family retirement and inheritance strategies. Overall, there was a perceived net advantage for the already more wealthy sections of the farming community (BIMA, 1984: 11-16). Moreover, the transfer of land in this manner meant that there was less land for SAFER, since this land simply did not come onto the open market. In areas where land inheritance strategies have been articulated in this manner, SAFER has had little impact.

Naylor (1976 and 1982), an agricultural economist working in Finistère in Brittany, goes beyond the criticisms outlined above and questions the very basis of the claim that one can detect the impact of retirement policies on the farming population. He argues that many of the retirements under the various schemes would have taken place without the FASASA. For Naylor, retirement policies did no more than operate a social transfer of money from one sector of the economy without increasing the number of departures. Cohen and Gourevitch (1980) underline the inefficacy of the retirement schemes, arguing that up to 1980 the pensions on offer under the IVD schemes (which were only 20% of the average farm income) were inadequate to tempt farmers to retire. Most farmers preferred to carry on as long as possible, even avoiding retirement altogether, in order to ensure greater economic well-being. It was for this reason that the IVD was almost doubled in 1980 (ibid: 101).

Naylor (1982) argues that not only is the role of the IVD scheme limited in influencing structural adjustment, but that factors leading to the release or retention of agricultural land are far more complex than that allowed for. From its origins, as part of the 1960-1962 French modernisation programme, the IVD was unclear as to its practical applicability. It was supposed to form part of the general aim to construct "the model farm" capable of providing a subsistence unit for a farming family, but the economic parameters were never defined, with variations to be allowed according to region and type of product. Initially, the IVD was to cover farmers over 65 years of age and working between 1 hectare and four times the minimum installation area for the region. Following the granting of the IVD, the farm released could initially be used for installing another farmer on the same farm, or for farm extension, or for transfer to the SAFER. Retiring farmers could retain a small plot for subsistence, with any land handed on to relatives having to be offered in the form of a gift or via sale. From 1968, farm extension was encouraged through the introduction of an additional grant for restructuring, the 'Indemnité Complémentaire de Restructuration' (ICR) for those farmers retiring and creating an amalgamated unit 1.5 times the minimum installation area. This has further encouraged land concentration within landowning farming families. Naylor concludes that the history of the IVD has been fundamentally a family affair, often involving only paper transfers between holdings run as a single unit with retiring farmers often remaining and maintaining a degree of control (ibid: 27-30).

The assumption behind the installation scheme, ostensibly designed to bring more young people into farming, was that a modernised, commercial agriculture would suffice to ensure an increase in the number of young farmers on the land and thereby solve the problem of on-farm succession. However, between 1968 and 1980, the proportion of the agricultural population under the age of 25 fell from 12.5% to 9.6%, while that of those over 45 years of age increased from 49% to 62% (Centre National de la Mutualité Agricole, 1980). The scheme to install young farmers has been reformed in recent years. In order to tackle the problem of privilege within the farming community, the policy is now geared specifically to limit land concentration. Only one installation (one DIJA) per household, is possible (BIMA,

1984: 15-17). A greater level of technical and professional training is now required and the minimum age limit for installation has been raised from 18 to 21 years of age. This is to reinforce the obligation on farmers to undertake extended formal agricultural training as a precondition for the DIJA (BIMA, 1985: 1-4). The level of the 'Dotation' was doubled between 1981 and 1984, from an average of 65,000 FF to 135,000 FF, with a maximum of 162,000 FF for mountain areas. Following this increase, the number of 'Dotations' rose by 75%, from 8,000 in 1980 to 14,335 in 1983 (BIMA, 1984: 13-14).

Cohen and Gourvetch (1982) maintain a broadly critical position with regard to the main aims and effects of the French 1960-1962 and the EC 1972 agricultural modernisation policies. Not withstanding the social policy dimensions, the modernisation programme laid out in 1960-1962 and followed by successive French governments, facilitated by the EC, has been geared more to economic prerogatives than to social goals. This has been the case, despite the fact that social policy goals were a fundamental part of the 'raison d'être' of the overall modernisation programme. Following Cloarec (1978), Cohen and Gourvetch (1982: 104-6) conclude that consideration of the most efficient method to increase French agriculture's overall contribution to the GNP became the paramount concern of agricultural planning. Social policy in agriculture has been tailored to this end, especially since 1973, rather than being given equal consideration in its own right.

The social policy aspects of French agricultural planning have come under pressure in recent years due to increased demands on State revenues and the emergence of more "monetarist" policies. The French government's decision to limit the expansion of Social Security and Health cover for the farming population within the 'Budget Annexe des Prestations Sociales Agricoles' (particularly with regard to the retirement schemes which take up 55% of the BAPSA budget) reflects the internal conflict of agricultural policy since 1960-1962 (BIMA, 1984: 37-39). Such a conflict can be found elsewhere in Western Europe. As early as 1969, Brogan noted that the source of conflict lay in the original attempts by Western governments to regard "amounts" of labour and "amounts" of land as simple inputs to a black box. Earlier still, Parodi (1964) highlighted a basic contradition in French

agricultural policy. The post-1960's policy sought to prepare French agriculture for the requirements of a market economy, yet all pricing policies operated on the basis of 'un juste prix'. The latter conflicts with the basic tenets of a market economy. The idea of 'un juste prix' has a long history in twentieth century French agricultural politics and emerged largely from the corporatist approach of the inter-war period (see Chapter Three).

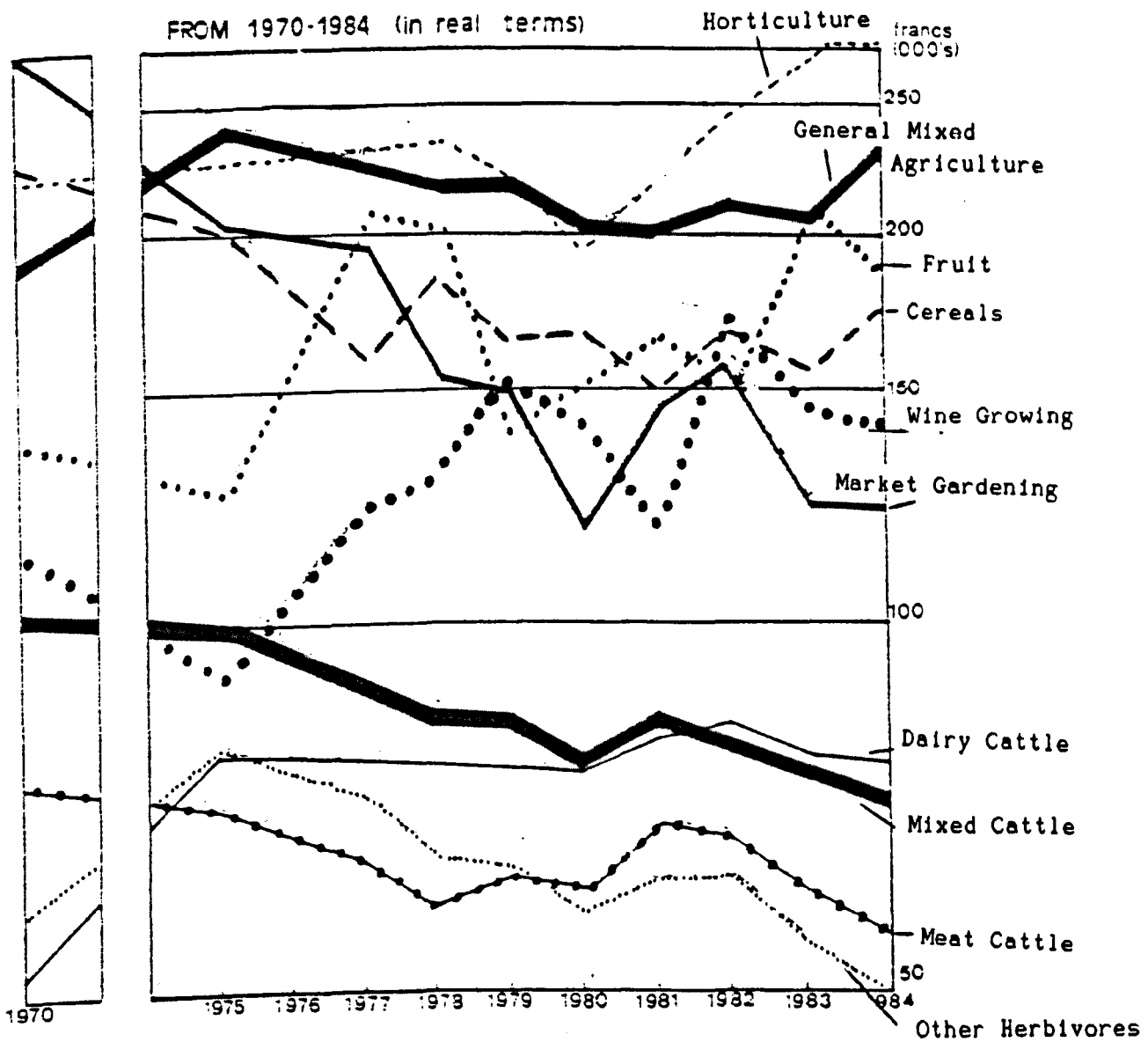
The EC's 1972 on-farm agricultural modernisation policy has also been reformed. Current French intervention concerning on-farm modernisation is based on an EC initiative of 1985, designed, in theory, to increase the number of farmers eligible for assistance with structural on-farm modernisation plans. This change reflects the recognition that France faces continuing difficulties in ensuring sufficient numbers of replacement farmers. "The Improvement of Material Plan" includes farmers who cannot earn sufficient income from farming alone and typically engage in off-farm economic activities. The purpose of this reform is to increase the number of farmers seeking and receiving assistance, by widening the definition as to which farmers are eligible. To be eligible for assistance, farmers must provide proof of their professional capacity and undertake a farm accounting programme.

A more general form of criticism centres on the failure of post-1960's agricultural policies to protect farmer's incomes. The downward spiral of farmers' incomes in recent years has been compounded by the move towards limiting increases in agricultural production and the move towards reducing the cost of support for "overproduction" (Robson, 1985: 3). It is this kind of cost-cutting concern that led directly to the introduction of dairy quotas in 1984 (see Chapter Four). The cost to farmers of the modernisation programme has also attracted criticism. As Cohen and Gourvetich (1982) point out, the overall decline in farmers' incomes post-1973 has led many farmers, undertaking modernisation based on credit, into debt. The level of indebtedness in French agriculture rose from 30% of the total added value in 1960 to 144% in 1977 (ibid: 104-5).

The farming population in France is not homogeneous, there is much

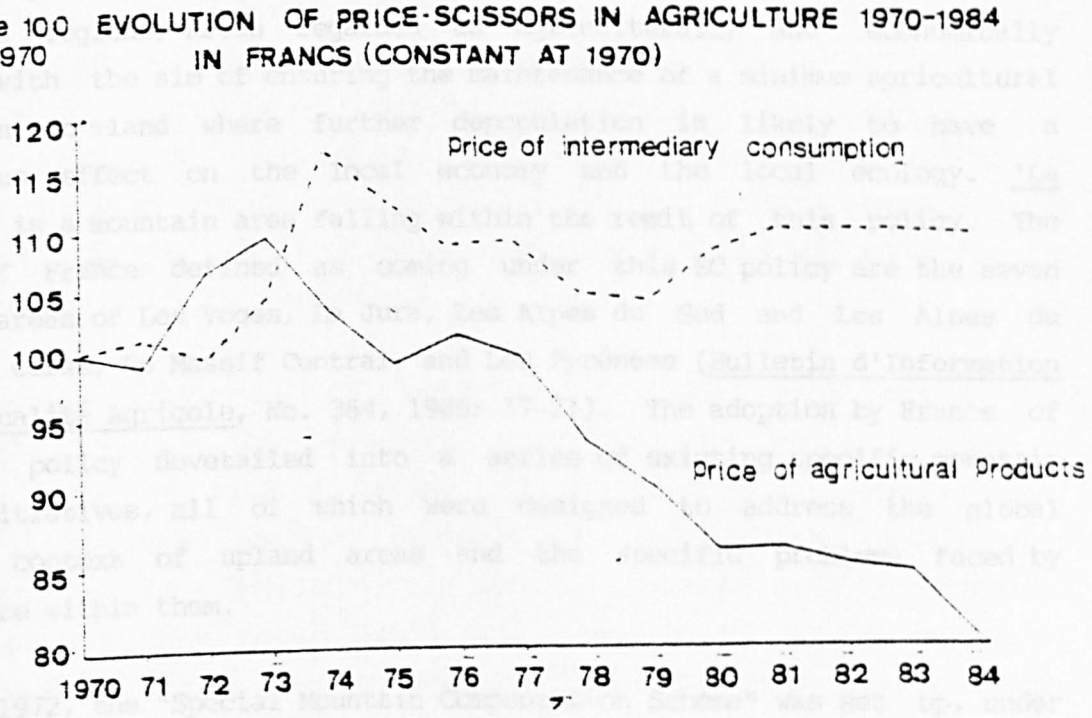
disparity in terms of income between different groups of farmers. These disparities have been exacerbated by the EC's Price support policies. In 1980 a typical wheat farmer with 50ha earned ten times more than a typical stockbreeder producing meat on 10-20ha (Cohen and Gourevitch, 1982: 39). The table below shows the evolution of, and the disparity between, the different product sectors in French agriculture between 1970 and 1984.

EVOLUTION OF AVERAGE FULL TIME FARMING INCOMES



The evolution of farmers' incomes compares unfavourably with that of non-agricultural small-scale entrepreneurs and salaried employees in rural areas (INSEE 1988). Apart from low incomes and the sectorial disparity between different types of farmers, agricultural policy has been criticised for not addressing the problem of income disparity between different interests within the agricultural sector as a whole. The most common criticism centres on the disparity between farmers' incomes, the cost of goods necessary for on-farm production, and the income of the food transformation industry. The table below shows the evolution of the cost of goods as inputs to farmers and the prices paid to farmers, with the latter declining in relation to the former.

Evolution of Price-Scissors in Agriculture 1970-1984



source: ministry of agriculture (1985)

In addition, data from research carried out by INSEE (1986) indicates a recent trend in favour of the industrial section of the agricultural sector (the farmers' clients), the overall income of which has risen in relation to that of farmers. Much of the evidence on the evolution and decline of

farmers' incomes is a product of the general economic situation post-1973 and is directly linked to the levelling-off of on-farm investments by farmers from 1974 onwards (INSEE, 1984). Finally, and related to the preceeding problems, there has been a systematic decline in the price of agricultural land from the late 1970's onwards (ibid). Such evidence is indicative of the general structural problems faced by French farmers almost three decades after the restructuring of French agriculture was initiated (Brun, 1988).

Agricultural Policy and Mountain Areas

Beyond retirement, installation and on-farm modernisation policies, the EC implemented a separate policy in 1975 (Directive 75/268/EEC) to address the problems of regional economic inequalities. The policy was subsequently adopted by France. It is targeted at less-favoured, mountain or upland regions, areas regarded as agriculturally and economically fragile, with the aim of ensuring the maintenance of a minimum agricultural population on land where further depopulation is likely to have a deleterious effect on the local economy and the local ecology. 'La Cerdagne' is a mountain area falling within the remit of this policy. The regions of France defined as coming under this EC policy are the seven mountain areas of Les Voges, La Jura, Les Alpes du Sud and Les Alpes du Nord, La Corse, Le Massif Central, and Les Pyrénées (Bulletin d'Information de la Mutualité Agricole, No. 364, 1986: 17-21). The adoption by France of the EC's policy dovetailed into a series of existing specific mountain policy initiatives, all of which were designed to address the global economic context of upland areas and the specific problems faced by agriculture within them.

In 1972, the "Special Mountain Compensation Scheme" was set up, under which livestock farmers are paid a fixed sum per animal (cattle, sheep, etc.) up to a maximum of 40 adult cattle or 267 adult sheep (Smith, 1987). Payment is known as 'Indemnité Spéciale de Montagne' (ISM) and is a recognition of the particular economic exigences facing hillside farmers in what are usually the more remote areas. There is a maximum payment of 693 FF per head for adult cattle in high mountain areas and 382 FF per head for

adult cattle in mountain areas. The importance of ISM payments to farmers in 'La Cerdagne' may be gauged by noting the results of a series of economic studies carried out between 1983 and 1985. On average, ISM payments accounted for between 30% and 32% of farmers' incomes (BAGEEC 1983-1985).

In 1973 the 'Comité Interministériel pour l'Aménagement du Territoire' (CIAT) established regional country planning mechanisms for mountain areas, in order to make a broad assessment of local economies in such areas. This move was complemented by France's adoption of the EC's 1975 policy. The classification of a commune as falling within a mountain zone is set out in Articles 3 and 4 of the EC Directive. A commune is classed as being located in a mountain zone if it is situated at an altitude over 700 metres (600 metres in Les Vosges) and if it is on a slope equal to, or greater than, 20%. Since 1978 the CIAT has recognised two different types of mountain zones: mountain zones and high mountain zones. All communes with 'La Cerdagne' fall into one or other of these categories. In 1979 the 'Fonds Interministériel de Développement et Aménagement Rural' (FIDAR) was established to serve as an instrument to provide aid and support for all economically fragile rural areas. In mountain areas, FIDAR plays an important interventionist role, providing credit for rural renovation and development. In 1984, 85% of FIDAR's credit was earmarked for mountain and handicapped areas (BIMA, 1984: 17-18).

France's adoption of EC Directive 75/268/EEC is most important for farmers and farming in 'La Cerdagne'. This Directive (which relates to Articles 39.1a and b, 39.2, 42 and 43 of The Treaty of Rome) concerns "structural imbalances" between regions within the EC. These "imbalances", either of a socio-economic or natural character, were targeted for assistance. Directive 75/268/EEC was also a response to the EC's earlier on-farm modernisation policy (Directive 72/159/EEC), which stipulated that farmers must derive a minimum level of income from farming in order to be eligible for assistance. This effectively excluded many hillside farmers because it failed to recognise the poor state of the local economy within which they operated. Under Directive 75/268/EEC, farmers seeking assistance with farm development plans are allowed to earn proportionately higher off-farm incomes. The 1975 policy acknowledges the socio-economic and

natural difficulties specific to farming in mountain areas and it includes support for strictly non-economic factors. Included in the definition of less-favoured and mountain areas, are areas where farming is deemed necessary to protect the countryside and areas where the maintenance of a "minimum" population, or the conservation of the countryside, are not assured. Also included are areas of infertility unsuitable for cultivation or intensification, except at "excessive cost", being strictly speaking only suitable for livestock farming. To avoid further rural depopulation, FIDAR developed special aid programmes to support farming in areas handicapped by natural conditions but which performed an important role in conserving and protecting the countryside. There is, however, a clear economic rationale behind all these initiatives with the economic importance of tourism in mountain areas being a constant theme. For example, ISM payments are to assist farmers to maintain a presence in mountain areas and to play a role as local conservationists, providing a backdrop against which local tourist economic activities can develop.

In 1985, the 'Loi de Montagne' extended the framework for local economic development. Moving beyond, and supplementing, direct support of farmers. The aim is to locate farmers and farming within the local upland economy. In line with the general shift towards decentralisation in French rural policy since 1975 (Mengin, 1988), the focus is now on decentralised economic development in mountain areas. This is to be based on a range of economic activities, of which farming is to be but one. The other activities include artisanal activities, small-scale commerce, tourism and the development of energy resources. More specifically, the aim is to encourage 'autodéveloppement' in mountain areas with aid provided by 'Fonds d'Intervention pour L'Autodéveloppement en Montagne' (FIAM) to promote local economic diversification and pluriactivity among farmers. Under FIAM, in 1985, credit facilities amounting to 55 billon francs were set aside for the development of mountain agricultural products and to encourage on-farm diversification. The provision of this credit facility forms a central plank of decentralised rural planning, devolving responsibility to the locale.

The mountain areas policy of 1985 is integrated at the national level

but with an emphasis on economic development initiatives stemming from regions and localities. The budget for economic policies within mountain areas is provided by central government, which accords priority to long-term agricultural development programmes, known as 'Plan Pluriannuel de Développement Agricole' (PPDA), within the overall policy framework (BIMA, 1985: 11-13). However, underlying this apparently broader approach to the economic and social problems of farmers in mountain areas, there is a narrowly defined economic role for local policy-makers and planners. The principal objective of the PPDA, as applied to 'La Cerdagne' and the department of the Pyrénées-Orientales as a whole, is to render farms more competitive in national and international markets, particularly with regard to the threat posed by Spanish and Portugese agriculture (ibid).

It is against this background that we may obtain a clearer picture of the intentions behind current mountain areas policy and the likely implications for the residents of 'La Cerdagne'. The overall aim is clearly to devolve responsibility for regional and agricultural development in mountain areas to the locale. Areas such as 'La Cerdagne' are to be responsible for ensuring economic competitiveness within the farming sector, and farmers are to be encouraged to assume more responsibility for their global economic and farming strategies. The economic "competitiveness" and "viability" of individual farmers are the deciding factors upon which receipt of assistance for on-farm development plans depend.

Farmers in 'La Cerdagne' have been subjected to two broad areas of policy since the early agricultural modernisation programme. In addition to the general agricultural policy of the 1960's and 1970's, which embodied a "productivist" approach, farmers in 'La Cerdagne' came under the remit of mountain areas policy after 1975. In general, farmers in mountain areas engage in livestock farming due to the constraints of poor quality land and harsh climatic conditions. Agricultural activity in 'La Cerdagne' is dominated by livestock farming. Livestock farming is typically the most family-labour intensive of all types of farming. For example, in 1982, 76% of all livestock farmers in the Pyrénées-Orientales worked full-time on the farm, 85% of all labour on these farms was provided by members of the family compared with 60% for all other types of farms in the department. Only 6%

of labour on these farms was provided by occasional workers and 9% by permanent farm workers, compared with 23% and 17% respectively for the department as a whole (Direction Départementale de l'Agriculture, 1982). In addition, the income per farm, and per annual family work unit, is less on livestock farms than for all other types of farming in the department.

Average Monthy Income from Different Forms of Farming: Pyrenées-Orientales 1982

	Monthly Income/Farm	Monthly Income/Annual Family Work Unit
Wine Producer	2936 FF	4677 FF
Arboculturalist	2875 FF	4934 FF
Marketgardening	4239 FF	3095 FF
Mixed Farming	4828 FF	3604 FF
Livestock Farming	2728 FF	1907 FF

Direction Départementale de l'Agriculture, 1982

In 'La Cerdagne', the development and diversification of the local economy has for some years been seen as essential for the survival of agriculture in the region (Direction Départementale de l'Agriculture, 1976). In reality, however, the division of investments in 'La Cerdagne' for 1988 reflects a continuing strong bias in favour of agriculture, with a minority of funds allocated for the development of other economic activities:

Agriculture and Forestry	65%
Industry, Artisanat and Commerce	15%
Tourism	15%
Planning and Development	5%

(Direction Départementale de l'Agriculture, 1988.)

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER TWO

1) There is clearly a sociological problem regarding the official definition as to what constitutes the 'rural'. In France, according to INSEE, a commune is rural - and therefore the population therein is similarly 'rural' - if it does not belong to a 'unité urbaine'. The latter is defined as follows. An urban area may cover two or several communes with a population of at least 2000. In addition, within each of the communes, every built up area constitutes an agglomeration of the population, in which all constructions must not be more than 200 metres apart, and each agglomeration must be inhabited by at least fifty persons. In addition, the population within these agglomerations must constitute at least half the population of each commune. Finally, if there are at least two communes whose population in the built up areas is at least 2000, then these communes constitute a multicommunal agglomeration. All communes that do not belong to a multicommunal agglomeration are defined as urban according to INSEE if the population is at least 2000. These urban communes are called isolated towns. Multicommunal agglomerations and isolated towns are both known as urban areas. According to INSEE, rural communes are those that stand outside the above definition. The bottom line may be considered to be the minimum population of 2000. ("Dictionnaire National des Communes de France" 1984, Albin Michel, Berger-Levrault. Pars. p 148). It is evident that such a definition corresponds to spatial and demographic factors whose relevance to sociological concerns may only be contingent. I do not intend to attempt to develop a definition of 'rural' which is more useful sociologically; suffice it to note the definition used in official usage in France, and to note the limitations.

2) A GAEC ('Groupement Agricole d'Exploitation en Commun') may be seen as an attempt to resolve, by association, the various problems facing farming families in recent times. A GAEC is a cooperative structure organised around the point of production. It usually is organised around a father and son(s) with land being pooled by all members for the joint and cooperative operation of the farm unit. As Martin points out, the GAEC has had as a central aim to realise the preservation of the family farm form in the context of a market economy (Martin 1971, pp 229-290). The GAEC enjoys certain fiscal advantages as a form of company, falling under company law, with the fiscal benefits therein. A GAEC is a Civil Company, as opposed to a commercial company, but differs from all other Civil Companies in that - and in accordance with Article 2, Paragraph 2 of the 1962 'Loi Complémentaire' - the members must participate effectively in common in the work. In this sense, distinct from a capitalist enterprise, both capital and labour must be combined.

CHAPTER THREE

'La Cerdagne Francaise': The Region and its History

This chapter provides an outline of the changing geographic, social, economic, political and cultural context of agricultural change and rural development in 'La Cerdagne Francaise' from the nineteenth century to the introduction of agricultural modernisation in the 1960's. While essential background for later chapters, this historical perspective is important in its own right. It highlights the interplay between change and continuity in the region, in particular the influence of important farming and non-farming families in defining the contours of local changes. The region has attracted very little serious research and none on the impact of agricultural policy. The few historical studies (Assier-Andrieu, 1980; Sahlins, 1986) pay scant attention to agricultural changes, less still to the place of agricultural change in the local economy and rural development. Given the paucity of existing sources, an important part of fieldwork activity centred on reconstructing the history of agricultural change and rural development in the region. This chapter constitutes an historical reconstruction based on the analysis of official documents and reports, local archives, oral histories provided by informants and data drawn from other interviews.

The Cerdagne is a socio-geographic area straddling the Pyrenees, partitioned into French and Spanish sides by the 'Traite de Pyrénées' in 1659. 'La Cerdagne Francaise' forms part of the Department des Pyrénées-Orientales and is situated some 100km west of Perpignan, the departmental capital. While the borders of the region as a whole have remained in tact, internal administrative reorganisation has taken place. At the time of partition there were 33 villages. Due to the contraction of agricultural activity, out-migration and administrative centralisation, the region today comprises 28 villages or communes. These are dispersed throughout the region at different altitudes and subject to slight variations in what is basically a mountain climate.

'La Cerdagne' lies within the Pyrenees Mountains. The lowest area of

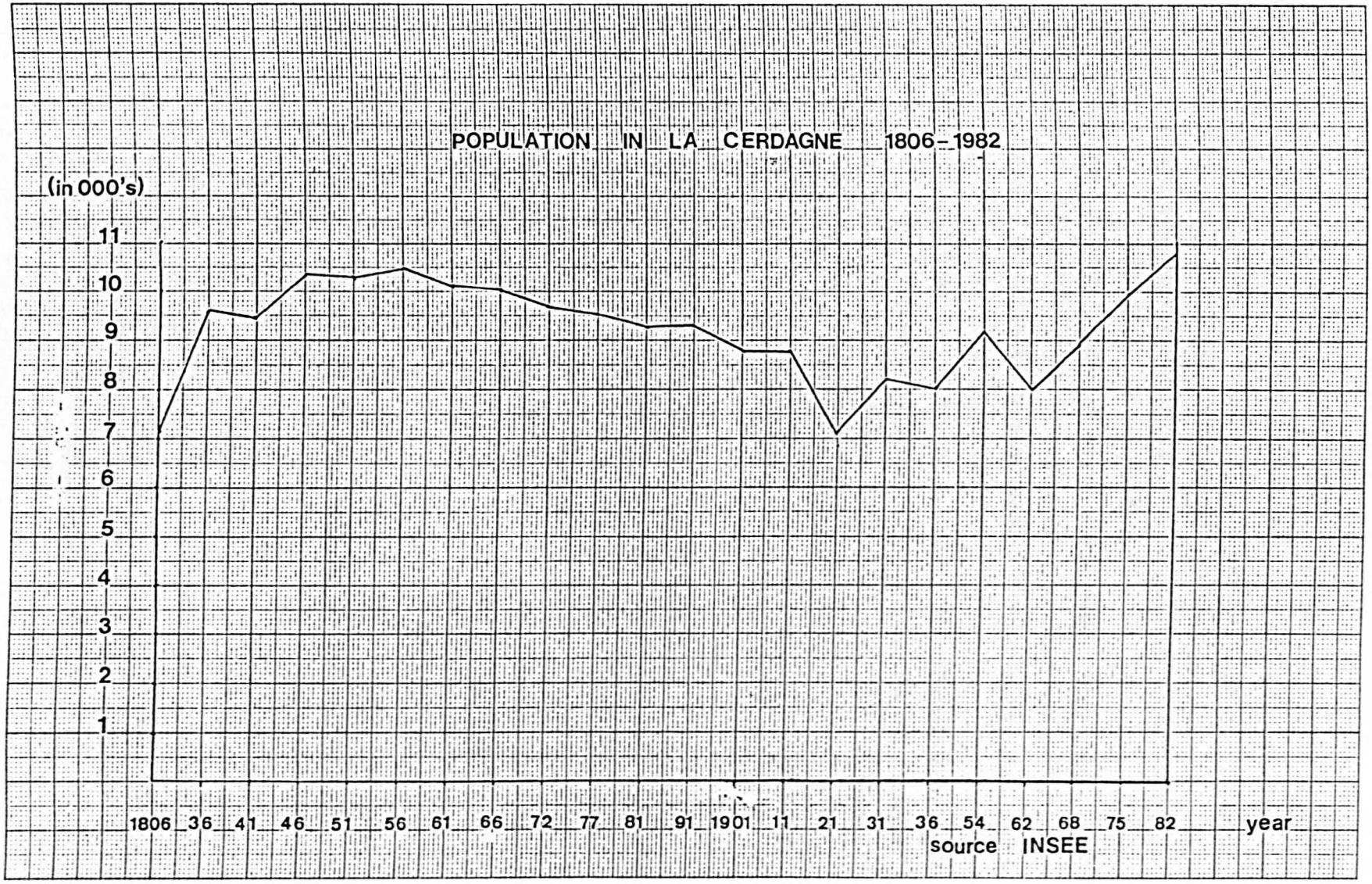
the region, 'La Plaine', extends between Saillagouse in the east (1300m) to Bourg Madame in the west (1200m). 'La Plaine' constitutes the heart of the region and is sheltered by surrounding mountains which rise to over 2900m. To the north of 'La Plaine' lies 'Le Massif du Carlitt' (2921m), the tallest of a range of mountains averaging 2800m with lakes at over 2000m. To the south lies 'Le Cambras d'Ase' (2747m) and 'Le Puigmal' (2909m). To the south-east there is a pass via the valley of the river Sègre. To the north-west the steep valley of the river Carol leads, via the 'Col du Puymorens' (1915m), to the Ariège valley. On the east 'La Plaine' is dominated by the 'Col de la Perche' (1579m) towards the village of Bolquère, rising to the north-east towards the 'Col de Quillane' (1713m). Villages at higher altitudes experience a harsher climate than those on 'La Plaine'. Overall the climate is characterised by a relatively heavy snowfall and a large number of days with frost during the long winter. There is a steady level of precipitation throughout the year (600-900cm), punctuated by dry seasons from mid-May to mid-August and from mid-September to mid-October. In 'La Plaine' the snow reaches depths of 15-30cm but rarely remains on the ground for more than a month. On the higher land the snow tends to be deeper (40-80cm) and covers the ground from around mid-December until mid-April.

For much of its history 'La Cerdagne' has been relatively isolated. Only rudimentary road communications existed until the end of the eighteenth century, when a second-class road was built affording access to the local commercial centre of Mont Louis and beyond towards Perpignan. A rail link with the region was not established until 1910, connecting Mont Louis with the region in 1912, with a line linking the local commercial centres of Bourg Madame and Mont Louis (Escara, 1911; Poutensan, 1976: 169). Access into 'La Cerdagne' to the east, via 'Le Col de la Perche' (1579m), remains open all year round, hence its traditional and continuing economic importance. Access to the north-west, via 'Le Col du Puymorens' (1915m), is often closed due to heavy snowfalls from the beginning of October until early June. In the neighbouring village of Porté Puymorens the snow remains from December until April, reaching depths of 10-15cm in December and up to a metre in January (Guiter, 1984).

The constraints imposed by topography, climate and isolation have posed difficulties for the region's agriculture and local economy (Frenay and Rosset, 1981). Poor communications and extended periods of imposed isolation led to a relatively autonomous and self-sufficient form of local economic development until the middle of the nineteenth century. Steep slopes, poor soil and the rocky nature of much of the land restricted crop cultivation, except in 'La Plaine' where cereal cultivation was widespread throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Rye was the main crop, used principally for bread, with other cereals used to feed livestock. The mountain slopes were used for livestock farming and a system of transhumance developed within the region and towards Perpignan. From the 1850's the region was increasingly drawn into national and international economic networks, due to the spread of dispersed forms of rural industry and the growth of commercialised forms of agriculture.

The Region and its Changing Local Economy

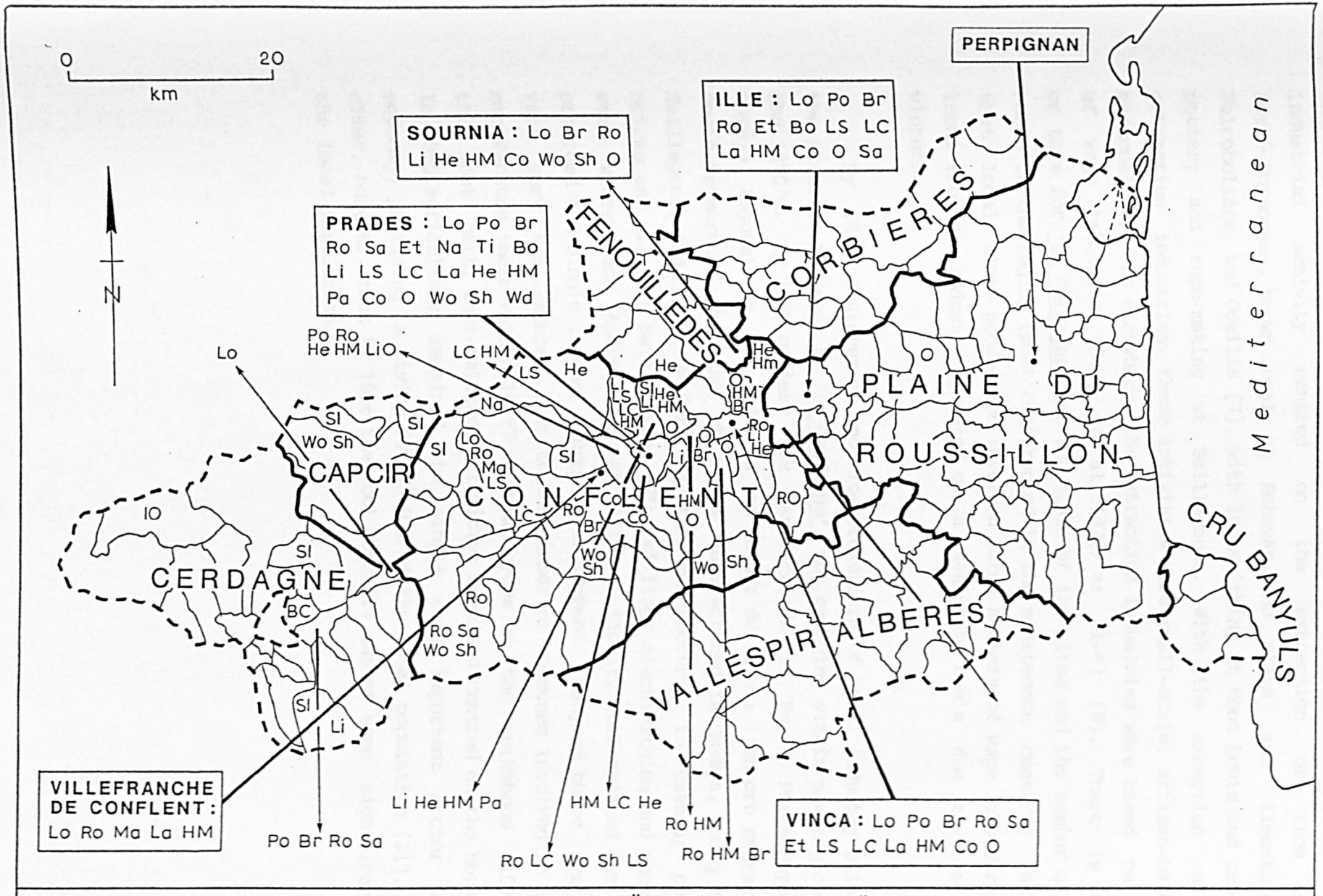
During the nineteenth century, France's relatively large rural population was supported by the widespread incidence of landownership, often small-scale, by farming families (Lehning, 1980) and by a dispersed form of rural industrialisation that spread out from the bourgs and towns (Duby et al, 1976, a). These provided the basis for pluriactivity, allowing farming families to pursue strategies based on income from several sources while remaining self-sufficient in household needs. Dispersed artisan-cottage rural industry was significant in the often close relationship between agricultural production and the industrial transformation of local agricultural production. For example, the combination of sheep farming and cottage-based wool industries flourished in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, contributing to a relative economic elan in rural areas. The decline in agricultural and rural populations from the middle of the nineteenth century can be linked to profound changes in the local rural economy. Not the least of which, was the emergence of a more clearly defined socio-economic "farmer". With the decline of dispersed rural industry and the concentration of industry and economic activity in towns, farmers became increasingly dependent on income


POPULATION IN LA CERDAGNE 1806-1982
(in 000's)
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
1806 36 41 46 51 56 61 66 72 77 81 91 1901 11 21 31 36 54 62 68 75 82
year
source INSEE

derived from agriculture alone and the level of out-migration from rural areas increased.

The relative rural prosperity of the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, based on the growth of market oriented agriculture, did not have its equivalent in 'La Cerdagne'. Agricultural fairs and markets did not develop in the region until the latter half of the nineteenth century. By this time the population had undergone a rapid expansion, significantly greater than for the country as a whole (1). By the time cottage-industries, fairs and markets were established, the level of population had already reached its peak and was set to decline following the opening-up of the region. Throughout the nineteenth century up to the end of the inter-war period, the local population deriving a living from agriculture remained higher than for France as a whole. The figures for 'La Cerdagne' for 1856, 1921 and 1936 were 73.97%, 56.96% and 43.15% while those for France were 55%, 35% and 25% (2). Between 1856 and 1936 the region's agricultural and cottage-industry sectors expanded and then declined as the commercial and service sectors (the basis of a naissant tourist economy) increased in importance.

Although the wool industry played a significant role in the local economy in the latter half of the nineteenth century, most of the early manufacture of wool was centred to the east, in the foothills around Prades. By the late-eighteenth century the wool industry was an important economic activity for the department as a whole. Out of a total of 58,225 persons actively engaged in agricultural production 7,885 (13.54%) were engaged in the production and manufacture of wool - 4,000 of these were shepherds. Outside the environs of Perpignan the spinning of wool as carried out by "women in the countryside for their domestic needs" (3). There was no industrial manufacture of wool products in 'La Cerdagne' at the beginning of the nineteenth century (4), the making of cloth was still largely confined to households. In the neighbouring region of 'Le Capcir' some manufacture of wool products had begun by 1814, and it is at this time that sheep farming became predominant in 'La Cerdagne'. Artisan-based industrial production of sheets and bonnets (5) emerged in the small towns and bourgs around Prades, where 30 workshops employed a total of 566 persons, receiving raw wool from surrounding areas, including 'La Cerdagne'. (6)

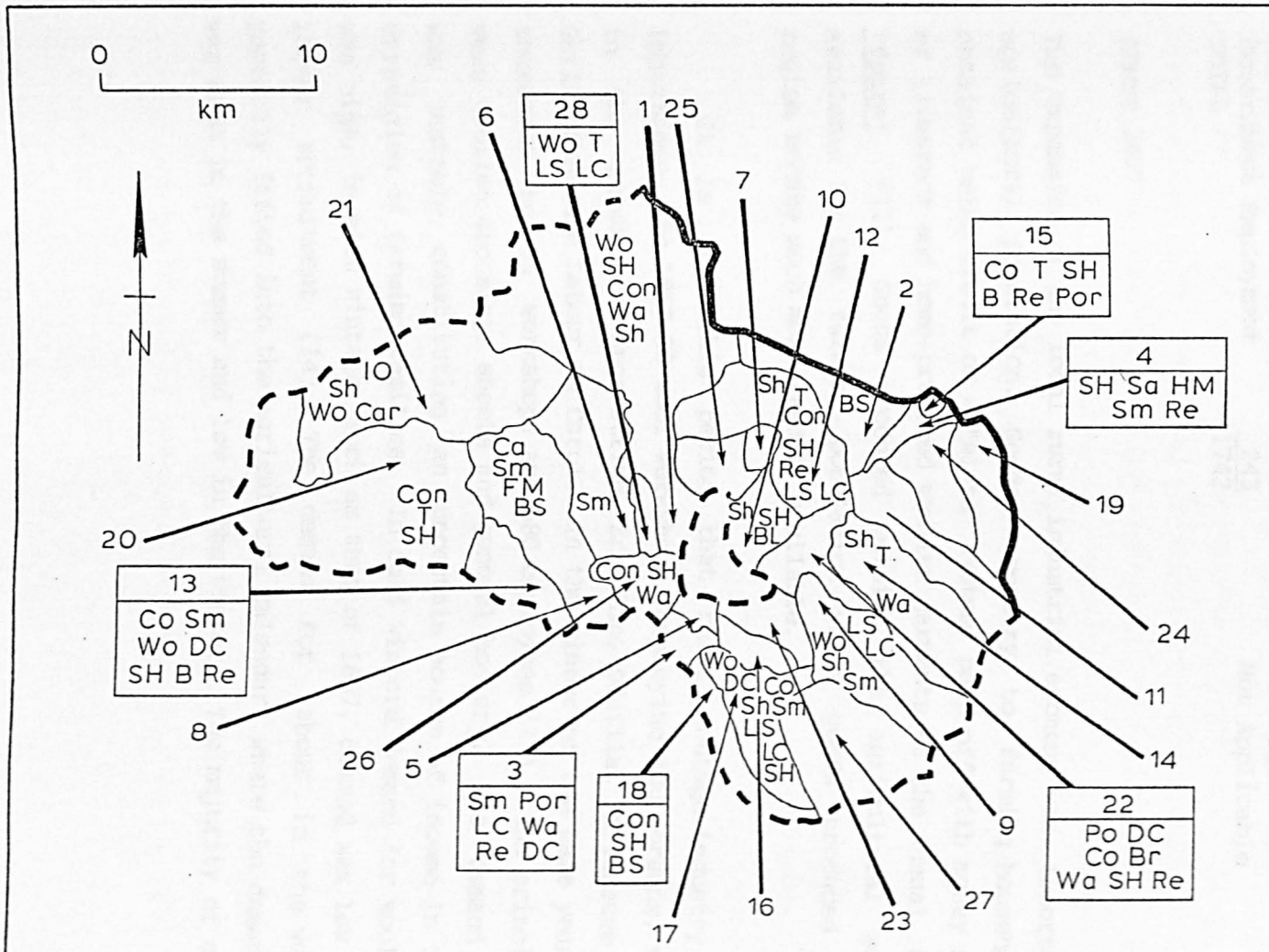


INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITIES IN THE "ARRONDISSEMENTS" OF PRADES : 1814

Sl	Slate production	Ma	Marble quarrying	LS	Linen spinning	Co	Cooperage
Lo	Locksmithing	Et	Edge tool manufacture	LC	Linencloth production	O	Olive oil production
Po	Pottery	Na	Nail manufacture	La	Lace production	Wo	Wool spinning
Br	Brickwork/Tile manufacture	Ti	Tilt hammer production	He	Hemp spinning	Sh	Sheets/Knitwear manufacture
Ro	Ropemaking	Bo	Boiler making industry	HM	Hempcloth manufacture	IO	Iron ore production
Sa	Saddlery	Li	Lime kilns	Pa	Paper mill	BC	Brown coal/Lignite

Most early-nineteenth century industrial development was located in the larger villages and bourgs outside 'La Cerdagne'. Within the region industrial activity centred on the extraction of iron ore at Porté-Puymorens, brown coal at Estavar, and slate and limestone at Valcobollère and Odeilla (7), with locksmithing at Mont Louis and saddlery, pottery and rope-making at Saillagouse. With the exception of the extraction industries, these activities were small-scale, artisan-based and seasonal (8). As elsewhere, the extraction industries were based on teams of wage labourers (Duby et al, 1976, a: 81-5) (9). There is no data on this for 'La Cerdagne' but the scale of the sites and the number of slate roofs in the region (most constructed in the nineteenth century) indicates that local slate production involved large numbers of wage labourers. The local iron ore industry operated on a seasonal basis due to the harsh winters.

By 1814 a dispersed and widespread form of rural industry existed in the areas to the east of 'La Cerdagne', not emerging within the region until the 1850's. By 1856 hosiery was manufactured in Porta, Porté-Puymorens, Osséja, Angoustrine, Err, Odeilla and Latour de Carol; iron ore extracted in Porté-Puymorens; drinking chocolate manufactured in Osséja, Bourg Madame, Saillagouse and Latour de Carol; leather manufactured in Osséja; pottery, bricks and tiles in Saillagouse. Flourmilling, blacksmithing and shoemaking were widespread. Apart from agriculture itself, wool-related activities provided the single largest source of employment. Many of these activities were very small-scale. Despite the number of communes involved in hosiery manufacture there were only 57 wage employees in the workshops (10). For the most part, wool-related activities remained centred on the household. In 1856 agriculture remained the single most important sector of the economy, providing a living for 73.97% of the total population (11). It is clear, however, that by 1856 the wool industry was of some significance to the local population.



COMMUNES IN LA CERDAGNE

1 Angoustrine
2 Bolquere
3 Bourg Madame
4 La Cabanasse
5 Caldegas
6 Dorres
7 Egat
8 Enveitg
9 Err
10 Estavar
11 Eyne
12 Font Romeu Odeilla Via
13 Latour de Carol
14 Llo
15 Mont Louis
16 Nahuja
17 Osseja
18 Palau de Cerdagne
19 Planes
20 Porta
21 Porte - Puymorens
22 Saillagouse
23 Sainte Leocadie
24 Saint Pierre dels Forcats
25 Targasonne
26 Ur
27 Valcabollere
28 Villeneuve des Escaldes

MAIN NON-AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES BY COMMUNE : 1856

Wo	Wool spinning/manufacture	Sm	Stone-masonry	HM	Hempcloth manufacture	Car	Carpentry
SH	Shoemaking	Por	Porcelaine manufacture	Gr	Grocery store	LS	Linen spinning
Co	Cooperage	LC	Linen cloth production	Con	Construction industry	B	Butcher
Wa	Wagonmaking	Rc	Restauration	Ca	Cabinet maker	T	Tailor
Sh	Sheets/Knitwear manufacture	Sa	Saddlery	FM	Flourmiller	DC	Drinking chocolate manufacture
BS	Blacksmithing						

Principal Non-Agricultural Activities in the Local Economy 1856

	Household Population Living From Activity	No of Establishments With Activity	No of Communes With Activity
Wool Industry :	456	37	15
Flourmilling :	108	25	14
Blacksmithing :	103	23	12
Saddlery/Tannery:	72	10	6
Butcher:	73	19	9
Shoemaking:	132	24	14
Stone-masonry/Building:	417	105	17
Bakery/Patisserie:	67	17	8
Grocer:	71	20	11
Government Employment	243	Not Applicable	10
TOTAL	1742		

ADMnc 2477

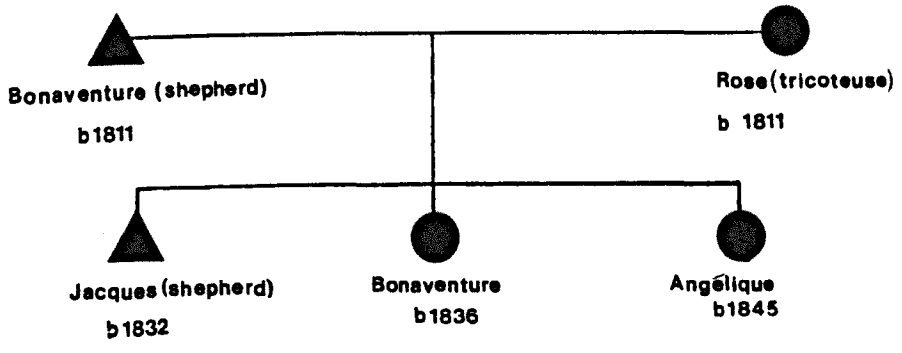
The expansion of the local rural industrial economy was important for the agricultural population. Goods necessary to farming households could be obtained using credit or a "slate" system, paid off with money from the sale of livestock and home-produced woollen garments at the annual or bi-annual 'foire' (12). Goods produced outside the agricultural sector became available for the farming population, while goods produced outside the region became much more readily available.

It is from this period that rural cottage-industry increased in importance. In 1857 30 wool workshops, employing 400 persons, were located in the communes of Angoustrine, Err, Llo, Odeilla, Villeneuve des Ecaldes, Saillagouse and Latour de Carol. In the winter of the same year the number increased to 36 workshops and 680 employees (13). The principal products were woollen stocking, sheets and general hosiery. The demand for labour was unstable, constituting an uncertain source of income in the household strategies of farming families. In cold winters demand for woollen garments was high, in mild winters, such as that of 1857, demand was low and so was labour recruitment (14). The demand for labour in the wool workshops generally fitted into the agricultural calendar, where the demand for labour was high in the summer and low in the winter. The majority of employees in

the workshops were women who received little financial payment for their work. Payment "in kind" was the norm, in wool which the women used to make clothes and sheets for domestic needs.

> "It is women ... who are taken to knit in the workshops, being paid a very minimal salary." (15)

The non-aggregated census returns for 1856 show that there were 289 'tricoteuses' (16) in a total of 179 households in the regions. 174 were agricultural households (17), of which 36 were headed by an agricultural labourer while the remaining 138 households owned less than 3ha of land (18). These were among the poorest agricultural households in the region. For them, the wool industry and home-based manufacture of woollen goods represented an important, if erratic, source of extra income. Some households combined their farming with the domestic production of woollen goods by keeping sheep as livestock on the farm. There follows an example of one such farming household - the Carcasonne Family from Porta (ADMnc 2482, 1856).



The local economy of 'La Cerdagne' during the nineteenth century reflected an artisanal structure with a great deal of interdependence between the agricultural sector, wool-related activities, blacksmithing and flourmilling. Taking the "head of household" as the sole indicator of household economic activity in 'La Cerdagne' is misleading because it ignores the activity of other members of the household. Taking the non-aggregated census returns for 1856, by commune, provides a more accurate view of the activities of the farming population. Of the 1,471 agricultural

households, which includes farm labourers, shepherds, pigmen and cattlehands (19), in 289 cases (19.64%) at least one member of the household was actively engaged in some form of non-agricultural activity. In a further 61 cases, 2 or more members of the household were engaged in non-agricultural activity. There was then, a significant degree of inter-connectedness between agricultural and non-agricultural sectors. This, however, only represents a static picture. The census was carried out in the summer and there is no indication of the levels and patterns of activity for the rest of the year anywhere in the official records. The range, level and pattern of economic activities within the rural population of 'La Cerdagne' for this period cannot be inferred from official sources. This is particularly important given the seasonal nature of agricultural work in France at the time (Lehning, 1980).

There is evidence that, up to the inter-war period, farm workers and tenant farmers regularly migrated on a seasonal basis to the region around Barcelona. Between October and March, the quiet period for agricultural work in 'La Cerdagne',(20) workers were transferred by Spanish landowners from farms in the region to their estates in Spain (21). The spread of wine production during the nineteenth century (Poutensan, 1976), around 'La Plaine du Roussillon', attracted many farm workers from 'La Cerdagne'. They migrated to the vineyards in October and remained until March, returning to work on the farms until the following October (22). The extent of seasonal out-migration to Barcelona and 'La Plaine du Roussillon' cannot be determined. However, it is clear that seasonal out-migration did take place, and this combined with the complementarity of agricultural and non-agricultural activities within 'La Cerdagne' led to a form of agriculture and rural development that was based on a diverse range of activities from around the middle of the nineteenth century.

The importance of the local wool industry was reflected in requests to central government for assistance to purchase new equipment and machinery for the wool workshops. The manufacture of wool was seen as the only source of regular paid local employment and the region's only form of export-goods (23). By the 1860's the production and manufacture of wool had spread throughout the region, with the marketing and sale of wool products

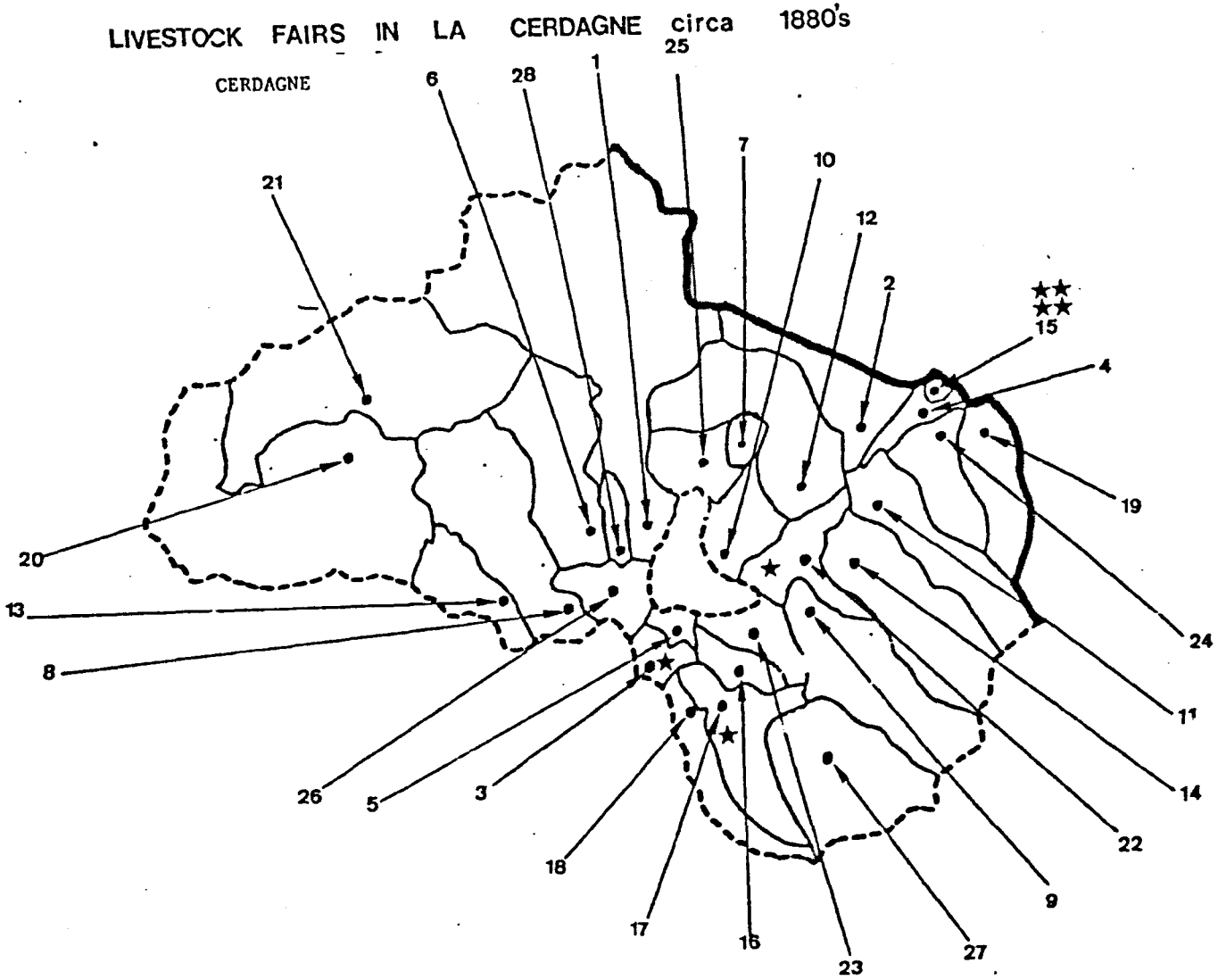
concentrated in the commercial centres of Osséja, Bourg Madame and Latour de Carol (24). Between 1862-1865 115,000 kg of cloth and haberdashery was exported by the 13 'Maisons de Commerce' in these 3 communes (25). In 1865 a further centre for the sale of wool products was established in Saillagouse (26).

Throughout the 1860's the 'Préfet' granted requests for the establishment of further wool workshops and the manufacture of drinking chocolate (27). A local commercial and industrial bourgeoisie became firmly established within what was still largely a peasant agricultural economy. The spread of 'commercants et industriels/fabricants' (28), numbering 85 in 1865, reflected the economic élan of commercial and industrial activity at this time. By 1880 woolmills had been established at Villeneuve des Escaldes, Osséja, Angoustrine and Bourg Madame. A total of 34 wool workshops were located in the communes of Saillagouse, Osséja, Estavar, Targasonne, Odeilla and Egat (29). The relative commercial value of wool in 1880 may be seen in the differential value of exports from Bourg Madame.

Imports (in Francs)		Exports (in Francs)	
New Wool	8000	Treated Wool	100000
Manufactured Woold	18000	Woollen Cloth	150000
		Cotton Thread	100000
		Other Exports	
		Iron Bars	75000
		Silk Cloth	25000
		Ironmongery	90000
		Liquers	25000
		Pears	35000

ADMnc 3107

The other main agriculture-related local industrial activity in the late-nineteenth century was flourmilling. This had very little direct commercial export value for farmers or the local economy. The end product, ryebread, was for local consumption. The flour provided farming families with an important source of food, while grain was used to feed livestock (30). The 3 principal flourmills were owned by 3 of the larger landowning



COMMUNES IN LA CERDAGNE.

1 ANGOUSTRINE
2 BOLQUERE
3 BOURG MADAME
4 LA CABANASSE
5 CALDEGAS
6 DORRES
7 EGAT
8 ENVEITG
9 ERR
10 ESTAVAR
11 EYNE
12 FONT ROMEU ODEILLA VIA
13 LATOUR DE CAROL
14 LLO
15 MONT LOUIS
16 NAHUJA
17 OSSEJA
18 PALAU DE CERDAGNE
19 PLANES
20 PORTA
21 PORTE-PUYMORENS
22 SAILLAGOUSE
23 SAINTE LEOCADIE
24 SAINT PIERRE DELS FORCATS
25 TARGASONNE
26 UR
27 VALCABOLLERE
28 VILLENEUVE DES ESCALDES.

★commues with a livestock fair

families and were located in Err, Caldegas and Enveitg, but many of the 'Mas' (31) in the different villages had small private flourmills. Ryebread formed the basis of the local diet throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Garayoa, 1977; Rosset, 1983: 197). The larger 'Mas' also had bread ovens. With livestock, a 'jardin potager' (32), home produced cereals, flour and bread, they were largely self-sufficient in terms of food requirements. For the majority of farmers a non-cash payment system operated whereby flour was exchanged for bread with local bakers. The bakers used surplus flour to make and sell bread to the local non-farming population (33). This kind of relationship underpinned many of the agricultural population's socio-economic activities in 'La Cerdagne'.

During this period there was a shift towards a more commercial form of agriculture, evidenced by the appearance of agricultural fairs and markets within the region. At the end of the eighteenth century limited sales of livestock took place at Mont Louis and across the Spanish border at Olot (Pelras, 1971). By 1848 a number of fairs had been established well to the east of 'La Cerdagne' around Prades and Perpignan. Apart from 2 annual livestock fairs at Mont Louis (34), commercial activity in the region was limited to small shops in the villages located on the main route from 'Le Conflent' to Spain. Mont Louis served as a commercial meeting place for farmers and traders from 'La Cerdagne' and neighbouring regions. Surplus livestock was sold by farmers from 'La Cerdagne' who purchased goods that were produced locally, e.g., olive oil, wine and vegetables (Rosset, 1983: 198). As local industrial and commercial activity increased (35) more markets and agricultural fairs were established. By the late 1880's there were 4 fairs at Mont Louis and 3 others had been established in Bourg Madame, Saillagouse and Osséja (36). Apart from fairs, farmers engaged in little commercial activity. Butchers existed in the nineteenth century, but payment by butchers for livestock purchased throughout the year was made at the fairs, when farmers would also clear their "slate" with local shop-keepers. From the farmers' point of view, 'La Cerdagne' remained largely self-sufficient, with livestock fairs providing the occasion to sell live-stock, following the 'pacage' (37) pay-off debts and purchase goods produced outside the region (Garoyoa, 1977) (38). The development of agricultural markets and fairs reflected the evolution of commerce in 'La Cerdagne'

Although somewhat later in its development, the commercial and small-scale industrial growth in 'La Cerdagne' was part of a general phenomenon in France (Aubry-Breton, 1980; Bachelard, 1981).

The mainstay of the economy of 'La Cerdagne' in the nineteenth century was agricultural production, the production and manufacture of wool, and a range of small-scale artisanal activities. A more commercialised form of agriculture emerged with the appearance of markets and livestock fairs. A range of alternative sources of income existed for many farming families. This local economy was the context within which farming families organised farm production and devised labour strategies to supplement their incomes. Some farming households combined agricultural production with the manufacture of woollen garments. For many other farming households, these strategies involved different members of the household in off-farm non-agricultural activities. Such labour strategies may also have included temporary out-migration in the form of serial pluriactivity. Between the end of the nineteenth century and the inter-war period there was a radical change in the structure of the local economy. The wool industry and small-scale artisanal activities declined. There was an expansion in the commercial and service sectors of the local economy, with a naissant tourist economy whose expression and magnitude only became apparent after 1945. From the point of view of most farming families, the most significant result of these changes in the local economy was that agricultural incomes became increasingly important as the sole source of income.

The wool industry and flourmilling declined dramatically during the inter-war period. With regard to the wool industry, this was due to competition from overseas and the penetration of the local economy by imports from abroad (Poutensan, 1976: 169). Between 1846 and 1921 the population of 'La Cerdagne' decreased by 3,207 (30.86%). This decrease in the local population reduced the internal demand for flour production, wool production and other locally produced goods. Whereas in 1922 there were 34 mills in operation (26 flourmills, 2 watermills and 6 woolmills), by 1924 only 3 mills remained (2 flourmills and 1 watermill producing electricity). (39)

Principal Non-Agricultural Activities in the Local Economy 1921

	Household Population Living From Activity	No of Establishments With Activity	No of Communes With Activity
Wool Industry :	104	9	10
Flourmilling :	71	28	9
Blacksmithing :	94	16	15
Butcher:	78	13	10
Shoemaking:	59	9	8
Stone-masonry/Building:	198	32	18
Bakery/Patisserie:	51	12	10
Grocer:	120	16	14
Government Employment:	316	Not Applicable	10
Railway Works/Road Works:	234	Not Applicable	11
TOTAL	1325		

ADMnc 3171/Almanach Annuaire, 1921.

As these figures show, the artisanal base to the local economy remained but greatly reduced and limited to fewer communes. The domestic production of wool had ceased by 1921, with no trace of any 'tricoteuse' in the households of 'La Cerdagne'. With farmwork as yet unmechanised, blacksmiths held an important place in the local economy. Flourmilling was still widespread at the beginning of the 1920's. However, the most important areas of economic activity, outside agriculture, were those related to railways, roads and construction. Together with local government, construction industries represented the main source of non-agricultural employment. With the reduction of local forms of artisanal industry and the reduction in seasonal forms of employment, pluriactivity by farmers and farming households declined in 'La Cerdagne'. By 1921 only 3.8% of all agricultural households had a member engaged in off-farm non-agricultural activities and only 0.72% had more than one member so engaged.

The inter-war period was a difficult time for the agricultural population. Serial employment and diverse employment strategies declined and many farming households were left entirely dependent on agricultural production. The dwindling agricultural population found itself under

pressure to increase production to meet the demands of the growing urban-industrial population. The overall effect of these changes was to increase the pressure, and the openings, for the commercialisation of agriculture, e.g., to increase the share of production for sale. As one informant put it :

> "My mother used to knit stockings you see; any surplus garments - she sold them at the Mont Louis fair in October ... that gave us some money in the Winter. We had some money from the animals ...you see - well you know about that anyway - we sold some at the fair ...so my mother earned some extra money with her garments. They [retailers] used to come from Perpignan, Prades - all over to buy stockings ... you see we were cheaper here ...Then my younger brother worked in the mine at Porté ... and the other one ... he worked in a wool mill ... well you see, that all finished after the war [1914-1918]. There was less of that sort of work, you see ... we had just our animals to sell"
>
> (Madame Bragulat, aged 90)

The increased reliance on agricultural incomes led to a growth in the number of livestock fairs and livestock sales, e.g., beef cattle and horses. Most sheep from the region were sold at fairs around Perpignan and Narbonne (40).

By the early 1930's agricultural production, with the exception of large commercial farms around Bourg Madame, remained largely unmechanised. Between 1921 and 1936 the agricultural population fell from 65.96% of the total population to 43.15% (41). The local artisanal industry had declined still further and the wool industry had almost disappeared from the region.

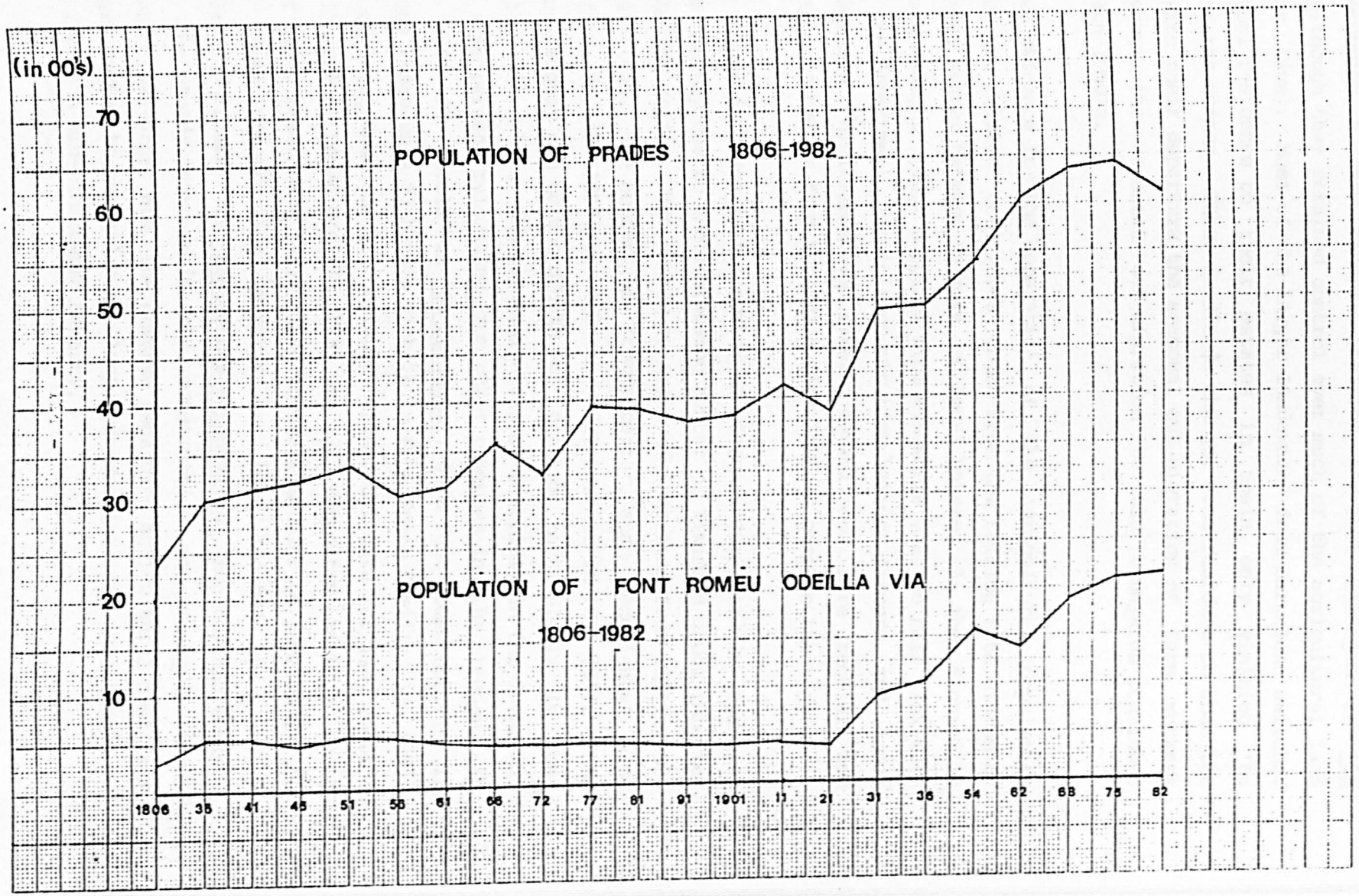
Principal Non-Agricultural Activities in the Local Economy 1936

	Household Population Living From Activity	No of Establishments With Activity	No of Communes With Activity
Wool Industry :	35	7	5
Flourmilling :	20	2	2
Blacksmithing :	60	12	10
Butcher:	56	10	8
Shoemaking:	24	7	6
Stone-masonry/Building:	74	12	9
Bakery/Patisserie:	59	13	12
Grocer:	97	22	16
Government Employment:	222	Not Applicable	6
Railway Works/Road Works:	424	Not Applicable	15
Total	1071		

ADMnc 3807/8/Almanach Annuaire, 1936.

The level of off-farm work within agricultural households was slightly higher than for 1921. In 11.1% of agricultural households at least one person was engaged in non-agricultural activity and in 3.2% of households more than one person was so engaged. Two-thirds of all this off-farm activity was associated with tourism, hotels, restaurants and cafes. Tourism-related activities were concentrated in the winter months, complementing agricultural production in the summer months. It is not surprising that informants spoke of the tourist economy as offering an alternative and complementary source of employment.

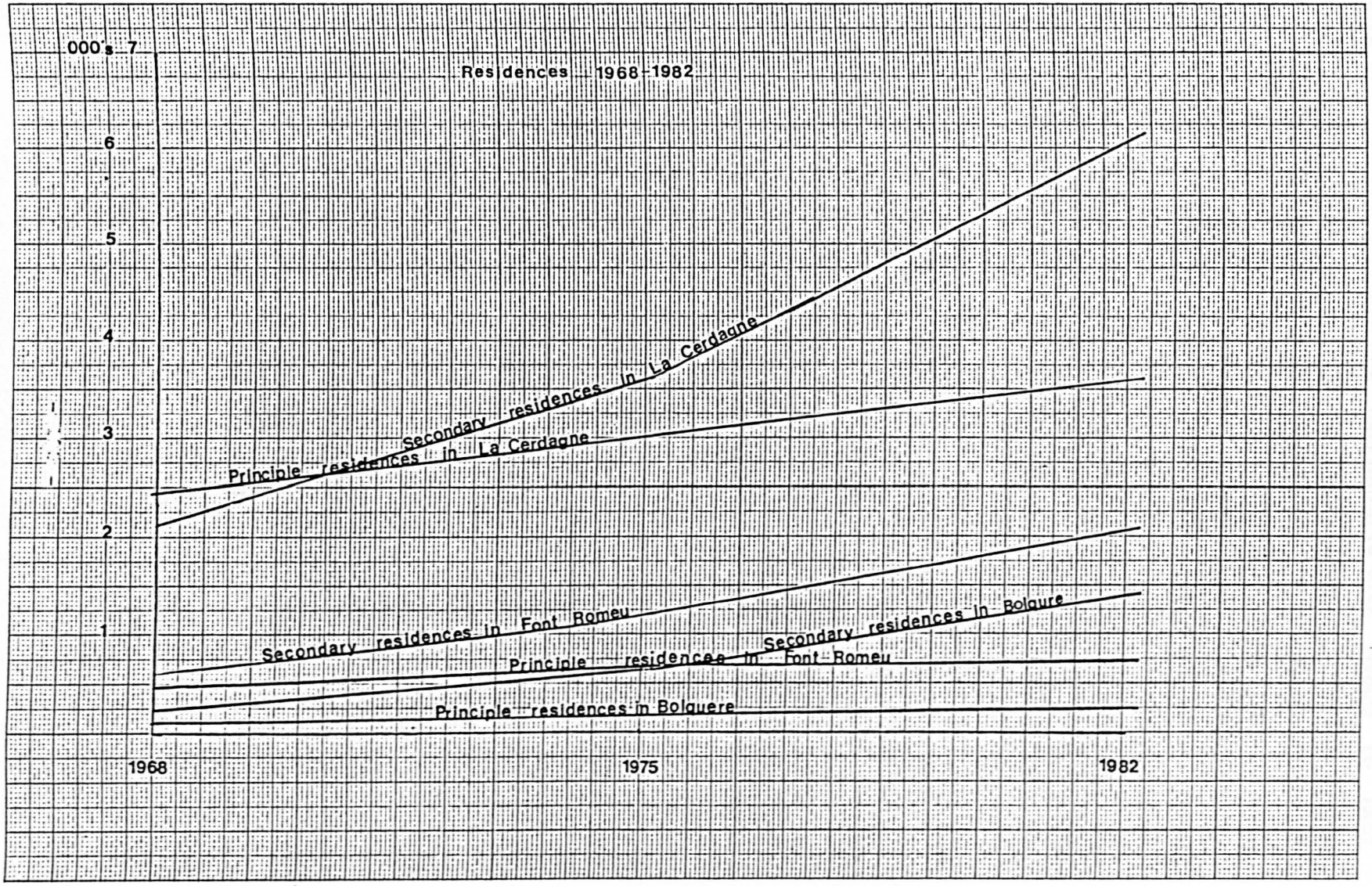
> When they [the tourists] started to come here ... and it was important then, you see ... they first came in the 1920's .. it was important, particularly for the young ... we saw in it work for our children ... they might not have to leave home - or the region at least. My youngest one he worked in a hotel... they [the tourists] came for the skiing ... and many farmers' sons went there ... and some daughters! They looked for work"
>
> (Monsieur Canal. Retired farmer aged 83. Now a card player at the Planès bar Saillagouse).


(in 00's)
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
POPULATION OF PRADES 1806-1982
POPULATION OF FONT ROMEU ODEILLA VIA
1806-1982
1806
35
41
45
51
58
61
66
72
77
81
91
1901
11
21
31
36
54
62
68
75
82

Out-migration to Barcelona had ceased by the early 1920's. The large landowners occupied a less central position in most villages in 'La Cerdagne', although they retained control over much of the agricultural land (see Chapter Five). Most of the larger landowners from Barcelona switched their principal residence to their estates in Spain, only visiting 'La Cerdagne' in the summer. These landlords changed from resident to absentee landlords; with their departure the seasonal out-migration of farm workers ceased. However, the seasonal out-migration to the vineyards continued until the late 1950's.

Further evidence for the separation of the agricultural population from agriculture-related activities comes from the falling into disuse of the non-payment system between farmers and local bakers. As the flourmills closed, bakers sought flour supplies from elsewhere via the rail link with the rest of the department. Socio-economic ties between farmers and local bakers gradually diminished as bakers established more regular and guaranteed flour supplies from wholesale distributors outside the region.

There was an increase in the number of persons employed in commerce and services, partly due to the increasing number of finished goods imported from outside the region. The number so employed increased from 163 in 1921 to 878 in 1936 (42). The number of 'commercants' and 'négociants' also increased from 85 in 1856 to 122 in 1921 and 232 in 1936 (43). This expansion was largely due to the growth of tourism, particularly in Font Romeu Odeilla Via where the population expanded rapidly in the inter-war period with some persons relocating from other communes in the region. In 1953 there were 27 hotels in 'La Cerdagne', 5 in Font Romeu Odeilla Via (44). By 1962 there were 33 hotels with 16 in Font Romeu Odeilla Via (45). The growth of local tourism has continued. Fieldwork data for 1989 records 42 hotels, 23 in Font Romeu Odeilla Via, and 22 campsites with a total capacity of 6,300 placements (46). Tied to the expansion of tourism in the region, the local construction industry has been boosted by a rapid expansion in the number of 'résidences secondaires', holiday and weekend homes (47). The steady increase in the construction of non-agricultural dwellings and buildings, and the obverse regarding agricultural dwellings and buildings, serves to emphasise the long-term decline of investment in agriculture from the mid-nineteenth century.


Residences 1968-1982
000's
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
Secondary residences in La Cerdagne
Principle residences in La Cerdagne
Secondary residences in Font Romeu
Principle residences in Font Romeu
Secondary residences in Bolquere
Principle residences in Bolquere
1968
1975
1982

The growth of tourism has had a profound effect on the broad organisation of agricultural households, particularly with regard to land (see Chapter Five). Part of the increase in dwelling construction in the 1960's can be linked to new patterns and strategies of landownership and inheritance. It appears that tourism has provided some agricultural households with new strategies for economic survival, while providing others with a basis for accumulation and economic expansion. Originating in Font Romeu Odeilla Via, tourism spread to Bolquère by the late 1950's and then throughout 'La Cerdagne' (48). The most important tourist development involving farmers to date was in the process of being realised in the commune of St. Leocardie, during the course of fieldwork. Agriculture, on the other hand, has played a decreasingly important role in the local economy of 'La Cerdagne' since 1945. With the spread of mechanisation in agricultural production (see Chapter Six), the number of blacksmiths declined from 12 in 1953 (49) to 7 in 1962 (50). There were no blacksmiths left in 'La Cerdagne' by the time of my fieldwork.

Between 1954 and 1982 the population of 'La Cerdagne' increased from 9,134 to 10,734, having declined sharply between 1954-1962 due to the 'exode agricole', rising again between 1962-1968 with the expansion of the tertiary sector including tourism.

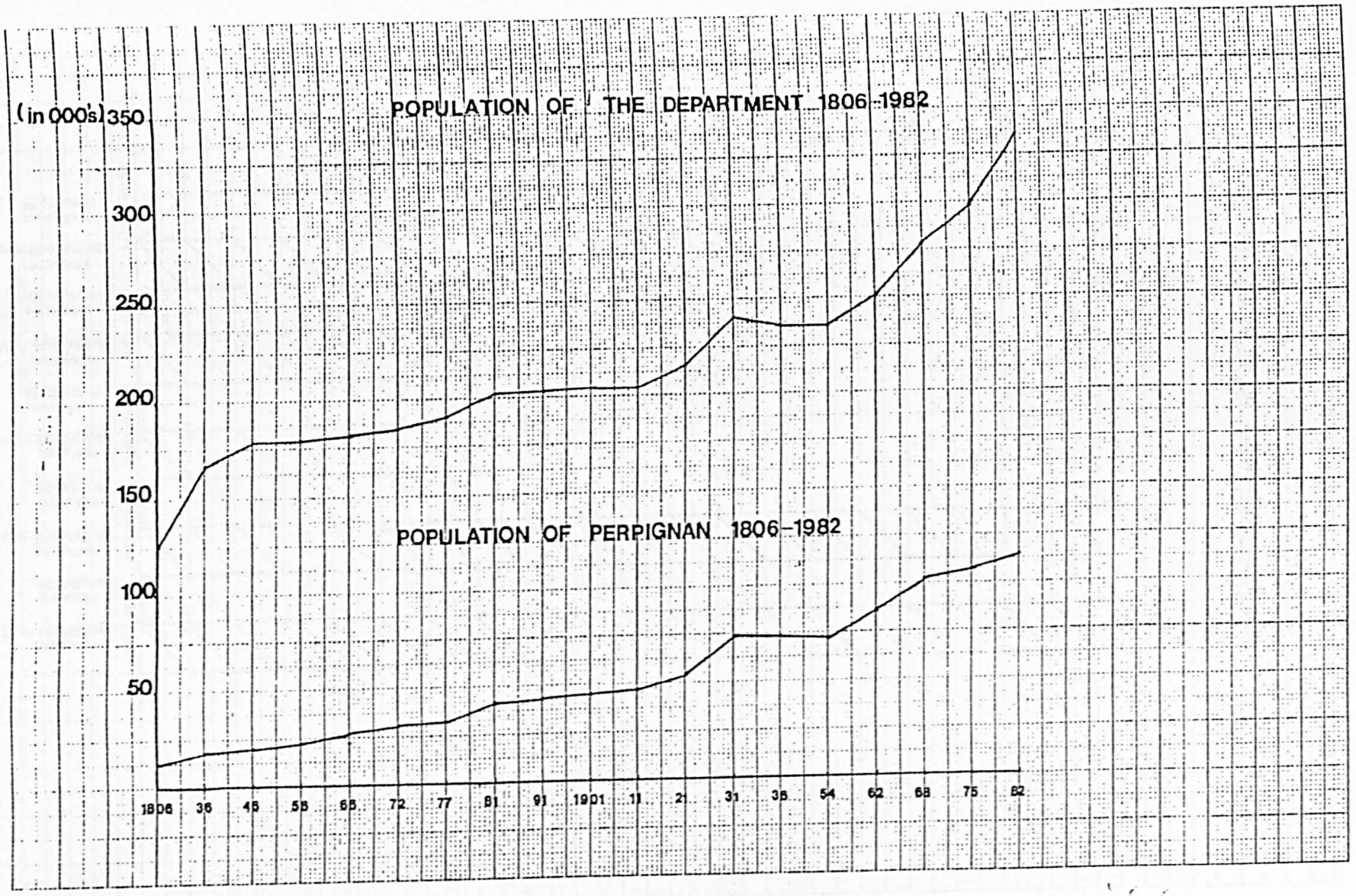
Population 'La Cerdagne' 1954-1962

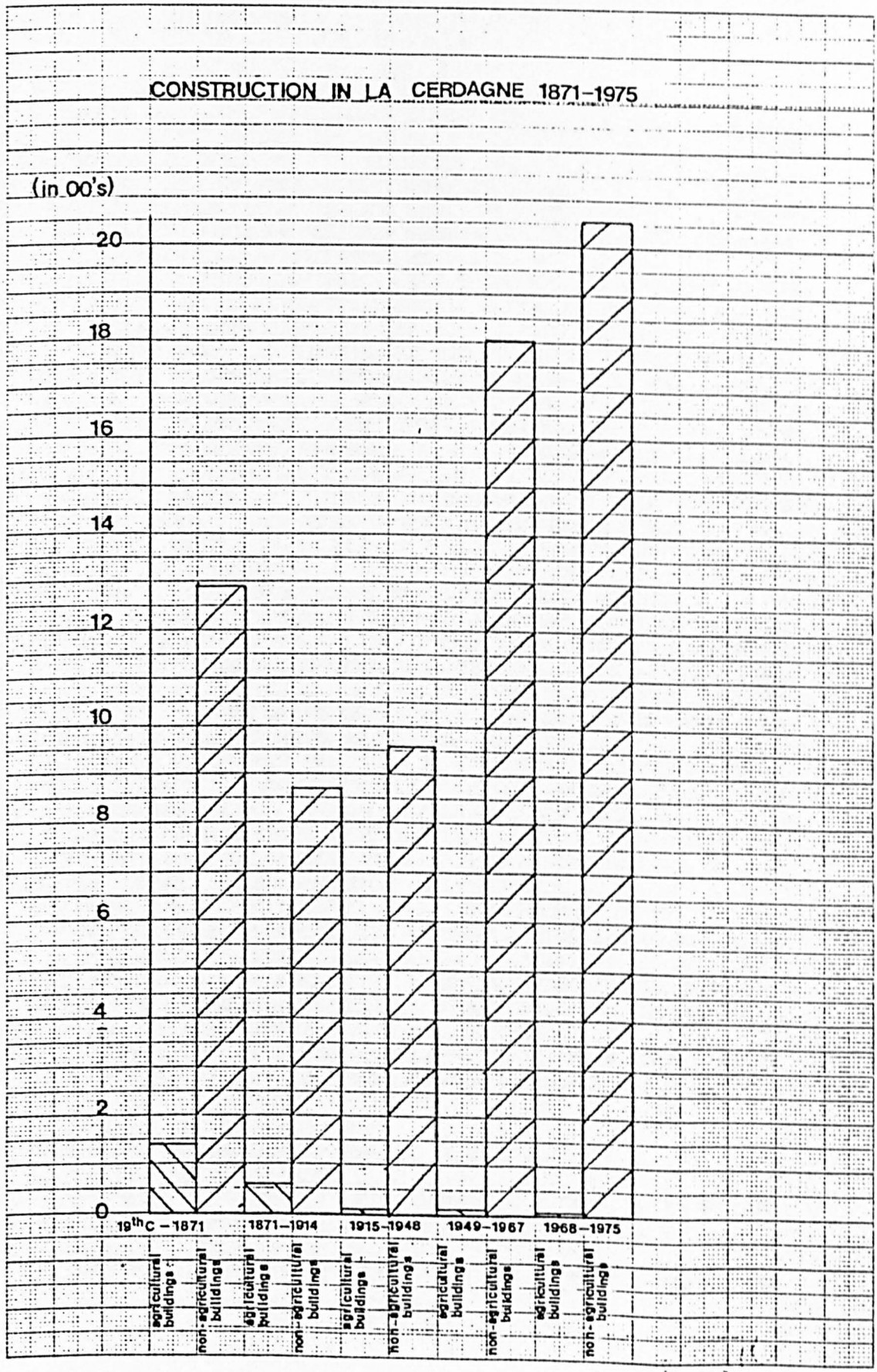
	1954	1962	1968	1975	1982
Total Population	9134	8001	8912	9987	10734
% Active	37.7	39.2	39.6	42.3	43.0
Total in Agriculture	1233	761	529	329	259
% active, Agriculture	33.8	21.2	15.0	7.8	5.9
% active, Industry	17.3	19.0	N/A	14.3	N/A
% active, Tertiary	46.6	59.8	N/A	77.84	N/A

Total Agricultural Household Population

	1954	1962	1968	1975	1982
Total Agric. Population	2299	1747	1068	1098	582
% as Agric. Population	25.16	21.83	11.98	10.99	4.49

INSEE


POPULATION OF THE DEPARTMENT 1806-1982
(in 000's)
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
POPULATION OF PERPIGNAN 1806-1982
1806
36
46
56
66
72
77
81
91
1901
11
21
31
36
54
62
68
75
82


CONSTRUCTION IN LA CERDAGNE 1871–1975
(in 00's)
20
18
16
14
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
19th C – 1871
1871–1914
1915–1948
1949–1967
1968–1975
agricultural buildings
non-agricultural buildings
agricultural buildings
non-agricultural buildings
agricultural buildings
non-agricultural buildings
agricultural buildings
non-agricultural buildings
agricultural buildings
non-agricultural buildings

Data from the 1990 census is not yet available, however, fieldwork data indicates that the total population has not radically altered from that of 1982.

