

COST

Domain Committee " *Individuals, Societies, Cultures and Health* "

COST Action A35

Start Date (21/04/2005)

End Date (26/10/2009)

**(PROGRESSORE)
Programme for the Study of
European Rural Societies**

FINAL EVALUATION REPORT

This Report stems from the relevant Domain Committee.

It contains four parts:

- I. Management Report*** prepared by the COST Office/Grant Holder
- II. Scientific Report*** prepared by the Chair of the Management Committee of the Action.
- III. Evaluation Report*** prepared by the "ad hoc" Evaluation Panel, established by the Domain Committee, and edited by the COST Office.
- IV. DC General Assessment*** prepared by the Domain Committee

Appendices:

Confidentiality: the documents will be made available to the public via the COST Action web page except for chapter *II.D. Self evaluation* and *IV. DC General Assessment*.

Executive summary of the Scientific Report (max.250 words):

I. Management Report prepared by the COST Office/Grant Holder



I.A. COST Action Fact Sheet

- **COST Action A35: Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies (PROGRESSORE)**

- **Domain** *Individuals, Societies, Cultures and Health*

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- **Action details:**

CSO Approval: 15/03/2005

End date: 26/06/2009

Entry into force: 21/04/2005

Extension: 26/10/2009

- **Objectives** *The main objective of the Action is to provide the necessary keys to understand the changes experienced by present-day European rural societies in the light of their historical experience. Therefore the Action will establish guidelines for the management of rural space in the coming years. It intends to produce the basic data needed for the better understanding of current changes in the rural world and to define the choices available to decision-makers. The Action also intends to provide the historical knowledge which will allow us to re-think the future of European peasantries. Working Groups: 1 Landed property 2 Management of rural land 3 Peasant societies 4 State, government, politics and peasants*

- **Parties:** *list of countries and date of acceptance*

Country	Date	Country	Date
Austria	13/05/2005	Hungary	21/04/2005
Belgium	24/05/2005	Ireland	21/04/2005
Bulgaria	04/10/2006	Italy	15/06/2005
Cyprus	02/05/2007	Netherlands	13/05/2005
Czech Republic	15/11/2005	Norway	22/04/2005
Denmark	16/06/2005	Poland	21/04/2005
Estonia	19/05/2005	Portugal	11/07/2005
Finland	21/04/2005	Spain	18/05/2005
France	18/04/2005	Sweden	12/07/2005
Germany	21/04/2005	Switzerland	28/09/2005
Greece	13/05/2005	United Kingdom	27/04/2005

- **Intentions to accept:** 0

- **Other participants:**

(Institution Name, Country, Town)

Chair: Professor Gerard BEAUR
CNRS-EHESS Centre de Recherches
Historiques, 54 Boulevard Raspail
75006 Paris France

DC Rapporteur: Ms Daniela Koleva

Science Officer: Dr Julia STAMM
COST Office
jstamm@cost.esf.org
+32 2 533 38 33

Administrative Officer: Ms Felicitas
AMBROSIUS
COST Office
fambrosius@cost.esf.org
0032-2-5333804

- **Action Web site:** <http://crh.ehess.fr/sommaire.php?id=755>.

- **Grant Holder Representative** *(name, e-mail)*

- **Working Groups** *(list of WGs and names and affiliations of participants)*

1 Landed property

Bas Van Bavel (NL)

Working Group members : Phillip Schofield (UK), Rui Santos (PT), Mats Morell (SW), Eric Thoen (BE), Jean-Michel Chevet (F), Gérard Béaur (F), Rosa Congost (SP), Karsten Rasmussen (DK).

2 Management of rural land

Vicente Pinilla (SP)

Working Group members : Annie Antoine (F), José V. Serrao (PT), Patrick Svensson (SW), Aud Mikkelsen Tretvik (NO).

3 Peasant societies

Anne-Lise Head (CH)

Working Group members : Jaroslaw Dumanowsky (PL), Geir Inge Orderud (NO), Erich Landsteiner (AT), Bjorn Poulsen (DK), Peter Pozsgai (HU), Jürgen Schlumbohm (DE), Ernst Langthaler (AT).

4 State, government, politics and peasants

Socrates Petmezas (GR)

Working Group members : Giuliana Baggioli (IT), Jozsef Kovacs (HU), Georg Fertig (DE), Nadine Vivier (F), Peter Moser (CH))

I.B. Management Committee member list

Management Committee		
Chair	Vice Chair	Vice-Chair
<p>Professor Gerard BEAUR CNRS-EHESS, Centre de Recherches Historiques, 54 Boulevard Raspail 75006 Paris France N.A.</p>	<p>Professor Jurgen SCHLUMBOHM Max-Planck-Institute für Geschichte Jenaer Strasse 33 37085 Goettingen Germany N.A.</p>	<p>Ms Rosa CONGOST Centro de Investigacion de Historia RuralILCC - Seccion Vicens VivesUniversidad de Gerona Plaza Ferrater Mora I 17071 Gerona Spain N.A.</p>

DC Rapporteur
<p>Ms Daniela KOLEVA</p>

Austria	
<p>Professor Erich LANDSTEINER MC Member Institut für Wirtschafts-und SozialgeschichteUniversität Wien Dr. Karl Luegerring 1 1010 Wien Austria N.A.</p>	<p>Dr Ernst LANGTHALER MC Member Ludwig Boltzmann Institut für Geschichte des ländlichen Raumes Frantz Schubert Platz4 3109 St-Polten Austria N.A.</p>

Belgium	
<p>Professor Serge SCHMITZ MC Member Universite de Liege Allee du 6 Aout, 2 4000 Liege Belgium N.A.</p>	<p>Professor Erik THOEN MC Member Faculty of LettersUniversitéit Gent Blandijnberg 2 9000 Gent Belgium N.A.</p>
<p>Professor Paul SERVAIS MC Substitute Member Universite Catholique de Louvain-la-Neuve Place Blaise Pascal, 1 1348 Louvain-la-Neuve Belgium N.A.</p>	

Cyprus	
<p>Ms Natia CHARALAMBOUS MC Member Intercollege 46 Makedonitissas Ave. 1700 Nicosia Cyprus N.A.</p>	

Czech Republic

<p>Dr Josef GRULICH</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>Faculty of Philosophy University of South Bohemia Na Mlynske stoce 35 370 01 Ceske Budejovice Czech Republic</p> <p>N.A.</p>	<p>Dr Miloslav LAPKA</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic Anthropoecology Institute of Systems Biology and Ecology Na Sadkach 7 37005 Ceske Budejovice Czech Republic</p> <p>N.A.</p>
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Denmark

<p>Professor Carsten PORSKROG RASMUSSEN</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>University of Aarhus Building 410 room 242 8000 Aarhus C Denmark</p> <p>N.A.</p>	<p>Professor Bjorn POULSEN</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>University of Aarhus Building 410 room 141 8000 Aarhus C Denmark</p> <p>N.A.</p>
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Estonia

<p>Professor Addu MUST</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>University of Tartu Ulikooli 18 50090 TARTU Estonia</p> <p>N.A.</p>	
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Finland

<p>Professor Matti PELTONEN</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>University of Helsinki POBox 54 00014 Helsinki Finland</p> <p>N.A.</p>	
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France

<p>Professor Nadine VIVIER</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>Faculte des Lettres, Langues et Sciences Humaines Universite du Maine Avenue Olivier Messiaen 72085 Le Mans France</p> <p>N.A.</p>	<p>Professor Annie ANTOINE</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>FRE CNRS 2786 Universite Rennes 2 Place Recteur Henri Le Moal, CS 24307 35043 Rennes France</p> <p>N.A.</p>
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Germany

<p>Professor Jurgen SCHLUMBOHM</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>Max-Planck-Institute fur Geschichte Jenaer Strasse 33 37085 Goettingen Germany</p> <p>N.A.</p>	<p>Dr Georg FERTIG</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>Historische Seminar Universitat Munster Alter Wall 9, Domplatz 20-22 48143 Munster Germany</p> <p>N.A.</p>
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Greece	
<p>Professor Socrates D. PETMEZAS</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>University of Crete Gallou Campus 74100 Rethymnon Greece</p> <p>N.A.</p>	

Hungary	
<p>Mr Peter POZSGAI</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>Corvinus University Budapest N/A - Please update this record 1039 Budapest Hungary</p> <p>N.A.</p>	<p>Dr Jozsef OKOVACS</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>University of Miskolc N/A - Please update this record 3515 Miskolc Hungary</p> <p>N.A.</p>

Ireland	
<p>Professor Cormac OGRADA</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>University College Dublin Arts/Commerce Building, Belfield Dublin Ireland</p> <p>N.A.</p>	

Italy	
<p>Professor Danilo GASPARINI</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>dell IPSAA D. Sartor via Postinna 17 31033 Castelfranco Veneta Italy</p> <p>N.A.</p>	<p>Professor Giuliana BIAGIOLI</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>N/A - Please update this record Piazza Toricelli 3/A I 56100 PISA Italy</p> <p>N.A.</p>

Netherlands	
<p>Dr B.P.J. VAN BAVEL</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>Projectgroep Economische en Sociale GeschiedenisUniversiteit Utrecht Kromme Nieuwegracht 66 3512 HL Utrecht Netherlands</p> <p>N.A.</p>	

Norway	
<p>Ms Aud Ingeborg MIKKELSEN TRETVIK</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>Norwegian University of Science and Technology N-7491 TRONDHEIM 7491 Trondheim Norway</p> <p>N.A.</p>	<p>Mr Geir Inge ORDERUD</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research PO Box44 Blindern 0313 Oslo Norway</p> <p>N.A.</p>

Poland	
<p>Dr Mikolaj SZOLTYSEK</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>Pomeranian Pedagogical AcademyInstitute of HistoryPomeranian Pedagogical Academy Arciszewskiego 22A 76-200 Slupsk Poland</p> <p>N.A.</p>	<p>Dr Jaroslaw DUMANOWSKI</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>Institut Historii I ArchywistykiZaklad Historii Nowoytnej Plac Teatralny 2A, Palc Teatralny 2a 87-100 Torun Poland</p> <p>N.A.</p>

Portugal	
<p>Mr Jose Vicente SERRAO</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>Higher Institute of Labour and Business Sciences Av. Forcas Armadas, edif ISCTE 1649-026 Lisboa Portugal</p> <p>N.A.</p>	<p>Professor Rui SANTOS</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>FCSH - CESNOVA av. Berna 26 C 1069-061 Lisboa Portugal</p> <p>N.A.</p>

Spain	
<p>Mr Vicente PINILLA</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>Facultad de Ciencias Economicas y EmpresarialesUniversidad de Zaragoza Gran Via 4 50005 Zaragoza Spain</p> <p>N.A.</p>	<p>Ms Rosa CONGOST</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>Centro de Investigacion de Historia RuralILCC - Seccion Vicens VivesUniversidad de Gerona Plaza Ferrater Mora I 17071 Gerona Spain</p> <p>N.A.</p>

Sweden	
<p>Dr Patrick SVENSSON</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>Lunds universitet Box 7083 220 07 Lund Sweden</p> <p>N.A.</p>	<p>Mr Morell MATS</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>Ekonomisk- historiska institutionenUppsala universitet Box 513 751 20 Uppsala Sweden</p> <p>N.A.</p>

Switzerland	
<p>Dr Peter MOSER</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>Leiter Archiv fur Agrargeschichte Langgasse 85 3052 Zollikofen/Bern Switzerland</p> <p>N.A.</p>	<p>Professor Anne-Lise HEAD-KOENIG</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>Universite de Geneve N/A - Please update this record 1211 Geneve 4 Switzerland</p> <p>N.A.</p>

United Kingdom	
<p>Professor Richard HOYLE</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>Faculty of Arts and HumanitiesUniversity of Reading PO Box 218 RG6 6AG Reading RG6 6AG Reading United Kingdom</p> <p>N.A.</p>	<p>Professor Phillipp R. SCHOFIELD</p> <p>MC Member</p> <p>University of Wales, Aberystwyth Hugh Owen Building, Penglais Aberystwyth United Kingdom</p> <p>N.A.</p>

I.C. Overview activities and expenditure

2006-2007 Budget

Total Action Budget: 71 817,12 €

Meetings

Meeting Type	Date	Place	Cost	Total
Workshop	9-12 June 2006	Gregynog	12 026,14 €	
Workshop	1-2 September 06	Retz	7 932,66 €	
Workshop	22-23 September 2006	Zaragoza	10 480,35 €	
Workshop	29-30 September 2006	Le Mans	5 956,26 €	
Core Group	27-28 October 2006	Paris	3 892,16 €	
Joint symposium	25 November 2006	Brussels	10 677,28 €	
Workshop	30-31 March 2007	Münster	7 085,84 €	
				58 050,69 €

STSM

Beneficiary	Date	Place	Cost	Total
				0

Workshops

Title	Date	Place	Cost	Total
Property rights, the market in land and economic growth in Europe	9-12 June 2006	Gregynog	0,00 €	
Agrosystems and labour Relations in European rural societies	1-2 September 06	Retz	0,00 €	
The impact of market in the management of rural land	22-23 September 2006	Zaragoza	0,00 €	
Etat et sociétés rurales, State and rural societies	29-30 September 2006	Le Mans	0,00 €	
Core Group	27-28 October 2006	Paris	0,00 €	
Joint symposium	25 November 2006	Brussels	280,78 €	
Social networks and institutional change : pathways and limits of state intervention in rural societies	30-31 March 2007	Münster	3 000,00 €	
				3 280,78 €

General Support Grants

Beneficiary	Cost	Total
CNRS – CRH	9 367,45 €	
		9 367,45 €

Dissemination

Title	Place	Cost	Total
			0

Others

Beneficiary	Description	Cost	Total
Rosa CONGOST	The first preparatory meeting will be in Madrid on the November 27 and organised by Prof Almudena Orejas, chair of Action 27	380,20 €	
Annie ANTOINE		738,00 €	
			1 118,20 €

Action Total : 71 817,12 €

2007-2008 Budget

Total Action Budget: 119 873,65 €

Meetings

Meeting Type	Date	Place	Cost	Total
Workshop	1-3 June 2007	Lisbon	13 451,52 €	
Workshop	15-16 June 2007	Rennes	15 072,74 €	
Workshop	21-22 September 2007	Torun	9 425,18 €	
Core Group	4-6 October 2007	Paris	7 060,54 €	
Management Committee	19-20 October 2007	Utrecht	13 256,12 €	
Core Group	29 February – 1 March 2008	Lisbon	4 791,69 €	
Workshop	15-17 May 2008	Sarospatak	12 045,89 €	
Workshop	22-24 May 2008	Rome	10 134,92€	
				85 238,60

STSM

Beneficiary	Date	Place	Cost	Total
Thomas Hajduk	1 september-30 November 2007	Münster	2 300,00 €	
Phillipp Schofield	1-8 November 2007	Paris	1 000,00 €	
Noelle Plack	1-11 December 2007	Le Mans	1 233,87 €	
				4 533,87 €

Workshops

Title	Date	Place	Cost	Total
Social embeddedness of property Rights to land in Europe	1-3 June 2007	Lisbon	3 000,00 €	
The management of the rural land Agricultural and specialization and rural patterns of development	15-16 June 2007	Rennes	3 000,00 €	
Wealth and Poverty in European Rural Societies from the Middle Ages to the present day. Standards of living, material culture and consumption patterns	21-22 September 2007	Torun	3 000,00 €	
Core Group Meeting	4-6 October 2007	Paris	830,18 €	
Management Committee	19-20 October 2007	Utrecht	1 000,00 €	
Core Group Meeting	29 February – 1 March 2008	Lisbon	0,00 €	
Inheritance practices, marriages strategies and household formation in European rural Societies	15-17 May 2008	Sarospatak	3 000,00 €	
Property rights to land, social structures, environment and sustainable development from the Middle Ages	22-24 May 2008	Rome	1 000,00 €	
				14 830,18 €

General Support Grants

Beneficiary	Cost	Total
CNRS – CRH	10 000,00 €	
		10 000,00

Dissemination

Title	Place	Cost	Total
The State, Government and Rural Societies : the choice of the State	Belgique	2 667,00 €	
Markets and Agricultural Change in Europe from the 13th to the 20th Century	Belgique	2 604,00 €	
			5 271,00

Others

Beneficiary	Cost	Total
		0 €

Action Total : 119 873,65 €

2008-2009 Budget

Total Action Budget: 134 529,77 €

Meetings

Meeting Type	Date	Place	Cost	Total
Workshop	3-5 June 2008	Möschberg	11 795,68 €	
Workshop	12-14 June 2008	Lund	12 191,99 €	
Workshop	20 June 2008	Paris	1 153,76 €	
Management Committee	26-27 September 2008	Zaragoza	16 146,88 €	
Core Group	7-8 November 2008	Paris	4 871,81 €	
Joint CG/JS/MC	27-28 March 2009	Paris	13 829,07 €	
Final conference/MC	6-9 September 2009	Girona	24 165,03 €	
				84 154,22

STSM

Beneficiary	Date	Place	Cost	Total
Grava Massimiliano	29 January-28 February 2009	Girona	1 730,00 €	
Czoch Gabor	2-31 March 2009	Paris	2 000,00 €	
				3 730,00 €

Workshops

Title	Date	Place	Cost	Total
State Agricultural Policies : Causes, Implementation and Consequences	3-5 June 2008	Möschberg	3 000,00 €	
Production and productivity in European agriculture in a historical context	12-14 June 2008	Lund	3 000,00 €	
Meeting of the Core Group	20 June 2008	Paris	20,05 €	
Management Committee	26-27 September 2008	Zaragoza	2 000,00 €	
Meeting of the Core Group	7-8 November 2008	Paris	522,59 €	
Meeting of the Core Group, Joint Symposium and Management Committee	27-28 March 2009	Paris	1 763,40 €	
Final conference	6-9 September 2009	Girona	7 872,15 €	
				18 178,19 €

General Support Grants

Beneficiary	Cost	Total
CNRS – CRH	17 547,36 €	
		17 547,36 €

Dissemination

Title	Place	Cost	Total
Property Rights, Land in Market and Economic Growth	Belgique	2 982,00 €	
Agrosystems and Labour Relations in European Rural Societies	Belgique	2 562,00 €	
Contexts of Property : The Social Embeddedness of Property Rights to Land in Europe in Historical Perspective	Belgique	2 772,00 €	
Agricultural specialisation and rural patterns of development	Belgique	2 604,00 €	
			10 920,00 €

Others

Beneficiary	Cost	Total
		0 €

Action Total : 134 529,77€

II. Scientific Report prepared by the Chair of the Management Committee of the Action (same layout as in the Monitoring Progress Report)

The main object of this Action has been to examine the changes undergone by contemporary European rural societies in the light of their historical experience. This aim is highly relevant to the rural and agricultural world today. Some may question the value of historical studies in evaluating future development: why should the events of a hundred or two hundred years ago be relevant to today's policy-makers? We would argue that they are: in the words of Professor Jan de Vries, one of the most eminent of economic historians: "Our beliefs about our future options and prospects are shaped to a large extent by where we think we have been and how we think we got where we are now."

Thus there are two reasons why history matters: first, our perception of what society was like in the past tends to influence the way we think about present-day challenges; second, our perception of what constitute the decisive factors for change has a great influence on our decisions concerning the future. We would also argue that this is even more true of rural societies than of urban ones. European cities and towns today in many respects face similar possibilities and similar problems; this is not true to the same extent of rural areas. Lisbon is much more like Stockholm than Alentejo is like Scania.

By launching this action, we assumed that the present day problems of the countryside could never be really understood without taking into account what happened before and could better be by the observation of past experiences. In fact, it is easy to admit that the problems of land, hunger, men/women in the countryside, and agricultural policy were in no way something new but that they were coming out from old situations and constraints. The shortage of foodstuffs in 2008 and the rise of their prices which provoked some riots all around the world recalled us that the problem of famine is not solved. The fights for land and the search for provisional security in foodstuffs by purchasing or long-term leasing of land in Madagascar or elsewhere underline how space is seldom and expensive. The revendications of farmers for better price for their milk and their flesh as much as the new knowledge they have to control to hold a farm display how sensitive the producers are to promote their jobs and incomes. The acute debates among the politicians of all countries to decide in what extent agriculture should be financially helped and in what extent it should remain intensive (extension of fallows..) show how governments are aware of economic and environmental factors.

Although the peasantry has almost disappeared in a large part of Western Europe the future of the surviving farms, their size, and the way they are worked, remains a big challenge, while in Eastern Europe very extensive changes in the distribution of property have taken place over the course of the twentieth century. The debate on financing the CAP and the problem caused by overproduction after half a century of encouraging European farmers to raise their productivity, uncertainty about the ecological problems caused by intensive agriculture, the loss of available arable land to expanding cities and leisure activities: all these factors make it urgent to find a reliable diagnosis of the problems of the European countryside and producers, and to put forward alternative solutions to these problems.

This means that we have had to produce historical studies on the countries involved in the Action, to make historical comparisons between these countries and then to gather experts to analyse the present and future of the European countryside. The scope of the Action was set out at the initial meeting in Brussels, in June 2005, and then at the first meeting of the Management Committee (MC) in Treviso in December of the same year. Four Working Groups (WG) were set up to organize the work of the Action. They planned to hold twelve workshops over three years, building up to a final conference in September 2009. These Working Groups followed the plan of the original programme and were to tackle the following questions:

- 1. Landed property
- 2. Management of rural land

- 3. Peasant societies
- 4. State, government, politics and peasants

Three members of each WG organized twelve workshops which took place in 2006, 2007 and 2008. The topics of these workshops were presented to the Core-Group of the Action (made up of the Chair, the Vice-Chairs and the 4 leaders of the WG) in a separate meeting and then discussed by the MG in a joint conference. It was decided that a workshop should include twelve to eighteen contributors and around four to five commentators. Calls for papers were circulated among members of the MC, so they could attract scholars from their own countries, and were put on the Action website (see Annex : Call for papers). All these workshops were organized in accordance with the decisions of the MC and with the timeline laid out in the work plans established at the beginning of each academic year. Some were supported by additional funds (see the list for each workshop). About 200 scholars from 22 European countries were involved in this Action (187 took part in the workshops: see list in Annex 1). Thirty-two per cent of these were women. Roughly 150 papers were delivered (see Graph 1).

Some of the participants were very involved in the Action and formed the nucleus of our group (see Graph 2). Thirty of them participated in 3 or more workshops; 21 of these were members of the MC and were also very active in the MCM, and also the Core-group meetings, when they were members. In addition to this highly active group, there were 152 participants who attended one or two workshops and brought varied and valuable expertise to our Action. Most of the major European specialists in the field were involved in our programme to some extent.

These researchers came from a large range of European countries. The national distribution reflects the vitality of this field in different regions and it is not surprising that there was a high participation of Spanish, Scandinavian and Eastern European scholars (see Graph 3).

One of the basic principles of the Action was to examine the long term and papers therefore looked at periods from the Middle Ages to the present day. We wanted a multidisciplinary approach and although historians formed the largest group (roughly two-thirds of the total number) many economists, geographers, sociologists, anthropologists and others were invited to contribute their expertise (see Graph 4).

We had contacts with other COST Actions involving rural topics, particularly with A27 in implementing a joint Action on Landscape Studies in which A35 was invited to take part. Two members of the MC are on the steering committee. We also cooperated with the COST A34 programme. Three members of COST A35 were invited to take part in a COST A34 WS.

Young researchers and doctoral candidates were involved in our meetings, presenting papers and discussing the topics. About 20 per cent of the participants were in the early stages of their research, as they were under 40 years old (see Graph 4). We arranged some Short-Term Scientific Missions (STMS) for young researchers. The applications were examined by the MC and 6 were accepted, of which 5 were carried out:

- Phillipp Schofield (Wales) to work with Prof. Gérard Béaur in Paris (France),
- Noelle Plack (United Kingdom) to work with Prof. Nadine Vivier in Le Mans (France),
- Thomas Hajduk , Durham University (United Kingdom) to work with Dr Georg Fertig in Münster (Germany),
- Massimo Grava (Italy) to work with Prof. Rosa Congost in Gerona (Spain),
- Gabor Czoch (Czech Republic) to work with Prof. Gérard Béaur in Paris (France).

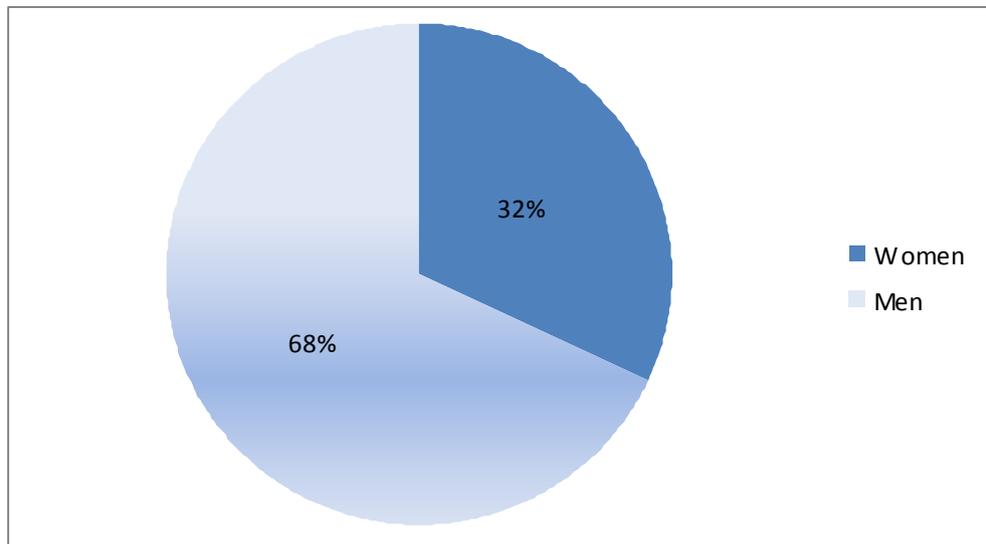
The workshops produced a great deal of historical material and many interpretive tools (see the highlights of each WS below). The MC used these in the meeting at Utrecht in 2007 to plan for the final conference at

Gerona (Spain) in the autumn of 2009 which was to explore some of the most urgent and relevant topics in the light of historical experience. This important conference marked the end of the Action and attracted a wider audience. The main themes of this conference were established by a special committee set up in Lisbon 2008, which met in Paris in 2008 and whose findings were discussed in Zaragoza, Spain in 2009. It was decided that the conference would not summarize the results of the four working groups but instead have four sessions cutting across the themes to identify contemporary problems, and then look at the historical record and the work of the previous WGs. These sessions were prepared by new working groups (NWG). Each NWG was made up of members who had taken part in the 4 WG and who therefore could contribute the knowledge they had got from the workshops. The Conference was held in accordance with the decisions taken by the MC and took place without any problems.

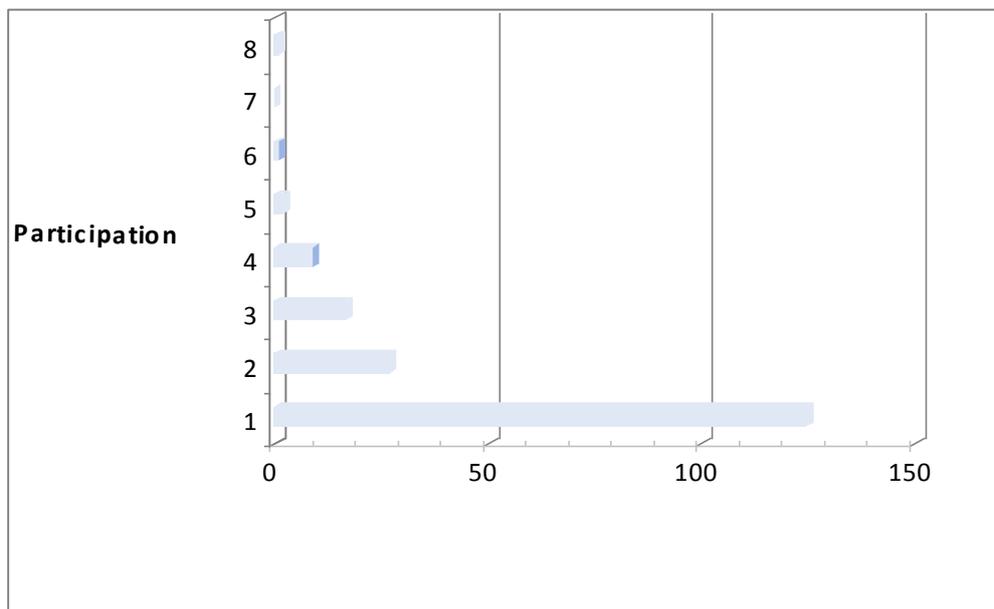
Although the problem of property rights was the starting point of the Action at an exploratory workshop held at Thonon in 2005 and remained a central theme in our discussions, several topics were explored, following the same pattern of looking at historical facts from the Middle Ages to the present, and discussing how the present state of the countryside and rural society can cast light on the future development of agricultural production and the peasantry. Here are some of the main points which emerged.