Between 1954 and 1982, the proportion of persons economically active as wage earners continued to rise. The proportion of persons actively engaged in, and deriving their living from, agriculture has declined sharply. The proportion of persons actively engaged in the local industrial sector has also declined but less steeply than for agriculture. The proportion of persons actively engaged in the commercial/service sector has increased rapidly. Apart from tourism, there has been an increase in employment in banking, insurance, small-scale commerce and shops, supermarkets and local government. Interestingly, the decline of the agricultural sector as a source of economic activity has been more dramatic in 'La Cerdagne' than for France as a whole. It is precisely this kind of evidence that prompted the EC's 1975 mountain and uplands areas policy.

The population of 'La Cerdagne' rose steeply between 1806 and 1846, later declining at the very moment that dispersed rural industrial developments were taking place in response to changes elsewhere in the department. The rise of the 'exode agricole' coincided with the emergence of a more commercialised form of agriculture in the heart of 'La Cerdagne'. The dispersed local industry and the existence of several income sources did not prevent the 'exode agricole'. The exodus was a result of both push and pull factors. Agricultural employment was seasonal and precarious, and there was a degree of dependence on seasonal out-migration. This seasonal out-migration brought exposure to more stable forms of industrial employment around Prades and Perpignan. Industrial development outside 'La Cerdagne' attracted large numbers who contributed to the urban growth of Prades and Perpignan. Within 'La Cerdagne' the communes which have experienced population growth have been those linked with the development of tourism.

From the middle of the nineteenth century, the structure of the local mainly agricultural economy (largely self-supporting with a dispersed artisanal base) was transformed by the 1960's into a local economy in which agriculture had become marginalised. By the 1920's agricultural and

artisanal activities had become separated, with the majority of farming households entirely dependent on income from their agricultural production. The 'paysan-travailleur' (51) of the nineteenth century disappeared and the farmer as a specialised socio-economic factor emerged, but, after 1945, increasingly marginalised within the local economy. The local economy post-1945 became increasingly dependent on tourism and on goods imported from outside the region (Noel, 1983) (52). These changes in the local economy have not, however, led to any major changes in the age structure of the local population or of the local farming population.

Age Structure of Total Population 'La Cerdagne' 1954-1982

	0-19	20-64	64+	
1954	24.16	61.14	14.70	(%)
1962	28.17	58.47	13.36	
1968	28.76	57.29	13.95	
1975	27.98	56.92	15.10	
1982	26.46	58.87	14.67	

INSEE

Age Structure of Farming Population 'La Cerdagne' 1962-1985

	0-19	20-64	64+	
1962	22.78	57.09	20.13	(%)
1968	23.56	59.30	17.14	
1975	17.05	50.23	32.72	
1982	20.21	66.45	13.34	
1985	22.15	57.02	20.83	

INSEE and fieldwork

The underlying effect of these changes was to increase the importance of agricultural production and goods for sale rather than for subsistence. This shift on the part of farmers in 'La Cerdagne' had an important corollary in a series of political conflicts over the control of local commercial outlets for agricultural products. This conflict became acute in the inter-war period and has had a profound impact on the changing socio-political order in 'La Cerdagne'.

Socio-Political Change in 'La Cerdagne' from the 1830's to the 1930's.

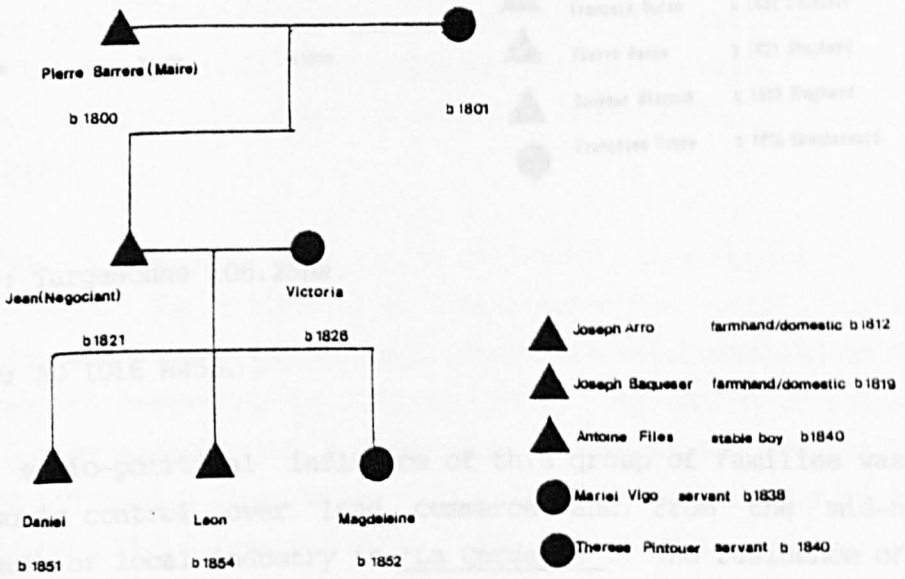
In the nineteenth century there was a close connection between wealth and local political influence. Eligibility to vote was based on property ownership and 'La capacité' (53), which favoured the wealthier property owners in the local population. Military conflict between Spain and France led to an increased military presence along the frontier. The 'imposition censitaire' reserved all active participation in public political processes to a wealthy bourgeoisie, and more precisely, to the large landowners in 'La Cerdagne' (as elsewhere in the department, see Farreras and Wolf, 1982). The introduction of the 'suffrage capacitaire' in 1848, as a supplement to the 'suffrage censitaire', did little in practice to change the situation. Those deemed eligible to participate directly in political affairs were precisely those who already had such experience.

In 'La Cerdagne', both the elected and the electorate came from the wealthier sections of the propertied classes. In the 1830's all 28 elected 'Maires' came from landed and commercial/industrial sections of the popul ation. Although there were 2,970 landowners in 1884 (54), the vast majority were small peasants owning less than 2ha, the 36 persons eligible to vote in the Canton of Saillagouse (55) were from the wealthier property owners (56) and only the wealthiest stood for election. Among the propertied elite of the 1830's, for example, was the 'Maire' of what is now known as Latour de Carol who was both 'négociant' and from a landowning family with a total landstock of 178.24ha. Others from this elite included landowners such as Monsieur Pierre de Pastors, owner of 177.43ha (57). Alongside the commercial and industrial landed classes, there was a landowning middle class composed of local clergy, lawyers and doctors. Prominent among this middle class at the time was Joseph de Maury, a medical doctor owning 51.90ha and Pierre Blanc, the 'curé' for Saillagouse owning 80ha (58). These latter two families are discussed in Chapter Five, with regard to the role of post-war farming elites in 'La Cerdagne'.

In addition to their considerable economic and political influence, these families enjoyed a social status as 'Les Grandes Familles' or 'Les

Notables Ruraux', living in 'Les Grandes Maisons' or 'Le Grand Mas' within different villages. The extent of their wealth and economic importance can be seen in the way domestic workforces clustered around their residences. Domestics and servants ran the house while farmhands, stableboys and shepherds worked in the farmbuildings and on the land. Two of these 'Grandes Familles' and the resident workforce are given as typical examples.

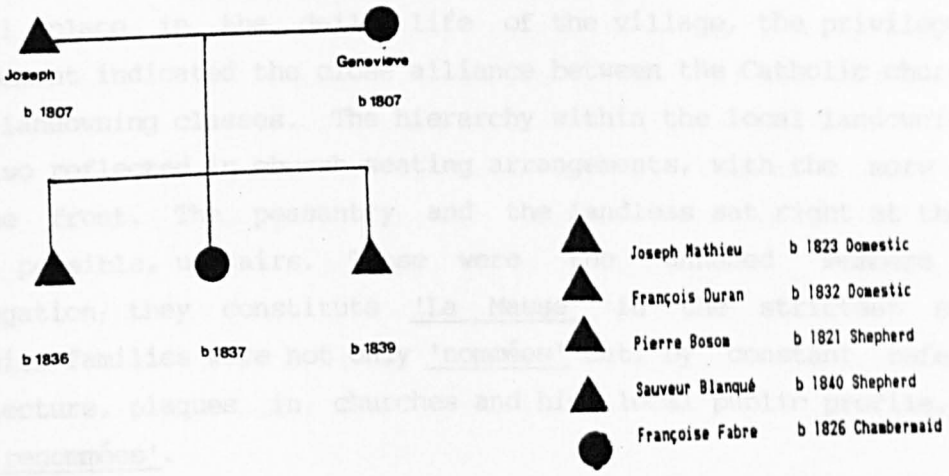
Barrère Household, Bourg Madame 1856



Land owned: Bourg Madame 47.6ha; Dorres 75.4ha; Enveitg 17.2ha.

ADMnc 2480; AD 1016 W53, 132, 139.

Grau Household, Targasonne 1856



Land owned: Targasonne 106.25ha.

ADMnc 2480; AD 1016 W455.

The socio-political influence of this group of families was based on their economic control over land, commerce and, from the mid-nineteenth century, much of local industry in 'La Cerdagne'. The residence of 'Grandes Familles' (variously referred to as 'Le Mas', 'La Grande Maison' or more rarely 'Le Château') quite often literally dominated the village. The size and style of the residences of these wealthy families was an architectural expression of their owner's extensive social, economic and political influence in local village affairs. In some cases the landowning families lived in residences apart from farm and farmbuildings. In others, residences were integrated into the farmbuildings, but carefully segregated from them. In some cases roof-towers were constructed to enable surveillance of farm workers in the fields (59). Less obtrusive indications of the socio-economic hierarchy were expressed in architectural styles and building materials within the farming population. Granite window surrounds were indicative of wealthier landowners, while the smaller peasant dwellings tended to have wooden or ordinary stone surrounds.

Seating arrangements in village churches also reflected the social status of the wealthier propertied classes in everyday life. The more prominent members of the local landowning class had reserved pews in the churches marked by small named plaques. The church itself occupied a central place in the daily life of the village, the privileged seating arrangement indicated the close alliance between the Catholic church and the local landowning classes. The hierarchy within the local landowning classes was also reflected in church seating arrangements, with the more prominent at the front. The peasantry and the landless sat right at the back or, where possible, upstairs. These were the unnamed members of the congregation; they constitute 'La Masse' in the strictest sense. The wealthier families were not only 'nommées' but, by constant references in architecture, plaques in churches and high local public profile, they were also 'renommées'.

Marriage alliances within the local landed and propertied classes were designed to ensure the continuity of their economic, social, political and cultural prominence in 'La Cerdagne'. There are many examples of this and a case study is discussed in Chapter Five. The extent of their economic influence can be seen in that 8 of the larger landowning families owned over 1,300ha and the 3 main flour mills (60). In numerical terms most landowners in 'La Cerdagne' owned less than 2ha. The land structure of the nineteenth century was dominated by a small number of large landowning families, with 18 families owning more than 100ha each spread over two or more villages.

Land Structure in 'La Cerdagne' 1830

Size of Holding	Number of Landowners
2 hectares	1884
2-5 hectares	555
5-10 hectares	280
10-20 hectares	139
20-50 hectares	90
50-100 hectares	19
100 + hectares	3
Total	2970

AD 1016

The geographical location of the large landowners corresponded with the main commercial and industrial locations of the region post-1850. This was because many of the large landowners, originally from Spain and particularly Barcelona, were also 'commercants', 'industriels' or 'fabricants' in the villages where they owned land. Others of the same origin but not so engaged, bought large tracts of land close to the old commercial centres in 'La Cerdagne'. This gave them access to Spain via Bourg Madame and to Perpignan via Mont Louis. The vast majority of tenant farmers and farm workers were dependent on one or more of the large landowning families throughout the nineteenth century. This group of 'Notables Ruraux' (whether simple landowners, landowners and commercial/industrial proprietors, or landowners from the professions) exercised a considerable degree of control over most aspects of daily life in the region.

A similar picture emerges in the period up to WWI, with landownership concentrated in the hands of a small number of very large landowners (61), who also remained prominent in local commercial and industrial activities. However, with the decline of the local wool industry, flourmilling and dispersed industry in the 1920's and 1930's, the large landowners found themselves increasingly dependent on income from agricultural production alone, as did the rest of the region's farming population.

The prominence of the 'Notables Ruraux' was still evident in 1921, with 22 out of the 28 'Maires' coming from this grouping. It is important to note that the other 6 'Maires' elected were farmers with no family links with the 'Notables Ruraux' (62). The number of farmers elected 'Maire' increased to 8 in 1933 (63). The political influence of the 'Notables Ruraux' remained strong and can be seen in the principal agricultural organisation of the period, 'Le Syndicat d'Agriculteurs Catholiques de Cerdagne'. The leadership was composed of individuals from large landowning families with landowning farmers elected as 'délégués'.

The inter-war period saw the birth of a Catholic movement which was to have a great influence in the agricultural organisations of the region in the 1960's. This took the form of a young farmers' movement. The syndicat of the 1930's contained farmers who were part of the 'JACISTES' movement

(64). This movement, drawing its ideological inspiration from the traditional Catholic church, rejected a marxist class conflict model of society while also being critical of large-scale monopoly forms of private ownership. The Jacistes' were ideologically opposed to socialism, and supported notions which were close to the traditional Catholic church, with its emphasis on "the harmonious rural world". The leadership of the syndicat were thus opposed to liberal capitalism and socialism, both of which had an urban political origin. The agricultural leaders called for the retention of what they perceived to be the traditional rural order. Ideologically, this took the form of a romanticised view of the peasant family farm and the need to protect the 'famille paysanne' which constituted the numerically dominant base of the local land hierarchy. The landed classes, concerned to maintain their political influence in 'La Cerdagne' as leaders of the syndicat, stood as "representatives" of the local farming population. The decline in local industry, the increased emphasis on agricultural incomes, and the expansion of agricultural markets brought farmers into the local political economy. The increased demand for food from urban populations led to a more commercial form of agriculture, which in turn led to a conflict between farmers and a group of private dairies in 'La Cerdagne' during the 1920's (65).

The conflict centred on the control of agricultural production, processing and marketing in 'La Cerdagne'. This was to have ramifications beyond the commercialisation of agricultural production. Given the interconnectedness of social, economic and political power embedded in the network of the traditional 'Notables Ruraux', the struggle for control over the commercialisation of agriculture had a profound impact on the whole political economy of the region.

By the inter-war period, commercialised agriculture in 'La Cerdagne' was well established, evidenced by the existence of private dairies. The 'Notables Ruraux' lost some of their influence during the 1930's as farmers became increasingly opposed to the landowning classes and their private dairies. This opposition to private dairies eventually led farmers to form an alliance with the State, during WWII, in an attempt to confront the socio-economic problems posed during the inter-war period. This alliance

took place during the era of 'Corporatisme' (1940-1944) which cemented the naissant farmers' cooperative movement that had originally stemmed from the conflict between farmers and private dairies in 'La Cerdagne'.

The farmers' cooperative movement has played an important role in the changing socio-political context of agriculture and rural development in 'La Cerdagne'. The first farmers' cooperative, a dairy cooperative, set up in the region, indeed the first in the department, was established in 1913 in the village of St. Pierre dels Forcats (66). It followed the creation of the 'Syndicat Professional Agricole de Saint Pierre, La Cabanasse'. Milk was collected from farmers in and around the village. Most of the milk was used to fatten pigs (67) under the supervision of the 'Syndicat d'Elévage' (68), with the remainder made into butter and cheese under the appelations 'Le Catalan' and 'Le Pyrénées'. Under such early agricultural organisations, the production, collection, processing and marketing of products was small-scale, adhoc and localised.

During the 1920's milk and dairy markets within the department expanded to feed the growing urban and non-farming populations. The decline in the number of farmers and the increase in the non-farming population reinforced the trend towards greater commercialisation of agricultural production. From the farmers' point of view, the increased commercialisation of milk and dairy products was seen as a means of ameliorating their personal economic situation.

Farmers, especially small farmers, focused on milk production because this could be effected on a relatively small-scale and would yield a more regular income than livestock sales. The extent of small farming in the late-1920's is indicated by the fact that 88 farmers in Porta owned and farmed a total of only 260ha, at an average of 2.954ha per farm (69): 56 farms were less than 1ha. In Valcobollère, out of a total of 54 farms, 25 were less than 1ha (70). In Bolquère, 8 farms were less than 1ha, 30 were between 1-3ha, 35 between 3-4ha, 4 between 5-10ha, with only 1 between 20-30ha (71). It is only in such communes as Bourg Madame that we find large farms in the 1920's. In Bourg Madame in 1929 there were 2 farms between 5-10ha, 3 between 10-20ha, 3 betwen 20-30ha, 3 between 30-40ha, 2 between 40-50ha and 1 farm between 50-100ha (72).

Since they lacked the land to practice extensive livestock farming, the sale of milk was particularly important for the smaller farmers. Moreover, the sale of milk provided a more regular source of income at a period when cash payments became more frequent in daily transactions. Evidence from interviews with a butcher and the grandson of a local shopkeeper, together with that from ledger books from a butcher's shop and other general village shops, indicates that it was during the inter-war period that the old system of "reckoning-up" at fairs began to decline. The "slate" system also declined in this period, although it was still used until 1963 at the fair at Mont Louis. With direct cash payment becoming the norm, farmers sought the more regular income, to be obtained from milk production.

Fairs had been the basis of livestock sales for farmers in 'La Cerdagne', and the 9 fairs that operated in the 1930's still provided an important outlet for farmers (73). By this time, markets had now separated from fairs and were run on a weekly basis in many villages for the sale of farm vegetables. Surplus farmyard produce (eggs, poultry and rabbits) was sold to local village shops. The search for more regular agricultural income led to an emphasis on dairying over traditional livestock farming (see Chapter Four). It was following the increase in the number of farmers switching to dairying that the conflict between the farmers and the private dairies developed.

The expansion of demand for milk and dairy products led to the establishment of private dairies throughout the department in the 1920's and 1930's. The principal private dairy in the department belonged to the Domenech family and was located in Perpignan. Milk was collected from surrounding regions, including 'La Cerdagne', and transported to dairy factories in Perpignan for processing and marketing. The farmers' cooperative at St. Pierre dels Forcats La Cabanasse was small-scale and centred on local specialities. Most farmers in 'La Cerdagne' relied on the Domenech dairy for the sale of their milk. This dairy operated a quasi-monopoly over local milk production and price-setting.

> "We either sold the milk to Domenench and received quelques sous, or we threw it away, and got nothing." (Monsieur Canongia, aged 84)

The conflict between farms in 'La Cerdagne' and the dairy owned by the Domenech family took place within a wider national debate concerning 'La lutte contre la vie chère' (74). In the inter-war period the French government tried to resist food price increases to the urban consumer and input-prices to industry. In 'La Cerdagne', as elsewhere, farmers sought to increase their share of the total agricultural product (in the form of increased prices paid to farmers). Arguments to this end, already familiar in agricultural politics, were deployed. That is, the same vocabulary as had been part of the late-nineteenth century criticism of 'chevillards, commissaires et marchands' (Duby et al, 1976, a: 459), was used in 'La Cerdagne' in the inter-war years directed against the Domenech private dairy (75). Farmers' leaders in 'La Cerdagne' argued that the Domenech dairy was:

> "appropriating a share of the total product in the form of profit; because of that, the consumer demand is lower than it would be if the farmers sold direct to the consumers." (76)

In a series of letters between the farmers' leaders and the Préfet, the Sous-Préfet, the Services Vétérinaires and the Domenech dairy, it became clear that the conflict was in fact more fundamental than simply a question of price-setting and related to the issue of control over the commercialisation of milk production in 'La Cerdagne'.

The monopoly over the collection of milk in 'La Cerdagne' and the distribution of milk in the department provided significant leverage for the Domenech dairy. For example, having lowered the price paid to farmers in 'La Cerdagne' by 20 centimes per litre in 1932, the private dairy resisted the instruction of the Services Vétérinaires, acting as arbiter, to lower its selling price by the same amount (77). In the absence of an alternative commercial outlet, farmers in 'La Cerdagne' had little influence over price-setting. As a result of this incident, a second and larger farmers' cooperative was established at Err in 1934.

There was much initial opposition to the proposal to set up a second cooperative. Most of the opposition came from the traditional Catholic

leadership of the 'Syndicat d'Agriculteurs Catholique' and the 'Caisse Cantonale de Crédit Mutuel de Cerdagne'. The opposition threw into relief two different and opposing perceptions of the relationship between the private dairy and the farmers. The leadership of the new farmers' cooperative emphasised the exploitative nature of the relationship between the private dairy and the farmers. The leaders of the Syndicat and the Caisse de Crédit stressed the mutual benefit of the relationship. They saw a threat to the existing social order in the creation of a second and larger farmers' cooperative. An example of this latter position is provided by Monsieur d'Amiel, a landowner who supported the private dairy and opposed the second farmers' cooperative.

> "It appears to me that the farmers are complaining for nothing, or it is all a question of politics. In any event, for myself, the Domenech dairy is equipped to sell - understanding the market - and the farmers are equipped to produce-understanding their livestock and farming. Each has its own responsibility in the procedure. Domenench knows the market price to pay the farmers, and the farmers must cut their costs if they are in difficulty. To mix production and selling would not make the best use of the respective strengths of the producers and the sellers" (78)

The composition of the local political hierarchy had changed only slightly from that of the nineteenth century. The majority of Maires were from the traditional 'Notables Ruraux', as was most of the leadership of the Syndicat and the Caisse de Crédit. The control over land exercised by these traditional 'Notables Ruraux' assured them wide control over the majority of tenant farmers. Most of the landowners, especially the Domenech family, were opposed to the second farmers' cooperative. They felt a second cooperative would lead to further demands by the tenant farmers. Many landowners feared that farm workers may also see the opening-up of the traditional social order in the villages and make demands for improving their own situation. With opposition from landowners fairly widespread, there was a problem in finding a landowner willing to sell or provide the land for the second cooperative. This was solved in 1934, with land donated by the major landowning family from Err. The landowner himself (Barthélémy Llédos) was from a family of 'Notables Ruraux' though not from the

traditional 'Notables Ruraux'. As a 'Républicain', he was from a strand of 'Notables' who opposed the traditional landowning Catholic elite.

The initial decision to establish a cooperative at Err was taken by 24 tenant farmers, one landowning farmer and the donating landowner, all from Err. The position of Barthélémy Llédos as a 'Notable Républicain' is interesting in terms of his relationship with the traditional landowning Catholic 'Notables'. Having opposed the latter, and having taken the side of the farmers in their demand for a second cooperative and, more specifically, having donated the land to effect this, he, and his family put themselves outside of the boundaries of the world of the traditional landowning hierarchy. This is most clearly seen in the local church at Err. Although the main landowning family at Err throughout the late-nineteenth century and up to the early post-war period, there is no name plaque in the church for the Llédos family. The reason for this is clear. Barthélémy Llédos was a Republican opposed to the traditional Catholic landowners with his political and ideological sympathies more in line with those of the State. The traditional 'Notables Ruraux' placed their political and ideological sympathies with the Catholic church, and the idea of the 'natural order of the rural social world', including the subordination of, for example, tenant farmers to the direction of the landowners. The establishment of the two cooperatives, in 1913 and 1934, was part of a general spread of dairy cooperatives (often referred to as 'fruitières' (79) in France (80). The creation of the cooperative at Err signalled a local struggle for control over the collection and commercialisation of milk and dairy products between the cooperatives and Domenech's private dairy.

The general economic climate of the 1930's influenced the attempt by the early coopérateurs (81) to increase the level of milk collected and to extend the markets for milk and dairy products beyond 'La Cerdagne'. To this end a policy was required to attract more farmers to deliver their milk to the cooperatives. The Domenech dairy controlled the major share of the milk and dairy markets in the department, and the problem of prices paid to farmers became the public focus for a more profound struggle between the coopérateurs and the private dairies.

The concept of a 'prix juste' became widely used as part of the agricultural political vocabulary. It was difficult to square the idea of a "fair price" with the prevalence of a market economy. The issue was in fact more concerned with an ideological struggle rather than with economic argument. The farmers' cooperatives were under pressure to operate 'efficiently' in a market economy and be capable of guaranteeing a price to the farmers sufficient to ensure deliveries. This was to be effected alongside lower prices to the consumer, while maintaining a publicly critical stance towards the profit considerations operating in the private dairies. This was not a straightforward brief for the farmers' cooperatives.

The first two years of the cooperative at Err were marked by the continuing national agricultural price debate. This led to the Comité Départmental du Lait in 1936 which introduced an administrative dimension into the commercialisation of milk and dairy production at departmental and national levels (82). While the main aim was limited to the control of hygiene and sanitation in milk production and processing, a further concern was to effect some stability regarding the price, production and marketing of milk.

Following a drop in meat prices in 1933 (83), a subsequent rise in meat prices between 1935 and 1936 resulted in many 'coopérateurs' using their milk production to fatten livestock rather than sell it to the cooperatives. This indicated a further problem in addition to that posed by the competition from the private dairies, of which there were several small ones, as well as the Domenech dairy, by 1935. Farmers sought individual solutions, using both the meat and the milk/dairy markets as a means to increase their incomes. The immediate result was a shortfall in supplies to the farmers' cooperatives. The Domenech dairy was less affected in that it had access to milk production throughout the department, and could carry reductions in supplies more easily than the farmers' cooperatives which were dependent entirely and uniquely on milk production from farmers in 'La Cerdagne'. As a consequence, the cooperative leaders at Err sought authorisation to increase the price paid to farmers for milk by 25% (84) The Domenech dairy had more flexibility in terms of the collection and

distribution of milk, and this was reflected in the greater room for manoeuvre with regard to the question of price. In 1934, for example, the Domenech dairy lowered the price paid to farmers again by 20 centimes per litre without lowering the price at sale. The price was, however, lowered, when other private dairies from outside the department attempted to undersell the Domenech dairy on the Perpignan market. The response by the Domenech dairy was designed to retain control over the financially lucrative urban market at Perpignan (85).

By the mid-1930's the private dairies themselves faced problems concerning the control of the Perpignan market due to competition from private dairies outside the department. The general situation had been further complicated by a group of micro-scale milk producers known as 'laitiers nourisseurs', scattered around the outskirts of Perpignan. The last vestiges of a class of small part-time farmers, the 'laitiers nourisseurs' typically maintained one or two dairy cows, selling their milk "sur place" by a horse drawn-cart in the streets of Perpignan (86). With lower overheads than the private dairies, these producers were able to undercut the private dairies on the Perpignan market. These small producers posed organisational problems at a time when the State had begun the process of structuring the milk and dairy markets. It was against the background of the State's attempt to stabilise and structure the dairy sector around the cooperatives and the private dairies (with the creation of the 'Comité du Lait') that in 1937 fines and suspended prison sentences were imposed on the laitiers nourisseurs who ceased to operate soon after (87).

In an attempt to resolve the problem of milk supplies, the cooperative at Err imposed a minimum delivery quota of 10 litres per day per 'coopérateur' (88). The supply problem remained, however, as farmers operated according to both meat and milk markets. One of the consequences of the shortfall in milk supplies was the decision by the cooperative administration in La Cerdagne to relinquish, to a private dairy, one of its depots recently opened at Perpignan. Whereas the first conflict of interests had been between farmers and the private dairies and later between cooperatives and private dairies, by 1937 the conflict was located at the heart of the cooperatives themselves. It was now between the interests of

individual farmers, and the proclaimed corporate interests of the cooperatives.

This raised questions concerning the existence of the 'mouvement coopératif' itself. Farmers sought their own solution to the price problem, evoking the difficult question as to what extent the cooperatives as commercial outlets could accommodate the economic interests of the individual farmers and to what extent could the interests of the farmers and the cooperatives be perceived as consonant. The extent of the problem for the dairy cooperatives is indicated by the farmers in the communes of Angoustrine, Bourg Madame, and Palau de Cerdagne. According to the Statistique Agricole Annuaire for 1930 (Angoustrine), 1937 (Bourg Madame) and 1938 (Palau de Cerdagne), the amount of milk production set aside for fattening calves represented a significant share of the total milk production (89).

	Total Annual Milk Production	Of Which For :	
		Fattening Calves	Human Consumption
Angoustrine	30000 litres	9000	21000
Bourg Madame	31500 litres	11500	20000
Palau de Cerdagne	56000 litres	24000	32000

The tactics employed by farmers in using both markets complicated the situation for the two dairy cooperatives. Meanwhile, the volatile nature of the dairy and milk sector spread to the inter-departmental level. In 1938, the Maison de Lait (a farmers' cooperative at Toulouse) expanded its market activities and procured a valuable contract to deliver milk to hospices at Perpignan. Hitherto, the contract had been held by the Domenech dairy. In the following year, cooperatives from the department of the Haute-Garonne, the Tarn et Garonne, and the Tarn expanded their market activities, sending milk wagons to collect milk as far as the Mediterranean coastline. By way of responding to the external competition, a temporary agreement between the two cooperatives in 'La Cerdagne' and the private dairies in the department of the Pyrénées-Orientales was drawn up to form a protectionist barrier around the department. Central to the agreement was that both farmers' cooperatives and private dairies would maintain the same price in order to undercut external competition.

With the outbreak of war, the commercial activities of the cooperatives and the private dairies returned to an ad-hoc basis. During the war, as a result of the influence of the 'Corporatisme Paysan' of the war-time State, the cooperatives and a cooperative movement established a strong ideological position among farmers within 'La Cerdagne'. With the commercial activities of the farmers' cooperatives reduced to an ad-hoc form, it was the ideology of 'coopération' that proved most significant in the maintenance of the cooperatives and the cooperative movement in 'La Cerdagne'. This prepared the ground for the commercial expansion of the cooperatives based on a higher (and widely accepted) profile of the French State in agricultural affairs in the post-war period.

The social composition of the administration of the cooperative at Err during the war shows that apart from the president (who in fact was the donating landowner) and three landowning farmers, the administration was largely composed of 15 tenant farmers (90). Apart from the president, there is an absence of links to the 'Notables' of earlier periods. This reflects the continuing rise of farmers with a higher political profile in farmers' affairs than had been the case up to the inter war period. During the Vichy period, there was a clear ideological emphasis on the importance of coopération, couched in Nationalist sentiments. An appeal for unity within 'La paysannerie', embraced the farmers' critique of the private dairies. This critique drew heavily on the inter-war consensus as to the proclaimed importance of the family farm, 'l'exploitation paysanne'. A "positive" image of the State was constructed in terms that carried explicit meaning for farmers and at odds with the traditional Catholic church's hostility towards the State. As such it paved the way for a wider acceptance of State intervention on the part of farmers in the post-war period. The 'unité paysanne' as expressed by the corporatiste State via the cooperative leadership was the ideological basis of post-war agricultural policy whereby the cooperative was to become integrated into the restructuring of agriculture. This is made clear in a speech given by the president of the farmers' cooperative at Err, dated 22/03/1942:

> "Before and above all, you must be good 'coopérateurs', good patriots, good Frenchmen, and you must remain united. It is in this sense that you will understand that the saying 'all for one and one for all' contains the formula for the happiness and health of our country! Our venerable Maréchal [Head of War Time State] wants each Frenchman to always do his best. He does not want us to get involved in politics, as we did before; he is perfectly right, for politics did not make the wheat grow, nor ripen the grape, nor produce the milk and cheese ... Our illustrious head of State wishes simply that you save yourselves and that at the same time you save your country by the cooperation and the Peasant Cooperation ...He also wants you, for your own good, and for that of your country to deliver yourselves from the intermediaries ...our cooperative is, and must continue to be more and more, the living expression of this wish, and, with the Peasant Cooperation, agriculture will finally be freed from the monstrous profits that even until recently have been taken from your land, your dairy products at dispicably low prices, only to pass them on from one dealer to another with illigitimate and increasing price increases, bringing them finally to the consumer who justly takes fright at the dear costs of living. It was high time that the producer addressed himself directly to the consumer under the control of the State" (91).

This statement reflected a Nationalist sentiment, couched in appeals for "unity and cooperation", and underwritten by a locally-based set of sentiments rooted in the conditions and beliefs of farmers in 'La Cerdagne'. The former were to underpin post-war acceptance of a high level of French State intervention in the pursuance of national agricultural planning. The locally-based sentiments and beliefs attributed the plight of farmers in 'La Cerdagne' to the exploitative nature of the economic relationship between farmers and the private dairies. The appeal of the 'unité paysanne' was that a solution to this problem, it was argued, lay in a closer alliance between the farmers, the cooperatives and the State. The problem of prices paid to farmers was thus to be resolved via the acceptance of further and extensive intervention by the State. The cooperative as an institutional form was seen as the 'cadre' through which policy was to be effected in 'La Cerdagne'. Moreover, 'l'unité' and 'coopération' were to become the 'mots

clés', in the post-war period in support of the ideological confrontation between the cooperatives and the private dairies.

Farming had been transformed into a specialised occupation following changes in the local economy through to the inter-war period. As a result, agricultural incomes became increasingly important to farmers. This brought farmers, and, later, the farmers' cooperatives into conflict with private dairies over prices, production and marketing. The farmers found a self-proposed ally in the war-time State which offered a solution to farmers with an appeal for 'unité' and 'coopération'. Moreover, the farmer had, during the inter-war period, gained a political profile previously unknown, as the influence of the traditional 'Notables Ruraux' diminished. The creation of the cooperative at Err may be seen as a broader expression of farmers concerned to wrest the economic and political initiative within 'La Cerdagne', and specifically with regard to agricultural production and commercialisation.

From economic and social change to Agricultural Modernisation

Following the decline of the local artisanal economy, many goods were no longer produced in 'La Cerdagne'. Saddles, yokes and other equipment for horses and cattle were brought in and sold in local shops. Shoes provided another example, as the shoemaker disappeared from the local economy. The decline in the local manufacture of garments made from wool meant that such goods had to be purchased, ready-made. Again, this tended to emphasise the importance of procuring a regular agricultural income for farming families. Moreover, the traditional "slate" system began to decline in the inter-war period. Although this system carried on in a diminishing manner until the 1960's, its demise began from the 1920's-1930's (92). With the shift in emphasis from livestock to dairy farming-with-livestock farming, farmers procured a more regular income. A direct system of payment developed and the sums from the sale of livestock fairs were used for farm investment or other purposes, rather than for the payment of outstanding debts (93).

The decline of the farmers' "slate" continued post-war with the reduction in the number of village shops and the emergence of three

supermarkets during the 1960's in the commercial centres of Font Romeu Odeilla Via and Bourg Madame.

General Local Commerce 1953-1985

	1953	1985
Baker	17	15
Butcher	28	19
General Store	47	31
Supermarket	0	3

Almanach Annuaire, 1953: 217-289; fieldwork.

The small shops and general stores that remained beyond the 1960's changed in form and ownership. From the 1960's, many of the village shops were taken over by a parent company, external to 'La Cerdagne', which organised its outlets in the villages on a tenancy basis. With the tenant paying rent in addition to overheads, the tenants were constrained to act on a cash-pay basis. It was precisely this development that eventually led to the end of the farmers' "slate".

There were important social consequences for those villages that lost their village shop. The shop was not simply a place to obtain goods. Local commerce was integrated into a web of social networks which were constructed around the agricultural fair, the market, local auberges, cafés and the village shops. This is well illustrated by the following comments from informants.

> "We used to go to the auberge or café on the way to and from the market or fair. We'd go for a game of cards, a glass of wine, pastis, and to talk about what had happened since we last met ...it's how we kept contact between villages. When the markets and the fair stopped, we had no reason to go to the auberge or café ... " (Monsieur Iglésis, retired farmer. Aged 79).

> "We still had the village shop ... we'd sit down outside on the bench and watch the boules ... we'd talk about politics, the wild boar that Jean Bonaventure [Cazals] shot every year ... When the store closed, people didn't go out so much into the square. The village store gave us an excuse really, although we needed it as well ... there wasn't anywhere else to buy the things you needed then. Now they have the supermarkets . .. but you can't play boules in front of them - they have car parks in front of them you see" (Bonaventure Rigole, retired farmer. Aged 73).

Modes of social expression within 'La Cerdagne' have changed, particularly during the post-war period. Earlier, locally defined social forms found expression at the village 'bal' at the 'fête du village'. In recent years, the dominant cultural forms in 'La Cerdagne' reflect forms and models of expression (in dance, music, and language) that are derived from a national model of 'fête', with little local significance. Linguistically, there is an equivalent, in that today French predominates over Catalan, as the main language used in daily life. With the introduction of compulsory education during the nineteenth century (94) French became increasingly important while Catalan was referred to as "...the vulgar idiom of the countryside" (95). The only people who spoke Catalan as their first language during the fieldwork period were from the third generation. Few people under the age of forty spoke Catalan, though most understood it.

Again, the inter-war period is when this change became most apparent. Farmers elected as 'Maire' during the 1920's and 1930's were obliged to deal with bureaucrats and authorities external to 'La Cerdagne', using French. The capacity to deal with external authorities became synonymous with high prestige and status in the agricultural organisations. Election to a post as local agricultural 'responsable' depended crucially on this capacity. The agricultural leaders of the 1930's were from the wealthier landed and agricultural classes who had more access to higher levels of education. Familiarity with the French language was more common in the wealthier agricultural classes. It is not surprising therefore to find that those deemed "competent" to represent the agricultural population, internally and externally, came from these classes. It was not until the 1950's that the use of the French language ceased to be a preserve of the wealthier agricultural classes only.

The importation of national forms of expression appeared in the context of the village 'bal' and 'fête'. Each village had its own 'fête' involving the public celebration of local history, politics and customs. The diversity of 'fêtes' and the importance of 'le bal' as one occasion for arranging marriages between the poorer sections of the farming and the non-farming population, was still evident in the 1950's (See Chapter Five). Inter-village rivalry for the best band, musician, food, wine and dancers underpinned a general socio-cultural recognition of locality. From the 1950's, however, with the arrival of television and radio, locally based forms of social and cultural expression were gradually replaced by national images and forms of expression. This led to a restructuring of the meaning as well as the forms of 'fêtes' and 'le bal' in the villages in 'La Cerdagne'. 'Le bal' and 'fête' became totally obsolete in many villages, or were transformed into social events whose expression reflected little of local social significance. The 'fête' became standardised. Traditionally the village 'fête' had a basis in religion (96), politics (left vs. right), family (for arranging marriages or reaffirming the position of local, wealthy families) and work (in relation to local farmers socialising or purchasing artisanal products) being organised by, and reflecting expressions of, local groups. They became standardised, corresponding to images of an "animation universelle", and were organised by groups from outside the villages of 'La Cerdagne'. These groups were professional 'animateurs', sponsored for the most part by large corporations, such as the Pastis company Paul Ricard.

Television and post-war urban industrial expansion highlighted the relative poverty of rural and agricultural populations. This often took the form of extolling the virtues of 'modernité', modern industry and an 'urban way of life'. The relative poverty of farming was an important factor in the acceptance by farmers' leaders, and many farmers, of the post-1960's agricultural modernisation programme. Modernisation was equated with improving the living standard of farmers.

Towards agricultural modernisation in 'La Cerdagne'

While the State occupied a prominent position with regard to

agricultural policy post-war and with regard to the post-1960 agricultural modernisation programme, there was not the same level of attention paid to the broader question of rural development. Where policy was directed to macro-economic development, the target was principally the broad issue of urban-industrial development (Coffey, et.al., 1973; Holmes and Fawcett, 1983). The restructuring of the agricultural sector was seen in relation to agricultural and urban economic development considerations, particularly those relating to GNP. It did not include policy related to the relatively poor state of rural services, e.g., domestic water supply, sewerage, heating systems or sanitation.

The major pre-war rural service improvement that took place in 'La Cerdagne' was, as elsewhere, the rural electrification programme. By the end of the 1930's, 'La Cerdagne' was served by electricity. This was, however, a public rather than a domestic service, and many households remained without electricity until the post-war period. By 1954, however, most households received electricity.

% of Dwellings With Domestic Services 1954

	1	2	3a	3b	3c	3d	4a	4b	5	6a	6b	7a	7b	7c
A	7.4	7.8	85.1	2.1	5.1	7.6	51.7	30.8	94.7	13.0	7.8	42.1	10.9	26.1
B	0.7	3.4	40.7	1.3	25.0	33.0	0.0	46.5	87.5	11.5	8.2	33.0	33.8	13.4
C	1.8	3.2	52.9	1.4	7.2	38.4	0.0	63.6	95.2	10.9	10.4	43.2	18.6	16.8
D	1.0	3.8	40.4	2.7	19.3	37.6	0.0	20.9	98.2	5.4	6.9	23.9	43.1	20.8
E	1.0	8.1	67.5	1.8	7.6	23.1	0.0	52.2	97.1	11.9	11.9	38.6	13.5	24.3

KEY : A = Urban Communes Population 5,000
B = Rural Communes, Agricultural Dwellings
C = Rural Communes, Non-Agricultural Dwellings
D = Canton of Saillagouse, Agricultural Dwellings
E = Canton of Saillagouse, Non-Agricultural Dwellings
1 = Central Heating 2 = Telephone
3a = Water Supply Inside The Dwelling
3b = Water Supply On Landing Outside The Dwelling
3c = Water Supply In The Garden 3d = Water Supply Elsewhere
4a = Town Gas 4b = Bottle Gas
5 = Electricity Supply
6a = Bath or Shower 6b = Wash Basin
7a = Toilet Inside Dwelling 7b = Private Toilet Outside Dwelling
7c = Communal Toilet Outside Dwelling

INSEE (97)

Concern over the lack of a comprehensive rural policy in the post war periods at least until 1970 (Mengis 1988) was shown by the "neo-ruralists" of the village studies (See Chapter One) It was based on the disparity between general standards of living in rural areas and that of the towns and cities. This was often limited to a focus on the provision of services. The table below shows the proportion of dwellings in the main urban centres (98) and the 'rural' communes in the department of the Pyrénées-Orientales in 1954. A further distinction is made between agricultural and non-agricultural dwellings in the 'rural' communes in the department and between agricultural and non-agricultural dwellings in the canton of Saillagouse.

The disparity in terms of the different services increases between the agricultural and non-agricultural dwellings in the canton of Saillagouse and agricultural dwellings in the canton of Saillagouse and the dwellings in the main 'urban' centres in the department. For the agricultural population in 'La Cerdagne', wood, collected by farmers themselves, was the main source of heat. Notably, the poorer agricultural households kept livestock under the sleeping quarters with the heat rising from the animals and their droppings providing the main form of heating. Town gas was not supplied to 'La Cerdagne', and only 20% of the population used bottled gas for heating purposes. The principal source of water for the farming families was situated outside the dwelling itself, in the farmyard, garden, or more usually in the village, from a well, fountain, public or private water tank. The main form of heating in agricultural dwellings was still woodburning in the early 1960's, with livestock still used in the poorer households to provide heat. According to the census, in 1962, columns two and four of the second table below suggest that 35.6% of all agricultural dwellings depended on an external source of water. Again, this took the form of public (in the village) and private (in the farmyard or on the farmland) wells, fountains and water tanks. The remaining 64.4% of farm dwellings were connected to public (55.48%) and private (6.91%) water supplies.

	% of Dwellings With Domestic Services 1962							
	1a	1b	2a	2b	3a	3b	4a	4b
Farm Dwellings	55.5	28.2	9.3	6.9	0.0	100.0	98.8	1.2
All Dwellings	71.1	15.3	8.9	2.5	0.1	99.9	96.1	3.9

KEY : 1a = Public Water Supply Inside The Dwelling
1b = Public Water Supply Via A Fountain or Public Well
2a = Private Fountain, Or Well Connected To The Dwelling
2b = Private Fountain, Or Well Outside The Dwelling
3a = Gas Supply Connected To A Network
3b = Bottled Gas
4a = Electricity Supply Connected To Grid
4b = Privately Generated Electricity

INSEE

It would appear that some improvement in the general provision of services - particularly concerning the supply of water - had taken place since 1954. And this appears to have been followed by further significant improvements by 1975 :

	% of Dwellings with Domestic Services 1975					
	1	2	3	4	5a	5b
Fare Dwellings	99.4	0.0	77.4	81.5	16.8	1.7
All Dwellings	99.9	1.0	94.9	95.5	47.5	7.2

KEY : 1 = Water Supply Direct To The Dwelling
2 = Town Gas
3 = Toilet
4 = Water Supply Into The Dwelling
5a = Collective Central Heating System
5b = Individual Central System

INSEE

Although differences remain between the agricultural and the non-agricultural dwellings, an apparent overall improvement over the situation of 1954 is discernable. By 1975, nearly all agricultural dwellings had been connected directly to a water supply; over three-quarters of all agricultural dwellings had a toilet inside the farm boundaries, while over 80% of all agricultural dwellings had running water for domestic use in

the kitchen. In addition, 18% of all agricultural dwellings had a central heating system. However, such apparent improvements must be treated with caution. The central heating systems were rudimentary, operating on wood. In addition, during the early stages of my fieldwork, it became clear that the proportional increases in the farms benefitting from the different services was related to the decline, in real terms, of the poorer and less-equipped agricultural households. The relatively well-equipped dwellings remained in use and this tends to distort the data, seen in proportional terms, regarding the evolution of services in farm dwellings, and thus the general background living conditions of the agricultural population. While I found that some farms had experienced some improvement in terms of domestic services, the main reason for the apparent general improvement can be attributed to the decline in the number of the poorer dwellings, as farmers have left farming since the 1950's. Fieldwork data shows that 21 out of 129 households used wood-based central heating systems as their source of heat. While the rest had a wood fire in the downstairs main sitting room, invariably the kitchen. At least 8 farm dwellings continued to be heated by the livestock maintained below the sleeping quarters until 1983. 93 of the households visited during fieldwork had an inside toilet, while 124 had a water supply connected to the farm, with 96 receiving a domestic water supply into the kitchen. On the other hand, only 27 had a bath or shower.

These data indicate the relative disadvantage of the agricultural population in 'La Cerdagne'. On the other hand, around the farms, modern, well-equipped apartments and houses were being built from the 1950's onwards to receive the more affluent mobile urban tourists. The relative paucity of services and the generally crude living conditions at this time served to reinforce the concern of remaining farmers to increase production for sale as a means of ameliorating their general living conditions. To this end, farmers' leaders from the late-1950's saw the agricultural modernisation programme as the best way of assisting local agricultural development at the level of the region and the individual farm. The processes that led to the commercialisation of agriculture from the second half of the nineteenth century through to the inter-war period, were given further impetus in the 1950's with the arrival by car of urban tourists for

weekend and holiday lets in the then recently constructed, well-equipped houses and apartments. The perception of an apparently more affluent 'urban' lifestyle concentrated concern within local agricultural organisations on the economic status of farmers and farming in 'La Cerdagne'. This underlined the call for the economic development of local agriculture and fitted into local demands for the introduction of some form of agricultural modernisation. The relative disadvantage of the agricultural population which became more apparent during the post-war period, together with the promulgation of the EC and the French State agricultural modernisation programme concluded with the farmers's leaders of the 1960's embracing, and implementing locally, the 1960's agricultural policy.

Agricultural leaders and agricultural modernisation

The relative poverty of the agricultural population in large part contributed to both the widespread support for the farmers' cooperatives from the mid 1950's, and the later introduction of the agricultural modernisation programme. The support for, and pre-eminent position of, the farmers' cooperatives from 1954, in part assisted by the decision of the French State to purchase surplus milk and butter production from 1953, was underwritten by the view that this would itself provide the structural means to maintain farmers in 'La Cerdagne' on the land. From the late 1950's, there was a change in the agricultural leadership and with it a shift in the local policy objectives. In line with the priorities of the 1960-62 agricultural policy, agricultural representatives accepted the economic rationale for, agricultural restructuring at the level of the local cooperatives (in the circuits of commercialisation) and at the level of the farm (at the point of production). In order to understand the introduction of the post 1960-62 agricultural modernisation programme, it is important to see how the agricultural leadership changed from the early 1960's. It is a combination of the changing material context of farming from the mid-nineteenth century through to the post-war period and the changing context of local farming politics that serves as an explanation for the manner in which the 1960's agricultural modernisation programme came to be introduced in 'La Cerdagne'. In structural and organisational terms, this

was largely founded on the centrality of the cooperatives from the mid 1950's onwards.

Four major factors combined to create the pre-eminent position of the farmers' cooperatives throughout the department after 1954. (i) The emergence of an 'élite paysanne' from within the small and medium sized category of farmers. This 'élite' occupied all the top elected agricultural posts in local agricultural organisations throughout the 1950's. The exception to this was the president of the cooperative at Err who remained in office from 1947 to 1979. This 'élite' served as a socio-political focus which attracted the support of local farmers to the cooperatives. (ii) Farmers were guaranteed the purchase of all milk production by the cooperatives. This was crucial to maintaining both supplies to and support for the cooperatives. (iii) Financing facilities were made available for investment in the restructuring of the dairy sector, allowing for development at the level of both the cooperatives and the farm. (iv) The crucially important support of the State from 1953. This was not in the form of price guarantees, but rather came via the guaranteed purchase of butter and powdered milk stocks from the processing stage of the production cycle (Duby et al, 1976, b: 129-131). It was this State guarantee that allowed the cooperatives to guarantee the purchase of all milk production from the farmers in 'La Cerdagne'.

The combination of these four factors was critical to the eventual control gained by the farmers' cooperatives over milk and dairy markets throughout the entire department from the mid-1950's. Although the State's guarantee was significant, prior to 1953, the farmers' cooperative movement had already begun to assume an ascendant position in relation to the private dairies prior to 1953. While cooperatives and private dairies were, theoretically, to benefit equally from the post-1953 State policy, it was the farmers' cooperatives that became the sole centres for the collection and transformation of milk after 1954. This emphasises the importance of the local 'élite paysanne' within 'La Cerdagne', and this 'élite's' socio-political influence within the farming population.

The emergence of an 'élite paysanne' was not unique to 'La Cerdagne'. It was part of a wider phenomenon in France, characterised variously as a "class for itself" (Lambert, 1977) or the product of inter-generational conflict between fathers and sons (Débatisse, 1963). Like the agricultural leaders of the 1930's in 'La Cerdagne', the farmers' representative of the late 1950's stood ideologically opposed to both laissez-faire capitalism, and socialism. The difference between the 'Jacistes' of the 1930's and those of the late-1950's and early-1960's was that while the former sought to emphasise the paternalistic "natural rural social order", the latter sought the aid of the French State to develop farming in 'La Cerdagne'. The modernisation of local farming was to be at the level of the individual farm and at the level of the cooperatives. Prior to the introduction of a local agricultural modernisation programme, the cooperatives became established in 'La Cerdagne', due to the influence of a group of farmers, the 'élite paysanne', that attracted popular support among farmers for the post war cooperatives. The 'élite paysanne' became predominant during the 1950's and remained so until the late-1950's.

It is interesting to note a significant difference in terms of their material basis between the agricultural leaders of the 1950's and the leadership of the main agricultural organisations of the 1930's. Farmers in 'La Cerdagne' created two 'Syndicats d'Elevage' in the early 1950's (99). The 'Syndicat d'Elevage de Cerdagne' covered farmers in the west and central areas of the region. The 'Syndicat d'Elevage de la Région de Mont Louis' represented farmers in the east of the region. The elected president and both elected vice-presidents of the latter syndicat were tenants or owner-occupiers farming medium sized farms of between 20-25ha each. Similar examples can be found among the 3 elected representatives of the 'Syndicat d'Elevage de Cerdagne' where one of the vice-presidents was also the elected president of the farmers' cooperatives at Err. Alongside these two syndicats there was a 'Société d'Elevage des Pyrénées-Orientales' (100). As with the first two syndicats, the elected representatives from these agricultural organisations were from a class of medium sized tenant or owner-occupier farmers. The president of the 'Société' was also vice-president of the 'Syndicat d'Elevage de la

Région de Mont Louis', while the vice-president of the 'Syndicat de Section Laitière des Pyrénées-Orientales' was also president of the farmers' cooperatives at Err. There was, thus, a network of agricultural leaders issuing from the class of medium sized farmers, holding positions of cross-cutting influence within the agricultural organisations of the time.

Importantly, the elected representatives carried political and social influence beyond the agricultural organisations. For example, the president of the 'Société' (Monsieur Patau) was not only vice-president of the 'Syndicat d'Elevage de la Région de Mont Louis', but was also the 'Maire' at Bolquère from the early 1950's until the mid-1970's. Further, Monsieur Patau's father had been one of the first farmers to be elected as 'Maire' in the 1930's (101). Similarly, Monsieur Gispert served as president of the farmers' cooperative at Err, vice-president of the 'Syndicat d'Elevage de Cerdagne' as well as holding the office of 'Maire' in the village of Estavar from the early 1950's until 1981. These two farmers, the former a medium sized owner-occupier and the latter a medium sized tenant farmer, are particularly good examples of local agricultural and political leaders during the 1950's. They saw themselves, and were identified locally, as "improvers" with regard to local services and facilities in their villages and with regard to the situation of farmers in 'La Cerdagne'. During the late 1950's and early 1960's, Monsieur Patau and Monsieur Gispert introduced improvement programmes for both domestic and public services in their respective villages. It was largely due to the intervention of Monsieur Patau that the village of Bolquère received investments which enabled local funds to be directed towards the structural development of tourism (102). Monsieur Gispert directed investments, obtained at the departmental level, towards the extension of running water in the village, the provision of public sewerage facilities and a domestic sanitation system.

The 'capacité politique' of the agricultural leaders in the 1950's was central to their election to posts in local and departmental agricultural organisations. The ability to 'deal' with departmental or national policy-makers became important for ensuring the support of farmers in the locale. It might have seemed that the old class of 'Notables' could have equally well provided individuals capable of "dealing" with the different

levels of administration. However, it was the fact that the agricultural leaders themselves at that time came from the class of smaller, medium sized farmers that accounts for their popular support among the then numerically dominant medium and small farmers in 'La Cerdagne'. These were farmers who not only had the 'capacité politique', but who also shared the socio-economic concerns of the majority of farmers during the 1950's. State and cooperative guarantees to purchase milk production contributed to the local support for the farmers' cooperative by the smaller and medium sized farmers. The broad socio-cultural and political predominence of the farmers' leaders ensured widespread support for the recommendations put forward for a farm modernisation programme. It was argued that State and cooperative purchase guarantees were insufficient for the smaller and medium farmers. The proposals for a farm modernisation programme, which it was argued, would assist the smaller poorer farmers, together with the general recognition of the 'capacité politique' and the similarity of socio-economic backgrounds of the agricultural leaders and the majority of farmers in the 1950's, all crystallised to create a sense of "unité" behind the agricultural leaders and the agricultural organisations. The farmers' cooperative became the focus of widespread support as the symbol of the farmers' popular based 'mouvement coopératif'.

It was due to the farmers' leaders of the early to late 1950's that the idea of agricultural modernisation became established among farmers in 'La Cerdagne'. However, there was a critical difference between the anticipated effect of a modernisation programme as articulated by the farmers' leaders of the early to mid-1950's, and that of the farmers' leaders from the late 1950's onwards. The former saw a modernisation programme as assisting farmers to stay in farming and in 'La Cerdagne'. The latter saw the introduction of such a programme as a way to render local agriculture more 'efficient' by eliminating economically 'marginal' farms. This was closer to the State's aims in the 1960-62 policy. The farmers' leaders of the late 1950's embraced more closely the State's proposals for State intervention and subsidies to encourage agricultural economic and structural development.

State subsidies to encourage agricultural development were not

entirely new to 'La Cerdagne'. In the nineteenth century, government (national and departmental) subsidies and aid were paid to encourage the improvement of livestock farming. In addition, direct bonuses were paid to livestock farmers for exceptional specimens (103). These payments and subsidies were adhoc, and took place at annual livestock shows. What is specific about State intervention during the post 1960-62 period, is its systematic and structured approach to agricultural planning and development at all levels. It is precisely this systematised approach, as part of the general shift towards models of National Planning (Robertson 1984) that typifies the underpinning of the post 1960's agricultural policy regarding the modernisation programme.

The 1960-62 agricultural policy was promoted within 'La Cerdagne' by State paid agricultural technicians. From the farmers' side, this was effected by farmers who were elected to positions within the local agricultural organisations from the late 1950's and early 1960's. The agricultural technicians represented the State within the department, at the Chamber of Agriculture. From their administrative base at Perpignan, the technicians organised the dissemination of the ideas behind the policies, as well as the formal content of the agricultural policies. Four brief documents were drawn up concerning different aspects of agriculture in the early 1960's, in 'La Cerdagne'. This formed part of a State sponsored research programme carried out by agricultural technicians and agronomists looking at farming in mountain areas in France from 1961-1962.

The first document, 'Sur l'Evolution de la Production Agricole en Cerdagne' (Sannac, 1962), noted that a 'Foyer de Progrès' had been set up by the Chamber of Agriculture in 1958 to act as the focus for the dissemination of information regarding the use and purchase of agricultural machinery in the production process. The main recommendations in this first report were that 'La Cerdagne' should specialise in bovine livestock farming, a 'révolution fourragère' was recommended involving the 60 most "dynamic" cattle farmers. The policy targeted the promotion of 'l'impératif bovin' to this end. The twin aim was to both promote specialisation in the production system, and to target the most economically dynamic farmers for an agricultural development programme.

The second document was more directly concerned with the commercialisation of agricultural production. 'Le Problème de la Qualité de la Viande et de sa Commercialisation Dans les Régions de Montagne' (Daspet and Vaills, 1962), directs its main criticism at the "unsystematic" nature of the sale of meat in 'La Cerdagne' by individual farms. In line with the 1962 policy, it recommended that farmers form their own cooperative for the organisation of the sale of meat.

The third document, 'Les pacages d'Estive des Hauts Cantons des Pyrénées-Orientales' (Michel, 1962) is critical of the apparent tendency of farmers to "underutilise" grazing land in 'La Cerdagne'. Longstanding accords between farmers dating from the early nineteenth century still existed providing rights of access for grazing leaving areas of land unused for grazing purposes. Farmers operated a system of 'le droit de passage' for the movement of cattle from one grazing area to another. The document recommended that farmers and landowners should utilise all land, increasing the number of cattle per hectare and that this would result in a reduction in the per capita cost of grazing cattle, while increasing the income for the landowner (in the case of tenant farmers) procured from the land. In addition, it recommended that artificial insemination be introduced in order that the increased headage of grazing cattle could be met with increased levels of milk production and productivity. This particular set of policy recommendations fitted with the 1960 policy on production and productivity.

The fourth document, 'Le Facteur Humaine en Matière de Vulgarisation Agricole Dans La Région Montagneuse du Département des Pyrénées-Orientales' (Basset, 1962) focused on the apparent resistence by the older "traditional" farmers to the modernisation programme. In particular, criticism was made of the "obstacle" posed by 'les valeurs traditionnelles'. This reflected the tendency of agricultural technicians to regard opposition to the modernisation programme as an obstacle, derivative of some irrational and traditional system of values. The overall tenor of the four policy documents was in keeping with the global objectives of the State regarding agricultural production and productivity, as well as the commercialisation of commodities based on a specialised form of agriculture.

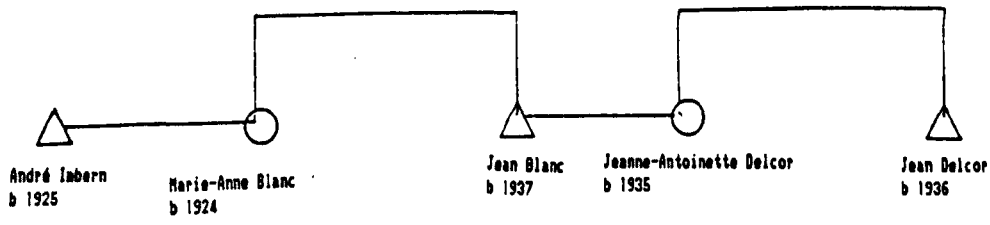
The recommendations, particulary those concerning the targeting of the most 'dynamic' farmers, were criticised by the farmers' representatives of the early to late 1950's. These farmers had understood an agricultural modernisation programme as complementing the general 'village improvement' ideas. The agricultural modernisation programme was regarded as a means to improve farming in 'La Cerdagne', and, crucially, as a means to keep farmers on the land. The 1960-62 policy and the framework for agricultural modernisation, however, targeted only a sector of the farming population. Although the number of 60 farms was not strictly adhered to in 'La Cerdagne' the targeting of 'economically efficient' farms did take place. The support for this came from a group of 'Notables Agricoles' who became important within local agricultural organisations from the late 1950's onwards. It was under the influence of the 'Notables Agricoles' that the agricultural modernisation programme was introduced post 1960-62.

The emergence of a network of 'Notables Agricoles' as landowning farmers from the late 1950's has to be understood in context. This incorporates understanding the economic climate of the post 1960's agricultural policy and the socio-cultural and political history of the different farming families from which the 'Notables Agricoles' came. The close network constructed between the farming families was of great significance. For example, in 1962, the president of the cooperative at Err, known as CIMELAIT, married the sister of the president of the farmer's meat cooperative. Both these farming families (Blanc and Delcor) were landowning farming families. The Blanc family is the largest landowning family in 'La Cerdagne' with over 400ha, while the Declor family owns just over 45ha. Although Monsieur (Jean) Blanc's brother-in-law represents a much more modest landowning farmer than Jean Blanc himself, it was the active role that Jean Delcor played in the local promotion of the agricultural modernisation programme in 'La Cerdagne' that led to the Delcor family being known as a 'Grande Famille de 'NOS' jours'.

Jean Delcor had actively organised the campaign during the late 1950's among a group of influential farmers from the wealthier section of the local farming population who argued for the sort of policies that eventually were formulated in 1960-62. Jean Delcor was one of the early post-war

'Jacistes', along with a Monsieur André Imbern, also from a landowning farming family. Jean Blanc's elder sister married Andé Imbern in 1947, and this formed an important alliance, based on familial connections, leading to the eventual and general predominance of the 'Notables Agricoles' within the farming population.

Marriage Alliances Between Three 'Grandes Familles Agricoles.



Alongside these 3 farmers, there were three others who were instrumental in promoting the 1960-62 modernisation programme. Firstly, there was a Monsieur Jacques de Maury, a landowning farmer whose family had been one of the 'Familles de Notables Ruraux' during the nineteenth century. At the time that Jacques de Maury became active in the late 1950's, his family owned some 85ha of agricultural land, together with an hotel and restaurant at Saillagouse, and a number of houses and apartments at Villeneuve des Escaldes (104). The de Maury family had been one of the 'middle class' landowning bourgeoisie during the nineteenth century, with Joseph de Maury, a medical doctor at Villeneuve des Escaldes owning 51.90ha of agricultural land in 1830 (105). The de Maury family had a close historical alliance with the Catholic church in 'La Cerdagne', with Jacques de Maury's great grandfather being the Canon at Villeneuve des Escaldes. Jacques himself was elected 'Maire' at Villeneuve des Escaldes during the 1950's and remained in office right up to the time of my fieldwork. The cultural, social, political and economic influence of Jacques de Maury, embedded in his family's history in 'La Cerdagne' served as an important backcloth to his role as a principal actor in the promotion of the agricultural modernisation programme. Secondly, Jean Blanc's cousin, Gilbert was 'Maire' in the village of Ur and active during the late 1950's in support of a thorough agricultural modernisation. Gilbert and Jean Blanc

are from the largest landowning family in 'La Cerdagne', which is the subject of an in-depth analysis in Chapter Five. Raymond de Pastors, from one of the more wealthy landowning non-farming families in 'La Cerdagne' was the third member who joined with Jacques de Maury and Gilbert Blanc to set up the first 'Centre d'Etudes Techniques Agricoles' (CETA) (106) in 1959. Jacques de Maury was, himself, the local leader of the 'Jacistes', while Gilbert Blanc organised the 'journées de formation' in order to "promote the idea of a structural agricultural modernisation programme". Gilbert's role was to solicit support locally for the modernisation of the local agriculture (107).

These days of 'self-help' styled agricultural training programmes followed the creation of the 'Foyer de Progrès'. The farmers' CETA was set up precisely to propose that agricultural modernisation, as demanded by the local 'Jacistes', be directed by local farmers' leaders, such as Jacques de Maury, Gilbert Blanc and Raymond de Pastors. The CETA was proposed as the local representative organ for the agricultural modernisation programme. Its leaders were in favour of the 1960's modernisation programme. It was the role of the local leaders that was significant with regard to the organisation of the CETA and indeed the subsequent agricultural organisations.

In general, these "modernists" supported the high profile of the State, and the main contours of the agricultural policy concerning the modernisation of agriculture. In this respect, they stood in opposition to the agricultural leaders of the 1930's. The latter had aligned themselves with the traditional Catholic church and rural landed élite, seeking the retention of existing agrarian structures. The State established an accepted profile among local farmers inside the cooperative system during the Vichy period. This was taken further by the agricultural leaders of the 1950's, in the promotion of the local cooperatives, and further still by the farmers' leaders of the late 1950's and 1960's. These farmers had embraced the agricultural modernisation programme, as local 'Jaciste' leaders. It is worth clarifying again the distinction between the position of the farmers' leaders during the early to late 1950's, and that of those who followed.

The farmers' leaders of the 1950's promoted farmers' cooperatives as an institutional means to safeguard the future of all farmers. In particular, it was argued that the smaller, and economically more vulnerable, farmers would benefit from the extension of the cooperatives' activities. The message of the farmers' representatives up to the late 1950's was simply, that by operating under the auspices of a farmers' cooperative structure, the future of farmers in 'La Cerdagne' would be safeguarded. The leaders of the 1960's differed quite sharply. Their basic message was that to save and promote the most dynamic farmers in 'La Cerdagne' it was necessary to have State intervention to install and finance an agricultural modernisation programme.

The 'prise de position' of these agricultural leaders was assisted by two factors. Firstly, most of the smaller farmers who had supported the earlier post-war farmers' leaders had simply left farming by the end of the 1950's. The basis of support for the earlier farmers' representatives had largely dissolved. Secondly, the outflow of farmers from the mid-1950's reinforced the arguments of the "modernists" of the late 1950's. It was argued that the outflow of farmers would continue and affect all farmers, as an inevitable economic consequence, unless a thorough agricultural modernisation programme was put into operation. Thus, the aim of the modernisation programme was to save and promote those farmers who remained. The message of the 1960's farmers' leaders was "modernise or be marginalised, as had previous generations of farmers". This was indeed the basis on which farmer leaders in the 1960's gained support from farmers.

On behalf of the department an agricultural technician was directed, in 1965, from the Chamber of Agriculture at Perpignan specifically to ensure that the finance-related rationalisation policies of the Crédit Agricole, were adopted locally. This was to include the administration of the fusion of the local farmers' dairy cooperatives under a single cooperative, under the name of CIMELAIT, and the implementation of a specialisation in milk production within 'La Cerdagne'. The technician operated within the framework of the 'Foyer de Progrès', which by 1964 had been established as the institutional instrument through which to implement the production and commercialisation policies of the 1960-62 agricultural policy. The 'Foyer

de Progrès' remained in position until 1978, despite much opposition, mainly from smaller farmers.

Opposition to the policy to fuse the farmers' cooperatives culminated in demonstrations at the departmental headquarters of the Ministry of Agriculture, and were followed by a milk strike in 1966. Despite the opposition, fusion was implemented, with the general directives of the 'Crédit Agricole' being implemented under the auspices of the 'Foyer de Progrès'.

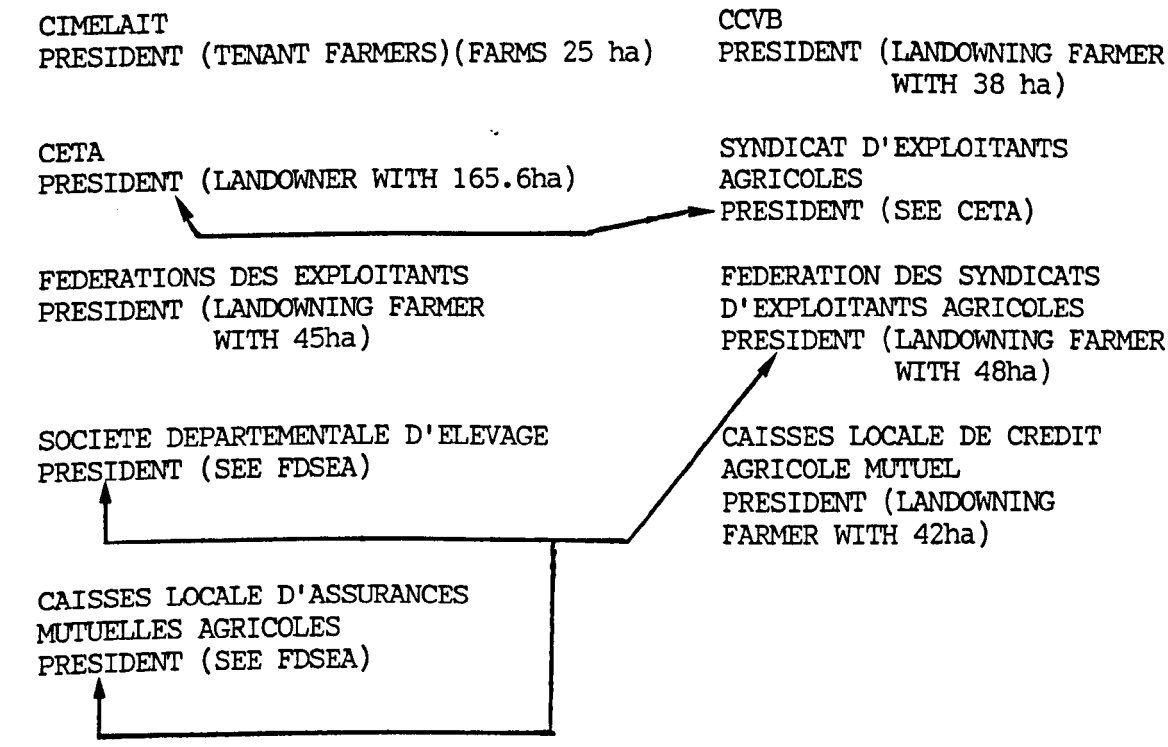
In fact some early opposition to the 'Foyer de Progrès' had come from the farmers' leaders themselves. The main criticism was aimed not so much at the content, but at the speed of the programmed proposals:

> "The 'Foyer de Progrès' ... it was one of those things that were imposed on us ... we did not want their [departmental administration] way of doing things ... we wanted to modernise ... ~~but we~~ but we wanted to do it at our pace, in our way" (Jean Delcor, President of dairy cooperative).

The speed of the implementation of the policies made the position of the farmers' leaders of the 1960's politically difficult with many farmers in 'La Cerdagne', rather than there being any hostility on the part of the farmers' leaders to the policies. In response to the general dissatisfaction with the departmental technicians, and the 'Foyer de Progrès', the farmers' leaders set up their own 'Comité de Développement' in 1978. The argument was that the local agricultural representatives would understand better the problems facing local farming families.

The influence of the 'Familles de Notables Agricoles' is evident in the profile of the farmers' leaders of the farming organisations in the mid-1970's.

Agricultural Leadership in Mid 1970's

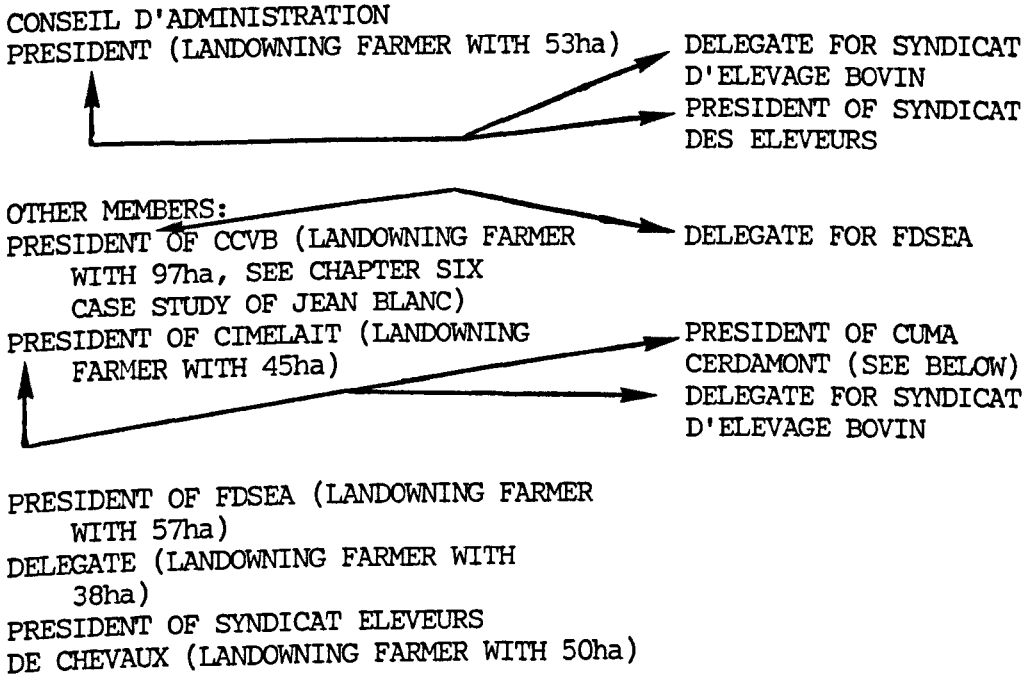


Fieldwork.

The one exception is the president of the farmers' cooperative at Err, Monsieur Gispert, a medium sized tenant farmer who had been president of the cooperative since 1947. With the exception of Gispert, all the other elected representatives were from families with a long history as landowning farming and non-farming families. The individuals in these posts, except Gispert, carried the socio-cultural heritage of familial influence in local political, economic and agricultural affairs. Indeed, although the former 'Notables Ruraux' had lost their central position within agricultural organisations by the 1950's they have emerged again so that elected representatives from the 'Grandes Familles de Notables Ruraux' are found in the agricultural organisations of more recent times. For example, the election of Raymond de Pastors as president of the CETA in 1975. The de Pastors family bought the "barony" of Enveitg in 1622, with Francesca de Pastors, 'burgès honrat de Perpignan', receiving the privilege of 'noblesse' from Phillipe 4th, Kind of Spain in 1642 (Lazerne, 1977).

Moreover, the current social composition of the 'Comité de Développement' continues to reflect the general importance of the local landowning families. All the elected posts are now occupied by the larger landowning farmers.

Current Leadership of Conseil D'Administration



Fieldwork.

There is an element of continuity in that all the elected representatives above are from large landowning farming families and there is a strong element of continuity concerning many of the present elected representatives and their individual family history as local Catholic representatives. A good example of this is the de Maury family.

Jacques de Maury's great grandfather was the Canon for Villeneuve des Escaldes. Jacques' grandfather and father had patronised a private Catholic school, paying direct donations as local benefactors. Jacques himself rents his additional 44ha of land from the Catholic church. The latter rents out

the land via a private society known as the 'Société Cerdar: Institution St Christophe'. (108). The land, considered technically the best in 'La Cerdagne' for dairy farming carries the only 99 year lease in 'La Cerdagne'. In a real sense, Jacques de Maury represents the change and continuity in the reappearance of large landowning families of Catholic persuasion in central positions in local agricultural politics. The difference between the inter-war period and earlier periods on the one hand, and the current context on the other hand is that the large landowners are now farmers while the Catholicism that informed the likes of Jacques de Maury is different from that of earlier periods.

The young catholic farmers' leaders such as Jacques de Maury and others sought to promote local agricultural modernisation. This was to be seen as a means to avoid the apparently inevitable process of 'prolétarianisation'. In order to avoid this, the farmers' leaders from the late 1950's argued that the modernisation of agriculture within 'La Cerdagne' was a necessity. These young farmers' leaders argued that the survival of the "family farm" depended on its ability to compete economically. The implementation of the agricultural modernisation programme and the survival of the "family farm" became intrinsically linked. These farmers' representatives held up the same ideological and cultural objective, the preservation of the "family farm", as had the inter-war farmers' leaders. However, where the farmers of the inter-war period sought the preservation of the 'exploitation familiale' within existing agrarian structures, those of the 1960's sought (moving beyond price and market support by the State) to embrace the modernisation programme. It was by effecting change within the local agricultural sector that the 'exploitation familiale' was to be preserved in 'La Cerdagne'.

Change and continuity characterises the role of the 'Notables Agricoles' and the 'Notables Ruraux'. The agricultural leaders of the 1960's embodied this change and continuity in terms of their roles as agricultural representatives. There had been a shift from the dominance of the non-farming landowners in agricultural organisations, allied with the landowning farmers of traditional Catholic persuasion. This began in the inter-war period. In the post-war period, notably from the early 1950's,

the elected agricultural positions were held by medium sized farmers (landowning and tenant alike) who were leaders of a populist cooperative movement. In the late 1950's and early 1960's there was a gradual shift in the balance of power towards an elite composed of large landowning farmers who embraced the State's agricultural modernisation policy. The traditional Catholic influences of the earlier generation of landowners had diminished. The agricultural leaders of the 1960's, as young 'Jacistes', interpreted social Catholicism differently in their support of agricultural modernisation. For these, all was not predetermined and part of "the natural order"; rather all depended on the initiative and enterprise of individual farmers. With the support of the State to modernise his farm, he could be economically competitive and, crucially, avoid marginalisation. The demands of these leaders corresponded with the agricultural policy of the 1960's and it was this affinity that assisted in bringing the policies into 'La Cerdagne'. The immediate impact of post-war socio-economic changes on farming and farming families is the subject of the chapters that follow. In particular, attention focuses on the way post-war changes in agriculture within 'La Cerdagne' relate to the use of strategies regarding production, land and labour among farmers and farming families.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER THREE

1) Between 1806 and 1836, the increase was 24.88% as compared with 13.55% for France as a whole.
2) Source : ADMnc 2477; ADMnc 2480/82; ADMnc 3171; ADMnc 3807/8. Also, J-C Toutain (1963): 'La Population de la France, 1700-1959.' Cahiers de l'ISEA. Paris.
3) ADMnc 872, 1-6. 'Etat des Professions 1790'.
4) ADMnc 872, 1-6. 'Etat de Situation de Fabriques et Manufacture de Toiles et Autre Tissus de Chanvre et de Lin Pendant le 1er Trimestre 1810-2ème Trimestre 1812.'
5) The red bonnet, known as 'La Barratine' is the traditional Catalan headgear, worn particularly by the shepherds in La Cerdagne.
6) ADMnc 872, 1-6.
7) AD 8S 155-7; AD 8S 142-4; AD 8S 127.
8) ADMnc 872, 1-6.
9) AD 8S 127: 'Rapport du Commissariat Spécial de Bourg Madame'.
10) ADMnc 872, 1-6.
11) ADMnc 2477. This uses aggregated census data with the head of the household as the indicator for the economic activity of the household.
12) 'La Foire' was principally the occasion for the sale of livestock as well as the occasion for the purchase of goods produced outside La Cerdagne.
13) ADMnc 858/2.
14) ibid.
15) ibid.
16) These were women from agricultural households who produced wool garments at home.
17) Using the head of household as point of reference.
18) ADMnc 2480/2 and AD1016 W 7-8/43 /53 /64 /132 /134 /139 /140 /153 /158 /197 /206 /249 /255-6 /270 /329 /335-7 /338 /384 /427 /415 /455 /487 /490 /505 /56 /242.
19) Using the head of household as point of reference.
20) The 'salaisons' included all preserved (salted) products made with meat. In La Cerdagne, this has always been associated with pork products, and La Cerdagne has been an exporter of these products since the nineteenth century.
21) The information for this was based both on a series of letters sent by a tenant farmer to his family in Bourg Madame, and the farm logbook of one of the larger landowners in La Cerdagne, whose family was based in Barcelona.
22) This was based on oral accounts provided by Guillaume Bosom, a retired farm worker, aged 84 at the time of my fieldwork. Like his father and grandfather, Guillaume had worked the 'two-by-six month' season all his working life. In addition, I consulted a logbook of one of the older wine producing families in La Plaine, which recorded the workers engaged and the period for which they were engaged. It was thanks to Guillaume that I located this wine producing family, he had spent his first 15 years working on their farm.
23) ADMnc 3179: Letter from the 'Maires' of the Canton of Saillagouse to the Minister of Commerce, 23/08/1859.
24) ADMNc 3179. 'Copie du Mémoire Addressé au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères Par Les Négociants d'Osséja, Bourg Madame et Latour de Carol", 1865.

25) Op.Cit.
26) 'Nouvel Annuaire Statistique des Pyrénées-Orientales' (1865). P.Deville, Perpignan, pp 337-352, and 363-372.
27) ADMnc 13 S 1&2. Letters from 'Le Service des Douanes' to the Préfet.
28) These terms can be translated as "Trader/Shopkeeper", "Industrialist/ Manufacturer".
29) ADMnc 3107.
30) Ryebread remained the base to the population's diet throughout the nineteenth century (Garoyoa, 1977).
31) Mas referred to an ensemble of phenomena. It was at one: the farmland, the farm buildings, the farmhouse, as well as the social unit - the household - itself. One can however, talk about the 'Mas' in the narrower sense of the physical attributes, it is in this sense that one usually refers to the Mas today.
32) The jardin potager has always held an important position in the daily life of farming families in La Cerdagne. The nearest equivalent in English might be an 'allotment'. It was, and for many still is, the means by which self-sufficiency in fresh vegetables is assured.
33) Data for this came from a retired tenant farmer's (Monsieur Salgas, aged 79) grandfather's logbook. The grandfather had also been a tenant farmer during the latter part of the nineteenth century.
34) The livestock fair at Mont Louis was held after the 'pacage' (see f.n.37), October 11th.
35) ADMnc 3186.
36) ADMnc 3187.
37) The 'pacage' was a system where animals were taken into the communal mountain forests for fattening during the summer months. The size of the hay and corn harvests determined the number of animals sent to the fair since this limited the number of animals maintained during the winter.
38) Data on relationships between farmers and butchers came from a logbook of a key informant, Monsieur Bergès, himself a butcher in La Cerdagne.
39) AD 13 S 12.
40) The sale of sheep at Perpignan and Narbonnes was in response to the competition (for manufactured wool) which followed the extension of the rail link. Farmers, shepherds and flocks made the descent on foot from La Cerdagne.
41) ADMnc 3171; ADMnc 3807/8.
42) Op.Cit.
43) ADMnc 2480/2; ADMnc 3171; and ADMnc 3807/8.
44) 'Almanach Annuaire des Pyrénées-Orientales 1953', pp 327-371.
45) 'Almanach Annuaire des Pyrénées-Orientales 1962' pp 295-368.
46) Source: Author's fieldwork.
47) Defined as "Country houses, belonging to a town dweller and occupied temporarily by its owner, the owner's family, and friends of the owner" (Cribier, 1973; 182).
48) Ministre de l'Agriculture, Ministre de l'Equipement et l'Université de Perpignan. (1980). 'Le Tourisme en Capcir, Bilan Dynamique de Retombées Socio-Economiques de l'Essor Touristique'. Perpignan. M Noel (1983) Le Changement en Montagne. Croissance et Regression dans le Capcir et La Cerdagne in 'Economie Méridoniale No.11' 1980-1983. Vol XVIII, 51-70.

49) 'Almanach Annuaire des Pyrénées-Orientales 1953', pp 327-371.
50) 'Almanach Annuaire des Pyrénées-Orientales 1962', pp 295-368.
51) The 'paysan-travailleur' as a term derives from the nineteenth century, where a farmer often worked in a non-agricultural occupation either alongside his farm activity, or during the slack season, when there was little or no farm work. The term fundamentally highlights the lost connection between farm work and non-farm activities in the local economy of the nineteenth century.
52) In particular this includes clothing, shoes, furniture, tools, and other household durables (Noel, 1983).
53) This was introduced under the 'Monarchie de Juillet', and referred to the notion of the 'ability' to vote, implying a certain 'knowledge' as a prerequisite to being able to vote.
54) 'Almanach Annuaire des Pyrénées-Orientales 1837', pp 63-66 and AD 1016 W 7-8 /43 /53 /64 /132 /134 /139 /140 /153 /158 /197 /206 /249 /255-6 /267-8 /270 /329 /335-7 /338 /384 /427 /415 /455 /487 /490 /505 /56 /242.
55) For the boundaries of the Canton of Saillagouse, see the map at front of thesis.
56) 'Almanach Annuaire des Pyrénées-Orientales 1837', pp 63-66 and 94 and AD 1016 W 197.
57) 'Almanach Annuaire des Pyrénées-Orientales 1837', pp 63-66 and AD 1016 W 139.
58) AD 1016 W 64 /384 /487 /505.
59) This was shown and explained to me by the present owner, the great grandaughter of the original owner, Madame Figaroles.
60) The families concerned were the following : De Travy, Vernis, de Pastors, Aris, Puig, Blanich, Agusti and Durand.
61) There were still, for example, eighteen families owning more than one hundred hectares each up to 1914. AD 1028 W 6 /42 /51 /62 /125 /127 /134 /135 /149 /153 /181 /188 /220 / 225 /234 /236 /279 /285 /286 /325 /394 /381 /398 /428 /430 /440 /53 /215.
62) 'Almanach Annuaire 1921' pp 87-94 and AD 1028 W as footnote 61.
63) 'Almanach Annuaire 1933' pp 320-329 and AD 1028 W as footnote 61.
64) The Jacistes were so named because of their adhesion to the Catholic inspired farmers' movement known as the Jeunesse Agricole Catholique.
65) The private dairies were referred to as the 'Industriels Laitiers'.
66) This was known as 'La Société Coopérative Civile de la Laiterie, Beurrerie, et Fromagerie'.
67) The production of 'charcuterie' was still of some importance, both for domestic consumption and for export from La Cerdagne.
68) This was created in the same year as the cooperative.
69) RGA, 1929, Communale Archives, Porta.
70) RGA, 1929, Communale Archives, Valcabollère.
71) RGA, 1929, Communale Archives, Bolquère.
72) RGA, 1929, Communale Archives, Bourg Madame.
73) 'Almanach Annuaire 1933', pp 320-329. Information on the nine fairs was provided principally by Madame Bragulat (aged 90) and Monsieur Canongia (aged 84), both key informants.
74) The debate concerned the inter-war economic context and the cost of living in relation to inflation.
75) The 'Chévillards, commissionaires' and 'marchands' were meat traders, brokers and dealers.
76) Quoted from letter (dated 21/02/1932) from one of the eventual

presidents of the second farmers' coopérative. The letter had been circulated anonymously to farmers in La Cerdagne as part of a concerted attempt to create support for the creation of a second farmers' cooperative.

77) ADMnc 3858. See letter, dated 6/04/1933 from the Domenech dairy to 'Préfet'; also letter, dated 4/05/1983 from the 'Services Vétérinaires' to the 'Préfet'.

78) Quoted from letter which was part of counter propaganda to oppose the campaign by farmers' leaders to set up the second cooperative. The letter (dated 11/12/1933) was circulated to landowners as well as local 'Maires'.

79) The term 'fruitière' originated in the mountain areas of the Savoie and Jura, and applied to small-scale farmers' dairy cooperatives which typically produced a diversity of dairy products. The term later came to be more widely used throughout France.

80) For example, up to 1900, there were 393 dairy cooperatives in France. Between 1900 and 1919, a further 431 were created, while a total of 778 were set up between 1920 and 1939. (Gerbaux, 1972: 314).

81) The term 'Coopérateurs' applies to farmers who are paid-up members of the cooperative and shareholders.

82) Arrêté from the 'Ministre de l'Agriculture', 20/03/1936. In 'Journal Officiel', p.3 article 1595.

83) ADMnc 3858. See letter (dated 21/11/1933) from 'préfet' to the 'Ministre de l'Intérieur'.

84) ADMnc 3858. See letter from the 'Fruitière Coopérative de Cerdagne' at Err, to the 'Préfet'.

85) ADMnc 3858. See extrait from 'Petit Méridonial' (dated 31/07/1934).

86) Prompted by Monsieur Gispert (the longest serving President of the cooperative at Err) I collected accounts of the 'Laitiers Nourrisseurs' from two retired shopkeepers (messieurs Salses and Jordan, aged 82 and 87) at Perpignan. Both had sold butter and cheeses produced at Err. Monsieur Gispert had kept loose contact with both ex-shopkeeping, and their accounts were particularly illuminating.

87) See article 'Les Laitiers Nourriseurs' in 'L'Eclair', dated 12/08/1938.

88) The same imposition could not be made regarding the 'apporteurs' who were casual deliverers to the cooperative and were not members. Nevertheless, their contribution (as for the majority of farmers in La Cerdagne) was crucial at the time, though these farmers remained outside the cooperatives. As such, it was difficult for the cooperative to impose itself on the local dairy market. It was this lack of control over the majority of farmers that fundamentally posed the greatest structural problem for the cooperatives.

89) This is the only data available for this period.

90) AD1028 W 135 /134 /381 /325 /149 /62 /335 /220.

91) Quoted from the 'Assemblée Générale Ordinaire du 22 Février 1942 de la Société Coopérative Agricole Fruitière de Cerdagne', pp 3-4. This was the annual report on the farmers' cooperative at Err.

92) Monsieur Bergès (a key informant), butcher at Mont Louis and Madame Will, shopkeeper at Palau de Cerdagne, reported the existence of the farmers' slate until the early 1960's.

93) Oral history accounts of Monsieur Bergès and Monsieur Canongia (aged 84, another key informant).

94 This started from 1833, following the 'Loi Guizot', each commune was obliged, either on its own, or with a neighbouring commune, to provide a primary school. (Duby et al, 1976, a : 158). Further laws in 1881 and 1882 involved first free primary education and secondly, schooling between 6 and 13 was obligatory. (Faure 1968, pp 19-20).

95) 'Almanach Annuaire 1850', pp 22.

96) In La Cerdagne, this was in particular, the 'Fête de la Saint Jean'.

97) For the definition of the Canton of Saillagouse in terms of the communes within the boundaries, see the map at the front of this thesis.

98) In 1954, the only communes with a population over 5000 were Prades, Ceret, Elne, Rivesaltes, and Perpignan. With the exception of Prades, these are all in the vicinity of Perpignan, the principal urban concentration.

99) These were created to organise livestock farmers of the La Cerdagne into a group of specialised producers within departmental agricultural politics.

100) These two agricultural organisations operated at the departmental level.

101) 'Almanach Annuaire des Pyrénées-Orientales 1933', p 109.

102) Bolquère thus followed Font Romeu Odeilla Via where tourism had started to develop in the inter-war period.

103) ADMnc 3072/3. See letters and 'Dossiers' from 'Le Conseil Général' on the finance for departmental agricultural competitions and agricultural subsidies.

104) AD 1028 W 440 and 325.

105) AD 1016 W 505.

106) 'Centre d'Enseignement Technique Agricole'.

107) I am indebted to the current president of the farmers' cooperative, Monsieur Delcor, for this information.

108) This is a Catholic Society, based at Masseuse in the department of the 'Gers', to the east of Toulouse.

CHAPTER FOUR

Agricultural Production and Commercialisation

The focus here is upon the social, economic and cultural changes in local systems of agricultural production and commercialisation. The main focus of interest is the impact of the agricultural modernisation programme seen in terms of longer term changes in the region. The data used in this chapter were collected using a combination of a questionnaire, structured and unstructured interviews, oral history and life history reconstructions.

Changes in Agricultural Production 1770-1955.

Looking at the historical context, we note a number of changes in agricultural production from the late eighteenth century through to the twentieth century. The table below indicates, for example, the decline in sheep farming from the nineteenth century. This corresponds roughly with the decline of the local wool industry. The increase in the number of sheep at the beginning of this century was due to the expansion of sheep markets into the north of Perpignan at Narbonne and Béziers. This involved the sale of live sheep for meat and was not linked with wool manufacture in 'La Cerdagne'. The reduction in the area under cereal production reflects the decline in flourmilling in the region compared with the nineteenth century.

Livestock and Cereal Production 1773-1985

	1773	1841	1887	1895	1900	1904	1911	1934	1944	1955	1970	1980	1985
A	2545	3035	4606	2168	2603	4639	4603	4522	4962	5517	4665	5266	4441
B				195	173	211	263	1301	1931	2933	1648	1377	1394
C	23308	35250	26094	6583	4210	18385	19050	18175	13501	11755	10630	7480	2840
D	1005		1162						10867	716	572	574	774
E		1390	2933	1900		2610	2310	1679	1692	1455	928	446	79
F			3173			2738	2688			1732	1094	983	831
G			2763			2207	2078			1303	345	247	103

KEY : A=Cattle, B=Dairy Cattle, C=Sheep, D=Horses, E=Pigs, F=Cereals*
G=Rye*
*=In hectares

Rosset, 1983: 199; 1841; ADMnc 3078, 1887; ADMnc 3223/3, 1895; ADMnc 2R116, 1900; ADMnc 2R116, 1904; ADMnc 2197, 1911; ADMnc 2196, 1934; Gaussen, 1934; 1946; Services Vétérinaires. 1955-1979/80; RGA. 1985; and Fieldwork.

The number of horses fell as farm mechanisation spread and tractors replaced cattle and horses as the source of traction power. From the 1960's, horses have been produced for meat consumption. The decrease in the number of pigs reflects a reduction in the overall agricultural population, and specifically, the decline in household size, with the disappearance of the "live-in" farm workers and domestics. The decrease in the on-farm population led to a reduction in food consumption, especially with regard to pig-based food. The number of cattle has increased despite the decline in the number of farms. There has been an expansion in dairy farming post-war as specialisation in cattle farming in general and dairy farming, in particular, spread.

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century and up to the early post-war period, agriculture in the region was typified by diversification around livestock farming (Rosset, 1983). In 1955, most farming households held 4 or 5 cattle (of which at least one was typically a dairy cow) a pig, a small flock of sheep (usually no more than 30), a small area of cereals, potatoes and various farmyard and garden products. While it has very limited use, it is interesting to note the radical change in the on-farm production on the average farm between 1955 and 1985 :

Average on Farm Production 1955-1985.

	Average On-Farm Production			
	1955	1970	1979	1985
Number of Cattle	8.68	21.20	34.87	37.01
Number of Sheep	18.51	37.80	39.78	15.33
Number of Horses	1.12	2.03	3.05	6.45
Number of Pigs	2.29	3.30	2.37	0.65
Cereal (in ha)	2.72	3.89	5.22	6.92

RGA, 1955-1979/80. Author's Fieldwork, 1985.

Before the introduction of the 1960's policy the basis to the diversity had been somewhat undermined. This can be seen in the changes in

the local economy, with the decoupling of agriculture from the formerly diversified local artisanal industrial economy and the naissant organisational basis of agricultural production itself along product lines. This began with the farmers' dairy cooperatives in 1913 and especially, 1934 and the creation of the 'Comité de Lait' in 1936. These two broad sets of processes within a market economy served to promote agricultural specialisation. First as an economic sector developing apart from the local artisanal industrial base to the economy, and secondly, the specialisation in dairy farming and milk production within the agricultural sector itself. The basis to the post 1960's specialisation may, therefore, be traced to wider processes within the local economy. However, in terms of the daily practice of farming, farmers themselves maintained a diversity of on-farm production up to the 1960's.

Until the onset of mechanisation within local agriculture (from around the 1950's), most of the cattle and all the horses produced in 'La Cerdagne' were used for ploughing and served as an important source of fertilizer for cereal production. Since the 1950's all livestock has been principally for human consumption. Farmyard and garden produce which was an important source of farm income up to the 1960's, has, with the exception of marginal quantities of vegetable production, become used for domestic consumption. Horses are now kept on many cattle farms as a second line of production, while sheep farming has become limited to 10 specialised farms, with commercial goat farming being restricted to 2 farms. The process has been purposefully directed towards a greater on-farm specialisation during the last 25 years in line with agricultural policies.

The number of dairy cattle increased significantly from the inter-war period as dairy production became widespread in 'La Cerdagne'. The peak was reached in 1955, with a high proportion of the relatively large number of farms (a total of 655), compared with today (120), engaged in milk production, albeit for the most part on a small-scale. Indicative of the extension of intensive dairy farming in the region is the increased proportion of farm land given over to the cultivation of fodder grass for dairy cattle (1). Moreover, cereal production today is targeted at providing feedstuffs for cattle (2). Alongside the move from the 1960's

towards specialisation in cattle farming, there have been changes in the methods of commercialisation, largely under the current control of the two farmers' cooperatives, a meat cooperative at Bourg Madame and the dairy cooperative at Err. The former grew out of the latter, mainly as a consequence of the specialisation in dairy farming and the increase in the number of calves.

Production and Commercialisation in the Contemporary Context.

Currently, two broad categories may be distinguished, agricultural production for commercialisation and agricultural production principally for domestic consumption. This distinction may be represented in the following manner :

Agricultural Production: For Sale and For Domestic Consumption.

Production For Commercialisation	Production For Domestic Consumption
Dairy Cattle/Milk Production	Eggs
Beef Cattle	Rabbits
Horses	Geese
Sheep	Ducks
Goats	Vegetables (Cabbage, lettuce Potatoes, leeks and beetroots)

Fieldwork.

Some cereals are produced for livestock consumption. There is some overlap, however, in that some of the milk, beef and sheep production is used for domestic consumption while one farmer sells all of his 130ha of cereals to a local private grain merchant who resells the grain outside the region. A small amount of vegetable produce is sold by a few farmers via local shops, campsites, and weekly markets at Osséja, Saillagouse and Bourg Madame. The basic on-farm production, divided along the product types, and according to the two distinct ends, can be described also in terms of the aggregate levels of on-farm production (recorded during fieldwork) which were as follows :

Aggregate On-Farm Production Levels

	Total	No of Farms With the Following	No of Farms With Two of These As Commercial Lines of Production	No of Farms With Three of These Lines of Production
Dairy Cattle	1394	92	109	65
Other Cattle	3047	107		
Horses	774	68		
Sheep	2840	13		
Pigs	79	70		
Goats	128	10		
Hens	1563	108		
Rabbits	785	89		
Geese	122	51		
Cereals (in ha)	831	98		

Fieldwork.

The relatively high number of cattle reflects the degree of specialisation in livestock farming in 'La Cerdagne'. Beef and dairy livestock farming forms the principal broad product area for commercialised livestock farming in the region. There were only 13 farms out of the total of 120 recorded that produced no cattle: 2 of these are small-scale goat farms, 10 are specialist sheep farms and the other is a small-scale farm producing horses only.

Milk production takes place on 92 out of the 120 farms, while beef cattle are found on 107 of the farms. The beef cattle tend to be a consequence of specialisation in dairy farming. Calves are sold as meat cattle for immediate slaughter on sale, or for fattening to be slaughtered later. By selling the calves early the milk supply of the mother can be maintained for sale. The presence of beef cattle has to be understood in terms of the importance of milk production. With the exception of the one specialised horse farm, the rest of the horses produced for sale in 'La Cerdagne', are kept as a second line of production behind cattle. The main reason for this, apart from the commercial flexibility afforded by maintaining more than one product, is that horse rearing involves low labour

input and low capital input. It is important to note that 68 out of 107 cattle farmers maintain a second line of commercial production with horses.

Sheep farming was concentrated on 13 farms, 10 specialising in sheep alone. 62.99% of all sheep were concentrated on 5 farms with the 2 largest flocks containing around 350 and 500 sheep. Of the farms which specialised in cattle farming, 3 maintained a few sheep mainly for domestic consumption. Of the 10 specialised sheep farms, 3 kept goats as a subsidiary line of production.

Cattle for slaughter and milk produced are collected from the farm by the farmers' meat and milk cooperatives. Horses are also bought by the meat cooperative. Sheep are collected from the farm, by private meat wholesalers from outside 'La Cerdagne'. These meat wholesalers are principally located in Perpignan and the department to the north of 'La Cerdagne'. Goat production, limited to cheeses and yoghurts made on the farm, is sold in local markets and neighbouring areas to the east. Some local goat produce is sold in local shops in Bourg Madame, Saillagouse, Osséja, Mont Louis and Font Romeu Odeilla Via. This only involves the 2 goat specialist farms and the 2 sheep farms producing goat products.

All but 6 of the farmers who kept cattle for slaughter sold their cattle via the farmers' meat cooperative. These farmers sold their cattle to local butchers in 'La Cerdagne'. The meat cooperative buys calves which are forward contracted according to a price range which is pre-fixed following different indices of meat quality per kilogramme of liveweight. The forward contracting of calves is related to the importance of milk production in 'La Cerdagne' and the fragility of milk and dairy markets which are in surplus in terms of the EC's internal supplies. This situation has engendered a policy of forward contracting, which offers a degree of commercial security to farmers in the form of guaranteed purchases for current production cycles.

The contracts are between OFIVAL (3) and the meat cooperative, on the one hand, and the cooperative and the farmer, on the other hand. The farmers and the cooperative receive a subsidy for all animals sold via a contract (See Appendix One). The farmer is guaranteed a purchase thereafter by the cooperative. The first stage is, therefore, to establish an outlet for the cooperative, which is then consolidated in contractual form, allowing the cooperative the possibility of guaranteeing purchases from farmers. The importance of this guarantee, from the farmer's point of view, extends beyond the immediate commercial security. The farmer can calculate the levels of winter feedstuffs required for the remaining permanent herd. Non-contracted cattle, such as the ex-dairy cattle, and older cattle in general, are, like horses, bought by the cooperative on an ad hoc basis.

The 6 farmers who did not sell their cattle through the cooperative were from a group of small farmers owning less than 10 head of cattle. These were also older farmers, without a successor. They dealt with a local butcher rather than pay their capital social (4) in order to become a member of the cooperative. They could still have sold their livestock via the cooperative, except that the cooperative pays non-members a lower price. One of the 6 farmers explained why he sold his cattle via his local butcher as follows :

> "It's not worth it, you see ... the cooperative... I'm on my own and I don't want to pay to sell my little amount of meat. And why should I be punished for not joining the cooperative? And the meetings each year ... I don't want to have to go, but if you don't go, and the cooperative takes your animals, you are criticised. I don't want all that trouble, so I sell to my butcher... he buys the odd animal ... I don't need a guarantee that someone will buy dozens of animals each time ... I don't have dozens of animals - that's it!" (Monsieur Pierre Bragulat, aged 64, living at Rô)

Milk production is organised principally via the farmers' milk cooperative at Err. Up to the time of my fieldwork, all milk produced by

the farmers delivering to the cooperative (a total of 69) was guaranteed for purchase by the cooperative. Since then dairy quotas have been imposed at the level of the individual farm but these did not come into effect until after this stage of my fieldwork. The price paid for milk is based on the average national price and distinguishes between the different qualities of milk. A total of 23 small dairy farmers sold their milk production to tourists in 'La Cerdagne'.

There was a correspondence between the emphasis placed on the importance of the meat and dairy cooperatives as a means for commercialising beef and milk production, and the size of herd and farm enterprise. The farmers with higher levels of production and operating on larger farms tended to regard the cooperatives in a positive sense. For example :

> "The dairy cooperative is essential for me. I produce over 270,000 litres a year. I couldn't do that if the dairy cooperative didn't guarantee to buy it all from me." (Monsieur Bernard Clément, who, together with his uncle, farms a combined total of 170 ha. See Case Study, Chapter Five).

The meat cooperative is seen as equally central to the production strategies of farmers in 'La Cerdagne'.

> "I couldn't sell all my animals here without the meat cooperative. The butchers wouldn't buy all my animals, and they certainly wouldn't guarantee to buy them" (Monsieur Marty. Runs herd of 100 cattle, of which 75 are dairy cattle, on a 150ha farm.)

"What would a butcher do with all the horses in the region .. no-one would eat them all ... it is even more inconceivable that the butchers would take all the cattle...the animals have to be sold in the big cities and towns where there is the demand..the little butchers from our villages are not going to buy all these animals and transport them to Toulouse or Perpignan ... even the meat wholesalers won't do that ...they simply buy from our cooperative, it's the cooperative that has all the trouble to collect the animals from all the farms" (Monsieur Blanc, President of the meat cooperative).

The situation is different on sheep and goat farms. The specialised goat farms are operated by 2 farmers who are not from farming families, nor from 'La Cerdagne'. These are two young farmers (32 and 36 years of age) who were installed using a DIJA, seeing themselves as having chosen an "alternative way of life". One of the farmers is from Toulouse, and the other from Perpignan. For both, the decision to become farmers stemmed from a rejection of what they perceived as an "urban way of life":

"It's quite simple really.I could have earned more money working in a bank, an office,or teaching or something like that; of course! But to do that, you need to live in places where you need to spend more ... so you earn more in order to spend more. And you do that with all the pollution, noise and stress. Here I earn less, but I spend less, eat healthy food, have no stress...you see? I didn't become a farmer to earn a fortune. I sell what I can, when I can, and when I've sold enough, I'm OK for the day, until the next market" (Monsieur Nee, aged 36).

For sheep farmers, the question of commercialisation is more urgent because they cannot transport their sheep between local markets. The local markets today only deal with limited quantities of small goods such as vegetables and do not handle livestock. Even if there were livestock markets in 'La Cerdagne', the transport costs would, according to the sheep farmers, be prohibitive. Sheep farmers receive the mountain area subsidy on

their sheep, but, as with adult cattle, and unlike calves, sheep do not carry the guarantee of the forward contract. This places the sheep farmer in a less secure position, as one respondent describes:

> "So you see, we have to take the risk when we think the price is good ... you do that over the telephone ... you phone up, or, you are telephoned - they get to know you - and you have to judge the best price ... sometimes, you think that the first price you get is going to be the best, so you say yes, then the next day someone offers you more, but it's too late ...you have to sell, you see, so you have to take the risk ... you can't wait too long ... if you say no, the buyer will go elsewhere, and you might not get such a good price again!"
>
> (Marc Bragulat, aged 59)

All farms used some combination of farmyard and garden produce for domestic consumption. This consisted of eggs, poultry, rabbits, potatoes and various vegetables. Most farms are self-sufficient in these foodstuffs. On 81 farms, the purchase of a deep-freeze has extended this capacity, in that many products can be produced on a larger scale and kept for consumption over the year. Additional produce, not found on the farm, is considered as supplementing this basic self-sufficiency. Self-sufficiency in domestic food requirements has been a major element of continuity at the heart of the farm production cycle. As one farmer succinctly put it :

> "Listen, you can do all you want to sell your produce... you can follow all the advice of other farmers, your family, or the agricultural technician - or even the newspaper, who knows? But you can't <u>guarantee</u> to sell all your produce at the price you might want; you might even end up selling none of your produce, or have to sell it at a derisory price ... <u>but</u> you can guarantee your own food on the farm - and good food!"
>
> (Monsieur Jordan, aged 64, at Rô)

Pig keeping has long been an old source of food for the farming family. The pig provides the 'jambon', 'saucisson' and general 'charcuterie' for the farm (5). Not all farms keep a pig nowadays. Only 70 out of a total of 120 farms maintained a pig for domestic consumption. A system of exchanges takes place in order to ensure a self-sufficiency between farmers. For example, farms without a pig, but with a 'surplus' of poultry, rabbits and geese, exchange some of their produce with a farm that has a pig, but which lacks one or more of the other farmyard or garden products. Via inter-farm direct exchanges farmers ensure a full self-sufficiency on all farms. The exchanges are organised on a neighbourhood basis and compensate for the general decline in full on-farm self-sufficiency. Until the early 1960's, farms generally ensured the family alimentary intake based on diversified on-farm production.

Indeed, on two small farms on-farm diversification had been maintained. These were older farmers (aged 61 and 70 at the time of fieldwork) working small farms (20ha and 10ha) that are considered as "economically marginal". It is interesting to note one of these farmer's views on 'diversification'"

> "this is true farming ... a few animals and some crops and vegetables ... it was always like this ... la diversité ... that's real farming ... c'est tout un savoir faire ... these big dairy farmers, what do they know? One thing only! That's not real farming, and it's not good for farming!" (Monsieur Fabre. See Case Study Chapter Six).

Until the early 1960's, most farms continued to practise on-farm diversification, with cattle, sheep, horses and farmyard produce for both personal consumption and for sale. With changes in the local shops and, particularly, with the arrival of the local supermarkets, outlets for the sale of farmyard produce disappeared. At the same time, on-farm specialisation due to commercialisation has reduced on-farm diversification. The tendency has been towards a greater specialisation of produce for sale while maintaining a diversity of on-farm production for personal, domestic

consumption. Whereas until the 1960's, most farms had a combination of livestock for sale (at the local fair and via local butchers and shops), today, there are a few specialised sheep farms, with most farmers' production strategies being guided by a commercial interest in cattle farming.

The decline of diversification in on-farm production has been largely due to agricultural specialisation and partly due to demographic changes within the agricultural population. With the decline in the on-farm population there has been little point in maintaining, for example, a pig on each farm; many farmers operate on their own, or with their spouse. As such, there is a low on-farm demand for the maintenance of a pig for domestic consumption. In such a case, the exchange of on-farm production may be seen as a rational strategy employed between farmers to ensure on-farm self-sufficiency for food.

Farmers also try as far as possible to ensure a self-sufficiency in terms of animal foodstuffs (hay, silage and cereals). The one exception to this practice is the large (130ha) cereal farm. Dairy cattle graze around or near to the farm from early Spring to late Autumn. During Winter, the dairy cattle are kept inside farm buildings. Calves which are born in Spring, and which are not sold as eight-day old calves are taken into the mountains for fattening. These calves, along with other cattle for slaughter, are fed on communal mountain areas. This is a right of farmers in 'La Cerdagne', and provides an important source of free food for cattle and calves which are brought down from the mountains for sale to the meat cooperative around October.

Sheep are also taken into the higher mountain pastures during the summer months. In all but one of the 10 specialist sheep farms, the sheep that are not sold after the summer period in the mountains, are kept as the permanent breeding herd, and sent down to the vineyards in the 'Plaine du Roussillon' for the Winter. By combining prairies, pastures, as well as the on-farm production of fodder crops, farmers effect near total self-sufficiency in terms of livestock feedstuffs.

Changes in Methods of Commercialisation From Livestock Fair and Local Butchers to Meat Cooperative

Of the two farmers' dairy cooperatives created in the inter-war period, the cooperative at St Pierre dels Forcats La Cabanasse played only a minor and localised role in the commercialisation on milk production in 'La Cerdagne'. It was part of the institutional basis of the post-war expansion of the farmers' cooperatives. In the early post-war period, beef, working cattle and sheep were still sold as they had been from the nineteenth century on an ad hoc basis during the year to local butchers. The main sale of cattle and some sheep continued to take place at the livestock fair at Mont Louis until the early 1960's. All livestock sold at the fair was sold to meat traders, mainly from Perpignan.

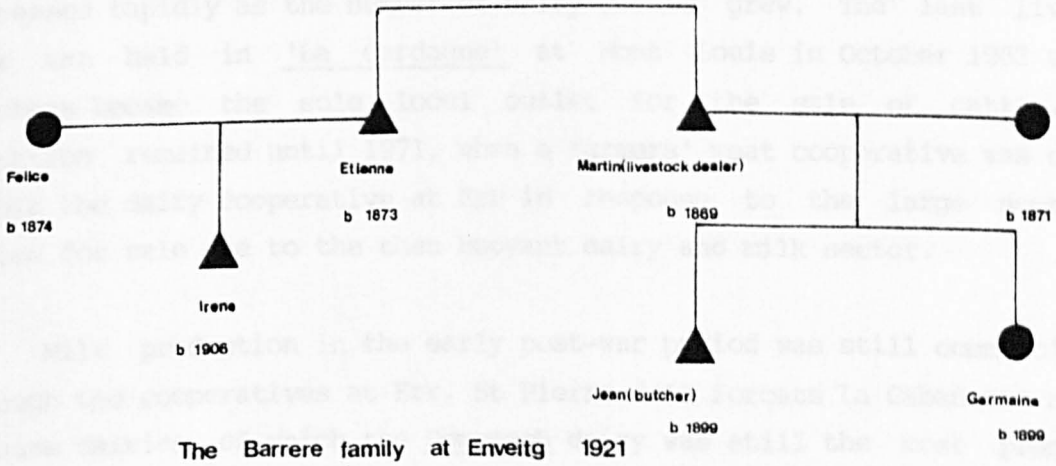
The number of livestock fairs had declined by the 1960's, leaving just the annual fair at Mont Louis during the second week of October. The main reason for the decline in the livestock fairs was due to the development of large-scale abattoirs at Perpignan. The effect of this was to concentrate the sale of meat in and around Perpignan, supplying the large meat wholesalers. Geographical isolation and high transport costs excluded farmers in 'La Cerdagne' from these outlets, limiting them to outlets within the region. The purchase of livestock at the fairs in 'La Cerdagne' had been the domain of meat traders and livestock dealers, known as 'Marchands de bêtes'. These, whether in the form of local butchers during the year or livestock dealers at the fairs carried both economic and social power as privileged buyers in what was a local monopoly concerning the sale of cattle. The butchers held the monopoly during the year, while the livestock dealers dominated the fair. Given their isolation, the farmers in 'La Cerdagne' had to :

> "place trust in [their] own dealer - that he would offer the best price. Only he knew the real state of supply and demand as he used to call it"
> (Monsieur Rigole, aged 64.)

Horses were sold via the livestock fair at Mont Louis until the early 1960's, usually as work-horses to wine producers from 'La Plaine du Roussillon' (6).

With regard to the sale of both sheep and cattle in 'La Cerdagne', up to the 1970's local butchers held a monopoly in the region throughout the year. Being both the sole purchasers of livestock during the year, as well as landowners in their own right, the butchers in 'La Cerdagne' were in a relatively strong position concerning the day-to-day sale and purchase of cattle and sheep. The increase in the number of calves from the 1920's with the expansion of dairy production, only served to reinforce their position. Indeed, earlier still, the first agricultural syndicate in 'La Cerdagne', the 'Syndicat des Patrons-Bouchers de la Cerdagne', was set up in 1912. Taking eventually the full title of 'Syndicat de la Boucherie de la Cerdagne', its aim was to "promote the interests of the landowning butchers in the commercialisation of meat and hides".

Historically, landowning butchers held a pivotal position in 'La Cerdagne', combining control over the processes of production and commercialisation. A vertical link between production and commercialisation was formed under the umbrella of one family-based enterprise. An example of this internal family-based vertical integration is given :



The Barrere family at Enveitg 1921

As landowners, the two brothers, Etienne and Martin, and Martin's son, Jean obtained their cattle and sheep direct from the farm. Martin bought cattle and sheep, as a livestock dealer, from other farmers in 'La Cerdagne' (7). Butchers such as the Barrère family, operating as a family enterprise with both land and livestock, exercised a high degree of influence over the local price and supply of livestock.

The control exercised by the landowning butchers was particularly acute in the case of cattle. Sheep were mainly sold outside 'La Cerdagne' from the early part of the twentieth century through to the 1960's (in the markets at Narbonne, Béziers, Perpignan and Prades). Sheep were taken on foot to these markets. The journey took 2-3 weeks in the case of Narbonne and Béziers and took place from around October (8). With regard to cattle, landowning butchers were able to lower the price of cattle meat at sale, eliminating the non-landowning butchers who had to purchase their cattle from farmers in 'La Cerdagne' (9). In 1856, 5 out of the 19 butchers were landowners, while the corresponding figures for 1921 and 1936 were 13 out of 18 and 23 out of 26 respectively (10). By the 1950's, all butchers owned some land and produced their own livestock, buying-in further livestock from farmers in 'La Cerdagne'.

The landowning butchers held a quasi-monopolistic position over the internal cattle market in 'La Cerdagne' throughout the year. With the decline in the number of fairs, farmers were largely dependent on the butchers for the sale of their cattle, at a time when the numbers of calves increased rapidly as the number of dairy cattle grew. The last livestock fair was held in 'La Cerdagne' at Mont Louis in October 1963 and the butchers became the sole local outlet for the sale of cattle. This situation remained until 1971, when a farmers' meat cooperative was created within the dairy cooperative at Err in response to the large number of calves for sale due to the then buoyant dairy and milk sector.

Milk production in the early post-war period was still commercialised through the cooperatives at Err, St Pierre dels Forcats La Cabanasse and the private dairies, of which the Domenech dairy was still the most prominent. From 1954 onwards, however, all milk was commercialised via the single

cooperative at Err following the restructuring of the dairy market within 'La Cerdagne' and (from 1955) throughout the department. A process of specialisation internal to the dairy cooperatives, alongside the restructuring of the dairy market, led to a highly demarcated division of labour within the cooperatives.

Specialisation Within the Dairy Cooperatives: Agricultural Policy Post-1962.

Although generally in France there was little increase in the level of human consumption of milk between 1950-1974, the increase in the consumption of processed dairy products (cheese, yoghurt, butter) contributed to the expansion of the industrially processed dairy products. This transformed the structure of the dairy sector, leading to a greater role played by the industrial wing of agricultural production (Duby et al, 1976, b: pp 129-131).

The increase in the number of dairy cattle in 'La Cerdagne' was due to the higher and more regular income procured from the sale of milk. This could be effected on a smaller scale than other forms of livestock farming which are less susceptible to intensified methods. Income per hectare is higher for dairy farming than for other forms of livestock farming (11). Dairy farming appealed on economic grounds to the preponderance of small and medium farmers in the 1950's. The sale of beef, cattle, horses, and sheep at the livestock fairs had provided an annual or bi-annual income. The same was true regarding the sale of livestock to the local butchers during the year, since, the butchers, like the farmers, settled debts at the livestock fair. The switch to milk production was particularly appealing since, at least initially, this involved no significant capital outlay, given that all milking continued to be carried out by hand until the 1960's, when mechanised methods began to be introduced on farms. It was not in fact until the 1960's that capital investment in on-farm mechanisation in milk production appeared in 'La Cerdagne'.

While the specialisation in cattle farming and dairy production became manifest in the post-war period, the conditions for this specialisation were already in place with the creation of the 'Comité de Lait' and the two

farmers' dairy cooperatives. From the 1960's further specialisation took place creating a sophisticated division of labour within the dairy sector, resulting in the cooperative at Err being reduced to milk supplier to a complex of large-scale cooperatives in Toulouse and surrounding regions. Prior to this, between the early 1950's and the mid 1960's, a diversification of production within the dairy cooperative system in 'La Cerdagne' was introduced by the farmers' cooperative at Err. This period of diversification reflected a policy within the cooperatives which dated back to the origins of the first dairy cooperative.

The main commodities produced by the first cooperative at St Pierre dels Forcats La Cabanasse were butter and local cheeses. The commercialisation of products was localised, limited to the village where the cooperative was located and adjacent villages. "Surplus" milk was sold locally in untreated form, by the litre until 1922, at which time a steam powered pasteurising machine was introduced. In 1925, a machine for separating the cream was introduced with the residue milk sold to farmers for fattening pigs. Indeed, this was the principal destination of the milk sales at this time, with pigbreeding being still widespread (12). The small number of dairy cattle reflected the small-scale nature of dairy farming.

The second cooperative, created in 1934, was equipped to produce a range of dairy products (butter, cheeses and cream). The average production between 1934 and the outbreak of the war in 1939 was between 4-21 litres per day per farmer, from herds of between 1-11 head (13). Demand for milk and dairy products for human consumption expanded as the urban and non-agricultural population increased. Of the 487,000 litres delivered to the cooperative at Err in 1936, 75% was sold in the form of milk, while the remaining 25% was transformed into local cheeses (14).

Following the inter-war expansion of the dairy sector, and the increase in the overall dairy herds in 'La Cerdagne', in 1948 the cooperative at Err installed a milk cooling system and purchased one hundred milk churns for the collection and distribution of milk. A decree of 1950 (15) obliged cooperatives, for reasons of hygiene, to bottle all milk destined for towns that had a population over 20,000. Given that the

cooperative delivered to Perpignan, a bottling system was obligatory. The range of dairy products produced by the cooperatives increased initially during the post-war period. Milk still represented the main product but yoghurt was added to the production of milk, cheese, butter cream and local soft cheeses. In 1954, additional varieties of soft cheeses (Baby Régime and Le Cerdan) were introduced. Finally, the full range of the cooperatives' dairy products was completed with the introduction of caseine in 1962.

The aim behind this diversification was twofold. Firstly, a diversified production base was seen traditionally as providing more market security than specialisation in a single commodity. Secondly, by transforming the various products from the raw milk themselves, the farmers' cooperatives maximised the added value for each commodity produced. As the president of the cooperative at Err at that time explained :

> "You see ... we wanted to maximise our income by carrying out all the processes ourselves...and we wanted different products so we would not be exposed to the market with only one product."

However, by 1966, all production except that of milk and butter had stopped. Butter production itself was terminated the following year. The diversity of production within the milk sector had been replaced by a focus on the production of milk alone. It was during 1965 that significant investments were made to purchase a new bottling machine, which was to symbolise the anticipated move towards the sole production of milk. In 1975, the whole operation at Err was modernised, with new equipment for the bottling of pasteurised milk. This became the only form of dairy production in 'La Cerdagne', with the sale of calves via the dairy and meat cooperative from the early 1970's, an important by-product.

Alongside this specialisation went a process of structural integration, whereby the farmers' cooperatives in 'La Cerdagne' became located within a wider network of dairy cooperatives. The division of labour within the cooperative network reflected the specialisation process.

Processes of Centralisation 1945-1954.

State policy after 1953 concerning support for beef and dairy production (as part of the broad aim for national self-sufficiency in food supplies) was important in relation to post-war development of the cooperatives in 'La Cerdagne'. This was particularly true in terms of the structural changes internal to the cooperative system. It was also true in terms of the ideological support that the State provided for the idea of 'Le Corporatisme Paysan' during the war and the idea of 'L'Unité Paysanne' after the war. In the post-war period, the influence of the State in the organisation of the dairy sector increased.

Having created 'Le Comité de Lait' in 1936, the 'Ravitaillement Général' (16) remained in force beyond the war. In the short term, the main beneficiaries of the 'Ravitaillement' were the private dairies within 'La Cerdagne'. Under the 'Ravitaillement', the imposed geographical divisions of 'La Cerdagne' provided the private dairies with more farmers within their boundaries and a more compact distribution of farmers, allowing for a more rational system of collection. The cooperatives found the wide dispersal of their farmers, compounded by existing debt problems. Although the demand for dairy products expanded again post-war, with the general increase in the non-agricultural population, this was not sufficient on its own to solve the problems of debt and milk supply to the farmers. This was only addressed with the eventual monopolisation of the local and departmental milk and dairy markets. With this accomplished, a restructuring of the local, departmental and inter-departmental milk and dairy markets was effected with finance from the 'Crédit Agricole'. The agricultural policies were introduced by the agricultural leaders - a group of 'Notables Agricoles' - during the 1960's, together with the 'Crédit Agricole'.

The expansion of the dairy market and an increase in each farmer's delivery constituted the main aims of the two dairy cooperatives from the beginning of the 1950's. This fitted with the broad tenor of post-war expansionist policies. The 'Crédit Agricole' played a pivotal role in the history of the cooperatives in respect of financing and directing the

programme behind these two broad objectives. Indeed, having tied the financing of the outstanding debts (standing at 5 million FF) of the cooperative at Err to the precondition that both cooperatives and farmers as members of the cooperatives, conduct their respective banking affairs with the 'Crédit Agricole', the central position of the 'Crédit Agricole' in the daily agricultural affairs was ensured. The main aim of the 'Crédit Agricole' was to modernise the equipment at Err in order to facilitate an expansion in the delivery of milk. This did not, however, to take place until the mid-1960's, by which time the cooperative at Err had secured its monopoly over the collection, transformation and commercialisation of milk in 'La Cerdagne'. It was only from this time that the 'Crédit Agricole' undertook the financing of the modernisation of the farmers' cooperative.

The increasing influence of the two farmers' cooperatives in 'La Cerdagne' over the private dairies became evident by 1952 with the joint acquisition by the two cooperatives of a private dairy, the Polastron dairy, at Perpignan. In the following year, a third farmers' dairy cooperative was set up in Prades, the main town of the neighbouring region, Le Conflent. This third cooperative was created at the request of the 'Syndicat de Producteurs de Lait de Prades', (a dairy farmers' syndicat) and formed part of a network with the two cooperatives from 'La Cerdagne'. The establishment of the cooperative at Prades followed the takeover of another private dairy (the 'Maison Ameil') by the two cooperatives in 'La Cerdagne'.

Milk and dairy markets continued to be volatile, with conflicts over price-setting emerging again in 1954. This followed the setting up of a depot at Perpignan by a private dairy from Toulouse ('La Société Le Lait Toulousain') which sought to compensate for markets at Hyères (17) which had been lost to another private dairy - 'La Société Laitière du Midi' (SOLAMI). 'La Société Le Lait Toulousain' had also recently lost its market in 'L'Ariège' (18) to a recently founded farmers' cooperative, 'La Coopérative de Rieucros'.

In response to this series of takeovers, a commission was set up by the cooperatives of 'La Cerdagne' and Prades, the private dairies from the department of the Pyrénées-Orientales, as well as the 'Union Laitière

Coopérative' (ULC) (19). The cooperatives from 'La Cerdagne' and Prades benefited initially from developments brought about by the commission. A cooperative organisation, operating at inter-departmental level, was created to protect the department's dairy and milk markets from outside competition. Agreements were drawn up concerning prices, with the proviso that all price movements should be uniform within the Pyrénées-Orientales, and the adjacent department, 'L'Ariège'. This was designed to provide a structural basis to milk and dairy markets and avoid the deliterious effects of a volatile market. The organisation was known as the 'Union Cerdagne Languedoc' (UCL). The initial mutual aid and support between the farmers' cooperatives (in terms of limiting geographical areas for milk collection, and the exchange of personnel with specific areas of expertise between the cooperatives at the inter-departmental level) was a structural advantage not shared by the private dairies and strengthened the general position of the cooperatives in 'La Cerdagne'.

At the very moment that the farmers' cooperatives in 'La Cerdagne' were increasing their popular support among farmers, attracting the agro-political weight embodied in the leadership of the cooperatives and the other agricultural organisations during the mid 1950's, and developing a broader, more organised structural basis to their commercialisation policies, the private dairies were experiencing the precise opposite. It was a combination of the growing influence of the farmers' cooperatives and the simultaneous decline of the private dairies that led to the acquisition of the Domenech dairy by the two farmers' cooperatives from 'La Cerdagne'. The Domenech dairy remained the largest private dairy, and its takeover in 1954 was followed by the absorption of another private dairy, the Assens dairy, along with a further private dairy, La Société Marty et Cômes, the following year. The cooperatives from 'La Cerdagne' had, as a result, by 1955, established a total monopoly within the department in terms of the collection, transformation and commercialisation of milk and dairy products. Henceforth, all milk production in the department would pass via the farmers' cooperatives from 'La Cerdagne'.

With State guarantees and a monopoly position in departmental dairy markets, the number of dairy cattle reached a record level in 1955, the year

when the farmers' cooperatives assumed the monopoly of the departmental dairy markets. The majority of farms were small, with most dairy herds being between 4-6 in number. The income for the majority of farmers was regular if moderate. From 1955 to 1959, the three cooperatives, and particularly the cooperative at Err, enjoyed popular support from the farmers. With the popular support, in part the result of the development of the idea of the 'Unité Paysanne', in part the product of the earlier development of the 'ésprit corporatiste', the longstanding problem of supply to the cooperatives had been resolved. The inter-war difficulties regarding supply of milk, the economic base of the cooperatives, had been resolved in large part also by State guarantees for milk and butter production. This was indeed a period of social, political and economic élan for the cooperatives and farmers in 'La Cerdagne'. It was towards the end of the 1950's that two institutions were introduced as the organisational basis for the implementation of the 1960's agricultural modernisation programme. The 'Foyer de Progrès' (20) was set up in 1958, while the first CETA was created in 1959.

This period of élan for the cooperatives, farmers and milk production lasted until the early 1970's. The buoyancy of the milk and dairy markets was fairly general and established itself in the neighbouring department, 'La Haute Garonne', with farmers' cooperatives in the 'Région Toulousaine' expanding their market activities. However, the process of centralisation, having begun with the absorption of the private dairies by the farmers' cooperatives in 'La Cerdagne', subsequently continued within the cooperative system, both within 'La Cerdagne' and throughout the South-West of France.In 'La Cerdagne', the initial amalgamation of the three farmers' cooperatives (Err, St Pierre dels Forcats la Cabanasse, and Prades) in 1959 under the new name of CIMELAIT was restricted to the level of sales. The amalgamation was seen as a financial-administrative move with all three cooperatives continuing to collect and transform their milk separately. This step led to full fusion in 1964.

The Farmers' Dairy and Meat Cooperatives, 1964-1987.

The full fusion of the farmers' cooperatives was initiated by a policy

decision of the 'Crédit Agricole'. The fusion was recommended on the grounds of economy-of-scale and general economic efficiency. The 'Crédit Agricole' made the financing of the outstanding debts of the farmers' cooperative at Prades conditional (this time) on the full fusion of the three farmers' cooperatives. This decision by the 'Crédit Agricole' was formulated within the broader structural policy of the 'Politique d'Orientation Agricole' (POA) (21) and the objectives of 1960's agricultural policy. Henceforth, buildings, material and capital were to be organised under the one single farmers' cooperative, based at Err.

Thus, twelve years after the first signs of a process of structural centralisation had appeared with the takeover of the first private dairies by the farmers' cooperatives, a second 'phase' of centralisation had been completed within the farmers' cooperative system itself. Elsewhere, in neighbouring departments in the south west, similar developments were apparent. In the department of the 'Haute Garonne', the farmers' cooperative, known as 'La Coopérative Agricole Lauragaise' was subject to a successful takeover by the ULC in 1962. This period signalled the start of a broad structural rationalisation programme which integrated the farmers' cooperative in 'La Cerdagne' into a complex of cooperatives in the South-West of France.

The early to mid-1960's was a critical period from the point of view of implementing the 1960-62 agricultural policy goals at the local level in 'La Cerdagne'. The policy was promoted locally by the farmers' representatives who had emerged during the late 1950's from a group of 'Familles de Notables Agricoles'. There was criticism from the earlier agricultural representatives, who pointed to the loss of independence by the farmers' cooperative with the policy as outlined by the 'Crédit Agricole'. Although the president of the farmers' cooperative at Err remained in office throughout the 1960's until the end of the next decade, the general change in philosophy of the broad agricultural leadership led to any opposition to the post 1960's policies being 'marginalised' at the level of farming representatives.

It was the group of 'Notables Agricoles', the farmers least likely to

feel a negative impact from the agricultural policies, that supported and promoted the policies from 1960. These farmers accepted the philosophy behind the policies as supported by the 'Crédit Agricole'; that economic efficiency should serve to prioritise the pattern of local agricultural development. It was precisely this philosophy that the earlier post-war farmers' representatives rejected. They had accepted the post 1953 State-led market support, and had also embraced the idea that there should be a general modernisation of local agriculture. However, this was regarded as meaning the provision of support, both in terms of market, and in terms of a structural development, of farming and farms in 'La Cerdagne' in order to safeguard all farmers, as well as farming in 'La Cerdagne'. In other words, the modernisation was not to be tied to existing levels of efficiency in order to exclude (marginal) farmers from modernisation of the farm. Modernisation of local agriculture for the earlier farmers' representatives had meant ensuring both the development of on-farm structures in order to keep farmers on the land, as well as ensuring the independence of the farmers' cooperatives in 'La Cerdagne'. The policy supported by the 'Crédit Agricole' ran counter to this. The organisation of on-farm investments as well as those aimed at the cooperative, together with the provisions of credit were to be directed with, quite simply, economic efficiency as the guiding philosophy.

Having established the fusion of the farmers' cooperatives at the departmental level, bringing all three cooperatives under the single cooperative at Err, the 'Crédit Agricole' began financing the modernisation of the cooperative at Err. Between 1965 and 1966, major investments were effected. The delivery platform was extended to receive increased deliveries, and at the level of farm, farmers themselves invested in machinery related to milk production (see below), again, with credit provided by the 'Crédit Agricole'.

Farm Mechanisation in Milk Production

	1970		1979/80		1985	
		% of Farms		% of Farms		% of Farms
No. of Cooling Machines :	5	1.80	106	56.40	92	77.60
No. of Milking Machines :	40	14.23	56	29.80	65	54.10

RGA 1970-1979/80 and Fieldwork

In 1966, the cooperative at Err increased its investments with the purchase of a milk churn cleaning machine for use with non-returnable plastic bottles. These investments were made not only in anticipation of an increase in the level of production, and as a means to increase the productivity levels, they were part of a policy aimed at effecting specialisation in pasteurised milk and signalled the termination of the diversity of production within the farmers' cooperative. This was the basis to a new division of labour within a complex of cooperatives in the South West of France.

The decision to abandon a diversity of production was tied to the provision of further credit for investment purposes by the 'Crédit Agricole', whose influence had become pivotal by the mid 1960's. From the point of view of many farmers, the removal of the diversity of production eliminated a flexibility afforded thus far to farmers in their production strategies. As one farmer observed :

> "Before, you always knew that you had different products .. if one didn't sell well- if you had to take a lower price than you wanted, there was always another product -or others - you could sell as well...you could always balance one against the others ... then we only produced milk, and we had our credit to repay ... if things went well, you earned more than before-but things had to go well, because we had to repay our credit, at a fixed rate ... we couldn't negotiate that! We couldn't balance anything anymore! (Monsieur Llanas, aged 69).

The position of many farmers in 'La Cerdagne' was, in a sense, more precarious than in the pre-1960's. Having invested, using credit, the farmers depended on the continued success of the cooperative, a favourable position in the milk and dairy markets, and crucially continuing support of the milk and dairy markets from the State and the EC. Credit repayment schedules depended on the availability of a regular guaranteed income. For those farmers who engaged in modernisation and mechanisation based on credit, despite the success of the farmers' cooperative, they were in a potentially fragile economic situation.

The investments of the 1960's were succeeded by a rationalisation programme designed to eliminate duplication in the operations internal to CIMELAIT, at Err, and the UCL, of which CIMELAIT was an active member. Thus, a common depot was maintained at Perpignan, whereas CIMELAIT was to terminate the use of depots which had belonged to the formerly independent cooperatives at St Pierre dels Forcats La Cabanasse and Prades. By continuing to use the depots in 'La Cerdagne' as collection centres and for the transformation of milk into a diversity of dairy products, CIMELAIT had maintained a degree of institutional independence. This ran counter to the restructuring policy of both the 'Crédit Agricole' and the UCL, both of which aimed to concentrate operations and control to effect a division of labour between the different cooperatives at an inter-departmental level. In line with this policy, all members of the UCL were, from 1966, to deliver all milk to the UCL. The exception was the 'Union Laitière Coopérative' (ULC) at Toulouse. As the largest of the cooperatives within the UCL, with good communications, the ULC maintained a greater degree of autonomy.

For the UCL, this development represented the fulfilment of one of the major aims of the restructuring of production and commercialisation. For the administration of CIMELAIT, this move was perceived by many farmers as signalling the removal of a degree of autonomy. The formal integration into the UCL, and the contractual agreement to deliver the totality of milk production in 'La Cerdagne' was regarded by the president of CIMELAIT, Monsieur Gispert, as the conclusion of a process in which the independent status of the farmers' cooperative at Err had gradually diminished, and was, with this move, now being eliminated. As Monsieur Gispert informed me :

"You know, there was no choice ... they told us at Toulouse ... and that was that ... they told us at the 'Crédit Agricole' as well ... we were too isolated to do it all ourselves ... and the bank would not have supported us, and we needed that - the bank, you see ... so we had to say, 'oui'. I knew it, but what do you want, eh? I said we'd lose our independence ... but then we didn't have very much of that anyway, that's why we had to say 'oui' .. moreover our colleagues, the responsables of the other agricultural organisations - they all wanted us to do it - so we didn't even have the support of our colleagues" (Gispert, age 75).

The decision to deliver all milk produced in 'La Cerdagne' to Toulouse was, however, viewed differently by different farmers. It was clear that the smaller farmers, particularly those in the more isolated communes, were most strongly opposed to the move:

"I only had five hectares, and three dairy cows that I milked by hand. They didn't give much milk -just a bit too much for us [the family] to drink. Living here [in Valcabollère] we were isolated. They [CIMELAIT] didn't really want to come here for our milk anyway. It was to far. You see, there were three of us here; we all were too small for them. It was too far for too little; too inconvenient ... it cost too much. They wanted to save ... they were told to do so by the bank .. At first it was our cooperative, for all farmers .... then everyone started talking about the cost, and everyone wanted only the big farmers ... but they [CIMELAIT] had to come, because that was part of the agreement they asked for when they joined with Toulouse ... and I made sure they came as well!
(Monsieur Font, retired farmers, aged 75)

Among the larger, more mechanised and better equipped farms, particularly those located in communes with good road networks, such as Bourg Madame, Saillagouse, Err and Latour de Carol, the decision to deliver all milk to Toulouse was viewed differently :

"It simply made sense ... economic sense"
(Current President of CIMELAIT)

"We had to do it; it allowed us to obtain further credit and modernise our agriculture"
(Current President of the 'Syndicat d'Elevage' and co-founder of the CETA)

"Those who talked about independence were those who were the most threatened by the centralisation. Those who were well placed didn't talk of independence"
(Current President of CCVB)

The concern for independence did, however, following a strike and demonstrations at the departmental headquarters of the Ministry of Agriculture in 1966 by farmers from 'La Cerdagne' opposed to centralisation, lead to an initial concession. A 'Groupement d'Intérêt Economique' (GIE) (22), known as 'Le Lait Catalan' was formed in 1968. The GIE included the members of the UCL (known thereafter as CODILAIT), the farmers' cooperative at Rieucros (23), the ULC and CIMELAIT. Two private dairies, the 'Fromageries des Gorges du Tarn' (FGT) and the 'Société Laitère de Grand Delta' (SOLADEL), were included. The aim of the GIE was to commercialise pasteurised milk in the department of the Pyrénées-Orientales. Inasmuch as CIMELAIT specialised in the production of pasteurised milk, this move gave CIMELAIT a certain degree of autonomy with regard to the commercialisation of its own milk production.

Despite the establishment of the GIE, further changes in the structure of the milk and dairy markets highlighted the inherent weakness in CIMELAIT's dependence on a single commodity. The commercial trend, particularly with the spread of supermarkets, had for some time been towards long-life forms of milk. Sterilised milk and UHT milk (24) were produced by the large farmers' cooperative at Toulouse and the private dairy, SOLADEL. These two organisations produced, by the late 1960's, 55% and 45% respectively, of the total production of long-life milk within CODILAIT. Credit was not made available to CIMELAIT by the 'Crédit Agricole' for the farmers' cooperative at 'La Cerdagne' to convert to the production of

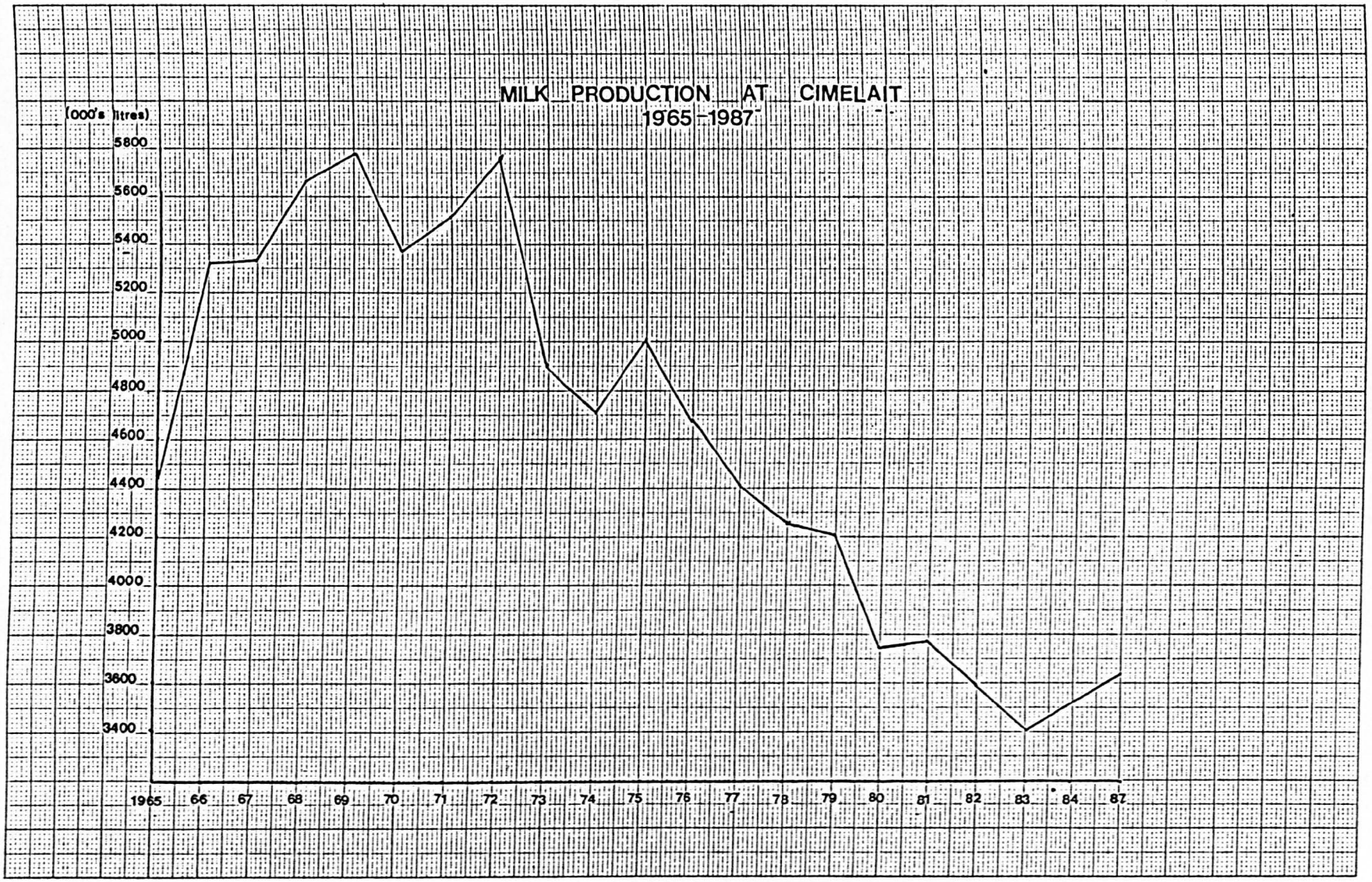
long-life milk. The reason for this was because the production of pasteurised milk at 'La Cerdagne' was part of a policy of the 'Crédit Agricole' involving broad inter-departmental, cross-regional division of labour within the milk and dairy sectors. This division of labour was a principal goal of the 'Crédit Agricole'.

In addition to the inherent market weakness of producing a single commodity, from 1973, the transport costs for CIMELAIT rose with oil prices. The cost of production of plastic bottles for the bottling of milk also rose. The increased transport costs reinforced the argument, led by officials at Toulouse, that the geographic isolation of farmers in 'La Cerdagne' posed prohibitive costs on future contact with CIMELAIT. The rise in the cost of plastic bottles raised objections regarding the independent commercialisation of pasteurised milk and the last vestige of autonomy of CIMELAIT in the department of the Pyrénées-Orientales. With the fragile economic situation facing CIMELAIT, some of the cooperative's premises at La Cabanasse were sold in 1973; the first signs of the decline of CIMELAIT as a farmers' cooperative in 'La Cerdagne' became evident.

In 1976, CIMELAIT requested that the farmers' cooperative at Rieucros be allowed to increase its quota for sterilised milk production within CODILAIT. This was in order to effect a quota on behalf of CIMELAIT to ease the financial situation. This was, however, seen by many farmers in 'La Cerdagne' as a further reduction in the autonomy of their cooperative. As one of these farmers stated :

> "Listen, we felt betrayed .. we'd done what we were told ... we bought our machinery for the farm and for the cooperative...you know...all the equipment at the cooperative, we paid for it...after all, we did it the way we were told to ...and no-one asked us for our opinion with what happened at Toulouse. .. then we had to ask favours from others ... what do you have to do?" (Monsieur Gordia).

The commercialisation of pasteurised milk ceased in 1976, in order to reduce the costs of bottling and transport from Err. The equipment that had


MILK PRODUCTION AT CIMELAIT
1965 - 1987
(000's litres)
5800
5600
5400
5200
5000
4800
4600
4400
4200
4000
3800
3600
3400
1965
66
67
68
69
70
71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
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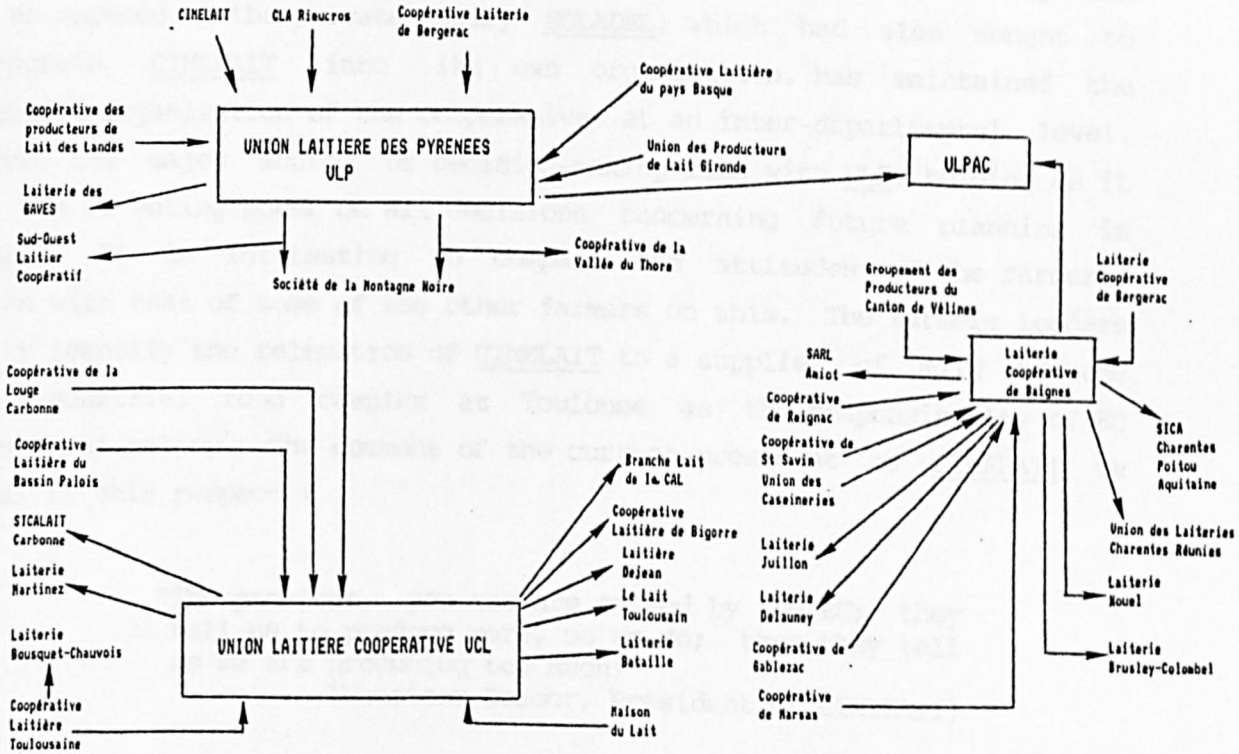
80
81
82
83
84
87

Cooperative Network Around Toulouse and The South West Of France



been purchased fell into disuse, with CIMELAIT henceforth serving as a simple collection depot. Milk is now collected by tanker at the farmgate by CIMELAIT and transported by tanker for the manufacture of various dairy products at Toulouse, or bottled for sale as milk at Toulouse.

The integration of CIMELAIT into a complex of cooperatives in the South-West of France continued after 1976. In 1979, the farmers' cooperative at Rieucros part-merged with the 'Union Laitière des Pyrénées' (ULP), a cooperative based at Toulouse. This was followed in 1980 by CIMELAIT linking-up with ULP (see figure). The decision to link-up with ULP, as opposed to the private dairy SOLADEL, which had also sought to incorporate CIMELAIT into its own organisation, has maintained the structural organisation of the cooperatives at an inter-departmental level. However, the major source of decision-making lies with ULP, holding as it does, 80% of voting power on all decisions concerning future planning in CIMELAIT. It is interesting to compare the attitudes of the farmers' leaders with that of some of the other farmers on this. The farmers leaders clearly identify the relegation of CIMELAIT to a supplier of milk to the large industrial food complex at Toulouse as the responsibility of EC agricultural policy. The comment of the current president of CIMELAIT is typical in this respect :

> "The problems, you see are caused by the EC; they tell us to produce more, so we do; then they tell us we are producing too much!"
> (Monsieur Delcor, President of CIMELAIT)

On the other hand, many farmers in 'La Cerdagne' accuse the leaders of the region's farmers' organisations of having conspired with Toulouse to reduce CIMELAIT to a supplier of 'raw' milk only, and undermining the farmers in 'La Cerdagne'. As one farmer put it :

> "If they (the farmers' representatives) had not made us join with Toulouse, we would have been alright. Now we have to do what other people want us to do" (Monsieur Blanich, aged 53, Bolquère).

CIMELAIT is now part of a network of cooperatives which supply milk for transformation into various products by SODIMA-YOPLAIT. In 1984 it became France's third biggest food transformation industry, with 11,000 employees and an annual turnover of 12,008,000,000 FF in 1984 (25).

French post-war governments, via the 'Crédit Agricole' and the EC, have played a significant part in the rationalisation of production and commercialisation in the overall restructuring of the agricultural sector. This is very clear in the case of milk production in 'La Cerdagne'. The gradual integration of farmers into a commercialised form of farming and the incorporation of farming in 'La Cerdagne' into the wider socio-economic networks was part of the move towards National Planning and increased State intervention. The French State and the EC encouraged increased levels of production and productivity through the modernisation programme based on economic expansion and productivist objectives, financed by the 'Crédit Agricole' (Alphandéry and Bitoun, 1977). This was inextricably connected with the concern to ensure national food self-sufficiency and the desire to create an export market for agricultural commodities. The latter was to be primarily underwritten by increases in the national agricultural production levels.

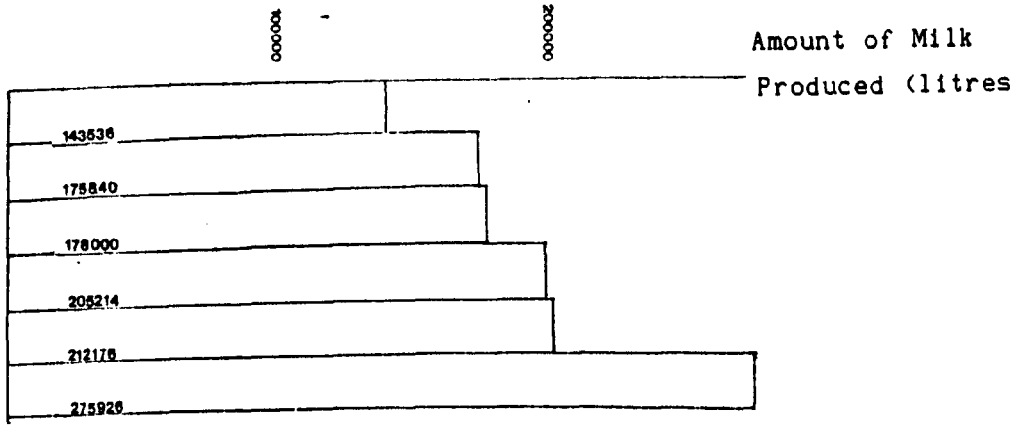
In 'La Cerdagne', milk production rose significantly after 1965 up to 1972 (see diagram). This was achieved with a trend that reflects a rapid decline in the number of farmers delivering milk to CIMELAIT. The number of farmers fell from 560 in 1965 to 322 in 1974, and only 75 (including 6 from the region north of 'La Cerdagne', 'Le Capcir') during my fieldwork.

Levels of production continued to increase until 1972, corresponding with the general economic position of CIMELAIT. Since 1972-3 the level of production has followed a downward trend. The level of productivity on the other hand has increased continuously from the early days of the cooperative at Err. Indeed, productivity in terms of the annual yield per cow has increased by 250% since then. In 1938, for example, the annual yield per cow was between 1500 litres and 1600 litres, (26) while today it stands at

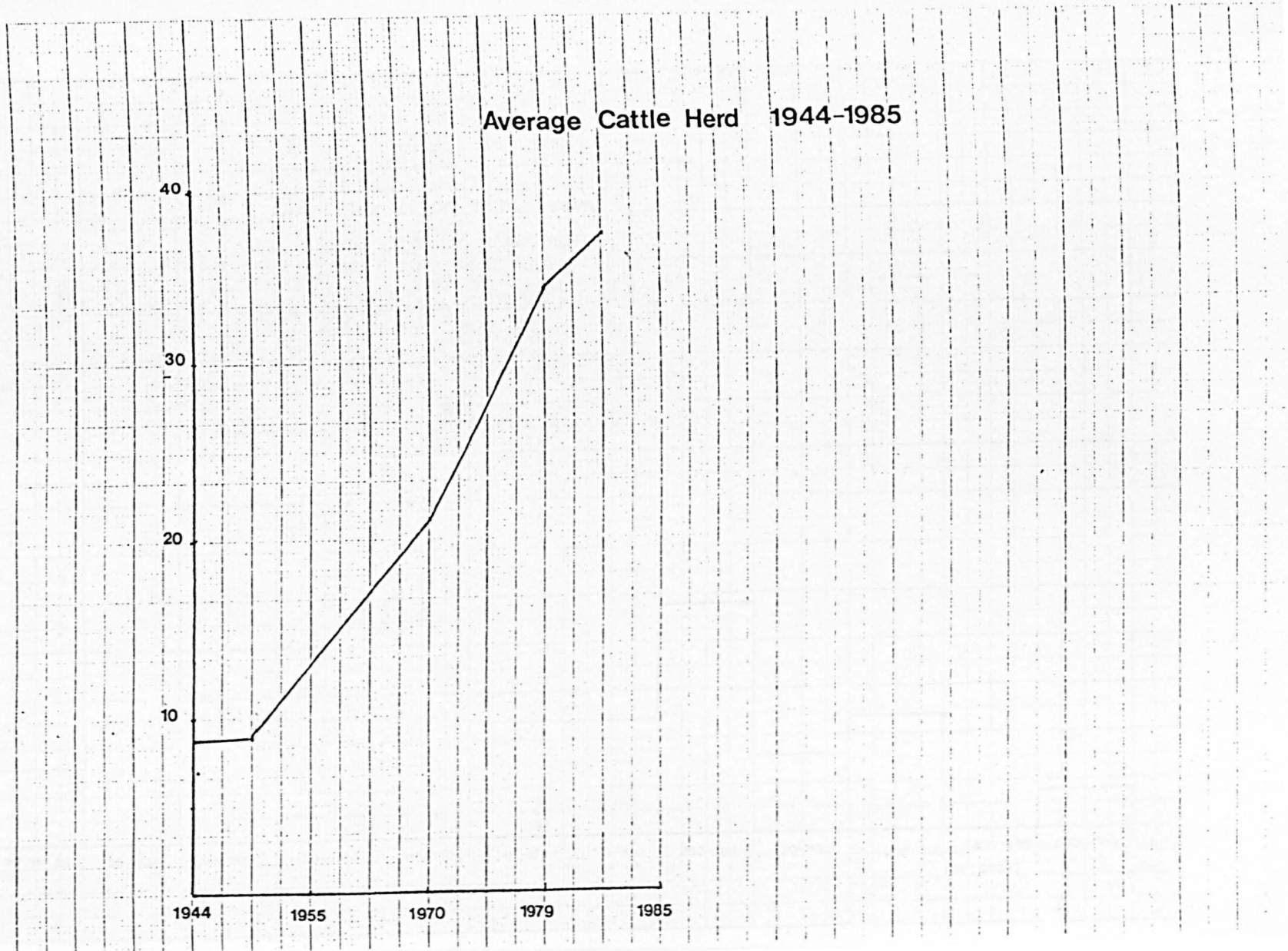
around 4000 litres. To give a clearer indication of the magnitude of the increase in the levels of production and productivity, whereas in Bourg Madame in 1937 the total milk production for the whole village (comprising a total herd of 210 dairy cattle) was only 31,500 litres. This contrasts with the largest single dairy herd today of 70 cattle on one farm, which yields nearly 280,000 litres.

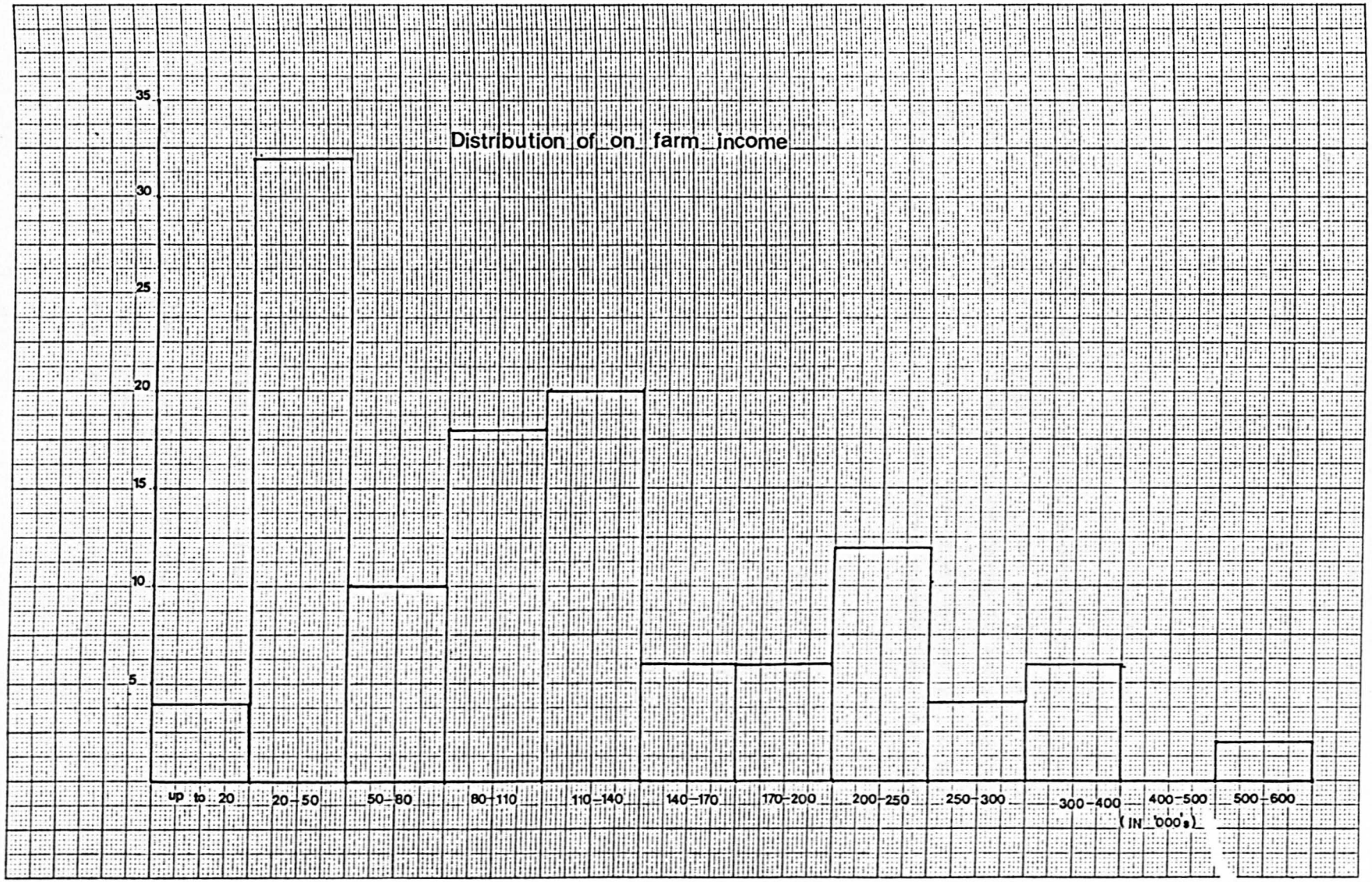
The decrease in the number of farmers delivering milk to CIMELAIT after 1965 resulted in the concentration of milk production in a small group of farmers. The average annual delivery per farmer has increased from 7,976.6 litres in 1965, to 14,953.1 litres in 1974, rising to 48,400 litres in 1987 (27). The average figures are somewhat misleading, since production tends to be largely concentrated on the larger farms. In 1987, for example, over 32.8% of the total production from 'La Cerdagne' collected by CIMELAIT, was produced by the 6 largest producers. Each of these farmers produce over 100,000 litres per year.