Though property rights have long been thought to be a crucial factor for agricultural growth, it seems that incomplete property rights were not a hindrance when farmers had some guarantees. Within a specific social context where the holders of the various property rights had a clear long-term interest in sustainable development, even marginal areas could sustain a healthy social agro-system, while the loss of economic vitality or the emergence of absentee landlords could have clear negative effects. The Action showed that European farmers over the centuries have responded well to economic incentives and that the involvement of rural populations and communities in different kinds of markets (agricultural commodities, labour, land, capital) has influenced the management of rural land in Europe. .

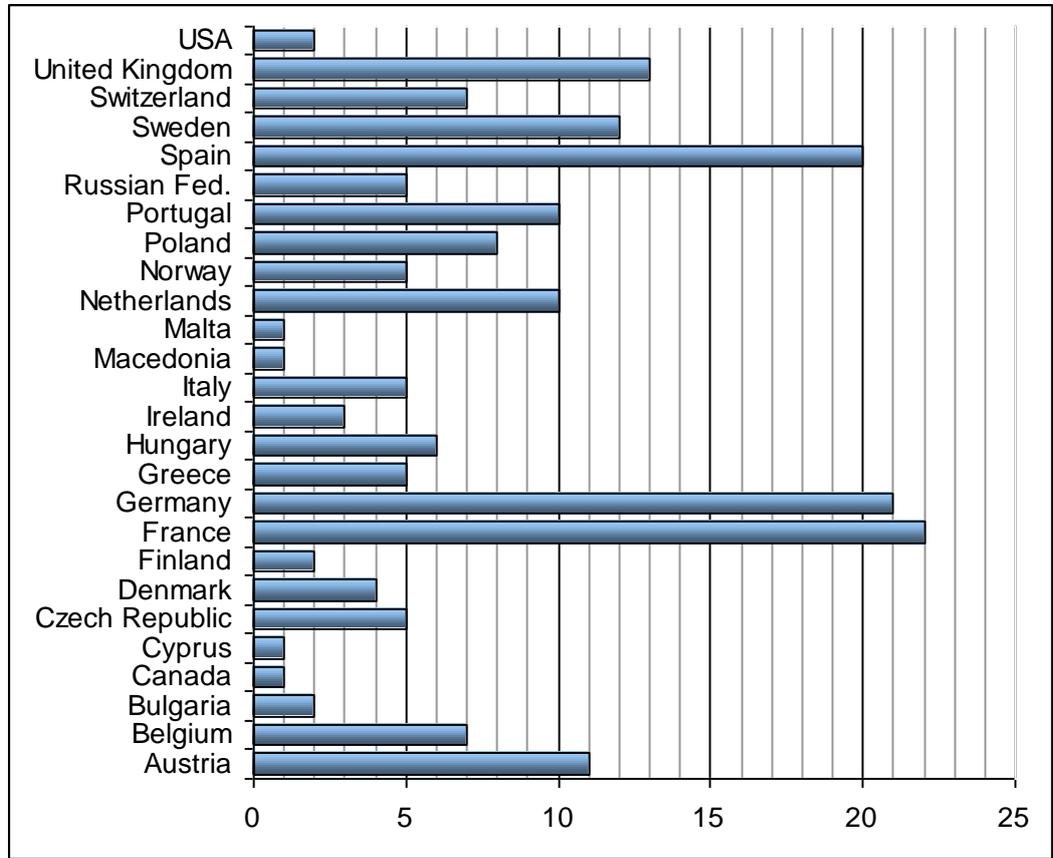
Graph 1. Gender-balance in the workshops



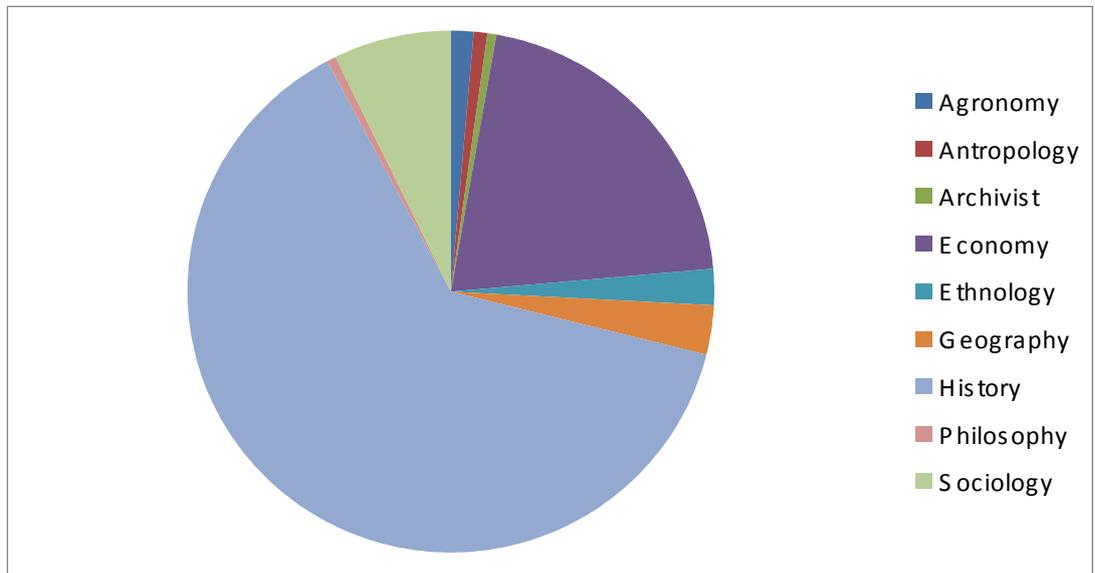
Graph 2. Number of workshops participations for each member (%)



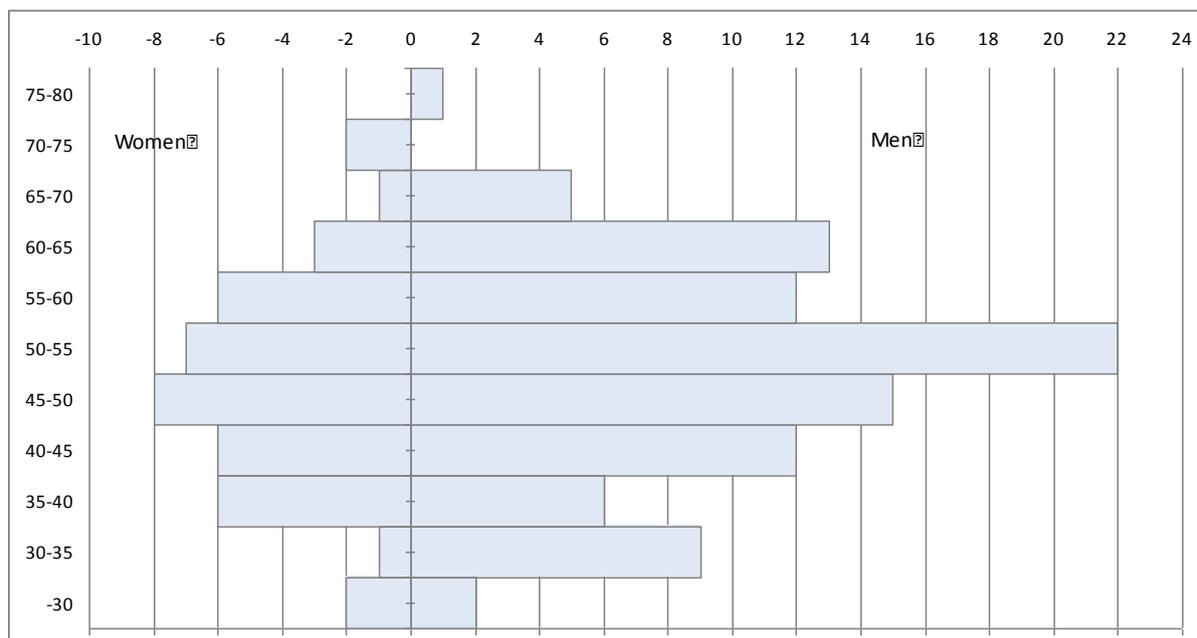
Graph. 3. National participation in the workshops.



Graph 4. Scientific speciality of each participant in the Action



Graph 5. Age of participants in the workshops



Extended scientific report.

Main Highlights and Final Conclusions

1) Landscapes, resources and rural societies.

The use and exploitation of land, whether for agriculture, water, mineral extraction, leisure and pleasure or for building and suburbanisation involves choices which are essentially political in nature. Throughout the late twentieth century choices were to be made between agriculture and the amenity value of land and landscape for conservation, tourism and recreation. For most of the half century after the end of the second world war, this argument was settled in favour of productivity although arguments in favour of alternative uses gradually gathered strength after the 1970s. In the last years of the century public subsidy increasingly came to be focussed on the maintenance of countryside and landscape rather than further supporting agricultural productivity. The success of high input/high productivity farming systems has brought its own costs, in state-subsidized overproduction, but also environmental damage (through, for instance, nitrogen pollution of water but also pollution arising from factory farm effluent) and the over-abstraction of water from rivers. Some extension of the cultivated area may, in the long term, be unsustainable, whether as the result of soil salination arising from irrigation, or the consequences of global warming on coastlines and low lying areas. There are therefore choices to be made about the desirability of these forms of farming.

These questions, for obvious reasons, can *not* be reduced to a series of market choices. It is our contention that the ways in which choices as between agriculture and wildlife or between agriculture and urbanisation are resolved, is essentially political rather than economic, and reflects arguments over cultural as well as economic preferences. There is no common European pattern of landholding, with marked disparities in the early modern period between areas which were dominated by large estates and those in which landownership was more dispersed and peasant or smallholding ownership was a real force. Where estates existed though, we can trace a tendency, which continues, for land to pass out of their hands and into the hands of owner-occupiers.

At the same time complex multiple rights over land have often, but not everywhere disappeared. Again, the disappearance of these rights has often been at the initiative of governments. The tendency of the last fifty years has therefore been for the state to annex to itself some rights over the assets of the countryside (water, minerals) whilst shifting ownership of the land to farmers. Landowners, however, have been placed under increasing restrictions which limit their freedom to use their land as they wished whilst the state itself has become the major driver of agricultural and rural change. The post-war priority was to increase agricultural productivity as part of a geo-strategic vision of national food security. The rush to produce more food saw not only the adoption of high input forms of agriculture but also the abandonment of traditional patterns of production. By the late 1980s there was an appreciation that production had reached conditions of overproduction and that the levels of subsidy required to maintain an excess of food production were unsupportable. The transfer of land from agriculture to urbanisation and industrialisation normally depends on the demand from the latter – and the willingness of a society to regulate it or not. In future, therefore, as long as economic growth continues, the housing and industrial demand for farmland might also be expected to continue. The biggest impact, however, on land use changes, will come from national and local government policies. In future, therefore, the extent to which local and national governments are anxious about food supplies, or responsive to housing demand, is likely to have the biggest influence on what happens to farm land. , the demand for amenity and recreational uses of the countryside is income elastic. As people get richer, many of them wish to increase their leisure time, and to spend at least part of that leisure time enjoying the amenities of rural areas. Again, this has been the case for many centuries; what was new in the twentieth century was it becomes evident today that where the agricultural use of land is

diminishing, the forest is growing thus fending off tourism in the long term as well. As recently as the 1950s, as a visit to many of Europe's rural museums will reveal, there were wide variations in the technologies used by European farmers. Similar fertilizers, pesticides, tractors and, where appropriate, crop varieties and animal breeds, are now used across Europe, and most European countries have followed the same line in their rejection of genetically modified organisms (GMOs). For the future, several options are available. Some farmers will continue with conventional agriculture, more or less as it appears at present. Others will maintain their current position as organic farmers, or change to become organic farmers. A third alternative is emerging, in the form of what is being called 'precision' farming, which uses, based on a high demand on capital, high technology methods to reduce inputs of fertilizer and pesticides while maintaining high yields. The extent to which the output of agriculture or its environmental costs take precedence in the concerns of policy makers will probably depend on world food prices. As long as food is available at reasonable prices policy makers will respond to the political power of the amenity and conservation lobbies, which has increased over the last thirty years as the political power of the agricultural interest groups has, in comparison, waned. But the history of the World Wars of the twentieth century, and the commodity booms of the early 1970s and the mid-2000s, suggests that the possibility, let alone the reality, of food shortages may yet direct the attention of the policy makers back to the productive potential of European agriculture.

2) Policy and farming types in Europe.

It is but recently that agricultural exploitations have come to be considered dominantly as economic enterprises. For a long time, they have in fact been perceived through the bias of the small family farm, *a priori* largely oriented to self-subsistence and for a large part of doubtful market profitability. And in fact, if one estimates the profitability of this kind of exploitation according to modern accounting criteria, all but a few of these small farmers will show no profit and will under no circumstances be rentable, and would as such be vowed to extinction in a market economy.

One might be done with the argument with this easy conclusion, were it not for two points that go against it:

1° small-scale farming has survived all its handicaps, and their farmers have been able to keep abreast and to transfer their holdings for generations;

2° as historians keep showing us, this kind of farms – in connection with upstream and downstream links to industries ('agribusiness') – have largely contributed to feed growing masses of urban populations and the industrial labour force that piled up since the nineteenth century.

Where did these micro-exploitations come from? Across most of Europe, they originated in the holdings that landlords let to their dependents for rent. The devaluation of the currency in which such rents were expressed, which in the beginning largely amounted to instalments due by a perpetual tenant to the landlord, and later their wiping out in the wake of the French Revolution and the liberal revolutions and reforms that ensued across Europe, made effective land owners out of the former tenants, who in any case largely regarded themselves as the true owners of the land they farmed in 'useful possession'. These small holdings were piously handed from one generation to the next, and keeping them as viable, if not profitable farms was literally a matter of life and death. Managing land transfers both across generations and through markets within the life-cycle was a matter of prime importance in such societies. The situation, however, has very much evolved, and this for three reasons:

1. Because it is no longer the case that the status of successor in the holding is the most enviable, as success is now often more tangible in other sectors of activity and the move out of agriculture came to be perceived as determinant of positive social mobility;

2. Because the last high-fecundity strongholds in the European rural world have changed in the twentieth century interwar period, so that fewer siblings pressed with succession demands;
3. Because from the 1960s-'70s on, European states, the EEC and later the EU began to impose considerable training burdens on young farmers applying to take on a farm, or for support to do it, which made many simply find it more desirable to take on different jobs. In order to keep the European countryside productive and lively, the issue is no longer to know who is going to take on the farms, but rather who will accept to do so and how the new farmers will be able to compensate their brothers and sisters, assuming a part of the holding remains owner-occupied. Family farming still seems to remain the backbone of European agriculture, as far as labour inputs are concerned. It may be argued that this long-term survival of family farming, wherever it became historically dominant and was not offset by intervening political processes, reflects the advantages of familial work organisation with regard to transaction costs (high motivation of labourers, flexible commute between farm and off-farm work, fewer surveillance costs).

In fact, there have been for centuries, parallel to small family farms, larger scale farms. In other settings, large holdings were since at least the early modern period managed by wealthy farmers who held the capital needed to invest in physical assets, to mobilise salaried labour force often issued of the families of micro-farmers, and who usually managed to avail themselves of produce surpluses generating substantial commercial profit. Here it was not so much land ownership that counted, but the control of the capital and of the farmland and other real assets usually taken in lease. It has been held for a long time that this model of economically efficient and innovative farming enterprise was specifically English, while the overwhelming predominance of small landed property was thought to cause a large part of continental Europe to lag behind. Today's historians, more attentive to empirical evidence than to myth, can state with certainty that modern large farming did exist since early days in certain regions of continental Europe certainly adapted to their specific ecological, social and market conditions. Historians have also ceased to believe small farming to be inevitably backward, entrenched in self-subsistence and keeping apart from markets. On the whole, western European governments have pursued rather tacking policies concerning the sensitive issue of large capitalistic versus family farming, which was of social and political besides economic consequence. Ought peasantries to be sacrificed for the sake of higher agricultural productivity?

According to the most progressive European opinion of the time, collective lands and land uses were to blame for all sorts of evils and they should disappear forever, in the name of the so-called English model dogma and for the sake of agrarian individualism. The Leninist doctrine of the concentration of the means of production in large collective farms became the main political answer, in a context of planned economy and large-scale state investments to provide the basis for quite productive, industrialised agricultures in some of these countries. As socialism collapsed so did the organisation of collective farming and the systems of collective property rights on which it rested. The morcellation of land ownership that emerged in some cases has led to a set of ongoing contradictory strategies, from a new part-time, subsistence-oriented farming sector to a lively real estate and lease market.

Modern states have never ceased to intervene to uphold agricultural holders, after for a long time pre-modern states and territorial authorities had leaned towards the protection of consumers and especially city dwellers. The setting of cadastres, tariff protections, market organisation, price interventions and later on the buying of surpluses and the destruction of stocks, the support to banks aimed at funding agriculture, have largely contributed to modernise agriculture, which went along with the weeding out of those small farmers who were ill positioned either financially or geographically in relation to the markets, and also of a proletariat that could not keep up facing mechanisation and the downward pressure on wages.

Nowadays, the rift between large capitalist holdings and family farming is no longer as pertinent as it used to be, as far as agricultural techniques and modes of farming are concerned. Large holdings can now be laboured by a single holder with residual labour inputs, mainly in cereal farming in which full-fledged mechanisation and industrial inputs such as fertilisers, herbicides and pesticides have achieved high labour productivity (type I). Others, mainly in animal husbandry and viticulture, are exploited within a family framework but with strong capital inputs and state of the art management techniques (type II). Still others keep mobilising seasonal low-wage labour force as in older days, but they are no longer taking on cereal farming or viticulture but rather highly speculative crops such as fruits, garden vegetables, flowers (type III). The CAP was initially designed not only to promote a highly productive way of farming, but also to provide income parity between agriculture and industry; it encompassed equity as well as efficiency goals. In this respect, the success of the production-gearred policy eventually defeated its own purpose with overwhelming costs, among the 1970s and '80s mountains of wheat and butter, and lakes of wine and milk, while the equity goal remained largely unachieved both between agricultural and other sectors' incomes and between different national or regional agricultures. In fact, the EEC family farms, though formally independent, were *functionally* integrated in a 'productivist' food system regulated by agribusiness and the welfare state and, as a consequence, they were forced to specialisation, concentration and technical change. Some questions need to be asked, in a context of growingly globalised trade, of some volatility of international agricultural prices and of energy-related transport prices, and of large emergent economies with low but certainly rising wages and a large expansion of demand foodstuffs. Once agricultural land has been set aside or allocated to different uses because of low market returns to agricultural investment, it is often hard to reclaim it back to agriculture, especially if rapid growth forestry has set in or urban and leisure infrastructures have been developed. Will Europe in the future be able to rely on external trade for affordable food and agricultural raw materials, if its internal development model comes to neglect agricultural production? How far this kind of situation will spread to other less conspicuously attractive regional environments in Less Favoured Areas, as a result of the renewed CAP's concerns with environmental sustainability, preservation of landscape as cultural heritage, and diversification of rural produce and activities? The answer may lie in the specialisation in high value-added agricultural produced based on quality differentiation to meet new consumers' demands, as endeavoured e.g. by protected origin denomination and certification instruments ('quality logos'), including for traditional and organic produce, but there will always be a limit to the demand for top-end quality foodstuffs.

3) Agricultural production and rural land use in the long run

Focusing on the long term development of production and land use ought to identify a number of major changes in agricultural production. The perhaps most obvious is the increased productivity and the subsequent substantially ever smaller share of the population involved in agriculture. This encompasses the migration of people from agriculture, to alternative rural occupations, to industry, but also emigration (be it to agricultural or other types of occupation overseas). Other changes might be regarded as major changes as well. For instance, by now a larger share of agricultural production than during pre-industrial or early industrial times consists of non-food items. This development in turn is connected to the major increase in the share of agricultural production being directed towards the market. But it is also a fact that other goods - and services - rather than agricultural products (food, feed and fibres) is by now produced on previously agricultural land.

The development of rural societies in Europe is usually understood as a process linked to the parallel development of nearby cities and other, more distant, markets. In the last couple of centuries, meanwhile, industrialisation has destroyed many of the traditional peasant activities, while it has also provided some new options. Farm specialisation was fostered by the growth of urban labour and goods markets and, even more importantly, non-agricultural activities

(in industrial and service sectors) came to play an ever a greater role in the rural economy. In short, many studies-following the Smithean path - have emphasised the fact that growth in market size produced a greater division of labour and regional specialisation in pre-industrial Europe. However, the growth of cities depended on rising agricultural output nearby or long-distance trade. Thus, the high population density of cities brought about highly-specialised intensive agriculture in neighbouring rural areas.

Land ownership was clearly affected by a new institutional framework. Restrictions on buying, selling and leasing land were generally abolished. Thus the liberal reforms created a land market. In general there was in many regions a clear tendency towards increased prevalence of owner occupying farmers or in the developments of tenancy securities which approached owner occupancy. Changes in other factor markets, particularly labour, were also to affect the progress of the agricultural sector in Europe. The demand for labour in European cities and in the territories being colonised on the North American plains or the South American pampas generated an intense migratory flow from rural to urban areas and from Europe to America. New technological options led by self-propelled machines, such as tractors and combine harvesters, meant that the response to this rural exodus was intensive mechanisation on Europe's farms. Another part of the response was intensified chemicalisation. The use of artificial fertilizers was heavily increased everywhere and together with genetic research and development of new seed brands contributed strongly to increased yields. The use of pesticides replaced some of the mechanical cultivation of the soil which had previously been needed to fight weeds and other pests. Labour power became relatively expensive, mechanical and chemical inputs (including fossil fuels) became relatively cheaper.

Relative price changes and increasing income opportunities in non agricultural employments resulted in the abandonment of marginal land. The partial abandonment of some rural (especially mountainous) areas sometimes led to their 'desertification'. Older farmers stayed but the younger and more entrepreneurial left. In the 1990s with the rise of recreational use of these lands (ski & agrotourism, secondary dwelling, etc.) some (not all) of these areas are re-populated as rural but not agricultural loci of production.

Noteworthy in Europe was the shift from informal agrarian credit at the beginning of the nineteenth century to the kind of large scale agrarian credit currently provided by financial and banking institutions. This had significant consequences for agriculture, providing a growing supply of cheaper capital thanks to lower interest rates, the dynamics of commodity markets entailed a shift from production that was mainly orientated towards self-consumption, to production that was almost exclusively destined for the market, leaving only a minor role for self-consumption.

Other developments further strengthened links between agriculture and the rest of the economy. In the pre-industrial era farmers basically used inputs from the agricultural sector, while it is industrial inputs (mainly fuel and machinery) that predominate today. Furthermore, the origin of agricultural inputs themselves has changed. Traditionally, seeds, fertiliser and animal feed were self-produced or acquired from other farms. Today these products are purchased largely from specialist firms. Finally, farming has gone from producing goods mainly for the end-consumer (food and raw materials for certain industries) to goods that are transformed by the agri-food industry. As a result, trade has grown substantially.

With rising per capita incomes of non agricultural groups' their consumption patterns were changed and demand was redirected away from coarser vegetable food stuffs like grain and potatoes towards more meat, fats, dairy products and fresh vegetables. The simultaneous establishment of the world food markets, foremost in grain, contributed to falling grain prices in most of Europe from the 1870's and this led to a redirection in much of farm production in

Western Europe. Market demand has sometime lead to disastrous changes in land use towards monoculture of ill fitting plants, which has contributed to deforestation, droughts, erosion, salinisation, etc.)

It shall be noted that rural areas has always to varying degree involved non-agricultural production. Before the industrial revolution and proto-industry were major (and sometimes competing) employers of rural labour. Proto-industry was also producing demand for agricultural goods produced in and outside this area. Although rural industries remained or was even developed in some areas, industrialisation has generally destroyed proto-industry and transformed the countryside into an area producing almost exclusively agricultural (primary) goods. Now since 1980s we are moving back to a countryside with diverse rural employments (partly non-agricultural and competing with agriculture for local labour but offering mixed agricultural and non-agricultural income to rural households)

The claims on land for leisure services - golf courses, ski slopes and ski lodges, hunting, fishing, walking, horse riding, guest house services, summer houses etc. - has grown tremendously in the last three – four decades because of growing welfare and raised income levels on a broad scale. Consumption patterns and production has followed the same path. The growing consumption of leisure service is accompanied with a growing interest in rural dwelling. To some extent this trend embarks from images of rural life style and it fits well with the general trend towards distinguishing (individualized) life style consumption. While agricultural production from the 1930s was increasingly devoted to standardized processed products, new demand patterns in the last few decades has opened up possibilities for alternative production niches such as certified ecological production or localised on farm working up of quality products and regional specialities.

While the tendency in the first part of the 20th century went towards more and more of owner occupancy, since the 1950's and up to recently the amount of leased land has grown in many countries. And while the number of commercially viable farms with any substantial importance for total food production has dwindled and their size have grown, the number of *nominal* agricultural real estates has remained much more stable. The tendency is towards dissolving of the owner occupancy hegemony. While productivity of agriculture can be raised to a degree that the number of workers needed becomes almost infinitely small and therefore in many cases cannot any longer form the basis of a viable and reproductive rural population, the consumption and production of land based recreational services is conditioned by the customers actually being transported to the sites (and in case of life style housing actually living there). Therefore the newly emerging land uses have potentials to repopulate (seasonally or steadily) some rural areas.

The increased commercialisation of agriculture from the late 19th century promoted technical change in two distinct ways. Firstly increased demand promoted intensification: new fertilizing technology, including improved ways of handling manure, improved crop rotations, and implementation of ploughs which allowed improved soil preparation Secondly, with the raised competition for labour described earlier, a labour saving bias in technological development became prominent. Industrial, and later service sector expansion and increase in productivity in industry has raised incomes in these sectors, pulled labour from agriculture, eradicated the rural under employment which was still prevalent in the interwar years.

Even if rulers and states always had an interest in collecting taxes and thereby to support production it was from the mid-eighteenth century that focus on improvement of agriculture was enhanced. The state engaged in various ways: Spreading scientific knowledge, e.g. new technology, new seeds, was one aim. Remove or alter institutional obstacles was another. The struggle for new sources of taxation in the 18th century was closely related to the State policy of codification of laws, registration of land and reform of the property rights, an interventionist policy which aimed at

(and, gradually, non-linearly, and in various degrees, finally led to) the *dissolution* of all (or most) collective (and overlapping) entitlements to natural resources, and consequently to their full *privatisation*.

It also paved the way for the final emancipation of the subjected peasantries, a process that have already begun in the end of the Middle Ages but was only completed, in most of Central and Eastern Europe, even well into the 19th century. Indeed, the state initiatives were related to, and were inseparable from, a very intense public discussion which associated the establishment of full property rights and the abandonment of mercantilist policies with the intensification of the use of the productive factors and thus the growth of taxable agricultural physical output (and finally of productivity). Social and environmental constraints as well as the political and historical context produced a multivariate and diverging picture.