The Six Biggest Milk Producers in La Cerdagne



8 out of the 69 farmers in 'La Cerdagne' who delivered milk to CIMELAIT produced over 100,000 litres per year, while a further 9 produced between 50,000 and 100,000 litres. The majority, 52 in all, of farmers produced less than 50,000 litres at an average of less than 18,000 litres. The 23 farmers producing milk, but not delivering to CIMELAIT produce an average of 3,200 litres annually. These are older farmers (average age 59), operating on relatively small farms. The milk, which is sold to tourists supplements the sale of beef cattle which is also small-scale.


Average Cattle Herd 1944-1985
40
30
20
10
1944
1955
1970
1979
1985


Distribution of on farm income
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
up to 20
20-50
50-80
80-110
110-140
140-170
170-200
200-250
250-300
300-400
400-500
500-600
(IN '000's)

Alongside the increase in milk production and the decrease in the number of farms, there has also been an increase in the size of cattle herds between 1944 and 1984 (see diagram). Again, the average data are of limited use, but examination reveals a contemporary situation where large herds are concentrated on a few farms. In 1985, 2 farms had a total cattle herd of over 100, 12 had between 75-99, 19 had herds between 50-74, 38 farms had between 25-49, and 26 farms had less than 25 cattle.

Income distribution also reflects considerable inequalities among farmers. The top 5 incomes were on specialised large-scale dairy farms, while the lowest 6 incomes were on small-scale mainly beef cattle (4 in all) and the 2 specialised goat farms. The majority of farms (a total of 70) grossed less than 140,000 FF in 1984-5, with 30% earning 30,000 FF or less, while 18.33% earned over 200,000 FF and just two farms earned over 500,000 FF (see figure).

Thus, although milk production increased up to the early 1970's, the distribution of the share of production and income procured has been uneven. Production has become concentrated in a small number of large producers. Despite falling production at the level of the cooperative in 'La Cerdagne', quotas were introduced in 1984. The quotas were designed to resolve the surplus problem, in view of falling consumer demand and rising production on world markets (28). The implementation of the quotas in 1984 meant that the effect of the quotas could not be clearly ascertained during fieldwork. As an upland area, 'La Cerdagne' had a 1% reduction in milk production levels imposed while in lowland areas there was a 2% cut imposed. This recognised the economically fragile position of farming in upland areas within the EC. The original quotas were aimed at the level of the cooperative and in fact had no immediate impact in that "natural wastage" accounted for the 1% reduction imposed by the policy.

During fieldwork, the dairy cooperative quotas, aimed at the level of the individual farm, were introduced. The level of the quota corresponded to the levels of production at the time preceding the announcement of quotas. Quotas were thus fixed at 1983 production levels. The only farmers for whom there was room for negotiation regarding the fixed quotas were

those possessing a development plan. Although the effects of the 1987 policy could not be clearly detected, an informed reading of the likely impact would render the following situation as the most likely outcome. The policy would seem geared to a further elimination of the remaining "marginal" farmers. With the fixed quota there is a penalty of 2.1 FF for every litre over the quota level. Given that the price paid by the cooperative was only 1.75 FF, any rising costs to the farmers will not be met by an increase in production-related income from CIMELAIT. Moreover, due to the low on-farm labour supply, the possibility of augmenting on-farm income with non-agricultural activity is slight.

The history of the farmers' cooperative in 'La Cerdagne' has to be seen in the context of a general phenomenon in the South-West of France, and indeed throughout France as a whole. The underlying feature to note is the general integration of milk and dairy production into the industrial food transformation sector of agricultural production. During the 1950's and early 1960's, milk was collected at the farm gate in milk churns and transported by cart for sale, or transformation locally in 'La Cerdagne'. The manufacture of a diversity of local products was still carried out at the farmers' cooperative at Err until the mid-1960's. By the 1970's, milk from 'La Cerdagne' was collected in tankers and distributed for processing and marketing to the network of cooperatives around Toulouse. A division of labour had been established with the farmers' cooperative at Err serving simply as collection depot for milk. The transformation of milk into the various dairy products and the incremental additions of value are tied into technical and socio-economic processes that are located at the upper end of the vertical relationship between the farmers' cooperative in 'La Cerdagne' and the complex of cooperatives in the 'Région Toulousaine'.

The importance of milk production to France's agricultural sector is noted in Chapter 2. Farmers in 'La Cerdagne' have gradually become integrated horizontally as producers to form farmers' cooperatives. Following this, the farmers have, via the cooperative structure, become vertically integrated into a complex of cooperatives and food transformation centres within a broad cooperative network. As such, even the small-scale producers such as the 52 farmers that average a mere 18,000 litres per year

find themselves faced by large concentrations of capital whether private, or in this case, cooperative in orientation. The large-scale food complexes such as SODIMA-YOPLAIT, thus find themselves dependent on micro-scale producers for milk supplies. It is yet to be seen whether or not the 1987 quota system leads to the elimination of all the smaller farmers.

In any event, the expansion of milk production up to 1972 led to an increase in the number of calves. Given the high costs of feeding and maintaining calves, and the extra demands on space on the farm, farmers sought to sell these calves (often after less than 1 month, and generally before 6 months of age). Thus, a large number of young calves came to represent a potential extra source of income for farmers. This gave an impetus to the setting up of a farmers' meat cooperative as a means of gaining more control over the sale of cattle from the local butchers.

The meat cooperative was an off-shoot of CIMELAIT, created in 1971 within the farmers' dairy cooperative itself. The meat cooperative, known as the 'Coopérative Catalane de Viande et Bétail' (CCVB) became an independent meat cooperative in 1973. Its genesis within CIMELAIT is largely explained by the close relationship between the commercialisation of milk and cattle meat production. This may be noted with regard to the problem of milk supply to the cooperatives during the 1930's. The creation of a farmers' meat cooperative was also seen as a means to avoid the sort of problems faced by the dairy cooperatives in earlier periods. The CCVB, located in the commune of Bourg Madame, is inextricably linked to CIMELAIT through its members, the farmers. While 69 farmers delivered milk to, and were members of, CIMELAIT and 101 farmers delivered to, and were members of, CCVB, 69 farmers were members of both and delivered to both.

The geographical span of the commercial influence of the CCVB covers 246 farmers from the furthest west point in 'La Cerdagne' (Porté-Puymorens), to the neighbouring regions in the east (Le Conflent and Le Vallespir). The number of farmers within the CCVB increased from 65 in 1973 to 246 at the time of my fieldwork. The number of cattle bought and sold increased from 200 in 1973 to 3,200 in 1985. The principal livestock bought by the cooperative (calves) are bought on forward contracts. In 1985, out of a

total of 2,300 calves sold, 1,700 had already been contracted in 1983-4. The contract is between OFIVAL and the cooperative on the one hand, and the cooperative and the farmer, on the other. Contracted and non-contracted animals are sold to meat wholesale companies. There are no direct contracts between meat wholesalers and farmers.

A subsidy is paid by OFIVAL to both the cooperative and the farmer for each contracted animal purchased by the CCVB. In addition to this basic subsidy there are a number of recently initiated subsidies designed specifically to encourage contracted sales and specialisation of breeds within the herds in 'La Cerdagne'. (See Appendix One). During fieldwork, I noted that the only type of cattle that had, up to recently, not been systematically purchased by the CCVB was the dairy cattle that had been withdrawn from milk production. These cattle (les vaches de réforme) were bought by butchers on an ad hoc basis. This was mainly for two reasons. Firstly, there had been relatively few and it was not seen as worth the costs to collect individual cattle. Traditionally, such cattle were taken by the farmers to the local butcher. Secondly, and crucially, there was no subsidy payable to the CCVB to buy these animals. Given the overall decline in the milk sector in recent years, the number of dairy cattle slaughtered has increased. With a more regular supply, the CCVB has adopted a policy to purchase these cattle. Moreover, recognition of the problems in the milk sector has now prompted the introduction of a direct subsidy payable to the cooperatives to accept these cattle (see Appendix One). It has been the increase in the number of calves that has led to the increased number overall of animals purchased and sold by the CCVB. The importance of milk production in relation to meat cattle may be seen in the unequal division between the number of male calves sold by the CCVB, for example, in 1978 (a total number of 985) and the number of female calves sold in the same year (a total of 309). A percentage of female calves were kept for milk production. However, another indication of the general decline of milk production in recent years can be read from the proportional increase in the number of female calves (864 out of a total of 1598) sent to and sold by the CCVB in 1986. The sharp rise in the number of ex-milking cows being sold for slaughter (from 79 in 1979 to 400 in 1982) is further evidence of the decline in the milk sector.

Significantly, in recent years there has been a parallel concentration in the commercialisation of cattle for slaughter. Currently, most of the livestock sold by the CCVB is sold to one large private meat wholesale company. The local monopoly held by local butchers from 1963 until 1971 has been replaced by that of a large private meat company located in the neighbouring department, 'La Haute Garonne'. Again, the EC and French governments have been instrumental in the relationship between farmers, cooperatives and meat wholesalers. This has been effected via the provision of subsidies to farmers and the cooperative alike in order to encourage the horizontal relationship between farmers within the cooperative, and to encourage the vertical relationship between the cooperative and the meat wholesalers. In the context of the generally high level of beef and veal stocks within the EC, the private meat company, ('Bergès'), that buys the bulk of the livestock from the CCVB, maintains a strong position locally as virtually the sole-buyer.

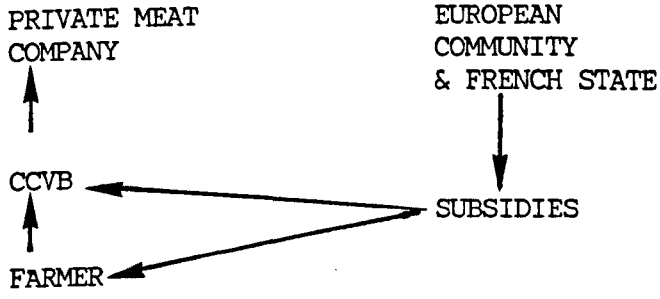
Looking at the financial years for the CCVB from 1983-1985, it is clear that the economic mainstay of the CCVB, the sale of calves, reflects an unstable market. A small profit on calves in 1983 and 1984 was transformed into a loss in 1985 (Appendix Three). Although the slaughter of ex-dairy cattle has led to a relatively large profit for the CCVB, the large-scale slaughter of these cattle points to a short term gain only. This tends to underline the generally fragile economic situation of cattle farming in 'La Cerdagne' which is of even more concern in the context of milk quotas post-1987.

Although the president of the CCVB operates as the farmer's price negotiator regarding the meat wholesaler, the farmers and the CCVB are constrained to sell the livestock quickly. Failure to do so would involve the provision of extra winter feedstuffs for the animals, using up some of the stocks that are put aside for the permanent herd. Moreover, most farmers simply do not have the facilities to maintain large numbers of livestock on the farm during Winter. Most calves are born in Spring and taken to the communal mountain pastures for fattening in order to save on foodstocks. In this way, farmers can calculate the foodstocks required for

the herd that is kept for the next year. Following their descent in October, calves and other cattle are sold as quicky as possible. This is an ideal situation for the large monopoly meat company. Refusal of the meat company's price would leave farmers with the problem of finding an alternative outlet. Given that most meat consumed in 'La Cerdagne' (except on farms) is bought from supermarkets or, less frequently, local butchers, this would pose problems for farmers. Both supermarkets and local butchers buy the bulk of their meat, which they import into 'La Cerdagne', from large meat wholesalers in Perpignan (ready prepared, as opposed to having the additional problem of buying liveweight cattle and having to prepare it from the carcass). This is the context within which farmers have accepted forward contracting.

The administration of the CCVB maintain bulk sales contracts precisely in order to organise local livestock sales. This, and the forward contracted purchase together with the lack of alternative outlets, combine to exert a strong pressure on farmers to sell via the CCVB. It is the existence of direct subsidies (ISM for example), the subsidies paid to the cooperatives (Appendix One) and the weak market position of farmers, that underwrites the relationship between the farmers and the CCVB, as depicted in the diagram below.

The Relationship Between the Farmers and the CCVB



Production, Commercialisation and Farmers' Strategies

The development of the dairy and meat cooperatives since the 1960's

has reduced the scope for farmer-initiated strategies in production and commercialisation processes. There has been a decline in the choice of outlets historically open to farmers. For example, the closure of the livestock fair has eliminated an outlet for the sale of livestock. Similarly, the local population no longer consumes agricultural goods produced by farmers in 'La Cerdagne'. Indeed, both meat and milk production from the region is exported, milk and meat products consumed by the local non-agricultural population is imported into 'La Cerdagne' and sold via local supermarkets and village shops.

In this changed post war context, farmers have become dependent on a cooperative structure that is directed outwards from 'La Cerdagne',exporting farmers' production for sale on national and international markets. In such circumstances, international competition has led to a restructuring of milk and meat markets, including the production and commercialisation processes. The net effect of the changes post-war, and particularly since the 1960's, has been to limit the strategies open to farmers in 'La Cerdagne', in terms of the production and commercialisation of on-farm products.

The response by the agricultural authorities, at national and local level, was to create a third cooperative which would be operated by farmers within 'La Cerdagne'. PROMOCIME was set up in June 1984, one year prior to the commencement of fieldwork. The cooperative was to promote and organise the sale of locally produced poultry, eggs, goats' cheeses, and general farmyard produce. A State budget of 2,840,000 FF was provided to launch a national programme to promote such agricultural diversity in all mountain areas. PROMOCIME was the institutional structure within 'La Cerdagne' that would give the commercial basis to new on-farm diversification. In addition to the national budget contribution, a further 2 million FF were provided at the regional level. The regions covered were: Alsace, Lorraine, Franche-Comté, Rhône Alpes, Provence-Alpes, Côte d'Azur, Auvergne, Limousin, Languedoc-Roussillon, Aquitaine, Pyrénées, and Corse. 'La Cerdagne' as a 'micro-region' within the Languedoc was included in the budget for the whole of the Pyrénées (250,000 FF).

The initial level of State and regional funding does not really

represent a significant investment and the policy itself lacks a clear direction in terms of the extent to which it will, or will not, benefit which farmers in 'La Cerdagne'. The diversification of on-farm production is couched within the promotion of "quality" agricultural products, as opposed to simply emphasising "quantity". This seems to fit into the EC's other concerns amongst which, for example, is the aim to cut wine stocks by reducing the production of lower quality wine (which is in large surplus) and promote increased production of high quality wine. However, while emphasising the quality of "Mountain Products", under the 'Association pour la Promotion de l'Agriculture de Montage' (APAM) - the commercialisation of farmyard products was left to compete with large-scale industrial production of, for example, eggs, chickens, and cheese. Moreover, on-farm diversification would seem to imply a relatively high level of capital investment in order to, for example, provide the necessary farm buildings for the level of intensive farmyard production that would be required to run a commercial venture. There have been subsidies provided by OFIVAL, FIDAR and regional public agencies. The total budget of 1,784,450 FF, for the construction of chicken and rabbit breeding sheds, is however, to cover not only the department of the Pyrénées-Orientales, but also, the other departments within the Languedoc region e.g., Aude, Lozère, Gard, and the Hérault, (29). As such, the amount of investment at the level of the farm is not of much significance considering that there were over 79,000 farms in 1982 in the Languedoc region (30). The problem with the policy of on-farm diversification seems to be two fold, affecting the farm in terms of production and in terms of the sale of products.

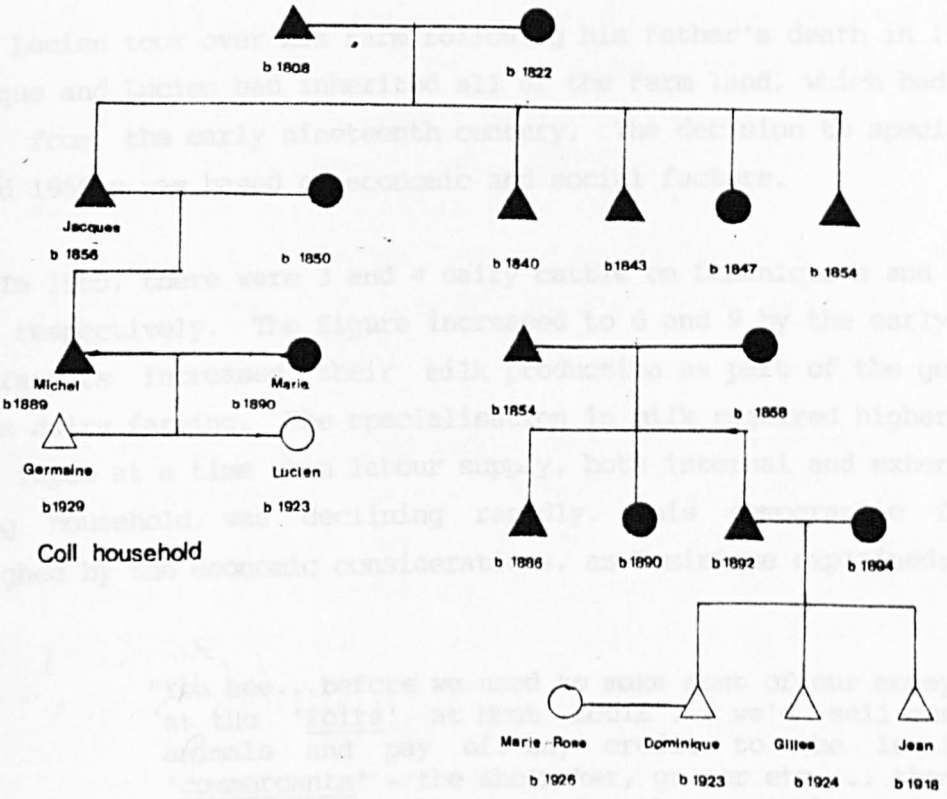
For the majority of farmers, the capital requirements necessary to mount a separate enterprise on the farm is beyond their economic capacity. The State and regional subsidies provided are insufficient to cover the investments required. Apart from the problem of investment, most farmers in 'La Cerdagne' also face the problem of providing sufficient on-farm labour for an extra on-farm enterprise. Most farms are operated by the farmer or the farmer and his wife, or the farmer, his wife and one other person. On-farm diversification implies sufficient land, as well as capital and labour resources, if a commercial enterprise is to be established. In short, only the larger, already highly mechanised and capital intensive

farms are likely to benefit from the policy concerning on-farm diversification. Indeed, only 5 farms had plans to develop on-farm diversification (though none had started by the end of my fieldwork) via the commercialisation of farmyard produce. These were 5 of the larger farms, averaging 78 ha in size, and producing an average of over 100,000 litres of milk per year. This is particularly poignant, since it is the smaller farms that are in most need of extra agricultural income. If the authorities' solution to the fragility of farming in 'La Cerdagne' carries some inherent concern as to its possible effectiveness, what are the farmers' own responses to the problems posed by on-farm specialisation, and the commercialisation of agricultural produce?

In terms of agricultural production, there has been one important alternative strategy to that of selling on-farm produce via one of the cooperatives in the region. This involved the sale of milk to tourists. On the other hand, a large number of farmers have engaged in on-farm non-agricultural activities associated with tourism, taking in tourists who rent property from the farmers. The sale of milk to tourists will be dealt with in this chapter (the second issue will be dealt with in Chapter Six), drawing upon case study material from two farming families (the Cazals and Coll families). These were 2 out of a total of 23 farmers who sold milk in this way at a price (4 FF/litre), more than twice the price paid by CIMELAIT (1.75 FF/litre). Milk sold in this manner provides an important source of extra income. The 23 farmers produce an average of only 3200 litres per year. The larger farmers prefering to direct their milk sales via the cooperative.

The two families (Coll and Cazals) are both from, and resident in, Bolquère. They operate as farmers on 11ha and 15ha respectively, owning all the land they farm. The land has been passed down through each family, with a patrilineal preference in both cases. The land can be traced back within the family to the first land register in 'La Cerdagne',carried out in 1830. The labour input on these small farms has been provided mainly by the family, supplemented by inter-household help based on neighbourhood, kinship and friendship (31). Live-in hired labour has been totally absent as can be seen from the history of the two households since 1856.

Coll and Cazals Households From 19th Century



The children of the two current households have left, and live and work outside 'La Cerdagne'. Alain Cazals (b. 1950), the only child of Dominique and Marie Cazals is unmarried, and works for the 'ponts et chaussée' (32). Jackie Coll (b. 1947) is married and works for a private water company (the 'Lyonnaise des Eaux') at Quillan, about 70 km to the north of the region, while Jeanine Coll (b. 1948) is married and resides at Ille-sur Têt, about 45km to the east of 'La Cerdagne', Pierre Coll (b. 1951) is married, working and living near Toulouse.

Both Lucien Coll and Dominique Cazals began to specialise in dairy farming in the early 1960's. They continued, however, to produce small cheeses, butter and yoghurts at the farm until the mid 1960's. These extra farm products were sold at the local shops, and at the weekly market at Mont Louis. From the mid 1960's, with the change in the pattern of purchase and selling in the local shops, and the specialisation within the local dairy cooperative, Lucien and Dominique concentrated on milk production. Dominique acceded to the farm in 1964 at the time of his father's death,

while Lucien took over his farm following his father's death in 1954. Both Dominique and Lucien had inherited all of the farm land, which had remained intact from the early nineteenth century. The decision to specialise from the mid 1960's was based on economic and social factors.

In 1955, there were 3 and 4 dairy cattle on Dominique's and Luciens's farms, respectively. The figure increased to 6 and 9 by the early 1960's as both farmers increased their milk production as part of the general move towards dairy farming. The specialisation in milk required higher levels of labour input at a time when labour supply, both internal and external to the farming household, was declining rapidly. This demographic factor was outweighed by the economic considerations, as Dominique explained:

> "You see...before we used to make most of our money at the 'Foire' at Mont Louis ... we'd sell our animals and pay off any credit to the local 'commercants' - the shoemaker, grocer etc ... then we couldn't do that anymore...the local shops were taken over by chains and you had to pay cash always when you wanted something ... this started with my father's generation, even shoes had to be bought and paid for straight away ... before the shoemaker used to come to the house ... I remember him ... he would size the feet for the whole family, once a year, go away, make the clogs, and come back with them ... we would give him -that is my father would give him - a 'jambon' [a leg of cured ham], then we'd pay him the money at the fair ... it all began to change with my father's generation. When I was about thirty years old - that is in the early 1950's - we saw the last of the shoemakers ... by the mid 1950's, you paid even the shoemaker on the spot ... we all needed cash more regularly ... we lost the farmers' slate ...the small amount of money we earned selling our eggs and farmyard produce went as well.... the shops started to buy this in bulk from centres elsewhere, I don't know where now ...then the fair lost its importance to us when the cooperative guaranteed to buy our milk, and we were paid more regularly than with the fair...so we could buy the things we needed...we chose dairy farming, because it paid to".

Lucien eventually bought a milk cooling machine and a milking machine in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Dominique, however, only bought a milk cooling machine in 1972, continuing to milk by hand because the operation was smaller and he had insufficient capital. Lucien rented a further 15ha during the 1960's and early 1970's, while his three children were still living in the household on the farm. When his children left, he gradually reduced the rented land area, leaving himself with just the 15ha which represents the family landstock.

Responding to the general reduction in the labour supply, both Lucien and Dominique opted to buy tractors. Dominique had bought his tractor in 1972, while Lucien bought his 2 tractors in 1973 and 1976 respectively. Until the purchase of their tractors, both Lucien and Dominique received help during the summer vacation with the harvest from their sons, while the land continued to be ploughed using draught cattle. The decision to purchase the tractors, together with the milk cooling machine and (in the case of Lucien) the milking machine, only tended to reinforce the importance of earning a 'sufficient' income from their milk production. Credit had to be repaid for the machinery purchased and cash had become essential for the purchase of goods necessary for productive and domestic consumption. As Dominique put it:

> "... you see, they [the farmers' leaders] kept telling us to produce as much as possible ... we were told all the milk would be bought and that we should keep producing more ... we were content because we needed the money ... the cooperative bought it all ... but we found that it wasn't enough."

Towards the mid-1970's both Lucien and Dominique, like many farmers at that time, found their agricultural income was insufficient to meet the repayment schedules for the machinery they had purchased. The cooperative still purchased all milk produced in 'La Cerdagne'. With the transfer of the transformation process from 'La Cerdagne' to Toulouse, farmers in the region had lost the added value that resulted from the transformation of milk into various dairy products. From the farmers' point of view, the only

means to increase on-farm income was to increase milk output. This was not a feasible option for the likes of Lucien and Dominique, since they had neither the land nor the labour input, nor indeed the capital necessary, to expand their productive capacity. It was in this context that Dominique and Lucien, as many other small farmers, sought the means to increase their income from the existing levels of milk production.

In 1976 both Lucien and Dominique started to sell milk to summer and winter tourists. The price they asked was above that paid to the farmers by CIMELAIT. This decision by Dominique and Lucien meant reducing the share of their total milk production sold to CIMELAIT. Both farmers continued, however, to sell the bulk of their milk production to CIMELAIT, since this was both guaranteed and took place throughout the year. The tourist market was limited to the two tourist seasons. Initially, the sale of milk to tourists was limited to the communes with an active tourist economy, e.g. Font Romeu, Bolquère, Valcabollère and Angoustrine. Moreover, the sale of milk to tourists remained 'hidden' up to 1980.

Lucien and Dominique are 2 of the 23 farmers who sell milk to tourists. The price, being more than twice the price paid by CIMELAIT, has effectively increased the income to these farmers without them having to increase overall production. The guarantee of purchase of all milk produced in 'La Cerdagne' carried with it the obligation to deliver all milk to CIMELAIT. Thus the sale of milk to tourists remained undisclosed. From 1980, however, local agricultural policy became focussed quite openly on the development of fewer, larger, more 'dynamic' farms. This posed potential political tension between CIMELAIT and the smaller farmers. Within discussions of agricultural policy, alternative outlets for milk production were raised by farmers' leaders. Among the alternatives, sale to tourists was seen as a possible outlet for the smaller producers. It was in this context that the insistence that all milk be delivered to CIMELAIT was relaxed. A policy had been implemented aimed at reducing the number of farmers in 'La Cerdagne' by elimination of the 'marginal', smaller farms. It was this fact that provided the context for relaxation of the demand by CIMELAIT that all production should be delivered to CIMELAIT. Put simply, to ask the smaller farmers to sell at a lower price and to accept the

agricultural policy would have been more difficult to achieve than to allow farmers the option to sell outside the framework of the cooperative. From 1980, Lucien and Dominique began to sell all their milk production to tourists as did the other 21 farmers who currently sell their milk to tourists.

The larger dairy producers have preferred to direct their production via the cooperative. The reason for this is that those farmers seeking a development plan and the option therefore to expand their milk production within the cooperative are under an obligation to direct all their milk production to the cooperative. These larger dairy producers have a more important economic, political and social investment in CIMELAIT. Moreover, the larger dairy producers have a longer-term perspective as farmers and dairy producers than the smaller farmers. For the likes of Lucien and Dominique, who definitely have no successor, the switch to selling on the tourist economy is regarded as a means to increase their on-farm income from existing levels of production, thereby improving their later working and retirement years.

From the 1960's, farmers' strategies of production and commercialisation have been largely organised around specialisation and increasing levels of production and productivity. This was a distinct break with the general pattern that existed prior to this period. Previously, diversification for both domestic consumption and sale was the typical strategy used by farmers in 'La Cerdagne'. Farmers have also incorporated the use of cooperative structures to facilitate their commercialisation strategies. It is, however, the combination of the way in which farmers' are integrated into the cooperative structures and the foreclosure of alternative outlets, that presents farmers with limited openings in terms of both production and commercialisation strategies. Farmers are constrained to sell their main form of livestock (calves) via the cooperative, inasmuch as this carries with it forward contracts, and direct subsidies to both the farmers and the cooperative. Similarly, with the exception of the smaller milk producers, farmers who produce milk are constrained to sell via the milk cooperative. With regard to both milk and livestock production and sales, the outlet is largely determined also by the

need to export out of 'La Cerdagne', given the pattern of consumption among the local non-agricultural population.

Until the 1960's, farmers sold various farmyard products via local shops. The decline in the rumber of, and the changed patterns of commerce adopted by, the local shops has removed this option. These products are now imported from large retail outlets in and around Perpignan. Previously, livestock had been purchased from the farmers and prepared by local butchers, for sale within 'La Cerdagne'. With the development of large-scale meat wholesalers around Perpignan, butchers changed their pattern of commerce, prefering to buy ready-prepared meat. This followed the pattern established by the local supermarkets. Partly in order to establish their own outlet independent of the local butchers, and partly as a response to the changed patterns of meat consumption within 'La Cerdagne' farmers created, and are now dependent on, the CCVB, for the export of livestock outside 'La Cerdagne'.

Integrated into a cooperative system, farmers now depend largely on EC support for their farm income (33). Selling via the cooperatives may be seen as an important strategy for farmers. Regarding the sale of livestock, there is some guarantee, particularly for the calves, of sale, underwritten by subsidies from the EC and the French State. In general, however, there is also the direct subsidy, known as the ISM, paid to all farmers in mountain areas, irrespective of the form of commercialisation. There is a limit of 40 adult cattle, or 267 sheep, which are eligible for this kind of direct subsidy. However, larger farmers have the option of declaring two maximum herds, by "placing" an area of land with their son (or nephew as was the case with one large farmer) and declaring a herd of 40 adult cattle on each 'farm'.

This is important for the 5 farmers who resorted to this strategy. While claiming the maximum subsidy, the 'two' farms in fact continue to operate as one, with the land being continuous and all tools and machinery being used in common. This allowed a degree of independence to both the farmer and his son (or nephew). The farmer continued to earn his own income, while the son (or nephew) earned his own income without having to

"go it alone". The latter could accumulate his own capital without the overheads of equipping his farm. In this way subsidies are claimed to the maximum, allowing for accumulation and investment in more machinery. Thus while it is correct to point out that the French State places all farms on an equal footing with regard to the maximum headage of livestock susceptible to the ISM subsidy, this does not prevent larger farms being divided "on paper" for the purpose of claiming the subsidy. This is clearly not an option for smaller farms, since it implies access to large areas of land. These direct subsidies tend thus to favour the larger farms.

Regarding the 6 farmers who sell their livestock cattle to local butchers, this cannot be seen as a viable general option for commercialisation strategies within 'La Cerdagne'. The 6 farmers are older (average age 59), small-scale operators (less than 10 cattle) who are without successors. They sell the odd animal to local butchers. This fits in with the butchers' requirements which are geared to purchasing the bulk of meat, ready-prepared from outlets around Perpignan. The purchase of the odd animal locally is seen as a cheap and readily available supplement to the supplies from the meat wholesalers.

With the disappearance of the local fairs and the centralisation of commercialisation within the dairy and meat cooperatives within 'La Cerdagne', control over daily operations has moved further away from local farmers. The rationalisation of commercial activities and outlets in the South-West of France has left farmers in 'La Cerdagne' with little room for maneouvre with regard to future decision-making concerning their own cooperatives. In particular, decisions which affect CIMELAIT rest with the EC and the extent of its willingness to support the dairy markets, and ULPAC's own future policy concerning milk and dairy production. During the last 25 years the determination of farm prices and farm incomes, have moved away from a relationship based on the supply and demand of the local market, to that of global markets, with the sole ameliorative interjection in the form of State and EC market support. The gradual integration of 'La Cerdagne' has brought about the decline of the agro-pastoral system and the transformation of the region into livestock cattle specialisation.

This specialisation has been most marked in milk production. During the 1950's and up to the mid 1960's farmers maintained flexibility. More recently, CIMELAIT has been transformed into a simple point of collection, with the milk being transformed into the different dairy products elsewhere, within the industrial complex of cooperatives around Toulouse. The concentration of the processes in the industrial wing of the cooperative complex resulted from a rationalisation process which began within the cooperatives in 'La Cerdagne' in 1959. This took the form of a full restructuring within the cooperative complex in the South West of France after 1964 at the behest of the State policy initiatives organised by the 'Crédit Agricole' and the 'Foyer de Progrès' within 'La Cerdagne'. Regarding the commercialisation of meat, farmers in 'La Cerdagne' have moved from a local monopoly held by the local butchers during the 1960's, to a monopoly held by one large wholesale meat company located outside the region.

These changes have to be set against the background of an expanding agro-food industry which, between 1982 and 1984 assumed first place within the French industrial sector, taking up some 10% of the industrial employment, second only to the car industry in exports (34). The agricultural policy of the 1960's prioritised the agro-food industry. Indeed, the major share of credit allocations are still directed towards the industrial development policy for the agro-food industry (35). This has been directed both at cooperatives and private firms, indicating that it is the structural form of the agricultural sector that holds priority, and not necessarily the form of ownership.

Farmers responses to the changing structure of agriculture have been two fold in 'La Cerdagne'. On the one hand, they have integrated horizontally into a cooperative structure predicated on a degree of associative cooperation as a group oriented phenomenon. On the other hand, given the economic demands on production and productivity, farmers have also rationalised their own farm units in order to compete locally as individual farmers. The range of options open to farmers are limited externally, by the integration of the cooperatives into wider economic networks and by the

degree of State and EC support. In addition, farmers' options regarding the expansion of production, and indeed the introduction of productivity enhancing devices, are limited internally by the availability of land and labour resources. Thus, for example, the construction of chicken or rabbit "factories", or the introduction of other on-farm agricultural enterprises, requires both sufficient land and labour, as well as capital. The question of labour is dealt with in Chapter Six, while land is the subject of the next chapter. Land distribution has its own history and this has influenced the pattern of agricultural development in 'La Cerdagne'. The central importance of land has been increasingly thrown into sharp relief by patterns of commercialisation, and the shift towards a more commercial and specialised farming.

There are elements of both change and continuity in the system of agricultural production and commercialisation in the region. There has been a change from the diversity across agricultural products, typical of the 18th and 19th centuries, to a diversity within one product during the early post war period. The one product was milk, with farmers producing a range of milk-based products up to the 1960's. Following the restructuring of the local structures of commercialisation, there was a shift to a specialisation within the one product area, with pasteurised milk being the only product. Alongside this specialisation, however, there has been an element of continuity in as far as farmers have maintained a degree of diversification with the commercialisation of cattle and horses, sold for meat. Moreover, another example of continuity is noted in terms of the maintenance of on-farm diversity for domestic consumption, via in recent times, inter-farm household exchanges.

Change in terms of the shift from local market structures to international market structures was also noted. In this respect, farmers tend to deal with the cooperatives, and beyond with the agro-food industry, as opposed to selling to local butchers and via the local shops. On the other hand, there has been continuity in a formalised sense regarding the vertical integration of food production in the region. Although the integration of farmers via the local cooperatives into the agro-food industry is a recent development, vertical integration within local

agriculture is not a new structural feature. Formerly, and up to the early part of this century, local production was produced and sold via a vertically structured process. The difference compared with the present system is that in the past, this was based on family and kin. That is to say, a number of landowning families combined agricultural production on the farm, with the sale of agricultural produce via their own butcher's outlet, thereby vertically integrating production and commercialisation within the family. It can be seen, therefore that we are dealing with aspects of change and continuity in the system of production and commercialisation, and not simply change.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER FOUR

1) The proportion of agricultural land given over to fodder grass has increased from 68.5% in 1970 to 71.3% in 1979/90, and 75.1% by 1985 (RGA, 1970 & 1979/80, and my fieldwork). In addition, a further 500 hectares have been created for the production of silage between 1973 and 1985, under the umbrella organisation of CUMA.
2) This has been supplemented from the early 1970's by milk powder, subsidised by the EC as part of an attempt to control the milk surpluses.
3) OFIVAL - 'Office National Interprofessionel des Viandes de l'Elevage et de l'Agriculture.
4) The 'capital social' is the individual payment, or "investment" that each member of the cooperative makes, annually. This payment provides each member preferential price with a casual sale to the cooperative by a non-member.
5) For the importance of the pig in 'La Cerdagne', see Chapter Three.
6) This was based on the oral and documentary accounts of Monsieur Bergès (a key informant), a butcher at Mont Louis.
7) This was based on the oral accounts of Jean's son, Michel, aged 56 at the time of my fieldwork.
8) This was informed by my main key informant, Jacques Bragulat and his mother, Madame Bragulat.
9) Again, Monsieur Bergès, as key informant provided me with the information regarding the sale of livestock.
10) ADMnc 2480/2; ADMnc 3171; ADMnc 3807/8. AD 1016 W, as footnote 18, Chapter Three; AD 1028 W, as footnote 61, Chapter Three.
11) For example, according to OTEX (Orientation Technico-Economique) calculations for 1982 for the whole of the department of the 'Pyrénées-Orientales', the income for pure dairy farming would be 2000 francs/hectare, as compared to 1000 francs/hectare for pure beef cattle farming. 'Les Exploitations Agricoles des Pyrénées-Orientales Suivant Leur Orientation Technico-Economique', 1982. DDA.
12) This was informed by oral accounts from the following key informants: Monsieur Gispert (aged 75), Monsieur Fabre (aged 71), Monsieur Canongia, aged 84 and Monsieur Meya (aged 64) whose father was a pig breeder at the time.
13) I am indebted to Monsieur Gispert, the longest serving president of the farmers' cooperative at Err, who showed me some old records of the cooperative that he himself had kept for personal interest.
14) This was usually in the form of what we now refer to as 'frommage frais'.
15) This may be seen as further State intervention in the structural organisation of the dairy markets, though this intervention was of a less direct nature.
16) This was set up to deal with the war time food shortages, skin to the rationing system in Britain.
17) Hyrères is located to the east of Marseilles, in the department of 'Var'.
18) L'Ariège is the department to the north east of the department of the Pyrénées-Orientales.
19) This actually took place, 20/10/1954.
20) The 'Foyer de Progrès' was set up by the departmental chamber of agriculture on, and push the argument for, agricultural modernisation. The main person invested with this responsibility was the agricultural technician, paid by the Chamber of Agriculture.

21) This refers to the broad series of policy initiatives including the 1960-62 policy concerning agricultural reforms.
22) The principal aim of this organisation was to direct common production orientations within a cooperate economic framework. In this case, the common production orientation was that of milk - and specifically, pasteurised milk production.
23) Rieucros is in the department known as L'Ariège, to the north-east of La Cerdagne, at about 50 kilometres distance from the most north-easterly point of La Cerdagne.
24) The UHT forms of milk (Ultra High Temperature) were in large part the result of the expansion of milk sales via the supermarkets which demanded bulk purchases for the large-scale outlets. The assumption followed that milk capable of longer storage periods would be required, hence the shift towards the long-life milk, based on the UHT methods.
25) 'Tableaux de l'Economie Francaise '85' (1986) INSEE, p 107.
26) Communales Archives, Palau de Cerdagne, for the year 1938.
27) CIMELAIT archives and my own fieldwork.
28) 'Agricultural Situation in the Community, 1984'. Report Brussels-Luxembourg. (1985).
29) Source : Comité de Promotion des Produits Agricoles, Languedoc-Roussillon, "Mise en Ouevre de Crédits de Promotion Pour les Produits Alimentaires de Montage". Reunion, 10/07/1984. Ministry of Agriculture.
30) Agri'régions '83, p 207.
31) I am indebted to Messieurs Coll and Cazals for their oral accounts of this.
32) General roadwork maintenance under the remit of local government.
33) The proportion of income which is in the form of ISM direct subsidies averaged between 30 and 35% between 1983 and 1985 (BAGEEC 1984-6).
34) BIMA No 1081. 29/10/-4/11/1984, p 11-12. "Aide Aux Investissements Agro-Alimentaires; Réformes de la POA."
35) BIMA No 1089 31/12/1984-12/01/1985.

Land

The heterogeneous character of the farming population in terms of levels of production and agricultural income is reflected in the heterogeneous distribution of farm land in 'La Cerdagne'. Of particular interest are the different forms of relationship to agricultural land and the different methods of gaining access to agricultural land in the region. It is in relation to agricultural land that a local agricultural social hierarchy has become most clearly pronounced since the 1950's. It is in the context of access to agricultural land that strategies for survival (for the smaller farms) or expansion (for the larger farms) reflect what is most problematic for the majority of farmers in 'La Cerdagne': the social reproduction of the farming family and the farm unit. This will be discussed in the light of a particular post war problem, that of succession. Thus far, this has particularly affected the smaller farms but it has become a problem even for many of the larger farms, most of which currently have no guaranteed successor. This is often due to the decision of farmers' children to opt for different lifestyles expressed in alternative occupational strategies.

The widespread phenomenon of unmarried farmers ('Le célibataire'), a product of recent history, has created a situation where there simply is no potential successor in the first place. In addition, tenant farmers are constrained as to what production strategies they may use in order to improve conditions on the farm as a means to try to ensure a successor to the farm. Policy responses have not ameliorated the situation. The main impact of policy has been to accentuate the existing tendency towards land concentration and a land based hierarchy in 'La Cerdagne'. However, the growth of the tourist economy has provided the material context in which landowning farmers have engaged in the construction of new inheritance strategies. The object of these new strategies are to facilitate greater economic compensation for the non-inheriting offspring and to maintain the integrity of the farm land. These two aims have been incorporated into global strategies aimed at the reproduction of the farming family and the farm unit.

Generally speaking, the growth of commercialised farming from the nineteenth century, and a market-oriented activity by French farmers has led to an emphasis on the importance of the size and productive capacity of the farm enterprise (Lehning, 1980: 43-44). Although a market system, albeit rudimentary, for agricultural products produced within 'La Cerdagne' had existed outside the region from as early as the eighteenth century (Rosset 1983), it was not until from around the mid-nineteenth century through to the inter-war expansion of the dairy sector, that commercialised farming became dominant in the region. Following recent on-farm specialisation, there has been, since 1955, a considerable concentration of land, with a noticeable cleavage between small and large farms. Pulled by urban-industrial expansion, and pushed by the 1960's agricultural modernisation programme, many farmers left farming. The effect on agricultural land was that some of the remaining farmers took up some of the land, as the process of land concentration accelerated. In more recent years, however, much of the agricultural land has fallen into disuse as agriculture in general in 'La Cerdagne' has contracted.

Considering land concentration, there are several processes involved. In most cases this has taken the form of simply increasing the amount of land under existing forms of tenancy. In others, the increase in the surface area farmed was achieved via, either (though rarely) the purchase of land, or (more typically) as a result of a series of marriage and land inheritance strategies. I shall shed some light on these different processes, which relate to different types of relationships that different groups of farming families have with the land in the context of the post 1960-62 agricultural modernisation programme.

Distribution of Agricultural Land Post-War

One of the most significant post-war changes in the distribution of agricultural land has been the shift away from an agriculture typified by widely dispersed small farms throughout the region, to an agriculture more closely identified with mainly larger-scale farming units. The average farm size had increased from 14.15ha in 1955 to 40.27ha when fieldwork began in 1985. The proportion of farms less than 20ha in size and the proportion of

land on these farms has decreased respectively from 77.54% and 40.70% in 1955 to 27.5% and 9.07% in 1985 (1). The proportion of farms over 50ha and the proportion of land farmed on these larger farms has increased from 7.47% and 18.78% in 1955 to 25% and 50.89% in 1985. The overall number of farms decreased in the same period from 655 to 120.

Changing Structure of Farmland 1955-1970

	1955				1970			
Size of Farm (ha)	No of Farms	% of Farms	% of Area	Average Size (ha)	No of Farms	% of Farms	% of Area	Average Size
2	71	10.83	0.95	1.24	20	7.11	NOT KNOWN	
2-5	132	20.15	4.81	3.38	21	7.47		
5-10	161	24.58	12.58	7.24	43	15.30		
10-15	81	12.36	10.69	12.23	66	23.48		
15-20	63	9.62	11.67	17.46				
20-25	38	5.80	9.16	22.36	52	18.50		
25-30	30	4.58	8.81	27.25				
30-40	33	5.04	12.20	34.28	36	12.81		
40-50	21	3.20	10.10	44.61				
50-70	13	1.98	7.92	56.48	29	10.32		
70-100	11	1.68	9.65	81.35	7	2.49		
100-200	1	0.15	1.21	112.65	7	2.49		
TOTAL	655	100.00	100.00	14.15	281	100.00		

RGA 1955 - 1970

Changing Structure of Farmland 1979-1985

Size of Farm (ha)	1979/80 No of Farms	% of Farms	% of Area	Average Size (ha)	1985 No of Farms	% of Farms	% of Area	Average Size
2	13	6.91	0.20	0.88	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
2-5	9	4.78	0.50	3.30	2	1.60	0.15	3.67
5-10	19	10.10	2.20	7.37	6	5.00	0.99	8.01
10-15	15	7.98	2.90	12.30	10	8.30	2.40	11.68
15-20	14	7.44	3.80	17.28	15	12.50	5.53	17.83
20-25	21	11.17	7.56	22.62	6	5.00	2.71	21.86
25-30	7	3.72	3.00	26.86	8	6.60	4.45	26.90
30-40	31	16.49	16.60	33.77	28	23.30	19.61	33.85
40-50	18	9.57	12.80	44.83	15	12.50	13.23	42.64
50-70	19	10.10	18.30	61.00	14	11.60	17.12	59.10
70-100	16	8.51	20.50	80.87	10	8.30	16.09	77.81
100-200	6	3.19	11.70	123.60	6	5.00	17.68	142.41
TOTAL	188	100.00	100.00	33.63	120	100.00		40.27

RGA 1979/80, Author's Fieldwork, 1985.

The main reduction in the number and proportion of smaller farms took place between 1955 and 1970. Although there is no direct recorded date, it seems that the main exodus took place between 1957 and 1960 (2).

The emphasis on increased production levels, and the generalisation of commercial farming encouraged farmers to use all available land on their respective farms for productive purposes. Thus, historically, the area of land left in fallow has decreased from 2674ha in 1856 (the proportion is not known, since the total area of farm land is not known for 1856) (3), to 374ha (4.75% of the total land) in 1970, falling to 170ha (2.68% of total) by 1979/80 (4), and 83ha (1.71%) by 1985.

However, recent commercial and economic concerns, accentuated by dairy quotas, have broadened farmers' considerations from simple questions of land extension priorities, to a qualitative shift in their understanding as to the importance of landownership. It is no longer sufficient to simply

expand the surface area under productive use. Fundamental structural improvements are currently required that in themselves underline the centrality of landownership as the basis for future planning decisions. In order to effect increases in productivity and to benefit from current EC and French State subsidies, farmers are constrained to engage in a development plan. It is within this context that landownership is now central to planning by farmers.

Central to the development plan, as it applies to 'La Cerdagne', is the construction of a fully equipped milking and livestock shed. This incorporates an electric milking system and a feed delivery system to the cattle. This is designed to reduce labour input and increase livestock and labour productivity. Labour input is reduced in terms of the actual milking process itself. Ensuite labour-saving results from the removal of the need to carry hay from one covered farm building to the cattle, (which are normally kept in another building). Instead silage is kept outside in the open, adjacent to the livestock shed and is fed directly into feeding troughs in front of the cattle. Milking takes place automatically and simultaneously, requiring only that the machine be connected and disconnected, before and after milking. With fully equipped milking and livestock sheds, up to 8 cows can be milked at the same time, as opposed to one cow under the original milking machines, installed in the 1960's and 1970's. The use of this production strategy is, however, tied inextricably to the availability of large stocks of fodder crops for the size of herd required to justify the capital outlay for the shed. This requirement involves access to large areas of land.

Given the high costs involved in constructing a milking and livestock shed, it is assumed that the farmer owns at least the land on which the shed is to be constructed. In practice, however, to secure the investment, the required minimum amount of land owned is well in excess of this. There is, moreover, a general minimum farm size required in order for a development plan to be issued. The construction of a milking and livestock shed is thus tied to a minimum surface area, which for 'La Cerdagne' is 35ha. In addition to the minimum surface area, all tenant farmers must hold a written contract for the land that they farm. The high costs of construction tend

to result in the main consideration of farmers being that of the amount of land owned directly by the farmer. It is for this reason that out of the 13 farmers with milking and livestock sheds only 1 is purely a tenant farmer. This is a special case, and is discussed below, along with a second farmer, who although a tenant farmer, stands as designated inheritor of both his uncle's land and a milking and livestock shed. The discussion of these two "exceptional" cases are considered using case study material.

Landownership has thus become central to the contemporary context of the farmer in 'La Cerdagne'. The qualitative shift from pure land extension to landownership as the main focus of attention with regard to agricultural land is related specifically to the attempt to increase livestock and labour productivity. In a very real sense, the milking and livestock sheds are seen by farmers today as the equivalent of the tractor 30 years ago. As one farmer explained :

> "You see, we can do dairy farming here with just myself and my wife ... this system had given us more free time than even the tractor did ... and that's saying something!" (Monsieur Colomer, farms 100 hectares, with 25 hectares owned).

Tenant farmers face a different situation. Not owning land presents the construction of a milking and livestock shed as a high risk, high capital venture. Thus, tenant farmers prefer not to construct a milking and livestock shed and their work is, as a result, more labour intensive. Tenant farmers tend to operate in outdated and inefficient farmbuildings, constructed before the end of the nineteenth century by the former landed class of 'Notables Ruraux'. The farmers who have constructed a milking and livestock shed tend to operate on the larger farms and own proportionately more land than the average farm. The size of farm and area of land owned by the 13 farmers with a milking and livestock shed can be seen below.

Farm Size & Area of Land Owned by Farmers With a Milking and Livestock Shed.

Number Of Farmers With A Livestock/Milking Shed :	13
Average Size Farm :	84.14 hectares
Of Which Owned By The Farmer :	43.71 hectares
Of Which Owned By The Farmer's Family :	24.34 hectares
Rented From Outside The Family :	16.07 hectares

Fieldwork

The cost of construction is cited as one of the main reasons why most farmers have not constructed a milking and livestock shed. An example of the cost involved is given in the case of a Monsieur Peyroto, a farmer at Ste Léocadie.

Cost of Constructing a Milking and Livestock Shed

No of Animals	Total To House	Cost	State Subsidy As Part Of Development Plan	Total To Pay
	30 Dairy Cattle	300,000 FF		
	40 Calves/Other	280,000 FF		
		580,000 FF	57,000 FF	523,000 FF

Fieldwork

The total amount to pay is spread over 20 years, at a special interest rate (3.25%) for farmers in mountain areas. Given the low income of the majority of farmers in 'La Cerdagne', this capital investment was considered, by most, to be unaffordable. For many farmers, there is a fine line between economic 'marginality' and economic failure that is usually invoked when asked why they did not consider investing in a milking and livestock shed. Among the typical replies were the following :

> "The rent is low where I am ... 280 francs per hectare per year. We manage as we are, you see ... if I owned the land, I could build a livestock shed. If I bought one now, I couldn't pay for both the shed and my rent" (Monsieur Blanich, farms 51 hectares of rented land).

and :

> "You know ... my son would take over the farm if I could build a milking and livestock shed ... but you know, how can I pay both my rent and such a loan? On the other hand, how can I ask my son to work in such bad conditions ... you know, these stables date from the last century ... people worked like that then ... my son, his generation would not want to ... but it's either the rent or the shed" (Monsieur Baqué, farming 73 hectares of rented land).

If landownership is an important variable in terms of offering the farmer some flexibility regarding production strategies, the reverse is the case in the context of tenant farmers. A good illustrative example of this is provided by two brothers - Jacques and Francis Serra - who operate a GAEC in the commune of Palau de Cerdagne.

Landownership and Production Strategies. The Case of the Serra Brothers.

The Serra brothers work a total of 90ha of land which is rented from 6 different landowners. The farm is one of the larger farms in 'La Cerdagne', though 20ha of the total land area are farmed without a written contract. The 20ha that are worked under verbal agreement only, are situated near the village of Osséja, which remains one of the most active commercial villages in 'La Cerdagne'. The undeclared land lies within a band of land which is designated as being available for private or commercial construction. There are 2 landowners involved with these 20ha, retaining extensive control over the land by not issuing a written contract. In theory, both landowners are obliged to offer a written contract, since any area of land in excess of 5ha which is under tenancy should be covered by a written contract. Both landowners rent over 5ha (7ha and 13ha respectively) to the Serra brothers. Francis explained why he and his brother did not invoke their right to claim a written contract :

"You see ... if we did insist upon ... if we asked for a written contract, well, they [the landowners] would just take their land back. What we pay them is some sort of bonus to them ... but it's what they hope to get in the long term ... we pay very little [150 francs per hectare per year] - much less than we should ... but that's how they make it worthwhile for us to grow cereals on the land ... but they want to sell the land eventually ... or some of it, to build on it, that's what they really want to do. If we had a contract, they would not be able to get us off so quickly if we wanted to stay".

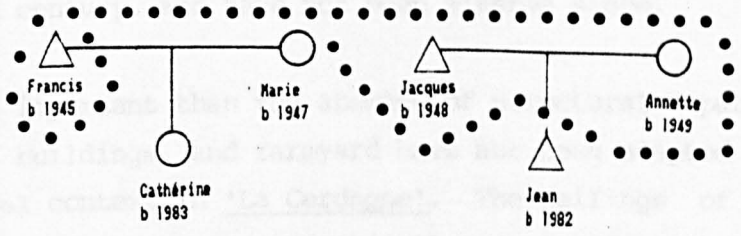
The rest of the land is rented with written contracts from the other 4 landowners. The bulk of the land - some 39.5ha - is rented from a large landowning family, whose residence is outside 'La Cerdagne'. The rest of the land belongs to landowners from the village and a neighbouring village.

The Serra brothers live in two distinct separate households, pooling their labour and machinery, operating as a single production unit. This is depicted below :

The Serra Brothers' Households

On-Farm Labour Unit

Household 1 Household 2



2 Tractors, 1 Pick-up bailer,1 milk-cooling machine
1 electric milking machine; no employees

• • • = Social Boundaries of Labour Unit

Fieldwork

Before forming a GAEC in 1980, the two brothers had operated as separate farmers, with Francis starting first on his own farm between 1974-1977. From 1977, the two brothers both farmed separately, forming their GAEC in 1980. Both brothers had received a DIJA in 1976. With installation, they each bought their first tractor, which they subsequently sold when they bought new tractors following the formation of the GAEC, which itself preceded their joint marriage in 1982.

Neither wife is from a farming family. Jacque's father-in-law worked in a factory outside Calais. They met when her family were on holiday in 'La Cerdagne'. Francis' wife is from Bourg Madame, where her father was a stonemason and her mother a secretary. Francis' wife has worked full-time off the farm as a secretary since 1986, while Jacques' wife has continued to work full-time on the farm, dealing with the farm accounts. Apart from the 20ha of land without a written contract, the main problem facing the Serra brothers regarding the land relates to the limitations imposed by non-ownership vis-à-vis production planning strategies.

The main farm buildings belong to a Monsieur Jean-Antoine Salsas, born (in 1894) in the commune of Prats-de-Mollo, in the 'Plaine de Roussillon'. Although the Serra brothers have constructed their own independent houses, some fifteen minutes from the farmyard and farm buildings, the latter are still used for stocking hay, straw, and corn for the livestock, as well as the permanent winter livestock herd. The buildings and farmyard were built by the Salsas family, resident in the village during the first half of the nineteenth century, and have not been altered since.

More important than the absence of structural reparations, is the fact that the buildings and farmyard have not been adapted to meet the changed agricultural context in 'La Cerdagne'. The ceilings of the farmbuildings are low, since they were originally designed to house sheep and fodder supplies and there was no need to construct buildings to accommodate large agricultural machinery. Moreover, the sheep did not require the interior space required by cattle. Indeed, the sheep flocks spent most of the year outside, either in the higher areas of 'La Cerdagne' during the summer months, or in the 'Plaine du Roussillon' during the winter months, in

accordance with traditional patterns of transhumance. Only reproducing sheep were maintained in the farm buildings during the winter.

With the post-war specialisation in cattle farming, such farm buildings have become an obstacle to efficient use by the small labour force on most farms. This is particularly the case for the Serra brothers. The problem is not so acute with regard to the meat cattle, since these cattle spend the summer months in the mountain pastures before being sold to the CCVB. The problem of inappropriate buildings is, however, important for dairy cattle. Dairy cattle are kept on and around the farm all year round. Following the morning milking (between 0700 hours and 0800 hours) the cattle are taken out to grazing land around the farm for the day and brought back in around 1800 hours for a second milking. Milking takes place inside the old farm buildings. This creates a difficult and inefficient work situation.

The Serra brothers have a dairy herd of 35 cows, all of which are kept in former sheep pens. This means that Jacques and Francis have to transport the milking machine by hand into the 8 different sheep pens required to house the cows. These are situated in different parts of the farmyard. It was for this reason that the brothers decided to limit the dairy herd to 35 from the outset of their GAEC. They could in theory increase any future individual quota limit in that they have a development plan granted prior to the introduction of milk quotas in 1984. However, the extra workload this would incur has deterred them both from taking this option, due to the problem of inappropriate buildings.

With the main landowner having declined to invest the required 500,000 FF that is the estimated cost of a milking and livestock shed, the Serra brothers have also declined to do so on the grounds that such a cost to themselves would not be justified. In such circumstances, the two brothers tend to maximise the manageable dairy herd within the limits imposed by the buildings. The situation is not, however, felt to be satisfactory, as Francis pointed out :

"You see ... we've done all we had to, to get a development plan ... we did our agricultural training on the farm, and our farm is bigger than the minimum size required ... we're good farmers ... even the other farmers recognise that! We'd build a livestock shed tomorrow - and Monsieur Salsas would let us you know - but as tenant farmers, it's too much money to invest in land that isn't your own ... in any case, you don't know what they [the EC] are going to do with the milk quotas ... we might build a milking and livestock shed and find ourselves unable to sell anymore milk, and having to pay for a livestock shed on someone else's land!"

The production strategies of the Serra brothers are thus restricted indirectly by fears over the future of the dairy policy within the EC. More directly, however, they are constrained by the problems of landownership, control over land, and the risk of investment in rented land. The lack of security regarding the land has effected the perception that both brothers have of farming in 'La Cerdagne'.

"I would never encourage my children to stay in farming. We have no land, we'd have nothing to leave them" (Jacques).

"For me, I'm going to work hard to save as much money as I can for my children to do something else ... education for example ... that would give them more than farming here could ... we can't even sell our land to raise money ... our money comes from what we produce ... and we can't even produce as much as we would want to ... why tell our chidren to do the same?" (Francis).

The Serra brothers are a good example of the implications of farming in the 1980's in 'La Cerdagne' as a pure tenant farmer. The case serves to emphasise the importance of landownership, and raises the crucial issue of access to land.

Patterns of Landownership in 'La Cerdagne'

The available post-war official data concerning agricultural landownership in 'La Cerdagne' is found in the last two agricultural census returns. Initial reading of the data suggests that there has been a shift towards a greater proportion of agricultural land under tenancy. Indeed, it appears that my own data (column three) for 1985 lend support to this view.

Agricultural Land. Owned and Under Tenancy.

	Amount of Land %		
System of Land Used	1970	1980	1985
Sharecropping	1.7%	1.6%	0.0%
Tenancy	61.6%	70.8%	76.1%
Owner-Occupied	36.7%	27.8%	23.8%

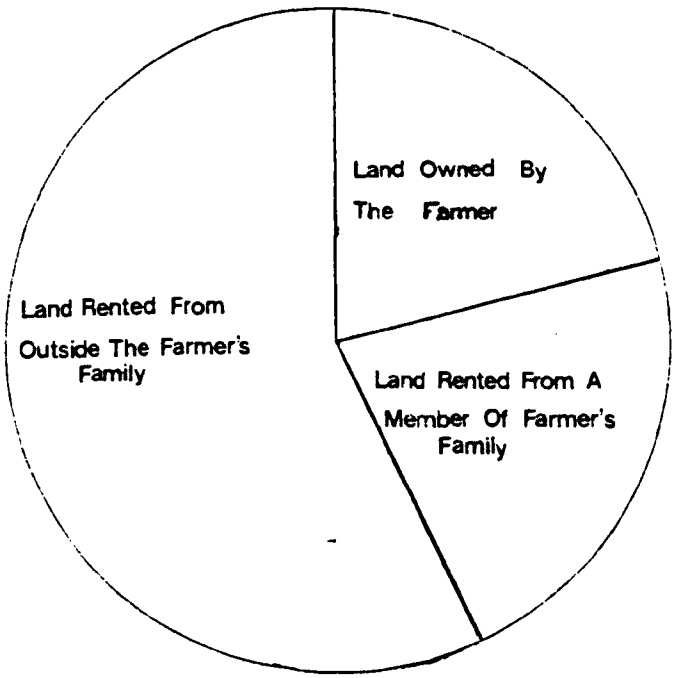
1970-1979/80, RGA. 1985; Fieldwork.

However, in this simplified form the data provides a somewhat misleading impression. Further analysis of fieldwork data revealed that of the 3681ha farmed under tenancy agreements, a total of 1035ha were rented by the farmer from a member of the farmer's own family. Thus, 2646ha (54.74%) of the total area of farmland in productive use were farmed under what one might understand as 'orthodox' and direct tenancy arrangements. In addition, 225ha of the total farmland were rented by farmers from 7 other active farmers in 'La Cerdagne'. The situation is therefore more complex than the official data would suggest. In the agricultural census, only the aggregated form of data indicating the simple distinction "land owned by farmer/land rented by farmer", are available. No distinction is made as to whom the rented land belongs.

Data from fieldwork suggests the existence of large non-related (outside the farmer's family) non-farming landlords, renting to farmers, as well as large landowning farmers who also operate as landlords to other farmers: 3 landowning farming families alone rent out a total of 150ha to 4 different farmers, while 57 farmers rent at least some (and in some cases,

all) of their farm land from within their own family, at an average of 18.15 hectares of land each. A more detailed image of the distribution of agricultural land by forms of ownership and tenancy is provided in the pie diagram below :

Distribution of Farmland & the Farmer's Relationship to the Land.



Fieldwork

While the proportion of land owned by the farmer and farmer's family is higher in France as a whole (5), the proportion of land farmed in this way in 'La Cerdagne' is certainly higher than is apparent from the official data. The distinction "landlord (landowned)/tenant farmer (land rented)" is insufficient. This is an important point since it greatly alters the situation regarding land strategies on the part of farmers in the region. The question of landownership is crucial to present and future production strategies. The increased emphasis on productivity and production levels has increased the importance of the size of the area of land under productive use.

Until as recently as the 1950's, it was usual for half the farmland in

'La Cerdagne' to remain in fallow at any given time. In the case of tenant farmers, this was at the request of the landowner and was written into the tenancy contract (see Clause Twelve, Appendix Seven). Leaving half the land fallow was a common practice for landowning farmers. Land left in fallow was tied to a system based on reciprocity, between non-landowning sheep farmers and their landowning farmers. During the rest year, sheep grazed free on the land, providing, in return, a free supply of fertilizer. With the decline in sheep farming and the introduction of chemical fertilizers in the 1960's, this interdependent farming system disappeared. Further, tenancy contracts usually only lasted 2 or 3 years, and the landowner required that half the land be rested and ready for a new tenant farmer, if the current contract were not renewed from either side for whatever reason. The quality of the land and its preparedness were of central importance to the landlord in order to attract new tenant farmers.

This system has been effectively deconstructed during the last 25 years, with the emphasis more on levels of production and productivity. In this context, the main goal at the level of the farm has been to use all available farm land susceptible to mechanised methods; land left in fallow has all but disappeared as a practice. Alongside these changes, the construction of tenancy contracts also reflects a significant change as local agriculture has become linked into a broader framework that reflects the increased commercial nature of farming.

Changes in the Social Relations of Tenancy

From the early 1970's, the hitherto dominant form of tenancy contact based on part-cash, part-payment "in kind" (Appendix Seven) has been replaced by contracts based purely on cash payment. The price of the tenancy is strictly calculated in terms of the volume of production and the market value of the commodities produced. The 'Commission Consultative Départementale des Baux Ruraux' was set up in 1972 to organise the framework in which claims over tenant prices are negotiated. The price of tenancy in 'La Cerdagne' is fixed in the following manner.

$$\text{* QUANTITY PRODUCED (Of Meat/Cereals/Or Milk)} \times \frac{\text{PREFECTORAL PRICE (Of Meat/Cereals)}}{\text{NATIONAL PRICE (Or Milk)}}$$

* = Average annual production during previous 9 years.

DDA

The current price of a tenancy at any given moment is, therefore, set on the basis of previous levels of production. This can fall or rise according to the level of production, or following a fall in the national or departmental price of the commodity used for calculating the rent.

The linking of rent to the market in this formal manner reflects the shift towards a more commercial form of agriculture and the increased role of the State and para-statal organisations in agriculture during the last 25 years. Previously, tenancy arrangements were based not only on a part mixed form of payment, but also on a whole series of social obligations which reflected the broader context of social relations between landlord and tenant farmer. Such social obligations included, for example, collecting wood for heating the landlord's dwelling and vacating his own dwelling at the request of the landlord in order to accommodate the latter's visiting family and friends (See Appendix Seven, for a full translation of a 'traditional' contract that lasted in the original form from 1952 until 1974). Such social obligations have been replaced by a contract based on cash payments, for the use of the land. Gross production levels and the overall income procured therefrom together determine the cost of the tenancy, in accordance with State regulations and overseen by para-statal organisations.

In addition to the cash payment for the rent, the tenant farmer is also obliged to pay further costs related to the use of the farm. The tenant farmer pays the rates (6) and up to 50% of the landlord's contributions to the 'Chambre d'Agriculture' (7), his own 'Prestations Sociales Agricoles' (8), together with all legal costs incurred in drawing up the tenancy deed (9). In this sense, the cost of the tenancy may be seen as simply part of the cost of administrating the tenancy.

Despite the creation of the commission and the market indexation of tenancies, 41 farmers still rent at least some of their land (a total of 591ha) from landlords without reference to the departmental price guide and without written contract. The reason for this relates to the perceived value of land due to the growth of tourism. Landlords maintain more control over their land by not issuing written contracts, thereby giving themselves more flexibility for future potential investment purposes. It is within the context of a more commercial form of agriculture and the growth of a local tourist economy that access to agricultural land in the last 25 years is best understood. The changing local agricultural and tourist economy have had important implications regarding access to agricultural land for farmers. These implications can be seen clearly in all 3 forms of access to land - land purchase, tenanted land and inherited land. These are the 3 means by which farmers gain access to agricultural land in the region and they involve different relationships to the land for the farmer.

Firstly, tenancy involves a separation between agricultural production and landownership. Farming based on tenancy is normally associated with the two agrarian classes "landowner" and "tenant farmer". However, this simplistic model does not apply in all cases of rented land in the region due to the widespread existence of familial relations that underpin many of the tenancy agreements. Tenancy can also differ according to the type of tenancy agreement as well as with regard to the duration of the agreement. Within the region there are written and verbal tenancy agreements with the duration varying from 2 to 9 years, with one 99 year tenancy agreement.

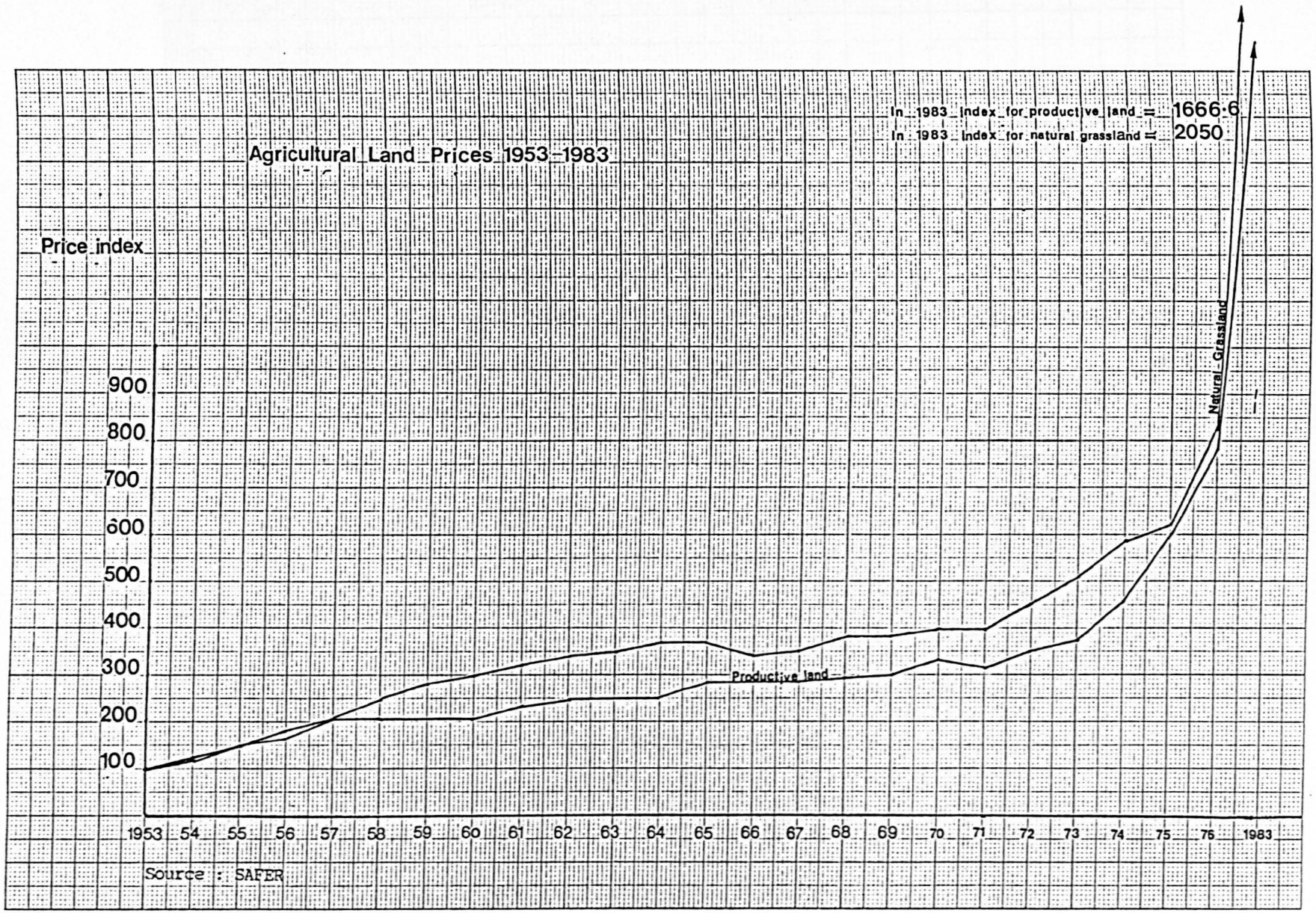
Inheritance overtly involves a close relationship between the ownership of land and the effective use of agricultural land by the farmer. The land is inherited (usually by the son) from (usually) the father. Inheritance in 'La Cerdagne' has been articulated through a system of marriage and inheritance strategies which have been constructed so as to ensure the social and economic reproduction of the farm, encapsulated in the successful transmission of the land from one generation to the next.

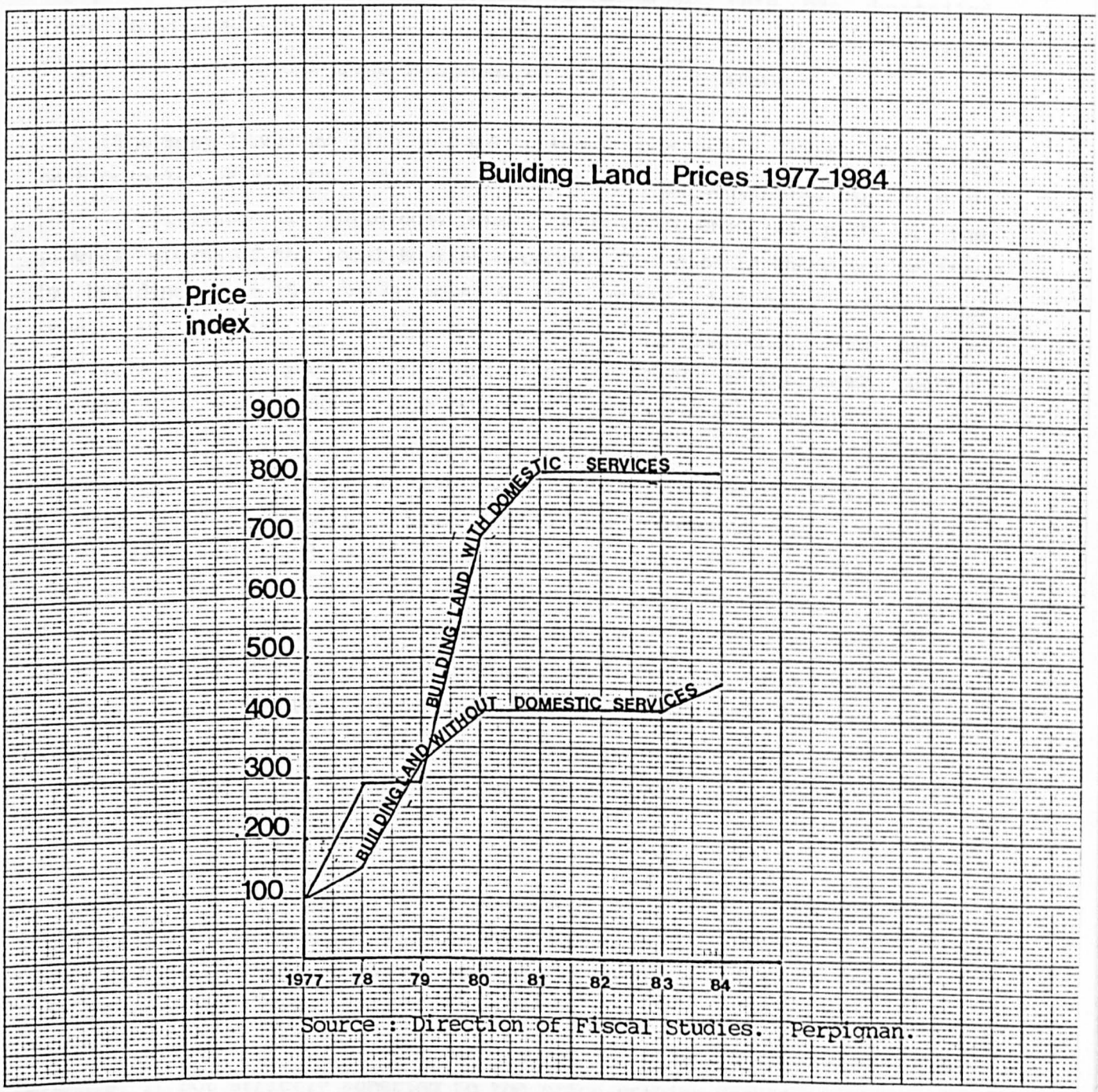
Finally, land purchase, mediated by market activity on the part of the farmer, has been the least common form of access to agricultural land. This

has been due largely to the level of land prices. Following the 1950's expansion of the tourist economy, investment in land for building increased. In the absence of any demarcation between agricultural and non-agricultural land, the expansion of the tourist industry produced a rise in the price of agricultural land. The institutional policy response to this from ~~in~~ the 1980's will be discussed later in the context of case history material.

Land purchase in the region for agricultural use has been relatively insignificant since the 1960's. Between 1962 and 1984, only 104.2115ha of agricultural land were bought (10), with 47ha of this total through the sale of a single farm in 1981. This latter area of land has not, moreover, been used for agricultural purposes, but was purchased in order to facilitate the construction of a tourist centre at Sainte Léocardie. No agricultural land was purchased for farming between 1962 and 1972. As a means of gaining access to agricultural land, the few examples of land purchase (6 in all) have been limited to farming families which already owned relatively large areas of land. For example, the main purchase of land for farming purposes was made by a farmer from one of the main landowning farming families in 'La Cerdagne'. The purchase of 17.3025ha in 1974 by Jacques de Maury at a cost of 175,617 FF was supplemented by a further purchase of 0.5795ha at a cost of 6,500 FF in 1977. Both purchases were designed to effect an expansion of an already relatively large farm. At the time of the first purchase, the de Maury family already owned some 85.0028ha in 'La Cerdagne'

The total area of agricultural land sold to farmers between 1962 and 1984 in 'La Cerdagne' contrasts starkly with, for example, another mountain zone in the Pyrénées-Orientales, the 'Conflent et Fenouillèdes'. In 'La Cerdagne', the area of land sold to farmers for farming purposes represented only 0.9% of the agricultural land used in 1962, whereas in the case of the 'Conflent et Fenouillèdes', the proportion was 15.2% (11). The principal reason for the small amount of land bought by farmers in 'La Cerdagne' related to the impact of the tourist economy. The tourist development from the 1950's increased the demand for land, not for agricultural use, but for construction purposes. The price of local


Agricultural Land Prices 1953-1983
In 1983 index for productive land = 1666·6
In 1983 index for natural grassland = 2050
Price index
900
800
700
600
500
400
300
200
100
Natural Grassland
Productive land
1953 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 1983
Source : SAFER



Source : Direction of Fiscal Studies. Perpignan.

agricultural land has been inflated in the post 1950's therefore, by two crucial factors which have in fact been strictly exogenous to the agricultural sector. The 1973 oil price increase and the economic climate that engendered led to a general increase in investment in land, inflating the price of agricultural land. Within 'La Cerdagne', this has dovetailed into an already existing tourist economy. These two factors have conjoined to produce significant price increases as seen in the graph.

The most important rise in land prices took place after 1973, and particularly after 1976. This corresponds with the continuing expansion in the construction of buildings, houses and apartments, as part of the general growth of the local tourist economy. The rise in the price of land for building after 1976 can be seen in the graph. Moreover, unlike land prices in general in France, the price of agricultural land has not decreased in recent years, again reflecting the impact of the local tourist economy. In the absence of any strict separation between agricultural land and non-agricultural land, all land in 'La Cerdagne' has been affected. Indeed, many local political and agricultural representatives, such as Monsieur Patau and Monsieur Gispert (See Chapter Three), openly encouraged the purchase of land during the 1950's and 1960's for the development of tourism as a means to stimulate broader economic development in their villages. Interestingly, the 'knock-on' effect of the tourist economy, via the construction industry, on agricultural land has in part led to the strategic use of the land market by landowning farmers as a means of raising capital, and for novel inheritance strategies. In general, however, land purchases for agricultural purposes has been marginal as a means to gain access to land by farmers.

Renting land under tenancy arrangements has been widespread. There are two broad forms of tenancy agreements employed in 'La Cerdagne', verbal contracts and written contracts. The verbal contract is an old form and is considered as the 'traditional' form of tenancy. As with the written contract, verbal contracts have in recent years tended towards cash only payments, if not strictly adhering to the price setting formula laid out by the 'Commission'. While in many cases, the land rented by a farmer may only consist of two or three hectares, most farmers are affected by some form of tenancy agreement, as may be seen in the table below :

Distribution of the Different Types of Tenancy Agreements

Number of Farms with SOME Land Under Verbal Agreements	= 52 (43.3%)
Number of Farms with SOME Land Under Written Agreements	= 92 (75.8%)
Typical Duration of Verbal Agreements	= 2 Years
Typical Duration of Written Agreements	= 9 Years

Fieldwork

The one exception to this general pattern is the case of Jacques de Maury, one of the 'Notables Agricoles' of the 1960's, who rents a total of 44ha of additional land, on a 99 year lease from the Catholic Church.

In general, verbal contracts are determined by the particular relationship that the farmer concerned has with the landowner(s). While many farmers have no idea as to the likely duration of their tenancy under verbal arrangements, others have an "understanding" of a "long term" agreement. This usually means the lifetime of the farmer himself, and, if applicable, that of his successor. In both verbal and the written agreements the renewal of the tenancy is negotiable. However, most farmers said that a written contract was more valuable to the farmer particularly with regard to planning decisions. A development plan requires that in the case of a tenant farmer, a written contract covers the land rented.

> "You see... I wanted a development plan to buy more machinery for the farm. I needed a bigger hay baler and a more powerful tractor ...it's for that sort of thing - a development plan - that you have to have a written contract ... you cannot have a development plan without a written contract" (Monsieur Sûné, farms 33 hectares, without written contract).

Of the 1035ha of land rented from a member of the farmer's family, 369ha were rented without a written contract, while the rest was rented under written tenancy agreement. The reason why a written contract was provided relates to the preconditions laid down for a development plan. Intra-familial tenancy arrangements are often used as important strategies by the farming families concerned. Where the landowner is the father or (in the case of the prior death of the father) the mother, the son can be installed while his parent(s) keep control over the land. With both written

and verbal contracts within the family, cash is not paid by the "tenant" farmer for the land farmed. The reason for this is that in all cases, the land had already been designated to pass to the farmer himself with the death of his parents, uncle (in one case) or cousins (in another case). As such it was considered "wrong" to ask the "tenant" farmer to pay rent on what effectively was his own land.

The total area of land rented with verbal contracts was 960ha (with 369ha being intra-familial), or 26.08% of all land not owned directly by the farmer. This land is often not subject to departmental price fixing and, as such, despite the underlying institutional trend towards a more market-oriented approach, does not cover all land in 'La Cerdagne'. Officially, all areas of land over 5ha in size rented to farmers should be the subject of a written agreement to provide more security for the farmer. Many landowners, however, circumvent this by simply dividing the land "on paper" between members of the family so that each piece of land owned and rented is less than 5ha. This is not always necessary however, since most farmers tend, in any event, not to demand a written contract if it is not offered. This is due to the fear that the landlord might simply withdraw the land from the farmer:

> "Well, it's like this ... I have three 'parcelles' of land, each over five hectares ... I could demand a written contract, but you see, if I did that, they [the landlords] would simply take the land out of production ... as things stand, they get their rent, and I get use of the land" (Monsieur Vidal, farms 100 hectares, with 40 hectares without written contract).

Landowners in such a situation seek to maintain control over the land with a view to the potential of the tourist economy. The division of land in order to maintain control over the land also helps to explain the increase in the number of landowners, and particularly the number of small (less than 2ha) landowners.

Landstructure in Ste. Léocadie 1830-1986

Size Of Holding (in hectares)	1830	1914	1986
2	10	7	40
2-5	3	9	11
5-10	4	6	4
10-20	2	2	1
20-50	8	4	4
50-100	3	3	3
100-200	0	1	1
TOTAL	30	32	64

ADW 1016, 415-380

Although 63 farmers said they had expanded their farm during the last 25 years by taking in rented land, most of them (41 in all) did so by renting at least some of the rented land without a written contract. Unlike land purchase post-war, the extension of land used under tenancy has not been restricted solely to large farmers. Finally, although the laws of 1970 and 1975 (12) effectively removed the automatic right to the transmission of the tenancy contract (which had been accompanied by long term tenancy of 18-25 years) to the eldest son or widow, the direct effect is not significant in 'La Cerdagne'. Given the departure of over 500 farmers since 1955 and the low level of competition between farmers for farm land, where tenancy succession is requested it is considered automatic by farmers.

Both in terms of the extension of existing areas of land used and as a means of gaining initial access to agricultural land, by far the most important strategy has been that of land inheritance. Land inheritance as a strategy has historically been inextricably interwoven into a broader social context, embracing and facilitated by marriage alliances. It is via land inheritance and marriage strategies that access to land, for both extension of land used and for 'entrée' into farming, has been predominantly facilitated.

Inheritance Strategies and Land: The Historical Context

Inheritance strategies in 'La Cerdagne' have traditionally been used to try to ensure the continuation of the lineage of the individual farming family. This remained, however, subordinate to the more central economic consideration of maintaining the integrity of the land. The principal aim has been to ensure the transmission of land and property in an undivided form from one generation to the next. Inheritance strategies in 'La Cerdagne', based traditionally on the Catalan Law of succession, have until the 1960's run strictly counter to clauses 745 and 715 of the 'Code Civil' (the Napoléonic Code) since its promulgation in 1804. The Code Civil established the legal right of all children to an equal share of the inheritance. However, inheritance strategies as negotiated and socially constructed in 'La Cerdagne' tended (and continue to) to select one single inheritor, 'l'areu', (13) compensating to lesser degree, the non-inheriting

siblings. The two main legal instruments which designate the successor and the partition are the 'Capitols Matrimonials' (a marriage contract) and the Testament (the will). A translation of an example of each of these is provided in Appendix Five and Appendix Six.

The 'partage' (14) itself was traditionally, and typically organised in the following manner:

The inheriting child received $\frac{T}{4} + \frac{T-\frac{T}{4}}{N}$

The non-inheriting children received $T - \frac{T}{\frac{4}{N}}$

Where T = the total value of the property and N = the number of children. This share-out applied where there were more than two children. Where there were only two children, the inheriting child received half the total value of the property as well as half the value of the remaining half (or three-quarters of the total value).

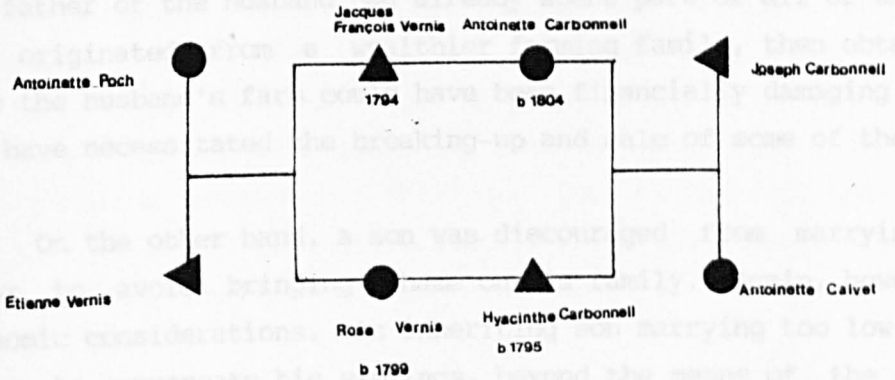
The value of the property was arrived at following consultations with members of the family, together with "independent" assessors from the village (15). However, the share of the property extended to the siblings of the inheriting child was strictly speaking only a theoretical share of the family patrimony. Payment was not derived from the family's patrimony, but rather from the dowry paid by the father-in-law of the inheriting son. This was paid to the father of the inheriting son. In the (rare) case of a daughter inheriting the land (she was known as 'la pubilla') the dowry was paid by her father-in-law to her own father. (16)

In a situation whereby the farm provided the economic mainstay of the needs of the family, maintaining the integrity of the farmland was of paramount importance. Equal sharing-out of the land would have resulted in farms of ever diminishing dimensions and the eventual economic non-viability of all farms. With the development of commercialised agriculture, the maintenance of land intact clearly became increasingly important.

Traditionally, marriage strategies were central to ensuring the continuity of lineage (where possible) and maintaining the integrity of the farmland. To this end, marriage between first cousins was frequent throughout the nineteenth century. Marriage and inheritance strategies formed two sides of the same global concern. Marriage strategies have been important mechanisms by which the integrity of the land has been maintained by marrying partners of equal socio-economic status. Until the inter-war period, the dowry played a central role in the marriage and inheritance strategies. The family of the wife of the inheriting son ('l'areu') provided the dowry, the magnitude of which was in part determined by the number of siblings of the inheriting son. The reason for this is that the dowry was used to compensate ('dédommager') non-inheriting siblings. It was via the acceptance of the dowry that the latter agreed implicitly to renounce their equal claim to the total value of the property. Ideally the dowry remained intact until the moment of the (theoretical) partition, either at the time of the marriage of the inheriting child, or, at the time of the death of the latter's father. The inheriting child's share was not, however, paid until the death of the father. Thus inheritance and succession were two separate processes, with the former preceding the latter. The delay in paying the inheriting child was a means of providing both a form of social security in old age, since the older parents lived with the inheriting child and the latter's family, as well as a source of domestic power and control for the elderly parents.

In the case of a daughter inheriting ('la pubilla'), due usually to the absence of a son, the husband's family paid a dowry known as the 'aixovar' to the non-inheriting siblings of 'la pubilla'. Only in the case whereby a brother and sister married a brother and sister from another family was there no dowry payment, as in the example shown below :

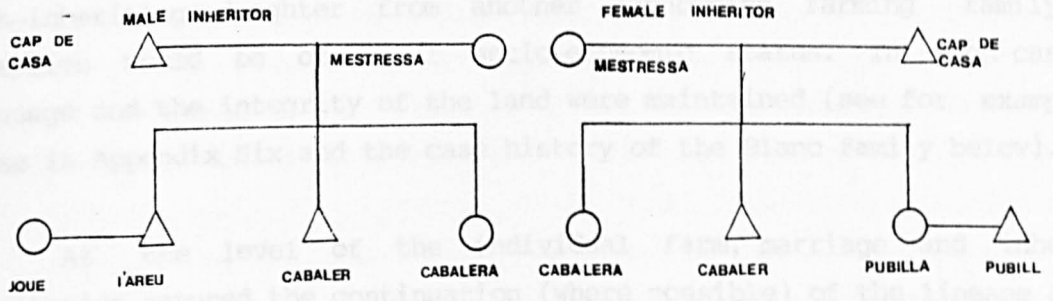
Marriages Between the Carbonnell and Vernis Families



Birth, Wedding, Death Registers, Departmental Archives

The diagram below reflects the terminological structure of the household according to whether the inheriting child is the son of the daughter.

Household Structure



Regarding marriage partners, it was traditionally more usual for a farmer's daughter to "marry up" (into a wealthier family) than was the case for a farmer's son. The reasons for this were socio-cultural and not socio-economic, and reflect a patriarchal bias in inheritance and marriage strategies as well as in domestic power relations within the farming family. While the influence of a commercial agriculture and related economic factors determined what was possible within marriage strategies, cultural factors determined what was acceptable. Thus, if a son from a farming family were to 'marry up', it was considered that this would compromise his domestic authority. This was particularly the case in the wealthier farming families, where there was often a live-in hired labour force, including farm workers, domestics, servants etc. There were, however, also economic

considerations regarding the dowry in particular. If a marriage had been dissolved without children, the dowry was returned to the wife's family. If the father of the husband had already spent part or all of the dowry which had originated from a wealthier farming family, then obtaining the money from the husband's farm could have been financially damaging to the farm, and may have necessitated the breaking-up and sale of some of the farm land.

On the other hand, a son was discouraged from marrying too low in order to avoid bringing shame on his family. Again, however, there were economic considerations. An inheriting son marrying too low might require a dowry, to compensate his siblings, beyond the means of the wife's family. Thus, for both cultural and economic reasons, marriage strategies traditionally involved the matching of children of roughly equal socio-economic status. Where possible, marriage between two inheriting children, 'la pubilla' and 'l'areu', was avoided, since this led to the disappearance of a lineage. In view of the patriarchal system and the economic considerations, the "ideal marriage" was between the eldest inheriting son of one landowning farming family and the youngest and non-inheriting daughter from another landowning farming family. Both families would be of equal socio-economic status. In such cases both lineage and the integrity of the land were maintained (see for example, the case in Appendix Six and the case history of the Blanc family below).

At the level of the individual farm, marriage and inheritance strategies assured the continuation (where possible) of the lineage and the maintenance of the integrity of the farm land. At the aggregate level, individual acts involved in the marriage and inheritance strategies tended over time to reproduce a local socio-economic hierarchy based on landownership. Historically, a degree of flexibility was always essential in land and marriage strategies. This was particularly the case in situations in which there was no son, and, therefore the preference for the principle of primogeniture and the placing of the eldest son could not be invoked.

Of central importance to the inheritance strategies was the 'fils

célibataire' (unmarried, younger brother) (17). The youngest son often remained on the farm of his inheriting (elder) brother, as a source of unpaid, domestic labour. By so doing, the younger brother forfeited all claim to a share of his sister-in-law's dowry. His share was directed to the inheriting son, and thus, on-farm accumulation was facilitated. The non-inheriting sons were generally seen in a more positive light than the non-inheriting daughters. This was due to the fact that the former were seen as a source of productive labour, while the sisters of the inheriting son were often seen as a charge on the household.

There was a broad difference between the marriage strategies of the wealthier landowning farming families and the poorer landowning, and indeed non-landowning, farming families. In the wealthier farming families, the parents tended to arrange the marriages. This usually took place at the house of the inheriting son, or (more rarely) the inheriting daughter. This was the 'lieu' for arranging marriages, whereas for the poorer families, marriages were typically organised at the village 'bal'.

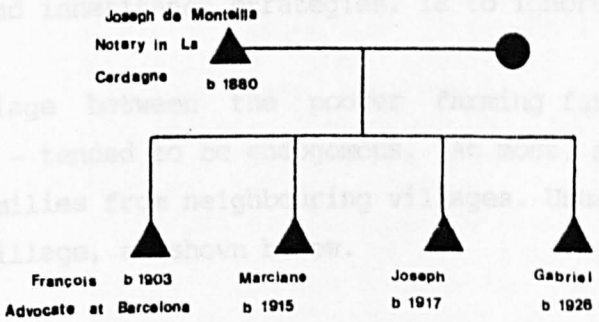
In the larger landowning farming families, the mother of the inheriting son played a major role in the selection of her son's marriage partner. The role of the mother reflected the non-economic considerations involved in the marriage strategies. Given the tendency for the stem family ('la famille souche') to prevail at the time of the succession and marriage of the inheriting son, the question of domestic social relations and the distribution of power in the household came into play. A daughter-in-law from a wealthier family would undermine the domestic authority of the inheriting son's mother. This was a further reason why inheriting sons were discouraged from 'marrying up'.

Domestic authority was traditionally a key variable in the selection of marriage partners by parents, and domestic authority considerations are evident in the system of dowry payment. The dowry payment was not made to the inheriting child, but rather to, and retained by, the father of the inheriting child. The dowry was traditionally kept by the father until full inheritance at his death. At this moment, the dowry would pass over to the inheriting child, if the partition had already been made at the marriage of

the inheriting child. If the partition had not already been made, the dowry would be passed to the inheriting child's siblings at the death of the father.

The larger landowning farming families organised the dowry and arrangements for the inheritance at a 'grande soirée', with the parents of both proposed spouses meeting at the residence of the inheriting child. The wealthy families were not only "measured" in terms of amount of land owned or the size of the farm. There were further, less economically obtrusive criteria such as size and style of the 'Grande Maison', such social attributes as level of education, manners and the extent of knowledge of local and external affairs. In short the cultural 'accoûtrements' or 'savoir faire' that were supposed to accompany the material well-being of the larger landowning families. It was common, for example, for sons of such families to attend University, becoming doctors, advocates or a member of one of the other 'professions libérales'. There was thus a correspondence between the material wealth and the cultural capital of these families, as typified in the following example:

De Monteilla Household, 1936. Land Owned = 135.78 Hectares.



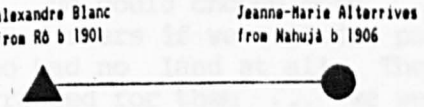
ADMnc 3803, AD1028 W 381, 325, 135, 188

There was therefore, as well as economic criteria, a whole ensemble of socio-cultural factors combined in the social construction of the public image of the large landowning farming families and the selection of their marriage partners. In addition, marriage between large landowning families

usually united two families from two different villages in 'La Cerdagne', even at times involving a family from outside 'La Cerdagne'. An example of this is given below.

Marriage Between Two Large Landowning Farming Families.

Total Land Owned = 127 hectares.

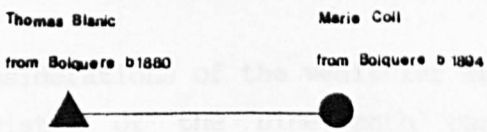


ADMnc 3173/3808/9. AD1028, 220, 325, 428, 62)

Clearly, for the inheritance and marriage strategies to succeed in ensuring the passage of the land undivided from one generation to the next, the siblings had to not invoke their individual legitimate claim to an equal share of the land. In this sense, the interests of 'La Casa' (18) were placed as paramount. It was indeed, around 'La Casa' that both the inheritance and marriage strategies were organised. The prime evidence of this was the fact that the younger brother often remained in the household of his inheriting brother as a source of domestic labour power. To ignore that such tactics represented perhaps the most important aspect of the marriage and inheritance strategies, is to ignore their full complexity.

Marriage between the poorer farming families - landowning and non-landowning - tended to be endogomous. At most, marriage took place between farming families from neighbouring villages. Usually the families were from the same village, as shown below.

Marriage Between Two Landless Farming Families



ADMnc 3171/3808/9, AD1028 W 42; Fieldwork.

Parental influence in the choice of partners for the children in poorer

farming families was less marked. The future partners typically met at the 'bal' in the village. The difference between the marriage strategies of the wealthier and the poorer farming families was summed up neatly by a respondent.

> "Before the war [1914-1918] they [the large land-owning farmers] had strict rules for their marriages ... us ... the smaller ones ... we weren't so rigid ... we could choose more ... we could even marry non-farmers if we wanted, particularly those of us who had no land at all. They had their marriages arranged for them ... we went to 'le bal' and we met there ... that's where I met my wife ... my parents did the same, and their parents" (Jean Augé, retired farmer aged 83).

Because the choice of marriage partners between the poorer farming families was not so much the domain of the parents, more stress was placed on the individuals concerned knowing the genealogy of the different families in the villages. This was important, since individuals selected their partners, drawing upon a wide knowledge of the other (poorer) farming families. Throughout the nineteenth century and up to the early part of this century, the transmission of this knowledge was purely oral in form. As one respondent put it;

> "As a young girl, I used to spend a lot of time learning about the different farming families in my village (Ste Léocardie) as well as those villages where the boys from our village went for the 'fête'. I knew all the farming villages up to three or four generations in my village, and at Err, Nahuja, and Caldégas. I had to ... all the girls had to, because the young men came from those villages to our 'fête', just as our boys went to theirs. You had to know who you were dealing with, so you wouldn't get caught out!" (Madame Bragulat, aged 90, born at Ste Léocardie, now living at Rô).

These considerations of the wealthier and the poorer farming families were characteristic of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century. From the inter-war period, the system of transmission has become problematic as the "traditional" use of marriage and inheritance

strategies became less effective. The extent of this may be best examined in the context of the changing local economy and the increasing integration of 'La Cerdagne' into wider socio-economic and socio-cultural networks.

Decline of "Traditional" Inheritance Strategies: The Problem of Succession

Inter-war inflation was one of the main factors that served to undermine the dowry system. Affordable payments were insufficient while appropriate payments were impossible for most farmers in the region. However, it was only with the generalisation of the 'célibataire' that clear evidence of the decline of the system of succession became evident. In 1985, 36 (27.9%) of farmers were 'célibataire', of these, 35 were aged over 40. All but 2 of these had no definite successor. One of these farmers with a successor, had designated his farm to his nephew and is discussed below as a case history. The other of the 2 farmers had designated his land to his cousin. The other unmarried farmer (aged 30) had just been installed during my fieldwork. Of the 35 unmarried farmers aged over 40, a total of 32 were aged over 50 and did not anticipate marrying or having children. It is anticipated that the farms will eventually be abandoned, or be taken over by remaining farmers, thereby heralding another round of land concentration.

In discussing the position of the 'célibataire', it is important to highlight the sociological significance of the 'célibataire' in the changing historical context. In previous periods, the presence of the unmarried younger brother as 'célibataire' was commonplace. In 1856, 1921, and 1936, the proportion of farming households with a live-in younger adult brother was 10.54%, 8.53% and 9.20% respectively (19). Indeed, the 'célibataire' in this context was identified as supporting the farming family in two important ways. Firstly, the unmarried brother was a free source of on-farm family labour. Secondly, the younger brother's theoretical share of the patrimony (i.e., his share of his sister-in-law's dowry payment) remained with his elder, inheriting brother. In this sense, both the labour supply, and the economic well-being of the farm were assisted by the 'célibataire'. Moreover, the presence of the 'célibataire' on the farm was indicative of the successful inheritance, and transmission of land. However, the high incidence of the 'célibataire' as a farmer from the inter-war period is seen

as connoting the decline of farming in 'La Cerdagne', and in particular, indicative of the decline of the former system of inheritance and transmission. This is to be seen in a broader social context, with the reduced centrality of 'La Casa', and the promotion of the idea of individual choice on the part of members of the farming family. This manifests itself in terms of individual strategies outside agricultural production and beyond the limits of the local economy of the village and 'La Cerdagne'.

Central to the emergence of the 'agriculteur célibataire' was the decline in the proportion of farmers' daughters marrying a farmer, and the fact that this has not been compensated by marriages between farmers and women from other social categories. In 'La Cerdagne', frequent reference was made to the reluctance of farmers' daughters to marry into a farming family and assume the workload and general living conditions of 'La femme paysanne', as the mothers of the inter-war young women had known. As one women respondent put it :

> "My mother would start work at five o'clock in the morning...she fed the farmyard animals, milked the cows by hand, and took them out so she could clean their stables, give them some air and let them graze on the grass. Then she collected the eggs for the day, and was back in the house to serve us breakfast. My father always had to have his breakfast first, before anyone. He took his breakfast at seven o'clock, so my mother had to work fast .. After the dishes, the floor cleaning, and the general housework, my mother would go and help in the field. Then she had to come back to the house to prepare the midday meal. In Spring and Summer, when we had the 'saisoniers' she had to go back to the fields with the 'casse-croûte' for the men. After that she would go back to the house to do the washing, and the men's clothes and all that ... you see, the 'saisonier' lived in! Then she would help again in the fields, bring the cows back in, milk them again, and prepare the evening meal. Again, she would eat last of all. She used to stand in that corner there [pointing to a corner of the kitchen] while first my father, then the children and the workers ate ... After we had all eaten, my mother would put us children to bed, go to the table and eat what was left. It wasn't good for farmers' wives ... I didn't want to do the same". (Madame Tubiau, aged 48, employee in administrative work at Bourg Madame; daughter of a retired farmer).

Moreover, post-war urban-industrial expansion offered more openings in alternative forms of employment for women. The migration out of farming by women aged between 20 and 44 for example, began during the inter-war period, as can be seen in the table below. It was between 1921 and 1936 that the number of young men in farming family households exceeded that of young women.

Young Men and Women in Farming Family Households, 1856-1985

Year	No. of Males Aged 20-44 In Farming Family Household	No. of Females Aged 20-44 In Farming Family Household
1856	650	811
1921	532	621
1936	449	412
1954	510	442
1962a	215	175
1968a	113	88
1975a	78	61
1982a	64	55
1985	43	36

KEY : a = For 1962-1982, the age span is 20-39.

ADMnc 2480/2; ADMnc 3171; ADMnc 3808/9; Fieldwork.

The widespread post-war phenomenon of the 'agriculteur célibataire' is associated with the absence of on-farm successors. In 'La Cerdagne', for example, out of the 120 farms, only 21 had a guaranteed successor, 4 of these were GAEC's, which, as elsewhere in France, tend to be larger than the average farm (20). The average size of GAEC in 'La Cerdagne', is 64ha, with an average of 33ha belonging to the farmer or farmer's family. The remaining farms without definite successor were either uncertain (on 28 farms), or definitely had no successor (on 71 farms).

The problem of succession on farms in part prompted the introduction of the DIJA as a policy response. This direct State provision was designed to install young farmers (less than 35 years of age) in upland areas. This policy was to operate alongside the IVD pension scheme whereby a farmer taking an IVD would thereby release land for the installation of a young farmer.

Looking at the data concerning this policy response, we can assess how, in fact, these policy initiatives have been integrated into inheritance strategies in a manner that tends to favour the larger landowning farming families. The table below shows the extent of land released through retirement schemes since 1969, distinguishing between land released under the IVD scheme both with and without direct on-farm successor:

Land Released Under IVD Scheme, 1969-1984.

	1969	1970-1979	1980-1984
No. of IVD Recipients WITH Successor :	13.00(a)	18.00(b)	6.00
Total Land Released (in hectares) :	307.25	420.14	72.08
Average Size of Farm :	23.63	23.34	12.01
No. of IVD Recipients WITHOUT Successor :	2.00	41.00	11.00
Total Land Released (in hectares)	25.40	505.22	217.59
Average Size of Farm :	12.70	12.32	19.78
Total No. of IVD :	15.00(a)	59.00(b)	17.00
Total Land Released (in hectares) :	332.65	925.36	289.67
Average Size of Farm :	22.17	15.68	17.04

KEY : a = 2 Files Were Missing From The Records
b = 4 Files Were Missing From The Records

DDA

Although in theory a farmer is supposed to release all but one hectare of his land on receipt of his IVD pension, in practice all farmers with a successor who received an IVD kept control over the land, with the son being installed as a tenant farmer on his father's land. The IVD thereby became

an extra source of revenue and facilitated the installation of the son using a DIJA to finance the purchase of equipment. In this manner, the pension and the installation scheme have served to assist succession to the farm. Given that in recent years, it is on the larger farms that installation and succession has taken place, the net effect has been to institutionalise a bias towards succession on the larger farms.

The table shows that between 1969 and 1980 it was mainly the smaller farms (average 12.7ha) that were left without a successor, as smaller farmers went out of farming. The reverse appears to be the case from 1980 to 1984, with larger farms being left with no successor, while 6 smaller farms were left to a successor. However, on examining the 6 individual cases it was found that these were in fact, small 'retirement' farms. The retired fathers had taken a share of the land to retire on, with the land to be reintegrated into the original farm on termination of all activity by the retired father. In all 6 cases, the original farm had been from the larger farm category (over 50ha). These 6 families had used both the IVD and DIJA schemes to assist the succession of the inheriting son. In terms of the 1960-62 agricultural policy on the IVD, the economic function of the policy was undermined in that the land was not released on receipt of the pension. Moreover, by keeping the land in the family, the land was not released for SAFER, which remains outside of these land and succession strategies. Moreover, the net effect in practice of the IVD and the DIJA has run counter to the original objective of these policy instruments, that is to make the farms profitable while avoiding land concentration. In fact, one could suggest that the IVD and the DIJA have both assisted the process of land concentration. The data on DIJA's since 1973 shows the increasing importance of both the size of the farm enterprise and, particularly, the importance of landownership, regarding the installation of young farmers.

DIJA's 1973-1987

Year Of Installation	Commune	System Of Production	Area of Farm At Installation	Still A Farmer?
1) 1973	Ur	Cattle Farming	22.00	Yes
2) 1974	Err	Cattle Farming	35.00	Yes
3) 1974	Nahuja	Cattle Farming	17.16	Yes
4) 1975	Saillagouse	Cattle Farming	18.80	Yes
5) 1975	Caldégas	Cattle Farming	30.00	Yes
6) 1975	Osséja	Cattle Farming	23.00	Yes
7) 1975	Estavar	Cattle Farming	38.00	No
8) 1975	Odeilla	Cattle Farming	42.00	Yes
9) 1975	Enveitg	Sheep Farming	26.00	No
10) 1976	Palau de Cerd.	Cattle Farming	43.00	Yes
11) 1976	Palau de Cerd.	Cattle Farming	43.00	Yes
12) 1980	Valcabollère	Cattle Farming	30.90	Yes
13) 1980	Ste Léocardie	Cattle Farming	67.19	Yes
14) 1981	Caldégas	Cattle Farming	56.00	Yes
15) 1981	Villeneuve D.E.	Goat Farming	55.32	No
16) 1982	Latour de Car.	Cattle Farming	62.00	Yes
17) 1983	Bourg Madame	Cattle Farming	92.00	Yes
18) 1984	Latour de Car.	Cattle Farming	112.00	Yes
19) 1984	Ur	Cattle Farming	115.00	Yes
20) 1985	Palau de Cerd.	Cattle Farming	90.00	Yes
21) 1986	Bourg Madame	Cattle Farming	120.00	Yes
22) 1987	Angoustrine	Cattle Farming	100.00	Yes
23) 1987	Bourg Madame	Cattle Farming	82.00	Yes

DIJA's 1973-1987. Source: DDA, and Author's Fieldwork.

The average size of farm at the time of installation has increased from 31.99ha between 1973 and 1976, to 68.34ha between 1980 and 1983, rising to 100.8ha between 1984 and 1987. Further, the area of land owned by the farmer being installed increased during the same periods from 5.81ha to 18.24ha and 78.2ha, respectively. Moreover, the recent level of family landownership is even more pronounced when one considers that in the case of installation number 19 (see the table above), all 115ha belong to the family of the young farmer who was installed. In case number 13, the farmer already owned 35ha in the commune of Caldégas, while renting a further 24ha in the commune of Saillagouse. The young farmer in case number 12 was designated as inheritor of 39ha in the same commune, Valcabollère. Moreover, all but cases 2, 6, 9, 10 and 11, had fathers who were already farmers, owning at least 12ha of farm land in 'La Cerdagne'. The trend is

clearly towards the installation of sons of large landowning farmers. This can be seen as part of the broad social construction of the class of large landowning farming families, constituting the group of 'Notables Agricoles'.

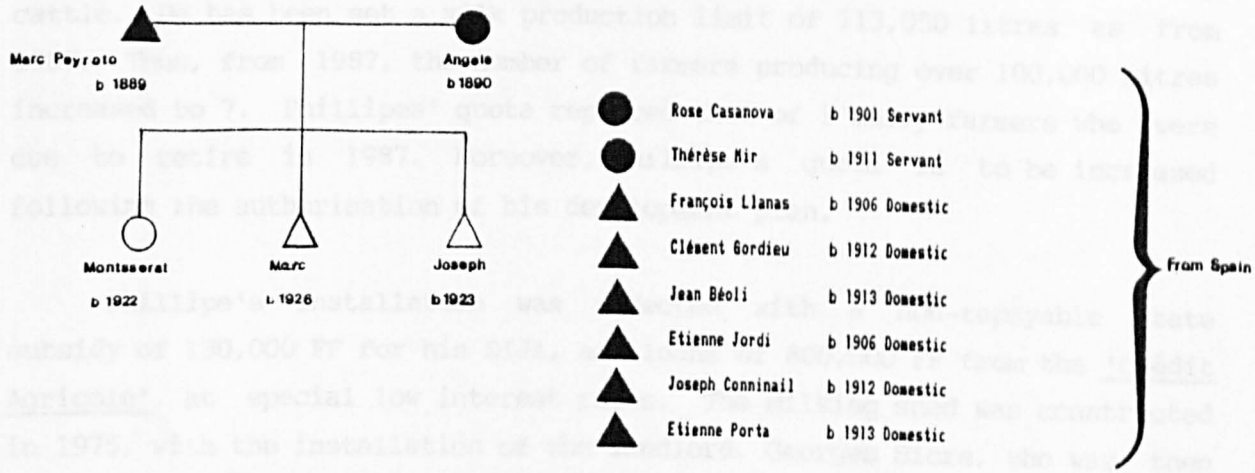
There were two interesting exceptions to the general trend towards the installation of a son on a large landowning farming family enterprise. In both cases, the farmer's parents were not farmers. However, they both illustrate the general importance of either land inheritance or other sources of high level capital input in the installation process. The two cases highlight clearly the capital intensive nature of installation, and farming in general today in 'La Cerdagne'.

Case Studies: Installation

It has been noted that a bias exists which favours the larger farms in terms both of the installation process and in terms of the construction of a milking and livestock shed. The first case study involves the installation of a tenant farmer who is not from a farming family and who operates on a large farm with a milking and livestock shed. The tenant farmer, Phillipe Balsa, was installed during my fieldwork on what were originally two distinct farms. Although installed during my fieldwork, the DIJA had not as yet been recorded in the data on DIJA's. The main area of farm land on which Phillipe has been installed is in the commune of Saillagouse and forms part of the farm known locally as the 'Mas Rondole'. The farmhouse and farm buildings are adjacent to the farmland which comprises just over 100ha of pasture and arable land. The buildings and land are rented from an absentee landlord (Benigno de Salas Y de Ribas, originating from and currently residing in Barcelona). During the early part of the nineteenth century, the land had belonged to a local resident industrialist (Laurent Mitjaville from Barcelona) who owned a number of small factories in the small Spanish enclave of Llivia. The land was bought by the Salas family during the inter-war period and has remained in the family since then. The other area of farmland (originally a separate farm) just over 15ha in size, is located in the commune of Estavar. This land, together with the farmhouse, farm buildings and a fully equipped milking and livestock shed, belong to a landowning family, the Sicre family. As was typical of the large landowning

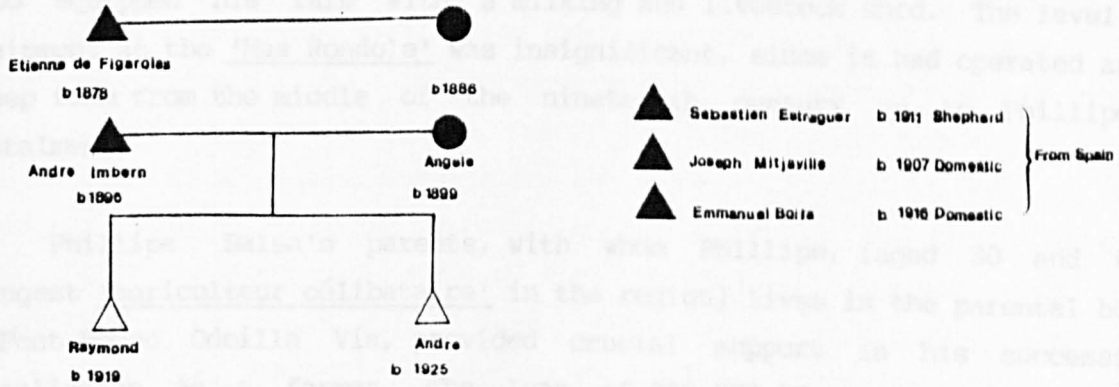
families of the nineteenth century, the land they acquired is of good quality and suitable for mechanisation. The labour requirements for all land concerned has declined rapidly from the 1930's, as is apparent in the figures below.

Household Composition at La Mas Rondole, 1936



ADMnc 3808

Household Composition Estavar Farm, 1936



ADMnc 3808

In 1936, a total of 11 'live-in' hired employees worked the land that is now worked by Phillipe Balsa and two seasonal employees. The former high labour input has been replaced by a high level of on-farm mechanisation,

with three tractors, a pick-up baler, potato picker, and a fully equipped milking and livestock shed. All the equipment was purchased with direct State subsidy in the form of two DIJA's. In 1975, the landowner had been installed as a farmer with a DIJA while Phillipe was installed in 1986 also with a DIJA.

Phillipe was installed primarily as a dairy farmer, with 35 dairy cattle. He has been set a milk production limit of 113,050 litres as from 1987. Thus, from 1987, the number of farmers producing over 100,000 litres increased to 7. Phillipes' quota replaced that of 3 dairy farmers who were due to retire in 1987. Moreover, Phillipe's quota is to be increased following the authorisation of his development plan.

Phillipe's installation was effected with a non-repayable State subsidy of 130,000 FF for his DIJA, and loans of 800,000 FF from the 'Crédit Agricole', at special low interest rates. The milking shed was constructed in 1975, with the installation of the landlord, Georges Sicre, who was then a landowning farmer. Having been installed in 1975, Georges remained in farming for the minimum 5 years, and was thereby not obliged to repay the State DIJA subsidy. Having retired from farming, Georges set up his own insurance broker's office at Bourg Madame. Georges subsequently became a simple landowner, having briefly operated as a landowning farmer, and having also equipped his farm with a milking and livestock shed. The level of equipment at the 'Mas Rondole' was insignificant, since it had operated as a sheep farm from the middle of the nineteenth century up to Phillipe's instalment.

Phillipe Balsa's parents, with whom Phillipe, (aged 30 and the youngest 'agriculteur célibataire' in the region) lives in the parental home at Font Romeu Odeilla Via, provided crucial support in his successful installation as a farmer. The loan of 800,000 FF was guaranteed by his parents, thereby releasing Phillipe's farm income for general maintenance, running costs and his own net income. Indeed, his receipt of a DIJA and the provision of the bank loan were based upon this agreement by his parents. The payment of the loan is seen by his parents as an advance on Phillipe's inheritance of the family estate. Though not originating from a farming family, nor from a landowning family, Phillipe was installed as a farmer.

However, this depended on the financial support of his family, as one of the wealthier commercial families in 'La Cerdagne'. Phillipe's parents own one of the supermarkets at Font Romeu Odeilla Via plus a hotel and several apartments. As a further condition for his installation Phillipe undertook formal agricultural training in the form of a 'Brevet de Technicien Supérieur' (BTS). The crucial factor, however, was the financial support from his parents whose commercial wealth substituted for the lack of land owned. There was also the fortuitous availability of a farm for rent equipped with a milking and livestock shed, the only such farm in 'La Cerdagne'. The importance of this was noted by Phillipe himself.

> "The cost of my installation was already high at the time for my parents ... if there had not been a milking and livestock shed, I don't think my parents would have supported me ... after all, we had, and have, no land .. we would have had to buy some land, as well as support the building of the milking and livestock shed ... they would not have done it ... I was lucky, I found good land with a milking and livestock shed ... my parents have accepted the bank loans...they would not have done that and covered the milking and livestock shed".

The second case concerns a farmer who was installed as a result of assistance from his uncle, Etienne Vilaldach, (born 1929) a 'célibataire' who, having no children, facilitated the installation of his nephew. The nephew was, himself, from a non-farming family. The important factor behind the installation was that the uncle was a landowning farmer, and could thereby provide the material basis for the construction of a milking and livestock shed. The young farmer in question, Bernard Clément was born in 1953, the son of a customs officer from Saillagouse. Bernard spent his holidays working on his uncle's farm. Having opted for a career in farming at the age of 15, Bernard attended an agricultural secondary school from the age of 16, where he obtained his 'Brevet de Technicien Agricole' (BTA). He followed this with 2 further years study for his 'Brevet de Technicien Supérieur' (BTS). He was installed in 1975 with a DIJA, 4 years prior to his marriage. Initially he took over 23ha of rented farmland from another farmer at Osséja, where Bernard currently farms. The retired farmer had

been 'célibataire' and had left farming altogether following the award of his IVD pension. Crucially, much of the material was loaned by Bernard's uncle. Bernard had the advantage of knowing that he was the sole relative of his uncle, and that, therefore, he would eventually inherit his uncle's land. This represented some 37ha. In this context, he could take full advantage of the loans that were available to develop his farm.

Bernard was installed with a State subsidy of 25,000 FF in 1975, paid by ADASEA. At the same time, he bought 10 dairy cows with a loan of 50,000 FF, at a low rate (4%) from the 'Crédit Agricole'. In 1976, he constructed a milking and livestock shed with a capacity for 66 dairy cattle. This was financed with a subsidy of 120,000 FF from the DDA, and a loan of 200,000 FF (at 5.5%) and a further 30,000 FF (at 4.5%) for additional dairy cattle, both loans being provided by the 'Crédit Agricole'. Finally, in 1979, Bernard took out a further loan of 80,000 FF (at 7%) from the 'Crédit Agricole' for a tractor and plough. Bernard extended the area under tenancy by a further 62ha in 1980, giving him one of the largest farms (85ha) with a milking and livestock shed. Bernard currently has the largest milk quota, producing 275,000 litres per year.

The most significant feature regarding Bernard however, is that while his case can be used as a model of the young farmer, installed "from the outside", he is in fact the designated inheritor of 37ha together with the milking and livestock shed belonging to his uncle. Thus, although installed as a tenant farmer, without the commercial wealth of Phillipe Balsa's family, Bernard was aware of his future status as a landowning farmer due to his uncle's situation as a landowning 'agriculteur célibataire'. Bernard currently operates his farm alongside that of his uncle. The total land area is 170ha, with both farmers operating in a formal sense as a GAEC in that all labour, material and capital resources are pooled. The only distinction held between the two farms is at the level of State subsidies paid for the ISM. Both Bernard and his uncle declare their own "independent" herd of cattle in order that they both receive the subsidies on the maximum number (forty) of cattle.

These two young farmers (Phillipe and Bernard) serve as exceptions to

the general trend that favours the installation of sons from large landowning farming families, with the same bias concerning the construction of milking and livestock sheds. As such, although large farmers they stand apart somewhat from the group of 'Notables Agricoles'. It is to the position of this group of farmers in relation to land inheritance, the installation process and the questions of land concentration that we now turn.

Landownership, From Notables Ruraux to Notables Agricoles.

With the exception of the two cases discussed, it is clear that the larger landowning farming families have been generally more successful to date in ensuring the transmission of their land. Most of the farmers in 'La Cerdagne' had, of course, been installed without a DIJA (this only became operative in 1972-3). The larger landowning farming families though have a built-in advantage insofar as while the DIJA offers clear financial advantages, it is tied to the ability of a farmer to obtain a development plan. This is itself tied to the fulfilment of certain basic requirements, the most fundamental of which is the minimum surface area of 35ha for installation. Given the economic importance of constructing a milking and livestock shed, this usually involves owning at least some of the agricultural land.

Throughout the nineteenth century and up to the inter-war period, the landowning and commercial/industrial class of 'Notables Ruraux' exercised considerable influence over matters agricultural. From the 1960's, however, a class of large landowning farmers extended its influence through local agricultural organisations. This group of farmers gradually replaced the influential group of medium farmers who had known considerable political influence in the early to late 1950's. Farmers' leaders of the 1950's gained much of their support due to their broader concern with social issues, such as the development of sewerage and water supply systems, attracting much of their support from the numerically dominant small and medium farmers. The more recent farmers' leaders have constructed their local power base on an emphasis on economic issues regarding, narrowly and specifically, agricultural modernisation.

Regarding the larger landowning farmers in general, the most common method for acquiring land and extending the farm enterprise has been through inheritance, either from the farmer's family or through that of his wife. The latter method involves a 'nominal' price which is paid for the transfer of land from one lineage to another, in addition to the compensation paid to the non-inheriting siblings of the wife. The cost of transfer of lineage covers the legal paperwork. The land is not considered to have been bought or sold, but rather, transferred within the family. It is seen as remaining within the family, if not by name. This was regarded as important, and is often underlined.

> "We did not sell the land ... it's still in the family ... it's just under another name, but it's still in the family" (Monsieur Aleix, aged 71)

In the case of this farmer, the original landowner, Monsieur Isidore Aleix, (born 1915 at Nahuja), owned and farmed 44ha together with an additional 36ha which were rented from 3 absentee landlords. His daughter (born 1950) married a tenant farmer, Isidore Majoral (born 1940) at Targasonne. After the marriage, Isidore Majoral remained in his wife's parental home and became tenant farmer on the 36ha previously rented by his father-in-law. He was installed in 1974 with a DIJA. He worked the total of 80ha together with his father-in-law. Isidore Aleix took his IVD in 1981, transferring the land the same year, a year before the construction of the milking and livestock shed. The DIJA facilitated the purchase of a tractor and a new haybailing machine. The installation of Isidore Majoral also allowed for extra labour at a time when Isidore Majoral's wife was unavailable to give help on the farm (her two sons were born in 1974 and 1978). The installation also assisted Isidore Aleix who was too old to work with his wife.

Out of the 77 farmers who owned at least some of the farmland, 56 (72.72%) had inherited over 50% of the land through his own family, while 21 (or 27.27%) had "inherited" over 50% of the land through his wife's family. A total of 69 (89.6%) of farmers owning some land had inherited at least some land from <u>both</u> sides of the family. There is, however, a high degree of

land concentration within a small group of farmers. A total of 6 farmers themselves owned over 50ha, while the total area of land owned and farmed by these farmers was 434.08ha (37.67%) of the total 1152.08ha owned and farmed directly by farmers in 'La Cerdagne'.

Regarding the 6 farmers owning over 50ha of the land they farmed, 1 owned all 130ha and rented out a further 21ha. A further 2 farmers owned 69ha and 61.58ha, with another farmer owning 50ha out of the total 150ha he farmed. Two cousins own land that forms part of a large family landstock. The first cousin (aged 32, married with two sons), owns and farms 57ha, renting 11ha from a non-farming cousin. Adjacent to this farm, another cousin (aged 50, 'célibataire', and resident with his widowed mother), owns and farms 24.5ha, while renting a further 5.5ha from yet another non-farming cousin. The land which is farmed by the older farming cousin is designated to the younger, farming cousin. The land belonging to the non-farming cousins has likewise been designated to the younger farming cousin. In total, therefore, the younger cousin will extend his farm to 98ha of owned land on the retirement of his older farming cousin. Another farmer owns 52ha (as part of an anticipated inheritance) of the total 85ha he farms, another 33ha belonging to his father. The farmer himself also rents a further 44ha, which belong to him, to another farmer in a different village.

The case of the last farmer is interesting, since the land he and his father own forms part of a total family landstock of 408.67ha. Further, this family's landstock has increased from less than 42ha in 1830 to its present total of 408.67ha. The concentration of land in the Blanc family has been the result of marriage and land inheritance strategies, as well as demographic factors. This is the most clear example of land concentration in 'La Cerdagne', as the Blanc family emerged from the 1960's as one of the most prominent 'Familles de Notables Agricoles'. This family forms the focus of an in-depth case study in which the history of marriage and land inheritance strategies are examined.

CARBONNELL LANDSTOCK 52.0575 ha

VERNIS LANDSTOCK 122.6322 ha

BLANC LANDSTOCK 41.9480 ha

ESTEVE LANDSTOCK 82.9644 ha

DURAND LANDSTOCK 179.3367 ha

Antoinette Calvet

Joseph Carbonnell

Antoinette Poch

Etienne Vernis

BLANC

ESTEVE

DURAND

Hyacinthe Carbonnell

married 22/10/1822

Rose Rite Vernis

b 1795
d 1822

b 1799
d 1827

Jacques Vernis

b 1794

Antoinette Carbonnell

m-16/12/1824

b 1804

Josephe Palau

m-3/8/1819

b 1802

Joachim Blanc

b 1792

Paul Esteve

b 1807

Francoise Naudo

b 1809

Therese Vernis

b 1801

m.7/3/1828

Pierre Durand

b 1797

Isidore Durand

m. 1/11/1817

b 1791

Gracie Vernis

b 1793

Antoinette Vernis

b 1842

Marie-Ange Carbonnell

b 1824
d 1892

married 1/7/1846

Pierre Barthelemy Joseph Blanc

b 1825
d 1894

Bonaventure Esteve

b 1836

Joseph Esteve

b 1841

Charles Esteve

b 1843

Antoine Esteve

b 1847

Rite Esteve

b 1839

Francoise Esteve

b 1848

First cousins

Etienne Vernis

b1834

m.26/12/1864

Antoinette Durand

b 1845

Anne Blanc

b 1820

Joseph Alart

b 1808

Pierre Esteve

b 1835

married 7/9/1859

Bonaventure Durand

b 1840

Marguerite Blanc

b 1820

Sauveur Durand

b 1837

Joseph Aris

b 1791

Mathilde Vernis

b 1840

married 2/5/1871

Hyacinthe Carrere

b 1836

Pierre Josephe Blanc

b 1843

Josephine Blanc

b 1848

Joseph Joachim Blanc

b 1853
d 1911

married 30/4/1891

Antoinette Esteve

b 1869
d 1934

Etienne Esteve

b 1865
d 1956

Josephine Esteve

b 1860
d 1921

Paul Esteve

b 1861
d 1957

m. 7/1/1885

Therese Vernis

b 1867

Jacques Vernis

b 1871

First cousins

married 16/1/1901

Francoise Carrere

b 1876

Francois Rouax

b 1842

Marie Canal

b 1845

ROUAX LANDSTOCK 44.53 ha

Jacques Rouax

b 1868

Isidore Rouax

b 1885

Anne Rouax

b 1880

married 18/9/1905

Jean Alterrives

b 1877
d 1966

Pierre Joseph Blanc

m. 11/5/1930

Antoinette Marie Gineste

b 1908

b 1892
d 1974

Josephine Blanc

b 1895
d 1952

Jean-Pierre Calvet

b 1883
d 1963

Alexandre Joseph Pierre Blanc

b 1901

married 8/3/1924

Jeanne-Marie Alterrives

b 1906
d 1974

Marie Alterrives

b 1909

Jacques Orriol

b 1904

Marie-Therese

b 1935

Etienne Vernis

b 1902

Josephine Vernis

b 1906

Joseph Sauveur Blanc

Marie-Therese de Casanova

b 1930

m 31/10/1953

b 1931

Gilbert Blanc

b 1933

Marie Palau

b 1935

Etienne Blanc

b 1935

Marie-Therese Blanc

b 1942

Pierrette Sabata b 1937

Paul b 1967

Andre Imbern

b 1925

Marie-Ange Blanc

m-20/9/1947

b 1924

Josette Blanc

b 1930

Claude Arnaud

b 1929

Jean Blanc

b 1937

m. 3/2/1962

Jeanne Antoinette Delcor

b 1937

Jean Delcor

b 1936

Gilles

b 1965

Pierre

b 1967

Georges

b 1971

Francoise Blanc

b 1965

Emmanuel Blanc

b 1966

Joseph Imbern

b 1949

Anne Marie Blanc

b 1962

Sylvie Blanc

b 1966

Cecile Blanc

b 1968

BLANC LANDSTOCK 408.67 ha

A Case Study: The Blanc Family

At the time of my fieldwork, the Blanc family owned a total of 408.67ha spread over 6 communes. Most of the family landstock is registered in the name of 2 brothers: Alexandre who was born in 1901 and Pierre who died in 1974. The reason why some of the land (a total of 123.69ha) was still in the name of the dead brother is that the partition had not yet been effected. Alexandre and Pierre had been nominated as joint successors and partition could only be effected after the death of both brothers. A total of 238.29ha is in the name of Alexandre, while the latter's son, Jean, a farmer at Rô, owns a total of 44.53ha outright, together with a further 52ha which has been promised to him in anticipation of the partition. As the only son of one of the two brothers, Jean has been assured of at least this area of land and operates his farm accordingly.

Although by far the largest landowning family in 'La Cerdagne', the Blanc family owned only 41.9480ha (in the communes of Caldégas and Saillagouse) in 1830. This concentration of land can be understood in terms of (i) general economic considerations and the particular use made of marriage and inheritance strategies to avoid breaking-up the land, and (ii) the contingencies of demographic factors peculiar to the career of this family as a landowning farming family. This refers to a number of childless marriages, the absence of a son, (thereby leading to land leaving one lineage to join with the landstock of another) and the high incidence of unmarried ('célibataire') selected inheritors. The latter led to the transfer of land from one family landstock to another, again contributing to a land concentration.

Tracing the Blanc family's genealogy, shows how these factors conjoined at particular moments in the career of 5 originally distinct landowning (farming and non-farming) families, from the end of the eighteenth century through the nineteenth century until the 1950's, concluding with the concentration of land in the Blanc family. Alongside the various contingencies, deliberate tactics were employed by the families concerned, the most notable being that of socio-economic group endogomy. All marriage alliances have been between families from the wealthy landowning class.

Looking at the top of the genealogy, we find 5 separate landowning farming and non-farming families (Carbonell, Vernis, Blanc, Estève, and Durand) at the end of the eighteenth century. These families owned a total of 478.9388ha. By tracing a series of marriage alliances, underpinned by and underpinning, inheritance strategies, we can follow the land concentration processes.

The first set of important marriages took place between 1817 and 1828. During these 11 years there were 6 marriages involving the 5 original landowning families, though only 4 of these marriages, involving 3 of the 5 families, had any bearing at this stage on the movement of land within this network of families. The marriages involved the Carbonell, Vernis and Durand families. The marriages were organised in pairs, in each case between 2 brothers and 2 sisters. Thus, Hyacinthe Carbonell (b.1795), the inheriting son, married Rose Rite (b.1799), one of the non-inheriting daughters from the Vernis family. Hyacinthe's sister, Antoinette (b.1804) married Rose Rite's brother, Jacques (b.1794), the inheriting son from the Vernis family. The remaining 2 daughters from the Vernis family, Thérèse (b.1801) and Gracie (b.1793), married the brothers Pierre (the eventual, though not originally nominated, inheriting son b.1797) and Isidore Durand (b.1791), respectively. Isidore Durand remained a 'fabricant', retaining ownership over the family wool workshop. As a result, although Isidore had originally been named as 'l'areu', the succession and all but 47ha of the landstock eventually passed via his younger brother, Pierre and the latter's wife, Thérèse and their children.

Regarding the two marriages involving the Carbonell and Vernis families, the principal objective of "exchanging" 2 daughters in a marriage alliance was to circumvent the payment of a bridal dowry. Although in the case of the other marriage, daughters were not "exchanged", the land was kept within the circle of familial control and influence. In this manner, the property and capital remained locked into the family network. It was through this sort of marriage strategy that effective control over the land was maintained within each lineage. The other 2 marriages concerning the Blanc and Estève families were of no consequence regarding the eventual

movement of land within these 5 families. It is with the next series of marriage alliances that we find the origins of the processes of land concentration beginning to take form in the social construction of marriage and land inheritance strategies.

Hyacinthe Carbonell and his wife Rose Rite died relatively young, leaving a single child, Marie-Ange Carbonell (b.1824). In 1846, Marie-Ange married the inheriting-son from the Blanc family, Pierre Barthélémy Blanc (b.1825). As sole child, Marie-Ange automatically inherited the totality of the Carbonell landstock which constituted 52.0575ha. Pierre brought the totality of his family's landstock in 'La Cerdagne' (some 41.9480ha) to the marriage. Pierre Barthélémy's two non-inheriting sisters were married into two other important landowning farming families. Anne Blanc (b.1820) married Joseph Alart (b.1808) from Ste Léocadie, while Marguérite Blanc (b.1820) married Joseph Aris (b.1791), also from Ste Léocadie. The Aris family owned some 147.4370ha together with one of the 3 principal flourmills (at Err), while the Alart family owned a total of 64.28ha. The marriage alliance between Pierre Barthélémy and Marie-Ange brought together the landstock from these landowning farming families, resulting in the Blanc family controlling the land.

The second important marriage alliance at this time involved the sole and inheriting-son of Jacques Vernis and Antoinette Carbonell, Etienne Vernis (b.1834). Etienne Vernis married the youngest and non-inheriting daughter of Pierre Durand (b.1797) and Thérèse Vernis (b.1801). Etienne Vernis and Antoinette married as first cousins. This was an important tactic, as part of the overall marriage and land inheritance strategies. The aim of such an alliance was, again, to keep control over the land within the 2 lineages. In 1871, Etienne's eldest sister, Mathilde (b.1840) married Hyacinthe Carrère (b.1836), the eldest and inheriting-son of the main cereal and grain stockist in 'La Cerdagne'. Etienne's youngest sister, Antoinette (b.1842) remained unmarried. The marriage alliance between Etienne Vernis and Antoinette Durand established another important connection between 2 of the original 5 landowning families.

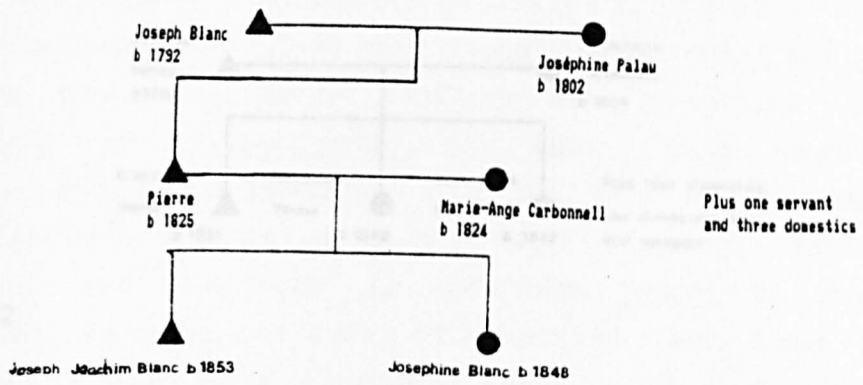
The third strategic marriage at this time was the marriage (in 1859)

between Antoinette Durand's elder, non-inheriting sister, Bonaventure (b.1840) and the eldest, inheriting-son from the Estève family, Pierre Francois (b.1835). We know from the partition of the succession of Pierre Durand (b.1797) that the bulk of the Durand landstock was passed to his daughter, Bonaventure (b.1840) (21). This was due to the fact that Isidore Durand kept control of the non-agricultural side of the family's affairs. With the death of Pierre Durand in 1864, all but 47ha of the Durand land was left, eventually, to Bonaventure Durand. Bonaventure Durand's only brother, Sauveur had been the designated inheritor. In the event, having remained childless, he passed his inheritance from the Pierre Durand-Thérèse Vernis alliance, via his sister, Bonaventure and his brother-in-law, Pierre Estève, to the children of the latter alliance.

The 5 original landowning farming and non-farming families had, by the period, 1846-1864 entered into and established close links via three important marriage alliances. These marriages brought their respective landstocks into close contact. It is during this period that we see the rise of an agricultural landowning élite drawn from within this now established network of landed families. The economic wealth of these families was reflected in the social composition of their respective households. Thus, following the non-aggregated census returns for 1856, we find the following household profiles.

The Blanc family, living in the hamlet of Rö, within the commune of Saillagouse, owned land spread over the communes of Caldégas, Ur and Saillagouse. In 1856, the Blanc household was composed of a 3 generational stem family (<u>'La famille souche'</u>) and a permanent domestic labour force.

Blanc Household, 1856



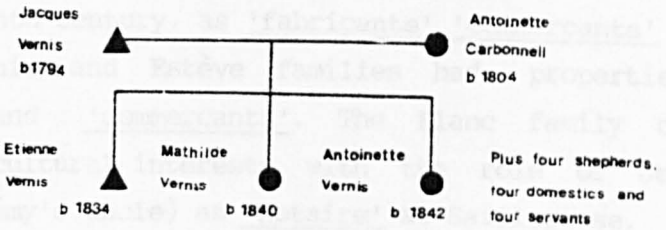
ADMnc 2482

Also in the commune of Saillagouse, Joseph Blanc's elder brother, Jean-Baptiste (b.1791) lived in a separate household with his wife, their 10 children and 2 domestic servants. The eldest son, Jean-Baptiste did not inherit the Blanc landstock, since he had followed his studies to become 'Notaire' at Saillagouse and in doing so recinded all claim to the land.

In Joseph Blanc's household, additional hired labour was central to the provision of labour, given the extensive land area that Joseph maintained at the time, and given the young age of his children. It is interesting to note the incorporation of hired labour into the household rather than other members of the family. This was typical of the large landowning farming families.

A similar case is noted in the Vernis household, where again, hired 'live-in' labour was central to labour input requirements. There was a total domestic 'live-in' workforce of 12 servants, farmhands, domestics and shepherds. The Vernis household in 1856 is shown below :

Vernis Household, 1856



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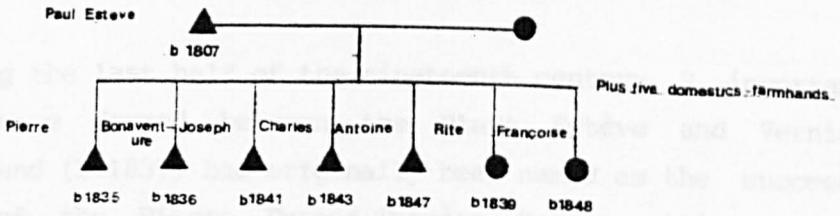
Again, both the Estève and Durand households depended on a domestic labour force in order to effect the domestic and farm work tasks:

Estève Household, 1856



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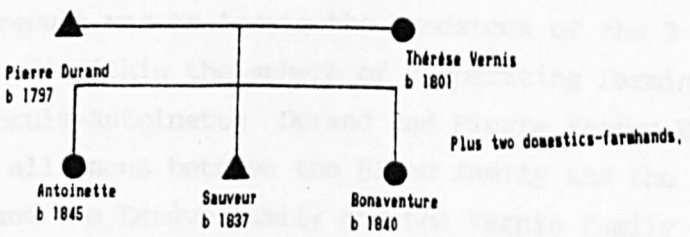
Durand Household, 1856



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The respective families (Blanc, Vernis, Estève and Durand) were not simply large landowning families. They were also interconnected with

extra-agricultural propertied interests and were woven into the local cultural bourgeoisie. Thus, the Durand family had propertied interests, from the mid-nineteenth century, as 'fabricants' 'commercants' and 'chocolatiers' (22). The Vernis and Estève families had propertied interests as 'fabricants' and 'commercants'. The Blanc family complemented their landowning agricultural interests with the role of Jean-Baptiste Blanc (Pierre Barthélémy's uncle) as 'Notaire' at Saillagouse. Moreover, Pierre's grandUncle had also been the landowning 'curé' in the commune of Saillagouse. As members of a wealthy propertied class, these families had the right, in the early nineteenth century, to elect and be elected as political representatives. Although fundamentally organised around the economic interests of maintaining the integrity of the land, marriage alliances were more broadly integrated into a tapestry of status indicators that were at once invested with criteria of an economic, social, political and cultural character.

During the last half of the nineteenth century, 2 important marriage alliances were formed between the Blanc, Estève and Vernis families. Sauveur Durand (b.1837) had originally been named as the successor to, and inheritor of, the Pierre Durand-Thérèse Vernis alliance. In the event, having remained 'célibataire', the land passed via his eldest sister Bonaventure (b.1840) and her marriage (in 1859) to Pierre Francois Estève (b.1835), who was himself, the sole inheritor of the Estève landstock. This was a critical alliance since this combined the Durand landstock with that of the Estève family. On the other side of the family connection, Etienne Vernis (b.1834) had married Bonaventure Durand's sister, Antoinette (b.1845) in 1864. The result was to locate the landstock of the 3 families (Estève, Vernis and Durand) within the sphere of 2 operating farming households: that of Etienne Vernis-Antoinette Durand and Pierre Estève-Bonaventure Durand. The subsequent alliances between the Blanc family and the Estève family on the one hand, and the Estève family and the Vernis family on the other, left the bulk of the land and property within the network of 3 families, Blanc, Estève and Vernis.

In 1891, Joseph Joachim Blanc (b.1853), the inheritor of the Blanc (and therefore, Carbonell) landstock, married Antoinette Estève (b.1869),

youngest daughter of the Estève family. Largely for demographic reasons, the land and property from the Durand-Vernis, and Vernis-Estève alliances passed from the Estève family, via Antoinette's marriage to Joseph Joachim Blanc, entering the Blanc lineage. For the moment we may note that in 1885, Paul Estève (b.1861), the eldest son and nominated inheritor and successor to the Estève landstock, married Thérèse Vernis (b.1867). In 1901, Thérèse's inheriting brother, Jacques (b.1871) married his first cousin, Francoise Carrère (b.1876), daughter of Mathilde Vernis and Hyacinthe Carrère. This marriage maintained the land within the Vernis family. However, Jacques' and Francoise's own children, Etienne Vernis (b.1902) and Joséphine (b.1906), remained unmarried and childless, and the Vernis landstock passed via Thérèse Vernis (b.1867) and her husband, Paul Estève (b.1861), into coalition with the Estève-Durand landstock. It is in this context that the marriage between Joseph Joachim Blanc (b.1853) and Antoinette Estève (b.1869) assumed such significance with regard to the eventual concentration of land within this network of families. It is worth looking at the marriage between Joseph Joachim Blanc and Antoinette Estève.

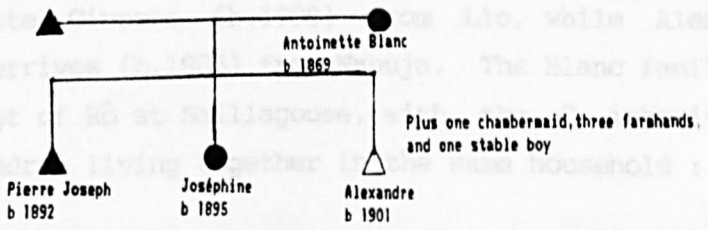
The parents of Joseph Joachim Blanc (Pierre Barthélémy Blanc and Marie-Ange Carbonell) selected Joseph Joachim as the sole inheritor of the land. (See Appendix Five). The preferential share of the total patrimony, found in the 'clause de préciput' (23), designated in the marriage contract, directed a third of the total value of the Blanc patrimony, by indicating preference for Joseph Joachim. In addition, a quarter of the total value of the Carbonell patrimony was given to Joseph Joachim, again, highlighting the preference for Joseph Joachim. This was a theoretical 'partage', with the remaining shares being (again theoretically) divided between Joseph Joachim and his sister, Joséphine. A quarter of the Carbonell patrimony was to be kept for the surviving parent of Joseph Joachim, for the lifetime of the parent, to be reintegrated for the theoretical 'partage' at death.

All the land, however, remained intact, with the traditional system of compensation of siblings being provided for in the dowry. Joseph Joachim made three separate payments to his sister following the death of his father in 1894. His mother had died previously in 1892. On the death of his father, the dowry designated for Joseph Joachim (a total of 16,000 FF),

having been paid to his father by Pierre Estève at the marriage in 1891 between Joseph Joachim and Antoinette Marie Estève, was paid to Joseph Joachim. Three payments of 7,000 FF, 1,000 FF and 8,000 FF were made (24), in order to compensate Joseph Joachim's sister, Joséphine and to maintain the integrity of the Blanc-Carbonell landstock. The payments were in keeping with a patriarchal custom, paid to the husband of Joséphine, Pierre Blanc (no relation), the millowner at 'La Cabanasse' (25).

Joséphine Joachim's marriage to Antoinette Marie Estève resulted in 3 children: Pierre Joseph Prosper (b.1892); Joséphine Francoise-Marie (b.1895); and Alexandre Joseph Pierre (b.1901). Joseph Joachim died suddenly intestate in 1911 at the age of 58. His surviving wife, Antoinette Marie enjoyed the 'usufruit' of a quarter of all the Blanc landstock for her lifetime, while Pierre Joseph and Alexandre Joseph enjoyed the 'usufruit' of the rest of the Blanc landstock. The bulk of the landstock from the original separate landowning families was, by the end of the nineteenth century through to the inter-war period, concentrated within the 3 families, Blanc, Vernis and Estève. These landowning farming families continued to resolve their labour requirements by recourse to 'live-in' hired labour strategies. This is indicated in the diagrams below :

Blanc Household, 1921



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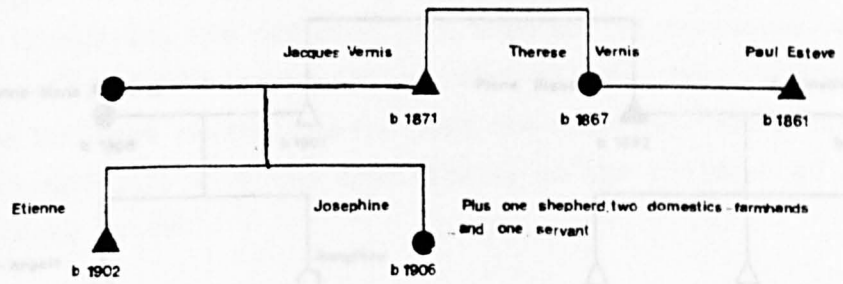
Vernis and Estève Household, 1921

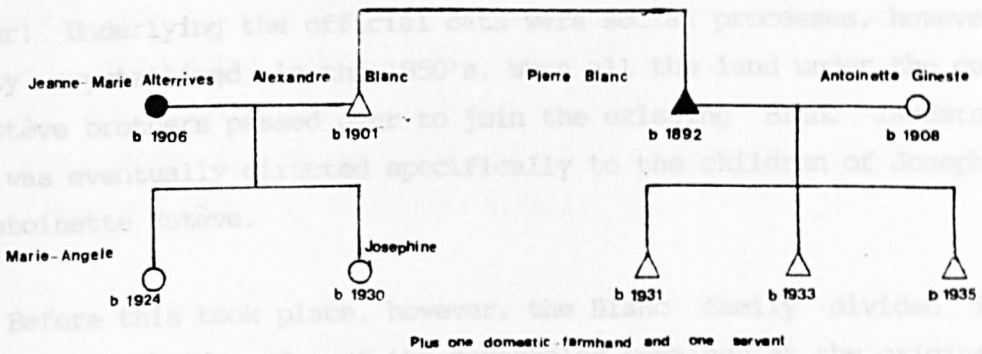


ADMnc 3171

Paul Estève and his wife remained childless as did Etienne Vernis and his sister Joséphine, both of whom remained unmarried. Etienne Estève (b.1865) and Joséphine Estève (b.1960) remained unmarried and childless. Thus, the landstock from the Vernis side was eventually passed to Antoinette Estève and her husband, Joseph Joachim Blanc, and, finally, to the children of this couple.

During the 1950's, the two sons of Joseph Joachim Blanc and Antoinette Estève, Pierre Joseph and Alexandre Joseph, inherited the totality of the landstock regrouped by the earlier marriages connecting the Vernis, Durand, and Estève families. Pierre and Alexandre's sister, Joséphine married another landowning farmer, Pierre Calvet (b. 1883). Pierre and Alexandre Blanc both married daughters from landowning farming families. Pierre married Antoinette Gineste (b.1908) from Llo, while Alexandre married Jeanne-Marie Alterrives (b.1906) from Nahuja. The Blanc family continued to live in the hamlet of Rô at Saillagouse, with the 2 inheriting brothers, Pierre and Alexandre, living together in the same household :

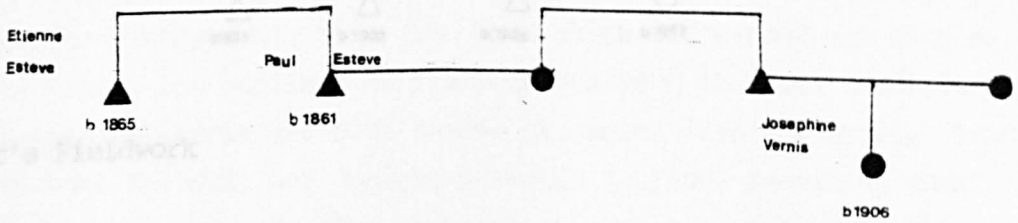
Blanc Household, 1936



ADMnc 3808

All trace of the other families from the network of marriage alliances had disappeared by this time, except for the Estève-Vernis household at Latour de Carol. In a diagram below, we can note the last evidence of these once powerful landowning families:

Estève-Vernis Household, 1936



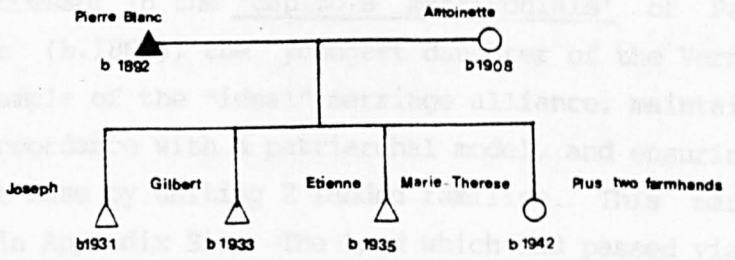
ADMnc 3808

By 1936, only Etienne (b.1865) and Paul (b.1861) remained from the Estève family with a claim to the Estève-Vernis-Durand landstock. Given that all but 47ha of the original Durand landstock, and all but 10ha of the original Vernis landstock had already passed via the marriage alliance between Paul Estève (b.1861) and Thérèse Vernis (b.1867), the 2 surviving Estève brothers controlled a significant area of land in 'La Cerdagne' during the inter-war period. The Blanc family, on the other hand, according to the 'extrait de la matrice cadastrale' (26) only owned some 82.7238

hectares in the late 1930's: Furthermore, according to the land register, this belonged to Antoinette (née Estève) Blanc, who had died some 4 years earlier! Underlying the official data were social processes, however, whose reality crystallised in the 1950's, when all the land under the control of the Estève brothers passed over to join the existing Blanc landstock. The land was eventually directed specifically to the children of Joseph Joachim and Antoinette Estève.

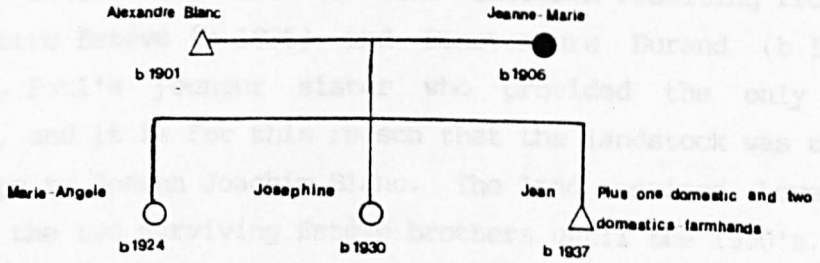
Before this took place, however, the Blanc family divided into two distinct households. One of the households remained at the original family residence at Rô, while the other set up at the residence that the family had inherited with the Carbonell land at Ur. In the immediate post-war period, the two Blanc households were as follows :

Blanc Household at Rô, 1946



Author's Fieldwork

Blanc Household at Ur, 1946



Census Return 1946

It is important to note that, although Alexandre was the youngest son, he became an equal inheritor of the Joseph Joachim Blanc-Antoinette Estève landstock. This was the first time that joint succession and inheritance had been implemented within the network of the original 5 landowning families. Hitherto, a single successor and inheritor had acceded to the farm. The reason for the equal inheritance of the land and joint succession to the farms was given by Alexandre himself.

> "Well ... we were sure we [the Blanc family] would inherit the land from the Estève family ... there were no other inheritors anyway ... So I demanded an equal share because I knew this would be made up with the land from the Estève family you see .. So I demanded, and was given, this half [at Rô and Caldégas] and Pierre took the land at Ur".

Regarding the land held by the Estève brothers, the Durand-Vernis landstock had passed to Paul Estève (b.1861). Paul was nominated, as eldest son, as the successor in the 'capitols matrimonials' of Paul Estève and Thérèse Vernis (b.1867), the youngest daughter of the Vernis family (27). This was an example of the "ideal" marriage alliance, maintaining both the lineage, in accordance with a patriarchal model, and ensuring the integrity of the economic base by uniting 2 landed families. This marriage contract is translated in Appendix Six. The land which had passed via Jacques Vernis (b.1871) into his marriage to Francoise Carrère (b.1876) eventually passed via the Thérèse Vernis and Paul Estève alliance, into the Estève landstock, with Etienne (b.1902) and Joséphine Vernis (b.1906) remaining unmarried and childless, and thereby passing their claim over to Paul and Thérèse (née Vernis) Estève.

Paul Estève was one of four children resulting from the alliance between Pierre Estève (b.1835) and Bonaventure Durand (b.1840). It was Antoinette, Paul's younger sister who provided the only link to a new generation, and it is for this reason that the landstock was transmitted via her marriage to Joseph Joachim Blanc. The land remained, however, under the control of the two surviving Estève brothers until the 1950's. The father, Pierre Estève had died in 1917, while his daughter, Joséphine died in 1921. There remained thus, three lawful direct claimants to the land, namely; Paul and Etienne Estève and their sister, Antoinette (née Estève) Blanc.

Initially, following the death of Joseph Joachim Blanc in 1911, his wife Antoinette kept direct control over the Blanc (and Carbonell) landstock until her own death in 1934. Neither Joseph Joachim, nor Antoinette had made a final will, which left the option for the children to demand an equal share. The net effect however was that only a small part of the Blanc-Carbonell landstock was separated from the main land mass, as compensation for Joséphine Blanc. This involved a total of 9.7775ha which had originally belonged to the Carbonell family, and which was located just over the border in the Spanish enclave of Llivia. Joséphine thereby became owner of the area of land known as 'Les Escadarch'. This part-compensation allowed for the maintenance of the integrity of the rest of the landstock. Moreover, there is no evidence that any additional cash payment was made by way of full compensation for Joséphine, even though Joséphine had been included in the initial theoretical partition of all the landstock held by the two Estève, designated as follows :

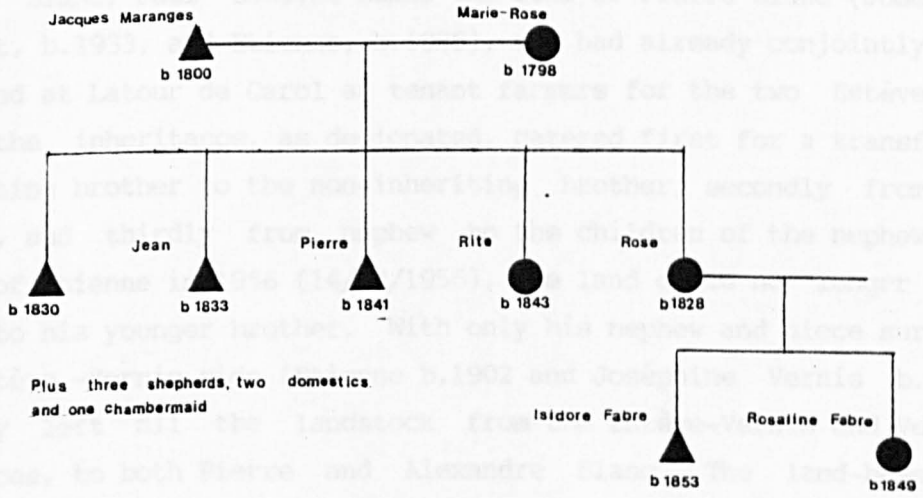
One half to Paul Estève (b.1861). Eldest son & farmer
One quarter to Etienne Estève (b.1865), Second son & farmer
One twelfth to Pierre Blanc (b.1892), Nephew & farmer
One twelfth to Alexandre Blanc (b.1901), Nephew & farmer
One twelfth Joséphine Blanc (b.1895), Niece, married to farmer

From the death of Antoinette Blanc, land concentration began to take a clearer form, emerging from the marriage alliances. Prior to Antoinette Blanc's death, however, the marriage between Alexandre Blanc (b.1901) and Jeanne-Marie Alterrives (b.1906) in 1924, had brought an additional 45.3917ha into the landed interests of the Blanc family. The alliance between Alexandre and Jeanne Marie is interesting in itself, an example of the historical shift from landed/landed-commercial to landed-agricultural interests and representative of the increased importance of landowner farmers.

In the first third of the nineteenth century, the area of land concerned, located in the commune of Nahuja, belonged to a wealthy and influential landowning family, the Delcasso family. The landowner himself, Laurent Delcasso, owned a total of 158ha spread over 3 communes, as well as

being the 'Conseiller Général' for the Canton de Saillagouse. (28) In 1841 the land was bought by Jacques Maranges, an 'ambulant hosier' from Montpellier who had set up a small wool workshop by the 1850's (29). Maranges owned the land, employed a 'live-in' shepherd on the land, owned the production unit (the wool workshop) and the commercial outlet. He operated as 'hosier' within the enterprise, combining all levels of the process within one household.

Maranges Household, Nahuja, 1856



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Jacques Marange's son, Jean, a 'Négociant' at Montpellier inherited the land (30). The land was subsequently sold to Isidore Rouax (b.1885) whose family increased the land area from Delcasso's original 34.1629ha to 45.3917ha by 1931. Anne Rouax, Isidore's sister married Jean Alterrives (b.1877), who bought the land from Isidore Maranges for 20,000 FF in 1934 (31). Although the land did not officially pass to Alexandre until the death of his father-in-law in 1966, the dowry (30,000 FF) with which Alexandre was to compensate Jeanne-Marie Alterrives' sister Marie (b.1909), was paid to Alexandre in 1939 (32). The payment was made direct to Alexandre, since his own father was already dead. At the death of Alexandre's wife in 1974, the money was used to compensate Alexandre's sister-in-law in order that the land would pass intact to Alexandre. The

Blanc family landstock thereby increased by over 45ha as a result of this alliance. This alliance completed the land concentration processes following the transfer of the landstock from the Estève lineage to the Blanc lineage in the late 1950's.

Paul Estève (b.1861), being the eldest son, was designated inheritor of the Estève-Vernis, Vernis-Durand landstock. In his will (dated 18/06/1955) Paul named his nephew Pierre (b.1892) as his inheritor and successor in the event of the prior death of his brother, Etienne Estève (b.1865). Etienne was thus Paul's nominated inheritor with this additional condition. Further, in the event of the death of both his brother and Pierre Blanc, Paul Estève named the sons of Pierre Blanc (Joseph, b.1931, Gilbert, b.1933, and Etienne, b.1935), who had already conjointly taken over the land at Latour de Carol as tenant farmers for the two Estève brothers. Thus, the inheritance, as designated, catered first for a transfer from the inheriting brother to the non-inheriting brother, secondly from uncle to nephew, and thirdly from nephew to the children of the nephew. With the death of Etienne in 1956 (14/04/1956), the land could no longer pass from Paul to his younger brother. With only his nephew and niece surviving from the Estève -Vernis side (Etienne b.1902 and Joséphine Vernis b.1906), Paul finally left all the landstock from the Estève-Vernis and Vernis-Durand alliances, to both Pierre and Alexandre Blanc. The land-based marriage alliances and inheritance strategies described reflect in large part the general demographic and economic factors that have shaped the contours of the land concentration post-war.

Regarding the demographic data, it is important to note the changing importance of the 'célibataire'. At one time indicative of a successful succession, as well as providing a free source of domestic labour, the 'célibataire' as designated inheritor (as opposed to non-inheriting young brother) posed particular problems. The problem related to the succession to the farm and the maintenance of the integrity of the land. In the case of the Blanc family, the lack of a male inheritor, or a childless marriage, affected the form that land concentration took. Both conditions contributed to the land concentration in this case. That is to say, at critical moments in the career of the 5 original families, where there was no male inheritor,

or no children, the land passed over via a female into another lineage, to combine with the other landstock, thereby resulting in land concentration.

As for the social factors, there was a continual and general acceptance of a single inheritor. In the case of the Blanc family and the latter's network, we note that it was not until the installation of Alexandre and Pierre that we find a joint succession. The acceptance of Catalan custom with a single inheritor assisted in the land concentration. Economic considerations were brought to bear with the expansion of a commercialised agriculture. The decline in para-agricultural economic activities and the general decline in the diversified base, from the late nineteenth century onwards, reinforced the importance of agricultural incomes and the importance of the area of productive land. This was particularly pertinent in the case of the Estève, Durand, and Vernis families, having, as they did, commercial and industrial interests in 'La Cerdagne' from the middle to the end of the nineteenth century. However, this in itself is insufficient to explain the sort of data in the Blanc case. The selection of marriage partners, constructed within a framework aimed at socio-economic group endogamy, was based on more than just economic criteria and the need to regroup land as a consequence of economic pressure. There were broader processes in operation, not the least of which was the social construction of a naissant class of 'Notables Agricoles'. In the case of the Blanc family, the last 150 years has seen the Blanc family transformed from a landowning farming family from the agrarian middle class, to the largest landowning family in 'La Cerdagne', operating as landowning farmers and landlords to other farmers.

Looking at the Blanc family first of all as farmers, we may, following the genealogy, identify the 3 current farming households. Firstly, Joseph Sauveur Blanc (b.1931) married to Marcelle Thérèse de Casanova (with 3 children: Pierre (b.1967), Gilles (b.1965), and Georges (b.1971). Secondly, Jean Blanc's household. Jean Blanc (b.1937) is married to Antoinette Delcor, (b.1935) from a landowning family. Jean Blanc has 3 daughters; Anne-Marie (b.1962), Sylvie (b.1966) and Cécile (b.1968). Finally, there is Emmanuel Blanc (b.1966), the nephew of Joseph Blanc. Other members of the family who work outside farming include Gilbert, married to Marie Palau.

Apart from Emmanuel, they have a daughter, Francoise (b.1965). Gilbert left farming to set up as an insurance broker, thereby renouncing any claim to the farm land. In addition, there is Etienne (b.1935), married to Pierrette Sabata (b.1937). They have a son, Paul (b.1967). Etienne has also recinded his claim to the land, operating as a self-employed builder.

Jean Blanc farms a total of 85ha, of which 52ha belong to him, although the land remains in his father's name, as part of an anticipated inheritance, while he "rents" (without payment) the remaining 33ha from his father. In addition, Jean owns a further 44.53ha at Nahuja, which he rents out to another farmer. On the other side of the family, Joseph farms a total of 116ha, of which 42.29ha still belong to his dead father, with the rest belonging to his uncle, Alexandre. Joseph's nephew, Emmanuel farms 115ha, working 78.58ha that belong to his great uncle Alexandre, and the rest which belong to his dead grandfather. A further 39.98ha of land, belonging to the dead grandfather, Pierre Joseph are rented out to a local shepherd. The remaining 8.16ha remain unused, being of poor quality and situated on a steep slope.

Looking at the tenant farmers on the Blanc family's land, we find that the farmer on Jean Blanc's land had contacts with the Blanc family dating back to 1952, with his initial engagement as a "live-in" labourer for Alexandre Blanc. The transition from "live-in" farm worker to tenant farmer was part of the changing land and labour stategies of the Blanc family at Rô following the post war land extension. During the 1950's, the Blanc family increased its landstock. Alexandre Blanc was one of the first farmers to introduce mechanised methods into farming with 2 tractors in 1954 and 1962 and a small combine harvester in 1963.

The effect of this mechanisation of the work processes was to produce labour surplus to requirements on the farm at Rô. At that time, the Blanc household at Rô was composed of Alexandre, his wife, son Jean and the latter's wife and first daughter, as well as the 'live-in' hired worker, Hilario Garcia and his wife. The latter couple were, and have remained, without children, and had arrived from Spain in 1952. Hilario remained at Rô as farm worker with his wife who worked as a domestic until 1968. With

the death of Alexandre's father-in-law in 1966, the land at Nahuja passed to Alexandre and his wife, Jeanne-Marie. This land stood outside the landstock that Alexandre and Pierre conjointly inherited. In these circumstances, Jean, who had succeeded to the farm in 1966, transferred Hilario and his wife to the farm at Nahuja where they work as tenant farmers.