The principle of state regulation in urban markets of basic foodstuffs, through tariffs or otherwise, was gradually abandoned during the 19th century. The Great Depression of the 1880s led to the plunge and stagnation of agricultural prices, and radically transformed the rationale of state intervention in European agriculture. The state policy went beyond protective tariffs, towards expanding the (direct or indirect) public finance and assistance of agricultural research and extension, the build-up of specialized intermediary institutions of agricultural cooperation, cooperative credit and assurance organisations etc. Cooperative institutions originated from and profited more to the technologically advanced, relatively literate and fully commercialised agricultural economies. The most visible immediate post-war effect was the implementation of massive agricultural reforms in Eastern and Southern Europe. In most cases large estates were expropriated and distributed to their cultivators in an effort to strengthen the loyalty of the peasantry to the newly built national states and political regimes. These, mostly 'stage II' land redistributions produced a large mass of undercapitalised small size farms, and were usually *not* followed, for lack of funds, by the necessary accompanying policies that would provide capital and diffuse innovation and expertise to the new small proprietors. It is clear that the rural society always have had some extent of responsiveness to changes in the general economy and the general institutional structure. Already in the pre-industrial society most farmers reacted to market incentives. In this COST-action, new research has shown that farmers reacted as well to commercial incentives as to institutional changes.

The development of property rights has not been a unilinear road towards "absolute free property". There has always been restrictions upon individual rights to land and whereas it can be argued in many cases that the individualization of land rights have been beneficial for long term growth and for sustainability, enough many cases have been made for the opposite conclusion. The impact of the natural conditions has also been taken as one important obstacle to commercialization and increased productivity. However, contrary to earlier research new findings presented in this COST-action have shown that despite the differences in production patterns the overall trend of rising productivity is therefore apparent, the share of the population engaged in agriculture is continuously decreasing to very low levels, while production per capita has increased massively.

4) Changing power relations in the European countryside.

Property rights, broadly conceived, are taken to encompass almost all and any rights which an individual or institution enjoys over property, both moveable and immoveable, but of outstanding importance are those rights concerning land. The consequences of the enjoyment of those rights, which may include, for instance, rights of use, of alienation, of access, will also, of necessity, have an impact upon those others living within and beyond the countryside. Until recent time land has been a means of production unrivalled by any other, but land is also a limited resource necessary for many other forms of human life from the collection of drinking water to many forms of leisure. For three decades a debate,

generated by economists and economic historians, has concerned the relationship between the forms of property rights to land and economic growth, and is identified with institutional economics.

During a lot of centuries, from the middle ages onwards, one reasonably familiar view is to see lords as enjoying dominion over their tenants, in a power-relationship which was significantly unequal. Crucial to this definition is the sense that the lord had significant, almost total and largely uncontested rights over the property of his tenants. In fact in most places and at most times it is obvious that many kinds of tenant, even those deemed to be all but lacking in rights, did enjoy certain use rights in terms of property. *De facto*, the negotiation of rights over property across the middle ages, in a variety of European contexts, neatly illustrate one important facet of the changing history of power relations in this period. It has been stressed that some factors had an influence on the distribution of power and of rights over property, for instance the capacity of tenant collectives or of groups identified by place or social group within a particular place, such as village communities, to represent their own expectations about commons and common rights, and to provoke real clashes over contesting rights of property ; in a different context, co-operatives and Farmers' unions, created at the end of the nineteenth century were often dominated by the great and established land owners. The role of family and of kin gave way to differing expectations as to access to property rights, including inheritance but also more basic access rights, or entitlements, and determined a changing distribution of resources in European countryside.

It should be stressed that such property rights were mediated through and redefined by the state. This can include direct intervention by government, such as regulation over property rights in the countryside or the exaction of taxation. But anyway there was an interaction between state policy and an intellectual debate concerning the management or government of the countryside or some aspect of it. The influence of the state is for instance seen in agrarian reform policies with the deliberate goal of redistributing property rights, or in waves of reform and revolution in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries largely transferring property rights from landlords to (former) tenants, but also in the more recent change of property distribution in Eastern Europe. Of major importance also in the changing dynamic of power and distribution of property rights in the European countryside was the impact of the town. The direct investment by townsmen and merchants in the countryside, above all through the purchase of land, has helped to determine and to redefine property rights.

We should keep in mind the sorts of adjustments most typically associated with access to the countryside or a redefinition of the use of the countryside. This might include ways in which power is redistributed to respond to the expectations of a growing cohort of those who, having established a new agenda for their use of the countryside (access for leisure pursuits, rambling, the 'right to roam' etc), employ that power directly in the pursuit and the maintenance of those rights (through lobby and interest groups, for instance, or through direct representation to the relevant departments of state). Besides, in large parts of Europe formal ownership of land is concentrated in still fewer hands, but the vast non-agricultural majority of the population strongly both affect the way landowners can exercise e.g. the right to use land for agricultural production and claim other rights for collective use. In Eastern Europe formal property of land has been transferred to hundreds of thousands of individuals, but the actual usage of it often rests with a few large companies leasing large areas for rather long periods. Here, arguably, power is nowadays not only exercised by landowners upon others, but also but others upon landowners.

In much of the countryside of the north-west of Europe, farmers' views count less amongst the decision-makers of the region and their presence is often seen as a no more than a nuisance by those newly moved to the countryside. At the national level, farmers are closely dependent upon markets and upon the decision-making organisations, especially the ministers of the European Union. Low prices for the consumer, and the expectation of the maintenance of the countryside mean that farmers are placed under a multifunctional pressure: keepers of the countryside, direct sellers to

the consumer, etc, etc. At the same point the demands of the consumer place enormous burdens upon the countryside and the farmer, demanding a different use of the countryside, and with it tensions and debates over its exploitation and the form of its exploitation (the use of pesticides, the excessive consumption of water, and so on). The loss of power of farmers has been greatly aggravated by the arrival of huge numbers of town-dwellers; these expect to enjoy the benefits of the countryside in their own terms (walking, cycling, and the like).

It is clear that changes are actually driven from within, but also are responsive to factors well beyond the control of those who were subject to them: environmental and climatic changes, dramatic urbanisation, the growth of international markets, and so on. redefining power relations. The decisions which the parties in power relations make as to, for example, the distribution of access rights to resources, the availability of financial support, adjustments to levels of obligations, are often occasioned by factors significantly beyond their immediate control.

In all, history tells us that the rural society has shown an important flexibility in adapting to changing circumstances, both in terms of economic incentives and institutional changes. However, there are factors restricting this flexibility, as for example natural conditions. The overall trend has been that population has declined substantially and although in some regions the remaining population has succeeded in adaptation, there are certainly regions which face large structural adjustments if they are to remain a living rural society.

II.B. Dissemination of results

- *Action related Publications and Reports (list)*

In Treviso the MC made the decision to publish a collection of the main papers of the workshop after vetting by a committee of experts. Four publishers were contacted and made bids for the contract. After a discussion and vote two were selected, and Brepols was the final choice. A committee of seven experts was named from the core-group of members and the Chair was elected as the Director of the new collection, *Rural History in Europe*. We expect to publish 12 volumes.

The contract has now been signed and offers have been sent for approval to the COST office. The workshop organisers took the papers that were to be published and worked on them. Each paper was examined by two referees, and the committee of experts and the volume editor then decided, in the light of their comments, whether to accept it, refuse it or send it back for revision, following the same process as academic journals. The volume was supervised by one member of the scientific board and the introduction by two members of the scientific board.

The level of English was sometimes inadequate and has been, or will be, brought up to standard with funds from other sources. The lay-out was done, or will be done, with other funds with the help of editors and an expert at the Centre des Recherches Historiques in Paris, in accordance with specific and precise editorial rules. The director of the collection is responsible for harmonising the lay-out of the volumes.

The first book, **The State and Rural Societies: Policy and Education in Europe, 1750-2000**, was edited by Nadine Vivier (France) with the best papers from the Le Mans workshop and published in 2008.

The second one: **Markets and Agricultural Change in Europe from the 13th to the 20th century** was edited by Vicente Pinilla (Spain) and published in 2009.

The third one: **Agrosystems and Labour Relations in European Rural Societies**, edited by Erich Landsteiner and Ernst Langthaler (Austria) is ready to go to the publisher. Expected publication: April 2010.

The fourth: **Property rights, land market and economic change in Europe (13th-19th centuries)**, edited by Gérard Béaur (France) and Phillipp Schofield (United Kingdom) with Jean-Michel Chevet and Marie-Teresa Perez-Picazo, is almost finished. Both should be published before summer. Expected publication: June 2010.

The following two volumes should be published before the end of this year.

The social embedding of property rights to land in Europe, edited by Rosa Congost (Spain) and Rui Santos (Portugal), forthcoming September 2010.

Agricultural specialisation and rural patterns of development, edited by Annie Antoine (France), forthcoming December 2010.

The last six books are expected in 2011.

- *Conferences, Workshops and Training Schools (list and programme)*

WG 1

Gregynog (Wales), 2006. Property Rights, Land in Market and Economic Growth, org. Gérard Béaur (France) and Phillipp Schofield (United Kingdom), with the support of CORN and GDR 2912 CNRS.

The topic of this meeting was to give serious consideration to institutional constraints as key explanations for the slowness or absence of growth between the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries. We intended to test if institutions definitively figured as decisive factors in explanations of the retardation of certain countries or not insofar recent researches have nuanced perspective to the issue of 'institutional determinism which has been accused of failing to take full account of the variety within processes of evolution. It seems, therefore, necessary to re-examine the role of the institution in respect of rights in property and, as its corollary, the circulation of land in a true market. In so doing, it will be possible to explore the conditions which permitted the progress of agriculture in Europe and the emergence of capitalism in the countryside. As a conclusion, the simple theory of property rights is correct in one fundamental aspect: changes in the market (demand, relative prices, etc.) promote changes in property rights. However, it is very doubtful that these changes always take one and the same direction, towards the inevitable individual and exclusive rights described by the 19th century liberal paradigm.

Lisbon (Portugal), 2007, *The social embeddedness of property rights to land in Europe*, org. Rosa Congost (Spain) and Rui Santos (Portugal).

The theoretical premise of this workshop was that in order to understand how property rights really work, alongside the juridical and institutional definitions of property rights to land and allocation devices, one must ask the question of how they are socially appropriated, that is, how social actors and groups use them for their purposes. It is clear that this approach is only useful, however, as long as it avoids the trap of the grand evolutionary narrative that looks at history as the path from less to more perfect property rights. The plasticity of the institutionally defined sets and rules of property rights according to the motivations, resources, strategies and balance of power between individuals and groups striving over their (re)definition and/or appropriation is an assumption that has proved very useful for comparative purposes across cases. It has been showed that what appears to be the tightening of political control of property rights may in fact be the result of the appropriation of political and juridical devices by emergent social strata to gain and keep control of land. And, finally, land reform and struggle over the collectivisation which reveal specific rights of use display how different definitions of the public good (e.g. productivity, equity, landscape heritage, public health, and the environment) are mobilised in social contention and criticism to draw support for the maintenance or the change of political/juridical frameworks of property rights.

Roma (Italy), 2008, *Property rights to land, social structures, environment and sustainable development from the Middle Ages to the 20th century*, org. Erik Thoen (Belgium) and Bas Van Bavel (The Netherlands), with the support of CORN and of the Academia Belgica in Roma and the Koninklijk Nederlands Instituut at Roma.

The workshop started from the idea that this approach will thus allow us to better understand the human role in environmental change as well as deterioration, and to judge how specific property regimes affect the possibilities for sustainable development. The particular formulation of property rights (understood here as the bundle of rights to land, such as the right of access, the right of use, the right of sale, the right of inheritance, etc.) could encourage reclamation or embankment or the formation of varied farming landscapes, thus stimulating a positive development. On the other hand, the particular formulation and its social management could, and can, also lead to deforestation, erosion and have negative environmental consequences, thus eroding the basis for sustainable development, that is - in our definition, the possibilities for creating social agro-systems which allow, or conversely do not allow, for the very same

systems to be perpetuated or to further develop without endangering or negatively affecting the basis for a balance between rural economic development and environment.

WG 2.

Zaragoza (Spain), 2006. *The Management of Rural Land*, org. Vicente Pinilla (Spain)

The main target of the conference was to explore how the involvement of rural populations and communities in different kinds of markets (for agricultural commodities, labour, land, capital) has influenced the management of rural land in Europe. Most of the papers and comments focused on precisely what were the forces driving agricultural change in rural Europe. Although the importance of these changes were very different from the Middle Ages until the present days, a common approach that emerged was to stress the importance of urban and external markets in order to give incentives to changes in the management of rural land. The transition of agriculture and its producers, respectively, into a highly market-integrated sector and strongly market-oriented peasants formed the driving force and prima causa of European agricultural revolutions during early modern times. Expansion of market allowed for an intense process of specialization, with clear competitive advantages with respect to earlier land uses. Specialization also had effects on the labour market, allowing family labour to maintain itself as dominant in these areas. Particularly careful consideration was given to the extent to which this market expansion ended up by generating problems of the sustainability of these agrarian systems.

Rennes (France), 2007, *Agricultural specialisation and rural patterns of development*, org. Annie Antoine (France).

Agricultural specialization is usually seen in a positive way by historians, as a transition from a rural peasant society based on subsistence-orientated agriculture to a market dependant economy.

It is connected to growing of markets and to the fact that peasants are free enough to produce what they want and to sell goods on markets. The workshop relativised in some way these views. Specialization does not mean mono-activity. An agricultural system with various productions, on the scale of a country or of a farm, can be looked like a specialized agriculture. It is the access to the market which regulates the ways of specialization (one or more productions). It can subsist, apart from these specialized activities, with some other economics models, connected with other economic conditions. The kind of specialization is different in the same place and at the same time according to the economic level of people and exploitations. Specialization is usually seen as a factor of progress but it was not always the case. Specialization is possible in old economies without great changes. We can see the growing of a lot of specialized productions, turned towards the market without any technical improvement. Specialization doesn't always bring social progress.

Lund (Sweden), 2008, *Production and productivity in European agriculture in a historical context*, org. Mats Olsson and Patrick Svensson (Sweden)

The aim of this workshop was to estimate if, and how much, economic and institutional changes together with natural conditions, affecting the management of land, resulted in changes in production and productivity. Comparing the papers across regions and countries has shown that the producers of agricultural commodities, seigniors and peasants, responded to markets and economic incentives already from early on. However, property rights and institutions seem to have mattered in this respect. Old traditional structures and serfdom did not promote growth to the same respect as

individual management and higher degrees of market integration. Improved transportation, openness in trade and a common national institutional context also mattered although increased supply of agricultural products in the first phase of expansion mainly was traded on a local or regional level, rather than between regions and countries. Another factor affecting growth is the possibility of flexibility and sustainability; soils and other natural conditions limited the ways management of land could be performed both in the short and in the long run.

WG 3.

Retz (Austria), 2006, Agrosystems and Labour Relations in European Rural societies, org. Erich Landsteiner and Ernst Langthaler (Austria).

The workshop intended an assessment of the articulation of ecological and socioeconomic factors in the structuration of European rural societies during the last millennium through the prism of labour relations. Since in the call for papers labour relations were proposed as the crucial link between agrosystems and rural households as the basic units of production and reproduction the papers revolved around three sets of problems:

- 1. Agrosystems and labour relations within households*
- 2. Agrosystems and labour relations between households*
- 3. Agrosystems and labour relations beyond households*

The workshop concluded with a general discussion which centred on the articulation of ecological and institutional features within particular agrosystems and how these articulations conditioned the different paths of intensification, economic growth or involution of the rural economies and societies under consideration. What does the great variety of agrosystems, household structures and agro-economic systems presented and discussed during the workshop mean for our concepts of peasants and “peasant society”? Is it possible to integrate these micro-narratives into a general story of the evolution of European rural societies?

Torun (Poland), 2007, Wealth and Poverty in European Rural Societies from the Middle Ages to the present day. Standards of living, material culture and consumption patterns, org. Jaroslaw Dumanowski (Poland), with the Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń, Poland (Faculty of Historic Sciences, Institute of History and Archival Sciences and Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology of the University), with the support of the Polish Post Office.

The workshop considered decision-making processes shaping the household budgets and consumer attitudes, in connection with the evaluation of overall economic conditions and the perspectives of their continuation or fluctuation in the future. It allowed to follow the spread of commercialisation and to determine social stratification by using and combining various criteria such as property rights, standards of living, education, and the reception of outside consumer patterns, then provides a description of material conditions of living (food, accommodation, clothing, etc.) and disclose the mechanics of social advancement. Several facts of historical significance were opened up and developed, in particular the different meanings and functions of different material possessions in different peasant communities, the manner in which some peasants deliberately wore inadequate clothing to escape tax or hide wealth, the changing significance of furniture as a marker of changing social status, the widespread use of credit across rural societies and social groups, the notion that poverty could at times be seen as a changing feature of peasant life, i.e. greater or lesser at changing times in the ups and downs of the life-cycles of individuals.

Sarospatak (Hungary), 2008, *Inheritance Practices, Marriage Strategies and Household Formation in European Rural Societies*, org. Peter Pozsgai (Hungary).

The aim of the workshop was to discuss the interaction between inheritance systems, marriage and the household formation of those who inherited as well as of those who were excluded from inheriting the (family) farm or part of it, and to explore to what extent and for which reasons some of these systems have survived up to the end of the 20th century. The papers insisted on the significant differences existing between the areas where ante-mortem transfers of landed property were possible and areas where the transfer took place only after the death of the owner and household head. It became obvious from the many lively discussions in Sarospatak that the preferred system of property transfer and of household organization adopted by the different European rural societies in the past as in the present to ensure the social reproduction of family farms varied considerably. However, in a present day context, the question raised as to whether it was really in the interest of the heir to take on the parental farm at an early stage and to marry while young is still valid and should be developed further: do heirs nowadays really want to inherit the family farm and go on farming?

WG 4

Le Mans (France), 2006. *The State, Government and Rural Societies: the Choice of the State*, org. Nadine Vivier (France).

In a first session, it, focused on the decision making process in European states. The workshop was then dealing with a lot of questions. How does a government appreciate the needs and desires of rural societies? Those can be expressed by the wealthiest landowners: the understanding of the mutual influence of farmers and government is one of our major issues. Was the State the main agent of modernisation, according to what is usually said? And were peasants reluctant to change? Beyond some differences, a general trend of an increased involvement of the state can be observed, and this is shown by the creation of numerous authorities in charge of agriculture. For a better understanding of the decision making process, men training was the focus of another session and some questions were raised and examined. What were the respective roles of the state, the landowners and the farmers? Did the initiatives come from the state or from the bottom? But was the training in schools well adapted to the needs? What was the importance of this agricultural education?

Münster (Germany), 2007. *Institutional Changes and Social Networks: the Limits of State Intervention in Rural Societies*, org. Georg Fertig (Germany).

It is often assumed that rural societies have their own logic, not permeable to modern bureaucracies and opposed to the anonymous markets modernizing states tend to foster. In a slightly different vein, roles such as the broker, or the village headman can also acquire bridging functions monopolizing access to the state (and market) for locals, and vice versa. Ethnologists, historians, development economists, and sociologists met to discuss rural societies with two groups of papers. Some discussed the political impact of networks or how political changes and economic modernization permeated pre-existing social networks. Other focussed on the direct or indirect uses of networks for actors, making clear to what degree networks can be used as a substitute to modern states and markets. It emerged from the discussions that in relation to the state, rural social networks can really be both a substitute (or alternative) and an integrating force (or pathway).

Möschberg/Grosshöchstetten, Bern (Switzerland), 2008, *State Agricultural Policies: Causes,*

Implementation and Consequences, org. Peter Moser (Switzerland), with support of the Swiss National Research Fund.

The workshop focused on the following questions: what do states do when they intervene in agriculture? What are the causes for their intervention (or non-intervention)? What difference can actors outside the state make to the shaping and implementation of agricultural policies? It is obvious that “liberal democratic” states have routinely regulated, stimulated, planned and co-ordinated agricultural activities as well as economic activities more generally and that in “autocratic” states the appropriation of land by the state and its redeployment in a centrally controlled agricultural economy would need to be added to a listing of the state’s functional activities. It was in fact World War I that marked a real turning point in this respect and it was at the behest of the food producers (as commonly is suggested) and/or in the interest of a safe and cheap supply of food for urban consumers. The workshop identified and analyzed “hidden” actors and agendas such as, for example, the agronomists and a close analysis of this body of experts – and, indeed many others - moving between theory and practice suggest that they played a crucial, but usually overlooked, role in influencing the behaviour of civil servants and pressure groups alike.

- **Web site (description)**

The PROGRESSORE web site was created on the web site of the EHESS (France). We ran into many difficulties because the web was not operational for some months; the delay was so serious that we considered putting it on another site, either in Poland or in Spain. The situation has been better since the beginning of 2007 because the management of the web was transferred to the CRH, the Chair’s unit of research. The address is now: <http://crh.ehess.fr/sommaire.php?id=744>.

On the homepage, COST A35 Progressore, it is possible to access information under the headings “Presentation”, “Management”, “Workshops”, “Final Conference”, “Publications”. In the end, we did not place the abstracts of the papers on the site, as we had hoped to do last year, since the abstracts were not in fluent English and the translation was too expensive for my unit of research which has already provided considerable funding to the Action.

- **Scientific and Technical Cooperation**

We wanted to establish contacts with two other COST Actions on rural topics. A meeting was held at Madrid in November 2006 with the leaders of A27 to implement a Joint Action on landscape studies and A35 was invited to participate. Three members of A35 took part in this network of networks, the Vice-Chair, Rosa Congost (Spain) and two members of the MC, Annie Antoine (France) and Erik Thoen (Belgium). Since the network was launched, Annie Antoine and Erik Thoen have been appointed to take part in it. They are members of the steering committee which has had two meetings, in Stockholm and Nottingham. Gérard Béaur and Annie Antoine took part in a special meeting in Brussels to discuss starting a new programme on this topic.

We also cooperated with the COST A34 programme. Three members of COST A35 were invited to take part in a WS of the COST A34 programme in Minho (Portugal) in April 2007. Two of them were commentators on different sessions and the third, who is an organizer of a COST A35 WS, delivered a paper.

Action A35 had very close relations with the GDR 2912 (Groupe de Recherches = Research Group) of the CNRS, the so-called SORE (SOciétés Rurales Européennes = European Rural Societies) managed by the Chair of the Action. The GDR has given financial support to some of the workshops, such as Gregynog, Le Mans and Rennes, even though it is also working on its own topics. The GDR Programme ended in spring 2009; Gérard Béaur, Annie Antoine and Nadine Vivier have submitted a new programme for another GDR

(Histoire des Campagnes Européennes) to the CNRS, which was accepted for 2010-2013.

Close relationships have been established with the CORN Association (Comparative Rural History of the North Sea Area) which is involved in economic and agricultural history topics over the long term, but only for the countries around the North Sea. Some members of the Action are also members of CORN: Erik Thoen (Belgium), Bas Van Bavel (the Netherlands), Gérard Béaur, Annie Antoine, Nadine Vivier (France) and Georg Fertig (Germany). CORN gave support for some workshops, in particular in Gregynog and Rome. The Action also benefited from support from other institutions such as the Academia Belgica in Rome, Koninklijk Nederlands Instituut in Rome, Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, Mission Historique Française en Allemagne, Universität Münster, Ministère de la Recherche (France), LHAMANS, Université du Maine/CERHIO-CNRS FRE 3004, the Communauté urbaine du Mans and the Conseil général de la Sarthe, the Spanish Ministry for Education and Science, the Archives for Rural History in Bern, the Nicolaus Copernicus University of Toruń, Poland (the Faculty of Historic Sciences, Institute of History and Archival Sciences and Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology of the University), the Polish Post Office...

Working Group 1's topic was very close to the theme of the European Science Foundation (ESF) exploratory workshop which took place in Thonon (France) in October 2005 on property rights, land markets and economic growth in Europe. The Gregynog papers were presented with those of Thonon at the Helsinki Congress (Congress of the International Economic History Association) and they will all be published by Brepols in the Progressore collection. This was an important session at an important congress, and one of the best attended, with more than 100 participants.

The Progressore programme was important in strengthening the development of research on rural history in several countries. The Action was a powerful tool for increasing interest in rural questions. It is almost impossible to give an exhaustive list of its political and academic impact but here are a few examples. The new economic history of twentieth-century Switzerland, which is now in preparation, will contain a substantial section on the agricultural sector. Rural and agricultural history was often marginalized in Switzerland, and simply ignored in publications in the 1990s, but now rural history has its place in many new publications. Also in Switzerland COST A35 was at the origin of the formation of the Swiss Rural History Society (SRHS) whose Chair and General Secretary are members of the MC of Progressore. In Sweden the Action has given considerable assistance to historians in obtaining three major research grants, two from the Swedish research council (Vetenskapsrådet) and one from the Handelsbanken: international cooperation and contacts are advantages when applications are reviewed.

The Action led to the creation of several research projects which otherwise would never have been launched. One of these was the DISCAHSOR project, which was started last year, funded by the Spanish Ministry for Science and Innovation in Gerona with Rosa Congost's group, and with the participation of French, Italian and Portuguese scholars who have been active members of COST A35. This programme is in progress and will include several meetings and conclude with a publication.

There is also the research project "Vermittler zwischen Industriegesellschaft und bäuerlicher Landwirtschaft? Die Rolle der Agronomen bei der Formulierung und Umsetzung der Agrar- und Ernährungspolitik in der Schweiz und in Irland" (Mediators between industrial society and agriculture? The role of agronomists in the formulation and implementation of the food and agricultural policy in Switzerland and Ireland) which was carried out by the Archives of Rural History and mainly financed by the Staatssekretariat für Bildung und Forschung of the Swiss Department of Home Affairs. This programme resulted in the creation of a database "Personen der ländlichen Gesellschaft im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert" with the biography of 500 agronomists and a publication: Peter Moser, *Moderatoren des Fortschritts. Die Agronomen im 19./20. Jahrhundert*, Baden 2010 (forthcoming).

The Action encouraged international cooperation. The network created by COST A35 was reactivated for

projects such as the international meetings organised in Gerona on markets and *desamortización* with the support of the French GDR and French, Portuguese and Austrian colleagues.

The network was so active that it was decided, after discussions in Utrecht and then in Gerona, that a big international congress on rural history should be held at regular intervals. The British Agricultural History Society took the initiative in organising the first one, which will be held at Brighton in September 2010, under the direction of Professor Richard Hoyle (member of the MC) and a committee of experts whose first members were the Chair of Progressore and Erik Thoen (member of the MC and chair of CORN).

Finally, the Action was useful in teaching, as some colleagues used the scientific material from the workshops in their postgraduate courses. Thus the Action has had, and should continue to have, fruitful consequences for young researchers. Several students who were preparing their Ph.D., or who had just completed it, delivered a paper in the workshops, for instance Laurent Herment (France) at Gregynog and Magnus Bohman (Sweden) in Rennes, and this experience helped them in their work. Some English and Portuguese students were called on to give papers or seminars in Gerona. Some students decided to do their Ph.D. in a foreign country, under joint supervision: Gerona/Pisa (Italy/Spain, ex STSM) and Tondheim/Rennes (Norway/France).

We should add that COST thought the Action was sufficiently interesting to be presented by its Chair at the 4th annual HERA Conference/1st European Conference for Collaborative Humanities Research (ECCHR)(September 2008) which aimed to showcase the best collaborative research projects supported by the main supranational bodies funding Humanities research in Europe.

Annexes

Call for papers



COST action A 35 Progressore
Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies

With the support of CORN
and of GDR CNRS 2912 (Sociétés Rurales Européennes)

First Workshop of Working Group 1 – Landed property

Property rights, the market in land and economic growth in Europe
(13th-19th centuries)

Gregynog (United Kingdom)

10-11 June 2006

Organizers: Gérard Béaur (CNRS/EHESS, CRH, Paris, France), Philipp Schofield (University of Aberystwyth, United Kingdom), with: Jean-Michel Chevet (INRA, Paris, France) and Maria-Teresa Perez-Picazo (University of Murcia, Spain).