The other area of land rented out by the Blanc family is rented to one of the 10 specialist sheep farmers that remain in 'La Cerdagne'. The 39.98ha were being rented out to Marc Bragulat (aged 59 during fieldwork.) Marc Bragulat, who has remained a 'célibataire', originally started in farming as a shepherd on his 3 brothers' tenanted farm in the hamlet of Bajande in the commune of Estavar. Again, the renting of this area of land (located in the commune of Enveitg) may best be understood in the context of land inheritance during the 1950's and the problem of labour supply. Having inherited all the land from the Estève alliance, this placed excessive demands on the labour supply on Pierre Blanc's farm at Ur. This occurred around 1955-56, a time when labour supply, both hired and familial, was in sharp decline due to the 'exode agricole'. The farm buildings that go with the land were constructed in the mid-nineteenth century by the Estève family and were designed to accommodate a large flock of sheep at a time when sheep farming, connected to the local wool industry, was enjoying some élan. Marc Bragulat took over the farm and land in 1958 and currently maintains one of the larger flocks (some 350).

Currently, none of the children in the Blanc family have opted to remain in farming. Jean's daughters have chosen to follow careers outside agriculture. Indeed, they have moved outside the region altogether to pursue their careers. On the Ur side of the family, the young males have also chosen to leave farming, electing to work for themselves in plumbing and construction. The effect of this in the long-term will be to render the Blanc family non-farming landowners.

Although the Blanc family is an exceptional case, because of the degree of land concentration and their special status as a farming family that rents out land to other farmers, the case illustrates the general processes of land concentration in 'La Cerdagne'. It highlights the

historical and familial context as set against the other social, economic, political and cultural influences, allowing for a more subtle understanding of post-war land concentration. It is to a more detailed examination of tourism and farming that we now turn. In particular, the way in which different responses have been presented by the different groups of farmers and the way in which landownership has facilitated the construction of new inheritance stategies through access to the local tourist economy.

Tourist Economy and Land Inheritance Strategies

Land concentration and rising land prices due to the impact of a local tourist economy impinged on the changing nature of farming families' land inheritance strategies from the 1960's. Only 6 farmers had bought land on the open market, while the majority rented at least some land. Landowning farmers who had acquired some or all of the farm land during the post-war period had done so through inheritance strategies. The land was derived from either the farmer's own parents, or from his wife's parents as noted above. The invocation of the Catalan Law of Succession was underpinned by the dowry system which ensured a single inheritor succeeded to the farm with the land intact. From the inter-war period, various processes of social and economic changes undermined the dowry system and also the 'traditional' system of land transmission. Among the important factors was the impact of inflation and the rise of the tourist economy. In the context of a continuing expansion of a local tourist economy, a new model of transmission has been constructed which incorporates both the essence of the 'Code Civil', which elicited primarily an individualistic ethic, and the 'traditional' inheritance system based on a single successor and the maintenance of the integrity of the farm land.

Inter-war inflation undermined the existing levels of cash compensation for dowry payments and also further emphasised the importance of commercial forms of agriculture as a means to procure a regular income. Following the shift towards commercial forms of agriculture, the dowry system fell into gradual disuse. As the dowry system fell into disuse, so the system of compensation likewise fell into disuse, and in part assisted in the transformation of the "traditional" inheritance system from the 1960's, onwards.

The dowry system did not disappear suddenly, it dissolved gradually after the inter-war period. The effect on social relations within the farming family were however, quickly felt. Thus, although the dowry continued generally to be paid during the 1920's and 1930's, the economic, social and (crucially) symbolic significance of these payments diminished. As a consequence, the power structure upon which the whole inheritance system was based was gradually deconstructed. This was true of both large and small landowning farming families, though it did not affect the non-landowning farmers whose dowry payment was not tied to the value of land owned in the same sense.

The coercive element implicit in the dowry system diminished during the inter-war period. A sum of money which carried decreasing economic value lost its social and symbolic force. It was henceforth more difficult for the 'cap de Casa' (33) to use loss of economic advantage as a means to oblige acceptance of the inheritance system. Simultaneously, the inheriting child lost much of the social status he had known during earlier periods. The idea of 'la casa' in general had been socially undermined by economic difficulties external and internal to the agricultural sector in the region during the inter-war period. This, in turn, led to a rapid change within the authority structure of 'la casa'.

Parents within the landowning farming families exercised less influence in the choice of marital partners for their children. This change occurred to the degree that the authority of parental prerogative was undermined by the decline in the practice of the dowry system. With reduced parental authority in such matters, there was a simultaneous increase in individual choice on the part of both the inheriting and non-inheriting children. This trend was accentuated in the post-war period. Indeed, this trend, together with the urban-industrial expansion and the growth of alternative (non-agricultural) opportunities, helps to explain the decision of many farmer's daughters (and indeed other children) to leave agriculture altogether.

Until the 1960's, the inheritance system continued to operate on the

basis of a single successor, while the dowry payment had become more of a gesture than of any real social or economic importance. From the early 1960's, however, there has been a definite change in the organisation and perception of the inheritance system, with the non-inheriting siblings invoking the 'Code Civil' in order to improve their individual share of the farming family's total patrimony. The basis for this was the effect of the tourist economy on land prices and the concomitant rise in property values in general. It is from the early 1960's that the origins of a new model of inheritance and succession strategies can be discerned. Landowning farming families have subsequently become integrated into the tourist economy, not so much due to finding off-farm employment in tourism but, rather through access to raising capital in the house-building market. This has been accompanied by non-inheriting children leaving the farm and demanding a more equitable share of the global value of the farm and any other assets, such as houses or apartments.

The total value of all assets involves a complex procedure in itself, involving the family council (all the interested parties within the family), together with independent assessors. The latter are usually composed of a farmer from a neighbouring village, and someone from the non-farming community. Typically, the latter would be an estate agent, notary, local 'Maire' or deputy 'Maire'. An estimation of the global assets is arrived at, with payment made directly to the non-succeeding siblings by either the succeeding child or the father if the latter is still living at the time of succession to the farm. Interestingly, the principal aims are still to maintain the integrity of the land, while compensating the non-succeeding siblings. In this respect, this represents a continuity with the former inheritance system. The crucial difference being that this can no longer be effected with sole resort to agricultural incomes. Recourse to the local tourist economy has enabled succession and transmission to be effected while paying attention to the two principal aims noted above.

The payment itself need not be made in cash. Indeed, given the relatively low incomes for most farmers, it is not surprising that fieldwork provided no record of a cash payment for the compensation of current non-succeeding siblings. Compensation is rather organised around the giving

of a gift in the form of non-agricultural property. This takes one of two principal forms. Existing non-agricultural property (a house or an apartment) is donated, to be used as a means to procure an income from renting in the tourist economy or, to be used as a principal dwelling. More typical, a small amount of land is set aside for the construction of an apartment or house. This property would be used either as a principal dwelling to be lived in by the non-succeeding sibling or rented out to tourists.

The advantage of this system to the non-succeeding siblings is that the share they received is more financially advantageous than the token, and by the 1960's rare, dowry payment. In addition, given the relatively small amount of land required for the construction of an apartment or a house, the bulk of the agricultural land remains intact on the farm. In any event, the land that is used is generally land that is least satisfactory for farming, typically areas of rough ground in the vicinity of the farm buildings themselves. There is a direct correlation between the rapid expansion of the tourist economy from the early 1960's, and the invoking of clause 745 and 715 of the 'Code Civil' on the part of the non-succeeding siblings.

It must be pointed out that, only the landowning farming families have been able to operate this system. For pure tenant farmers, the question of succession and inheritance is not viewed against the backdrop of a land market affected by tourism. Compensation is not, therefore measured against the amount of land that non-inheriting, non-succeeding siblings are to be deprived of. The compensation of siblings is still an issue, though this is normally seen in terms of assisting them to find alternative employment and income sources. Moreover, it is among the pure tenant farmers that the problem of ensuring a successor is most problematic. Most of these farmers see their future plans in terms of generating as much income from farming as possible in order to provide "a good education for our children ... so they may avoid this way of life."

> "Listen, I had to do this [farming] .. I left school at fourteen years old ... I had no diplomas you see ... I took this farm because no-one else wanted it ... the land is not good, and I rent it all. I didn't want to be a farmer, but what else could I do? I was born here you see ... I had no diplomas to go anywhere else. My father had been a farmer here too ... when the farmer left for a better farm at Bourg Madame, I took over, in 1964, you see ... no-one else wanted this farm ... I wouldn't want my children to do this ... they live in the town now" (Monsieur Rousé, aged 67).

These sentiments were common among tenant farmers and reflected a distinction between (even small) landowning farmers and tenant farmers. The latter had a more restricted range of strategies in the sense that they could not gain entry into the tourist economy, in order to use land as a means to generate capital or income as a means to facilitate the payment of compensation to non-succeeding siblings.

In the light of the impact of the tourist economy with its impact on building land prices and land prices in general, there was an institutional response with the 'Plan d'Occupation des Sols' (POS) policy (34). The aim of the POS was to separate agricultural land from land for construction, by designating specific areas for building development. However, the POS has not been applied evenly throughout the region, with some communes establishing a POS late compared with other communes. The POS was first established in 'La Cerdagne' in 1980, with the most recent one being set up in 1986.

It is important to note that the POS was introduced, in any event, after the rapid expansion in the house construction in the 1960's and 1970'. As such, the POS has been seen as being introduced too late to intervene between the agricultural and non-agricultural land in any meaningful way. Moreover, and more importantly, even in those communes where a POS has been established, this does not in itself guarantee a clear separation between all agricultural land and land for construction purposes. The reason for this is that the definition of POS boundaries rests with the 'Conseil Municipal' (35) which itself is composed of landowners, farmers and non-farmers alike. The primary concern has often been to maintain the expansion of the tourist activity and therefore expand the use of land for construction purposes, rather than protect agricultural land. The net

effect has been a continued interplay between agricultural and non-agricultural land prices.

In this context, it is interesting to note a difference between local farmers' leaders and (particularly) the smaller farmers in terms of their respective attitudes towards tourism. The farmers' leaders generally take a hostile position regarding local tourism, seeing its impact on local agriculture as deliterious. The response from the president of the meat cooperative, a 'Notable Agricole' - was quite representative in this regard:

> "The tourism is not good for farming here. Land prices have gone up, so who can afford to buy land for farming? Moreover, the tourism divides the farmers' investments and they don't concentrate one hundred per cent on their farming. It isn't good for farming at all."

On the other hand, for many farmers, in the face of declining agricultural incomes, activity within the local tourist economy has provided a crucial extra source of income which in part has assisted many farming families to remain in farming. This is clearly illustrated by the following respondent.

> "If I had not sold some of my land at a critical time some years ago, I would not have stayed in farming ... I had a problem with a debt for two tractors, and I didn't have the money ... I sold land to a building company for building, paid my debt and stayed in farming" (Monsieur Alet, aged 64, Bolquère)

Thus, despite the rise in land prices and the critical position taken by farmers' leaders, other farmers consider tourism in a very different light. The increasing demand for land for construction purposes from the 1950's allowed many farmers to develop strategies based on the sale of, and/or development on, small areas of land. The sale of small plots of land (often less than 0.25ha) for construction purposes became more economically interesting than maintaining these small, and usually poor, areas of farm land for agricultural purposes. Interestingly, the extra capital procured

from the sale or letting of property has been used by many farmers to invest in the farm itself, and thereby, to maintain the family on the farm. The incorporation of a tourist development into on-farm survival strategies was well illustrated by one respondent:

> "Listen .. selling some land -it was in 1961- meant that I could stay in farming. You see ... I only had 13 hectares - which I owned .. I couldn't keep my family [he had three children and his wife, none of whom worked off the farm] with eight or nine cattle that I had then ... so you see, I sold some land [0.5 hectares] to a private property developer who built some flats on the land. I received one of the flats as part payment. I took another half hectare of land and had four small flats built on the land ... I paid for this partly with the money I raised selling the first area of land. You see, I had a flat for my family to come and stay, and four flats to rent to tourists. I bought a tractor and a milk cooling machine on account of the extra income from renting my flats. I took another twenty hectares of rented land when some became available, and increased my herd to twenty five dairy cows. We were better off then. My son works on the farm now, with his wife, and I live in one of my own flats. My son still rents the other four and this helps him with the farm... it gives him a second income" (Monsieur Alézet, aged 71).

The POS has done little to prevent farmers developing their own strategies. Put simply, even where a POS is in operation, areas of agricultural land can still fall within the external boundaries, and can therefore be used or sold for construction purposes. In this way, landowning farmers have more flexibility to effect strategies than pure tenant farmers. All 21 farms with a definite successor were farms operated by farmers who owned at least some of their land, giving them flexibility in terms of access to the tourist economy and extra income.

Agriculture and Tourism. The Case of Farmers at Ste Léocadie and Monsieur Marty.

The shift in the inheritance strategies from the former 'traditional', pre-1960's model, to the present model which incorporates the local tourist economy has been described. There is now a tendency for siblings to demand a more equitable share of the total patrimony. This case study shows the extent to which this has influenced attitudes by farmers towards tourism, and in particular the extent to which the apparent conflict between tourism and agriculture depends crucially on the "definition of the situation". What appears as a conflict between the two economic sectors to one farmer, is an opening for a strategy to assist another farmer to remain in farming. The case study also illustrates the continuing influence of some of the old landowning 'Grandes Familles de Notables Ruraux', beyond its decline during the earlier post-war period. The case study is located in the village of Ste Léocadie.

The village of Ste Léocadie has been typified by the presence of large landowners with considerable political influence in the village and beyond, throughout 'La Cerdagne'. Between the late seventeenth century and the early nineteenth century, the larger landholdings were predominant, as shown.

Distribution of Land Holdings, 1694-1830

Year (a)	Very Small (10 Jornals)	Small (10-28 Jornals)	Medium (28-56 Jornals)	Large (56 Jornals)
1694	42.2	7.6	23.1	26.9
1775	43.4	0.0	13.0	43.3
1830	19.0	12.9	6.5	35.5

KEY: A = A measure of land; being 0.35565 hectares

Sahlins 1986: 549; AD1016 W 415

Between 1830 and 1986, the number of landowners increased. The number doubled between 1914 and 1986. The main reason for the increase in the number of small plots relates both to the increasing use of owner-constructed houses on the owner's land as a means to compensate the non-inheriting siblings as well as to the tendency to divide land owned to avoid written contracts for tenanted land. The construction of houses for compensation payments has been possible because all farming families own at least some of the land in the village and have used this as part of a strategy to resolve the question of compensation. Despite the increase in the number of smaller plots, the importance of large landholdings remains apparent:

Distribution of Landholdings, 1830-1986

Size of Holding (in hectares)	1830	1914	1986
2	10	7	40
2-5	3	9	11
5-10	4	6	4
10-20	2	2	1
20-50	8	4	4
50-100	3	3	3
100-200	0	1	1
TOTAL	30	32	64

AD 1016 W 415 and 381, and Cadastral, Survey for Ste Léocadie

This land structure has been underpinned by a small number of large landowning families. In 1830, for example, the 9 largest landowning families (farming and non-farming) owned a total of 477.74ha out of a total of 887.8320ha, of which a further 286.9704ha belonged to the commune itself. In the nineteenth century some of these landowning families extended their landed interests beyond the village. The Aris family, for example, owned a total of 147.4370ha in the communes of Ste Léocadie, Err and Eyne. They also owned the flourmill at Err. The Delcasso family owned a total of 157,7229ha in the communes of La Cabanasse, Ste Léocadie, and Nahuja and the de Monteilla family owned 200.0157ha in the communes of Ste Léocadie,

Caldégas, Err and Saillagouse (36). Today, the main landowners include Monsieur Gabriel de Monteilla with over 150ha in the communes of Ste Léocadie, Saillagouse and Err, Jean-Marie Aris and his sister with over 86ha at Ste Léocadie and Err,and 4 other families in the village who own 85.26ha 57.65ha, 78ha and 52ha. The farms themselves are also very large, averaging 74.55ha, as compared with the average size over 'La Cerdagne' of 40.27ha. Much of the land farmed by farmers at Ste Léocadie abutts onto land in the adjacent communes.

The land at Ste Léocadie is of a high quality, and, being at the heart of 'La Plaine', is flat. As a consequence, the land lent itself economically and technically to the spread of mechanisation in the 1950's. Protected from the harsher climate by the surrounding mountains, this was one of the best locations for the large landowners of the nineteenth century, who came from the industrial and commercial classes around Barcelona and who sought access to local commercial agriculture. Indicative of the presence of these large landowners is the existence of a 'maison de maître' at each of the 11 farmsites.

The conflict of interests between the farmers from Ste Léocadie (who tried to develop their interests in the tourist development), and a farmer from outside the village (who tried to expand his farming interests into Ste Léocadie itself), revolved around the sale of land and buildings of the farm known as 'Cal Mateu'. The farm and its land was subject to a sale in 1981. The landowners (the Bertrand-Riu family) had originally been one of the wealthy families of industrialists and commercants who arrived during the latter half of the nineteenth century from Barcelona. The total area of 47ha together with the farm buildings were sold to SAFER. This sale was accompanied by an agreement that the sitting tenant (Jacques Bragulat), who later bought 10ha of the original 47ha, could remain on the farm until his retirement in 1988.

At the time of the announced sale of land, a farmer from a neighbouring village, Monsieur Marty from Bourg Madame, declared his interest in buying the land as part of a strategy to install his 3 sons. Despite possessing all the requisites, having already obtained a DIJA for

one of his sons, as well as having already obtained a development plan for his existing 150ha farm (of which 50 hectares were owned by himself), Monsieur Marty failed in his bid to buy the land. SAFER exercised its right of preemption on the land market, and bought the 47ha, with Jacques Bragulat later buying the 10ha for his retirement. Ostensibly, the reason why Monsieur Marty failed to obtain the remaining 37ha from SAFER at a later date was that the local farmers in the village were given priority to use the land for their own agricultural purposes. The real explanation, however lies elsewhere, in the role of local political leaders, and the non-agricultural interests of the farmers, as members of the 'Conseil Municipal' at Ste Léocadie.

As members of the 'Conseil Municipal', the farmers defined and drew-up the boundaries of the POS in such a way as to allow for the development of a tourist centre across the land that had been bought by the SAFER and which was later resold to the farmers from Ste Léocadie. The POS was to allow for the construction of a "village within a village", a tourist centre within an agricultural village. The principal local beneficiaries of this development were the farmers from Ste Léocadie. It is this that lies behind Monsieur Marty's failure to obtain the land from SAFER. Let us look more closely at the background to the village and the case history, in particular the role of the 'Maire', himself from the 'Grandes Familles' of landowners, whose actions were crucial to the unfolding events.

Historically, the large landowners from Ste Léocadie have occupied important political positions within 'La Cerdagne' and exercised an influence in departmental and national political circles. Michel Aris, father of the current 'Maire' was 'Conseiller Général' for the canton of Saillagouse and held the office of 'Maire' in the village of Ste Léocadie during the 1960's. The present 'Maire', as an important local landowner, used his own and his family's historical political capital to secure financial backing for the tourist centre. Another major local landowner, Gabriel de Monteilla, whose family provided the holders of the offices of 'Maires' and 'Curé' at various times during the last 150 years, was also instrumental in establishing the tourist centre in Ste Léocadie.

The decision to press for a tourist development was based on arguments put forward by the 'Maire', Jean-Marie Aris, to elicit support from the rest of the farmers on the 'Conseil Municipal'. Firstly, Aris argued that, given the rapid overall decline of agriculture in recent years and the growth of tourism since the 1960's,more attention should be paid to the future role of tourism in the local village economy. Secondly, farmers in Ste Léocadie, he argued, would stand to gain something from a tourist development through the construction of apartments to let, given that all the farmers owned some land in the village. These arguments received support from the largest single landowner (and farmer) in the village, Gabriel de Monteilla, whose wife was, and still is, the representative for tourist development at the departmental level of the Ministry of Agriculture. The 'Maire' had pressed for some time for funds from the tourist development budget to be invested in a village level tourist development programme. The possibility of land being made available through the sale of 'Cal Mateu' was read by the 'Maire' as the ideal opportunity to push his case with the support of the de Monteilla family and other farmers in Ste Léocadie.

The sale of 'Cal Mateu' was designed to ensure that Jacques Bragulat held his tenure until his retirement in 1988. SAFER bought the land when it came onto the market, using its right of preemption. In the event, the land was not put back into agricultural use following resale by SAFER, as should normally have been the case. The land was directed, with the exception of Jacques Bragulat's share, to the construction of the tourist centre. In addition, the farm buildings at 'Cal Mateu' have been designated for a local agricultural museum, with funding being provided by the EC 30%, the State 30%, the region 10%, the department 10%, and the remainder being found by the village itself.

The project for the tourist centre focussed on one of the three hamlets, the 'Hameau de Llous', that make up Ste Léocadie. This hamlet is to house the development of a commercial centre with shops, a bank and offices as well as a block of seasonal and residential apartments. The scale of the operation is impressive when it is considered that a total of 800 apartments is to be added to the 11 apartments that constituted the total tourist "lets" in the village at the time of fieldwork. A POS was set

up on the 5/8/1982 to define the areas of the commune that would be available for building permission and development. The boundaries were defined by the 'Conseil Municipal' which was composed of the local farmers and the 'Maire'. The land at 'Cal Mateu' had been sold to the local farmers, ostensibly for agricultural purposes. This sale had taken place prior to the POS. Following the POS, the land which had been initially bought by SAFER from the Bertrand-Riu family fell within the land area designated for potential construction purposes.

The full implications of the plan to promote a tourist development in the village became clear when private developers bought the land, with a clause in the agreement guaranteeing each farmer a fully equipped apartment as part of the sale agreement. This clause had been part of discussions within the 'Conseil Municipal' as a means to gain the support of all the local farmers for the project. While it is not possible to know whether or not a profit was made by the farmers in the land transactions, it is clear that the farmers benefitted in as much as the value of the apartment is greater than the share of land qua agricultural land. More importantly, the farmers consider the income from the let, or the possibility of using the apartment as a means of compensating siblings, of more value than using the land as additional agricultural land.

This case shows that the argument of the farmers' leaders, that tourism and agriculture are opposed and in conflict, depends very much on the definition of the situation. For Monsieur Marty, there was, in the end, a conflict between the tourist development of Ste Léocadie and his own agricultural interests. For the farmers at Ste Léocadie, there was no such conflict. The tourist development is seen as offering economic possibilities at the level of the village and at the level of the individual farm. Those who maintain their apartment for letting, will be able, as a result, to diversify their global investment and income patterns.

Central to the decision to use the 37ha for the tourist development was the influence of the local 'Maire', Jean-Marie Aris. The 'Maire' obtained the support of the different levels of government for intervention. He did this by drawing upon the established influence of his family. By

drawing upon his own network of influential contacts, including the de Monteilla family, Aris ensured the passage of his plan. As local 'Maire', Aris had had direct access to the present 'Conseiller Général', the 'Direction Départementale de l'Equipement' (DDE), the DDA, and the 'Mutualité Sociale Agricole' (MSA) (37). It was through these politico-administrative channels that Jean-Marie Aris succeeded in gaining the crucial external support for this plan, which he then used to obtain the internal support of his colleagues on the 'Conseil Municipal'.

In summation, the traditional forms of inheritance which persisted into the inter-war period and beyond, were contrary to the 1804 'Code Civil', reflecting rather the local Catalan custom regarding succession and inheritance. The forms and strategies behind the practice were designed to continue the lineage (where possible) and to maintain the integrity of the farm land of 'La Casa'. These forms continued despite the Napoleonic legislation imposed by the French State. On these traditional forms depended the survival of the individual farming households as well as the economic survival of 'La Cerdagne' which lived largely from its agricultural production throughout the nineteenth century and up to the inter-war period. The family relations within and between landowning farming families were organised around the most important factor - the inheritance of land - in the socio-economic survival of the farm and the farming family. This involved a whole series of social relations and processes the repetition of which gave the appearance of structure and permanence.

The demise of these social relations can be traced, in economic terms, to the impact of inter-war inflation and the generally deliterious effect this had on the dowry payment system. The decline in off-farm and para-agricultural activities compounded the effects of inflation, in that alternative and complementary sources of income were fewer. With the increased employment opportunities in towns and cities, there was more incentive for the younger non-inheriting son to seek employment outside 'La Cerdagne', rather than remain as 'live-in' labourer for his inheriting brother. This posed problems for the inheriting son in terms of ensuring a labour supply. The reduced importance of the dowry within the social relations of 'La Casa' contributed to a deconstruction of the power and authority structures internal to 'La Casa'.

The full demise of the traditional form of inheritance and marriage strategies only became fully evident in the post-war period, with increasing numbers of daughters of farming families seeking employment not only outside agriculture, but outside 'La Cerdagne'. With the development of a tourist economy, fieldwork data shows an important economic process had led to the transformation of traditional inheritance strategies. Rising land prices throughout the 1950's and 1960's resulted in land assuming a more central position in farming families' inheritance strategies. The accumulated effect of these changes was that non-inheriting siblings voluntarily invoked the 'Code Civil'. As such, since the early 1960's, fieldwork data shows a reversal of the previous practice which was designed, and with the complicit support of the non-inheriting siblings, to circumvent the implications of the 'Code Civil'. Regarding land concentration, there are two points to be made. Firstly land extension on tenanted farms was mainly due to the agricultural exodus from the 1950's. Secondly, land extension on landowner farms resulted from inheritance strategies and marriage alliances. Land purchase for farm land extension has been all but non-existent. The purchase or sale of land has been primarily used as a means of gaining entry into the tourist economy. The tourist economy has been incorporated into landowning farmers' inheritance strategies, used as a means to provide supplementary capital or income and in the construction of new forms of inheritance strategies. The use of the tourist economy, and particularly with regard to renting to tourists, is compatible both with farm work and on-farm labour supply. This directs our attention towards the relationship between farming family household, labour and work, the focus of the next chapter.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER FIVE

1) It was, as I argued in Chapter Four, precisely from the medium and small farmers that the post-war agricultural leaders of the early to late 1950's sought their popular support for the cooperatives.
2) Following oral accounts of farmers in 'La Cerdagne'.
3) ADMnc 815.
4) RGA 1970 & 1979/80.
5) In 1984 for the whole of France, 30% of agricultural land belonged to the farmer himself, with a further 37% belonging to the farmer's family. Only 33% of the agricultural land therefore was rented from outside the farming family. ('Revue de Droit Rural' No 122, 1984).
6) In accordance with Article L415-3, of the Code Rural.
7) Following Article 1603 of the Code Rural.
8) This is the social security and pension/health system of payment.
9) In line with the Ordonnance 57-79, 7th January 1959.
10) SAFER archives.
11) Op Cit
12) Dated, 31/12/1970 and 15/5/1975.
13) 'L'Areu' is the Catalan term given to the male inheritor.
14) Translated this means, 'partition', and refers to the share-out of land between the siblings.
15) This usually involved another farmer from the locality and (often) the local notary.
16) I am indebted to the local notaire, Maître Pansaillé for his help in dealing with the legal context.
17) Translated, 'célibataire' means, unmarried. The 'fils célibataire' refers to the tendency for the younger brother of the inheriting son to remain unmarried as the 'live-in' labourer for his inheriting brother.
18) 'La Casa' may be translated as the household. However, it tended to include - in addition to the members of the household - the material basis to the maintenance of the farming household. Thus, the term may be understood to have included the farm, and the land. Indeed, at one time, the farm (buildings and land) carried the name of the household, such that, for example, we talk of 'A Cal Mateu' (see Chapter Seven, case study of the land sale at Ste Léocadie) when referring to the place - the farm itself. The farm originally belonged to the Mateu family, and although this family owned the farm and land some two hundred years ago, the local inhabitants still refer to the farm (and the land) as 'A Cal Mateu' (chez, la famille Mateu, or the Mateu family's demeure).
19) ADMnc 2480/2; ADMnc 3171; ADMnc 3807/8
20) BIMA No 1110 1985, pp5-8. And E. L. Naylor (1982) "Retirement Policy in French Agriculture", 'Journal Of Agricultural Economics' Vol 33, No 1 : 25-36.
21) Witnessed by Maître Delcasso, notary at Bourg Madame, dated 30/01/1867.
22) The existence of chocolate makers in 'La Cerdagne' is indicative of the presence of a relatively affluent bourgeoisie; the consumption of chocolate was not a 'goût paysan'.
23) This was the clause that designated the preferential share of the inheritance to the single inheritor.
24) As witnessed by Maître Merlat, notary, 17/11/1894.

25) In a letter, dated 11/04/1899, from Pierre Blanc, acknowledging receipt of these sums of money.
26) This is the land register. The declaration was recorded, 10/03/1938.
27) As witnessed by Maître Delcasso, notary at Bourg Madame, 7/01/1871.
28) AM1016 W 249/ 415/ 56.
29) ADMnc 13 S 1&2 Letters from Le Services Des Douanes to the Préfet.
30) AD1016 W 249.
31) I am indebted to Alexandre Blanc for this information.
32) Letter from Alexandre Blanc, recognising receipt of this sum that he was held responsible for in an 'Acte de Reconnaissance de Mandat', as witnessed by Maître Sauveur Roses, notary at Bourg Madame, 21/06/1939.
33) The 'Cap de Casa' may be translated as the head of the household.
34) The POS was the policy response to protect agricultural land from the influence of non-agricultural land prices.
35) The 'Conseil Municipal' may be translated as the town council. In the case of 'La Cerdagne', it refers to the respresentatives as elected at the level of the local commune. The elected body is responsible - under the direction of the Maire - for affairs within the commune.
36) ADMnc 1016 W 415/ 56/ 249/ 64/ 140/ 384.
37) The 'Mutualité Sociale Agricole' is the agricultural organisation responsible for the collection for, organisation and payment of, pension and insurance for the agricultural population.

CHAPTER SIX

Work and the Farming Family

The intensification of commercialisation and the productive process, together with the concentration of agricultural land used in 'La Cerdagne', have been accompanied by changes in the organisation of farm labour. This involved both on-farm family labour and inter-farming family labour supplies, as there has been a reduction in the use of hired wage labour. These changes have taken place against the background of the introduction of on-farm mechanisation since the inter-war years, particularly since the 1950's. During the last 25 years labour (as variable capital) has been increasingly replaced by machinery (as a fixed form of capital). Despite these changes, however, some fundamental aspects of labour strategies have remained in place. In particular, there is a continuing need for extra off-farm labour at particular times in the agricultural calendar and continuing reliance on unpaid forms of family labour. Both of these remain central to current labour strategies as constructed and operated by farming families in 'La Cerdagne'.

Much of the data presented in this chapter is based on a fieldwork survey of the general profile of farming and family farms in 'La Cerdagne'. A questionnaire was used to gather basic data on the household composition and the structure of farms. Formal and informal interviews were used to gather further information, all of which was cross-checked with key informants.

A farming family has, in the post-war period, remained the basic source of labour in the agricultural production process. However, from as early as the nineteenth century and particularly during the post-war period, alternative life strategies for individual members of the farming family have become important. With the extension of formal education and the expansion of non-agricultural employment sectors outside 'La Cerdagne', the decision to stay on the farm was measured against the benefits of off-farm economic activities by the different family members. This includes the designated inheritor and successor. During the post-war period, this has

been reinforced by an emphasis on "achieved status" through education and training, as opposed to the former landownership-based model of "ascribed status".

The main aim of this chapter is to examine the social composition of the farming family household and the activity of its members, within an examination of farming labour strategies. It is important to make a methodological point germane to the discussion of labour strategies. First, there is an absence of non-aggregated census data for 'La Cerdagne' during the post-war period. This imposes limits on any analysis of the post-war farming family household. Second, there are no official records of the migrant seasonal Spanish labour that was used extensively up to the 1950's. The farm logbook of 4 farms combined with oral history accounts provided the data used here for assessing the historical importance of Spanish migrant labour. The quantitative and qualitative changes in the organisation of work and labour are examined in the context of the farming family in 'La Cerdagne'. Thus, while one may talk of the quantitative decline in the use of hired labour, and particularly that of the 'salarié logé' (1) this can also be seen in terms of a qualitative change, with a shift from labour strategies based on hired labour to labour strategies organised around family labour. Other important qualitative changes during the last 25 years in the organisation of work relate to the changing definitions of, and the drawing of boundaries between men's work and that of women. This has taken place within a clear patriarchal definition of the situation.

The Contemporary Farming Family Household: Its Historical Context

At the time of fieldwork, there were 129 farming family households living on 120 separate farms. In the case of 5 farms, 2 separate households lived on a single farm which operated as a GAEC. Of the GAEC's, 4 were between father and son (2), with the 1 remaining operated by the Serra brothers. In addition, 4 further farms were each also organised around two distinct households. In all 9 cases, the two units of consumption, the farming family households, were organised around one unit of production, the farm. The 4 GAEC's run by fathers and sons had been created to facilitate the retention of equal control over the running of the farm by the father in

advance of the son assuming full control of the farm. The reason why 3 of the 4 other farms that operated with 2 farming families had not been developed into a GAEC was due to uncertainty as to whether the son would remain in farming. The remaining farm, between an uncle and his nephew was not developed into a GAEC, due to the imminent retirement of the uncle.

The total farming population on-farm during the time of fieldwork was 456, an average of 3.53 persons per household. However, of this total, 90 were either children or other kin who were only present during their summer holidays to assist with the hay and cereal harvests. The permanent on-farm population was therefore 366, an average household size of about 2.84 persons. The incidence of single person households was relatively high, due to the large number of 'célibataire'. In all, there were 28 (21.7%) single person households. All farmers living alone were over 50 years of age, while most households had 2 or 3 persons resident all year. In 8 out of the 55 households that had 2 or 3 persons, the household was composed of the farmer (as 'célibataire') and his parents. In 6 of these cases, the farmer was over 50 years of age, while the other 2 were 30 and 41 years old respectively. Of the remaining 93 farmers, 80 were married, 10 widowed and 3 either divorced or separated.

The table below, shows that there has been a steep decline in the incidence of the large farming households and a relatively sharp increase in the proportion of the smaller households between 1856 and 1985.

Farming Household By Size Category, 1856-1985

	1856		1921		1936		1985	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Size of Farming Household:								
< 2 persons	25	2.60	80	8.23	36	5.09	28	21.70
2-3 persons	244	25.40	360	37.03	270	38.24	55	42.63
4-6 persons	437	45.60	448	46.09	341	48.30	39	30.23
7-9 persons	195	20.30	80	8.23	55	7.79	7	5.42
10+ persons	57	5.90	4	0.41	4	0.56	0	0.00
Total	958	100.00	972	100.00	706	100.00	129	100.00
Average Size Of Farming Family Household :	5.11		3.78		4.10		3.53	

ADMnc 2480/2; ADMnc 3171; ADMnc 3808/9; Fieldwork

The decline in the large households is linked to the reduction in the reliance on 'live-in' hired labour (valets, domestics, farm workers and servants). In terms of the social composition of the farming households, the 'live-in' 'salarié' had by 1985 virtually disappeared, being present on only 4 farms, and representing a total of only 5 farm workers :

Social Composition of Farming Family Household 1856-1985

	1856				1921			
	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
E								
< 2	0.00	0.00	0.00	0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0
2-3	0.05	0.70	0.40	0	0.04	0.60	0.20	4
4-6	0.10	2.34	0.70	52	0.18	2.10	0.64	109
7-9	0.47	4.20	0.50	44	0.52	4.10	1.20	28
10+	2.05	3.85	1.90	28	2.50	5.50	0.25	1
TOTAL				124				142

E	1936 A	B	C	D	1985 A	B	C	D
2	0.00	0.00	0.00	0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0
2-3	0.04	0.54	0.20	1	0.00	0.63	0.34	0
4-6	0.15	1.91	0.90	102	0.10	2.02	1.66	0
7-9	0.52	4.12	1.20	25	0.14	2.71	3.57	4
10+	2.75	5.00	1.50	0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0
TOTAL				128				4

KEY : A = Average Number of Salaries Per Household
B = Average Number of Children Per Household
C = Average Number of Other Relatives Per Household
D = Number of Three Generational Households
E = Number of Persons Per Household (Household Size) (3)

ADMnc 2480/2; ADMnc 3171; ADMnc 3808/9; Fieldwork

In addition, the three generational household, formerly central both to land inheritance and labour strategies, has all but disappeared.

The mainstay of household labour for most farming families currently derives from the family and kin network. The historical importance of resident "other kin" to the farming household can be seen in the table.

Resident 'Other Kin' in Farming Household, 1856-1985

	1856	1921	1936	1985
Proportion of Households With 'Other Kin' :	64.72%	45.67%	62.03%	48.88%

ADMnc 2480/2; ADMnc 3171; ADMnc 3808/9; Fieldwork

One major difference between the period up to and including, 1936 and the contemporary period, is the reduction in the range of kin included in the broad category "other kin". In the earlier period, this category included the farmer's siblings, brother and sister-in-laws, cousins, nephews and nieces, aunts and uncles, parents and parents-in-law. Today it is limited to the farmer's siblings, parents, cousins and nephews. This is significant

data, indicative of the general decline of the locally-based extensive kin networks from which farming families might draw their on-farm labour requirements. Farmers formerly had wide and complex kin networks within the village and neighbouring villages. Today, the category, "other kin" tends to reflect a residential pattern that extends beyond 'La Cerdagne', as a result of the dispersal of kin that was particularly marked in the post-war period.

Regarding the permanently resident on-farm "other kin", 39 were parents of the farmer and living on the farm all year round, with 16 of them living as a marital couple with their 'fils célibataire'. The remaining 23 (10 as widower, 13 as widow) lived with their son (the farmer) and daughter-in-law: 35 out of the 54 brothers and sisters also lived on the farm all year round, with the other 21 only present for the harvest. In addition, 77 out of the 133 children lived on the farm all year round. Regarding the temporary members of the household, there were in addition, 16 cousins, nephews and nieces, with only 3 of these being resident all year round. The other 56 temporary members of the household were children of the farmer. Of these 36 were school borders or University students, returning from their studies to help with the harvests during the summer vacation. The 90 temporary members of the farming family household were considered as essential labour for the farm, particularly on the less mechanised farms. The temporary labour input of the "other kin" was not locally based. Out of the 90, 43 (18 siblings, 10 cousins and 15 children of the farmer) lived outside 'La Cerdagne' but within the department, while the rest of the children of the farmer normally resided outside the department.

Other Kin In the Farming Family Household, 1985

Of Which :		Farmer	Spouse	Farmer's Parents	Farmer's Siblings	Farmer's Cousins Nephews/ Nieces	Farmer's Children	Salarié
Total Population	456	129	80	39	54	16	133	5
Permanent Population	366	129	80	39	33	3	77	5
Temporary Population	90	0	0	0	21	13	56	0

Fieldwork

Work and Labour on The Farm

The labour relations between the farmer and 'other kin' are not wage-based. This source of labour is considered as part of a general family "self-help" strategy; as part of a wider range of reciprocal arrangements. A son of a farmer, helping his father during the summer vacation explained :

> "I know I could find paid holiday work on the coast, but my parents help me with my studies, and I know they cannot afford a paid worker ... We only had a small farm for a long time and my parents couldn't save anything when we were young. We have my grandparents' [on my mother's side] farm as well now, but my parents have to save for their old age you see" (Son of Monsieur Cômes, farmer, aged 54).

From the farmer's point of view, this family based labour resource represents a cost only in terms of food provisions. There is a clear economic advantage for the farmer. The economic advantage for those kin who provide such labour is marginal, they are fed and given accommodation during the work season. Moreover they may forgo a potentially greater economic gain from alternative work, as in the case of the farmer's son above.

The major workload is concentrated in the summer months, with work on the harvests continuous throughout the harvest period. On many farms this can last up to 3 weeks from the clearing of the old hay and straw stocks in the stables, through to the harvests proper and the restocking of the hay and straw in the stables. The clearing out of any remaining stocks is essential since the hay and straw has to be cycled, using any residual supplies first. As noted in the case of the Serra brothers, the farm buildings were by and large not constructed for stocking large supplies of hay and straw. As such, there is a mismatch between the original and the current demands placed on the farm buildings. Where the covered space was sufficient for the sheep flocks, this is not the case today, where large cattle herds require large quantities of hay and straw. This poses work-related organisational problems throughout the year, with access to the hay and straw being problematic on most farms in 'La Cerdagne'. This is not the case, however for the 13 farmers who have a milking and livestock shed. On these farms, silage and powdered milk are used, and the storage of silage is external to the animals' covered area, while milk powder takes less room than the hay supplies in the older farm buildings.

Only the large 'Mas' are exceptions in terms of the old farm buildings. Even in the nineteenth century, the farm buildings on the large 'Mas' were designed to house large numbers of animals (including cattle) and were designed to store large supplies of hay and straw. As such, the farm buildings on the large 'Mas' allowed for a more rational use of labour than was the case on the majority of farms. However, even on these 'Mas', there are different organisational problems today. Originally, the farm buildings were designed for, and operated by, large teams of hired workers. In the absence of large teams of hired workers, the work itself is intensively concentrated in, and effected by, a small team principally made up by members of the family.

The design of the old farm buildings and the small labour force combine to produce long and physical, demanding working days during the harvests. On most farms, the working day starts at 0630 hours and ends around 2000 hours with a break of an hour at midday and half hour break in the morning and afternoon. On the 13 farms with a milking and livestock

shed, storage and labour problems are resolved in a more satisfactory manner, in that the livestock and milking sheds effectively eliminate the high labour-per-person input required. Moreover, the production of silage has largely replaced the dependence on storing large supplies of hay. For farmers working with the old farm buildings, the organisational problem of labour strategies is most acute during the summer harvests when labour requirements reach their peak.

Hired labour was limited to only 17 farms during fieldwork, with permanent 'live-in' hired labour restricted to 4 farms. (The household of these farms is shown in Appendix Eight). In addition to the 5 'live-in' hired workers, there were 14 hired, seasonal farm workers. These were temporary migrants from Portugal. Of these 1 worked on 1 of the farms with permanent 'live-in' labour, while the rest were distributed among 13 other farms. Although the level of 'live-in' hired labour was still fairly widespread in 'La Cerdagne' during the inter-war period, it has since declined as a source of domestic based labour:

'Live-in' Hired Labour, 1856-1985

Year	No Of Households With Live-In Hired Workers	% Of All Households With Live-In Hired Workers	Total No. Of Live-In Hired Workers
1856	123	12.8	267
1921	85	8.7	184
1936	68	9.6	100
1985	4	3.1	5

ADMnc 2480/2; ADMnc 3171; ADMnc 3808/9; Fieldwork

The decrease in the level of 'live-in' hired labour reflects a general decrease in hired labour within the agricultural sector. In 1856, a total of 2885 persons (37.22%) out of a total agricultural population of 7751 were classified as living in an agricultural labourer's household (4). This proportion decreased to 15.74% by 1936. The trend continued during the post-war period, with the number of permanent farm workers decreasing from 118 in 1955 to 58 in 1970, then 42 by 1979/80, and only 5 during fieldwork.

Moreover, during fieldwork, there were no farm worker's households. The 5 permanent farm workers "live-in" with the farming family, while the 14 migrant temporary farm workers are lodged in a spare farm building, returning to Portugal after the season. In addition, some farmers on the smaller and unmechanised farms provide labour for their larger neighbours. This is discussed below in the case of Monsieur Fabre. The proportional decline in the use of hired agricultural labour can be seen in the table.

Hired Labour as a Proportion of Total Agricultural Population, 1856-1936

	1856	1921	1936
Total Population :	10,479	7,183	8,025
Total Agricultural Population :	7,751	4,091	3,462
Farming Household :	4,896	3,764	2,901
Farm Labourer Household :	2,885	417	561
Farm Labourers Household as % of Agricultural Population :	37.22	10.19	15.74

ADMnc 2480/2; ADMnc 3171; ADMnc 3808/9; Fieldwork

With regard to the use of labour strategies, we can make a crude, but valid, distinction between the labour strategies on small and large farms. On the large farms, the household was typically composed of the following :

Household Composition of a Large Farm

AREU & WIFE OR PUBILLA & PUBILL

PLUS NON-INHERITING BROTHER

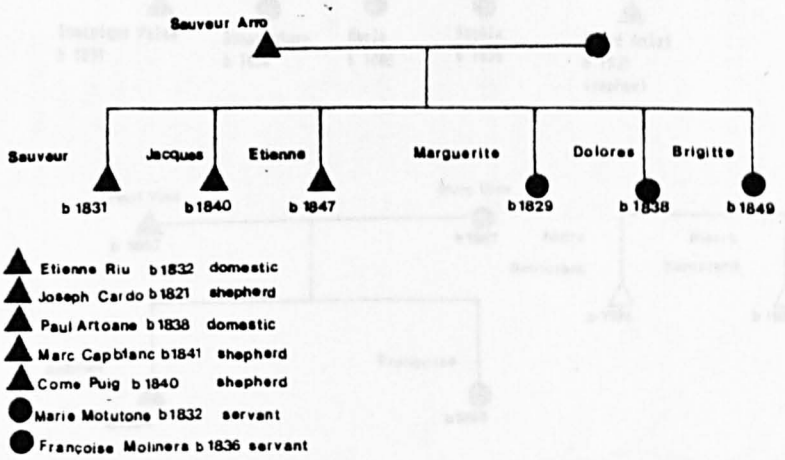
CHILDREN

AND

MOSSOS (MALE SERVANT/FARM WORKER)
MINYONES (FEMALE SERVANTS) (5)

A good example of this is the Arro household as shown below :

Arro Household, Ste Léocadie, 1856

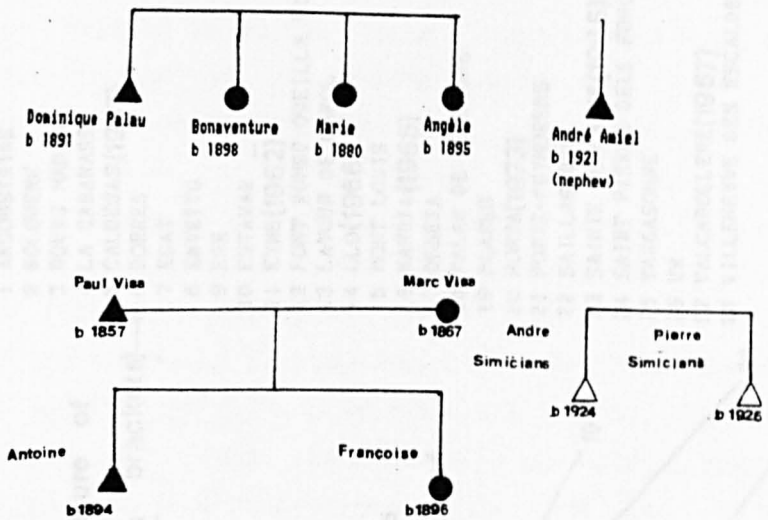


ADMnc 2480

Although 'live-in' labour may be a response to demographic factors relating to the family life cycle, there has been a general historical tendency for the larger farms to depend on a permanent 'live-in' labour supply. In 1856 for example, a total of 138 'live-in' farm workers, domestics and valets were included in the 37 farming households which, operating on the larger farms, employed more than 2 'live-in' employees each. Of the 138, 78 were concentrated on the 15 largest farms in the communes of Osséja, Latour de Carol, Enveitg, Nahuja, Ste Léocadie, Targasonne, and Saillagouse. Moreover, 26 of these workers worked and lived on 5 of the larger farms at Ste Léocadie alone. By 1921, 48 such workers were concentrated on the 13 farms with more than 2 'live-in' employees, while by 1936 there were 27 'live-in' employees on 7 such farms.

On the smaller farms, a range of different categories of kin were included in the household in an attempt to devise labour strategies. An example of this is given below :

Use of Other Kin as Resident Labour Supply



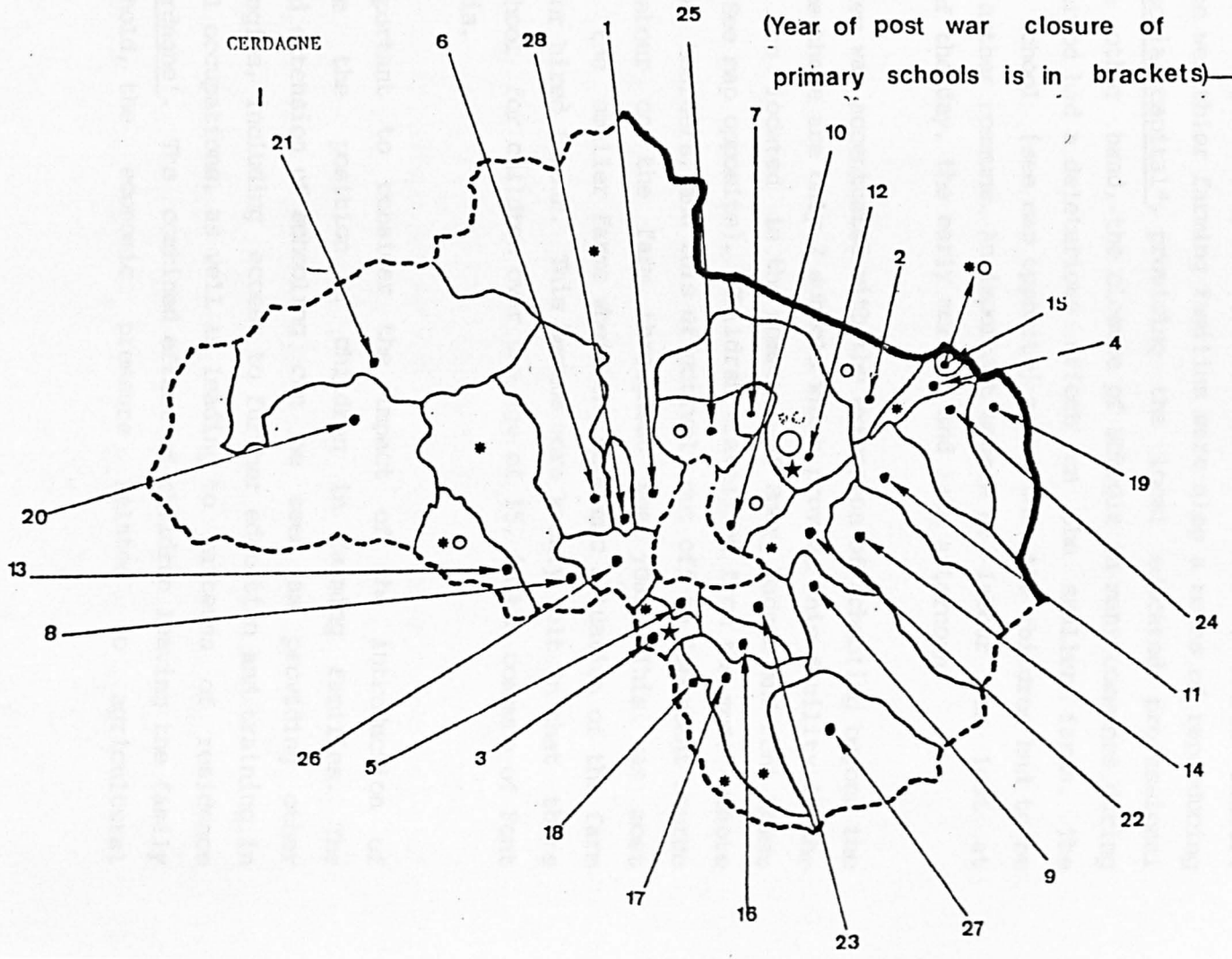
ADMnc 3808: Targasonne and Enveitg

The use of kin in labour strategies can be seen as a means to avoid cash-based systems of labour strategies, while ensuring a sufficient labour supply on the farm. This has historically been a device used on the smaller farms.

Alongside the use of hired labour and kin, the stem family ('famille souche') has also been central to labour strategies. Leaving aside the ideological and moralistic content of Le Play's writings on the 3 generational family (6), as well as the important question of domestic power relations, there were significant practical purposes concerning labour strategies behind this household structure. Notably, the presence of 2 adult couples in the same household was of practical importance during the infancy of the third generation, when the young children were not old enough to work on the farm. It was at particular moments in the family life cycle that the importance of the stem family appeared most clearly. Since the inter-war period, the presence of the three-generation family has declined, due largely to the exodus of the younger generations leaving their ageing parents alone on the farm and the mechnisation of farm work which has reduced labour input.

DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOLS IN LA CERDAGNE

(Year of post war closure of primary schools is in brackets)



COMMUNES IN LA CERDAGNE.

1 ANGOUSTRINE
2 BOLQUERE
3 BOURG MADAME
4 LA CABANASSE
5 CALDEGAS (1967)
6 DORRES
7 EGAT
8 ENVEITG
9 ERR
10 ESTAVAR
11 EYNE (1962)
12 FONT ROMEU ODEILLA VIA
13 LATOUR DE CAROL
14 LLO (1966)
15 MONT LOUIS
16 NAHUJA (1965)
17 OSSEJA
18 PALAU DE CERDAGNE
19 PLANES
20 PORTA (1973)
21 PORTE-PUYMORENS
22 SAILLAGOUSE
23 SAINTE LEOCADIE (1966)
24 SAINT PIERRE DELS FORCATS
25 TARGASONNE
26 UR
27 VALCABOLLERE (1967)
28 VILLENEUVE DES ESCALDES.

* PUBLIC NURSERY SCHOOL
o PUBLIC INFANT SCHOOL
O PUBLIC SCHOOL (age 15-18)
★ PUBLIC SCHOOL (age 11-15)

Other non-economic factors have historically also played an important part in defining the contours which limit and redefine the range of solutions to labour supply problems. The introduction of compulsory schooling for children up to the age of 11 and beyond has had the effect of extending the period of non-working childhood. This has had different effects among different farming families. For the poorer farming families on the smaller farms it had an important effect on the supply of labour. For the wealthy farming families on the larger farms, this posed less of a problem. Children of these families were not simply a source of labour, this was itself in any event provided by (often live-in) hired labour. Children of the wealthier farming families were also a means of reproducing the family's "social capital", providing the local educated, professional élite. On the other hand, the closure of schools in many communes during the post-war period had a deleterious effect on the smaller farms. The closure of a school (see map opposite) meant that the children had to be transported to anther commune. An important source of labour was lost at crucial times of the day, the early morning and late afternoon.

This problem was accentuated with the extension of schooling beyond the age of 11, since there are only 2 schools which provide this facility in the region. These are located in the communes of Bourg Madame and Font Romeu Odeilla Via. (See map opposite). Children travelling from the more remote villages became boarders, and this effectively cut off an important source of domestic labour on the farm throughout the year. This was most problematic on the smaller farms where the economic situation of the farm did not allow for hired labour. This became more keenly felt in that there is only 1 school for children over the age of 15, in the commune of Font Romeu Odeilla Via.

It is important to consider the impact of the introduction of schooling from the position of children in farming families. The introduction and extension of schooling can be seen as providing other possible strategies, including access to further education and training in non-agricultural occupations, as well as leading to patterns of residence beyond 'La Cerdagne'. The combined effect of children leaving the family farming household, the economic pressure related to agricultural

commercialisation, and the phenomenon of land concentration, directly influenced the decision of many farmers who remained in 'La Cerdagne' after 1960 to seek a solution to labour supply problems by incorporating on-farm mechanisation into their global labour strategies.

Mechanisation of Farm Work

Factors such as the relationship of the farmer to the land (owner or tenant) and the availability (or not) of a successor have been key factors in the decision of farmers to mechanise farm work. Although fixed capital investments in the form of machinery had been introduced as substitutes for variable capital, particularly since the 1950's, there has been a longer history to the decline of hired labour on the farm. Processes were already underway which tended towards a decrease in the use of hired labour between the mid-nineteenth century and the inter-war period. Mechanisation on the farm did not, however, become widespread in 'La Cerdagne' until the 1960's and 1970's.

In addition to landownership and succession, there have been historical factors, social and economic in nature, which guided, informed and influenced the underlying processes that led to the general mechanisation of agriculture in the region. We may note: (i) the decline in the family labour pool, itself closely related to (ii) the extension of the period of formal education of children (iii) the reduction in the size of the family, (iv) the general decrease in the agricultural population (including the proportional decline in the use of hired labour), and (v) the post-war concentration of land. These 5 factors, together, limited the scope for labour strategies, while questions of landownership and succession have influenced the individual decision by farmers to mechanise or not.

Another important factor that influenced the decision making process concerning on-farm mechanisation has been access to government subsidised and directed credit via the 'Crédit Agricole' for the purchase of machinery. The provision of State subsidised loans (7) for on-farm modernisation has been available from the 1960's, and followed the aims of the 1960-62 agricultural policy. This form of credit has, however, been subject to

increasingly stringent requirements. From 1968, all farms less than 15.4ha were excluded from state subsidised credit provisions by the 'Crédit Agricole' (Duby et al 1976, b: 620). The current minimum size in 'La Cerdagne' is 35ha, all farms less than this are excluded from credit support as a matter of policy. In addition, current credit provisions are also tied to the prior obtainment of a development plan.

Such demands have limited the range and number of farmers eligible for credit support for on-farm mechanisation plans. This being said, one can discern a general pattern towards on-farm mechanisation, with labour being largely replaced by farm machinery. This in turn has reduced the reliance on labour resources internal and external to the farming family household. There remains, however, a need for extra familial and/or inter-farm household sources of labour during the summer months on all farms.

With the growth of commercialised dairy farming, a degree of mechanisation developed in those communes where the combination of large-scale farming and the naissant commercial dairy sector were present. This was the case in Bourg Madame, where the farms had traditionally been larger than average. This is also the commune where the dairy industry was most developed by the inter-war period, with the large private dairy, DOMENECH firmly established at Bourg Madame by the early 1930's. It was due to the commercial nature of farming in Bourg Madame, and the large-scale farm enterprises, that there was a higher level of mechanisation there than elsewhere. The table below provides the only available data concerning agricultural mechanisation in 'La Cerdagne' at the end of the inter-war period :

Agricultural Mechanisation at the End of the Inter War Period

Type of Machinery	Number (In 1938)
Grassreapers	46 (Of which 15 at Bourg Madame)
Seed Sowers	18 (Of which 10 at Bourg Madame)
Self Binders (for straw/grass)	21 (Of which 10 at Bourg Madame)
Harvester	8 (Of which *5 at Bourg Madame)
Grain Sorting Machine	16 (Of which 12 at Bourg Madame)
Multipurpose Plough	3
Swivel Plough	13 (Of which 12 at Bourg Madame)
Tedders (Haymaking Machine)	10 (Of which 10 at Bourg Madame)
Grain Crusher	1
Grain Driers	2

* = All these belonged to the 'Entreprise de Battage Lassus-Baurés (See below)

Communal Archives

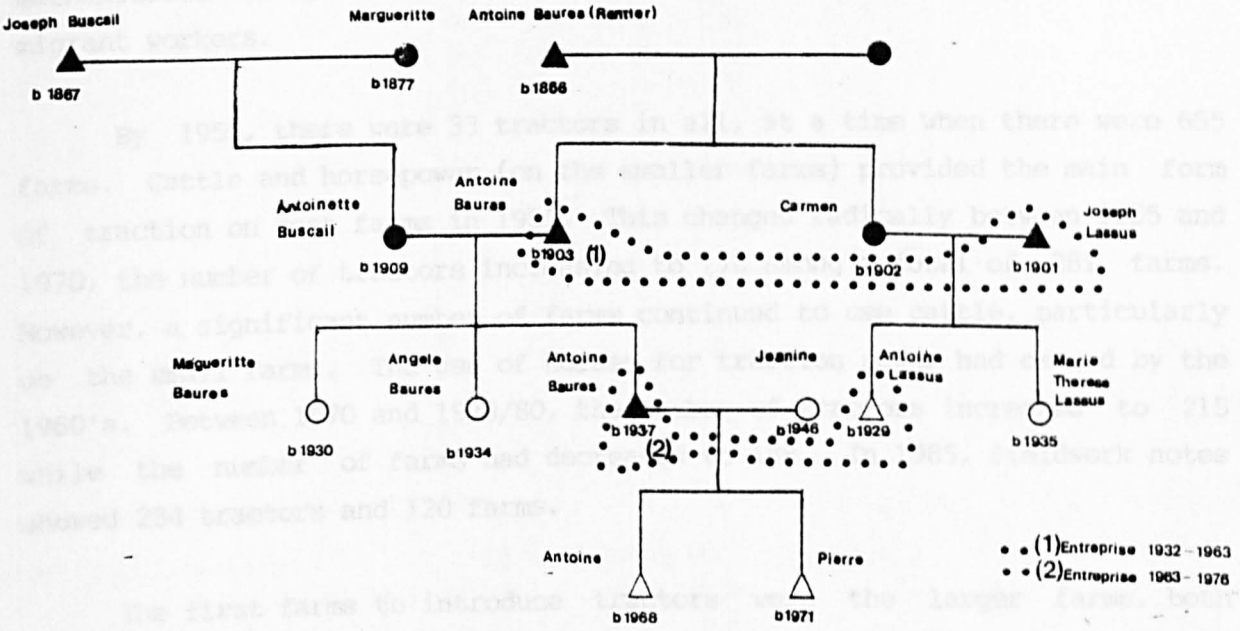
The introduction of grass-reapers and self-binders was significant in that it was these pieces of machinery that reduced the demand for the temporary Spanish migrant labour. These migrants were hired at the market at Puigcerdà. It is from the inter-war period that this source of hired labour began to decline in importance, as one farmer explained :

> "We used to have up to ten [Spanish migrant workers] on the farm at any given time from May to October. They came towards the end of April and stayed until the end of September, beginning of October. They worked on the grass cutting and haymaking and then worked on the cereals and potatoes ... that was before the war ... after the war ... we didn't have them anymore ... or rather we only had two or three that's all ... the work became more mechanised you see ... and ... well, we didn't take them so much" (Monsieur Meya, aged 63)

Alongside the mechanisation which was related to the expansion of the dairy market and the specialisation in dairy farming, the cereal harvest also began to be subjected to mechanisation from the inter-war period. This, however, was led principally by a harvesting company belonging to, and

operated by, 2 landowning farming families from Caldégas. The 'Entreprise de Battage Lassus-Baurès' was founded in 1932 by 2 farmers, Joseph Lassus and Antoine Baurès, who were also brothers-in-law.

Family Network Behind the Entreprise de Battage



ADMnc 3171, ADMnc 3808, Author's Fieldwork

The enterprise was handed down from Antoine Baurès (b.1903) and Joseph Lassus (b.1901) in 1963, and continued until 1976 under Antoine Baurès (b.1937) and Antoine Lassus (b.1929). The 3 families in the network (Buscail, Lassus and Baurès) were all landowning farming families, while the Buscail family also owned a café-hotel in the commune of Bourg Madame. The harvesting company involved a diversification of economic interests on the part of the 2 central families. Operating 5 harvesters between 1932 and 1972, the enterprise also provided an important extra source of income for the farming families concerned. From 1972 and for the remaining 4 years of the enterprise, the number of harvesters was reduced to 4. The threshing and binding systems were still separate, discreet parts of the whole process during the early years of the enterprise. By the late 1960's the enterprise had purchased 4 small integrated combine systems which they maintained until 1976.

The harvesting systems were hired out to other farmers in the region, at a fixed rate per hectare. The cost to the farmers had to cover the driver who was provided by the entreprise. The enterprise introduced mechanised methods into the cereal production process. In addition, the idea of farmers paying other farmers for work done was introduced. This mechanisation of agricultural work reduced the demand for teams of hired migrant workers.

By 1955, there were 33 tractors in all, at a time when there were 655 farms. Cattle and horsepower (on the smaller farms) provided the main form of traction on most farms in 1955. This changed radically between 1955 and 1970, the number of tractors increasing to 178 among a total of 281 farms. However, a significant number of farms continued to use cattle, particularly on the small farms. The use of horses for traction power had ceased by the 1960's. Between 1970 and 1979/80, the number of tractors increased to 215 while the number of farms had decreased to 188. In 1985, fieldwork notes showed 234 tractors and 120 farms.

The first farms to introduce tractors were the larger farms, both tenanted and direct-owner farmed. There is currently a significant concentration of tractors on the farms over 50ha, with 84 tractors on these farms, at an average of 2.8 tractors per farm as compared with the overall average of 1.95 tractors per farm. Initially there was no difference between the introduction of the tractor on the large tenanted or large owner-occupied farms. The main criterion at that time was the size of the farm, with the average size of farms having a tractor in 1955 42.38ha compared with the average farm size of 14.15ha. The current situation reflects a bias towards the larger farms regarding general levels of on-farm mechanisation, as can be seen in the table below :

On-Farm Mechanisation by Farm Size

Farm Size (In Hectares)	No. Of Farms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2-5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5-10	6	4	0	0	1	1	0	1
10-15	10	17	0	0	7	1	0	8
15-20	15	17	0	0	15	2	0	9
20-25	6	15	0	0	5	0	6	6
25-30	8	18	0	0	6	1	7	8
30-40	28	43	0	0	27	2	26	26
40-50	15	36	6	0	15	2	9	14
50-70	14	30	14	0	16	5	7	8
70-100	10	31	10	1	11	5	5	7
100-200	6	23	7	1	8	4	5	5
Totals	120	234	37	2*	111	23	65	92

* = Co-owned by five farmers.

KEY : 1 = Tractor 2 = Power Driven Cultivator
3 = Combined Harvester 4 = Pick-up Baler
5 = Potator Picker 6 = Milking Machine
7 = Milk Cooling Machine

Fieldwork

The smaller farm (less than or equal to 10 ha) are generally less well equipped. The only farm over 100ha in size that has no milk production equipment is the 1 large (130ha) cereal farm. There are more farms with milk cooling machines than there are with milking machines. The reason for this is that milk cooling machines are compulsory on hygiene grounds while this is not the case for milking machines which are too expensive for the smaller farms. On these 27 farms, milking is still carried out by hand. Milk produced on these farms, with the exception of 4, is used for personal consumption and sale to tourists, as opposed to sale via the farmers' milk cooperative. The remaining 4 farms produce milk on a small-scale for sale via the cooperative. The level of production is low, however, being, respectively 9283, 7835, 7257 and 6984 litres annually. These 4 farms are

operated by 4 farmers who are 'célibataire' and near to retirement (60, 61, 58 and 62 years of age). Only 1 out of the 8 smallest farms had its own pick-up baler, while 4 of these farms needed them for the harvests. These small farmers are obliged to seek assistance from neighbouring large farms.

Joint ownership is the predominant means by which mechanisation of the potato harvest has been facilitated. Each machine is jointly owned by 2 or 3 farmers on large farms, or by 4 or 5 on smaller farms. However, given the relatively small number of small farms dispersed among the different villages, sharing such equipment is difficult. It often involves journeys from one village to the next along the man east-west road. The joint purchase of potato lifters reflects more strictly the decline in family labour and inter-household mutual help systems (the result of the reduction in the number of farms) rather than a response to commercial factors. Whereas the introduction of milking machines and tractors have had a direct input relating to economic and commercial pressures, potatoes have been, and still are, produced for domestic consumption.

Joint ownership has also been the means by which the 2 combine harvesters operated by farmers in 'La Cerdagne' have been acquired. The 2 combine harvesters are owned and operated by 5 farmers. These farmers operate in 2 teams of 2 and 3 on 5 of the largest farms (100, 130, 150, 85 and 80 hectares). These are also relatively large landowning farmers as can be seen :

Farmers Jointly Owning A Combine Harvester

	Size of Farm	Area of Land Owned
Farmer 1	100	20
Farmer 2	130	130
Farmer 3	150	50
Farmer 4	85	33*
Farmer 5	80	46

* This farmer rents the other 52 hectares from his father and he also owns a further 45 hectares which he rents to another farmer.

Fieldwork

The motor driven cultivators are restricted to the larger farms. Other farmers use ploughs pulled by tractors, or, in the case of 4 farmers on small farms, by cattle.

Not only has there been an increase in the number of tractors as noted, but there has also been a trend towards increasingly powerful tractors. This reflects the decrease in the supply and use of labour power as well as post-war land extension on the farms. In 1970, for example, only 11.17% of all tractors were greater than 50 horsepower. This proportion had increased to 26.16% by 1979/80, rising to 34.61% (a total of 81) by the time of fieldwork (8).

Post-war specialisation in milk production was accompanied by on-farm mechanisation of the milk production process. The financing of all on-farm machinery at the time of my fieldwork had been effected with government subsidised credit facilities, with the exception of jointly purchased equipment. The latter was purchased using credit from the 'Crédit Agricole', but not in the form of State subsidised loans. The broad context within which the financing of on-farm mechanisation took place after 1960 can be understood as fundamentally underpinned by the various market protection measures with regard to the beef and dairy markets after 1953, and direct government policies which actively encouraged on-farm mechanisation through the provision of State subsidised loans from the 'Crédit Agricole' (9).

Apart from the 2 combine harvesters used exclusively by the 5 farmers discussed above, the cereal harvest on the rest of the farms is carried out by contract harvesting companies based in and around Toulouse. The stacking and stowing of the straw is, however, done by the farmer and his family. The harvesting companies complete the harvest in the Toulouse region prior to "bringing in the harvest" in 'La Cerdagne', which takes place from around the second week in August. There are usually 4 or 5 harvesting companies operating at any given time in the region. The farmers pay the companies a fixed rate per hectare harvested. These contracting companies replaced the Lassus-Baurès 'entreprise de battage' which ceased operations in 1976.

The replacement of the 'entreprise' by the specialist harvesting

companies can be seen as a further example of the division of labour in the local agriculture, as noted in the context of the sphere of production and commercialisation within the dairy sector. The reason that more farmers have not jointly purchased their own combine harvester is due to (i) the low level of production and productivity of cereals, (ii) the fact that cereal production (with the exception of the one pure cereal farm that has 130ha of cereals) is not produced for sale but for animal consumption, (iii) the high cost of purchase and maintenance of a combine harvester, and (iv) the problem of finding other farmers with similar land surface areas taken up by cereal production in the same or adjacent commune with whom a joint acquisition could equitably be effected. The last point is important in terms of the general framework for organising inter-family mutual aid systems. The general problems facing most farmers with regard to expensive machinery, and in particular in the case of the combine harvester, were described by a farmer :

> "You see ... it's not like before ... now, parts and machines come from outside. You have to pay for parts and mechanics now ... before, the blacksmith from the village or neighbouring village ... he repaired any tools ... you didn't pay him in cash always either, particularly if it was your cousin or someone else from the family - or even a good friend. Even when you did pay, you paid at the fair at Mont Louis. Now you need cash, and lots of it for the new machines ... and you need it straight away!" (Monsieur Alart, aged 57).

Regarding both existing forms of on-farm mechanisation and plans for future mechanisation, most farmers cited the most important factors as being: (i) the overall size of the farm enterprise, (ii) the amount of land under direct or family ownership, and (iii) whether or not there was a guaranteed successor to the farm. All 3 factors, at once social and economic in character, were stated as central to the farmer's future decisions concerning investment in on-farm machinery. This has become even more pressing in the current context, with the centrality of milking and livestock sheds in present and future production strategies. Given the high costs involved, emphasis is placed on, (i) having a farm size which would justify (in economic terms) such an investment, (ii) ownership of the land

for security of investment, and (iii) a successor to justify the high cost in terms of a perceived long term social and economic benefit. Indeed most farmers underlined the historical importance of the presence of a successor concerning decisions over investment in on-farm mechanisation programmes. As one farmer put it:

> "With so many farmers leaving farming after the 1950's, there was land available. I could have rented some more and built up a bigger farm, but there was no point, I was on my own ... both my parents were dead by 1967 ... I had no family, no children ... why should I have all those debts for nothing, for no-one?" (Monsieur Elias, aged 72).

Currently, credit facilities are tied to the possession of a development plan, which tends to favour the larger, landowning farmers operating on already highly mechanised farms. On the 15 farms with a current development plan, the average size is 77.9ha, while on average, 38ha are owned either by the farmer or a member of his family. The exception is that of the Serra brothers. This bias regarding labour saving investments on the larger farms, mirrors the situation facing farmers under the DIJA scheme. The bias in favour of the larger more mechanised and more capital intensive farms extends to the institutional responses to the need for additional labour input beyond that supplied by the family. While 4 of the larger farms have incorporated hired labour into the on-farm labour strategies, all farms have need for extra labour input. In the context of kin dispersal and the general decrease in the agricultural population, recourse has been made to institutionalised forms of labour supply. This has also embraced formal institutionalised means of purchasing expensive, specialised machinery.

Post-War Labour Strategies: The Institutional Response

The problem of using credit to purchase expensive, specialised machinery in order to compensate for labour shortfalls has posed difficulties

for many farmers in 'La Cerdagne'. The main institutional response, as elsewhere in France, has been the creation of formal organisations of mutual aid for the sharing of expensive machinery and for the supply and organisation of extra labour. These organisations are known as 'Coopératives d'Utilisation du Matérial Agricole' (CUMA). A minimum of 4 members is required to form a CUMA, with no upper limit. Each member pays a 'capital social' which is proportional to the amount of land to be worked under the auspices of the CUMA. The 'capital social' constitutes the financial basis of the CUMA, with (as in the case of the meat, and dairy cooperatives) each member acting as a shareholder, with voting rights on decisions concerning the CUMA. Machinery purchased by the CUMA remains the property of the CUMA, with individual members having the right to hire the machinery from the CUMA. In a sense, the CUMA represents a form of 'entr'aide', although in the case of 'La Cerdagne' the CUMA appears as a privileged form of 'entr'aide' for the larger dairy farmers only. Informal systems of 'entr'aide' pre-date the formation of the CUMA in 'La Cerdagne' which can be seen as an institutional attempt to formalise (with inbuilt privileges for the larger dairy farmers) a phenomenon that has, as a practice, a long history.

As a background to this discussion of the CUMA in 'La Cerdagne', it is important to note the benefits that farmers with a CUMA enjoy. The State provides fiscal advantages regarding the creation of a CUMA. Firstly, there are direct State subsidies provided to set up a CUMA. This subsidy has a ceiling of 15% of the total investments realised during the first year of the CUMA. In addition, there are subsidies which correspond to the number of members. These subsidies as set in 1983 were as follows:

Subsidies For Setting Up a CUMA

Number Of Farmers	Maximum Subsidy (In FF)
4-6	10,000
7-19	23,000
20-29	25,000
30-49	28,000
50+	30,000

CUMA CERDAMONT

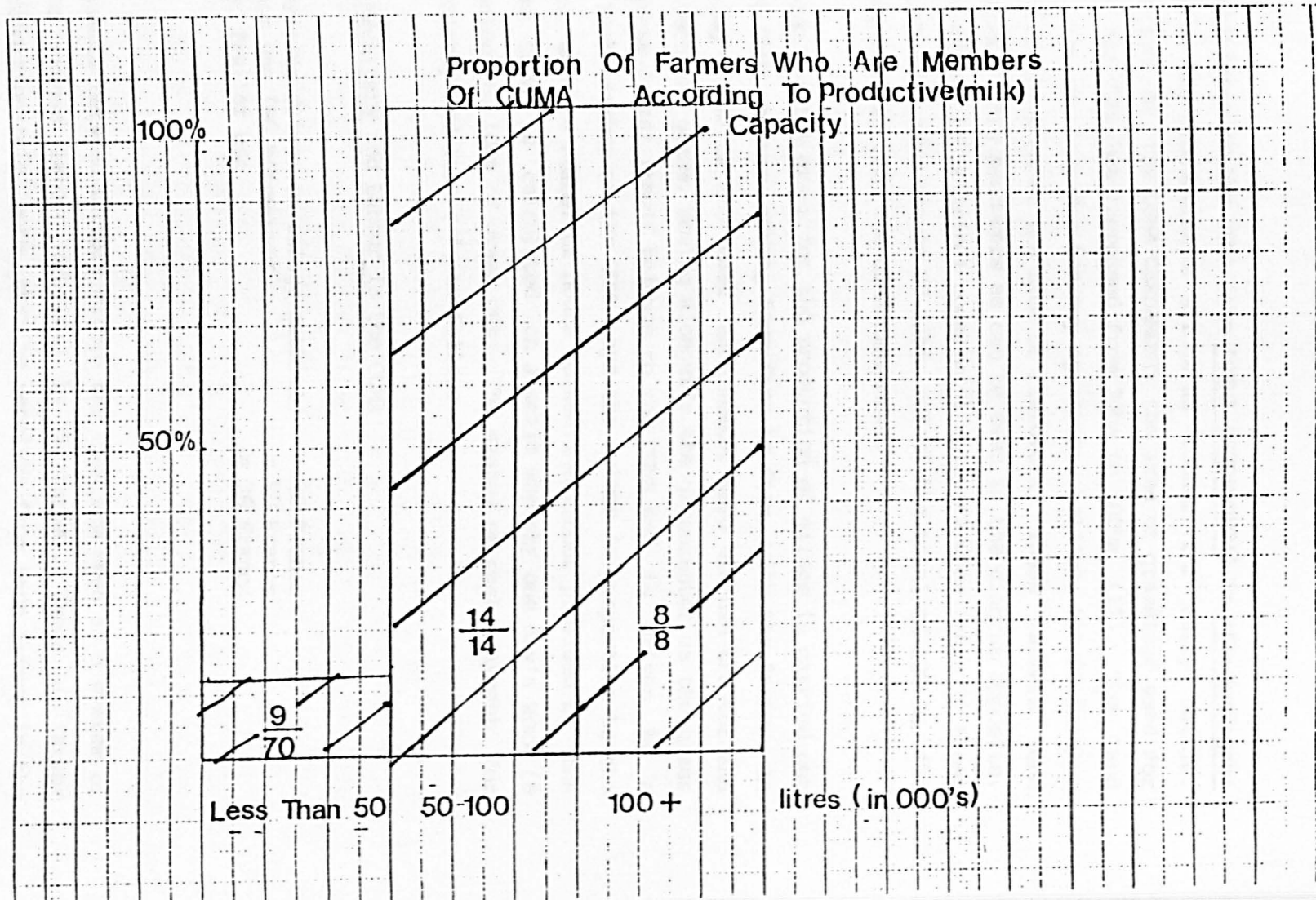
With regard to the CUMA in 'La Cerdagne', there is an additional supplement of 3,000 FF due to the status of the region as a mountain area (10). In addition, there are special State subsidised credit facilities in relation to loans accorded by the 'Crédit Agricole'. These loans concern mainly medium term loans (5-7 years) and apply to all mountain areas where at least 70% of the CUMA's capital must be held by farmers who practice livestock farming. This is designed to assist farmers in upland areas where livestock farming is the dominant form of farming. The loans in question ('prêts bonifiés') allow for tax-exemption on 60% of all investments made with these loans. In addition, long term loans carry a lower interest rate (4.75%) in mountain areas than elsewhere (6.0%).

Farmers in 'La Cerdagne' and the surrounding areas have been effected by 5 CUMA's since the mid 1950's, though the first (and only) CUMA located in 'La Cerdagne' was not created until 1973.

CUMA's In And Around La Cerdagne

Name of CUMA	Year Of Creation	Year Of Closure	Maximum/Current No. Of Members
CUMA de Formiguères	1954	1972	9
CUMA de Angles	1956	1972	49
CUMA de Bas Capcir	1966	1972	4
CUMA Capcir	1983		7
CUMA Cerdamont	1973		31

DDA


Proportion Of Farmers Who Are Members Of CUMA According To Productive(milk) Capacity
100%
50%
9/70
14/14
8/8
Less Than 50
50-100
100+
litres (in 000's)

The primary activities of the CUMA (the 'CUMA CERDAMONT') in 'La Cerdagne' have been linked to the production of silage as fodder for dairy cattle. Since the creation of the CUMA CERDAMONT, the area of grassland used for making silage by the CUMA has increased from 30ha to 500ha (11). The land itself belongs to, or is under tenancy agreements held by, the 31 farmers who were members of the CUMA at the time of fieldwork. These farmers tend to be the larger dairy producers as can be seen in the diagram opposite. With only 31 out of the 69 principal commercial dairy farmers (that is those delivering to CIMELAIT) this leaves 89 farms out of the total of 120 in the region who do not benefit from the CUMA CERDAMONT.

The reaping of the grass for the production of silage is carried out by a team of 4-6 CUMA members, moving from farm to farm, with the farmer on each farm counting as one of the team. Each member uses his own tractor and trailor to collect the grass, moving alongside the grasscutter as the grass is cut. Each grass-cutter itself belongs to the CUMA and is driven by a paid driver. Each member of the CUMA pays the driver in proportion to the area of grass cut and the number of hours worked.The labour provided by the farmers in the CUMA is calculated on a scale whereby one day's work (8 hours) is equivalent to 10ha of grass cut. The system of cash payment for the hire of machinery and labour is as follows :

Cost Of Hiring Machinery and Labour in the CUMA

1 Hour of Labour (for driver of silage machine)	= 30 Francs
1 Hour of Tractor use (90 horsepower)	= 90 Francs
1 Hour of Silage Trailer use	= 36 Francs

Fieldwork

Cash payments between farmers within the CUMA are seen as a system of compensation for excess labour provided by a farmer. Where a farmer contributes proportionately more than he receives from each farmer in the

small team, he is entitled to cash compensation from those who received proportionately more assistance than they gave to the farmer in question. For example, if a farmer worked for 4 days in a team of 4 farmers, but only had 30ha himself to be worked, he would stand in deficit of 10ha or one day's labour. Compensation is paid at 30FF per hour by the farmers in receipt of "surplus" labour to the farmer in "deficit". The driver of the grasscutter is paid by all the farmers. A straight exchange of labour takes place between farmers of equal size. This is clearly the most advantageous form of labour strategy for the larger dairy farmers since they have the advantage of subsidised and jointly purchased machinery while procuring guaranteed unpaid labour to carry out essential work tasks. It is moreover, due to the cash payment system that the larger farmers within the CUMA prefer not to operate with the smaller dairy farmers. However, given that the teams are organised on a neighbourhood pattern in order to make the most efficient use of the grass-cutter, this is not always possible. There are means for reducing the problem. For example, the 38 farmers who sell their milk via CIMELAIT, but who produce milk on a much smaller scale, are not members of the CUMA. The reason is because these smaller farmers do not possess sufficient land for an economically rational use of the CUMA's machinery and the labour of the other farmers. The inclusion of these other farmers would increase the level of cash payment and it is for this reason that the decision not to extend membership beyond the present number has been maintained by the current membership (12). The 89 farmers who stand outside the CUMA do not enjoy the same form, or level, of subsidies and rely on the informal systems of 'entr'aide'.