Historians had, for a long time, neglected to give serious consideration to institutional constraints as key explanations for the slowness or absence of growth between the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries. The development of economic theory has reversed this trend. In recent work institutions have figured as decisive factors in explanations of the retardation of certain countries, indeed regions, and, by contrast, the Agricultural Revolution of the last centuries. Thus, Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, drawing upon contract theory, has been compelled to illustrate, in his *The Fruits of Revolution*, that the employment of rights in property was a hindrance to the effective development of the land. In so writing, he joins a tradition of historical writing which sees in systems of property an insurmountable handicap to economic growth. In the instance of France, institutional constraints, notably the persistence of a feudal system, have been employed in order to explain its economic stagnation relative to that of England.

That said, at the same time other research has brought a nuanced perspective to the issue of institutional constraint. An 'institutional determinism' has been accused of failing to take full account of the variety within processes of evolution, a variety that is evident not only between nations but also between regions within a single nation or a group of nations. This view is already evident in the work of English historians who have rejected the notion that the openfields were an obstacle to the development of a more effective management of land and that enclosure was necessarily the decisive factor in the Agricultural Revolution in England. Other researchers have similarly denied the notion that rights in common were an obstacle to growth. It seems, therefore, necessary to re-examine the role of the institution in respect of rights in property and, as its corollary, the circulation of land in a true market. In so doing, it will be possible to explore the conditions which permitted the progress of agriculture in Europe and the emergence of capitalism in the countryside.

This project presents a double paradox. The market in land has for long occupied an ambiguous position in the theses of historians and economists working on Europe. On the one hand, it has been frequently identified as a factor or symptom of economic development though it has hardly been investigated systematically in that respect. On the other hand, its development has been held to foreshadow agricultural development and, beyond that, economic growth more generally. At the same time, the clamour for land is also viewed as a drudge upon capital, as entrepreneurs, through error or design, turn themselves into rentier-

landlords, this as part of an inevitable process of expropriation of the peasantry.

In other respects, the concept of a circulation of land which can be identified as a market in land remains controversial. Generally speaking, it is more or less accepted that a market in land could not have come into existence without the identification of legal rights in property (either in a form perfect or imperfect), and that a wholly free right of disposal of property was not established. An anthropological influence evident in certain studies has also tended to privilege discussion of the intra-familial aspect of the market in preindustrial societies to the extent that intra-familial transfer dominates exchange, price, and the circulation of land and challenges a fuller engagement with the possible. Further, the destruction of institutional constraints which prevent the circulation of property and the establishment of absolute rights in property present two necessary conditions for an effective market in land to operate. By the same token, an increasing tendency for families to see land as a commodity like any other and one capable of being bought and sold helped create the necessary conditions for the emergence of a 'true' market in land. These changes have been taken to encourage a process of revolution and the end of feudalism, which included the liberation of land from its ideological constraints and, at the same time, facilitated the establishment of capitalism in the countryside.

Furthermore, such hypothesis have been the object of debates intended to uncover the complexity and variety of discrete situations within this broad framework. For a number of years, therefore, the movement of property has been investigated by historians who have been content not just to recite generalities and construct broad hypotheses but to confront directly archival evidence for the land market. They have, in order to glean a sense of the factors that encouraged and permitted the transfer of land in past society, sought out available sources and made best use of the surviving records of land transfer. In each case, their research has revealed the multiplicity of contexts which have influenced markets in land and the complexity of elements which determine the function and nature of each. In each instance what emerges is the heterogeneity of each market and its divisions into subsets, themselves the consequences of specific determinants, so that it has become prudent to discuss 'land markets' rather than a 'land market'.

It is, in fact, this diversity of experience encountered through the work of historians that has encouraged the proposed exploration of the association between rights of property, the market in land and economic growth. It is evident, in fact, that the time has arrived to reconsider the established hypotheses and the common conceptions associated with the circulation of land, and to do so in a comparative context throughout Europe, examining typicalities and variances.

The following are the key questions it is intended to re-examine in exploring the variety of contextual situations on a European scale:

- What forms could restrictions upon the land market take? Issues here include the legal condition of the land (for instance, free or servile) and the relativities of demands upon it including customary rights and obligations, institutional claims, rights of inheritance (including rules of succession and recovery, as well as of dower)
- What was the influence of certain factors? Here, the type of lordship or estate, the rights of different social groups over the land, the extent of transaction costs (entry fines, for instance), the degree of available information, the role of crises, political events, social movements....
- What were the debates which encouraged politicians or economists to permit a circulation of property and to what did the freeing up of a market in land evolve in relation to a process of reform intended to overcome constraints (Revolution and liberal reforms)?
- What is the relationship between a process of liberalisation of exchange in land and economic progress? Could the development of market encourage initiative? Could it either/both liberate/immobilise capital which was available either to be sunk into land or invested in other sectors? Did it or did it not open the way to economic progress?

Two colloquia concerning production and the productivity of work within Europe have already been organised by three of the present organisers. It is appropriate that the exploration of these themes impinge our proposal in order to inform the discussion of growth. The themes for consideration as identified above are necessarily conceived broadly and will encourage the co-ordination of a European-wide history of agriculture. Besides the themes identified here, this proposal will draw together a range of approaches relevant to the main issues. By ensuring a comparative approach, with differences of time and place, any monocausal explanation of growth is necessarily and fundamentally challenged. This new investigation of European history, viewed from a comparativist perspective, permits consideration of the role played by institutions, economy society, but also geography. The organisation of this workshop, as in the case of colloquia already organised, is undertaken with this perspective much in mind.



**COST action A 35 Progressore
Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies**

With the support of the University of Zaragoza

First Workshop of Working Group 2 – The management of rural land

The impact of markets in the management of rural land

Zaragoza, University of Zaragoza (Spain)

September 22-23, 2006

Organizer: Vicente Pinilla, University of Zaragoza.

The interplay of markets and other institutions, such as peasant families, local communities, capitalist firms or states, has traditionally occupied a central position in the historiography of rural Europe. As a result, the development of rural societies in Europe is usually understood as a process linked to the parallel development of nearby cities and other, more distant markets. More specifically, whilst in the last centuries industrialisation destroyed some of the traditional peasant activities, it also provided some new options. Thus, farm specialisation was fostered by the growth of urban markets and, even more importantly, non-peasant activities (in industrial and service sectors) gained a greater role. The outcome was a clear trend towards diversification in rural societies and the spread of capitalist labour relations (based on the wage mechanism). Such transformations have had a remarkable impact on the rural environment.

This conference aims at exploring how the involvement of rural populations and communities in different kinds of markets (for agricultural commodities, labour, land, capital) has influenced the management of rural land in Europe. Micro-level, farm-based analyses are welcome, as well as papers that deal with this topic from a higher level of aggregation (we suggest regional levels, and comparative analyses of different regions or countries in Europe would be most welcome). There is no particular focus on any historical period – in fact, we hope to receive papers that range from the Middle Ages to the present day and help us to gain a better understanding of the historical evolution of rural Europe.

Submissions should include an abstract (1 page) and must be sent via e-mail to the organiser, Professor Vicente Pinilla, Department of Applied Economics and Economic History, University of Zaragoza (vpinilla@unizar.es) by no later than 1 March 2006. Acceptance decisions will be communicated at the end of March. About 12 papers will be accepted. All presentations will be pre-circulated to discussants and participants.

The deadline for finished paper is August 31, 2006. All participants belonging to signatory countries* of this Cost Action will be reimbursed for travel, accommodation and food expenses.

* Up to now the following countries have signed this Cost Action: Belgium, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom.



**COST action A 35 Progressore
Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies**

First Workshop of Working Group 3 – Peasant Societies

*Agrosystems and Labour Relations in European Rural Societies
(Middle Ages -20th Century)*

Retz (Austria), Hotel Althof,

September 1-2, 2006

**Organizers: Erich Landsteiner, University of Vienna and Ernst Langthaler
(Institut für Geschichte des ländlichen Raumes, St. Pölten – Austria)**

It goes without saying that agriculture is a form of colonisation of the natural environment by man, a kind of “applied ecology”. In the course of history the articulation of social, economic and ecological features gave rise to a wide variety of agrosystems within the boundaries of Europe. It is also evident that local and regional rural societies in Europe were embedded in supra-local and supra-regional socioeconomic contexts since at least the High Middle Ages. What has been rarely attempted until today is the integration of these perspectives. Studies in the tradition of Cultural Ecology all too often advocate simple correlations and causal relationships between environment and society and are mostly ahistorical; ecosystem-approaches with their emphasis on self-regulation, homeostatic mechanisms, energy streams etc. often suppose a kind of closure which may, if at all, apply to ‘primitive’ communities closely or exclusively dependent in their reproduction on the colonization of their natural environment, but hardly to European rural societies during the last millennium. Agrarian history and related fields of historical studies, on the other hand, have not systematically taken into account the constraints and possibilities resulting from different ways of the colonization of natural environments by human groups. Research on farming systems, agricultural technology, agrarian production and productivity, prices, the social structure of rural communities and households, agrarian contracts and manorial regimes etc. has mostly been conducted without paying close attention to the embeddedness of agrarian formations in specific environments.

The notion of *agrosystems*, defined as production systems based on the ecological and socioeconomic relations involved in the reproduction of rural societies, seems to be a useful concept for linking these perspectives. Coming from agricultural economics, the term originally stands for local and regional arrangements of land use, livestock, technology, and farm management. By broadening this rather narrow meaning, the concept of agrosystem integrates the whole complex of ecological, economic, political, social and cultural relations relevant for rural production and reproduction. We intend neither to focus on the ecological aspects (material and energetic flows, degradation of natural resources, biophysical aspects of agriculture etc.) nor to discuss agrosystems as a whole from a socioeconomic point of view. What we intend

is to assess the *articulation of ecological and socioeconomic factors in the structuration of European rural societies during the last millennium through the prism of labour relations*. The organization of labour is the *crucial link between rural production and reproduction*. Therefore, the *rural household as the basic unit of production and reproduction* will be the focus of the intended assessment of agrosystems. With respect to this point the question arises if the changes in ecosystems as well as political-economic systems have so fundamentally altered the conditions of agriculture in Europe up to now that peasant family farming will disappear (if it is no longer sustained by state policies).

The workshop will be organized with respect to three sets of problems:

1. *Agrosystems and labour relations within households*: Problems that could be questioned are annual cycles of agricultural production, intensity of land use, farm size and technology, household size and composition, division of labour etc.
2. *Agrosystems and labour relations between households*: Problems that could be questioned are recruitment of extra-household labour, division of labour between households, stratification of local and regional society, articulation of agrarian and non-agrarian activities, patterns of labour migration etc.
3. *Agrosystems and labour relations beyond households*: Problems that could be questioned are property rights, manorial regimes, technological change, rural labour markets, state intervention in labour relations etc.

These and related problems will be the subject of a workshop organized within the framework of the *Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies* (PROGRESSORE, funded by the *European Concerted Research Action COST A35*), from 1-3 September, 2005 in Retz/Austria (approximately one hour from Vienna by train). Now we invite contributors to propose micro-level case studies from all parts of Europe in order to cover the widest possible range of different agrosystems. After the evaluation of the proposals by the scientific committee, 15 contributors will be invited for a presentation of approximately 30 minutes in English. All presentations will be pre-circulated to the contributors two weeks before the workshop. Contributors are therefore expected to submit a draft of the presentation until the end of July 2006. Reimbursement of travel and accommodation costs is possible only for contributors from one of the 19 signatory states of COST A35 (listed at www.cost.esf.org/index.php?id=233&action_number=a35, max. 2 contributors per state). We hope to publish the papers in the *Rural History Yearbook (Jahrbuch für Geschichte des ländlichen Raumes)* volume 2007. The submission of the final drafts is therefore expected until the end of October 2006. Further information on the workshop will be updated at www.ruralhistory.at (Link PROGRESSORE workshop).

Proposals for contributions should be sent to the organizers in form of a one-page abstract until January 31, 2006:

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**COST action A 35 Progressore
Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies**

with the support of LHAMANS, Université du Maine/CERHIO-CNRS FRE 3004, of GDR 2912 of CNRS (Sociétés Rurales Européennes), of the communauté urbaine du Mans and of the Conseil général de la Sarthe

First Workshop of Working Group 4 – State and rural societies/ Etat et Sociétés Rurales

*The State, government and rural societies : the choices of the State
L'Etat, le gouvernement et les sociétés rurales : les choix de l'Etat*

Université du Maine

September 29- 30, 2006

Organizer: Nadine Vivier, Université du Maine, France

Scientific board:

Gérard Béaur (F), Jürgen Schlumbohm (D), Rosa Congost (E), Georg Fertig (D), Peter Moser (CH), Gilbert Noël (F), Socrates Petmezas (Gr)

Organisation board :

Michel Boulet (Dijon), Jean Pierre Jessenne (Lille 3), Socrates Petmezas (Gr), Nadine Vivier (Le Mans)

The first conference of the WG 4 will explore the choices made by the State in its policy towards rural societies

For which reasons did the State try to influence and model **peasants**, and how did it act?

Its interventions can be exerted on several levels: the global level of the nation or the level of the individual and the family group. In this first conference, we will only focus on the “macro” level: i.e. the economic and/or social policy concerning the whole of the nation, therefore implying choices in the changes in society.

In a simplifying approach, it may be stated that the State first used to intervene in the life of rural populations on the ground of two essential motivations: first, to maintain the order and second, to recruit men for war, to provide food for cities and to give money to the royal Treasury. The peasants really felt the weight of the State's rule only for certain periods. The desire to develop the national wealth and the welfare of the population naturally led also the State to intervene, in a lasting way, to support production or to protect an endangered form of activity, or group of people (management of water, prevention of fire). This can be noticed very early on in some countries, later in others. Increasingly, directives took account of the desire to provide consumers with more healthy products, took also account of the moral and physical health and welfare of rural people (standards of construction to avoid fires, hygiene to improve quality of water and to

prevent diseases), and tried to preserve the environment (first in preventing gullying). Nevertheless, the trend towards an increasing weight of the State is complex, especially during the 19th and 20th c., when the liberal State hesitated between intervention and non-intervention. It also had in this period to adapt its management to an important shift, from shortage to overproduction.

The Workshop on this issue will be split into two themes (of one day each): the first part will give a general view on the choices of the State, while the second part will study a specific instrument of this policy: men training

1. The decision making process of the State in its intervention towards rural societies

*** Which authorities are in charge of agriculture and other activities?**

When and why occurred the creation of a specific ministry of Agriculture? of Forest ?

What are the decision tools available ? How does the State proceed? By enquiries on the situation in its own country, and/or in the foreign countries? By preliminary tests? by encouragement measures ? What agreement could it find with the private parties? How long does this period of studies or tests last?

***What are the major concerns of the State?** We will distinguish between different types of States' actions: reaction to immediate problems or fundamental reforms of the economic and social structures.

What kind of tools are employed and how is the decision administratively implemented : through flexible frameworks, incentives or rather through constraining laws approved by the Parliament?

Papers dealing with the evolution in the long term of main concerns of the State are particularly welcome.

2. Men training : means and results

The State can influence directly on properties and farms structures, and on technical tools. It can also indirectly play a role through men training, by teaching them certain values that will mould them according to the State's choices.

***The means that the State had actually at hands to have his social choices accepted** by the rural population will be explored. What measures have been taken?

The school comes first to mind: primary schools, farming schools for young men and women, the temporary schools, one-off lessons and conferences for adults, and yearly agricultural competitions (like comices).

*** The peasant training policy?** Who were the men having contributed to the spread of those ideas? Was the peasant training policy implemented directly by the State itself, or delegate to private parties? What have been the impact and efficiency? How did the peasants welcome it?

Time and geographical areas

The papers should present studies on a long time period (at least half a century) in order to identify the main characteristics of each country's policy.

No period is excluded as long as it offers interesting comparative views. Medieval states policy might be as pertinent as more recent periods

The aim is to obtain comparative views of different European countries' policies. Therefore, the relevant geographical area is either one country or two countries (presenting directly a comparison).

16 papers are planned, dealing with the maximum number of countries.

Deadlines

Proposals to be sent to the organizers: one page abstract, before **28th February 2006**

Full papers for August 28th 2006, to be posted in the website

Meeting: Friday 29th and Saturday 30th September 2006 in Le Mans (France).

Socrates Petmezas

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**COST action A 35 Progressore
Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies**

With the support of CORN (Comparative Rural History of the North Sea Area), CNRS GDR 2912 (Sociétés Rurales Européennes), Centre de Recerca d'Història Rural de la Universitat de Girona (projet MEC:HUM2005-04731), FCSH-UNL (Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas - Universidade Nova de Lisboa)

Second Workshop of Working Group 1 – Landed property

Social Embeddedness of Property Rights to Land in Europe

**Lisbon, Universidade Nova de Lisboa,
Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas (FCSH-UNL)**

June 1-3 2007

Organizers: Rosa Congost (Universitat de Girona) and Rui Santos (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Institute of Historical Sociology)

COST is an intergovernmental European framework for international cooperation between nationally funded research activities. COST is sponsoring a series of conferences in the framework of the 'Project for the study of European rural societies' (PROGRESSORE: COST action A 35).

This workshop will focus on the social use of juridical and customary institutions defining property rights and legitimate ways to allocate and exchange them, focussing especially on social change in the appropriation of land, brought about by:

- *Changes in the ways existing institutions were used by social actors and groups*: How did social relations and agency reshape the allocation effects of stable juridical and customary frameworks of property rights? By which actors and groups (e.g. status and occupational groups, social classes, urban vs. rural groups, gender)? By what means and channels (e.g. changes in market participation, in inheritance practices, in the appropriation and uses of communal land)? With what consequences in the stratification of rural societies?
- *Juridical-political changes in property rights and allocation procedures* (e.g. agrarian reforms, inheritance law reforms, market reforms): What changes? How, by whom and with what objectives were they put in place? How did they alter the existing structure of property rights and their distribution? Which actors and groups took advantage of them and by what means? With what consequences in the stratification of rural societies?

We aim to bring together research dealing with these subjects in concrete historical European contexts, from the Middle Ages to the present day.

The call for papers is open to research in all disciplinary fields, provided that papers contribute to the historical understanding of change in European rural societies and its social and economic outcomes (see

[keynote text](#) below for more detailed definitions).

Papers will be especially welcome that present some or all of these characteristics:

- Comparative outlook;
- Analysis of long term processes in the social use of property rights;
- Analysis of transitional processes in the allocation and appropriation of property rights, such as agrarian reforms, juridical framework changes, contractual changes, changes brought about by EU policies, and post-socialist transitions;
- Empirically grounded contribution to theoretical debate.

Up to 12 papers will be selected according to standard patterns of academic quality and relevance to the topic, taking into account geographical representation in compliance with COST rules.

Working languages: English and French. Final papers written in either language will be accompanied by detailed abstracts in both languages. Presentation and discussion will take place in either language.

Submission dates:

November 30, 2006: deadline for abstracts (200-500 words, in English or French)

January 31, 2007: selection of papers by the scientific board

April 30, 2007: deadline for full conference papers (7,500-10,000 words, in English or French as first language) and final abstracts in both languages (1,000-1,500 words)

June 1-3, 2007: Workshop in Lisbon, FCSH-UNL

Please send proposed title and abstract to:

proprights07@gmail.com

Scientific board:

G rard B aur, Jean-Michel Chevet, Eric Thoen, Bas van Bavel, Matts Morell, Phillipp Schofield, Richard Hoyle, Karsten Rasmussen, Rosa Congost, Rui Santos

Travel and accommodation:

Travel and accommodation costs will be reimbursed for accepted communicants from participant countries (Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom), according to COST rules. Because of budget constraints, **please let us know if your home university or research centre can take charge of your travel costs.**

Whatever their juridical definition, the real contents and outcomes of property rights, contracts and allocation institutions such as real-estate and lease markets, inheritance systems, etc. depend on social relations and strategies that appropriate them and may redefine their outcomes in different ways.

Historical literature is rife with examples, both of existing frameworks of property rights and their allocation being used to bring about real social change in the appropriation of land (e.g. emergent strata within rural communities, urban investors, commercial groups, agro-industry corporations), and of changes in the institutional frameworks (e.g. agrarian reforms redistributing, collectivising or de-collectivising land property, law reforms abolishing or instating types of contracts and property rights, market reforms facilitating, hindering or prohibiting specific kinds of transactions, inheritance law reforms changing the rules for intergenerational allocation of land, political restrictions to land use for market regulation or environmental purposes) leading to new social appropriations of land, or to strategies to reproduce prevailing appropriations within the changed frameworks. Such examples can be drawn from virtually every period in history and all across the European space, from seigniorial to EU policies, from enclosure acts to socialist revolutions and post-socialist transitions.

The aim of the workshop is to bring together different theoretical perspectives and empirical findings, which can contribute to a systematic understanding of the social embeddedness of property rights to land, of the ways these and their social appropriations have changed in European history, and with what social outcomes, from the Middle Ages to the present. The problems to be addressed can be subsumed under two broad sets questions:

- 1) *To what extent are existing property rights frameworks barriers to social and economic change, and to what extent are they elastic to such change? How does social change reshape the workings and the functions of existing property rights and of the institutions that allocate them? Which social actors or groups are involved in changing the appropriation of existing property rights, with what strategies and to what effects?*
- 2) *How do changes in the institutional frameworks of property rights and their allocation impact on social change? How and by whom are the new sets of property rights and / or the new rules for their allocation appropriated, and to what purpose? What strategies are put in place in rural societies to cope with such changes, either leveraging their social change potential or reproducing prevailing structures within the new frameworks?*

As working definitions, we assume that property consists of socially acknowledged bundles of rights to perform actions using resources; that rights over one resource are divisible in different bundles and by different owners; and that contracts (sale, rental, etc.) are transactions of bundles of property rights, varying in the range of transferred rights and the duration for which they are transferred. Concerning land, while their specific contents may vary widely, the juridical forms of these bundles of rights can be typified in broad categories, e.g. full ownership, emphyteusis, lease tenancy, etc. According to the kind of actor who detains the rights, property may be individual, familial, communal, corporate, seigniorial, etc. These rights are institutionalised in juridical and / or customary frameworks that enshrine their definitions, contents and restrictions imposed on them. Restrictions to property rights can be imposed not only by law and the state, but also by custom and by other agents endowed with social power to redefine the *de facto* contents of rights, either by imposing (e.g. restrictions on the allowed uses of land, production quotas) or lifting them (e.g. by changing land uses against previous customary or legal bans). Such restrictions may also be transacted, as e.g. in the State attributing subsidies to farmers for giving up the use of land for specified crops.

Property rights circulate between individual or collective actors, distributing entitlements to the use of resources throughout society by way of institutional devices regulating their allocation. These institutions are diversified (e.g. real estate or lease markets, inter-family transfers such as dowries and inheritance, reciprocity systems, political redistribution systems, rules of participation for individuals or families in collective property, etc). Diverse allocation channels may interfere with each other (e.g. family norms and devolution systems may interact with market transfers, political redistribution may create new markets, collectivisation may entail substitutes for intergenerational transfers, etc.)

Alongside the juridical and institutional definitions of property rights and allocation devices, one must therefore ask the question of how they are socially appropriated, that is, how social actors and groups use them for their purposes. The same set of rules may well generate different games and outcomes if new players emerge, or if existing players construe their stakes and moves differently. Conversely, changes in the rules may create new games, but the outcomes will be different according to who the players are, their stakes, their resources and strategies.

Because of its very complexity, the interplay of property rights and allocation institutions with social structures in rural societies – indeed with social structures at large – will not be amenable to simple answers, rather it poses an extremely interesting field of questions concerning social change in the countryside, with wide implications on how rural societies evolved, what they are today and what their futures will be.

Rosa Congost
Rui Santos



**COST action A 35 Progressore
Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies**

With the support of GDR CNRS 2912 (Sociétés Rurales Européennes)

Second Workshop of Working Group 2 – The management of rural land

Agricultural specialisation and rural patterns of development

Rennes (France)

15-16 june 2007

Organizer: Annie Antoine, Université Rennes 2 (France)

Scientific board: Vicente Pinilla (University of Zaragoza), Annie Antoine (Université Rennes 2), Danilo Gasparini (Università de Padova), Matti Peltonen (University of Helsinki), José Vicente Serrão (ISCTE, Lisbon), Aud Mikkelsen Tretvik (Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim)

The second conference of the Working Group 2 (The management of rural land) will be held in Rennes (France) in june 2007. It's devoted to the study of agricultural specialization and rural patterns of development from the Middle Ages to nowadays. It is closely linked to the first conference of WG2 (impact of markets).

The project of this conference is based on the assumption (we will have to confirm or cancel it) that agricultural systems have not been necessarily reluctant to any form of agricultural specialization. Agricultural modernization occurred on different dates in the different countries of Europe and traditional opposition between large-scale cultivation as a factor of progress and small-scale agriculture, seen as archaic and not very productive, is probably very reducing and exaggerated. It probably conceals an evolution that a micro-economic analysis can reveal.

We use to say that, traditionnaly, main goal of agriculture has been to provide food for the farm household ; so, some productions are essential and unavoidable : the first of which is cereals. Can specialization occur only beside this production ? What are the links between specialized productions and self-sufficient productions ? How does it work ? We must distinguish auxiliary activities and a true specialization; it will therefore be necessary to define thresholds in order to clarify the process of specialization.

We have to think about various kinds of agricultural specialization. Cereal crops constitute the main form of specialization in old agricultural patterns ; it gives at the same time supplies for the farmer and wheat for the markets. But there are many other choices, connected to the natural environment, the market, the size of the holding, the farm equipment, the kind of contract, etc. The main aim of this conference is to reveal, beside cereal crops, other forms of agricultural specialization and to wonder if they can constitute alternative patterns of rural development. Stock breeding is probably one of these alternative choices, but what are the different kinds or stock-raising? What are the other choices? How do these patterns work?

In this session, we will work at the micro-level : the one of the exploitation (farm) or the one of a small area.

The aim is to understand, with concrete samples, how agricultural specialisation is practised by peasants as well in modern as in traditional patterns of production.

The papers will essentially answer the following questions:

- 1- How to reveal agricultural specialization in systems which must always feed the farm household ? What kind of indications can be chosen to reveal agricultural specialization ?
- 2- When and why does it appear in different countries?
- 3- Can it constitute models of alternative development to cereal crops ?
- 4- In which economic and social context does it set up ? (large or small holdings ? tenants or owners? importance of the urban network ? of the road network ? what about labour force ?)

Some other topics can be approached:

- Who do the initiatives come from ? What are the ways of agricultural progress ? What is the share between theoretical work and farmer's practices ?
- What are the links between agricultural specialization and the markets ? And between agricultural specialization and the circulation of money in the country ?
- Is agricultural specialisation a factor of social progress or a reason of the perpetuation of the small-holdings ?
- Is there any link between specialisation and pluri-activity ?

...

The papers can present general studies but also special examples if they are well connected with their context. First of all, we should choose those:

- that will contain a theoretical thought about what means "agricultural specialisation" particularly in old agricultural systems,
- that will present studies on a long period or on a transitional period,
- that will give comparative views.

All participants belonging to the countries of the COST program A 35 are concerned by this call. About fifteen papers will be chosen.

**If you are interested to participate, please send an e-mail with a preliminary title as soon as possible, to: annie.antoine@uhb.fr, and let your abstract (200-500 words) follow so quickly.
Dead line for submission : end of january 2007**

Final papers had to be given one month before the session. If you are not able to speak english or to speak french with an english translation (paper ou power point), please say it quickly to the organistor of the session : it's not really a problem and some solutions will be found.

After the session, it will be necessary to propose quickly your text for publication : dead line is at the end of septembrer 2007.

Writer of this call:

Annie Antoine

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**Cost Action A 35 Progressore
Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies**

Second Workshop of Working Group 3 – Peasant Societies

WEALTH AND POVERTY IN EUROPEAN RURAL SOCIETIES FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE PRESENT DAY. STANDARDS OF LIVING, MATERIAL CULTURE AND CONSUMPTION PATTERNS

Toruń (Poland)

September 21-22 2007.

Organizer: Jarosław Dumanowski, Nicolaus Copernicus University.

‘Poverty’ and ‘wealth’ have never been purely economic terms and have always had social and cultural connotations. The variety of aspects and types of poverty and wealth calls for a comparison, in a long-term perspective, of the standards of living characteristic of the rural communities of various European countries and regions. A combined analysis of the economic, social and cultural factors determining poverty and wealth makes it possible to approach these phenomena while taking into consideration their complex form and nature.

The workshop will focus on the following areas:

- 1. Economic situation, household budgets and commercialization of consumption - from the pre-industrial economy to the market*
- 2. Property, material culture and consumption as categories of social stratification*
- 3. The invention of leisure: the contrasts between work and leisure*

Such a formulation of the fundamental problems aims at situating the subjectively- felt economic situation of individuals and households within the context of changing economic climates and the profitability of agricultural production. It seems interesting to consider decision-making processes shaping the household budgets and consumer attitudes, in connection with the evaluation of overall economic conditions and the perspectives of their continuation or fluctuation in the future.

The attempt to follow the spread of commercialisation, in the field of consumption, aims not only at gaining profound knowledge about this crucial economic process but also at tracing the appearance and development of the new networks of economic and social relations, bringing together rural communities and the outside world.

The attempt to determine social stratification by using and combining various criteria such as property rights, standards of living, education, and the reception of outside consumer patterns seems to be very important. The process of identifying such patterns as well as naming the groups mediating their inflow and reception constitutes a crucial task. Since social status is not merely a consequence of abstract affluence but is primarily manifested through culturally acceptable patterns of consumption and consumption-related attitudes, the analysis of these patterns may provide a description of material conditions of living (food, accommodation, clothing, etc.) and disclose the mechanics of social advancement. The motivations behind

the behaviour of groups and individuals following different strategies of advancing or defending their positions, seem to play a particularly crucial role in this respect.

The relationship between work and leisure time constitutes an important factor determining the standard of living. The technological, economic, and socio-cultural aspects of the rhythm of life and time-management, and in particular the emergence of the phenomenon of leisure time within rural areas, deserve individual attention and detailed analysis, especially in a comparative perspective between Western and Eastern Europe.

These problems will be the subject of a workshop organized within the framework of a European Concerted Research Action (COST A35 - Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies) on 21-22 September 2007 in Toruń (Poland). We invite scholars representing different disciplines from all parts of Europe to present their research projects and their results related to the specified areas of study. Proposals for contributions should be sent to the organizers (jd@his.uni.torun.pl) in form of a one-page abstract by January 31, 2007.

Travel and accommodation costs will be reimbursed for conference members from participant countries (Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom), according to COST rules.

Because of budget constraints, **please let us know if your home university or research centre would be willing to pay your travel costs.**

Dr Jaroslaw Dumanowski
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**COST action A 35 Progressore
Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies**

Second Workshop of Working Group 4 – State and rural societies

***Social networks and institutional change:
pathways and limits of state intervention in rural societies***

Université de Münster

March 30-31, 2006

Organizer: Georg Fertig, University of Münster, Germany.

The European Science Foundation is sponsoring a series of conferences in the framework of their 'Project for the study of European rural societies' ('Progressore': COST action A 35). In this call for papers, we are asking for contributions from historians and social scientists working in the fields of social network analysis (including formal network analysis), local political history, and agrarian economic history.

The meeting will explore limits and opportunities of state intervention in a threefold perspective. From the perspective of the state, it is to be asked why some policies are not carried out successfully. Local society often provided paths to resources other than those encouraged by reforming and modernizing states. While policies of agrarian reform typically relied on formal organizations and anonymous markets, peasant families often depended on informal networks. Second, networks can also provide possibilities of successful contacts between the state and local societies, particularly when local officeholders act as interpreters or provide local populations with supra-local resources. Third, from the perspective of the peasant families, networks could have quite ambivalent effects, as 'social capital' (as Bourdieu put it), and as in-groups that insulated their members from the wider world. The conference will provide an opportunity to discuss these issues focussing on the following fields that may or may not form the base of separate sessions.

1) Political organisation, clientelism, and the effectiveness of local government

Particularly for the early modern period, it has been frequently observed that laws were not carried out, but repeated time and again. Officials suffered frustration when confronted with the awkward dynamics of local society. A possible explanation for these failures is that the inhabitants of the countryside followed not only their own traditions and worldviews, but also their own interests. Patrons monopolized access to collective funds and used them in the interest of their clients. In dealing with systems of local patronage, territorial states had to choose between confrontation and cooptation: they could try to use local brokers in order to access local networks, or they could try to impose anonymous and formal institutions in order to liberate their subjects from local constraints. The session will be open for contributions aimed at clarifying the relation between communal organization, clientelism, and 'corruption'.

2) *Access to resources through networks and institutions*

The most common definition of 'social capital' is access to resources through networks. In this perspective, the benevolent aspects of networks are emphasized. This session will therefore focus on the use people made of informal networks, in competition with the use they could make of formal state and supra-state institutions or markets. Contributions might discuss networks of poor support as an alternative to public welfare institutions, or other forms of rather informal access to resources and support.

3) *Social networks in the economic sphere: an ambivalent interaction*

A classical view on modern society has it that economic action and social relations are separate spheres of human life. For premodern societies it has often been shown how important social networks and personal relationships were for economic success (e.g. in foreign trade), rendering formal institutions irrelevant. However, the drawbacks of embeddedness in strong social networks have so far only gained little attention in historical research. Moreover, the development of modern society did not necessarily lead to a disappearance of social networks. Kinship ties helped European elites to accumulate and maintain power and wealth. But even in modern societies the role of social relations at the economic marketplace (by definition marked by self-interest and atomistic independence) has led to an increasing interest in the impact of social networks on the economic scopes of action and success.

4) *The use of institutions, markets, and networks for families and individuals*

In order to understand the interest of local families and individuals, it is useful to take a life cycle approach. What helped peasants to lead a longer life, to suffer from less variation in income, and to place more of their children in marriage? Did the presence and availability of kin, of well-organized financial and state institutions, and of integrated markets result in a better living over time? We invite papers that address the temporal dimension of the way institutions, markets, and networks were used in rural societies.

Dates and deadlines:

May 15, 2006: Deadline for abstracts (200-500 words)

January 31, 2007: Deadline for finished conference papers (15 to 25 pages)

Friday March 30 to Saturday March 31, 2007: Meeting in Münster

Titles and abstracts can be sent in French, Italian, German, or English. Please be prepared to write the paper in English. French and English will be the languages of presentations and discussion. COST meetings bring together scholars from as many European countries as possible. We aim to have 16 contributors from eight or more countries in four sessions, with a good balance between the fields of agrarian history and social network analysis. In each session, there will be short presentations (about 15 minutes), a comment by one of four experts, and a general discussion. The experts are: Nadine Vivier (agrarian history), David Sabeau (history of kinship), Rui Santos (economic sociology), and Michael Schnegg (ethnology and social network analysis).

If you are interested to participate, please send an e-mail with a preliminary title as soon as possible, to: georg.fertig@uni-muenster.de, and let your abstract (200-500 words) follow until May 15. Travel and accommodation will be sponsored by the COST programme of the European Science Foundation, with matching funds from institutions in Germany. For funding purposes, please let us know your nationality (all nationalities, if you have multiple ones) and if you are able to claim travel costs from your home university.

Georg Fertig, Münster, in cooperation with: David Sabeau (Los Angeles), Rui Santos (Lisboa), Michael Schnegg (Cologne), Nadine Vivier (Le Mans), Ulrich Pfister, Christine Fertig, Johannes Bracht, Silke Goslar (Münster), Christophe Duhamelle (Mission Historique Française en Allemagne),
And Peter Moser, Socrates D. Petmezias, Nadine Vivier (Progressore WG 4, State and Peasants), Gérard Béaur (EHESS, Paris) and the members of Progressore.



**COST action A 35 Progressore
Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies**

**Call for papers for the Workshop in Rome
Spring 2008**

**Property rights to land, social structures, environment and sustainable
development**

Workgroup 1 (Landed Property)

**Organizers: Erik Thoen (Universiteit Gent, Belgium) & Bas van Bavel
(Universiteit Utrecht, the Netherlands)**

1.1.

In recent decades, interest in the interaction between man and environment has been growing, also because of acute environmental problems. Historical research can help analyzing these problems and clarifying their causes. Research into economic and social history has put forward property rights – particularly rights to land - as a main constituent of social structure and a main determinant of the development of rural economy and society. Since social relations to a large extent determined the use and formation of the land, the cultural landscape and the environment, property rights to land formed an important factor in the interaction between man and environment. This workshop aims to systematically investigate the link between these elements, in order to better understand their mutual interaction.

This workshop will deal with the mutual interaction between property rights to land and environmental development, investigating this interaction in a dual way:

- how did and does the environment, and the way it is socially perceived, influence the formulation of property rights to land and their social management?
- how did and does the specific organization of these rights, i.e. their formulation and their social management, affect the environment, both in a positive and a negative way?

The particular formulation of property rights (understood here as the bundle of rights to land, such as the right of access, the right of use, the right of sale, the right of inheritance, etc.) could encourage reclamation or embankment or the formation of varied farming landscapes, thus stimulating a positive development. On the other hand, the particular formulation and its social management could, and can, also lead to deforestation, erosion and have negative environmental consequences, thus eroding the basis for sustainable development, that is - in our definition, the possibilities for creating social agro-systems which allow, or conversely do not allow, for the very same systems to be perpetuated or to further develop without endangering or negatively affecting the basis for a balance between rural economic development and environment.

This approach will thus allow us to better understand the human role in environmental change as well as deterioration, and to judge how specific property regimes affect the possibilities for sustainable development.

Delimitation

The workshop will deal with the pre-industrial and industrial periods, roughly from the 11th century up to the present. It is not assumed beforehand that the pre-industrial and industrial periods show fundamental differences in this respect; rather the workshop will question this assumed difference and investigate continuities.

The workshop will concentrate on long-term developments, with a preference for comparative analysis. Although it is evident that the papers can be focused on local case studies, and use the results of empirical research, all papers must place the results in the light of longer term developments and be linked up with the issue of the possibilities for sustainable development.

Linking up with the other workshops of Workgroup 1, the workshop will concentrate on land, i.e. on property rights to land and environmental changes in land, leaving out property rights to and pollution of water and air, for instance. Also, the workshop will concentrate on the rural, agrarian economy, leaving out disturbances in the environmental equilibrium in an urban setting.

Possible topics

Specific topics to be addressed are:

- the role of soil and landscape in the choice and formulation of various property arrangements
- the role of water management needs (control, drainage or irrigation) in the choice and formulation of various property arrangements
- the role of physical environmental problems in the changes of property rights to land, e.g. in coastal areas due to compression of peat or rising water tables, in mountain areas due to climatic changes
- the role of property rights and their social management in reclamations, embankments
- the role of common rights on land and communal organization in ecological sustainability
- the role of property rights and their social management in systematic deforestation, erosion, salinization, soil exhaustion and the emergence of sand-drifting
- the role of property rights to land in determining the effects of peat-winning and mining on the sustainability of agriculture
- the role of property rights and their social management in fundamental changes of the landscapes, such as enclosures, 'bocage' and land re-allotments, and vice versa

Practicalities

This will be the last of three conferences to be held by the Working group 1 on the historical dimensions of "Landed property", operating within the wider framework of the COST action for the study of European rural societies Progressore (COST action A 35). The conference will be co-organized by CORN, and be hosted by the Belgian and Dutch Institutes in Rome

The organizers of the workshop invite all people interested in presenting a paper on these topics, within the chosen framework, to submit an abstract of the paper. Abstracts should be sent to one of the organizers before 1 November 2007. Papers will be especially welcome that present some or all of these characteristics:

- Comparative outlook;
- Analysis of long term processes;
- Empirically grounded contribution to more general issues or even theoretical debates.

Up to 14 papers will be selected according to standard patterns of academic quality and relevance to the topic, taking into account geographical representation in compliance with COST rules, as well as a balanced distribution of topics over the medieval, early modern and modern periods. The organizers especially welcome papers on southern and eastern Europe.

Location: Belgian Institute (Academia Belgica) in Rome
Dutch Institute (Koninklijk Nederlands Instituut te Rome/Reale Istituto Neerlandese) in Roma
both located at the Via Omero, Rome

Date: 22 - 24 May 2008

Thursday 22th: 14.30 h-19.00h opening and first sessions
Friday 23th: 10h-19.00h sessions
Saturday 24th 9.30 h- 13.30h. sessions and closing

Note: The participants are expected to stay two nights on the expenses of COST and CORN, namely Thursday and Friday night.

Organizers: Erik Thoen (Universiteit Gent, Belgium) &
Bas van Bavel (Universiteit Utrecht, the Netherlands)



**European Cooperation in the field of Scientific and Technical Research (COST)
action A35: Program for the study of European rural societies
(PROGRESSORE)**

Third Workshop for Working Group 2 (Rural management of land)

Production and productivity in European agriculture in a historical context

Lund, Sweden,

June 13-14, 2008

**Organizers: Mats Olsson and Patrick Svensson (Dept. of Economic History,
Lund University, Sweden)**

This workshop on rural management of land will focus on levels of agricultural production and productivity, as well as causes for change in these levels. Within this part of the COST-action, two earlier workshops have been held. The first one dealt with the impact of markets and commercialisation on the management of land, while the second workshop dealt with the management itself, focusing on specialisation in production. Following this, the third workshop will take the final step and estimate if, and how much, economic and institutional changes together with natural conditions, affecting the management of land, resulted in changes in production and productivity. In this way we make possible as well causal explanations of the development of production in agriculture, as cross-country comparisons of this development.

A proposed model of explanation is that basic factors affect the way land is managed and thereby the level of production. These basic factors consist of natural conditions such as climate, topography and soil conditions. There are also economic and institutional factors affecting land management, e.g. traditions, inheritance systems, property rights, proximity to urban centres, population density, transport costs and trade restrictions. Together these factors affect farm sizes, technology, choice of crops and degree of specialisation. Hence, changes in the basic factors create incentives for altered management which eventually would lead to changes in production and productivity.

Estimating historical production is in most cases a complex task. Researchers have used different methods and different sources and still the production development before the 20th century is highly uncertain for most countries and regions. One example of this is the extensive research in progress on British agricultural productivity, from the high Middle Ages until the 19th century that so far has left us with interesting but, to a great extent, contradictory results. One aim of the workshop is to present estimates of production and productivity from different parts of Europe.

Moreover, in order to explain variation in production and long term growth we have to consider the development of technology and farming methods, but also the broad rural context and its connections to markets and urban life. A number of questions regarding development of agricultural production and productivity must therefore be asked:

- What role did cultural context and traditions play in the management of land, and thus for the development of production? Has local conditions outplayed its role and, if so, how, and when, did the transformation to universal seeds, techniques and management of land take place?
- How profitable were different forms of land management? Were there economies of scale in pre-industrial agriculture?

- What kind of institutions and institutional settings promoted growth and which ones were obstacles to growth?
- How does specialisation and diversification affect growth in production and productivity?
- What was the role of the markets and how did peasants react to price incentives?

The call for papers is open for researchers in all disciplinary fields interested in this specific topic. The workshop covers the period from the high Middle Ages to the present day for all parts of Europe, and regional empirical analysis or comparative studies of regions are preferred. The workshop will consist of about 16 papers and paper-givers are expected to send in proposals (abstracts) to the co-ordinators via e-mail no later than *December 15th, 2007*. Travel and accommodation for the selected participants will be financed by the COST-programme of the European Science Foundation. The workshop will generate one volume in a series of volumes focusing on the European rural society.

Co-ordinators:

Mats Olsson (mats.olsson@ekh.lu.se)

Patrick Svensson (patrick.svensson@ekh.lu.se)

Dept. of Economic History

Lund University, Sweden

Scientific board:

Vicente Pinilla (University of Zaragoza), Annie Antoine (Université Rennes 2), Danilo Gasparini (Università de Padova), Matti Peltonen (University of Helsinki), José Vicente Serrão (ISCTE, Lisbon), Aud Mikkelsen Tretvik (Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim)



**COST Action A 35 – Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies
(PROGRESSORE)**

Third Workshop of Working Group 3 (“Peasant Societies”)

**INHERITANCE PRACTICES, MARRIAGE STRATEGIES AND HOUSEHOLD
FORMATION IN EUROPEAN RURAL SOCIETIES**

May 15-17, 2008

Sárospatak (Hungary)

Organizer: Péter Pozsgai, Corvinus University Budapest

I. Introduction

Inheritance systems and the prevailing inheritance practice determined or largely influenced the marriages and household formations of the heirs and non-heirs throughout Europe. The differences between regions are strongly connected with the ruling systems of inheritance (patrilinear impartible or partible, bilateral partible etc.) and the timing of division of the property. A long-lasting general viewpoint has been that, in Europe, for the young couple property was required as an economic basis for establishing an independent household. The inheritance practice and customary law applying to property transfer and retirement were the decisive factors determining the manner and time of acquiring property. There were regions where retirement arrangements (Ausgedinge) made possible a pre-mortem transmission of land and property (mainly in Western and Central-European regions), while in other regions the division of the property among the successors generally took place only after the death of the owner and household head (mainly in Central-East and East-European regions). In the latter case it gave rise to more complex households (joint, extended stem, stem family forms etc.) during the family life-course of land-owning peasants, which was directly related to the prevailing inheritance practice whereby male successors generally received equal shares.

Of course, there were great differences in the rights of newly wedded couples and in the degree to which they remained dependent on parents or even on a widowed mother. In Central- and Eastern-European regions after the owner's death, management of the household was frequently taken over by the widow for as long as unmarried children lived together with her in a single household.

Either impartible or partible inheritance could give rise to many different strategies regarding marriage and household formation, which can be understood by studying the timing of property transfer, the change of household headship and the retirement practices. The individual and/or familiar choices, as well as marriage strategies can only be analysed and understood at the household level and on the basis of personal life-courses, not on the basis of aggregate data. It is of primary importance to understand the cooperation of kin groups, not only within, but between households, since micro-analyses often reveal that households were not independent economic units.

Recent micro-studies on the 'European Marriage Pattern' have proved that the main points of the Hajnal-model should be revisited on the basis of new, nominal and longitudinal datasets. New case studies, local and regional analyses can deepen our knowledge about the interdependence between inheritance, marriage and household formation in European rural societies. Micro-studies can also explore other factors like religion, ethnic identity, clan alliance, kin cooperation, individual choice etc., beyond the economic ones which influenced or determined marriages and household formation in the past.

II. Goals and methodology of the workshop

1. Micro-level approach

We encourage micro-level analyses and local case studies from all parts of Europe. Studies are preferred that pay special attention to the timing of marriage or/and the household formation in relation with inheritance, transmission of land and property or change in the headship of households. It is considered as important to reveal not only the economic bonds, but the cultural differences, social networks behind marriage strategies and household formation. The goal of the workshop is not to verify the Hajnal-model, but we hope that the papers will creatively contribute to the discussion with the results of longitudinal micro-level research.

2. Expanding the field of research

We wish to extend the borders of the examination area beyond the West of Europe and to fully include Central-, East- and South-European regions, which can contribute new data and deepen the overall picture about the connection between marriage, inheritance and household formation in Europe.

3. The examined time span

We welcome papers from all periods, from the Middle Ages to the present when the problem often is how to find a successor to the farm, rather than how to exclude some of the potential heirs.

III. Proposed fields of discussion during the workshop

1. Inheritance systems and marriage strategies: heirs, non-heirs, dependence or independence
2. Social homogamy and heterogamy of marriages: economic, kin and cultural factors
3. Inheritance systems and the formation/forms of households in Europe
4. Inheritance and marriage in regard to individual life-course

IV. Deadlines

1. Deadline for abstracts (400-600 words): September 15, 2007
2. Deadline for finished conference papers: March 15, 2008

V. Selection of papers and the rules of the workshop

Scholars from all parts of Europe are invited to propose papers for the workshop. The abstracts are evaluated and selected by the scientific committee. After the evaluation, 15-16 contributors will be invited to present their papers in English at Sárospatak. The presentations should be limited to 20 minutes. The papers will be pre-circulated to the participants before the workshop. Reimbursement of travel and accommodation costs is possible for contributors from the 22 signatory states of COST A35 (listed at www.cost.esf.org/index.php?id=233&action_number=a35), according to COST rules. The abstracts of conference-papers should be sent to Peter Pozsgai until September 15, 2007 (peter.pozsgai@uni-corvinus.hu and pozsgai.peter@gmail.com, please use both addresses).

Co-ordinator: Péter Pozsgai, Corvinus University Budapest, Faculty of Economics, Fővám tér 8, H-1093 Budapest

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pozsgai.peter@gmail.com

Scientific Board:

Anne-Lise Head (Geneva), Peter Pozsgai (Budapest), Jürgen Schlumbohm (Göttingen)



**COST Action A 35 – Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies
(PROGRESSORE)**

Third Workshop of Working Group 4 (“State and Rural Societies”)

Call for papers for the Workshop in Bern

***State agricultural policies:
Its causes, ways of its implementations and its consequences***

Mai 2008

Organizer: Peter Moser

This will be the last of three conferences to be held by the working group 4 on the historical dimensions of "The state, government, politics and the rural society" within the wider framework of the project for the study of European rural societies of the European Science Foundation (COST action A 35).

The aim of the workshop is to produce a deeper insight into the complex process of change and continuity in agriculture and the rural societies of Europe before and after World War I. The time space to be covered in this third conference will therefore be the period of modern statehood, beginning roughly in the late 18th century and including the present. World War I is the crucial turning point because in many respects it changed the character of the already existing state intervention into agriculture fundamentally. While the state intervention before World War I was selective and mainly guided towards encouraging self help of the agricultural sector in order to adapt to the newly established world wide production specialization, state agricultural policies in western Europe after 1914/18 became much more comprehensive, comprising production regulation, price fixing and delivery obligations. Many of the 1914/18 newly implemented market orders survived in its core elements up to the 1990's. In short: it was the experiences of the First World War which shaped the agricultural policies of most western European states in the 20th century.

The space to be observed and analysed is Europe. For the time up to the foundation of the European Union countries in the South, West, North and the East of Europe have to be looked at. For the second half of the 20th century the European Union, Eastern Europe and a small non EU-member state have to be looked at closely in a comparative purpose.

Attention is also to be paid at the development and influence of international organisations such as the OECD and GATT/WTO who had an enormous, but until the 1980/90's seldom discussed influence on the nation-states and the EU-agricultural policies since the 1950's.

Nation-based case studies are welcome, but comparative approaches are preferred, comparing at least two countries or two different “models” with each other.

The conference lasts for 3 days. The first two days concentrate on the 4 planned sections of the third workshop. The last day is reserved for the purpose to draw conclusions of the three workshops. A small number of crucial participants of the first two workshops will, therefore, be invited to participate on the third workshop as well.

2. SECTIONS OF THE WORKSHOP/CONFERENCE

The conference in Bern shall be divided into four sections; all sections should be attended by all participants in order to create an overview and a common knowledge which then will stimulate further research.

3. SECTION I: THE STATE AND AGRARIAN POLITICS

In this section the motives for the “old” and the “new” agricultural policies are to be discussed and analysed as well as the form and extent of state intervention into the agricultural production and food processing sectors. The market orders shall be a theme as well as the question, in what ways and how far agriculture has become a crucial element of the public service in the 20th century.

A special attention in this **Section I** is to be given to the question of how the states influenced the new firm grip of agriculture on mineral resources in the 1950/60's, which revolutionized agricultural production, changing input, production methods and output fundamentally.

A third focus will be the relationship of the nation states and the EU with international organizations like OECD and GATT/WTO in the area of agriculture. What aims did these organisations pursue, who implemented them and how were/are they legitimised?

4. SECTION II: ACTORS

Even though the state became somehow an “authoritarian mediator” between consumers and producers in the 20th century, the process was still carried out by different actors. **Section II** will focus on the question who shaped and who implemented how the new agricultural policy? The role and impact of the administration shall be examined as well as that of the (agricultural) scientists and the cooperative movement (consisting consumers and producers cooperatives).

In a second round the impact and influence of interest groups (producers, consumers, industrial organisations etc.) is to be examined. Why were they included in the decision making process in some countries and excluded in others? What impact did that have on the political behaviour of the farming population?

In a third round the topics to be discussed include the questions of what alternatives to the mainstream agricultural policy were propagated and why they failed to be implemented?

In **Section II** the gender aspect will be of specific relevance since the agricultural policy had in many ways different implications on men and women who, therefore, reacted differently as well.

5. SECTION III: ECONOMIC AND ECOLOGICAL IMPACTS OF THE DEVELOPMENT

Food production, landscape creation and the development of biodiversity are not only in agricultural societies, but also in most European states up to the 1950/60's closely interlinked. But since farmers were forced and/or induced to base their production more on the consumption of mineral resources from the 1950's on the relationship between food production, landscape shaping and biodiversity became fundamentally altered. In the process of replacing labour by mineral resources the costs of production sank dramatically and lead – even though food became more and more refined – to an ever declining percentage of the household costs for nourishment. The price for this “cheap food policy” were ecological degradations which lead – parallel to the liberalization of the production of food – to a new wave of state intervention in the agricultural sector, this time aimed at the protection the environment.

The main question to be dealt here are: How did and do farmers try to combine the conflicting trade and

environmental policies on the farm level? And what implications has the “split” of human beings into consumers and tax-payers in their behaviour?

Section IV: Agricultural reforms at the beginning of the 21st century

Although the agricultural policy of the European nation states and the European Union has been criticised by groups in- and outside the agricultural sector for a long time before, this critic has been intensified since the late 1960's and has eventually led to the contemporary agrarian reforms. One aim is to have a close look at the different motives and strategies of the different groups to understand why certain reforms have been approved and why others have been ignored or rejected.

Since the new policy is guided towards a *rural space* rather than a *rural society* or even *agricultural population*, one point to be discussed in **Section IV** specifically is: who is implementing the new “environmental” or “rural” policy? And what does that process mean for the many agricultural organisations whose main purpose was the implementation of the “old” agricultural policies? Are, after the peasants, the farm labourers, the family members and the farmers in the future also the agricultural scientists and economists to disappear? And: who is formulating and deciding the new “environmental” or “rural” policy in the future?

Zollikofen/Bern, 7.11.2006

Final programmes

‘Institutional change and growth in Swedish agriculture in the late 18th and early 19th century’
John Ragnar Myking (University of Bergen) :
‘Property rights, the market in land and economic growth. The case of Norway (13th-19th centuries)’

4.30 pm AFTERNOON TEA

5.00-6.00 pm GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUDING SESSION

7.30 p.m DINNER

Monday 12th June

8.00- 9.00 am BREAKFAST AND DEPARTURE

IN ADDITION TO THE SPEAKERS AND DISCUSSANTS LISTED ABOVE THE FOLLOWING ALSO ATTEND THE WORKING GROUP :

G rard B aur (CNRS-EHESS)

Rosa Congost (University of Girona)

Jean-Michel Chevet (INRA)

Richard Hoyle (University of Reading)

Maria Teresa Perez Picazo (University of Murcia)

Phillipp Schofield (University of Wales Aberystwyth)



**COST action A 35 Progressore
Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies**

With the support of the University of Zaragoza

First Workshop of Working Group 2 – The management of rural land

The impact of markets in the management of rural land

Zaragoza, University of Zaragoza (Spain)

September 22-23, 2006

Organizer: Vicente Pinilla, University of Zaragoza.

Friday 22nd September

WELCOME, 9.15-9.30

Gerard Beaur (EHESS) and Vicente Pinilla (U. Zaragoza)

SESSION I, 9.30-10.45

Chair: Gerard Beaur (EHESS)

Mark Aloisio (Mediterranean Centre for Arts and Sciences, Siracusa)

Agrarian contracts and the influence of the market on the latifundia of Medieval Sicily”

Isabelle Theiller (University of Paris 7 – Denis Diderot)

The market an actor of the local, regional and interregional trade: a case study in the Eastern Normandy at the end of the Middle Ages.