There is a further advantage for the 31 farmers in the CUMA in that the production of silage allows for 3 'cuts' of fodder grass per year, as opposed to the 1 cut with more traditional haymaking. For the production of silage, the grass does not need to be let to grow as long, nor does it need it be left to dry as with the haymaking method. The 3 cuts are effected between early Spring and August, as opposed to the single cut in the summer. Farmers outside the CUMA are limited to one cut during the summer months

when the grass is dry enough for storing. Further, whereas the hay requires storage inside, within the farm buildings, the grass cut for silage production is stored outside under plastic where the grass ferments. This is an advantage in circumventing the organisational problems related to storage in the farm buildings.

While the introduction of the tractor has reduced the time taken to cut the grass for all farmers, the introduction of the grass-cutter and the creation of the CUMA have reduced the time taken and increased the labour productivity of members of the CUMA. The farmers in the CUMA are able to accumulate larger stocks of feedstuffs for the winter period and thereby to maintain a larger permanent herd. As such, it is these farmers that benefit in particular from the ISM payments. The larger dairy producers also have the larger farms and operate with milking and livestock sheds, equipped for milking and feeding large herds, using the minimum labour input. Indeed, all 13 farmers that operate with a milking and livestock shed produce over 80,000 litres annually.

The flexibility concerning the 1983 level for the milk quotas for the larger dairy producers dovetails into the labour saving advantage that is gained from the milking and livestock shed. Mechanised feeding and milking systems allow for a more intensive level of production based on less labour intensive methods. The labour input is reduced largely to a surveillance role. The larger dairy producers thus enjoy the benefit of, (i) economies of scale with regard to the use of the milking and livestock sheds, (ii) the joint acquisition of labour saving machinery and higher labour productivity returns, (iii) the fiscal advantages of the various subsidies, and (iv) low labour input requirements in the milking and feeding processes.

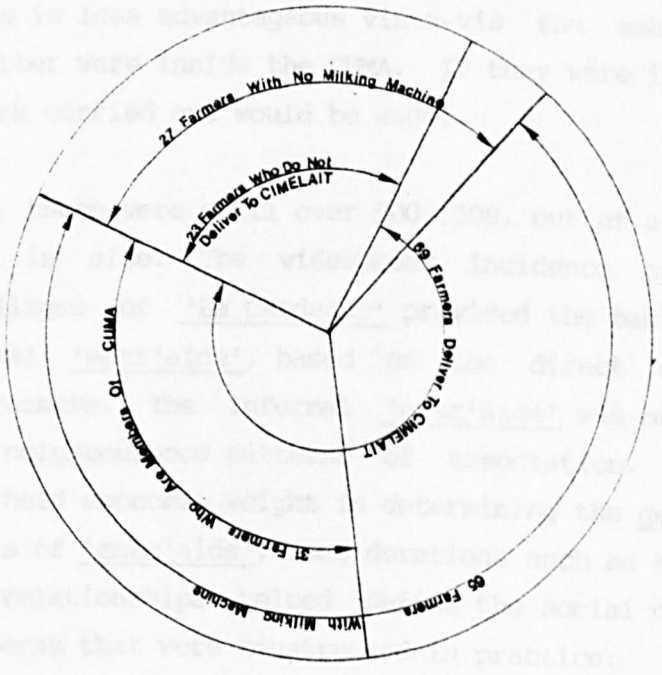
In addition to the CUMA, the other form of institutionalised 'entr'aide' is the GAEC, of which there are 5 in 'La Cerdagne'. As a cooperative structure, the difference between CIMELAIT, CCVB and the GAEC's is that whereas the former are organised in terms of the commercialisation of production only, the latter are organised on a cooperative basis at the point of production itself. The GAEC's differ from the CUMA in that the latter is limited to cooperative organisation based on two specific tasks :

grass reaping and the production of silage. In addition, the cooperative organisation of the work tasks carried out by the CUMA has very strict temporal limits, being concentrated in specific periods in the agricultural calendar. The GAEC's operate on the basis of cooperative organisation at all levels of farm operations throughout the year. Of the 5 GAEC's, 4 are among the larger farms with a relatively high proportion of the land under direct or family ownership. These GAEC's are members of the CUMA and therefore receive all the benefits of the CUMA. The situation is very different from that experienced by farmers outside this institutionalised framework of 'entr'aide'.

Post-War Labour Strategies : Informal Responses

Only 65 out of the 92 dairy farmers have a milking machine. On the remaining 27 farms, 4 of which deliver to CIMELAIT, milking is still carried out by hand.

Breakdown of Dairy Producers in Terms of Milking Methods



Fieldwork

Moreover, these farms are generally poorly equipped and face on-farm labour supply problems, with the farmer either operating on his own (in 21 cases as a widow or 'célibataire') or with his wife. Although help is supplied during the summer months by children on 9 of these farms, the remaining farms operate all year round with no extra labour. Thus, even where labour is provided on a seasonal basis on the farms without a milking machine, the work remains labour intensive for the elderly farmer or farming couple throughout the year.

The problem which faces all farmers outside the CUMA can be linked to the general process of land concentration during the post-war period, dispersion of kin and the general out-migration of most of the agricultural population post-war. The number of farms under 20ha has decreased rapidly since 1955. This has meant that in any given village there is often only 1 or at most 2 farms under 20ha. Straight labour exchanges between farmers working on farms of an equivalent size have in such a context become very difficult. It is for this reason that the smaller dairy producers operate outside the CUMA, within a system of 'entr'aide' involving all 89 farmers outside the CUMA, and (informally) some of the larger farmers from the CUMA. The informal relationship between the smaller dairy producers and the larger dairy producers is less advantageous vis-a-vis the smaller dairy farmers than if the latter were inside the CUMA. If they were in the CUMA then cash payment for work carried out would be made.

In 1955, there were still over 500 (508, out of a total of 655) farms less than 20ha in size. The widespread incidence of the small farms throughout villages of 'La Cerdagne' provided the basis for a generalised non-cash informal 'entr'aide', based on the direct exchange of labour between the farmers. The informal 'entr'aide' was organised around kin, friendship and neighbourhood patterns of association. Thus, although the size of farm held economic weight in determining the general size-of-farm-related patterns of 'entr'aide', considerations such as kin, friendship and neighbourhood relationships helped define the social contours and form of the actual patterns that were constructed in practice.

Flexibility was the common denominator concerning the organising of systems of 'entr'aide'. For example, many farms were composed of several micro 'parcelles', often dispersed over a relatively wide area of land. If a farmer found himself with a 'parcelle' of land adjacent, or near, to that of a similar size belonging to a neighbouring farmer, the farmers assisted each other on the other's land. In other cases, kin or friendship patterns of association would be invoked, as and when required. The flexibility, in terms of response to on-farm labour shortages, was simpler to apply in the mid-1950's than today. There are fewer farms of a similar size across all the full range of farm sizes. As such, there is less chance today of finding a neighbour with a similar sized farm. In addition, kinship patterns of residence were based on the village itself, or at most, involved neighbouring villages. It was from these locally based networks of kin and neighbourhood that the farmer could "call up" labour assistance at any time during the year, not simply during the harvest periods.

The system of 'entr'aide' was, up to the 1950's, based on action-sets drawn from a network composed of kin, friends and neighbours. These action-sets could be organised at short notice to deal with specific labour-supply related problems. It was the very presence of this wide network that provided the necessary flexibility. This, together with the flexibility provided by the earlier forms of diversification of on-farm production for sale offered a degree of security to even the smaller farms. Indeed, this flexibility in both production and labour strategies in large part explains why there were so many small farms until 1955. Specialisation in commercial production, land concentration, and the decline in on and off-farm family labour supply as well as that of the local agricultural population in general, all combined to produce a situation in which the small farms of today find it increasingly difficult to reproduce themselves. They only do so largely due to the intensive labour input of the (often) elderly farmer or the farming couple.

The current situation regarding farmers outside the CUMA is similar to that of farmers within the CUMA, in terms of the organisation of labour. In terms of cattle farmers, this includes the 15 who do not produce milk as well as all the dairy producers whose level of production and area of land

define the farmers concerned as being too small for participation in the CUMA. The 76 cattle farmers that are outside the CUMA as well as the 13 non-cattle farmers, operate an informal system of 'entr'aide' between themselves. The main criterion which determines the organisation of labour strategies is again that of farm size. These farmers are organised in a similar manner, even down to the rates of compensation paid, to the system that operates within the CUMA. As was the case with the larger farmers within the CUMA, there is a reluctance on the part of the larger farmers outside the CUMA to engage in labour strategies with the smaller farmers outside the CUMA, since this involves making cash payments. As one farmer explained :

> "Well you see, it's all very well helping each other out,but when you help smaller ones, you have to pay them as well ... we're subsidising the small farmers indirectly. When you work with a colleague of the same size, you get the same job done, and it doesn't cost you anything" (Monsieur Lassus, aged 56).

The farmers on the larger farms attempt to disengage themselves, where possible, from systems of 'entr'aide' with the smaller farmers by restricting reciprocal labour strategies, again where possible, to farmers of a similar size in order to avoid making cash payments. In extreme cases, some smaller farmers have found themselves unable to guarantee their fieldwork. One such case occurred, with the farmer concerned eventually receiving assistance from a regular tourist visitor to the village (Estavar). The visitor already had some acquaintance with the farmer (Monsieur Ribot) from previous visits to the village and offered to drive the tractor to the field in the morning and to start the harvest while Monsieur Ribot milked his cows by hand. Having finished the milking, Monsieur Ribot took over the work in the field, while the visitor returned in the evening to finish the work in the field, allowing Monsieur Ribot to put his cattle away and to carry out the second round of milking. A small group of 4 "micro-scale" farms face a different situation yet again. These are the least equipped cattle farms in 'La Cerdagne' and are integrated into the labour strategies of their large neighbouring farms as part-labourers.

Regarding the informal systems of 'entr'aide' since the 1950's there has been a broad decline in the use of direct labour exchange systems. These systems still exist, but on a rather marginal basis compared with earlier periods. Direct labour exchanges have in large part been replaced by cash payments. The reluctance of the larger farmers to engage in cash payment systems of 'entr'aide' poses problems for the smaller farmers, many of whom can no longer count on locally-based kin, friendship and neighbourhood networks for assistance. Land concentration has added to the problem of constructing labour strategies. On the other hand, there is a detectable move among larger farmers to construct systems of institutionalised, direct labour exchanges as part of their own labour strategies, replacing the use of hired and often 'live-in', labour.

The reduction in the number of farmers since the mid-1950's has had a detrimental effect moreover, on more general and communal work tasks. The maintenance of irrigation channels and land watering systems used to be carried out conjointly by farmers in each of the villages within the region. With the decline in the number of farmers, as well as the supply of on and off-farm labour, such work is beyond the capacity of the few remaining farmers in each of the villages. Moreover, given that these tasks have not been taken over by the local municipalities, the work remains either (for the most part) not done, or (less frequently) done by individual farmers within the limits of their own farmland.

The decline of the former informal systems of 'entr'aide' has been paralleled by the institutionalisation of systems of 'entr'aide' for the larger dairy farmers, and the creation of informal systems of 'entr'aide' for the larger farmers outside the CUMA. The former labour intensive cereal harvest, which like the haymaking, was formerly based on teams of hired temporary Spanish migrant labour, has been replaced by contracting harvesting companies by all but 5 farmers in the region. The current systems of 'entr'aide' tends to favour the larger farmers, both inside and outside the CUMA. This is especially the case regarding farmers in the CUMA who benefit from the fiscal and organisational advantages. Moreover, some of the larger farmers within the CUMA also benefit from the small but important source of casual labour provided by farmers on the smallest and least mechanised farms in 'La Cerdagne'.

The decline in the number of farmers, the dispersal of kin and the concentration of land have all contributed to a foreclosure of possibilities for informal labour strategies between smaller farmers. The introduction of cash payments into labour strategies of 'entr'aide' can be seen as reflecting a qualitative change in labour strategy orientation. However, this is more to do with post-war land concentration and the associated problem of farm-size equivalence than with any change in basic local value systems. That is to say, in the absence of possible straight labour exchanges, cash payments are a means to formalise compensation for unequal labour inputs. As one farmer pointed out :

> "We pay our smaller colleagues in cash, because you can't pay a farmer with a sack of potatoes, or corn or whatever like that, he has all that himself. And you can't do much for them in return as a gift, so you pay them in money ... then it's equal" (Monsieur Canongia, aged 45).

The effect of cash payments has been to encourage the larger farmers to exclude, where possible, the smaller farmers from systems of 'entr'aide' with themselves. This is most effectively done in the context of the CUMA. There have, however, been important qualitative changes in labour strategies during the recent period, particularly with regard to the on-farm division of labour which focuses our attention on the activity of the individual members of the household.

On-Farm and Off-Farm Activity of Members of the Farming Family Household : The Current Context.

With the exception of the farmers who act as representatives within the various agricultural organisations, there were no farmers in 'La Cerdagne' with activities outside farming. Pluriactivity on the part of farmers does not exist in 'La Cerdagne'. Serial activity for farmers does not exist either. That is to say, farmers do not engage in non-agricultural activities during the year outside the major agricultural works at harvest. The main reason for the lack of gainful non-agricultural activity on the

part of farmers are the low level of on-farm labour supply and the high labour requirements associated with livestock (cattle) farming. Even on the larger fully mechanised farms, a minimum labour force is required for supervising the livestock. As one of the farmers with a milking and livestock shed explained to me :

> "You have to always have someone watching the machinery, and the cows, if anything goes wrong or whatever ... you just have to be there, even if you do nothing all the time, you have to be around. (Monsieur Clément, aged 34).

Farmers are tied to the farm in as much as the livestock require daily surveillance. The dairy cattle have to be taken out for grazing in the morning, after the first milking, and need to be brought back in before the second milking. In the case of the single person households, this is particularly noticeable, since throughout the year, the farmer finds himself on his own for these daily work tasks. The one period when the surveillance of livestock is reduced, when the livestock for slaughter are taken to the mountains for fattening, corresponds with the period for the most intense activity due to the summer harvests. These problems can be seen as labour-supply and demand related. Another reason why farmers do not engage in off-farm gainful activities relates to the inappropriateness of farming knowledge and skills to other activities in the local economy, and the limit that this imposes on skill transfer. The farmers, and particularly the older farmers, do not possess appropriate skills, training, experience or qualifications, or (in many cases) would be considered too old, to engage in alternative forms of gainful activity. Although the tourist industry and the tertiary sector in general have expanded during the post-war period, there is little opportunity for the transfer of agricultural knowledge, skills and expertise into these expanding sectors.

Considering the farmer's spouse, a total of 69 of them (86.25%) work full time on the farm throughout the year without off-farm gainful activity. A further 5 (6.25%) work as secretaries or shop assistants in local commerce. The remaining 6 (7.5%) work as; secretary in local government (a total of 2) or office clerk (as a local civil servant), an accountant, and

an ancillary worker in a local school. Interesting points emerged regarding those farmers' wives with off-farm gainful activity. Firstly, they all underlined the important of their income to the maintenance of the farm. Indeed, the off-farm income is incorporated into the household budget, and is therefore seen as an integral part of the overall income. As one wife reported :

> "We decided it would be better to keep off-farm income as a security in case of any problems on the farm. I had already completed my accounting studies, in fact I had my own office when we married. I do our own farm accounts at home as well. We use all of our income, mine and my husband's, as we need it for the household. We don't distinguish between my income and the farm's income. If I didn't work though, we couldn't keep the farm ... we've too much credit on the farm." (Madame Majoral, wife of Isidore Majoral, farmer aged 45).

Secondly, on 10 of these 11 farms the labour input requirements are low and the level of on-farm equipment is high, with each of the farms having a milking and livestock shed. The one exception is the case of the Serra brother's GAEC, with Francis' wife working full time as a secretary. With regard to the remaining 10 farms, there are structural advantages for the larger modernised farms in that the lower on-farm labour requirements release other persons (in this case the wife) to seek off-farm additional income. Again, this underlines the greater level of flexibility in terms of the labour strategies, than on the smaller less mechanised farms.

Regarding the other permanent members of the farming family household, a member was engaged in a gainful off-farm activity in only 9 households. This involved 10 persons, of whom 4 worked in the tourist economy: 1 in a hotel, 1 in a restaurant and 2 in a ski centre during the holiday seasons. 2 further individuals worked in local government, while the remaining 4 worked in local shops. Employment in the tourist sector is limited to short term contracts, normally of between 3 and 6 months duration. This means that in practice, a summer contract would normally operate between mid-June and mid-September, while winter contracts cover the months of November to

March. As such, even when employment is obtained for both seasons, there remains a significant period of the year without employment. It is for this reason that the 4 children working in the tourist economy (2 boys and 2 girls) remained on their parents' farm throughout the year.

The growth of the tourist economy during the inter-war period was seen as a potential source of off-farm employment for the children of farming families. It was seen as replacing former sources of off-farm income, known during the second half of the nineteenth century. However, the earlier local artisanal based economic activity was more than simply an off-farm income source. This existed as well, but importantly there was also much para-agricultural activity within the local industrial sector that was integrated into the transformation of agricultural products. The classic case had been the production and manufacture of wool. This had allowed many farming families to transform their own primary products for use and sale. In addition, some off-farm work and forms of serial employment existed within and outside 'La Cerdagne', integrated into labour strategies by farming families. In reality by contrast, the seasonal nature of the tourist economy became less of an attraction, despite the expansion of the tourist sector since the 1950's, than it may have appeared during the 1930's. As the brother of one farmer put it :

> "I left here in 1963, when I finished school. I didn't want to stay because there wasn't any real work here. At eighteen, I wanted more than seasonal work in tourism. I trained as a fitter and have worked in Lille since 1970. My brother didn't want me to leave - nor did my parents for that matter since my brother was going to be left on his own with his parents. But you couldn't really ask four adults to live on thirty-two hectares, with twenty dairy cows and a bit of casual work. So I left along with most other children of farms from my generation. Those who stayed, like my brother, were the exceptions." (Monsieur Riu aged 40).

In terms of paid employment, tourism is not very significant for the farming family in the region. However, the farming family is very much integrated into the local tourist economy in a different way. Out of the 129 farming family households, a total of 48 (37.2%) have rented out property, in the form of houses and/or apartments, for at least 8 years up to and including the first year of fieldwork in 1985. The table gives some idea of the general importance of this particular kind of involvement of farming families in the local tourist economy.

Total Of 'Lets' By Farming Families

Total No Of Rooms To Let	No Of Households Letting
1	25 (3 let the room for two seasons)
2	10 (6 let the rooms for two seasons)
3	13 (3 let the rooms for two seasons)
4	7 (6 let the rooms for two seasons)
5	3 (2 let the rooms for two seasons)
6	1 (rooms were let for two seasons)
7	0
8	2 (1 let the rooms for two seasons)
9	1 (rooms were let for two seasons)
10	3 (1 let the rooms for two seasons)
TOTAL	65 (with 22 letting for two seasons)

Fieldwork

In addition, 5 farmers had close relatives who owned a restaurant and/or hotel, while a further 2 had close relatives who owned a campsite in 'La Cerdagne'.

As with the 11 farmers' wives who worked off the farm, the income from this on-farm non-agricultural activity is seen as essential to the continuation of the household as principally a farming household. Insufficient farming income was the main reason cited for this on-farm tourist activity. Interestingly, only 3 of the 28 highest agricultural income farmers engaged in this form of activity. As one of these farmers reported :

> "I've invested in my machinery so as to have less work to do ... I'm not going to give myself more work now with tourists on the farm!" (Monsieur Marty, aged 57).

This strategy is widely spread among the lower agricultural income farming families, although, as pointed out, on 10 of the larger and wealthier farms there is an off-farm source of income in any event. In the case of the Serra brothers, tourists are not taken in principally due to an absence of a "surplus" owned dwelling for renting. For a total of 59 households, the income derived from tourism is seen as a means of staying in farming within 'La Cerdagne', as is clear from the following statement by a farmer's wife.

> "You see, we take in the 'estivants' and the Winter visitors who come for skiing. We didn't like it at first when the children were still here ... it was difficult ... now the children have left, and we've built a flat and a small house next door to the farm, we don't feel invaded in our house ... and we can keep our income from the farm for small jobs around the farm ... we don't even have to leave the farm with this sort of work." (Monsieur Orriols, aged 61).

28 of the households that take in guests, reinvest at least part of the money on the farm. It is interesting to note the positive statements for incorporating this non-agricultural activity into the general household strategies of the farming family. The fact that the farming family could obtain additional income from this non-agricultural activity without leaving the farm or village was reflected in many of the responses to the question as to why the household engaged in this activity. To cite a typical reply :

> "Well, you know the advantage is that we don't have to leave the farm, nor the village ... we can do our farm work, and see to the visitors ... it's like having the big family in the house again ... with the difference now that they [the tourists] pay." (Madame Meya, aged 60).

Apart from the larger farms with the higher agricultural incomes, there were 52 farming family households that did not rent rooms. The main reason for this was that these were households that operated on mainly tenant farms and had no 'surplus' property to let. The integration of this form of tourist activity has been woven into the domestic division of labour in recent years.

Division of Labour, Farm and Domestic Work

The division of labour within the household has been increasingly defined along gender lines since the 1960's, following the mechanisation of farm work in 'La Cerdagne'. Although domestic work and farmyard produce had traditionally been seen as being the domain of women, women were not restricted to strictly domestic and farmyard tasks. Indeed, on the majority of farms, prior to mechanisation, women assisted in farm work tasks as and when required. Although ploughing was usually carried out by the male head of household, women assisted according to the need at the time. Similarly, the harvesting was organised more along a division of work tasks rather than along gender lines. Women thus, worked alongside men as and when necessary.

The responsibility for, and the sale of, farmyard produce, including the taking out and milking of the cows were the main farm-related work tasks that remained within the charge of women. The sole care of livestock was traditionally the responsibility of the 'Cap de Casa'. In this sense, the farmer and the farmer's wife were responsible for two separate types and sources of agricultural income. From the 1960's, milk production became the main (and often sole) source of agricultural income for most farmers in the region. Dairy farming carried the highest status as a line of production. With the mechanisation of agriculture, the number of separate work tasks, and the general time required of labour for the various work tasks, was reduced.

It is from this period that farmers' wives role diminished in the performance of farm work tasks and was more clearly defined in terms of domestic and farmyard work tasks. Moreover, farmyard produce lost its economic importance as a source of income, with the changed pattern of

commerce by the local shops and the setting up of the region's 3 supermarkets. In addition, all the mechanised work tasks were defined as male tasks. Operating the tractor and the milking machine became seen as male activities. Indeed, on the single farm that is currently owned and run by a woman,(See Appendix Eight) all mechanised work tasks are carried out by her 1 temporary and 2 permanent male workers.

The importance of milk production and the income procured therefrom, together with the introduction of mechanised methods into the work process, have all combined in the post 1960's to provide the basis to patriarchal control over the commercial side of agricultural activity within the farming family. This carries more status than the work undertaken by women. Women's tasks have been increasingly defined in terms of domestic production and consumption, while all domestic tasks, including the receiving of tourists, are carried out by women. Having noted the historical centrality of systems of mutual help as the linchpin to labour strategies in 'La Cerdagne', we can briefly summarise the main changes affecting labour strategies since the 1960's. The labour strategies have been organised around cooperation internal to the farming family household, cooperation external but intra-familial in nature, and cooperation external to the farming family household.

First, cooperation internal to the farming family household involved the farmer, his wife, their children and other kin. In the larger farming family households, 'live-in' hired labour also played an important role. The presence of the three generation family was a crucial device for deploying labour strategies. This situation has changed significantly since 1936, with the three generation family and the 'live-in' hired worker having all but disappeared. In addition, the level of family labour supply on the farm has decreased rapidly compared with the pre-war period.

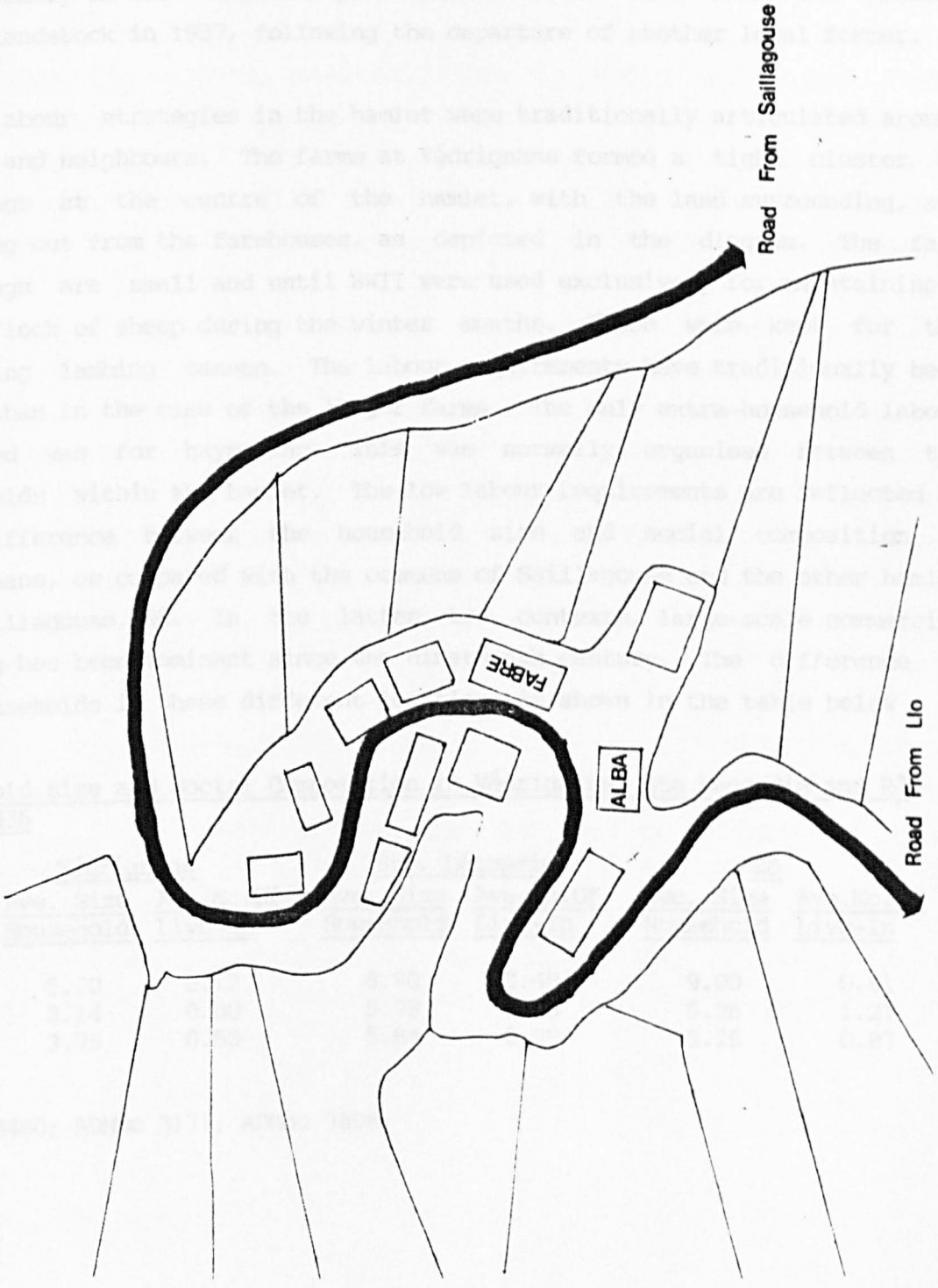
Second, cooperation external but intra-familial typically involved the farmer's siblings, particularly for harvest work but also at other times of the year. Assistance with the harvests still exists, though most of the farmers' siblings now live not only outside of the village itself, but outside of 'La Cerdagne'. Assistance from this source of family labour is restricted to the summer harvests only.

Finally, the cooperation which emanates from external sources involved exchanges between different farming families. This was a widespread strategy for ensuring farm labour supplies. However, with land concentration, the mechanisation of farm work, and the decrease in labour both internal and external to the farming family household, this labour strategy is now difficult to effect. This is particularly the case on the smaller farms. There have been institutional forms of response to the problems of labour supply and the mechanisation of work tasks in the form of the CUMA. However, both the formal and the informal systems tend to favour the larger already relatively well-equipped farms. This has left the smaller farms in a critical situation regarding their labour strategies. This will be examined in the case of 1 of the 4 cattle farmers, who operate without any on-farm mechanisation, using case history material.

Labour Strategies. A Problem Case

The smallest farms are generally less well equipped. In the absence of sufficient on-farm labour resources and with the dispersal of kin, farmers on these farms have become incorporated out of necessity into the labour strategies of large landowning neighbouring farmers. This principally concerns 4 small farms that lack even the most basic farm equipment, such as a tractor. They depend on large neighbouring farms for the most rudimentary farm tasks, such as the grass-reaping for the haymaking. The case here illustrates the transition from an "independent" farmer to a part-farmer, part-farmworker. The principal factors that led to this transition were demographic changes in the hamlet where the farmer lives, and the decision by the farmer not to adopt mechanised farming techniques. The hamlet, which is the focus of this case study, is perched some 300m above the commune of Saillagouse, at about one and a half kilometres distance, with access via a narrow, winding road. The hamlet has traditionally consisted of a small cluster of smallholdings, with agriculture being the only form of economic activity. The main focus will be on Monsieur Fabre, who operates 1 of the 4 "micro" cattle farms in 'La Cerdagne', it will also locate his family in its wider local context which incorporates the Alba family. These are the only remaining farmers in the hamlet.

Diagram of Védrignans & Fabre & Alba Dwellings



The Alba family has been farming at Védrignans since the late eighteenth century, while the Fabre family moved to Védrignans at the turn of this century, having lived previously in the neighbouring commune of Llo. The Alba family already owned the present total landstock of some 50 'jornals' (13), or 20ha by the time of the first land register in 1830. The Fabre family on the other hand purchased the 10ha that form the present total landstock in 1937, following the departure of another local farmer.

Labour strategies in the hamlet were traditionally articulated around family and neighbours. The farms at Védrignans formed a tight cluster of buildings at the centre of the hamlet, with the land surrounding, and spanning out from the farmhouses, as depicted in the diagram. The farm buildings are small and until WWII were used exclusively for maintaining a small flock of sheep during the winter months. These were kept for the following lambing season. The labour requirements have traditionally been lower than in the case of the larger farms. The only extra-household labour required was for haymaking. This was normally organised between the households within the hamlet. The low labour requirements are reflected in the difference between the household size and social composition in Védrignans, as compared with the commune of Saillagouse and the other hamlet in Saillagouse, Rô. In the latter two contexts, large-scale commercial farming has been dominant since the nineteenth century. The difference in the households in these different locations is shown in the table below :

Household Size and Social Composition in Védrignans, Ste Léocadie and Rô 1856-1936

	Védrignans		Ste. Léocadie		Rô	
Year	Ave. Size Household	Ave.No.Of Live-In	Ave. Size Household	Ave.No.Of Live-In	Ave. Size Household	Ave.No.Of Live-In
1856	5.20	0.12	8.90	3.48	9.00	0.61
1921	3.14	0.00	5.78	0.85	5.36	1.27
1936	3.75	0.50	5.64	0.29	5.25	0.87

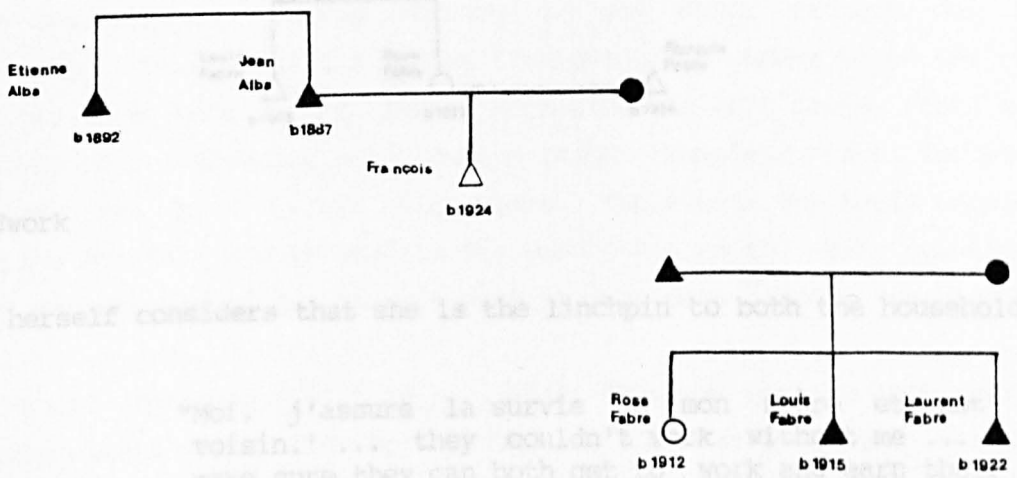
ADMnc 2480; ADMnc 3171; ADMnc 3808

Maintaining the 2 largest farms in the hamlet, the Alba and Fabre households developed an especially close-knit reciprocal system of mutual aid between themselves. In general, however, all the farmers in the hamlet assisted each other during harvest time. Whereas elsewhere in 'La Cerdagne', mechanisation took a higher profile in labour strategies, particularly on the larger farms, all the farms at Védrignans remained unmechanised. The farmers within the commune at Védrignans continued to remain dependent upon family and neighbours to effect major farm tasks. This cannot be totally explained by reference to technico-economic factors, such as the small-scale nature of the farming in the hamlet and the problem of cost-effectiveness often associated with small-scale farming. These certainly are part of the explanation, but are insufficient in themselves.

There were, for example, other small farms in the region which expanded during the post war period, either by increasing the land under tenancy or through inheritance strategies. The farming families at Védrignans did not have recourse to the latter strategy, since the (small) total landstock of each family was limited to the hamlet itself. But there was no strict technico-economic reason, particularly with the exodus of farmers from the mid 1950's, why the farmers at Védrignans should not have expanded their respective farms beyond the confines of the hamlet by renting land outside the hamlet.

The reason why this did not happen, and Francois Alba and Louis Fabre provide good examples, lay closer to a combination of demographic changes within the hamlet which reduced the availability of off-farm labour (compounded by a lack of on-farm labour) and a different conception of what farming "should" be e.g. what constitutes a "good farmer". Let us look at the history of the two families in the hamlet. The diagram shows the genealogy of the 2 farming families from the late nineteenth century:

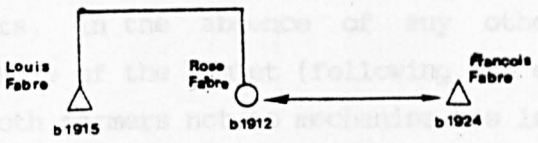
Alba and Fabre Genealogies, From Late Nineteenth Century



ADMnc 3171; ADMnc 3808

Louis Fabre and François are the current Cap de Casa of their respective households. François was an only child, and thereby automatically inherited the land without the need for any compensation payment to be made. Louis' father bought the land after Louis' brother (Laurent) had left the household and therefore, again there was no need of compensation. Rose, Louis' sister has been "compensated" in that she has continued to live on what is considered to be Louis' farm. The accommodation and food is considered as her compensation, a sort of payment "in kind". François, Louis and Rose have all remained 'célibataire'. The 2 households are located in separate residences, with François living alone, and Louis living on his farm with his sister. However, in a sense, Rose is actively a part of both households in that she does the cooking, cleaning, washing and general domestic work tasks for both her brother and "not'voisin". The current households may be depicted as follow :

Current Households of the Alba and Fabre Families



Fieldwork

Rose herself considers that she is the linchpin to both the households :

> "Moi, j'assure la survie de mon frère et not' voisin.' ... they couldn't work without me ... I make sure they can both get to work and earn their living ... that's how I earn my bread ... I get them up in the morning ... I feed them and see them off to work ... I feed them at midday and at night as well ... it's not easy keeping two households .. most women find it hard - and complain - keeping just one!"

This is a particularly interesting response. Firstly, she explains the objective position of herself as a women in a male dominated occupation. Secondly, she refers to her subjective position and provides her own rationale for her self-esteem in her position between the two households. Rose refers to her brother and her neighbour as "earning their living" ('ils gagnent leur vie') while she refers to herself as "earning her bread" ('je gagne mon pain'). This is an interesting statement, disclosing her awareness of the distinction between "male" and "female" work domains. The farmers earn their living through their contacts in the public sphere, the "male domain", selling their livestock and livestock products. Rose, on the other hand, earns her daily bread from her brother and neighbour, in the private domain by ensuring the daily round of household activity, the "female domain". This reflects the current objective asymmetry of male-female defined work roles within the farming household. Rose's subjective explanation of her perception of the situation, points to her source of self-esteem in keeping two households whereas most women, she says, struggle with one.

Regarding the work related to the farm, the two farmers are no longer capable of ensuring all the labour required using traditional sources. The former inter-household networks can no longer be activated to ensure labour supply requirements. In the absence of any other farmers, due to the demographic collapse of the hamlet (following the exodus since the 1950's), the decision by both farmers not to mechanise has left Louis (for example) dependent on a landowning neighbouring farmer (Monsieur Blanc) for machinery to carry out his on-farm work tasks. The reason why Louis chose not to mechanise his farm was related to his perception as to what constitutes a "good" farmer, and hinges also on what he considers farming "should" be.

Louis remained 'célibataire', while this was not the only, nor indeed the main reason why he did not mechanise his farm, it was cited as a consideration :

> "... you know, it costs a lot to buy tractors and all that ... some farmers did it for their children ... to make life easier for them ... I had no children, so I couldn't do it for that reason."

The main reason why Louis did not introduce mechanised techniques into his farm was due to a particular conception of what a "good" farmer should be.

From the late 1950's, there was rigorous promotion of agricultural modernisation led by the farmers' leaders, and such organisations as the 'Crédit Agricole' and the 'Foyer de Progrès'. The arguments were aimed at 'modernising' the point of production (the farm) and the circuits of commercialisation of agricultural products. This referred to the development of new structures for the sale of products, as well as specialisation in production. The existing farm-based diversity of production, which was geared towards both domestic consumption and protection against the instability of agricultural markets, was presented by the farmers' leaders as a "thing of the past". It was argued that such forms of production and commercialisation should have no part in what was promoted as "modern farming". Agricultural specialisation and the promotion of increased commercialisation became the 'leitmotif' for agricultural discourse from the late 1950's onwards.

In such circumstances, to resist this line of argument, to remain with the "traditional" model was seen from the position of the proponents of the modernisation programme as "irrational". Farmers who remained with farm-based diversification and/or who did not invest in farm machinery became known among the local farmers' leaders as the "irrational peasant". However, from the point of view of the latter, what was at stake was a different set of values, and an adherence to a different model of what constituted a "good" farmer. As Louis put it:

> "You see ... I don't agree with tractors and chemical fertilizers ... it's not good for the soil ... not in the long term ... yes you do your work quicker .. and you may earn more money in the immediate ... but what does it do for farming later ...what does it do for the soil? It's not a good farmer who does that ... a good farmer is not in a hurry in any event ... nature doesn't hurry, so why should a farmer? You follow the season and let the land rest ... and you don't put chemicals in the soil! I didn't want all that ... I could have done it ... I could have rented more land, bought a tractor ... but it would have been wrong ... that's why our sort has almost disappeared, because we didn't want to be bad farmers ... the others left rather than do that ... I stayed with my colleague, Francois [Alba] ... I wanted to stay in my home, but I didn't want to be a bad farmer ... now in a few years time, there'll only be bad farmers left in 'La Cerdagne' ... and what will they do with the soil?"

At this point in our conversation, Francois interjected with his own criticism of the post 1960's agricultural policy. Francois was more critical of the specialisation. Louis was also critical, but it was Francois who argued forcefully for a different conception as to the methods of a "good" farmer:

> "You see ... they [the large cattle farmers] don't care ...if a scientist showed them how to have six calves per cow each year, they'd do it ... and if they could fatten them on chemicals and sell them, full-sized at a month old, they'd do it as well .. it's not good you know ... before, you let the

> animals grow fully ... you let them graze in the fields, and in the mountains, and you fed them in the Winter ... you only kept the number you could feed all year ... you weren't pressed always to sell your cattle and your calves ... now calves are sold before they're born! ... they'll finish by killing farming here ... a good farmer has different products all the time ... like that he can guard against the market, he's not dependent on the price of just one product ... all that, it started with the milk, now they do it with the calves"

The different perceptions of agriculture and the "good" farmer were most clearly evoked in another conversation with one of Louis' former neighbours, Monsieur Peyroto (born 1919), who left the hamlet in 1961 at the age of 42 to work for the local commune at Saillagouse. Currently, he spends his afternoons as a card player ("one of the best" according to the 'patron' of the bar where he plays) at Saillagouse. His mornings are spent working his allotment, while his evenings are spent playing 'boules' in the square. It is this pattern of sociability ('la sociabilité'), organised around a sense of camaraderie and play, that he underlines as having typified the farming context of an earlier period. And it was the decline of this that led him to leave farming in order to find it elsewhere, outside farming :

> "You see, we used to work in teams before, in the fields ... you could have a joke, a laugh and that ... there was a sense of camaraderie then ... the work was physical, but it was good ... and you would try to turn the field round quicker with your animals than you neighbour had done, just for fun! And we helped each other if any one needed help... you weren't paid, you'd invite whoever had helped in for 'un p'tit pastis' ... Then they started to bring in machines ... when you went to the fair to sell your animals, all they talked about was the latest tractor, the price of fuel, the price of milk at Paris, what had that to do with us! We didn't want

> all that ... and then suddenly, that technician and the big farmers began to call every week to tell us what to do with our farms! I didn't want them to tell us what to do with our farms! I didn't want them to tell me what to do with my farm, or to call me a country bumpkin when I told them how I wanted to farm ... I knew that farming would not be the same ... everyone talked only about price and cost and how much they would make with their farm ... so I left, with other colleagues from the hamlet ... we didn't want to be 'modern' farmers, we wanted to do the things we had always done ... play cards, boules and all that with my friends ... you couldn't do that anymore, farmers were all in competition by then. I don't have my farm, but I have a jardin potager, and I have my cards, and my boules".

This was typical of many farmers at that time. The refusal to stay in farming and adapt to the changed economic environment in which post-war French agriculture had become redefined was linked to a different perception of what constituted a "good" farmer and what was meant by "good" farming. It is interesting to note in Francois' comment, that his use of language reflects a different set of perceptions to those expressed by the post 1960's farmers' leaders. For example, Francois never spoke in terms of hectares when discussing his land and the harvest. Rather than talk about the number of hectares to harvest, he referred to the number of 'jornals à faire'. A 'jornal' is approximately 0.365ha and is the old measure for the amount of work a single man could do in a day using his draught animals to plough. A 'jornal' referred to the amount of 'labour' invested in a day's work. It was a measure of a day's labour. This contrasts with the widespread employment of technico-economic language used by the farmers' leader. These tended, and tend, to refer to the ratio between the horse power of a tractor to the area of land worked in terms of cost effectiveness and capital investment. For the farmers' leaders, the focus is on land and capital investment, for Francois the emphasis is on labour invested in the land. The decision by Louis not to mechanise has had important consequences in the context of the demographic collapse of the hamlet of Védrignans. He is today dependent on Jean Blanc for the accomplishment of the most basic work tasks, such as haymaking, potato lifting and the cereal harvest.

Louis has continued to use his draught cattle to plough the land for

corn and potato planting. He carries out this part of the work by himself, using 2 cows attached to a wooden yoke. Louis walks behind, guiding the plough. He maintains a herd of 10 female cattle, selling the calves to the CCVB and selling his milk to tourists. The lifting of the potatoes and the harvesting of the corn, together with the reaping of the grass, all requires the machinery of another farmer, since this would require more labour than Louis and Francois could provide using a scythe. Moreover, both these neighbours accept that they are too old to work like that. The labour input problem is resolved by exchanging Louis' labour power for the use of Jean Blanc's machinery.

This exchange takes place in the following manner. Jean Blanc provides both the machinery (tractors, trailor, hay and straw baler, small harvester and potato picker) and the labour for these work tasks on Louis' farm. This work takes a total of 5 days. Jean Blanc is not paid in cash, but rather is paid "in kind" throughout the year. From the end of the summer, Louis works for Jean Blanc as an unpaid labourer, cleaning and maintaining the machinery as well as the farmyard and out-buildings at Jean Blanc's farm at Rô. In addition, Louis helps to milk the dairy cattle, taking them out and bringing them back in the evening throughout the year, except during the Winter when the cattle are kept in the milking and livestock shed. During the summer months, Louis also helps Jean Blanc on the harvests. It appears that an unequal exchange of labour exists between these two farmers. Louis, however, expressed a clear disinclination to seek any redress.

> "Listen, if Monsieur Blanc did not gather my harvests, I would not be able to do it myself, and there's no-one else to help me .. but he could get anyone to help him ... I know I have to do it, or he wouldn't do my harvest, but I think he does more for me - he does it all! - than I do for him"

It is clear that Louis' decision not to mechanise has placed him in a difficult situation. It is also clear that Louis sees that his relationship with Jean Blanc is somehow a "justifiable" unequal exchange. In fact, looking at the relationship from his own point of view, Louis defines the

relationship as being in his own favour. However, looking at the relationship "from the outside", and with a degree of intimate knowledge of the context, it is clear that Jean Blanc depends, as do the farmers who receive similar help from the other 3 farmers who operate on unmechanised farms, upon the labour provided by Louis. It is not at all evident that Jean Blanc would find a replacement for Louis as easily as Louis suggests. It would be difficult to find someone with Louis' agricultural knowledge and skill who would work without demanding cash payment. It is in this sense, that Jean Blanc can be seen as deriving more benefit than Louis is prepared to admit. What is interesting also is the fact that Louis in part refuses to demand cash payment, due again to his definition of a "good" farmer and "good" farming. As Louis himself put it:

> "You don't make neighbours pay ... It's not like that between good neighbours ... farming wasn't ever like that."

The consequence of non-mechanisation and demographic changes in Védrignans since the 1950's have combined to indirectly tie Louis into an unequal exchange of labour which has changed the socio-economic definition of Louis from an "independent farmer" into a "part-time farmer"/"part-time farmworker". Moreover, if he were allowed to become a member of the CUMA he would receive cash compensation for any "surplus" labour input on the Blanc farm at Rô. However, he is outside the CUMA, and although he is integrated into the labour strategy of a member of the CUMA, he receives no cash compensation.

The major factors affecting labour strategies have been : (i) the post-war dispersal of kin, reducing the locally-based pool of family labour; (ii) land concentration which has made informal direct exchanges more difficult for the smaller farmers, (iii) this latter problem has been compounded by the capital intensive nature of farming, based increasingly on mechanised methods. It is also clear that the smaller farmers face more difficulties than the larger farmers. Moreover, the large dairy farmers enjoy the structural and financial benefits of a local CUMA, which have facilitated the construction of new labour strategies of an advantageous nature compared with other farmers in the region.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER SIX

1) The term 'salarié logé' refers to the 'live-in' farm worker/domestic/valet etc.
2) This reflects the situation throughout France, with the majority of GAEC's being operated between the father and his son(s).
3) The increase in the size of household between 1921 and 1936 may be explained by the general economic context of the inter-war period. With more individuals remaining on the farm than might otherwise have been the case. In the absence of unemployment benefit, it is likely that in the face of the high unemployment many individuals chose to remain on the farm, where food and shelter were guaranteed, rather than leave, and face the uncertainties of the town. Similarly, the increase in the proportion of households with 'other kin' between 1921 and 1936 may be explained in the same manner.
4) This calculated using the head of household as point of reference.
5) The terms varied, depending on whether the inheritance was matrilineal or patrilineal. Thus, if patrilineal, the term, 'areu' would be used, while 'pubilla' would be employed to refer to the inheritor in the case of a matrilineal inheritance.
6) Le Play, (1871) L'Organisation de la Famille Selon le Vrait Modèle. Signalé Par Toute l'Histoire, de Toutes Les Races, et de Tous Les Temps. Paris, St Michel.
7) These loans, known as 'prêts bonifiés' are subsidised forms of loans, with special low interest rates compared with other loans.
8) RGA 1970 & 1979/80 and my fieldwork.
9) As a mountain area, the Special Mountain Loans from the 'Crédit Agricole' allow medium term loans (15 years) at 4.75% as against 6.0% in other areas. In addition, the limit for the DIJA including the purchase of equipment is 450000 francs. In the case of development plans, the ceiling is negotiable, and is, again subsidised by the State.
10) This is in line with the general post 1975 EC Directive concerning support for the less-favoured areas, as ratified by the French government. See 'arrêté, 5/11/1975, and modified by the 'arrêté' 11/2/1981, applying the subsidies as anticipated by the 'décret' No 74-129, 20/02/1974.
11) Archives at CIMELAIT.
12) I am indebted here to the current president of the CUMA, who is also the president of CIMELAIT, Monsieur Delcor.
13) One 'jornal' was the old measure for one day's work. It represented the standard amount of land that could be ploughed by one man using his draught animals. The area represented by one jornal was 0.35565 hectares. By comparison, today, with the grass-cutter, 10 hectares can be covered in one day.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Analysis and Conclusions

This study is principally concerned with the role of farmers and the farming family in post-war socio-economic and socio-cultural change in 'La Cerdagne'. In analysing the general strategies deployed by farmers and farming families, it is important to distinguish between the different types of strategies used according to the different groups of farmers and to identify how these strategies have changed over time within the region. The strategies that have been most important to farmers and farming families in 'La Cerdagne' have centred on the organisation of production, land and labour. While kinship networks have been historically significant in the development and deployment of all farm-based strategies in the region, such strategies need to be related to changes in the local political economy and to changes in agricultural policy. Accordingly, this chapter begins with an analysis of agricultural change within the region.

The socio-political struggles engaged in and led by farmers in 'La Cerdagne' from the inter-war period onwards have to be seen in terms of structural changes within the local economy from the late nineteenth century through to the inter-war years. These created a situation in which local farming families became increasingly dependent on income derived from agricultural production alone. This led to pressing economic problems. With declining off-farm sources of income, the decision to remain in farming, and in the region, necessitated an increase in agriculturally based income sources. Of course, the decision to remain in farming and in the region has to be seen against the background of the inter-war economic crisis and the paucity of alternatives. The farmers that did remain in farming did so on different terms to those of their predecessors. These different terms were the result of a collective strategy of the part of farmers, the aim of which was to effect greater control over the production and sale of agricultural goods in the region, leading to the creation of the farmers' dairy cooperatives. The constraints imposed by changes in the local economy from the end of the nineteenth century onwards led directly to the decision to create the cooperatives. This collective strategy emerged

out of the socio-political struggle between the farmers and the private dairies in the region.

By the mid-1950's, having successfully gained control over the dairy and milk markets in the region (and indeed, throughout the department of the Pyrénées-Orientales) another set of strategies came into play within the local agricultural sector. The setting up of the farmers' cooperatives in 1913 and 1934 was premissed on a collective solution to the economic problems facing farmers. In contrast, since the 1960's strategies have been developed and deployed whose 'raison d'être' is clearly rooted in pursuing individualistic solutions to the problems of farmers and the commercialisation of agricultural production. How did this shift from collective strategies to individual strategies come about within the farming population of 'La Cerdagne'?

The 'mouvement coopératif', originating in the 1930's, was based on a concept of 'la collectivité', hence the resistance by the cooperative to individual farmers' solutions to the price problem on the meat and dairy markets during the inter-war years. It was in large part the successful mobilisation of mass support for the cooperatives in the 1950's that led to their predominant position in milk and dairy markets in the region. The farmers' leaders at that time came from the ranks of the small and medium farmers, enjoying widespread support for their policies. With regard to their broad-based platform, the farmers' leaders regarded support for the agricultural sector as part-and-parcel of a village-based set of interests. That is to say, support for local agriculture was tied into a collective concern for the socio-economic development of the village. In a real sense, such an approach may be seen as a vestige of 'traditional' organicist concepts of social life at the level of the village.

From the 1960's onwards farm leaders shifted the focus from global and collective strategies, to farm-based individual strategies. The central concept became that of the 'entrepreneurial farmer'. The basis of this status was the prior acceptance of the modernisation programme as initiated by the French state and the EC. The former emphasised the importance of increased production and productivity levels. An increase in both would, it

was argued, increase individual farm incomes and permit farmers to benefit from the expansion in consumer demand. This was the rationale employed by the farm leaders in the 1960's. The argument was reinforced by the appearance in the region of tourists whose provenance was external to the region.

The construction of well-equipped tourist lets, and the introduction of consumer goods as part of the naissant tourist economy, served to support the position held by the farm leaders. Individual farm-based strategies became established highlighting farm-level inequalities, particularly regarding the land question. These inequalities had always existed. What is important since the 1960's, is that the inequalities have been stressed more openly in the context of policies that encouraged the productive use of all agricultural land. Whereas in the 1930's, the farmers' cooperatives were seen as a collective solution to the economic problems facing farming families, the post-1960's threw up individual solutions at the level of the farm within the framework of the EC and French state agricultural policies. In both cases, we are dealing with strategies constructed by farmers in the locale. The shift from collective to individual-based strategies was a response to (a) changes in the local political economy, (b) the impact of national and EC level policies, and (c) changes in the membership of local farm leaders. The latter point raises the question of socio-cultural changes in the region. It is difficult to see how the values of the farm leaders from the 1960's might have taken root in the inter-war period, still less so in the early post-war period. The principal factor in this regard derives from the shift in both the public perception of farmers, as well as farmers' own expectations concerning farming as an activity. This related to a move away from farming being considered as "a way of life" to farming being perceived as a business in a strict, technico-economic sense. It was precisely such change in perception and expectations - reflecting different sets of values - that typified the 1960-62 agricultural policy framework throughout France. 'La Cerdagne' was no exception.

Having stressed the elements of change regarding local farm leaders, it is important to note the elements of continuity, since this has also been documented elsewhere in France. The influential position of Monsieur Aris

as a member of a 'traditional' landowning family has its equivalent elsewhere in France, where the landowning élite have continued post-1945 to exert an influence on local agricultural affairs (Jollivet & Mendras 1971; Moreau 1958; Juilard 1953; Morel 1977). In all cases, political influence, and indeed political office, is reported as being transmitted, along with, and in a manner analogous to, the family landstock. Kinship was the basis for the organisation of this transfer of economic and socio-political capital (Pinguad 1976). The twin transmission of land and political office was the basis of the continuing central position of the landowning élite. The 'maires' were typically elected from the landowning élite. This is echoed in Delupy's study, though there was a decline in this tendency from the 1940's (Delupy 1977). Segalen and Chambron argue that the SAFER AND 'Le Crédit Agricole' replaced the 'Notables Traditionnels' (Segalen 1976; Chambron 1976), while Guillem notes that these landowning families lost their local power after the end of the nineteenth century. It is clear, as Bontron suggests, that there has been some diversity throughout France on this question (Bontron, 1976).

What is interesting in 'La Cerdagne', is the element of both change and continuity regarding the local 'Notables' and matters agricultural. In the first instance, the influence of the nineteenth century 'Notables Traditionnels' declined. From the inter-war years onwards, farm leaders drawn from the mass of small and medium farmers became increasingly influential in local agricultural politics. By the mid-1950's, these farmers held all the important elected posts within the agricultural organisations in the region. In the 1960's, however, the farmers' leadership came under the control of large landowning farming families. Farmers from these families became the new 'Notables'; they were, and are, 'Notables Agricoles'. These farmers have been connected by marriage and a common history rooted in landownership. This was clear in the case of the Blanc family. These findings coincide with those from other parts of France (Maresca 1979; Gutsatz 1978).

These farm leaders were part of the nationwide movement led by young farmers. This movement, known as the CNJA (Centre National des Jeunes Agriculteurs), and inspired by the earlier formed JAC (Jeuness Agricole

Chrétienne) was organised by rural youth who sought radical reforms in agriculture (Clearly, 1989; Lowe and Buller, 1990). In broad terms they had in mind a thorough agricultural modernisation programme. In a sense the increased role of the state during the war years under Vichy assisted the post-war acceptance of state intervention in French agriculture.

Regarding the situation in 'La Cerdagne', it is clear that the local farmers' 'mouvement coopératif' used the war time corporatisme espoused by the Vichy state in a pragmatic manner, as a vehicle to oppose the position of the local commercial class which owned the private dairies. The use of the nationalistic and patriotic rhetoric by the president of the farmers' dairy was not indicative of support for the semi-fascist nationalism of the Vichy state. The Vichy state's foray into agricultural organisation - for example, the introduction of the land consolidation scheme (le remembrement) - coincided with the desire of the local farmers' leaders of the cooperative movement to see more state intervention, which they believed would assist their long term struggle against the private dairies. Moreover, it was also felt that this could lead to further state support for local agriculture in general.

The leadership of the farmers' cooperative at the time, being from the line of 'Notables Républicains', openly favoured the high profile of state intervention. It represented a final vision of success over the local 'Notables Traditionnels' who had long supported the Catholic church's image of the unchanging rural social order. There is some truth in the claim that the 'unité paysanne' as supported by the Vichy state masked the socio-economic differences and inequalities between farmers. This ideological element is often criticised by writers on the subject (Clearly, 1989; Lowe and Buller, 1990). However, within 'La Cerdagne' the 'unité paysanne' was seized upon by the leaders of the 'mouvement coopératif' as a means to oust the private dairies, and to impose a farmers' cooperative structure in their place.

These 'Notables Agricoles' introduced the 1960's agricultural modernisation programme which brought about radical changes in the region's agriculture. The family history of these farmers' leaders reflects a

profound element of continuity. The socio-cultural influence of these farming families in large part assisted the introduction of the agricultural modernisation programme at that particular time. The expansion of the tourist economy was also important in carrying the farmers' leaders arguments. The failure of the agricultural policy of the 1950's to eradicate the disparity between agricultural and non-agricultural incomes was thrown into sharp relief in the context of the low level of services to the farms in the early 1960's. Many of the problems persist in 'La Cerdagne' and elsewhere in France (Mabeuf 1986; Bagès 1986; Enschooten 1987). Nevertheless, the agricultural modernisation programme was introduced and gave rise to a new context in which farmers and farming families constructed on-farm strategies. From the 1960's the socio-cultural climate lent itself to an approach that was to be more individual-based than the former collective-approach. Despite the shift in policy emphasis, recourse is often still made to collective solutions in the strategies deployed by farmers and farming families in 'La Cerdagne'. This is particularly true of labour strategies.

The setting up of the farmers' cooperatives was crucially important in the promotion of agricultural change in the region. As elsewhere in France (Gutstatz 1978), the cooperatives in 'La Cerdagne' were developed initially as an institutional means especially to protect the smaller farmers. The cooperative movement originally emerged from, and was constructed out of, a series of local struggles over the commercialisation of milk and dairy production in the region. The successful implantation of a cooperative structure in the region was at the expense of the private dairies. The initial ideological position of the cooperative movement in the early days was based on the argument that farmers were locked into a disadvantageous relationship with the local private dairies. The cooperative movement was as much assisted by this posturing, as it was by the expansion of urban demand for agricultural products.

Having achieved a monopoly position, largely with the fortuitous ideological support of the war time 'mouvement corporatiste', the farmers' cooperatives allowed farmers to benefit in two important ways. Firstly, the cooperatives provided farmers with greater control over the sale of their

production. Secondly, given that the transformation of milk into a variety of products was carried out by the farmers' cooperatives, the farmers maintained a larger share of the added value than would have been the case in former times, under the private dairies. The setting up of the cooperatives was an important strategy on the part of farmers in the region. However, from the beginning there was some ambiguity in the ideas behind the development of the cooperatives. In particular, the two key ideas: 'être coopératif and être coopérateur', tended to mask both historical and contemporary socio-economic differences and inequalities between the different groups of farmers. These differences persist, based principally on land levels and mechanisation. Since the 1960's, the larger farms have benefited most from agricultural policy, while smaller farms have been marginalised. Moreover, local policy within the sphere of production and the circuits of commercialisation has tended to dovetail more closely into French state and EC policies. The latter focused both on specialisation within agriculture as well as encouraging increased levels of production and productivity. Such aims have benefited the development of larger, specialised farms, at the expense of small-scale diversified farming. This relates to a fundamental problem facing farmers in 'La Cerdagne' with regard to production strategies.

Underlying the growth of the cooperative movement in the region was a long-term shift towards specialised agriculture. This can be seen as part of a wider process of the division of labour within the agricultural sector in France. From the inter-war period onwards, there was a move in 'La Cerdagne' to develop dairy and beef livestock farming at the cost of diversity in production. While the latter did continue - (although greatly reduced from the nineteenth century) until the 1960's, it is from this time that the inter-war bias towards dairy production became evident. For the farmers the advantage was that milk production afforded a more regular income and allowed for an intensification of production on a relatively small-scale. In the face of reduced off-farm income sources, this was clearly an advantage for farmers. The specialisation in pasteurised milk from the mid 1960's onwards effectively ended the diversity of dairy products produced by the farmers' cooperatives. Present on-farm diversity of production is aimed more at domestic consumption rather than for sale.

This process of specialisation was directly in line with agricultural policy, leading to structural adjustments within local agriculture which effected rapid increases in levels of production and productivity. In the context of the current butter and milk powder mountains, however, such a strategy has faced increasing difficulties.

The institutional response to the problem of over-specialisation and over-production has been to encourage on-farm diversification. The creation of a third cooperative, PROMOCIME, aimed at providing a solution to specialisation in practical terms, implies a high level capital input as well as access to a large surface area of farmland. It is for this reason that this strategy has been unsuccessful in the region. Moreover, the only farmers able to benefit from this, are precisely those in least economic need - i.e. the larger, wealthier farms.

A final problem regarding the cooperative structure in the region relates to the relationship that the cooperatives have with external monopolies. The dairy and the beef cooperatives were set up largely in order to gain more control over dairy and beef markets. The beef cooperative was created to oppose a local butcher monopoly, while the dairy cooperatives were set up to oppose the private dairies' monopoly. The strategy was initially successful in providing local farmers with a greater degree of control. However, both cooperatives are now integrated into monopolies - cooperative and private in form - and as such have little room to manoeuvre. This is especially the case, given the fact that dairy and beef production is directed from outside the region involving international markets, where there is already surplus production in the EC. High levels of production and the presence of monopolies places the farmers' cooperatives - and therefore the farmers - in a weak position. A combination of low incomes, a fragile market position, and state aid restricted to farmers who operate through the cooperatives, has left the farmers in the region with little room to effect alternative production and commercialisation strategies. The only apparently viable strategy at present is to increase production and, especially, productivity. This restricts the options open to the majority of farmers, since they do not have access to sufficient land or capital to follow this strategy. Land has become increasingly important. In

particular, emphasis is placed on the area of land owned, since the further mechanisation required to increase productivity implies high capital investment in the form of a milking and livestock shed. Such investment is often only considered if sufficient land is owned by the farmer.

The first point to make concerning land in 'La Cerdagne' is that the socio-economic relationships that define landownership cannot be reduced to a simple two class model. We are not dealing with landowners on the one hand, and farmers on the other. Rather it is clear that land and landownership are issues that have to be understood in the context of a complex web of socio-economic and socio-cultural relationships based on kinship. The family farm in 'La Cerdagne' is a kin-based group organised around commercial domestic production. Essential to the continuity of the family farm has been access to adequate labour, land and capital resources, together with the successful transfer of property from one generation to the next. The transfer of land in the region has been economically and culturally defined according to norms that are both legally (formally) and socially (often informally) defined. Inheritance rules in practice have been at the heart of kinship.

Kinship itself has been rooted in local history and culture. In 'La Cerdagne', this manifests itself most clearly in terms of a locally defined 'notabilité' and a number of 'grandes familles' which have used kinship networks combined with a male bias in inheritance strategies in order to maintain their position within the region. The inheritance strategies have been traditionally combined with marriage strategies to protect a local land-based hierarchy. The exercise of group endogamy, and the limiting of ties of consanguinity have ensured a separation between large landowning farming families and other farming families.

The organisation of kin-based marriage and inheritance strategies have been central to the land question in 'La Cerdagne'. Marriage alliances have been incorporated into inheritance strategies as a means to ensure the integrity of the farm land and as a means to reinforce family and kin structures. Marriage alliances have typically been arranged between sons and daughters from farming families of equal socio-economic standing. This

has led to an accentuation of land-based inequalities, as seen in the case of the Blanc family. Kinship and the successful organisation of kinship structures and recruitment into kinship networks have been instrumental in the impressive land concentration within the Blanc family. It should be noted that the unforeseen consequences of demographic factors have also been important in the post-war land concentration. The Blanc family is a classic example of this.

Economic demands and agricultural policy on production and productivity have further led to the concentration of land in the region. This has been noted elsewhere in France (Coulomb 1973). There has been an increase in the area under productive use as well as an increasing tendency to combine owned and tenanted land throughout France. Moreover the prohibitive cost of land has been behind the recourse to gain access to land via inheritance. The data from 'La Cerdagne' supports Coulomb's position, casting some doubt on the generalisability of Newby's suggestion that extensive land use itself poses 'an obstacle' to simple commodity production in agriculture (Newby et al, 1981:47-8). The "obstacle" represented by the price of land, may only be apparent in the case of land purchase. However, farming family land inheritance strategies are designed specifically to facilitate access to land without recourse to the land market.

Land purchase is the least common method of gaining access to farmland in 'La Cerdagne'. Inheritance is the most common method, being organised within a framework of complex land inheritance and marriage alliance strategies. This does not imply that no costs are incurred by the farming families concerned. Compensation has always been a necessary factor in the successful inheritance strategy. The underlying concern in the inheritance strategies in 'La Cerdagne' has been the avoidance of land partition. The problem facing farming families 'La Cerdagne' can be depicted as follows using Le Roy Ladurie's model:

	Partible Inheritance	Impartible Inheritance
Dowry includes land	A	B
Dowry does not include land	C	D

A and C theoretically pose economic problems due to the constant division of land. On the other hand, B and D raise the problem of how to satisfactorily indemnify the non-inheriting siblings (Le Roy Ladurie 1976). The system of inheritance employed has varied over time (Pingaud 1971) and according to regional customs (Gaillard-Bans 1976). Moreover, whether or not the indemnity reflected an equitable share or not has varied throughout France. What has been constant, however, has been the need for non-inheriting siblings to accept the system of indemnity in order to avoid the division of land (Groshens 1977).

In 'La Cerdagne', the Catalan law of succession continued to operate as a local custom beyond the promulgation of the Code Civil. The latter provided for equal shares between the children, while the former supported the privilege of primogeniture in general. Although not always, the eldest son usually inherited the largest share of the land, after succeeding to the farm, and following the death of his father. With the non-partition of the land being crucial for economic reasons, the acceptance, for socio-cultural reasons, of the system by the non-inheriting siblings was paramount. The share of the patrimony was only theoretical, since the compensation payment was provided for in the dowry payment which passed from the father of the bride to the inheriting son's father. This payment formed the economic base to the system of indemnity for the inheriting son's siblings. This was the 'traditional' system of inheritance. It was a strategy designed to maintain the integrity of the land, and ensure the successful transmission of the farm from one generation to the next. The 'traditional' system declined due to the combined effect of the economic crisis in the inter-war years and the decision of women to leave farming in increasing numbers from about the same period. This will be discussed later, together with an assessment of recent farmers' strategies which have attempted to combine elements of the 'traditional' inheritance system with changes in the local economy following tourist developments in the region.

The 'traditional' inheritance system was tied into an extensive network of socio-economic and socio-cultural obligations. Kinship solidarity was often reinforced by 'inter-vivos' inheritance, whereby part of the inheritance was made during the lifetime of the father. This

happened for example, between Jean Blanc, and his father, Alexandre Blanc. Treated as a gift in anticipation, this invested the relationship between the father and the nominated inheriting son with obligations, principally moving from the son to the father. The investment also worked the other way round. Once the son succeeded fully to the farm the father was obliged to the son, given the dependence of the father on the son during his old age. Given that full inheritance was usually post-mortem, the son remained under obligation to the father until his death. The importance of social obligations within the inheritance strategies was particularly notable in former times when agriculture (as an economic activity) and the local village (as a location for social relationships) conjointly framed the social and economic boundaries of relationships for the farming families. In such circumstances, to be designated the inheritor carried obligations whose fulfilment was difficult to oppose. After all, throughout the nineteenth century and up to the inter-war period, land carried great economic importance, often providing the only, or at least principle, income for farming families. Access to, and control over land were tied into kin-based obligations, between one generation and the next, as well as between siblings. The obligations were at once, inter and intra-generational.

Another aspect of kinship obligations in the inheritance strategies is seen in the retention of a non-inheriting brother of the inheriting son, as a source of free on-farm labour. The non-inheriting son remained unmarried ('célibataire'). This source of labour supplemented the labour-facilitating device known as the 'famille-souche', or the stem family. Not only did the non-inheriting son remain unmarried, his theoretical share of the inheritance remained with the inheriting son, thereby allowing for capital accumulation on the farm. It is difficult to mount an argument that explains the decision of the non-inheriting son to remain on the farm in terms of economic gain on his part. Even if one could argue that there was an economic gain for the inheriting son, and for the farm as an economic unit, the explanation concerning the non-inheriting son would have to involve kinship obligations.

Moreover, the selection of a single male inheritor also involves going

beyond economic considerations. Clearly a single female inheritor would satisfy the economic concern to avoid land partition. This is precisely what Goody was getting at when he argued that inheritance rules throw into relief the position of women and children, reflecting structures of authority in the farming household (Goody 1976). But whatever the legal definition of and whatever the economic justification for a certain form of inheritance pattern, the latter is always rooted in a cultural norm. This norm in 'La Cerdagne' favoured the placing of the first born son as the single inheritor. Moreover inheritance rules may not only be defined in cultural, economic and legal terms (see, O'Neill 1987), but may also be subject to ideological inputs which serve to justify the rules and sustain the aspiration to inherit. (Rogers and Salomon 1983). This aspiration has declined in the post war period in 'La Cerdagne' due to socio-economic and socio-cultural changes, the results of which have thrown up a whole new range of options, leading to an increase in the strategies at the disposal of farmers and farming families.

The 'traditional' inheritance system declined from the inter-war years onwards, due both to the impact of the economic crisis, inflation, and the decision of women to leave farming. The latter phenomenon left many farms without inheritors. The dowry system fell into disuse as the inheritance strategies and marriage alliances lost their former social status. However, the tourist economy has provided the material basis for the construction of new inheritance strategies that combine elements of the 'traditional' inheritance systems, as well as responding to the provision for equal sharing of the 'patrimoine' outlined in the Code Civil. There have been a number of policy responses to the problem of farm succession. These responses have also been incorporated into on-farm inheritance strategies, though they have to be understood in the context of the prior discussion of the constraints facing farming families with the decline of the 'traditional' inheritance system.

The emphasis on levels of production and productivity has, together with a greater share of production given over for sale, influenced the concentration of land in the region. To gain entry into farming now, or to ensure a viable installation of a son, requires access to a relatively large

area of land. This is only one of the causes behind the problem of succession in the region. With only 21 out of 120 farms having a guaranteed successor, this is clearly a problem for the reproduction of farming families. Tenant farmers face a more difficult problem in this respect, as well as bearing the burden of often farming land without a written contract due to the influence of tourism on the local land market.

The policy solutions to the problem of succession and on-farm installation have sought to promote early and supplementary retirement schemes (IVD), schemes to install farmers' sons (DIJA), as well as the subsidised modernisation of farm land (via the SAFER), and on-farm modernisation using a development plan. In addition, the setting up of the POS as a means to separate agricultural land from land for construction, was designed to remove the perceived deliterious effect of building land prices on farm land. On all counts, the main beneficiaries of the policy solutions have been the larger landowning farmers. It is the large landowning farming families that have sufficient land to make the investments required by the development plan; to install a son using a DIJA, while the father continues to farm some of the land at the same time as receiving his IVD. Moreover, the landowning farming families have been able to benefit from the POS where the definition of the latter has included some of their land within the building zones. Given that landowning farmers are often members of the Conseil Municipal, they are in a position to define the boundaries of the POS. These policy initiatives have been incorporated into new inheritance strategies on the part of the landowning farming families. This is particularly the case regarding the POS and the influence of the tourist economy.

The custom of giving an unequal share of the 'patrimoine' to the non-inheriting siblings continued until the 1960's; the Catalan custom prevailing over the French law. However, from the 1960's, new inheritance strategies have appeared based on a more egalitarian share of the total 'patrimoine'. Elements of the 'traditional' inheritance strategy continue to play a part in the current system of inheritance. Small areas of land are made available for the construction of flats or houses. The latter form the basis to indemnify non-inheriting siblings. In this way, the bulk of

the farm land is maintained intact, thereby maintaining a link with the 'traditional' system. Moreover, this reflects a continuing concern to maintain the family farm. The value of the flats and houses is far greater than an equal share of the land qua farm land would be. In this sense, there is a greater sense of equality between the inheriting and non-inheriting siblings. The demand for a more equal share of the total 'patrimoine' corresponds with the impact of the tourist economy on the price of farm land in the region.

The tourist economy has been the basis for the development of novel inheritance strategies among farming families in the region. The integrity of the land is maintained, while a more equal share of the total 'patrimoine' is possible. This only applies to landowning farming families. Tenant farming families stand outside this development. What is more interesting is that the non-inheriting siblings do not demand a straight equal share of all the land; that they do not, and that they accept a small share - but for building purposes - is indicative of a commitment to the maintenance of the family farm. This commitment does not have its rationale in economic considerations. The siblings would have more land for construction purposes, as and when the boundaries of the POS extended to cover the land, if they demanded an equal share of the land. This indicates an element of continuity in terms of an attachment to the family farm, while acknowledging a radical change from the 'traditional' inheritance systems. This being said, the problem of succession to the farm has not been resolved.

Although the larger farms in 'La Cerdagne' have been more successful in guaranteeing succession thus far, even on these farms - for example, the Blanc family - succession is not guaranteed. The problem lies not just in the economic state of the farm (its size, and level of capital input) but also in the different strategies that are open to members of the farming family. This includes the designated inheritor. Of importance here are the range of strategies focusing on labour supply to the family farm.

The problem of succession is not only related to the relative poverty of farming in 'La Cerdagne'. It is also to be explained by reference to

alternative strategies open to members of farming families. This has been the consequence of both the extension of the period of formal education, and the post-war urban-based industrial expansion. In addition, it ought to be pointed out that there has been a shift in values within the farming population. This is seen in the transformation of 'traditional' practices of celibacy and the ideological support for the domestic group into clearly pragmatic goals based on values that promote and articulate individualistic aims. To understand the emergence of newly constructed labour strategies within the farming family, it is necessary to outline both the 'traditional' labour strategies, and the processes that have led to their decline.

'Traditional' labour strategies were based on a combination of the son who succeeded to the farm, his unmarried, resident brother, and often, the older parents. The presence of the inheriting son's parents beyond the birth of his own children gave rise to the three generational household. This provided an important flexibility in terms of the provision of labour. Moreover, it is in this very structural phenomenon that we observe the close connection between land inheritance and labour strategies; both being underpinned by kin-based obligations at once inter-generational and intra-generational in nature. Beyond this basic source of family labour, a further distinction ought to be made between the different labour strategies according to the socio-economic status of the farming families. The larger landowning farming families made common recourse to live-in hired labour to complement the on-farm family labour. The children on the larger farms were not considered as a source of labour; rather they were the means by which their farming families reproduced their social capital, with the children continuing their education, becoming local 'Notables', as doctors and lawyers. On the other hand, the poorer farming families relied on kin beyond the immediate family for a supplementary on-farm source of labour. Finally, 'traditional' labour strategies incorporated neighbourhood based networks, thereby completing locally organised and constructed pools of labour. The principal source of labour in the 'traditional' labour strategies for the majority of farming families was provided by family and kin. This continued into the post-war period in 'La Cerdagne'. Family labour has been seen as an important source of labour, the foundation of on-farm labour strategies.

However, each member of the farming family is not only a potential source of on-farm labour, each member of the family is also a potential off-farm wage earner (Friedmann 1976). This can either result in members of the family leaving the farm to work elsewhere, thereby withdrawing his or her labour from the farm. Or, he or she may bring the wage earned outside the farm into the farm as a means to assist the farm. In the case of 'La cerdagne', the 'traditional' labour strategies became increasingly difficult to organise due to the extended education of children, and the out-migration from agriculture (and indeed from the region in many cases) of most of the post-war younger generations.

The extension of education was an important non-economic factor that led to the reduction in the on-farm labour supply, with children spending longer periods off the farm throughout the year. This was compounded by the closure of primary schools in many villages in the post-war period. Children were sent outside the village to attend school in one of the larger villages. In particular, it was the smaller, poorer farms that were affected by these two processes. It was such farms that depended on family and kin for the deployment of labour strategies. While the extension of education closed certain labour strategies for these families, it opened other strategies for the individual children concerned. In turn, this led to pressure on farmers to mechanise to replace this source of labour. Of course this was also hastened by economic factors such as post-war land concentration.

Kin-dispersal and the decision of non-inheriting sons to seek employment outside the region reduced the supply of both on-farm labour and the intra-farm labour. For the larger wealthier farms the introduction of mechanisation from the inter war period reduced the dependence on hired (Spanish) labour for on-farm labour strategies. A further element in the deconstruction of the 'traditional' labour strategies has been the post war concentration of land in the region. The effect of this, combined with the massive reduction in the number of farms has been to render impracticable the former inter-farming family systems of 'entr'aide' which had been based on neighbourhood patterns. A reduction in the on-farm labour pool, linked in part to the extension of education of the children, together with a

reduction in the size of the family and the general agricultural population including the wage labourer together with the post-war land concentration, all operated to limit the scope of the 'traditional' labour strategies. While the former labour strategies have no longer become possible, there remains a fundamental need for extra-off-farm labour to supplement what is effectively a near purely family-based labour supply in the current context. The level of wage labour on the farms is very low indeed, even on the larger farms. I shall now turn to the present system of labour strategies to examine the contemporary position of the farming family in 'La Cerdagne'.

Firstly, all farms require some labour input external to the permanent household. This concerns predominantly harvest work when the level of work reaches its peak. For most farmers, extra labour is provided principally by kin, within a system of inter-farming family assistance. The range of kin is greatly reduced from former times, and for the most part is only used and resident during the harvest period. This contrasts with the wider range of kin which was either resident all year round, or was at least locally-resident throughout the year. The decline is due to the post-war kin dispersal. Where kin are used, payment is not made, since it is seen as a familial duty. Clearly there is a financial advantage to the use of unpaid family labour, at least for the farmer. This is not the case for the kin members who provide the labour. For them, moral concerns are paramount. Although on a handful of farms, the farmer is resident with his elderly parents, the three generational family has practically disappeared. Mechanisation has been a major means for compensating for the reduction in kin-based and inter-familial labour sources.

The decision to mechanise (as part of new labour strategies) is not based on a straight forward technico-economic calculation. Central to the choice whether to mechanise or not have been the twin socio-economic concerns of whether or not the land is owned by the farming family, and whether or not there is a guaranteed on-farm successor. The latter is more of a strictly social factor, depending on the decision of the selected inheritor - if indeed, there is one. In the case of the four smallest farms in the region, there was no inheritor, the farmers having remained 'célibataire'. The absence of a successor influenced these farmers'

decision to not invest in mechanisation. On the other hand, there are more strictly economic factors that influence whether or not investments in on-farm mechanisation will, for example, receive state subsidies. The increase in the minimum size of land farmed insisted upon by the 'Crédit Agricole' for state subsidised loans for the development plan is typical of this. Whether a farmer mechanises or not has a great bearing on the range of labour strategies. In the case of Monsieur Fabre, the decision not to mechanise, combined with post-war kin-dispersal and the general demographic collapse in his village, has left him dependent on a farmer from a large neighbouring farm for all his work tasks. This, has, moreover, tied him into the labour strategies of his neighbour, as an unpaid part-labourer.

The increasing use of mechanised methods since the 1960's has radically reduced the use of migrant labour, such that it is of marginal importance in the region today . Although it was not until the post-war period that mechanisation became widespread, the process began in the inter-war years, with the Lassus-Baurès harvesting company. This company also introduced cash payments between farmers. The use of contract harvesting companies has become the norm in the region, though the local harvesting company has been replaced by a number of large contract harvesting companies from Toulouse. This process can be seen - along with the integration of the local farmers' cooperatives - as part of the division of labour within agriculture. All but five farmers have incorporated the contract harvesting companies into their labour strategies. The five farmers who stand outside this system are from the larger class of farmers, owning more than the average amount of land, and importantly, are neighbours. The latter point is important in that their proximity allows for a rational sharing of the two combine harvesters that they co-own.

The decline in the number of farms in the last thirty years has had a negative effect on neighbourhood based systems of entr'aide for those farmers remaining. This is particularly the case for the smaller farmers. Formerly, neighbouring farmers with similar sized farms engaged in mutual help systems, based on labour equivalents rather than cash payment. Today with so few small farms in the region as a whole, this village based system is no longer possible. This compounds the problem of kin dispersal and the

reduction of on-farm family labour availability. There has been an institutional solution offered in the form of the CUMA. This is designed to overcome the problem of high investment in machinery as well as that of low levels of on-farm labour supply and kin dispersal.

The CUMA may be seen as a formalisation of the 'traditional' systems of entr'aide, its aim being to facilitate essential labour strategies. The joint acquisition of expensive machinery receives additional state subsidies for the loans to buy the machinery. However, the CUMA has been the sole reserve of the larger dairy farmers who limit access to membership to avoid cash compensation payments to the smaller farmers. In this way, the larger farmers have formed a system of entr'aide between themselves, based on the straight exchange of labour equivalents. The majority of farmers in the region (89 in all) are excluded from the CUMA.

The CUMA helps maintain higher levels of land and labour productivity for the larger farmers who, in addition, have flexibility regarding their dairy quota. The farmers who organise their labour strategies within the framework of the CUMA enjoy a number of advantages. Firstly, there are the economies of scale, particularly for the 13 farmers with a livestock and milking shed. Secondly, farmers in the CUMA can co-purchase labour-saving machinery that ensures higher land and labour productivity. Thirdly, these farmers are in receipt of state subsidies. Fourthly, farmers within the CUMA have low labour input requirements.

The GAEC's that are members of the CUMA have further state provided fiscal advantages connected with their labour strategies, while the smallest, unmechanised farms have been integrated into more informal labour strategies with the farmers from the CUMA. Although this assists the small farms, it is skewed to the advantage of the larger farms. Those farmers that stand outside the CUMA face the same problem of effecting inter-farming family labour strategies. The reduction in the availability of on-farm family labour has stimulated the search for extra-familial labour. It is also the principle manner in which collective strategies continue to be used by farmers, despite the general shift towards more individual strategies. As with the farmers in the CUMA, the larger farmers outside the CUMA try to

avoid, where possible, operating with the smaller farms, since this would involve cash payments as compensation for the labour provided by the smaller farmers. For the latter, the combination of land concentration, the reduction in the number of small farms, and kin dispersal have together removed flexibility of labour strategies in earlier years.