Discussant: Bruce Ms Campbell (Queen’s University Belfast)

SESSION II, 11.15-13.15

Chair: Aud Mikkelsen Tretvik (Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim)

Ramon Garrabou (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona), Xavier Cussó (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona) and Enric Tello (Universitat de Barcelona)

6. MARKETS AND SPECIALIZATION IN CATALAN AGRICULTURE, MID 19TH CENTURY

Michael Kopsidis (IAMO)

7. BOSERUP MEETS THUENEN: MARKET INTEGRATION AND LAND USE DURING WESTPHALIAS PEASANT AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION 1750–1880

José Vicente Serrão (ISCTE, Lisbon)

Evaluating land management answers to market changes: Portugal, 17-19th centuries

8. DISCUSSANT : GERARD BEAUR (EHESS)

SESSION III, 15.30-16.45

Chair: Matti Peltonen (University of Helsinki)

Mats Olsson and Patrick Svensson (Lund University)

The Commercialisation of the Peasant Economy: Markets and Agricultural Production in Southern Sweden 1720-1850

Vicente Pinilla (Universidad de Zaragoza)

The globalization of Mediterranean horticulture and the economic development of Spain, 1850-1935

Discussant : Michael Kopsidis (IAMO)

SESSION IV, 17.15-18.30

Chair: José Vicente Serrão (ISCTE, Lisbon)

Aurelia Hernández and Enrique Ozcoidi (Universidad Pública de Navarra)

Configuration of credit markets in the Burunda of Navarra (1817-1872)

José Miguel Lana and Joseba de la Torre (Universidad Pública de Navarra)

Agricultural markets, factor cost and management in Navarra, 1780-1910

Discussant: Patrick Svensson (Lund University)

Saturday 23rd September

SESSION V, 9.00-10.15

Chair: Annie Antoine (U.Rennes 2), (this session will be held in French)

Marie-Lucie Rossi (EHESS)

Déconstruction du paysage et révolutions des marchés Reggio-Emilia de 1748 à 1922 (à l'époque du libéralisme concurrentiel)

Jean-Michel Chevet (INRA-Paris)

Les importations de vins en Grande-Bretagne : les enseignements de longue durée (fin XVIIème siècle-2005)

Discussant: Rosa Congost (Universitat de Girona)

SESSION VI, 11.30-12.45

Chair: Patrick Svensson (Lund University)

Aud Mikkelsen Tretvik (Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim)

Changing structures in agriculture and reindeer-herding in Mid-Norway in late 19th and early 20th century

Ann-Catrin Østman (Aabo Akademi University)

Women's work, masculine ideals and milk on the market- market production, cooperative organizing and the importance of land ownership

Discussant: Leen Van Molle (K.U. Leuven)

FAREWELL, 13.00

Gerard Beaur (EHESS, France) and Annie Antoine (U.Rennes 2) (next conference organizer)



**COST action A 35 Progressore
Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies**

First Workshop of Working Group 3 – Peasant Societies

***Agrosystems and Labour Relations in European Rural Societies
(Middle Ages -20th Century***

Retz (Austria), Hotel Althof,

September 1-2, 2006

**Organizers: Erich Landsteiner, University of Vienna and Ernst Langthaler
(Institut für Geschichte des ländlichen Raumes, St. Pölten – Austria)**

AUGUST 31, 2006

Arrival of participants

19:00: Welcome reception and opening lecture, Erich Landsteiner, University of Vienna

September 1, 2006

9:00 – 12:00: Working session

Chair: Anne-Lise Head (University of Geneva, Switzerland)

Antoni Furió/Ferran Garcia-Oliver (Universitat de València, Spain): Community, household and labour relations in a Mediterranean rural society: the Valencian countryside in the Late Middle Ages.

Ramon Garrabou/Enric Tello (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain): Ecological and socio-economic functioning of the Mediterranean agrarian systems in the middle of the 19th century: a Catalan case study (the Vallès county, 1850-1870).

12:00 – 14:00: Lunch

14:00 – 18:00: Second working session

Chair: Erich Landsteiner (University of Vienna)

Josef Grulich (University of České Budejovice, Czech Republic): Rural Society in Bohemia. The Chýnov Estate and Southern Bohemia in the 17th and 18th Centuries.

Peter Pozsgai (Corvinus University Budapest, Hungary): The organisation of labour within and between households in a rural region of northeastern Hungary in the 19th century.

Margareth Lanzinger (University of Vienna [Italy]): The constraint to supplement roles in rural households revisited: the employment of relatives in Tyrol and Vorarlberg in the 19th century.

20:00: Dinner

September 2, 2006

9:00-12:00: Third working session

Chair: Jürgen Schlumbohm (Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte, Göttingen)

Hermann Zeitlhofer (University of Vienna, Austria): Local and regional division of labour in South Bohemian flax-growing communities (17th – 19th centuries)

Herdis Kolle (University of Bergen, Norway): Labour relations in a Russian proto-industrial community (Bun'kovskaia volost', Moscow province, 1834-1869)

12:00-14:00: Lunch

14:00-18:00: Forth working session

Chair: Ernst Langthaler (Institut für Geschichte des ländlichen Raumes, St. Pölten – Austria)

Frank Konersmann (University of Bielefeld, Germany): Peasant merchants and local labour markets in the Rhine valley and the Palatinate (1685-1850).

Ottar Brox (Norway): Fishing farmers of Arctic Norway (19th – 20th centuries)

Rita Garstenauer (Institut für Geschichte des ländlichen Raumes, Austria): Rural exodus and the decline of manpower in agriculture: a comparison of two Austrian regions (Salzburg and Burgenland 1950-1980)

19:00: Dinner

September 3, 2006:

Departure of participants

Invited experts:

Anne-Lise Head (University of Geneva, Switzerland)

Jon Mathieu (University of Luzern, Switzerland)

Jürgen Schlumbohm (Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte, Göttingen)



COST action A 35 Progressore
Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies

with LHAMANS, Université du Maine/CERHIO-CNRS FRE 3004), GDR 2912 of
CNRS (Sociétés Rurales Européennes)
and with the support of the communauté urbaine du Mans and of the Conseil général
de la Sarthe

First Workshop of Working Group 4 – State and rural societies/ Etat et Sociétés Rurales

The State, government and rural societies : the choices of the State
L'Etat, le gouvernement et les sociétés rurales : les choix de l'Etat

Université du Maine

September 29- 30, 2006

Organizer: Nadine Vivier, Université du Maine, France

Scientific board:

Gérard Béaur (F), Jürgen Schlumbohm (D), Rosa Congost (E), Georg Fertig (D), Peter Moser (CH), Gilbert Noël (F), Socrates Petmezas (Gr)

Vendredi 29 Septembre 9h-12h30, faculté des lettres, salle 105

9 h : Accueil par **Jean-François Tassin**, vice-président du conseil scientifique de l'Université du Maine
Introduction : **Gérard Béaur** (EHESS, France) président, et **Socrates Petmezas**, coordinateur du groupe 4

Session I. Les choix stratégiques de l'État /The major concerns of the State

Discutant : **Socrates Petmezas** Université de Crète (Grèce)

Ernesto Clar, université de Saragoza, (Espagne)

La politique agraire sous les dictatures de Salazar et Franco : vers un modèle autoritaire d'intervention ?
Farm policy under the Salazar and Franco dictatorships in Portugal and Spain: towards an authoritarian model of intervention in agriculture ?

Dimitris G. Panagiotopoulos, université d'Athènes (Grèce)

Interventions de l'État et choix stratégiques dans l'agriculture grecque, 19e-20e s.
Institutional interventions and strategic choices in Greek Agriculture, 19th –20th century

József Ö Kovács, université de Miskolc (Hongrie)

Les sociétés rurales en Hongrie et Allemagne de l'est au temps du communisme
Agrarian societies in communist Hungary and East Germany

Vendredi 29 Septembre, 14-17h, faculté des lettres, salle 105

Session II. Les choix stratégiques de l'État /The major concerns of the State

Discutant : **Peter Moser**, université de Berne (Suisse)

Leen Van Molle, université de Louvain (Belgique)

L'État au service des paysans ou bien les paysans au service de l'État ? Les deux aspects de la politique agricole belge, 1880-1940 (environ)/ A State for the peasants, or peasants for the State? The two faces of Belgian agricultural policy ca. 1880-1940.

Nadine Vivier, université du Maine (France)

Les choix de l'État français face aux sociétés rurales
French State and peasants: the choices of the State towards rural societies

Lars Behrisch, University of Bielefeld (Allemagne)

The rise of administrative statistics in France and in Germany at the end of the ancient regime: similarities and differences // La genèse de la statistique administrative en France et en Allemagne à la fin de l'Ancien Régime: Parallèles et divergences

Discussion

18h30 Visite du Vieux Mans, gracieusement organisée par la Mairie du Mans

Samedi 30 Septembre, 9h-11h 30, faculté des lettres, salle 105

Session III. Etude du processus de décision /The decision making process

Discutant : **Gilbert Noël**, université de Rennes (France)

Andreas Kulhawy, Université de Oldenbourg (Allemagne)

Le financement des réformes agraires et la modernisation de l'agriculture au 19e: étude générale et cas du duché de Brunswick / Financing the agrarian reforms and promoting the modernisation of farming in 19th century Germany: General development and the example of the Duchy of Brunswick

Juan Pan Montojo, Université de Madrid (Espagne)

Propriétaires, techniciens et associations: la formation des institutions publiques agricoles en Espagne, 1847-1936 / Landowners, technicians and associations: the formation of the agricultural public institutions in Spain, 1847-1936

Jonathan Harwood, Université de Manchester (United Kingdom)

Agricultural Research for the Small Farmer: Peasant-friendly Plant-Breeding in Central Europe, 1890-1945
La recherche agricole destinée au petit fermier: les semences en Europe centrale, 1890-1945

Samedi 30 Septembre, 12h-13h et 14h30-17h

IV. La formation des agriculteurs : moyens et résultats

Men training : means and results

Discutant : **Georg Fertig**, université de Munster (Allemagne)

Paul Brassley, université de Plymouth (United Kingdom) :

Enseignement agricole, formation et conseil en Angleterre, 1850-2000
Agricultural education, training and advice in the UK 1850-2000'

Magreet van der Burg, Wageningen, (Pays-Bas),

La politique éducative hollandaise, 1860-1965: l'évolution des choix de l'État sur le rôle des femmes à la ferme/ Educational policy, 1860-1965: changing perspective of the state on the role of women in farming

Michel Boulet, ENESAD, Dijon, (France)

1848 and 1960, two bills for agricultural education in France. Comparing the State intervention procedures // 1848, 1960, deux lois pour l'enseignement agricole en France. Essai de comparaison des modalités d'intervention de l'État

Anders Nilsson & Lars Pettersson, Lund University (Suède):

Politiques publiques et mouvements populaires face à la formation des agriculteurs suédois au 19e siècle / The State and the People. Government policies and popular movements in education and training in nineteenth century Swedish agriculture.

Rossano Pazzagli, Università del Molise (Italy)

Des initiatives privées à l'intervention de l'État: les origines de l'enseignement agricole publique en Italie / From private initiative to State intervention: the origins of public agricultural education in Italy

Discussion

Conclusion : Nadine Vivier



COST A35 – Program for the Study of European Rural Societies

Second Workshop of WG 2 – The management of rural land

Agricultural specialisation and rural patterns of development

Rennes – France

14-15-16 June 2007

Organizer: Annie ANTOINE, université Rennes 2 (France)

Scientific committee

**Vicente Pinilla (University of Zaragoza, Espana)
Annie Antoine (Université Rennes 2, France)
Danilo Gasparini (Università de Padova, Italie)
Matti Peltonen (University of Helsinki, (Finlande),
José Vicente Serrão (ISCTE, Lisbon, Portugal)
Patrick Svensson (Lund, Sueden)
Aud Mikkelsen Tretvik (Trondheim, Norvège)**

jeudi 14 juin / Thursday June 14^h

Voyage / Travel

Accueil à l'université Rennes 2 à partir de 15 heures / Welcome at Rennes 2 university on and after 3 p.m.

16 h 30 : Ouverture du colloque / Beginning of the conference

17 h : Introduction. Martine COCAUD, Annie ANTOINE, université Rennes 2 (France)

Deux exemples de spécialisation dans des agricultures traditionnelles

• Première session / First session

17.30 : LE BOUEDEC Gérard, université de Bretagne-sud, Lorient (France)

Les spécialisations agricoles et la mer (XVII^e - XIX^e siècles)

18.00 : HOYLE Richard, University of Reading (Angleterre)

Contrasting agrarian capitalists: Robert Loder and Robert Cole

19.00 : discussion (discutant : Vicente PINILLA)

19.30 : fin de la session / end of the session

Repas / Dinner

vendredi 15 juin

• Seconde session / Second session

9.00 : PELTONEN Mati, University of Helsinki (Finlande)

The Iron Cage of Dairy Farming : Self-Sufficiency and Specialisation in Finnish Peasant Farming at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century

9.20 : ISRAELSSON Carin, Stockholm University (Suède)

Specialisation in Dairying. Varying strategies in Denmark and Sweden 1850-1940

9.40 : BOHMAN Magnus, université de Lund (Suède)

A matter of geography ? Agricultural specialisation in Southern Sweden (Scania) 1711-1850

10.00 : discussion (discutant : Aud Mikkelsen TRETVIK)

10.45 : fin de la session / end of the session

Pause / Break

• Troisième session / Third session

11.10 : SERVAIS Paul, Université catholique de Louvain (Belgique)

Spécialisations précoces, spécialisations tardives dans les campagnes liégeoises du XVIII^e au XX^e siècle

11.30 : KULHAWY Andreas, Université de Oldenburg (Allemagne)

In transition from a "traditional" to a "specialised" agriculture: Farming in the Duchy of Brunswick between the 18th and the 20th century. An example of specialisation on a smaller German territory

11.50 : discussion (discutant : Nadine VIVIER)

12. 30 : fin de la session / end of the session

Repas / Lunch

• Quatrième session / Fourth session

14. 00 : GRULICH Josef, University of South Bohemia (Czech Republic)

Changes in the specialization of agricultural production on manorial demesnes and serf holdings in Bohemia from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century

14.20 : MATLAS Pavel, University of South Bohemia (Czech Republic)

The revolutionary year of 1848 and its impact on the agricultural production of a manorial estate

14.40 : BACHEV Hrabrin, Institute of Agricultural Economics, Sofia (Bulgarie)

Post-communist transition in Bulgaria – Implications for development of agricultural specialization and farming structures

15. 00 : discussion (discutant : Gérard BÉAUR)

16.00 : fin de la session / end of the session

Excursion et dîner à Saint-Malo - Retour à Rennes / Excursion and dinner in Saint-Malo (sea-side) - Return in Rennes

Samedi 16 juin

• Cinquième session / Fifth session

9.00 : THOEN Erick, SOENS Tim, Universiteit Gent (Belgique)

Specialisation and markets: features of a capitalist or a feudal society ? Some remarks especially applied to the former county of Flanders

9.20 : BRONWEN Martin John, Oxford university (Angleterre)

The British Food Production of the Second World War

9.40 : PEREZ-PICAZO Maria-Teresa, université de Murcia (Espagne)

The Balance Between Subsistence and Specialisation in the Huertas of the Segura during the XIXth Century. The case of the Farms of a Large Landowner

10.00 : discussion (discutant : José Vicente SERRÃO)

10.45 : fin de la session / end of the session

Pause / Break

• Sixième session :

11.10 : NILSSON Pia, Swedish University of Agricultural sciences, Ultuna (Suède)

Specialization in the Swedish agrarian society 1630-1650; Hop-farming in Uppland

11.30 : QUELLIER Florent, université Rennes 2 (France)

Les cultures maraîchères et fruitières en France au 17^e siècle

11.50 : discussion (discutant : non encore désigné)

12 h 50 : fin de la session / end of the session

Repas / Lunch

• Septième session / Seventh session

14.30 : LANDSTEINER Eric, Universität Wien (Autriche)

Wine-growing and agricultural specialization. General reflections and a case study of Lower Austria (16th-19th centuries)

14.50 : MUSSET Benoît, université de Reims (France)

L'essor de la spécialisation viticole dans le vignoble d'Epernay de 1650 à 1830 ou l'indispensable prolétarisation vigneronne

15.10 : MARTINS Conceicao, Universidade de Lisboa (Portugal)

La « spécialisation » viticole au Portugal : le cas de la région du Douro aux XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles

15.30 : Discussion (discutant : Rui SANTOS)

16.30 : conclusions

17.00 : Fin du colloque / End of the conference



**COST action A 35 Progressore
Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies**

With the support of CORN (Comparative Rural History of the North Sea Area), CNRS GDR 2912 (Sociétés Rurales Européennes), Centre de Recerca d'Història Rural de la Universitat de Girona (projet MEC:HUM2005-04731), FCSH-UNL (Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas - Universidade Nova de Lisboa)

Second Workshop of Working Group 1 – Landed property

Social Embeddedness of Property Rights to Land in Europe

**Lisbon, Universidade Nova de Lisboa,
Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas (FCSH-UNL)**

June 1-3 2007

Organizers: Rosa Congost (Universitat de Girona) and Rui Santos (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Institute of Historical Sociology)

June 1, 15:30 Opening Session

June 1, 16:00

1. Long-term institutional change in property rights

16:00 Markus Cerman, Dana Štefanová, *Institutional changes and land transfer in the Czech Lands from the Late Middle Ages to the eighteenth century*

16:20 Giuliana Biagioli, *Évolutions des droits de propriété foncière en Toscane , de la fin du Moyen-Âge au XIXe siècle*

16:40 Jean-Michel Chevet, *Discussion*

17:00 Coffee-break

17:20 José Miguel Lana Berasain, Iñaki Iriarte Goñi, *The social embeddedness of common property rights in Spain, ss.XVI-XX*

17:40 R. W. Hoyle, *Securing access to England's uplands: or how the 1945 revolution petered out*

18:00 Bas van Bavel, *Discussion*

18:20 Open discussion session 1

19:20 End of the day

June 2, 9:30

2. Property rights and family strategies

9:30 Fabrice Boudjaaba, *Inheritance and social reproduction in egalitarian system (Vernon-Normandy 1750-1830)*

9:50 Ernst Langthaler, *From Capitalism to 'Neo-Feudalism'? Peasant Households, Land Markets and the Nazi State in Austrian Regions, 1938-1945*

10:10 Phillipp Schoffield, *Discussion*

10:30 Open discussion session 2

11:30 Coffee-break

June 2, 11:50

3. Land reform: political projects for reallocation of property rights and social outcomes

11:50 Bernard Bodinier, *La révolution Française et la question agraire*

12:10 Carsten Rasmussen, *An English or a Scandinavian way? The great agrarian reforms of Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein in the late 18th century*

12:30 Maria Teresa Pérez-Picazo, *Discussion*

12:50 Lunch

14:00 Paul Brassley, *Land reform and reallocation in interwar Europe*

14:20 Margarida Fernandes, *Echoes of an Agrarian Reform: The case of Baleizão - Southern Portugal [1975 to present]*

14:40 Mats Morell, *Discussion*

15:00 Open discussion session 3

June 2, 16:00

4. Socialist and post-socialist transitions: reallocation of property rights, strategies and outcomes

16:00 Dietmar Müller, *The Governmentality of Land Ownership in Eastern Europe*

16:20 Maria Halamska, *Changing Property Structures in Central European Agriculture in the Process of Decollectivisation: The Social Aspects of Appropriation*

16:40 Miloslav Lapka, *Discussion*

17:00 Coffee-break

17:20 Jeong Nam Choi, Michael Kopsidis, Axel Wolz, *Family Farm Ideology and the Transformation of Collective Farms in East Germany 1989-1995*

17:40 Zsuzsanna Varga, *The Post-Socialist Transformation of Land-Ownership Relations in Hungary*

18:00 Eva Cudlinova, *Discussion*

18:20 Open discussion session 4

19:20 End of the day

June 3, 9:30

5. Final Discussion

9:30 Rosa Congost, Rui Santos, *General discussion*

9:50 Open discussion

11:30 End of Conference



COST A35 – Program for the Study of European Rural Societies

Second Workshop of WG 2 – The management of rural land

***Wealth and Poverty in European Rural Societies
from the Middle Ages to the present day.
Standards of living, material culture and consumption patterns***

Toruń (Poland)

September 21-22 2007.

Organizer: Jaroslaw Dumanowski

FRIDAY 21ST SEPTEMBER 2007

9.00-9.30 WELCOME

Panel 1: Property, material culture and consumption as categories of social stratification

9.30-11.00

Péter Granasztói, Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, Hungary,
*Fashion, Consumption, and Material Culture in a Rural Town in the Region of the Great Hungarian Plain
(Kiskunhalas, 1760-1850)*

Jarosław Dumanowski, [Institute of History and Archival Sciences](#), Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń,
Poland,
*Clothing and fashion in Polish rural communities in the 18th century. Wealth, poverty, social rivalry and
identity*

Belén Moreno Claverías, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain,
*Was it Class that determines Consumption, or the Other Way Around? The Role of Consumption in
Processes of upward Social Mobility in Pre-Industrial Catalonia*

11.00-11.15 Coffee break

11.30-13.00

Jean Duma, Université Paris X-Nanterre, France
Catégories sociales et formes de consommation dans la société rurale française à l'époque moderne

Anton Schuurman, Wageningen University, Department of AAG-Rural HISTORY (RHI), Netherlands,
*Evolution and involution. The traditionalization of the material culture in the Dutch countryside in the 19th
century*

Christer Lundh, Dept of Economic History, Göteborg University, Sweden
Household consumption and real wages among rural and urban workers in southern Sweden, 1912-1942

13.00-14.30 Lunch

Panel 2: Wealth and poverty

14.30-15.30

Bjørn Poulsen, Department of History, University of Aarhus, Denmark
Economic and cultural differentiation among the Late Medieval and Early Modern Danish Peasantry

John Broad, Department of Humanities, Arts, and Languages, London Metropolitan University, United Kingdom
The parish and the poor in England 1600-1850

15.30-15.45 Coffee break

15.45-16.45

Stéphanie Lachaud, Université Michel de Montaigne Bordeaux 3, France
Richesse et pauvreté dans les sociétés rurales de la France de l'époque moderne

Ottar Brox, Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research, Oslo, Norway
Eliminating Norwegian Poverty

16.45-18.00 Discussion

SATURDAY 22ND SEPTEMBER 2007

Panel 3: Material conditions in living, changes in consumption

9.00-11.00

Laurence Fontaine, Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Paris, France,
La possession des vêtements et des objets de luxe dans les campagnes françaises à l'époque moderne: signes et sources de valeur

Marie Ryantova, University of South Bohemia, České Budějovice, Czech Republic,
Possession, cultural and living standards of the priests in the church administration of Bohemia at the beginning of the 18th century

Josef Grulich, University of South Bohemia, České Budějovice, Czech Republic,
The picture of wealth in South Bohemian rural society in the 17th and 18th centuries

Dimitris Dimitropoulos, Institute for Neohellenic Research - National Hellenic Research Foundation (INR/NHRF), Greece,
Living conditions in the houses of the islands of Cyclades during the 17th and 18th centuries

11h-11h15 Coffee break

Panel 3 (continued)

11.15- 13.15:

Corinne Marache, Université Michel de Montaigne Bordeaux 3 (France),
Small peasants everyday life of western Europe in XIXth century. Ways of life, patterns, evolutions...

Paul Servais, Université catholique de Louvain, Belgium
Culture matérielle, niveau de vie et régime de propriété dans les campagnes liégeoises du XVIIIe au XIXe siècle

Evdokia Olimpitu, Department of History, Ionian University, Greece
Labour: Survival and wealth in the islands of Dodecanese (19th-20th c.)

Wojciech Olszewski, [Department of Ethnology](#), Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń, Poland,
Changes to the Preferred Model of Consumption and the Ethnic Identity Crisis of Poleshuks in the Early Twentieth Century

13.15-14.45 Lunch

PANEL 4: TIME MANAGEMENT

14.45-15.45

Tomasz Wiślicz, Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences & Warsaw University, Warsaw, Poland,
Serfdom, Sunday, Work and Laziness of Polish peasants (17th and 18th Centuries)

Nadine Vivier, University of Le Mans, France,
Leisure time in the French countryside : A mirror of social hierarchy in the 19th c.

15.45-16.00 Coffee break

16.00-17.00

Ewelina Szpak, Jagiellonian University, Cracow, Poland,
Concepts of leisure in Polish state farms' everyday life

Markus Schermer and Elisabeth Rieder, Institute of Sociology, Wolfgang Meixner, Institute of History and Ethnography, University of Innsbruck, Austria,
The impact of Holiday on Farm on farm life in Tyrol

17.00-18.30 General discussion



COST action A 35 Progressore - Working Group 4 (State and Peasants)

with the support of Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft
Mission Historique Française en Allemagne, Universität Münster

*Social networks and institutional change: pathways and limits of state intervention
in rural societies*

**Münster
Univ. Münster,
Historisches Seminar, Domplatz 20-22 (Fürstenberghaus), Übungsraum 4**

March 30th – 31st, 2007

Organizer: Georg Fertig (University of Münster)

Commentators:

- Michael Schnegg (Institut für Völkerkunde, Universität zu Köln / Social Network Analysis)
- Rui Santos (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Departamento de Sociologia e Instituto de Sociologia Histórica / Economic Sociology)
- David Sabeau (University of California at Los Angeles, Department of History / History of Kinship)
 - Nadine Vivier (Département d'Histoire, Université du Maine, Le Mans / Agrarian History)

Discussants:

- Gérard Béaur (Paris, Centre de Recherches Historiques, EHESS / Progressore)
- Isabel Fischer (Hohenheim, Agrarwissenschaft)
- Carola Lipp (Göttingen, Europäische Ethnologie)
- Peter Moser (Bern, Archiv für Agrargeschichte / Progressore)
- Socrates D. Petmezas (University of Crete Rethymnon, History / Progressore)
- Ulrich Pfister (Münster, Social and Economic History)
- Jürgen Schlumbohm (Göttingen, Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte / Progressore)

Organizer:

- Georg Fertig (Münster, Social and Economic History / Progressore)

Friday, March 30

9:30 Introductory remarks

10:00 First session: Access to resources through networks

- Cristina Munno (Institut national d'études démographiques, Paris / Venezia): Unsure land. Rural strategy in a workers community.

- Christine Fertig (Institut für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, Univ. Münster): Relationships and resource flows in rural societies: Social networks in Westphalia in the nineteenth century.
- Milada Kasarjyan (Leibniz-Institut für Agrarentwicklung in Mittel- und Osteuropa IAMO, Halle); Rüdiger Korff (Südostasienskunde, Univ. Passau), Gertrud Buchenrieder (IAMO Halle): Do social networks increase access to resources? The case of Armenia.

11:00 Short Break

11:15 First session, second part

- Comments: Michael Schnegg

Open Discussion

12:30 Lunch Break

14:00 Second Session: Networks, knowledge, and entrepreneurial strategies

- Marney E. Isaac, (Toronto, Faculty of Forestry), Bonnie Erickson (Toronto, Faculty of Sociology), J. Quashie-Sam (Kumasi, Ghana) , V.R. Timmer (Toronto, Faculty of Forestry): The structure of informal farmer networks: Advice seeking on agroforestry practices.
- Jana Fritsch, Axel Wolz (IAMO Halle): The role of social capital in promoting agricultural incomes. First evidence from farm surveys in central and eastern Europe.
- András Vári (Miskolc University, Dept. of History): Finding a match: Market access, cooperatives and local societies in Hungary around 1900.
- Alexander Nikulin, Konstantin Poleshchuk (Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences): Kinship networks and mutual assistance in a central Russian village: Their implications for social security and the development of commercial agriculture.

15:30 Short Break

15:45 Second session, second part

- Comments: Rui Santos

Open Discussion

17:30 End of first day

19:30 Dinner

Saturday, March 31st

9:30 Third session: Social support through networks and formal institutions

- Sandro Guzzi-Heeb (Univ. Berne, Institut d'histoire): Affaires de famille? Parenté, réseaux sociaux et mobilisation politique dans une vallée alpine 1840-1900.
- Kinship and Social Networks: A Regional Analysis of Sibling Relations in Twentieth-Century Netherlands.
- Gertraud Seiser (Univ. Vienna, Dept. of Social and Cultural Anthropology): Are Austrian farmers pre-modern subjects in a late-modern setting? The case of the Mühlviertler Alm.

10:20 Coffee Break

10:45 Third session, second part

- Comments: David Sabean

11:05 Open Discussion

12:15 Lunch Break

13:45 Fourth session: Political organisation and clientelism

- Manuel Carlos Silva (Department of Sociology, Univ. Minho): Peasants, brokers, and the state: competition and dividends in familist local politics in northern rural Portugal.
- Ernst Langthaler (St. Pölten, Institut für Geschichte des ländlichen Raums): Credit relations between rural life-worlds and the Nazi political-economic system: three Austrian regions in comparison, 1938-1945.
- Guido Alfani (Economic History, Università Bocconi, Milano): Closing a network. A tale of not-so-common lands (Nonantola XVIth-XVIIIth Centuries).

14:45 Short Break

15:00 Fourth session, second part

- Comments: Nadine Vivier

15:20 Open Discussion

16:15: Short Break

16:30: Final Discussion: Networks and State in Rural Society

17:30 End of second day

Dinner



**COST action A 35 Progressore
Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies**

with CORN (Comparative Rural history of the North Sea Area),
Academia Belgica in Rome and Koninklijk Nederlands Instituut

Workgroup 1 (Landed Property)

***Property rights to land, social structures, environment and sustainable development
from the Middle Ages to the 20th century***

Via Omero 8 and 10, Roma

22-24 May 2008

**Organizers: Erik Thoen (Universiteit Gent, Belgium) & Bas van Bavel
(Universiteit Utrecht, the Netherlands)**

Thursday 22 May 2008 (Location: Academia Belgica, Via Omero 8)

Thursday 22 May in the morning: arrival of the participants.

Introduction

1430h -1500h Arrival at the Academia Belgica with coffee

1500h Welcome by prof. Walter Geerts, direttore del'Academia Belgica

1510h Bas van Bavel and Erik Thoen, Netherlands & Belgium

“Social property rights and the environment in history: a short introduction of the theme.”

1530h Miloslav Lapka & Eva Cudlínová, Czech Republic

“Multivariate history of sustainable development and property rights”

1550h Comments on the paper by Gérard Béaur

1600h Reply and short discussion

1620h-1630h coffee and tea

Part 1/ Property rights, forests and common lands

1630h Nadine Vivier, France

“Collective property and environmental concern: the French case, 1750-2000”

1650h Sylvain Olivier, France

“Peasant property, common land and environment in the *garrigues* of a Southern France village from the 17th to the 21st century.”

1710h Comments on the papers of Vivier and Olivier by Bas van Bavel, Netherlands

1730h Reply and short discussion

1800h Closing

2030h Walking dinner at, and offered by, the Academia Belgica

Friday 23 May 2008 (Location: Koninklijk Nederlands Instituut, Via Omero 10)

Part 1/ Property rights, forests and common lands (sequel)

930h Martine Cocaud, France

“Common land in the villages of France between the 18th and the 20th centuries: property rights, land use and environmental changes.”

950h Iñaki Iriarte-Goñi, Spain

“Forest management and wood exploitation. A comparison between public and private Spanish forests (1900-2000).”

1010h Comments on the papers of Cocaud and Iriarte-Goñi by Rita Congost, Spain

1030h Reply and general discussion

1100h - 1115 Coffee break

Part 2/ Property rights and water management

1115h Tim Soens, Belgium

“The social distribution of landownership and environmental risk in coastal wetlands: Flanders in a European context (12th-18th centuries).”

1135h Piet van Cruyningen, Netherlands

“Property rights and drainage projects along the North Sea coast, 16th-17th centuries.”

1155h András Vári, Hungary

“River regulation, land use, property and rural society in Hungary 1867-1919.”

1215h Comments on the papers of Soens, van Cruyningen and Vári by Richard Hoyle, UK

1235h Reply and Discussion

1315h Lunch at the Koninklijk Nederlands Instituut

Part 3/ Regional and temporal differences of social agro-systems, property rights and the environment

1500h Annie Antoine, France

“Environmental consequences of social agro-systems in the West of France (Middle Ages-20th Century).”

1520h Peder Dam, Denmark

“Interaction between environment, landscape and landownership in Denmark in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period.”

1540h Comments on the papers of Antoine and Dam by Phillipp Schofield, UK

1600h Reply and short discussion

1640h Closing the day and drinks, offered by the Koninlijk Nederlands Instituut.

2000h Conference dinner (restaurant to be announced)

Saturday 24 May (Location: Academia Belgica, Via Omero 8)

930h Mats Morell, Sweden

“Land use, property rights and sustainability: the example of Sweden 1750-1870.”

950h Maria José Roxo and Rui Santos, Portugal

“Price incentives, property rights and degradation of soils in southern Alentejo in the early 20th century.”

1010h Comments on the papers of Morell and Roxo & Santos by Karsten Rasmussen, Denmark

1030h Reply and short discussion

1100h - 1130 Coffee

1130h General discussion

1200h Evaluation of functioning of Working group 1, plans for the future etc.

1230h Closing remarks by the organisers

1240h Drinks and closing lunch



**European Cooperation in the field of Scientific and Technical Research (COST)
action A35: Program for the study of European rural societies
(PROGRESSORE)**

Third Workshop for Working Group 2 (Rural management of land)

Production and productivity in European agriculture in a historical context

Lund, Sweden,

June 13-14, 2008

**Organizers: Mats Olsson and Patrick Svensson (Dept. of Economic History,
Lund University, Sweden)**

Session 1

Bruce M. S. Campbell (Belfast, UK), **Bas van Leeuwen** (Warwick, UK) **et al.** Medieval English agricultural output and productivity

Erik Thoen (Ghent, Belgium) Agricultural production in southern Netherlands

Alexis Wilkin (Liege, Belgium/Harvard, USA) Production and productivity in the Early Middle Ages: were great estates or peasants' households the motors of the rural growth of the Carolingian era? A case-study in Eastern Belgium.

Session 2

John Beckett (Nottingham, UK) and **M. E. Turner** (Hull, UK) Agricultural production in England ca 1690-1914

Merijn Knibbe (Wageningen, NL) The level and development of agricultural productivity on the clay and sand soils of Fryslan, 1700-1850

Michael Kopsidis (IAMO, Germany) and **Nikolaus Wolf** (Warwick, UK) Agricultural productivity and its determinants in the Kingdom of Prussia around 1860

Mats Olsson (Lund, Sweden) and **Patrick Svensson** (Lund, Sweden) Agricultural production in southern Sweden 1700-1860 – estimates and explanations

Session 3

Frank Konersmann (Bielefeld, Germany) Peasant Productivity of Land and Labour. Middle and large Farms in the Agrarian Modernization of Southwest Germany (1780-1860)

Carl-Johan Gadd (Gothenburg, Sweden) Swedish agricultural production, 1800-1910

Michael Kopsidis (IAMO, Germany) Thuenen and the Yeoman alternative: Peasant agricultural revolution in Westphalia, ca 1770-1880

Session 4

Annie Antoine (Rennes, France) Measuring productivity from French farm records

Helder Adegar Fonseca (Evora, Portugal) and **Jaime Reis** (Lisbon, Portugal) The Limits of Agricultural Growth in a Fragile Eco-system: Total Factor Productivity in Alentejo, 1750-1850
José Miguel Lana (Navarra, Spain) Prices and productivity in Northern Spain during the 19th century: a sleepwalking agriculture?

Session 5

Hrabrin Bachev (Sofia, Bulgaria) Production and Productivity in Post-Second World War Bulgarian Agriculture – Major Trends and Factors of Changes

Vicente Pinilla (Zaragoza, Spain) and **Ernesto Clar** (Zaragoza, Spain) The Modernization of Spanish Agriculture. A case study: Aragonese Agricultural Production, 1890-1990

Blagica Sekovska (Skopje, Macedonia) Production and productivity of agriculture in Republic of Macedonia in different historical periods of development

Giovanni Federico (Florence, Italy) Italian agriculture 1820-1940: success or failure?



**COST Action A 35 – Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies
(PROGRESSORE)**

Third Workshop of Working Group 3 (“Peasant Societies”)

**INHERITANCE PRACTICES, MARRIAGE STRATEGIES AND HOUSEHOLD
FORMATION IN EUROPEAN RURAL SOCIETIES**

May 15-17, 2008

Sárospatak (Hungary)

Organizer: Péter Pozsgai, Corvinus University Budapest

Arrivals on 14th May (Wednesday)

1. session: 15th May, Thursday morning

- **Boudjaaba, Fabrice:** Inheritance systems determine the Household formation or Household systems determine inheritance practices ? Nuclear families, egalitarian system and exclusion of endowed daughters in Normandie (1750-1830)
- **Congost, Rosa / Ferrer, Llorenç Alós:** The formation of new households in a single heir system: the Catalonian case (17th-19th centuries)
- **Rey Castelao, Ofelia:** Inheritance, marital strategies, and the formation of households in rural northwestern Spain in the 18th and 19th centuries

2. session: 15th May, Thursday afternoon

- **Gray, Jane:** Household formation, inheritance and class-formation in 19th century Ireland
- **King, Steven:** Too poor to marry? ‘Inheritance’, the poor and marriage/household formation in rural England 1800-1860
- **Paping, Richard:** Marriage, farm succession and (rural) capitalism in a wealthy Dutch region from the end of the 16th till the start of the 20th century
- **Velkova, Alice:** Marriage and property transfers in rural environment. Western Bohemia 1700-1850

3. session: 16th May, Friday morning

- **Cherniakova, Irina:** Marriage behaviour in North-West and Central Russian Provinces in the end of 18th – middle of 19th century
- **Kolle, Herdis:** Inheritance practices in nineteenth-century Central Russia (**she cannot come but she will send her paper**)
- **Gruber, Siegfried:** Inheritance, marriage and household formation in 19th century rural Serbian life-courses
- **Pozsgai, Péter:** Inheritance and marriage: strategic decisions for preserving the viability of the peasant holding in Hungary (19th century)

4. session: 16th May, Friday afternoon

- **Holmlund, Sofia:** Family Strategies or Individual Choice? Marriage and Inheritance in a Rural Swedish community, 1810-1930
- **Head-König, Anne-Lise:** Inheritance practices, marriage, household and parental power in rural Switzerland (ca. 1860-1960)
- **Hionidou, Violetta:** Marriage, inheritance and household formation on a Greek island, 1859-1950

5. session: 17th May, Saturday morning

- **Burg, Margreet van der:** Farm Succession and Education. Gender Expectations in Calculating and Regulating Generation Pressure, ca 1945-1995
- **Gorlach, Krzysztof / Drag, Zbigniew:** Facing the Giants: Polish Family Farms under Communism and Post-communist Transformation
- **Csurgó, Bernadett / Megyesi, Boldizsár:** Labour organization and changing inheritance strategies in two Hungarian rural regions in the second half of the 20th century

Saturday: afternoon excursion to Tokaj and the Tokaj-Hegyalja region

Sunday: departure



**COST Action A 35 – Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies
(PROGRESSORE)**

Third Workshop of Working Group 4 (“State and Rural Societies”)

Call for papers for the Workshop in Bern

***State agricultural policies:
Its causes, ways of its implementations and its consequences***

Mai 2008

Organizer: Peter Moser

Monday, 2.6.2008 Arrivals

Evening:

- Welcome address by Wendy Peter, chairwoman of the host *Bio-Forum Schweiz*
- Introduction to the conference (Peter Moser, Socrates Petmezas, Tony Varley)
- The Archives of Rural History – a portrait of an institution engaged in making records accessible and research work

Tuesday, 3.6.2008

0830-1200 Section I: The State and Agricultural Policy

- The development and repositioning of the Agricultural Institutional Matrix in the Netherlands in the 20th century (Anton Schuurman, Netherland)
- Post Second World War State Agricultural Policies in Bulgaria – Evolution, Implementation, Impacts (Hrabrin Bachev, Bulgaria)
- State motives and the establishment of agricultural research institutions: origins of the South German plant-breeding stations ca. 1900 (Jonathan Harwood, Great Britain)
- From interconnectedness to gender segregation in agricultural and rural policies. Phases and typologies through a gender analysis of the international debates, 1890-1955 (Margreet van der Burg, Holland)
- A “Green Internationalism”? International institutions and national agricultural policy in France and Germany during the interwar period (Georg von Graevenitz, Italy)

Discussant/Comments: Nadine Vivier, France

1400-1700 Section II: Actors

- Prices, pressure groups or propaganda: what produced output increases in United Kingdom agriculture from 1945 to 1965? (Paul Brassley, Great Britain)
- The State, Agrarian Interests and Corporate Organisation under Iberian Dictatorships during the “Golden Age” (Dulce Freire, Portugal)
- Power Structures, Biography and Farming Activism: The Case of Elizabeth F. Bobbett in 1930s Ireland (Tony Varley, Ireland)
- Conflicts and compromises between the Socialist State and peasants in Hungary: The background of the “Hungarian Agricultural Miracle” (Zsuzsanna Varga, Hungary)

Discussant/Comments: Socrates Petmezas, Greece

Evening excursion: Places and sources of farmers grain-breeding in the Emmental

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Wednesday, 4.6.2008

0830-1200 Section III: Socio-economic and political Impacts

- A strange agricultural policy: military procurement of hay and wheat (France 1880-1914) (Hélène Lemesle, France)
- State, food processing sector and food safety. Local Hygiene Laboratories in Spain from the end of the XIX century to the first decade of the XX century (Gloria Sanz Lafuente, Spain)
- The prohibition of dogcarts: a hidden agricultural policy? (Serge Schmitz, Belgium)
- British and Austrian Farming in the Second World War: Revolution or Evolution? (Ernst Langthaler, Austria)
- The modernisation of agriculture in Greece (ca.1930-1970): a variation of a Southern-European Model or a 'lonely' case? (Socrates Petmezas, Greece)

Discussant/Comments: Giuliana Biagioli, Italy

1400-1700 Section IV: Agricultural Policies in the early 21st century

- Inventors and Executors of State Agricultural Policies. A Prosopography of Swiss Agronomists in the 20/21st centuries (Daniel Flückiger, Switzerland)
- Comparing the agro-structural change of the Alpine Regions (Thomas Streifeneder, Italy)
- Secular trend changes in agricultural markets: consequences for food security and economic development (Niek Koning, Netherland)
- The state and the agricultural sector in industrial societies: An analysis of some fundamental characteristics of a complex relationship from the 18th to the 21st century (Peter Moser, Switzerland)

Discussant/Comments: Paul Brassley, Great Britain

Evening : Preparatory Meeting for the foundation of a *European Rural History Organisation*

Thursday, 5.6.2008

0830-1000 Section I: Conclusions from the workshop

Rapporteurs : Nadine Vivier, Socrates Petmezas, Giuliana Biagioli, Paul Brassley

1030-1200 Section II: Results, questions, conclusions and perspectives of the three workshops of the Working Group 4 (The state, government, politics and the rural society)

Nadine Vivier: rapporteur workshop 1

Ernst Langthaler, Georg Fertig: rapporteurs workshop 2

Peter Moser, Socrates Petmezas, Tony Varley: rapporteurs workshop 3

1400-1700 Section II: COST-Action A 35 Progressore: Results, questions, conclusions and perspectives. A preparatory session for the final conference in Gerona in spring 2009

Mats Morell, Sweden (rapporteur working group 1: Landed property)

José Vicente Serrao (rapporteur working group 2: The management of rural land)

Anne-Lise Head, Switzerland (rapporteur working group 3: Peasant Societies)

Socrates Petmezas, Greece (rapporteur working group 4: The State, Government, Politics and Peasants)

Gerard Béaur, France; Jürgen Schlumbohm, Germany; Rosa Congost, Spain (President and vice-presidents of Progressore)

Evening lecture : Martin Schaffner, Switzerland

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Friday, 6.6.2008 Departures

Scientific reports



COST action A 35 Progressore
Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies

With the support of CORN
and of GDR CNRS 2912 (Sociétés Rurales Européennes)

First Workshop of Working Group 1 – Landed property

Property rights, the market in land and economic growth in Europe
(13th-19th centuries)
Gregynog (United Kingdom)
10-11 June 2006

Organizers: Gérard Béaur (CNRS/EHESS, CRH, Paris, France), Phillipp Schofield (University of Aberystwyth, United Kingdom), with: Jean-Michel Chevet (INRA, Paris, France) and Maria-Teresa Perez-Picazo (University of Murcia, Spain).

The first workshop was held in Gregynog in Wales on the topic *Property rights, the market in land and economic growth in Europe (13th-19th centuries)* on the 10th-12th of June. It was of course a COST workshop which benefited from additional funds from CORN and from the GDR CNRS 2912 Sociétés Rurales Européennes. In this meeting we got 14 papers, in fact 13 because Peter Poszgai (H) could not come.

The contributors and discussants came from the following countries :

	Contributors	Discussants	Participants
Austria		1	1
Denmark		1	1
France	3	1	4
Germany	2		2
Hungary	1		1
Norway	1		1
Poland	1		1
Portugal	1	1	2
Spain	2	2	4
Sweden	1		1
United Kingdom	2		2

The topic of this meeting was to give serious consideration to institutional constraints as key explanations for the slowness or absence of growth between the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries. We intended to test if institutions definitively figured as decisive factors in explanations of the retardation of certain countries or not insofar recent researches have nuanced perspective to the issue of 'institutional determinism which has been accused of failing to take full account of the variety within processes of evolution. It seems, therefore, necessary to re-examine the role of the institution in respect of rights in property and, as its corollary, the circulation of land in a true market. In so doing, it will be possible to explore the conditions which permitted

the progress of agriculture in Europe and the emergence of capitalism in the countryside.

Since the 18th century at least economists and politics have thought that an active land market was a precondition to select the best farmers and that it was therefore necessary to destroy all the brakes for the free traffic of land. They assumed that a market in land could not have come into existence without the identification of legal rights in property (either in a form perfect or imperfect), and that a wholly free right of disposal of property was not established.

In such conditions, the key question was not only to point the different forms of restrictions upon the land market, not only to describe the debates along politicians and economists, but to try to answer two main questions : was a perfect and absolute property right a way to accelerate the traffic of land ? was the process of liberalisation of exchange in land in a close relationship to economic progress?

First we may recall that there was not just a market for buying and selling land, but also, at least, a lease market and a market of emphyteutical contracts. Both for those seeking access to land and those that provided it, those three different markets were interdependent and they either entered some kind of direct competition or they completed one another, depending on social and individual strategies.

For some of the participants, the change on land market (prices) could secure the freeholders and they could manage to secure increasing shares of agricultural surplus vis-à-vis the rent takers. This gave them incentives and resources to expand production. The land consolidation like enclosures) was also of vital importance in promoting growth, even if growth however appeared at a drastic social costs with the increase of landless peasants. Even in 16th century in East of Europa, in Poland increasing engagement in land market activities during the sixteenth century demonstrates that the peasantry took advantage of their liberties and good tenurial status as the economic situation for agriculture improved.

For others, it was not the case for various reasons.

1) other institutions : credit and inheritance system. Even if institutional obstacles had been removed, informal institutions such as the inheritance and household systems, linked with the absence of a proper market in rural credit strongly influenced the emerging patterns of land mobility. The integration of factor markets, and particularly of land markets, was based on removing obstacles of existing formal and informal institutions. When one of the most important formal institution, namely lordship, was finally abolished, this did not necessarily mean that informal institutions, such as the family, were weakened automatically as well. The functioning of the credit and the labour markets rendered the land market in a way superfluous.

2) the critic of enclosures. In the same time, the question of commons staid acute. We know that the widespread existence of common property in the agrarian economies of Europe in the early modern period was not only, from the eighteenth century on, increasingly considered a serious obstacle to improved farming methods in general, and also restricted the extent to which cultivable land as the principal rural means of production and source of income entered market-mediated mechanisms of allocation. But neither a sustained stimulation of the land market through privatisation nor, conversely, an immobilisation caused by the preservation of common ownership seems to have occurred except in a few special cases.

3) negative action of the land market. Economists hold that factor markets were crucial to the long-term growth of economies. Yet in most European countries land markets evolved centuries before agrarian capitalism became established and belatedly delivered rising total factor productivity in agriculture. At times of economic expansion, rising prices, and growing population and sometimes until well into the nineteenth century, land markets were more likely to lead to the morcellation than the agglomeration of holdings by matching the supply of land to the demand for it. In this respect, land markets hindered rather than helped the transition to modern economic growth. Only after a schok could land markets promote agglomeration rather than morcellation thereby making possible a transition to agrarian capitalism.

4) non capitalist behaviour of the land buyers. Land was considered as a commodity but not as a capital and therefore it is difficult to assume that growth of production comes from an accumulation of a commodity which is not a capital. It is not true that small land owners could not participate to the growth of production, but they did not do it in a capitalist way, and not by the simple acquisition of land.

5) positive action of imperfect property rights. Some archaic contracts and forms of ownership were very useful for the increase of production. Emphyteutic led to the emergence of a market for useful dominions, which were bought, sold, divided – provided the total rent paid to the holder of direct dominion was respected – and could even be subordinated to third parties The land market was therefore comparatively flexible and its activity or inactivity depended on the circumstances of any given period With the *rabassa morta* in Spain the useful dominion could therefore be bought and sold without destroying the source of rent for the tenants, and a land market for the peasants living in the community was created It created the condition for expansion of vines.

Finally, there was neither a direct nor an exclusive relationship between those land market and economic

growth. The land market was associated with processes of change, but it was not exclusively an economic change. Land market was compelled to become more dynamic and more open not only because there existed accumulated capital looking for new investment opportunities, but also because population was growing, because there were social groups aiming for landowner status recognition, or because there was a political power trying to condition other powers.

6) overcoming of institutional constraints. Even if the inheritance system was thought to keep land in the family leaving little land to the free market, profits from rising land prices did incline freeholders to sell their farms instead of handing them over to their oldest son and to take the profit to acquire better farms. And by selling the land with increasing prices merchants... found capital to invest in production and trade and to determine economic growth.

As a conclusion, the simple theory of property rights is correct in one fundamental aspect: changes in the market (demand, relative prices, etc.) promote changes in property rights. However, it is very doubtful that these changes always take one and the same direction, towards the inevitable individual and exclusive rights described by the 19th century liberal paradigm. environmental and social factors may account for the greatly differing results in regions subject to one particular legislation. That's precisely why we have to take into account the variety of contextual situations on a European scale:

We observe various situations and our conclusions have to be compare with another scientific experience in the Thonon meeting in October 2005. Therefore a special session was held in Helsinki in august during the international economic history congress to mix these papers and gather for a day almost 100 people.



**COST action A 35 Progressore
Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies**

With the support of the University of Zaragoza

First Workshop of Working Group 2 – The management of rural land

The impact of markets in the management of rural land

Zaragoza, University of Zaragoza (Spain)

September 22-23, 2006

Organizer: Vicente Pinilla, University of Zaragoza.

The main target of the conference was to explore how the involvement of rural populations and communities in different kinds of markets (for agricultural commodities, labour, land, capital) has influenced the management of rural land in Europe.

Thirteen papers were presented. Papers in sets of two were presented by the discussants we had invited to the conference (25 mins.), followed by answers and comments from the authors (25 mins.) and questions from the floor (25 mins.). The outcome of this system was quite satisfactory. Authors received good comments from the discussants, who had read carefully the papers. On the other hand, they had enough time to stress the most important aspects of their work and, finally, there was also time to hold good discussions.

Participants (authors and discussants) in the conference came from a good sample of European countries (10) as can be seen in the Table below.

TABLE 1. PARTICIPANTS (authors and discussants):

France	4
Spain	4
Belgium	1
Finland	1
Germany	1
Italy	1
Norway	1
Portugal	1
Sweden	1
United Kingdom	1

In our call for paper, there was no particular focus on any historical period – in fact, we hoped to receive papers that ranged from the Middle Ages to the present day. Finally, we received papers related to very different periods, with particular stress being placed on long-run approaches (9 of the papers dealt with a periods of more than one hundred years).

TABLE 2. HISTORICAL PERIODS OF THE PAPERS

Middle Ages	2
18 th – 19 th Centuries	3
18 th – 20 th Centuries	3
19 th Century	2
19 th -20 th Centuries	3

In general, most of the papers had a very strong orientation toward the topics that were emphasised in our call for papers. From this point of view, the result was quite good and allowed for a good level of discussion during the conference.

The academic level of the papers was also pretty good. Thinking about publication, from my point of view more than half of the papers were very advanced versions, almost ready to be published, and with very little work remaining to be done on them. Other interesting papers had the potential to be published, although, in my opinion, further work was still required. In short, I think that in three or four months time we can count on a book containing around 10 or 11 interesting chapters.

Bearing in mind the different periods and topics covered by the 13 papers, it is very difficult to sum up the conference and write some general conclusions. Thus, I will limit myself to emphasising the most outstanding ideas that were discussed during the course of the conference.

Most of the papers and comments focused on precisely what were the forces driving agricultural change in rural Europe. Although the importance of these changes were very different from the Middle Ages until the present days, a common approach that emerged was to stress the importance of urban and external markets in order to give incentives to changes in the management of rural land.

With respect to the Middle Ages, Isabelle Theiller raised the issue of the importance of markets in Eastern Normandy both to the local lords looking to raise money, and to the peasants who were looking for varied goods which were not produced in their local areas. Dealing with the case of Sicily, and again in the Middle Ages, Mark Aloisio investigated the extent to which local and foreign markets for agricultural products led to the adoption and survival of the *latifundia*, and whether the medieval trade system contributed, as some historians argue, not to promote economic development in the countryside but to sustain existing property rights and forms of agrarian tenure.

The transition of agriculture and its producers, respectively, into a highly market-integrated sector and strongly market-oriented peasants formed the driving force and *prima causa* of European agricultural revolutions during early modern times. This was the case, for example, in Westfalia where, after 1840, the beginning of the Ruhr's rise towards becoming the biggest European industrial belt created extraordinarily favourable conditions for demand-driven, strongly market-oriented agricultural growth. Until around 1870, the tremendously expanding urban-industrial population of the Ruhr had to be supplied almost completely by Westphalian sources.

Similarly, in Portugal a kind of silent revolution had taken place during the course of the 18th century with the enrichment and the reconfiguration of the rural landscape and agricultural production, the expansion of the cultivated area, growth in production, a variety of new technical tools, greater investment in agriculture and an improved articulation with other economic sectors. As a result of this, at the turn of the century, the agrarian sector could supply the larger part of raw materials needed in the wool, silk and hemp industries; Portugal was also self-sufficient (with eventual surpluses) in producing fruit, olive oil, vegetables, meat and wine; in addition, the country was becoming, in the European context, a major exporter of some of those products, wine, above all, but also fruit, olive oil and wool. In Portugal, a set of macroeconomic variables changed the market conditions for Portuguese agriculture in all possible directions.

For their part, Olsson and Svensson also found strong evidence of changes in the management of rural land in Sweden during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, driven by rising prices due to strong demand from urban markets. This resulted in an increase in production, turning a grain-importing nation into a grain-exporting one, with commercialisation and market integration being one important factor in this development.

Continuing with the nineteenth century, the works of Lana and de la Torre for Navarra (Spain), Hernández and Ozcoidi, also for Navarra, and Rossi for Reggio-Emilia showed how the management strategies of the landowners changed in a particular historical context, one that was marked by the expansion of agrarian capitalism. As a result, there was a profound reorganization of markets, both in products and in factors, within the context of great political and institutional change.