The use of off-farm employment as a source of income has a long history in farming family labour strategies in 'La Cerdagne'. Throughout the nineteenth century, off-farm employment was widespread. In the current context, there is very little. Farmers themselves do not engage in any off-farm economic activity. Only 11 out of the 80 wives worked off the farm, the rest worked on the farm. As for the other members of the farming family, only 10 persons were actively engaged in off-farm activities. Those who did work off the farm saw their income as a contribution to the farm. Off-farm income was a means to subsidise the farm. One of the reasons for such a low level of off-farm activity is the inappropriateness of farm skills and training to other economic activities. Most farmers and members of the farming family simply do not have skills that are easily transferable to other sectors of the economy in the region. In addition, age is a factor working against most farmers. The tourist economy that began in Font-Romeu-Odeilla-Via in the inter-war years and which expanded throughout the region in the 1960's and 1970's has not provided the level of off-farm work that was at first anticipated. What paid employment there is in tourism, tends to be of a seasonal, short-term nature.

However, there is another manner in which tourism has been integrated into on-farm labour strategies, by landowning farming families in particular. Although tourism provides little paid labour, farming families have incorporated tourism into their on-farm labour strategies. Taking in guests or letting surplus property to tourists, provides an extra source of income. This is often seen as essential to the maintenance of the farm itself. Moreover, tourist activity ties in with on-farm labour supply and demand requirements. This contrasts with the 'traditional' off-farm activities which were defined within the context of local economic diversity and para-agricultural activity involving the transformation of agricultural production. This use of the tourist economy has replaced the now defunct serial employment that once existed both inside and beyond the region.

One aspect that is particularly interesting here is the manner in which the division of labour regarding the use of tourist activity has been defined along gender lines, mirroring the gender-based division of labour within agricultural production. Whereas prior to farm mechanisation, there was no strict division of labour between men's and women's work, there is now a clear division. With dairy production assuming high status in the region from the 1960's, milking has become a male activity, where formerly, unmechanised, it was often part of the farmyard work of women. Since mechanisation, milking and the care of dairy cattle has become part of the male domain. This is part of the general domestication of women's work within the farming families. Taking in guests within the tourist economy has, likewise, been defined as a woman's task.

We may summarise the changes in the use of labour strategies, in the following manner :

i) Cooperation internal to the household was previously organised around the farmer, his spouse, their children and other kin. On the big farms, there was also a supply of live-in hired labour. The three generational family was central to on-farm family labour up to the inter-war years. The three generational family has all but disappeared as has the live-in hired labour, whlie the range of other kin in the locality has been greatly reduced.

ii) Cooperation external to the household, but intra-familial, included the farmer's siblings, especially for harvest work, but was also used throughout the year. Although help is still provided at harvest time, the farmer's siblings, as well as other categories of kin are usually resident outside the region.

iii) Cooperation external to the household, provided between different farming families was organised on a neighbourhood basis, both for harvest work, and throughout the year. Following the post-war land concentration, the mechanisation of farm work and the decrease in both internal and external sources of farm labour, this strategy is now difficult

to effect, particularly on the smaller farms. The CUMA is an institutional response to the problem of labour supply within the labour strategies, however, as with the informal labour strategies, it tends to favour the larger more mechanised farms.

There are some interesting points of comparison in the literature. Farmers in 'La Cerdagne' have generally embraced agricultural policy initiatives, incorporating them into their on-farm production strategies. A combination of low-elasticity in demand for foodstuffs and EC and French state subsidies have resulted in over-production. EC and French state responses have sought to encourage quality as against quantity in agricultural production, with some financing of the development of on-farm diversification of production. This in itself has had significant academic support (Jollivet 1988). Moreover, evidence indicates that some farmers are already doing just this, developing farmer-initiated production strategies based on a diversification of on-farm agricultural production. (Lamarche, 1987; Muller, 1987). This may be seen as a return to 'traditional' methods. How widespread this becomes in France as a whole, remains to be seen. Such a strategy is not, however, feasible in 'La Cerdagne', for the reasons already discussed.

The use of tourism in the form of on-farm non-agricultural activity in 'La Cerdagne', reflects a wider trend in French agriculture. Such non-agricultural activity is linked to global farming family labour strategies and combines easily with on-farm labour supply and demand. The incorporation of non-agricultural activities into global income strategies is more than a simple response to low farm incomes. It is indicative of a desire to remain in farming, (Vivier, 1987). In rural areas with little non-agricultural off-farm employment, such income-generating activity is often the only means to increase farming families' global incomes and thereby assist them in their desire to remain on the farm.

The incorporation of off-farm income from waged employment is relatively unimportant today in 'La Cerdagne' compared with earlier periods. While there are of course definitional problems concerning what constitutes a "part-time" farmer, (See Brun et. al., 1972; Persson, 1983; Gasson, 1967,

1977, 1983, Krasovec, 1981, 1983), there is little doubt as to the widespread incidence of farmers who operate part-time as wage-earners (See Almos, 1984; Buttel, 1982; Cavazzoni and Fuller, 1982). Nor is there much dispute as to its long history in France (See Pinguad, 1981: 113-4; Hubscher, 1988). There is, however, some dispute as to the cause of farmers seeking off-farm employment. Is it due to low farm income (Kocik, 1984; Prindle, 1984)? Is it tied to recent trends in capitalist development in rural areas, seeking cheap forms of labour (Buttel, 1982)? Are we talking about the choice of farmers themselves to diversify their own labour activities, seeing farming as a hobby (Gasson, 1967)? Is part-time farming simply a labour-income related strategy linked to particular moments in the life-cycle of the individual farming family (Cawley, 1983)?

In France, there is no single causal factor according to two recent studies (Vert 1985: Marduel, 1988). This is hardly surprising, since depending on the global socio-economic position of the farmer and the farming family, there will be a range of different causal factors at work. One widespread, if not universal, reading of the use of off-farm employment by farmers is that this strategy has provided farmers with a means to remain in farming. (See Nalson, 1968; Lehning, 1980; Pinguad, 1981; Hubscher, 1988; Marduel, 1988; Hoyois and Everaet, 1967; Hill, 1975; Hetland, 1986). The desire to remain in farming is strongly felt by many farmers in 'La Cerdagne'. However, with the decline in sources of off-farm paid work strategies incorporating these sources of income are extremely rare today.

The most important source of farm labour in 'La Cerdagne' continues to be supplied by family and kin. This has continued to be the case throughout France (Garoyoa, 1977; Le Van Hao, 1961; Jollivet and Mendras, 1971; 55, 71; Wylie, 1968); in Ireland (Symes, 1972); Spain (Iturra, 1980: 122-125); the USA (Bennett, 1982) and Finland (Abrahams, 1984). Where labour shortages still appear in farmers' current labour strategies in 'La Cerdagne', a formal institutional response has come in the form of the CUMA. Again, this is a widespread phenomenon in France (Boisseau, 1968; Bucher, 1980; Gröger 1981). This formal response has generally been overlain on existing systems of mutual help (Pingaud, 1977), ranged around neighbourhood patterns, family and kin.

The increase in land prices due to the effects of tourism in the region has allowed farmers to construct other strategies, designed to strengthen their overall position. Firstly, new inheritance strategies have been developed to afford a more equitable system of compensation for non-inheriting siblings. Secondly, taking in tourists has been a strategy to augment overall income for the farming family. This subsidises the farming and provides a safeguard against price and income fluctuations on agricultural markets which farmers "see" as beyond their control. The strategy is thus an expression of the farmer's attempt to operate some control over his decision to remain on the land. This is also true for the farmers who sell milk to tourists in the region at more than double the cooperative price for milk. Thirdly, sale of land by landowning farmers is often used as a means to reinvest in the farm as an economic unit. Fourthly, very recently non-farming land owners and landowning farmers have begun to sell land for building and leisure development. The money from such sales is directed to improving the material well-being during retirement, as well as providing extra funds for their children's education. The important point to note here is the variety of land-based strategies, relating to the different categories of landowners, as well as connecting with the different strategies of the individual families concerned.

It must be pointed out, however, that if EC support were withdrawn, it is most likely that local farming would collapse. Moreover, even the more recent upland area policy (since 1975) appears ineffective, with regard to its main aim to maintain an agricultural presence in poor rural upland areas. On-farm succession is guaranteed only on a small percentage of the farms. Quite simply, farm children in general still prefer to leave farming. If farming declines much further in the region, this will place in question the whole raison d'être of the upland policy initiatives which sought to assist farming by stressing the wider context of the rural economy. This problem is raised by Shucksmith and Winter who argue that there is a need to encourage a diversification of economic activity in the local economy, rather than simply focusing on on-farm diversification as a solution to farm income and over-specialisation/over-production problems (Shucksmith and Winter, 1988). This observation has a special importance for 'La Cerdagne', given the paucity of local off-farm income sources for farming families.

On-farm diversification is an unrealistic strategy for farmers in the region. Hence, Goodman and Redclift's (1986: 218-227) analysis of farmers' strategies based on diversification, though important in other contexts, is not relevant to this study. Goodman and Redclift's analysis and advocacy of on-farm diversification strategies assumes a vibrant local rural economy. This does not exist in 'La Cerdagne'. The encouragement of non-agricultural activities in the region, together with adequate training schemes for members of farming families to enable them to participate in and benefit from such activities, would seem more appropriate. Especially if the aim is to maintain farming in the region. The present use made of the tourist economy might otherwise prove to be only a short-term individual farm-based strategy, providing a means to boost the incomes of current farmers and a means to compensate the current generation of non-inheriting siblings. If farmers continue to leave farming, there will not be enough farmers left to maintain the countryside. There is a real need for a more integrated local agricultural and rural development policy.

It is true that after 1967 (with the 'Loi d'Orientation Foncière') there has been a trend towards encouraging diversification in rural development. This was assisted in a policy framework by the additions of the 'Plans d'Aménagement Rural' (1970), the 'Contrats de Pays' (1975), and the 'Chartes Intercommunales' (1983). The latter replaced the 'Plans d'Amènagement Rural', while the POS was designed to introduce rational land-use into areas where agricultural land prices were being affected by building developments. The structural decentralisation embodied in the setting up of the DDA gave advice, technical assistance and financial support to local initiatives concerning diversified rural development. In 'La Cerdagne', however, the use made of these policy initiatives turns on the question of local control over land resources and the local power base of the 'Maire'. There is a powerful group of local landowners which advocates and promotes further tourist developments in the region. While this is opposed by local farmers' leaders, other farmers able to benefit from tourism look more favourably on tourist developments. With regard to the EC policy on less-favoured upland areas, tourism and other forms of economic development do not appear to be capable of maintaining a strong agricultural presence in the region.

Although French state and para-statal structures exist to coordinate both agricultural and rural development (Buller and Lowe, 1990), this does not guarantee the future of agriculture in 'La Cerdagne'. Even with EC and French state support, in the form of ISM payments and various agricultural subsidies, agriculture continues to decline. This is primarily due to the continuing exodus of people out of agriculture, leaving farms unable to reproduce themselves economically or socially.

Up to the early part of the twentieth century agricultural production and activities in the region were deeply enmeshed in the local economy and the pattern of local rural development, grounded largely in local consumer demand for food. Over the last 40 years, local economic and rural development has increasingly taken place independent of local agricultural developments. In effect, agriculture has been decoupled from the rest of the local rural economy. Further rationalisation of agriculture will not result in a massive flow of people out of the agricultural sector into local labour markets. The local agricultural population is not large and the local rural economy offers few opportunities for those wishing to leave farming but who wish to remain in the region. This decoupling is also true with regard to local consumer demand for food and agricultural products. Farming in the region is now integrated into national and international markets and their commercialisation structures. Local consumer demand is integrated into the same markets and structures, separated from local food and agricultural production.

In the process, the relationship between changes in local agriculture, the local economy and local rural development in the region has become increasingly problematic and a matter of widespread concern. For example, the range and level of local service provision (schools, public transport, medical and social services, libraries and leisure facilities, etc.) is generally poor, especially for farmers and those residing in smaller outlying villages. These services and facilities have an important bearing on the day-to-day lives of people in the region and on their standards of living. There have been few attempts to date to formulate and implement an integrated policy framework for rural development for the region as a whole.

The only tangible policy initiatives, connecting local agriculture and rural development in the region, have been those stemming from Departmental level structures and have centred on short-term political and administrative concerns.

The 1980's have been marked by important shifts of emphasis in agricultural policy within the EC and France. The emphasis on the productivist policies of the 1960's and 1970's has given way to an emphasis on quality rather than quantity in agricultural production, a recognition that farmers in less favoured upland regions require special attention, and an acknowledgement that agricultural policy needs to be more closely integrated with rural development policies. This has led to a reconsideration of the role of agriculture, farming and farms in areas such as 'La Cerdagne'. Up until very recently agriculture and farming in the region was subsidised in order to increase agricultural production and productivity, to maintain the living standards of farmers, and to maintain an agricultural presence in the region. Increasingly, farmers and farming families are being seen as the "custodians of the countryside", subsidised to maintain the local environment and, importantly, provide the essential foundation for future tourist developments. While such policy shifts are to be welcomed in general terms, they fail to come to grips with the problem that, in 'La Cerdagne', succession to the farm is not being guaranteed. The problem of farm succession is a long-term problem that predates the upland area policy. The upland area policy, and other shifts in policy emphasis, has not ameliorated the situation: agriculture continues to decline in the region. The system of subsidies, and the changes in policy emphasis, have primarily benefited the few already wealthy farming families in the region.

In France, throughout the 1970's and 1980's, there has been a move to devolve power and responsibility for policy initiatives to Departments and more local levels of government. The devolution of power and responsibility to localised structures and agencies has meant that many local economies are now competing with each other: both in terms of their access to state subsidies and grants, and in terms of their own local economic development. Economic efficiency has become the rule for obtaining subsidies for farm restructuring, despite the existing system of farm subsidies, with state

support going to the regions with the most economically efficient farmers. Apart form livestock subsidies, access to agricultural subsidies in general is increasingly dependent on farm efficiency. Such a system favours the already economically efficient and competitive farmers and those regions where they predominate. For 'La Cerdagne', the consequence is further agricultural rationalisation, with only the socially and economically strongest farms in the region surviving. However, even the larger, economically efficient and competitive farms in the region will find it increasingly difficult to compete with large-scale farming in and around Toulouse, where farmers enjoy the advantages of cost-effectiveness and lower transport costs due to their proximity to the centre of the cooperative structure. Against this background, the participation of farmers and farming families in tourism in 'La Cerdagne' can be seen as a rational short-term response. As part of a long-term strategy, designed to maintain their farms and maintain agriculture within the context of local rural development, their current reliance on tourism leaves little room for optimism.

The discussion thus far has concentrated on locating agricultural change and rural development in the context of broader socio-economic and socio-cultural changes in 'La Cerdagne'. The specific focus on the role of farmers and farming families in these processes highlighted the use of kinship networks and inheritance in order to develop and deploy production, land and labour strategies. The problems and activities of farmers and farming families were conceptualised in terms of strategies in order to link them to the socio-economic and socio-cultural changes in the region. The research findings show a complex interplay between socio-economic and socio-cultural processes. What could have been taken for strictly economic factors and processes has been shown to be deeply influenced by social and cultural factors and processes at every turn. Socio-economic and socio-cultural processes have together defined the contours of agricultural change and rural development in the region. For example, the influence of patriarchal definitions in inheritance strategies and the socio-cultural influence of the local 'Notables' (agricultural and non-agricultural) in the affairs of the region.

With regard to this study, it is a difficult, if not a futile, exercise to attempt to disentangle economic, social, cultural and political factors from each other. Rather, it is more useful to understand that emphasis must be placed on all these sets of factors in order to analyse the changes taking place in 'La Cerdagne'. This being said, the research findings show a notable absence of the rational, self-interested homo economicus. In line with the findings of Benvenutti (1985) and Long (1986), the farmers and members of farming families in 'La Cerdagne' have shown themselves to be rational, creative and constructive agents of change. This does not imply an absence of structural forces and constraints. Indeed, the very use of strategies is an acknowledgement of structural forces and constraints. The point is that the life-styles and actions of farmers and farming families in 'La Cerdagne' cannot be simply read-off from an abstract political economy analysis.

The decision by farmers to stay in farming is rarely taken for economic reasons alone. Perhaps the clearest example of this was the case of Monsieur Fabre. Moreover, the use of off-farm income, although not widespread, as well as non-farming on-farm income derived from tourism in order to maintain the farm cannot be reduced to a simple economic rationale. After all, why struggle so hard to maintain an economically inefficient farm? The rationale is to be found in the socio-cultural sphere, a sphere which emphasises the importance of the family farm to the farmer and farming families as a way of life. Kinship based assistance during the harvest is best explained by adherence to the family and kinship obligations, rather than by reference to economic considerations alone. It is evident that, rooted in kinship, there is a strong moral commitment by farmers and members of the farming family to the maintenance of the family farm. This moral commitment combines with, and is reinforced by, a universally expressed desire by existing farmers, quite simply, to remain in farming.

Despite the economic problems facing many farmers in the region, positive statements about farming as a way of life emerged repeatedly during fieldwork. The great value attached to farming as a way of life is clearly evident in the strategies developed and deployed in order to assist farmers and farming families to remain on the farm. There is a continuing emphasis

on the moral obligations entailed in kinship in order to develop strategies designed to provide opportunities for their children, regardless of whether or not those opportunities are in farming. The fact that many former members of farming households return to help with the harvest and to enjoy a brief taste of rural life, is a testamony to the powerful pull of kinship obligations and to the value attached to maintaining the farm. Although there is not the dense set of socio-economic obligations that underpinned the moral basis to the economic position of farming families in the nineteenth century, kinship and kinship obligations continue to play a vital role in underpinning the economic position of farming families in 'La Cerdagne' today. The main difference is that, whereas 'La Casa' (the household and the farm) was the focus for a dense web and widespread local moral obligations and the economic organisation of farms, today it has been replaced by kinship obligations that centre on individual members within the farming household and within the wider kinship network. On the basis of these, strategies are developed specifically either to install a successor or to place individual children outside farming.

Notwithstanding the long trend towards kin dispersal, kinship continues to be central to the development and deployment of both labour and land strategies in the region. Kinship is the key to the complex land inheritance and marriage alliance strategies. Similar findings are reported by Mira (1979). The post-war problem of succession in 'La Cerdagne', posed by the widespread phenomenon of the unmarried farmer, has been well documented in the Spanish Pyrenees (d'Argemir, 1987). The problem of succession lies at the heart of many of the problems facing farming in 'La Cerdagne'. It appears to be the most difficult problem facing many farmers at present, and not only the poorest farmers. If, despite subsidies and support, succession cannot be guaranteed, the maintenance of farming in such areas as 'La Cerdagne' will become an increasingly difficult policy issue.

As far as the farmers were concerned, their struggle in the inter-war period centred on the need to develop a farmer-based production and commercialisation strategy. The 'unité paysanne' that developed during WWII, under the 'état corporatiste', was not simply an ideological distortion imposed by the state in order to procur patriotic support for the

war-time state. This element did exist to be sure, but we need to note that there were other interests and concerns involved. The leadership of the French war-time state sought to generate patriotic fervour, in part by uniting the French peasantry behind the head of state, Marechal Petain. Farmers in 'La Cerdagne' understood their alliance with the state in terms of their own circumstances and problems, in particular their relationship with the private dairies. The 'unité paysanne' had different meanings for the state than it had for the farmers of 'La Cerdagne'. For different reasons, both supported the war-time 'corporatisme', which itself introduced into the region the prospect of more direct state intervention in agricultural matters. This was a radical change, a change in which the farmers in the region were active agents.

Individual farm-based strategies centred on the sphere of production and commercialisation replaced the former collective strategies of farmers. Policies designed to increase agricultural production and productivity underscored and accentuated existing land-based inequalities in the region. These land-based inequalities have been increased by land inheritance and marriage alliance strategies, while the out-migration of women has left farmers in the region with the increasingly difficult problem of on-farm succession. The decision of women, and other members of farming families, to leave farming has been influenced by a combination of industrial urban expansion and the extension of formal education. The 'exode agricole' was translated into an 'exode rural' due to the lack of alternative employment in the region. All this poses problems for the labour strategies of farmers and farming families. Tourism offers only temporary employment, while the local labour market still has little to offer in the way of employment for members of farming families. The current profile of agriculture in the region shows that a large proportion of the available local agricultural land is being worked by a few, apparently, wealthy farmers and farming families. It is these farmers and farming families that have been the main beneficiaries of changes in the region. It is these farmers and farming families that have most successfully incorporated EC and French state subsidies and policies into their production, land and labour strategies. Their position is, however, fragile, dependent as they are on continuing EC and French state financial assistance.

Research on agricultural change and rural development in Western Europe has undergone a series of theoretical shifts that have led to a reconceptualisation of the field. The early emphasis on commercialisation and narrowly conceived agricultural economics, rooted in modernisation theory, has been replaced by an emphasis on political economy and the incorporation of agriculture within the capitalist system, deeply influenced by dependency theory and urban studies. As part of this shift more recent work has been conceptualised in terms of "commodity systems" and "commoditisation processes". Here agricultural change and rural development is located within the context of state policies, regional development, national and international markets, consumer demand and the food chain, the organisational responses of agriculture, and the concentration of power in food manufacturing and retail industries. With regard to farmers and farm structures, attention has focused on the penetration of exchange value calculations, on their need to increasingly purchase the factors of reproduction, and the progressive "externalisation" of activities from the farm household production unit. Commoditisation is held to involve a progressive loss of control by farmers, a loss which some farmers are likely to resist but which other farmers are likely to welcome because it serves their interests.

As work on commoditisation processes has progressed it has become abundantly apparent that the important national, regional and local variations in the way agriculture and farming are incorporated within the capitalist system require specific empirical investigation and explanation. The important role of social, cultural and political factors in describing and explaining variations in agricultural change and rural development is now widely acknowledged. Vandergeest's (1988: 24) comment is indicative of the views of many other contemporary researchers.

> "Transformations in the political and cultural dimensions cannot be separated from the process of commoditisation in the economic dimension, and should be analysed as part and parcel of the overall process, without reducing it to one dimension or another. The political and cultural processes are themselves never unilinear or uni-dimensional."

Research on farm structures, farmers and farming families has also revealed important national, regional and local variations that require specific empirical investigation and explanation. In particular, the continuing role of non-market local exchange, in conjunction with the status of many family producers, acting in a self-protective, risk-averting and non-entrepreneurial manner has highlighted the importance of community relationships, kinship networks, and the division of labour based on gender and age. In all this, the active role of farmers and farming families in resisting or promoting agricultural changes stemming from commoditisation processes is a topic of central concern for contemporary researchers in this field.

Long et.al (1986) produced a critical evaluation of work undertaken within the commoditisation approach on agricultural change and rural development. They criticised its stress on external determinants and unilinear change, its lack of attention to the meaning of commoditisation in the lives of farmers, its failure to investigate the nature of intermediate structures, and for not dealing with the extent of resistance to commoditisation (see also, Vandergeest, 1988). In 1988 Long and Van Der Ploeg took the appraisal a step further by stressing :

> "(a) the need to consider how different types and degrees of commodity exchange affect the everyday lives of simple commodity producers, whether rural - or urban - based, (b) the theoretical importance of explaining structural variance in respect of farmer strategies and patterns of agricultural development, (c) the necessity of analysing more fully the nature of intermediate structures and networks that link the farmer to the wider economic and political environment, and (d) the need to understand the complex ways in which peasants or farmers may "resist" the impact of commodity relations, or actively seek to maintain or, indeed, create non-commodity forms. (ibid: 30)."

Against this background, Long and Van Der Ploeg outlined an agenda for research on agricultural and rural development that, among other relevant and related research topics, singled out (a) the importance of research on

household livelihood strategies and rural enterprises, and (b) the importance of research which is firmly located in particular types of regional settings.

My research in 'La Cerdagne' had been in progress for almost three years before the publication of these critiques, nevertheless it was based on many of the same general theoretical and methodological concerns. Their publication and widespread acceptance provided further substantiation for my original aim to combine regional and actor-oriented perspectives in a study of the role of farmers and farming families in agricultural change and rural development in the region, with a focus on the way farmers' and farming families' strategies used and reshaped existing social and cultural resources in response to these changes.

The findings of this research project reveal that agricultural change and rural development in 'La Cerdagne' has been the result of a complex interplay of historical, economic, political, social and cultural processes cross-cut by international, national, regional and local processes. At times these processes have flowed in the same direction, more often than not they have flowed in different directions. Such a finding must alert us to the importance of avoiding a too narrow and reductionist view of commoditisation processes.

Farmers in 'La Cerdagne' have played an active role in bringing about changes in the local agricultural sector. The changes introduced by farmers have not always been beneficial to all farmers in the region. From the 1930's until the 1950's farmers in 'La Cerdagne' enjoyed a period of social and political ascendency that gave them control over the commercial outlets for agricultural products and control over changes in the local agricultural sector. This control was eroded by the progressive integration of local farmers, via the cooperatives, into the wider structures of the food manufacturing and retail industries. From 1964 onwards power and control over changes in the local agricultural sector has shifted increasingly towards 'La Crédit Agricole', the French state and the EC.

The result of this integration of local farmers into wider economic

and political structures has been to dramatically reduce the power of control of local farmers over agricultural production and changes in the local agricultural sector. Farmers and farming families have not been passive in the face of these changes. They have developed and altered their strategies to take account of them. Although the major share of the 1985 upland regional budget for local diversification has been given over to agriculture in the region, the extent to which this will maintain farming in the region depends crucially on the combined effects of economic factors and subjective factors at the level of individual farms and farming families within the local social and cultural context. Further rationalisation of local agriculture, driven for example by such policy initiatives as the dairy quotas, will pose severe problems for many farming families in the region. Even among the larger, more wealthy, farms the social reproduction of the farm itself depends on the composition and decisions of the members of the farming family. This is nowhere more important than in the instance of the inheriting child, selected to succeed to the farm. This selection, or decision, is not driven by economic factors alone but involves social, cultural and subjective factors.

The results of this study show that research on commoditisation processes and research on farmers' and farming families' strategies do not constitute mutually exclusive theoretical and methodological perspectives. Indeed, the development and deployment of strategies can be seen as an integral part of the commoditisation process itself. This is not to imply that such strategies are simply or strictly determined by the commoditisation process. It seems more appropriate to see the development and deployment of farmers' and farming families' strategies as creative attempts to contain or control, and in some cases to resist or promote, as far as possible the effects of the commoditisation process. It is not possible, with any degree of confidence, to predict the extent to which farmers and farming families in the region today will be successful in this regard. What is clear, however, is the purposeful manner by which farmers and farming families have developed and altered their strategies to take account of a wide range of historical, social, economic, political and cultural variables. These range from macro-structural concerns to micro-personal concerns - from the policies of the French state and the EC

to the educational and occupational prospects of their children, from the operations of the cooperative structure to the opportunities for non-farm paid employment in the region, and from particular family histories to perceptions of what farming either as an occupation or a way of life is or should be. The general methodological framework employed in this research project, based on a combination of regional and actor-oriented perspectives, owes much to the points made by Long and his colleagues (Long, 1977: 185-192; Long, et.al., 1986; Long and Van Der Ploeg, 1988). However, the employment of such a framework was fully justified (a) by the concerns which guided the research work overall, (b) by my own knowledge of the research setting, (c) by the dearth of existing research in and on the region, and (d) by what were discerned to be important weaknesses in contemporary research on agricultural change and rural development in Western Europe. As methodological commitment, I sought a position that differed from that adopted in village studies as well as from that adopted in structuralist studies of commoditisation processes.

The regional perspective required that an important part of fieldwork be devoted to building-up an historical reconstruction of the political economy of the region. This provided the context for an examination of the impact of French and EC policies, and the role played by different groups within the local farming community, on agricultural change and rural development in 'La Cerdagne'. In particular, it enabled the examination of the impact of changes in agricultural policy since 1960, and changes in upland areas policy since 1975, on local farmers and the local farming population.

The regional perspective facilitated the collection and analysis of data on farmers and farming families beyond the limits of any one village. Thus, it was possible to trace the influence of farming and non-farming landowners and political leaders within villages and across the region. This was especially important in relation to understanding the way local 'Notables' controlled policy on land as well as local economic development in general. It was further possible to trace the role and impact of different groups within the farming community in adapting to, resisting or promoting, changes stemming from policy initiatives. This was especially

important in relation to understanding the different roles played by different farmers' leaders from the 1930's onwards. These farmers' leaders held different readings and interpretations of the nature and benefits of agricultural modernisation and agricultural policy for farmers at different periods in 'La Cerdagne'.

Combining regional and actor-oriented perspectives within a single project permitted the collection and analysis of data that reflected both structurual and subjective processes. This yielded a more sensitive and complex view of the position of farmers in the local farming population than could be obtained by a strictly structuralist or regional analysis. While acknowledging the importance of structural and regional processes, it is clear that the socio-cultural and subjective context of farmers and farming families requires specific attention in order to understand the impact and consequences of these processes. The concept of "strategies" was employed in this research as a device for collecting and analysing data from farmers and farming families, as well as a means to grapple with the problem of structure and agency.

Within the limits imposed by time, resources and personnel, the general methodology employed in this research project was comparatively successful. However, the research work reported on here should be looked upon as constituting a baseline from which further research on agricultural change and rural development in 'La Cerdagne' can be developed. The regional perspective contained in this project is incomplete and there is still a great deal of work to be done on the economic, political, social and cultural processes of the region as a whole. The study generated a great deal of information on agricultural change in the region, which itself calls for further investigation, but not as much as expected on rural development. This was largely a product of the focus on farmers and farming families, but there is definitely a need for further research on the non-farming population in order to understand rural development in the region. The findings on the strategies developed and deployed by farmers and farming families, and of the continuing importance of communal and kinship relationships within such strategies, also call for further research. The

general methodology employed in this study was able to identify the existence and relevance of these phenomena but was incapable of generating the kind of fine-grained and detailed sophisticated data required to elaborate upon them. There is very definitely a need for more local research on the strategies and tactics developed and deployed by farmers and farming families, in particular with regard to their success in controlling or containing the effects of commoditisation processes and further agricultural rationalisation. There is clearly a role here for future ethnographic research in the region, perhaps focusing on the findings reported on here in relation to changes in household composition, kinship relationships, inheritance patterns and the division of labour based on sex and age. There is also ample scope for research on the decision-making and policy framework that relates to the region, and to agricultural change and rural development in particular. From the EC down to the commune or village there are many different agencies and levels of decision-making involved in defining the future of the region. These agencies and levels, with their sometimes complementary and sometimes contradictory policies, require specific attention in future research.

At the macro or regional level of analysis, the research reported on there provides a ready basis for comparative analysis in relation to similar upland areas within the EC. Perhaps the most logical and immediately apparent area for comparative research in this regard would be to compare French and Spanish post-war regional development and agricultural policies centring on a comparison of agricultural change and rural development on the French and Spanish sides of the Cerdagne. This would seem to constitute an interesting and relevant topic for comparative research. France and Spain are members of the EC and subject to its policies and benefits regarding agriculture and upland areas policy, and both are deeply concerned over the possible impact of the single market on uneven development and regional policies. However, France and Spain entered the EC at different times, with different political and administrative histories, and with different conceptions of economic and regional policy.

The study highlights the limitations of policy both agricultural and rural, as well as the 'hybrid' post 1975 upland areas policy which straddles agricultural and rural development issues. It is clear from this study of 'La Cerdagne' that the productivist policies not only led to over-production problems at the level of the EC, they also were skewed to the advantage of the already wealthier farming families. Moreover, further rationalisation of agriculture as a means to overcome current sectorial problems will create massive outflow from farming at the level of the EC, while, in 'La Cerdagne', the future of agriculture itself will be put in question. It is also clear that the upland areas policies are unlikely to be successful in ensuring an agricultural presence in such regions and, again, these initiatives have not in any way prevented the advantages being disproportionately procurred by the already wealthier farming families.

The current discussions over GATT and the CAP have bleak implications for agriculture, particularly in the more economically fragile areas of Europe. The likely outcome of the discussions is a large cut (30% ?) in EC support for farmers and farming. Areas such as 'La Cerdagne' will face severe difficulties in this scenario, since the pressure will be to rationalise the entire agricultural sector, with, as a result, more emphasis on competition, and the further marginalisation of 'non-competitive' farms. The implications for farming in 'La Cerdagne' are serious, given both the geographic and the institutional position of farmers in the region, dominated by the cooperative centres at Toulouse.

This overall situation will provide the impetus for an urgent reassessment of farming and agriculture, as well as the broader issue of rural development, in other "backward" areas not only in France but throughout Europe. This includes countries that are not members of the EC. Too little is known of agricultural and rural development in the poorer areas of Europe. This is in part a consequence of the academic bias which has often taken the urban industrial context as its principle focus. Moreover, where agriculture has received significant attention, this has often been limited to large-scale commercial arable farming in more prosperous regions. Partly, it results from a broader bias which has seen

more political interest in "urban" rather than "rural" problems. Having long since moved beyond reliance on the spatial distinction between the "rural" and the "urban" in sociology, perhaps the time is ripe for the development of systematic research programmes to look at the problems facing agricultural and rural development within a wider socio-economic and socio-political framework. The recent socio-political and socio-economic changes across Europe provide perhaps even more impetus for this sort of research orientation, given that agriculture in the Eastern European countries is to be exposed to more market-oriented principles.

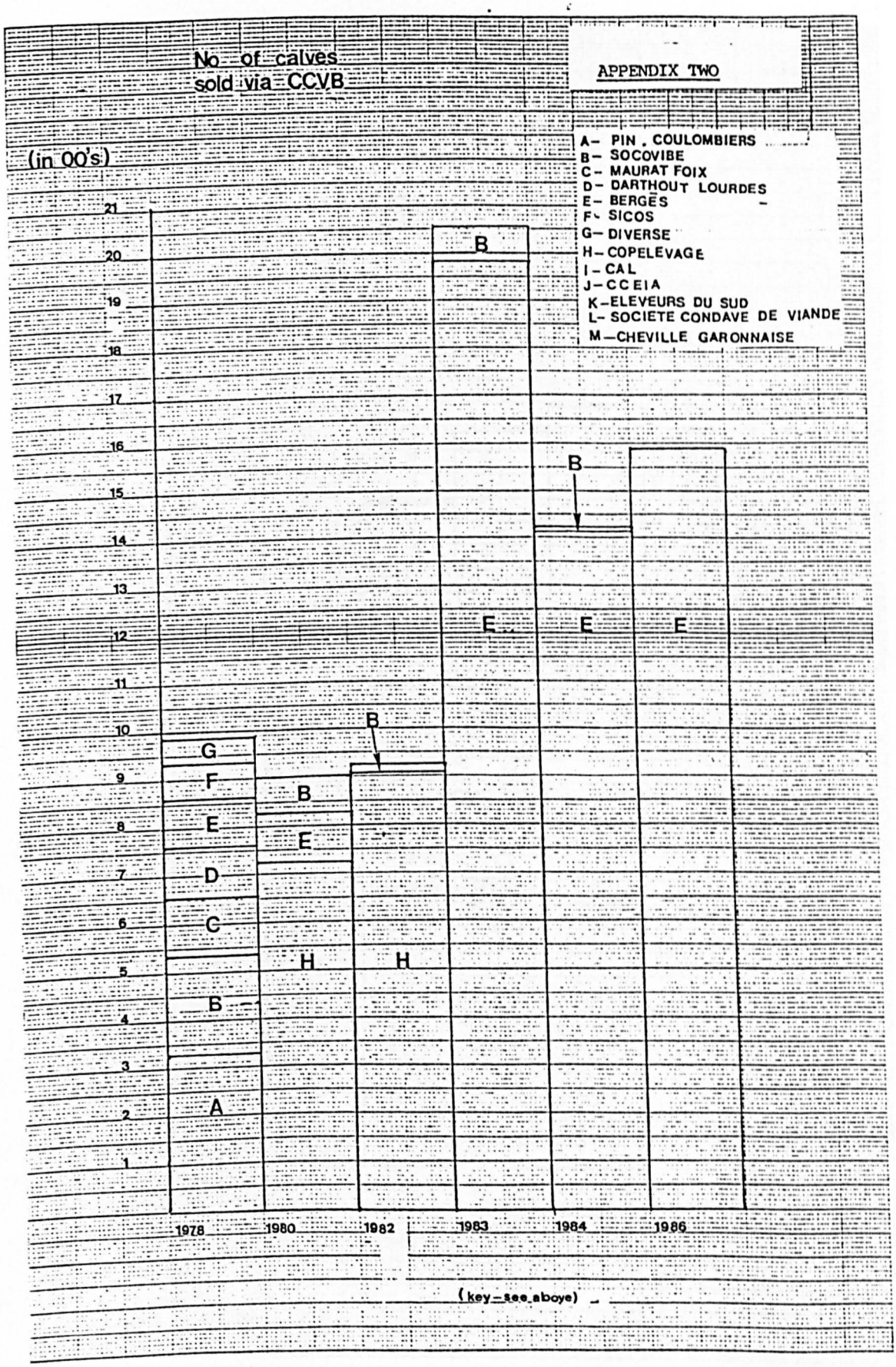
APPENDIX ONE

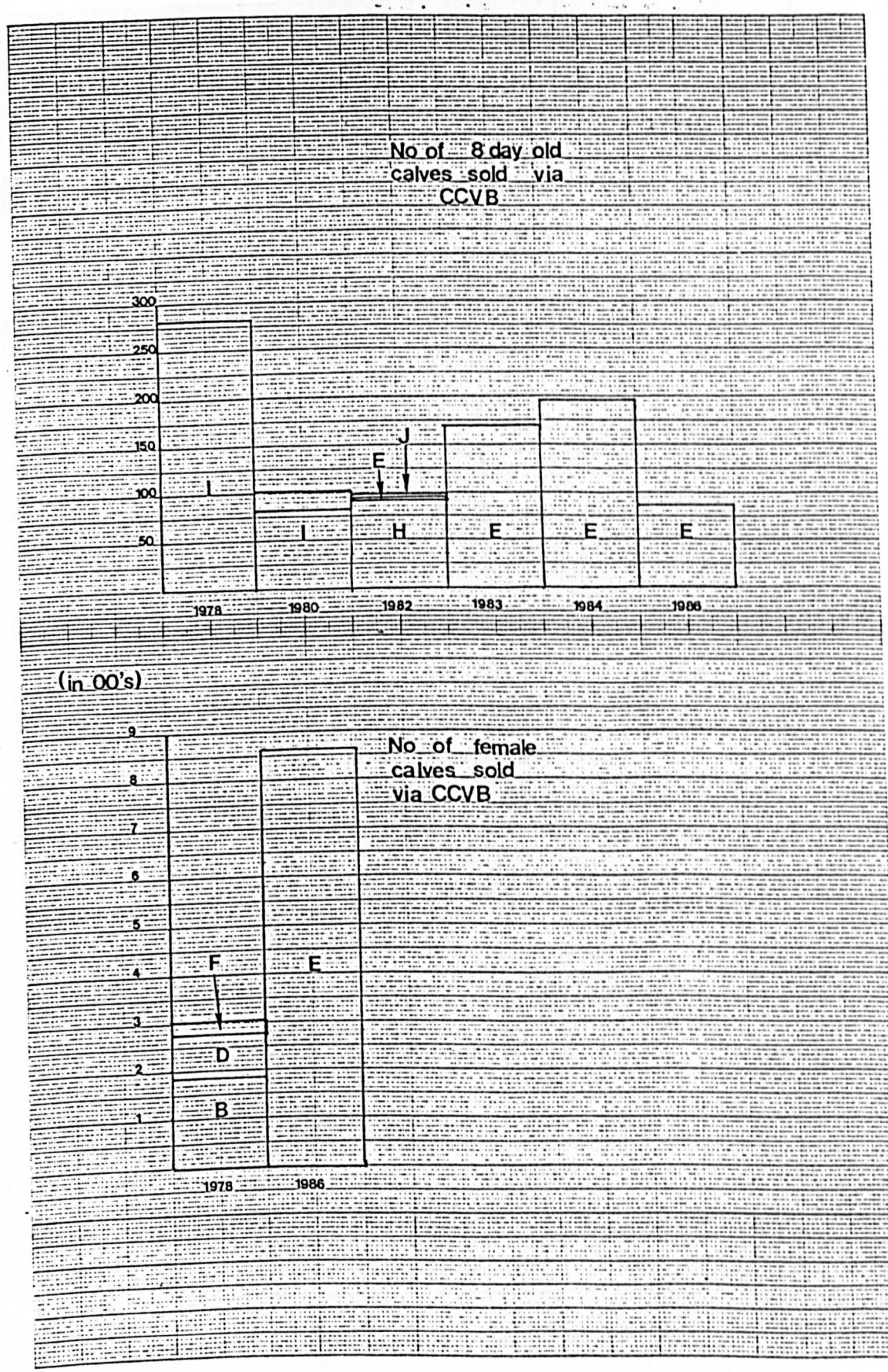
Cattle Meat Stockfarming Subsidies.
Subsidies From the EC and French State for Farmers and the CCVB.

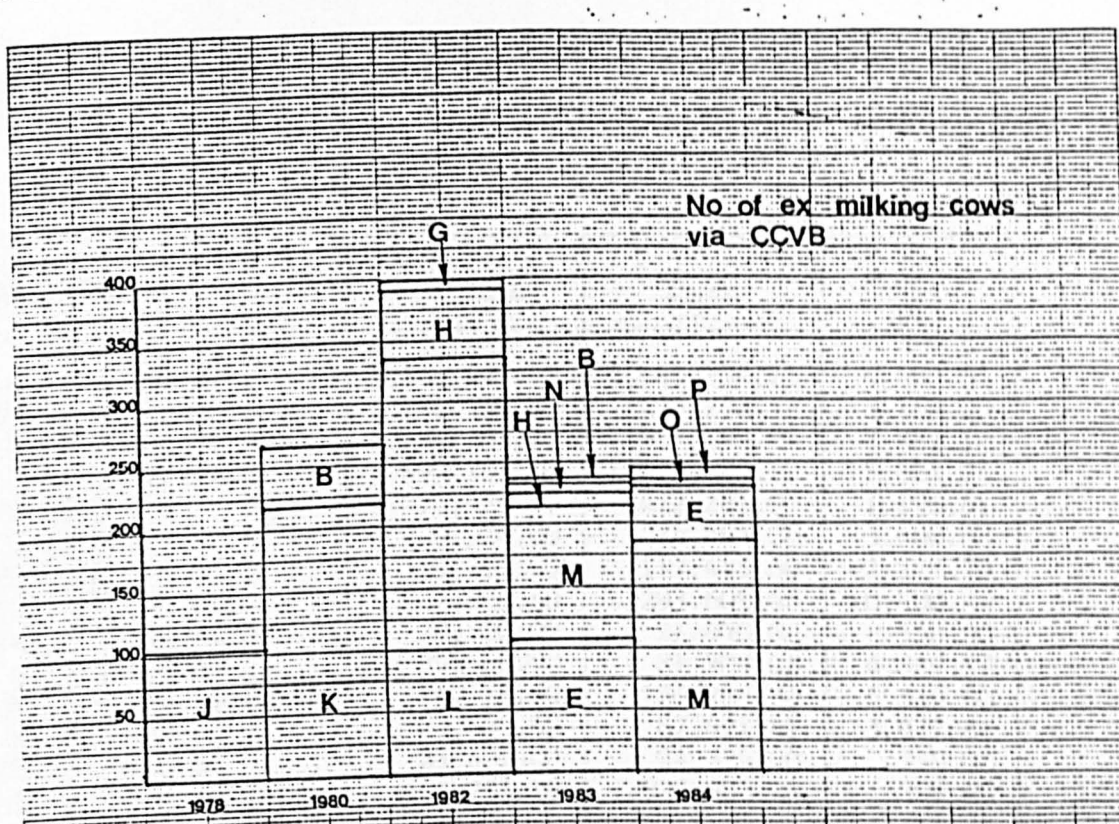
TYPE OF ACTION TO BE SUBSIDISED	SUBSIDY TO FARMER	SUBSIDY TO CCVB	ORIGINS OF FINANCE FOR SUBSIDY
(1) Improve Technical and Sanitary Conditions Of Livestock	50% of costs of technician 800 FF/ farmer	130000 FF/ 50-70 farmers	OFIVAL, Conseil Regional Languedoc-Roussillon
(2) Farm Modernisation	WEIGHING SCALES: up to 4000 FF CALF FATTENING SHEDS 50% of costs max= 800 FF/calf LOW COST SHELTER: 12000 FF each COVERED TROUGH: 30% of cost max = 300 FF/animal MOBILE TROUGH: 30% of cost max = 1500 FF/animal GRAIN SILO: 30% of cost max=10000 FF TOTAL LIMIT OF SUBSIDIES /FARM = 12000 FF.		OFIVAL
(3) Genetic Specialisation	Three year contract to produce pure herd 100% cost, to max. of 650 FF/heiffer and 1500 FF to buy high quality bull		OFIVAL Conseil Regional Languedoc-Roussillon FIDAR

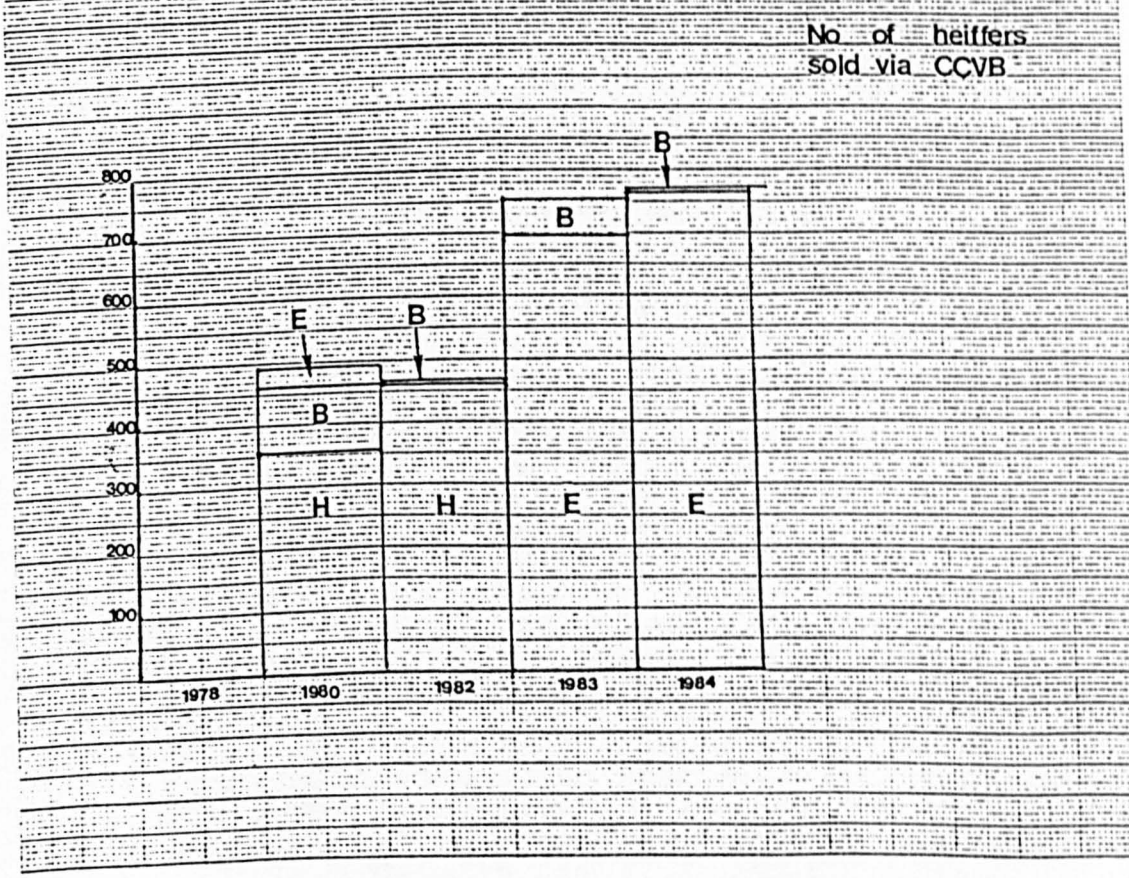
Continued/...

TYPE OF ACTION TO BE SUBSIDISED	SUBSIDY TO FARMER	SUBSIDY TO CCVB	ORIGINS OF FINANCE FOR SUBSIDY
(4) On-Farm Fattening Of Livestock Maintenance Costs For Reproduction herd	105-160 FF/animal kept in stable	150 FF paid to CCVB for purchase per animal.	FIDAR
(5) Training for Farmers : Accounts/ Auditing		100% costs paid to CCVB	FIDAR OFIVAL
(6) Collection of Ex-dairy cattle		60 FF/cow paid to CCVB	OFIVAL


No of calves sold via CCVB
(in 00's)
APPENDIX TWO
A- PIN . COULOMBIERS
B- SOCOVIBE
C- MAURAT FOIX
D- DARTHOUT LOURDES
E- BERGES
F- SICOS
G- DIVERSE
H- COPELEVAGE
I- CAL
J- CCEIA
K-ELEVEURS DU SUD
L- SOCIETE CONDAVE DE VIANDE
M-CHEVILLE GARONNAISE
21
20
19
18
17
16
15
14
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
1978
1980
1982
1983
1984
1986
(key-see aboye)


No of 8 day old calves sold via CCVB
300
250
200
150
100
50
J
E
I
I
H
E
E
E
1978
1980
1982
1983
1984
1986
(in 00's)
No of female calves sold via CCVB
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
F
E
D
B
1978
1986


No of ex milking cows
via CCVB
400
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
G
H
B
N
H
P
O
B
E
M
J
K
L
E
M
1978
1980
1982
1983
1984


No of heiffers
sold via CCVB
800
700
600
500
400
300
200
100
B
B
E
B
B
H
H
E
E
1978
1980
1982
1983
1984

APPENDIX THREE

Annual Account of CCVB (1983) - Appendix Three (A)

TYPE OF LIVESTOCK	PURCHASE FF	SALES FF	PROFIT FF
Young Calves of Members	4,141,479.10	4,146,159.75	4,680.65
8 Day Calves of Members	271,110.50	274,278.53	3,168.03
Heiffers of Members	1,984,303.79	1,987,190.91	2,887.12
Ex Dairy Cows of Members	997,143.40	1,012,825.15	15,681.75
Foals of Members	473,477.70	472,281.09	-1,196.61
Mares of Members	220,924.00	224,404.00	3,480.00
Fillies of Members	119,715.00	117,485.80	-2,229.20
Young Calves of Non-Members	282,708.50	293,608.50	10,900.00
8 Day Calves of Non-Members	20,500.00	21,050.00	550.00
Heiffers of Non-Members	76,668.50	81,208.08	4,539.58
Ex Dairy Cows of Non-Members	174,728.30	180,258.30	5,530.00
Foals of Non-Members	83,543.60	87,421.41	3,877.81
Fillies of Non-Members	23,805.00	24,525.00	720.00
Goods Bought to Improve Herds	933,231.18	932,903.28	-327.90
TOTALS	9,803,338.57	9,855,599.50	52,261.23

CCVB

Annual Account of CCVB (1984) - Appendix Three (B)

TYPE OF LIVESTOCK	PURCHASE FF	SALES FF	PROFIT FF
Young Calves of Members	4,730,283.75	4,735,107.70	4,823.95
8 Day Calves of Members	283,600.00	292,250.00	8,650.00
Heiffers of Members	2,332,396.20	2,331,771.60	-624.60
Ex Dairy Cows of Members	925,657.14	925,290.69	-366.45
Foals of Members	312,920.86	312,214.12	-706.04
Mares of Members	89,458.00	89,458.00	-60.00
Fillies of Members	23,860.00	23,868.00	0.00
Young Calves of Non-Members	270,743.90	278,943.90	8,200.00
8 Day Calves of Non-Members	42,950.00	44,150.00	1,200.00
Heiffers of Non-Members	60,608.60	62,568.60	2,060.00
Ex Dairy Cows of Non-Members	178,125.90	191,950.80	13,824.90
Foals of Non-Members	41,177.20	42,577.20	1,400.00
Fillies of Non-Members	6,140.00	6,300.00	160.00
Goods Bought to Improve Herds	880,018.80	880,068.80	50.00
TOTALS	10,177,848.35	10,216,459.41	38,611.06

CCVB

Annual Account of CCVB (1985) - Appendix Three (C)

TYPE OF LIVESTOCK	PURCHASE FF	SALES FF	PROFIT FF
Young Calves of Members	5,486,491.80	5,462,727.90	-23,763.89
8 Day Calves of Members	182,460.00	186,960.00	4,500.00
Heiffers of Members	2,367,487.40	2,374,751.12	7,263.60
Ex Dairy Cows of Members	1,154,525,60	1,184,386.20	29,860.60
Foals of Members	472,225.60	470,849.50	-1,375.82
Mares of Members	65,966.00	66,857.00	891.00
Fillies of Members	192,782.18	196,107.00	3,324.82
Young Calves of Non-Members	254,817.60	267,670.80	12,853.20
8 Day Calves of Non-Members	27,550.00	28,250.00	700.00
Heiffers of Non-Members	28,682.00	29,937.00	1,255.00
Ex Dairy Cows of Non-Members	73,708.32	75,868.32	2,160.00
Foals of Non-Members	43,386.10	45,048.50	1,662.40
Fillies of Non-Members *			
Goods Bought to Improve Herds	756,860.00	756,810.00	-50.00
TOTALS	11,106,941.00	11,146,222.12	39,281.12

CCVB

* No fillies of non-members in this year.

APPENDIX FOUR

Principles of Succession and Inheritance Under Catalan Law

The acts of succession and inheritance have historically been two separate, distinct processes for landowning farming families in 'La Cerdagne'. The inheriting child, usually the first born son ('l'Areu'), assumed succession to control over the daily running of the farm after marriage, and before inheriting the farm and land. The latter usually took place after the death of the inheriting child's father. It was at this moment that the partition took place. The details of this were recorded in the marriage contract ('Capitols Matrimonials') of the inheriting child. The father thus maintained thereby a large degree of control over the farm by withholding control over ownership. The inheriting child was simply 'put in office'.

The two processes of succession and inheritance were traditionally 'encadrés' within the family structure (the stem family) with two adult couples and the unmarried children living together in the same household. The filiation was bilinear with a tendency to be patrilinear due to the domestic authority retained by the 'Cap de Casa'. The 'ideal' conditions of succession and inheritance are stipulated in the following legal documents: 'Les Capitols Matrimonials' (marriage contract); 'Le Testament' (will); and 'Les Donations-Partages' (anticipated partition). An example of a marriage contract and a will are translated and located in Appendices Five and Six.

The 'Capitols Matrimonials' is a marriage contract which establishes the economic aspect of the farming family. In the clauses dealing with the 'hereditament' (inheritance), the 'areu' is named as the one to be responsible for the future organisation, extension and transmission of the patrimony of the 'casa'. The choice of inheritor has traditionally reflected a preference for (i) masculine privilege, (ii) the primacy of the first marriage, and the first born, with (iii) the possibility of a daughter ('la pubilla') inheriting being regarded as only a subsidiary consideration, and only in the absence of a male inheritor. The general tendency has therefore been to favour a male inheritor, and more precisely, the eldest male.

The application of the 'droit d'aînesse' has always been subject to negotiation. It has not been strictly applied at all times, since demographic considerations (such as an absence of sons), or subjective decisions (an absence of a willing son to take over the farm), could render the strict application of the model either impossible, or undesirable. The ability to carry out the role of successor as head of household, inheritor and transmitter of the patrimony could override the 'droit d'aînesse'.

The general notion of property owner was less important in sociological terms than that of officer-keeper. The 'droit d'aînesse' was not merely an abstract legal definition. It was tied strictly to the social performance of the role as inheritor of the farm. Thus, if the chosen inheritor left the farm to work elsewhere, his 'droit d'aînesse' was effectively terminated. This was the case with Joseph Blanc's (b. 1792) elder brother, Jean-Baptiste who became 'notaire' at Saillagouse. (See Chapter Five above, and genealogy). The 'droit d'aînesse' was inseparable from the effective direction of the land and the household. In this sense, the 'droit d'aînesse' did not refer strictly to, nor was it strictly attached to, either male or female - first, second or nth in line - but to a socially defined action. It was seen less as a property right than a duty to act as owner. As such, the 'ideal model' for succession and inheritance was not always adhered to, though one can discern a general pattern. Residence of all children was traditionally patrilocal until marriage or voluntary departure, with compensation paid in the form of a dowry brought from the family of the spouse (usually wife) of the inheriting child (usually the son).

The system of succession and inheritance was based fundamentally on a very subjective definition of the situation, particularly on the part of the non-inheriting siblings. Despite the 'Code Civil', non-inheriting siblings generally accepted an unequal share of the total patrimony, in keeping with Catalan Law which designated a single, privileged inheritor. 'L'areu', or, more rarely, 'la pubilla' were social actors whose social definition was in large part the result of a subjective definition of the situation by his (or her) siblings. The social and economic reproduction of 'la casa' was a major consideration which informed the action of the non-inheriting siblings

in accepting their unequal share of the patrimony. This in itself tended to reinforce the traditional domestic authority of the 'cap de casa' in selecting the successor and inheritor. As Dupont puts it referring to an analogous situation in Béarn, on the west side of the Pyrénéen chain:

> "[The non-inheriting children] are well resolved to to all that is in their power to conserve the family domain in the hands of the eldest child. They are accustomed from a tender age to consider eldest child as the eventual successor to their father as the future master of the house ... it is thus, thanks to them and they alone that the 'droit d'ainesse' persists" (My emphasis. Dupont, 1914, p 191).

Until his death, the father, or if the mother survives the father, the mother maintained the usufruct. In the case of a daughter's marriage, the father gave a dowry in the form of cash to compensate her husband's non-inheriting siblings. This was paid to the husband's father. The cash dowry was met by a guarantee made by the 'receiving family' against the cash in the form of a piece of land. This was in case the father of the husband spent any of the cash before the partition, and particularly before the full inheritance. In addition, this also served against the spending of the dowry in the case of a dissolved, childless marriage.

The first two articles of the marriage contract regulate the succession within 'la casa' of the husband to be. The inheriting son is designated as benefactor of the land and other property, and the compensation is stipulated for the other children, to be paid out of the wife's dowry. The inheritance thereby remains intact. Payment of compensation to the non-inheriting siblings was paid either at the marriage of the inheriting child, or more commonly, at the death of the father. If the former was the case, the dowry was kept intact to 'repay' the inheriting child. In practice, non-inheriting siblings often remained in the house of the inheriting child. In such cases, these siblings received no compensation, and their 'theoretical' share of the patrimony is kept by the inheriting child; the dowry remained with the inheriting child on the death of his father in such circumstances.

In the will, the practical consideration of the placing of the succession in the hands of the selected inheritor was stipulated. Anticipated partitions were rare. Even when this did happen, the land in fact remained with the inheriting child. The land that had been theoretically 'divided' during the lifetime of the father (as an anticipated partition) was simply 'bought back' by the inheriting son as named in the marriage contract. This has happened once in the context of current farmers in 'La Cerdagne'. The case is Jean Blanc who has received 52 hectares as an anticipated partition. However, the land will not be 'bought back' since there is not one single named inheritor, but two - Jean and Gilbert Blanc. The latter's claim will go to his son, Emmanuel since Gilbert has left farming to operate as an insurance broker (see above). The traditional system of inheritance and succession continued to operate fully until the inter-war period, declining thereafter slowly until the tourist expansion post 1960. This was followed by the emergence of a new form of system (see above).

APPENDIX FIVE

Example of a Will

27/12/1887

The year 1887 and the 27th December. Before Maître Isidore de Monteilla, advocat-notary at the Residence of Saillagouse, below signed and in the presence of the Sieurs Bonaventure Autet landowner, Francois Gaillarde landowner, Pierre Coxtet landowner, and Bonaventure Carcassonne landowner, all four domiciled at Rô (commune of Saillagouse) signed witnesses conforming with the law, chosen and called upon by the testator.

Madame Angélique Carbonell, without profession, wife of Monsieur Pierre Blanc, landowner with whom she lives at Rô, commune of Saillagouse - who being of sound body and mind, as it appeared to the notary and witnesses below signed, has dictated to the said notary, in the presence of the said witnesses, her testament as follows :

"I give and bequeath to my son Joseph Blanc, residing with me a quarter of all property as a preferential share over and above the share of the rest of the property and goods which will form my succession, included herein those, given previously, to do with - after my death - as he will notify, and without prejudice to the legs in usufruct for myself given to the benefit of my husband, Pierre Blanc, in the terms of our marriage contract, presented before Maître Alduy Girvès, notary at Saillagouse, the 29/06/1846".

This testament has been thus dictated by the testator to the notary signed below who has written it in its entirety with his own hand, such as it has been dictated to him and he has read it to the testator who has declared to clearly understand it and to persevere as consenting to her real wishes; all this in the presence of the said four witnesses.

The testator and the witnesses have declared on the express request of the notary signed below, that these latter are French citizens, of age, and in possession of their civil rights and that they are neither related nor affiliated to the testator.

APPENDIX SIX

Example of a Marriage Contract

Passing before Maître Pierre Delcasso, Bachelor of Law, notary at the Residence of Bourg Madame, assisted by the witnesses hereafter named :

Have Appeared

Firstly, the Sieur Paul Estève, without profession, legitimate and eldest son of the Sieur Pierre Estève, landowner, and the Dame Bonaventure Durand, without profession, with whom he resides at Brangouly, commune of Enveitg. Acting in his personal name on the one hand.

Secondly, the said Sieur Pierre Estève and the said dame Bonaventure Durand, his wife authorised by him.

Acting to assist their said son due to his minority and, further, because of the donation that the said dame Estève will make hereafter to her said son, also on the one hand.

Thirdly, Mademoiselle Thérèse Vernis, without profession, residing at Latour de Carol, legitimate and youngest daughter of Monsieur Etienne Vernis, when living, landowner residing at the same place, and of the Dame Antoinette Durand, landowner, residing at Latour de Carol.

Acting in her name and on the other hand and

Fourthly, the said Dame Antoinette Durand, widow Vernis,

Acting to assist her said daughter due to her minority and because of the donation which she will give her hereafter, also on the other hand.

These have fixed, as follows, the civil conditions of the marriage as projected between the said Sieur Paul Estève and the said Demoiselle Thérèse Vernis, and for which the celebration will take place without break at the Mairie of the commune of Latour de Carol.

First Article

The future partners declare that without intending to submit themselves to the dotal region, they exclude from their conjugal association, the communal estate settlement. As a consequence the effects of this stipulation will be regulated by the articles 1530-1535 of the Code Civil.

Non-obstructing the regime which has just been adopted, since Sieur Paul Estève is a Spanish subject and that, as a result, his future wife will not be able to invoke in France the benefit of a legal mortgage it is agreed that the future husband will only be able to receive the capital and other movable goods from the future wife on condition that he assures the repayment of them by means of a conventional mortgage - sufficient and free-on goods belonging to him, unless he would prefer to effect this by acquiring in the name of his future wife, property or an annuity within the French State. This was to protect the future wife's property against the maladministration of the wife's goods by the husband.

Second Article

The demoiselle Thérèse Vernis offers all goods present and to come as her dowry.

Third Article

In consideration of the said marriage, the said Bonaventure Durand married as Estève, authorised by her husband makes - in front of those present - a preferential donation to the said son Paul Estève of a quarter of the total value of movable and immovable property over and above the property which she will leave at her death and which forms the general mass of her succession, including the property which the law permits the fictitious reunion of to the mass for the calculation of the available share.

Madame Estève maintains the lawful reserve to dispose in favour of her husband the usufruct for the lifetime of the latter with exemption from guarantee of the quarter of the total property of the Dame Estève, forming

the basis of the preferential donation which has just been made to Paul Estève.

Fourth Article

In consideration of the same marriage, the said Dame Antoinette Durand - widow Vernis - bequeaths in front of those present - a preferential donation to the said Demoiselle Thérèse Vernis of a quarter of the total value of movable and immovable property over and above the property which she will leave at her death and which forms the general mass of her succession, including the goods which the law allows the fictitious reunion of to the mass for the calculation of the available share.

Fifth Article

Conforming with the law, the notary signed below has read articles 1391 and 1394 of the Civil Code to the parties concerned and delivered it to them at the moment of the signing of the present contract, the certificate prescribed by this last article to be lodged with the Maire before the celebration of the marriage.

Of Which Act

Made at Bourg Madame

the seventh day of January 1885, and read to the parties in the presence of Sieurs Jules de Latour café proprietor and livestock dealer, and Bonaventure Cot, commercant living one with the other, at Bourg Madame. Instrumental witnesses have also signed with the parties and we the notary within the present minute.

Signed within the minute : Bonaventure Durand, widow Vernis, Paul Estève, Thérèse Vernis, Pierre Estève, de Latour, Bonaventure Cot and P. Delcasso.

APPENDIX SEVEN

Tenancy Contract

1) Monsieur Romain Bertran-Riu, 'commercant', residing at Barcelona, Rue Aragon, No. 33.

Acting as much for his own personal account as in his capacity as verbal representative such as he declares it for the co-inheritors of the Bertran succession.

2) And Monsieur Jacques Bragulat, farmer, residing at Ste Léocadie.

It has been agreed as follows :

Monsieur Romain Bertran-Riu leases by the present tenancy to Monsieur Bragulat who accepts.

The domain that the co-inheritors Bertran jointly own on the territory of Ste Léocadie, known as 'Cal Mateu', composing a dwelling house, premises of the farm, courtyard, garden, prairies, fields and pastures of a global and approximate total size of around 40 hectares.

Not included in the present tenancy :

- The lodgement located at the front - called 'La Caserne' - serving in former times as the school house.
- A room called 'La Grande Salle', today divided into three apartments.
- The grain attic over the three apartments which exist, situated to the South.
- A large premise which in former times served as a forge.

The present tenancy is consented to and accepted under the following charges and conditions that the tenant is obliged to execute and follow, to be known as follows :

1) Monsieur Bragulat will take the said domain without guarantee of contents expressed above, of which the excess or deficit will turn to his profit or his loss, however big the difference may be.

2) He will live in the main body of the farm and will equip it with all the ploughing and livestock tools and implements in sufficient quantity to allow for the payment of the tenancy and in order to execute the charges and conditions of the tenancy.

3) He will not be able to give up nor sub-let his right to the present tenancy without the express and written consent of the landlords.

4) He will cultivate, fertilize and sow the crops at a time and following the seasons as it suits the practice in the area.

5) He will not be able to change the destination of the prairies, he will mow them at the right time and season, fertilize them, drain them, rid them of moles, furrow them, in a manner so as to keep them in a good state.

6) He will ensure the consumption of the fodder crops on the farm, and will convert the straw into manure without taking the slightest amount of the straw for any other purpose.

7) He will clean out the drain pipes and drains, and water the channels and basins that exist naturally and those that are dug either for the irrigation of the prairies or for bringing water from the ravine known as 'La Devize'.

8) Every year he will - at his own cost - prune the trees that will be indicated to him by the landlords; the wood resulting from the pruning, with the exception of two cubic metres will belong to the landlords and the tenant farmer will be held to bring it to them at the place that they will indicate in the zone of Saillagouse, at Bourg Madame. On the other hand, the two cubic metres of wood prunings - above indicated - as well as the incidental small bits of wood will be the property of the tenant farmer who will be able to dispose of it as appears fit to him.

9) He will plant fencing using the prunings in the places designated by the landlords or their representatives.

10) He will transport, free of charge, the materials necessary for the reparations of the buildings forming a part of the rented farm.

11) He will not be able to demand a single indemnity or reduction of the tenancy - fixed hereafter - as a result of hailstorms, frost, drought, lighting fire or other foreseen case, capable of destroying all or part of the harvest, except for damages caused by war.

12) He will leave in fallow each year, half the worked land, and will only sow the other half.

13) He will oppose all trespassing on the rented buildings and will warn the landowners of any trespassing which might happen in the shortest delay, under the threat of remaining liable and responsible for any such trespassing.

14) He will maintain in good order, all fencing, hedges, or any dry stone which exist on the rented property.

15) He will pay on receipt from the landowners - on top of the tenancy fixed hereafter - all local taxes which might be imposable on the rented property.

16) He will only be able to graze his animals - at the time of taking the animals out after the winter - in the prairies dependent on the rented domain - up to the 25th March, with the exceptions however of the two meadows known as 'La Devèze' and 'Pastourel' which he will be able to graze his animals on until 3rd May, in order to allow him to feed his animals on the fodder crop in excess of that which he will leave as prescribed below.

17) He will leave, at the expiration of the tenancy, in the premises of the domain, the quantity of 2635kg of hay, good and dry and acceptable, and 2500kg of straw - the amount he recognises as having received on his own

arrival; the hay and straw in excess of this quantity will be the property of the landlord who will be able to use it for the livestock up to the 3rd May of the year of the departure of the farmer.

18) He will leave the washbasin which is opposite the apartments which are reserved for the landowners, free two days a week - Monday and Tuesday - in order that the landowners may wash their clothes while they are at the farm.

19) The landowners and their representatives will be able to visit the rented buildings as and when they judge it necessary.

20) The landowners will have the right to gather all the fruits and vegetables from the garden, necessary for their personal consumption - as and when they stay on the farm.

21) The tenant farmer will benefit - in the year of his departure - from the same advantages accorded to Monsieur Canongia, the last tenant farmer for the gathering of the hay, the transport of the sheaves and the threshing - that is to say, at the time he effects these works, he will have the right to a room and a store for himself and a stable to put his draught cattle as well as the necessary fodder for these animals.

22) The present tenancy is for two years which began 25/03/1952. In any event, it will continue by tacit renewal for a period of two years and thereafter indefinitely if neither of the parties signifies to the other - at least six months in advance - his wish to terminate the contract at the end of the current period.

23) For all that is not included in the present tenancy, the parties may refer themselves to the law and the local usage.

Price

Furthermore the present tenancy is consented to and accepted with a tenancy composed :

1) Fifteen thousand francs in current cash form payable in two instalments - the first of November and the first of March each year, with the first payment having effect 1/11/1952.

2) Ninety one hectolitres of wheat and ninety one hectolitres of rye; these cereals will be delivered by the tenant farmer to the landlords in good state, after each harvest and at the latest in the month of September each year, with the first delivery taking place in September 1953.

3) And one hundred kilograms of potatoes of good quality, delivered by the tenant farmer after each harvest and during the month of October at the latest, each year. The first delivery will be in October 1952.

Choice of Residence

For the execution of the contract those parties present make the choice of residence attributable of jurisidiction in the Mairie at Ste Léocadie.

Evaluation of the Reading

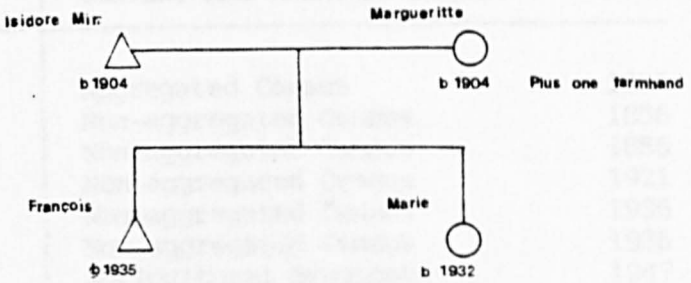
For the collection of the right to recording only, the parties evaluate one hectolitre of wheat at 3400 FF, one hectolitre of rye at 3000FF and one hundred kilograms of potatoes at 1000 FF.

Moreover, the parties evaluate at 3000 FF/year the charges over and above the tenancy.

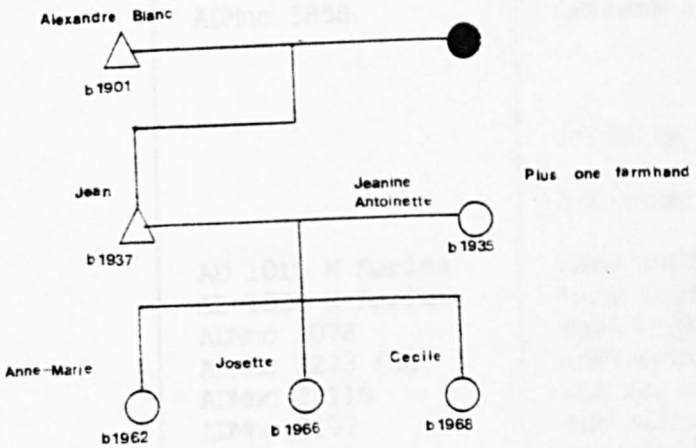
Drawn up in triplicate at Ste Léocadie 19/04/1952.

APPENDIX 8

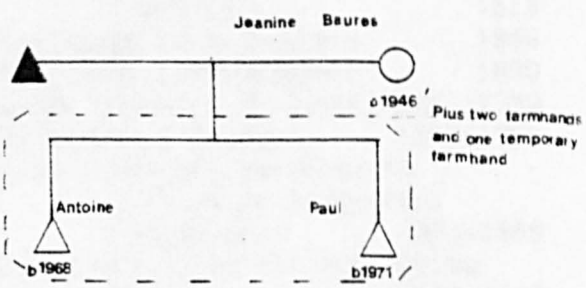
Mir Household



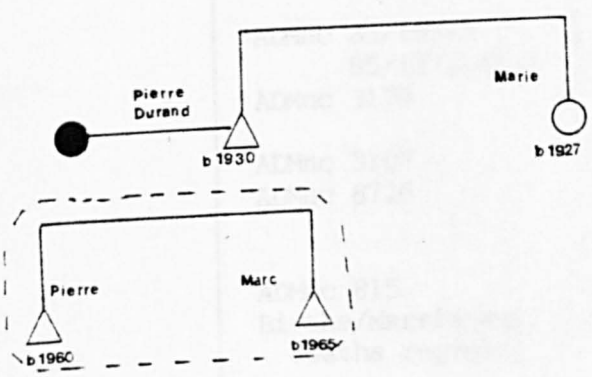
Blanc Household



Baurès Household



Durand Household



Plus one farmhand

— — — Present only during the summer only

APPENDIX NINE

Archival/Historical Sources

LOCATION	SERIES/REFERENCE	CONTENT AND RELEVANT DATES
Departmental Archives	ADMnc 2477	Aggregated Census 1856
	ADMnc 2480	Non-aggregated Census 1856
	ADMnc 2482	Non-aggregated Census 1856
	ADMnc 3171	Non-aggregated Census 1921
	ADMnc 3807	Non-aggregated Census 1936
	ADMnc 3808	Non-aggregated Census 1936
	ADMnc 3858	Agricultural Syndicats 1947
	ADMnc 3858	Letters : Dairy cooperative to Prefect : Prefect to Interior Ministry 1933
	ADMnc 3858	Letters : Milk producers' Syndicat to Vetinary Services; Private dairies to Prefect 1930-1937
		Articles from newspaper, 'L'Eclair' 1930-1938
		Articles from newpaper, 'Le Petit Méridonial' 1934
	AD 1016 W Series	Land register 1830-1914
	AD 1028 W Series	Land register 1914-1965
	ADMnc 3078	Agricultural production 1841
	ADMnc 3223 (3)	Agricultural production 1887
	ADMnc 22116	Agricultural production 1895-1900
	ADMnc 2197	Agricultural production 1904
	ADMnc 2196	Agricultural production 1911
	ADMnc 878,1	Report on livestock 1811-1814
	ADMnc 878,2	Report on milk and dairy production 1813
	ADMnc 3186	Agricultural fairs/markets 1848
	ADMnc 3187	Agricultural fairs/markets 1880
	ADMnc 872/1-6	Economic activity in department 1789
	ADMnc 858/2	Rural Industry Report 1857-1858
	ADMnc 135/1-2	Letters : Customs Services to Prefect on industrial development 1863-1869
	ADMnc 85/155-7 85/127,142-4	Reports/letters on the extractive industry 1623-1943
	ADMnc 3179	Letters : Maires in La Cerdagne to Minister of Commerce 1845
	ADMnc 3107	Report on industrial situation 1880
	ADMnc 8726	Report on annual general meeting of dairy cooperative at Err 1942
	ADMnc 815	Agricultural land use 1856
	Births/Marriages/ deaths registry	Births/deaths/marraiges 1790-1885

LOCATION	SERIES/REFERENCE	CONTENT AND RELEVANT DATES
Communal Archives	Population	Births/deaths/marriages 1875-1966
	Economic Planning	POS and agricultural land 1980-1986
Notarial Archives (Saillagouse)	Not applicable; as yet, this is uncatalogued	Wills, marriage contracts and land transaction 1780-1980
CCVB	Archives	Production and commercialisation of meat 1972-1987
CIMELAIT	Archives	Production and commercialisation of milk and dairy products 1934-1987
ULPAC	Archives	Production and commercialisation of milk and dairy products 1940-1986
Direction of Fiscal Services	Tourism	Land prices 1977-1984
INSEE	Population	General demographic data 1805-1982
	Communes	Socio-economic data employment by sector 1954-1982
	Communes	Public/private services 1954-1975
	Population/dwellings	Principal/secondary homes 1968-1982
DDA	Service de l'économie et des industries agricoles - alimentaires	Use of land plans 1979-1986
	Service de la statistique agricole	Agricultural census 1955-1979
	Retirement policy	Farmers' retirement data 1969-1986
	Installation policy	Installation of farmers data 1973-1987

LOCATION	SERIES/REFERENCE	CONTENT AND RELEVANT DATES	
DDA	Development plans policy BIMA (Bulletin d'information du Ministère de l'Agriculture	Development plans General French agricultural policy	1978-1987 1983-1986
MSA	Agricultural Land	Land tax data	1980-1986
SAFER	Land	Land purchase and Sale	1961-1984
Crédit Agricole	Loans	Conditions for loans	1966-1987
Land Registration Office	Agricultural Land	Landownership	1986

APPENDIX NINE

OTHER ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Statistique Annuaire 1983-1987, Paris.

Agricultural Reports 1983-1989, Paris.

French Agricultural Surveys INSEE, Paris.

CCVB Archives: BAGEEC 1983-1985, Bourg Madame.

LIST OF KEY INFORMANTS

Monsieur J. Bragulat b.1923 at Ste Léocadie. Tenant farmer and Deputy Maire.

Madame Bragulat b.1895 at Ste Léocadie. Resident at Rô.

Monsieur Canal b.1902. Retired small landowning farmer from Estavar. Now card-player at main bar at Saillagouse.

Monsieur Canongia b.1901. Retired tenant farmer from Ste Léocadie.

Monsieur Gispert b.1911. President of farmers' dairy cooperative at Err 1947-1979.

Monsieur Iglésis b.1906. Retired farmer from valcabollère.

Monsieur Rigole b.1913. Retired farmer from Llo. Brother of tenant farmer.

Monsieur Delcor b. 1936. President of farmers' dairy cooperative at Err.

Monsieur Blanc b.1937. President of farmers' meat cooperative at Bourg Madame.

Monsieur Bergès b. 19 . Butcher at Mont Louis.

Monsieur P Bragulat b.1921. Tenant farmer at Rô.

Monsier Font b.1911. Retired farmer from Valcabollère.

Monsieur Barrère b.1930 Son of butcher, currently café-owner.

Monsieur Alézet b.1915. Retired farmer.

Monsieur Augé b.1903. Retired farmer.

Madame Tubiau b.1938. Daughter of retired farmer, working in an office at Bourg Madame.

Madame de Figarola b.1927. Large landowner from Estavar.

Monsieur Bosom b.1902. Retired farm worker.

Madame Will b.1919. Retired shopkeeper.

Monsieur M. Bragulat b.1927. Sheepfarmer at Enveitg.

Maître Ponsaillé Notary at Saillagouse.

APPENDIX NINE

BASIC QUESTIONNAIRE

COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLD
(Permanent members only) *

NAME OF FARMER

VILLAGE

	Relation Ship to 'Chef'	Sex	Marital Status	Date Of Marriage	Year Of Birth	Place Of Birth	Age Left School	Agricult. -ural Training	Main Occupation	Secondary Occupation	Occupation. Before Marriage
1											
2											
3											
4											
5											
6											
7											
8											
9											
10											
11											
12											
13											
14											
15											
16											

* = Temporary members to be noted on separate sheet, together with data corresponding to above grid.

APPENDIX NINE

PROFILE OF THE FARM (i)

PRODUCTION/COMMERCIALISATION

NAME OF FARMER

VILLAGE

LEVEL OF ON-FARM PRODUCTION →	NUMBER OF ANIMALS OF THE FARM										AREA OF CROPS (in hectares)			
	Beef Cattle	Dairy Cattle	Sheep	Horses	Pigs	Goats	Hens	Rabbits	Geese	Ducks	Cereals	Potatoes	Fodder Crops	Any Other
Is Your Production : ↓														
Collected On Site By Buyer?														
Delivered By You To Buyer?														
Organised On Contract >1 Yr?														
Organised On Annual Contract?														
Organised On Contract <1 Yr?														
Sold On An Ad-Hoc Basis?														
Mainly For Sale?														
Mainly Domestic Consumption?														
Not For Sale At All?														
Do You Sell To Individual?														
Do You Sell To Cooperative?														
Do You Sell To Private Food Co?														
Do You Combine Sale Outlets?														

APPENDIX NINE

PROFILE OF THE FARM (ii)

LAND NAME OF FARMER VILLAGE	Total Area Farmed (in hectares)	Total Area Owned	Total Area Rented With A Written	Total Area Rented With No Written Contract
Rented From A Relative in Farming				
Rented From A Relative Not In Farming				
Rented From Non-Relative In Farming				
Rented From Non-Relative Not In Farming				
Total Number Of Landlords				

APPENDIX NINE

PROFILE OF THE FARM (iii)

LABOUR INPUT

NAME OF FARMER

VILLAGE

Absolute Number	Family Member	Member of Another Farming Family			Hired Worker			
Full-time								
Part-time								
Permanent								
Temporary								
Paid in Cash								
Paid in Kind								

APPENDIX NINE

PROFILE OF THE FARM (iii) (Continued)

ON-FARM MACHINERY

NAME OF FARMER

VILLAGE

	Tractor	Powered Cultivator	Combine Harvester	Pick-Up Baler	Potato Picker	Milking Machine	Milk Cooling Machine
Number							
Date First Purchased							
Date Last Purchased							
Paid With Cash							
Paid With Credit							
Source Of Credit							

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