The research carried by Tretvik has shown that market factors were important driving forces in restructuring agriculture and reindeer herding in mid-Norway during this period. The adaptation differed quite a lot from district to district, due to population growth and the distance and ways of transportation to various markets, due to natural conditions or environmental factors, to other competing industries and also to regulations enacted by the authorities

The importance of foreign markets in order to drive change in different agricultures was also an important topic in the conference. In this regard, the work of Chevet concentrated on the changes in the British market for foreign wines and its consequences to producing countries like Australia or France. The impact of foreign markets was also the main issue in the paper of Pinilla and Ayuda, which analyzed the impact of the globalization of Mediterranean horticultural products on countries like Spain, as well as the impulse that this supposed for its main producing areas in order to change the crop mix and also to introduce new techniques and, generally, very important agricultural changes.

Adopting a different approach, Cusso, Garrabou and Tello examined how the development of a market for wine in Catalonia allowed for an intense process of specialization, with clear competitive advantages with respect to earlier land uses. This also had an impact on the structure of land ownership, facilitating the appearance of small landholdings. Specialization in vineyard production also had effects on the labour market, allowing family labour to maintain itself as dominant in these areas. Particularly careful consideration was given to the extent to which this market expansion ended up by generating problems of the sustainability of these agrarian systems.

Finally, Ostman showed for Finland how the impact of market relations give rise to many contradictions, and how this is a process linked to a parallel reconstitution of local interaction, the establishment of cooperative organizations and to men's connection to an agrarian public sphere. While women's work was not marginalized on the farms, it was nevertheless deeply embedded in the family, and women were – in an informal way- excluded from the cooperative arena and from the associational movement, in which men's economic agency was formed.



**COST action A 35 Progressore
Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies**

First Workshop of Working Group 3 – Peasant Societies

***Agrosystems and Labour Relations in European Rural Societies
(Middle Ages -20th Century)***

Retz (Austria), Hotel Althof,

September 1-2, 2006

**Organizers: Erich Landsteiner, University of Vienna and Ernst Langthaler
(Institut für Geschichte des ländlichen Raumes, St. Pölten – Austria)**

The first workshop of working group 3 took place on Sept. 1-3, 2006, in Retz (Austria) and was organized by Erich Landsteiner (Dept. of Economic and Social History, University of Vienna) and Ernst Langthaler (Institut für Geschichte des ländlichen Raumes, St. Pölten – Austria). Paper-giving participants came from seven European countries (10 papers: Austria 2; Czech Republic 1; Germany 1; Hungary 1; Italy 1; Norway 2; Spain 2); invited experts came from Switzerland (2) and Germany (1) (see the workshop programme enclosed). Four participants invited to give a paper (from France, Poland, Greece and Japan) had to cancel their participation out of personal or professional reasons. The time period covered by the contributions stretched from the Late Middle Ages to the 20th century.

The workshop intended an assessment of the articulation of ecological and socioeconomic factors in the structuration of European rural societies during the last millennium through the prism of labour relations. Since in the call for papers labour relations were proposed as the crucial link between agrosystems and rural households as the basic units of production and reproduction the papers revolved around three sets of problems:

1. Agrosystems and labour relations within households
2. Agrosystems and labour relations between households
3. Agrosystems and labour relations beyond households

In the first session, headed by Anne-Lise Head-König, labour relations in Mediterranean agrosystems were discussed. Antoni Furió and Ferran Garcia-Oliver presented a paper on household composition, land holding patterns, recruitment of extra-household labour and labour migration in the countryside of Valencia during the Late Middle Ages, where the peasant tenures were generally composed of plots of dry and irrigated land and the agrosystem was therefore marked by fight for or against water. Ramon Garrabou and Enric Tello centred on the balance of time between the labour requirement of different farming systems and the labour availability of the peasant households based on a very elaborated reconstruction of the socio-metabolic regime in the Vallès county (Catalonia) during the second half of the 19th century. Exchanges of labour between farms that need to hire external labour force and those sub-peasant family units that had a labour force surplus to offer into the labour market were analysed by them in the context of the institutional framework, land ownership pattern, and labour or land contract systems.

In the second working session, headed by Erich Landsteiner, three papers on Central European agrosystems were discussed. Josef Grulich gave a description of the agrosystem and labour relations on the manor of Chýnov in Southern Bohemia during the 17th and 18th centuries which sparked a controversial discussion on the role of the seigneurial economy in this part of Europe. Peter Pozsgai presented results of his ongoing research on labour relations, household composition and labour exchanges between households in North Eastern Hungary (present-day Slovakia) in the 19th century, based mainly on census lists. In this case the discussion centred on methodological issues connected to the delimitation of households and the study of labour relations between them. In Margareth Lanzinger's paper on domestic role assignments in an alpine peasant society the gender division of labour and the constraint to supplement roles in rural households came to the forefront. Lanzinger based her investigation on records of dispenses for marriages within the kin group in the dioceses of Brixen (present-day Northern and Southern Tyrol and Vorarlberg) during the 19th century. Since the dioceses encompassed regions with differing inheritance practices and property structures questions about the frequency and motivation of consanguine and affinity marriages related to agrosystemic constraints were raised.

The third session, headed by Jürgen Schlumbohm, was devoted to household structures and labour relations in rural proto-industrial societies. Hermann Zeitlhofer's paper connected the agrosystem of a Southern Bohemian region during the 17th and 18th centuries where flax cultivation played a major role with the local and regional division of labour in this area. Whereas yarn spinning was integrated with the production and processing of flax on peasant farms, weaving took place in adjacent regions on the basis of a marked division of labour which Zeitlhofer related to differing property structures and agrosystemic contrasts. Herdis Kolle's paper on labour relations in proto-industrial textile producing community in the province of Moscow (Russia) during the second half of the 19th century centred on the integration of agrarian and craft production, the division of labour within the rural households and the power relations between gender and age groups conditioned by this economic structure.

In the fourth session, headed by Ernst Langthaler, Frank Konersmann presented a paper on 'peasant merchants' combining agrarian production, industry and trade in South-western Germany in the 18th and 19th centuries based mainly on the analysis of private account books. By comparing regions with different agrosystems he investigated the importance of these rural entrepreneurs for the development of rural labour markets. Ottar Brox's paper on "Fishing farmers in arctic Norway", combining subsistence farming with market oriented fishing, drew the attention to the role of politics in the development of a peculiar kind of peasant economy in a Scandinavia frontier region in the 20th century. Finally Rita Garstenauer compared the combination of agrarian production with off-farm wage labour by family farmers in two regions of Austria in the second half of the 20th century. She concluded that the extent and seasonal distribution of off-farm wage labour was closely related to the labour requirements of the different agrosystems of the two regions.

The workshop concluded with a general discussion which centred on the articulation of ecological and institutional features within particular agrosystems and how these articulations conditioned the different paths of intensification, economic growth or involution of the rural economies and societies under consideration. What does the great variety of agrosystems, household structures and agro-economic systems presented and discussed during the workshop mean for our concepts of peasants and "peasant society"? Is it possible to integrate these micro-narratives into a general story of the evolution of European rural societies?

In retrospect, two months after this lively workshop which all participants seem to have enjoyed, it turns out that the seemingly so obvious relationship between rural households, labour relations and agrosystems is not as easy to come to terms with as first imagined by the organizers of the workshop. Most participants either centred on labour relations, household structures or agrosystemic features. Before we can integrate these perspectives and attempt a synthesis out of these case-studies there is still a long way to go in the development of an analytical framework. We can only hope that the workshop has advanced this project by raising relevant questions.



**COST action A 35 Progressore
Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies**

with the support of LHAMANS, Université du Maine/CERHIO-CNRS FRE 3004, of GDR 2912 of CNRS (Sociétés Rurales Européennes), of the communauté urbaine du Mans and of the Conseil général de la Sarthe

First Workshop of Working Group 4 – State and rural societies/ Etat et Sociétés Rurales

*The State, government and rural societies : the choices of the State
L'Etat, le gouvernement et les sociétés rurales : les choix de l'Etat*

Université du Maine

September 29- 30, 2006

Organizer: Nadine Vivier, Université du Maine, France

Scientific board:

Gérard Béaur (F), Jürgen Schlumbohm (D), Rosa Congost (E), Georg Fertig (D), Peter Moser (CH), Gilbert Noël (F), Socrates Petmezas (Gr)

The first meeting of the **WG 4** devoted to *State and rural societies*, focused on the **decision making process in European states** (see the extract of the call for paper included hereafter)

The CFP was distributed through two canals: H-Rural, and the members of the COST MC, and the latter proved to be the most efficient. I received from E.C. twenty answers to the call for paper, and two additional ones from America. Sixteen proposals were selected, taking care to maintaining the necessary diversity of the countries and a strong coherence of the workshop. Two participants cancelled one month before the meeting. Eventually, eleven countries were represented (see the program): in spite of many attempts to find contributors from Eastern Europe, only one participant came from there (Hungary). This was the first year of action A 35, and we may expect a progressive broadening of the panels.

The fourteen papers perfectly addressed the issue of the workshop, focusing on the 1760-1960s period. Among these papers, five are excellent, very rich and raising general questions. Six other papers are very interesting, each dealing with one particular aspect of the issue; they have been handed out in a short version and have to be finalised. The three others need more work.

The discussions were active and constructive. Socrates Petmezas, coordinator of the WG4, Georg Fertig and Peter Moser who will organize the next workshops of WG4, accepted to act as discussants, and this should lead to a consolidation of the achievements of our WG4.

A first view on the achievements of the meeting. The papers being rich, it will take some time to achieve a comparative synthesis . Here are briefly underlined some of the main points.

What were the major concerns of the State ?

Modernisation, meaning an increase in land productivity, was usually during 19th c. expressed as the main

driving force, justifying State intervention. It often aimed at forging a new society. This was obviously the case in nineteenth-century's states -until 1870-, influenced by the enlightened theories and the choice of a liberal economy. At the end of the century, there was a shift, state's intervention increased due both to the Great Depression, and to a widening of vote which triggered electoralist stakes. It seems that in all countries, the government continued following the previous objectives, nonetheless it basically aimed at securing peasant's political loyalty: this was obviously the case in more or less democratic states looking for electoral support: Prussia, Spain as well as Belgium, France... More surprisingly, this was also a basic concern of the dictatorships of the 20th c., Salazar and Franco as well as in the communist Hungary.

But how does a government appreciate the needs and desires of rural societies? Those can be expressed by the wealthiest landowners: the understanding of the mutual influence of farmers and government is one of our major issues. The government also acts according to a model of society it wants to promote. This could lead to a complex policy which associate technical modernisation with cultural and religious traditionalism and social isolation, as it occurred in Belgium and France during the Great Depression, and in the dictatorships of Spain and Portugal. Thus, the representations of rural societies given by the government have to be questioned.

Was the State the main agent of modernisation, according to what is usually said? And were peasants reluctant to change? Several examples show that independent farmers, social groups or associations were not at all passive; on the contrary, they imagined solutions which were then sometimes supported by the state.

Beyond some differences, a general trend of an increased involvement of the state can be observed, and this is shown by the creation of numerous authorities in charge of agriculture. Several milestones of this increasing involvement have been studied: the use of new tools -the statistics and enquiries from 1760 onwards-; the creation of a division of agriculture within a ministry (home secretary or economy) and then a ministry of agriculture with its own administration; the establishment of chambers of agriculture and other consultative agencies; the state support to local banks to help the land reforms and technical progress; the creation of the body of agricultural engineers and of the schools for men training.

For a better understanding of the decision making process, **men training** was the focus of a session. What were the respective roles of the state, the landowners and the farmers? Did the initiatives come from the state or from the bottom? The landowners initiated most of the model farms in order to train supervisors (Cosimo Ridolfi in Italy, Mathieu de Dombasle in France, Edvard Nonnen in Sweden): a model adapted to big farms employing day-workers or to share-cropping system (*mezzadria*). In the 1840ies, the state became involved in men training, funding mainly the institutes for agronomic research (Italy, France, Belgium and Germany). While this involvement generally increased, disengagement can be noticed in Sweden during the middle of 19th c. Afterwards, it deepened, like everywhere, because men training was considered as an help to farmers during the crisis of the end of the century. But, in all countries, landowners usually proved to be very reluctant to a large schooling of the peasants. Since they had the power as representants in the assemblies, they often voted against fund raising for agricultural training (from Spain to Sweden). Small farmers were said not to be interested in schools, and to find practical training sufficient. Often, the schools met recruitment problems. But was the training well adapted to the needs? It seems doubtful: the state acted according to its model of agricultural system which was not adapted to the reality.

What was the importance of this agricultural education? In fact, education is only a small part of the training which was completed by the apprenticeship of young men and women in big farms, the advisory services created by the state (like agricultural teachers, plant-breeding stations in Germany) or by the associations, private advices (technical staffs of various firms of ancillary industry -machines, fertilizers), and the agricultural media (reviews, almanacs, and films). Since the agricultural industry in Western Europe has been dominated by small farms, some part, if not most of the process has usually required the involvement of the state and its agencies.

In conclusion, we believe we achieved the aims of the COST action: active and constructive discussions leading to comparative perspectives within European countries, papers worth a publication. The participants envisioned the creation of a European association of rural history.



**COST action A 35 Progressore
Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies**

With the support of CORN (Comparative Rural History of the North Sea Area), CNRS GDR 2912 (Sociétés Rurales Européennes), Centre de Recerca d'Història Rural de la Universitat de Girona (projet MEC:HUM2005-04731), FCSH-UNL (Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas - Universidade Nova de Lisboa)

Second Workshop of Working Group 1 – Landed property

Social Embeddedness of Property Rights to Land in Europe

**Lisbon, Universidade Nova de Lisboa,
Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas (FCSH-UNL)**

June 1-3 2007

Organizers: Rosa Congost (Universitat de Girona) and Rui Santos (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Institute of Historical Sociology)

The workshop was organised along a specific line of questioning, within the broader topic of the Working Group on Property Rights. Its theoretical premise was that in order to understand how property rights really work, alongside the juridical and institutional definitions of property rights to land and allocation devices, one must ask the question of how they are socially appropriated, that is, how social actors and groups use them for their purposes. A stable set of rules may well generate different games and outcomes if new players emerge, or if existing players construe their stakes and moves differently. Conversely, changes in the rules may create new games, but the outcomes will be different according to who the players are, their stakes, their resources and strategies.

The workshop therefore focused on the social use of institutions defining property rights and legitimate ways to allocate and exchange them, especially on social change in the appropriation of land, brought about by *i) Changes in the ways existing institutions were used by social actors and groups*: How did social relations and agency reshape the allocation effects of stable juridical and customary frameworks of property rights? *ii) Juridical-political changes in property rights and allocation procedures* (e.g. agrarian reforms, inheritance law reforms, market reforms): What changes? How, by whom and with what objectives were they put in place? How did they alter the existing structure of property rights and their distribution? Which actors and groups took advantage of them and by what means? With what consequences in the stratification of rural societies?

The workshop covered these issues bringing together research in concrete historical European contexts, from the late Middle Ages to the present day, which can contribute to a systematic understanding of the social embeddedness of property rights to land, of the ways these and their social appropriations have changed in European history, and with what social outcomes.

The papers were selected according to the compliance of the submitted abstracts to this line of questioning and to the perceived relevance of their empirical subjects, taking into account COST rules of geographical diversity. Alongside geographical breadth, disciplinary diversity was also welcome, and papers encompassed economic, sociological and anthropological perspectives, alongside the cross-cutting historical outlook. They somewhat lacked, however, in chronological depth, as very few addressed mediaeval and early modern times; this was not the effect of a selection bias, but rather of a supply and, to a certain extent, a demand bias, since the emphasis on the political change in property rights led to many papers coming in that dealt with agrarian reform and post-socialist transition. Written papers were given in English or French, with extended abstracts in the second language. All papers and abstracts were circulated beforehand to all participants by e-mail, most at least one week in advance. This was found to be most helpful in the scope and quality of the workshop discussions.

14 papers were delivered, authored by 18 scholars representing 15 European universities and research centres, from Austria, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom. 10 other scholars acted as panel discussants, chairs and general discussants, including the two scientific coordinators, from 10 European universities and research centres in Belgium, the Czech Republic, France, the Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, Sweden and the United Kingdom. As not all co-authors were physically present, a total of 26 scholars attended the workshop, which was not open to the public. The working languages were English and French, and room translation was provided when needed.

The papers were arranged in 4 broad thematic sessions:

1. Long-term institutional change in property rights (4 papers)
2. Property rights and family strategies (2 papers)
3. Land reform: political projects for reallocation of property rights and social outcomes (4 papers)
4. Socialist and post-socialist transitions: reallocation of property rights, strategies and outcomes (4 papers)

A fifth and final session was devoted to the presentation by the coordinators of the main conclusions and issues raised by the workshop, and its open discussion.

The main conclusions, issues and guidelines that emerged from the wealth of case-specific findings and their discussions can be summarized as follows:

1. The theoretical need to go beyond both the teleological concept of *the* perfect property as the yardstick to which all historical arrangements should be compared, and the multifarious and non-comparable analysis of case-specific detail. The analytical approach of a sophisticated theory of property rights, as derived from institutional economics, which looks at property as a set of discrete bundles of socially enforceable rights to perform actions with things, has proved operational in bringing together and comparing historical situations across time, space and institutional settings. This approach is only useful, however, as long as it avoids the trap of the grand evolutionary narrative that looks at history as the path from less to more perfect property rights. The point has been stressed that the political definition of property rights to land according to a mythical tenet of a perfect, individual, indivisible and totally free property in post-socialist Eastern Europe, which in fact never existed in capitalist Western Europe, provides an example of the ideological dysfunctions of such teleological approaches.
2. The plasticity of the institutionally defined sets and rules of property rights according to the motivations, resources, strategies and balance of power between individuals and groups striving over their (re)definition and/or appropriation is an assumption that has proved very useful for comparative purposes across cases. Examples could be found, from the early middle-ages to post-socialist transitions, of existing or changing sets of property being used in different ways and with different outcomes, according to which social actors and groups were better able to take advantage of them and to what purposes. Medieval contracts were shown to change economic functions and outcomes along history as wealthy peasants and urban strata used them to accumulate control over the land. Egalitarian agrarian reforms gave rise to new forms of social stratification, as the rights of disposition and allocation of revenue came to be dominated by actors with advantages in human and social capital. De-collectivisation in post-socialist transitions led to the "invention" of new forms of tradable property derived from "historical" entitlements to land, such as compensation bonds for

forgone revenue during collectivisation, and to outcomes varying from new forms of fragmented self-subsistence agriculture to new, concentrated agrobusinesses anchored in the domination of rights of disposition and allocation of land within capitalist enterprise or cooperative frameworks. The explanatory factors in each case relate incentives to invest in land, endowments of financial, human and social/political capitals across the social structure, and the balances of power deriving from the unequal distribution of those endowments.

3. The role of political institutions, from manorial powers to the State and to supra-state political powers (namely, the EU) was of course stressed, both as more or less efficient purveyors of norms and control devices, and as actors in changing, expanding or limiting them through political programs and action. Less intuitively however, it has been shown that what appears to be the tightening of political control of property rights may in fact be the result of the appropriation of political and juridical devices by emergent social strata to gain and keep control of land - from late-medieval manorial rules and courts being used by peasants to subtract themselves from the enforcement of customary rights by village communities; and heredity laws being used to adjust for the family life-cycle; to Nazi heredity courts being used as tools by contending parties to access and consolidate property or to settle family disputes, and to the scattering of "perfect" de-collectivised property rights being appropriated through contractual devices to the benefit of a new managerial class in Eastern Europe, many of whom issued from the technical and administrative staff of previous collective or cooperative farms.
4. The discussion of papers dealing with land reform and with the struggle over the collectivisation of specific rights of use raised, as a potential field for further inquiry which was not addressed as such in the organisation of this workshop, the issue of discourse, justification and economic conventions, namely of how different definitions of the public good (e.g. productivity, equity, landscape heritage, public health, and the environment) are mobilised in social contention and criticism to draw support for the maintenance or the change of political/juridical frameworks of property rights. This may prove an interesting lead for discussions within the 2008 workshop of the working-group, dealing with property rights, environment and sustainability of agrosystems.

The scientific coordinators

Rosa Congost (Universitat de Girona, Centre de Recerca d'Historia Rural)

Rui Santos (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Instituto de Sociologia Histórica)



**COST action A 35 Progressore
Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies**

With the support of GDR CNRS 2912 (Sociétés Rurales Européennes)

Second Workshop of Working Group 2 – The management of rural land

Agricultural specialisation and rural patterns of development

Rennes (France)

15-16 june 2007

Organizer: Annie Antoine, Université Rennes 2 (France)

Scientific committee :

Vicente PINILLA

(University of Zaragoza, Espana)

Danilo GASPARINI

(Università de Padova, Italie)

Matti PELTONEN

(University of Helsinki, (Finlande),

José Vicente SERRÃO

(ISCTE, Lisbon, Portugal)

Patrick SVENSSON

(Lund, Sueden)

Aud MIKKELSEN TRETVIK

(Trondheim, Norvège)

Discussants :

Gérard BÉAUR

(CNRS-EHESS, Paris-France)

Yves LEON

(INRA, Rennes-France)

Vicente PINILLA

(université de Saragosse-Espagne

Aud Mikkelsen TRETVIK

(Institut d'histoire, Trondheim-Norvège

Rui SANTOS

(université Lisbonne-Portugal

José Vicente SERRÃO

(université Lisbonne-Portugal)

This conference was organized within action COST A35 (Program for the Study of European Rural Societies)

It was the second Workshop of Working Group 2 (The management of rural Land), and was devoted to the topic of agricultural specialization and rural models of development from Middle Ages to the present day in different European countries (Agricultural specialization and rural patterns of development). It followed the conference which was held in Saragossa in 2006, organized by Vicente Pinilla (The impact of markets in the management of the rural Land).

1- TOPIC

Agricultural specialization is usually seen in a positive way by historians, as a transition from a rural peasant society based on subsistence-orientated agriculture to a market dependant economy.

Implicitly, the idea behind this is the following : first, there is mixed-farming for supplying the peasant household and, secondly, agricultural specialization.

Socially, agricultural specialization is connected to growing of markets and to the fact that peasants are free enough to produce what they want and to sell goods on markets.

But recent questions about productivistic agriculture and, on the other hand, interest for alternative agricultures bring us to revalue the question of agricultural specialization.

So,

the aim of this conference was to speak about the way historians deal with agricultural specialization in different social contexts and technical environments.

2- PAPERS

We gathered 19 papers from 11 countries and 6 discutants from 4 countries.

Papers came from : Germany - Austria - Belgium - Bulgaria - Spain - Finland - France - Portugal - the United Kingdom - Sweden – Tchèque

3- QUESTIONS

During this conference, we tried to focus on following subjects :

- what features allow us to identify an agricultural specialization ?
- how do specialized agricultures work?
- how do farmers choose one kind or specialization instead of an other ?
- what is the balance of public policies or individual resolutions in the choice of an agricultural specialization ?
- how do specialized agriculture begin to run ?
- why do different ways of specialization fail ?
- are there alternative models to agricultural specialization ?
- what is the social impact of specialization ?

4- SCIENTIFIC ASSESSMENT OF THE CONFERENCE

These questions were approached in different ways during the conference.

1 - Spaces

First, they were approached from very different areas :

- French Atlantic shores : agro-littoral areas
- Countries of Northern Europe : dairy and forestry systems (Sweden, Finland, Denmark)
- Europe of the North-West : complex old agricultural systems (Flanders, Belgium and also England, north of Germany (Brunswick))
- Mediterranean Spain : the Huerta of Murcia
- Central European countries: within the framework of demesnes and serfdom in early moderne time south Bohemia), but also in post-Communist period (Bulgaria)
- Wine producing areas of Europe (Austria, Portugal, France)

2 - Periods

In these various spaces, different situations were observed, accordingly traditional periods we used to observe some evolutions : Flanders in the Middle Ages, Sweden and Central Europe during 16th and 17th centuries, England and Portugal during 17th and 18th centuries, Germany, Northern Europe countries and south of Spain during the 19th century.

And for the 20th century : Finland and England during the 2nd WW and post-Communist Bulgaria.

3 – Methods : macro and micro

Methods were also very different, so it's quite difficult to summarise all these papers.

- Various scales of observation were used, from the country to individual exploitation, from macro scale to micro scale. The call for papers had left the choice of the scale of observation.

- Various methodological approaches were used, according to the sources and the specialities of the authors : micro-level with maps (P. Nilsson : she looked for hop fields in Sweden during the 17th century); or with agricultural accounts (R. Hoyle, M. - T. Pérez) ; macro-level with economic models (J. Bronwen for England in the 2nd WW, E. Landsteiner for the Austrian vine growing of 16th at the 19th century) and also many analytical approaches carried out from various data (P. Servais, A. Kulhawy, C. Martins...)

I- General remarks on specialization

Several interesting points were evocated, answering questions of the call for papers and increasing the reflexion about the question of agricultural specialization

1 – Specialization / markets, transport availability, state incentives

Some links, which have been described in the past, between agricultural specialization were reaffirmed with the three following topics :

- markets and agricultural specialization

It remains the main point for many papers : there is no specialization which is not closely linked to – or induced by - exchanges. The old question of “the call of the markets” remains essential : markets control agricultural production (vineyards, littoral agricultures, and so on...)

- the question of transports

It is essential for many papers : physical markets are necessary, agricultural productions have to be carried. The role of the railroad was reaffirmed in a paper about the duchy of Brunswick during the 18th and 19th century (A. Kulhawy)

- the question of the incentives of states (but it was not very important in this conference because it was the topic of another one last year)

2 - Specialization and natural conditions

Old debates were awaked during this conference :

- It began with a paper on the effect of natural conditions in the distribution of agricultural specializations (M. Bohman). This paper showed that geographical conditions remain very important in Sweden to explain agricultural choices of different areas during 18th and first half of the 19th century. Geographical conditions continue to give the main trends of the production even when there is some reorganization. In Sweden for exemple, enclosures do not erase essential differences which exist between woodlands, mixed-farming and corn-farming

- It goes on with a reflexion on the link between agricultural specialization and social-agrosystems (E. Thoen and T. Soens)

3 - Theoretical reflexion

A theoretical reflexion on the concept of specialization and the manner of highlighting it was carried out in some papers

- E. Thoen and T. Soens

They investigated the links between markets, specialization and innovation ; they improved the idea that specialization induces a strong dependence on the market

- R. Hoyle

He emphasized the link between specialization and agrarian-capitalism. It discussed the way of highlighting specialization and he proposed a criticism of the cartographic way which was made in the *Agricultural History of England*. It also doubts that the ratio farmers/farm-labourers is able to give good results to measure specialization. It uses agricultural accounts, those of an English farmer of the 17th century and those of another farmer which emigrated in Maryland. These accounts do not show the same kind of specialization, but the two farmers have something in common : they have strategies which are explained by the search for a maximum profit (or minimum losses according to economic background).

II- Some further conclusions

The renewal of these topics and the discussions which took place during the conference allow us to formalize further conclusions

1 - Specialization and mono-activity

First, specialization does not mean mono-activity. An agricultural system with various productions, on the scale of a country or of a farm, can be looked like a specialized agriculture. It is the access to the market which regulates the ways of specialization (one or more productions)

But agricultural specialization, specially in old times, is very seldom turned towards a single activity.

2 - Rates/rhythms of the evolution

Secondly, the development, in a particular space, of a specialized agricultural activity does not suppose that this model is the only one. It can subsist, apart from these specialized activities, with some other economics models, connected with other economic conditions. Specialization does not touch at the same time all farm-units units of a given area.

Besides, inside one farm, specialization does not touch at the same time all the productions: cf E. Thoen & T. Soens: in Flanders, at the end of the Middle Ages, the peasants of the great fields are obliged to specialize partially to answer the increase in revenues but they preserve a great part of self-subsistence

3 - Forms of specialization

Third, the kind of specialization is different in the same place and at the same time according to the economic level of people and exploitations.

M. Peltonen : in Finland, at the beginning of the 20th century, large owners turned to a dairy production for external market while small ones sold locally wood, labour to have wages, services of carriage.

4 - The link between specialization and technical evolution

Specialization is usually seen as a factor of progress (C. Israelsson : at the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of 20th, the development of living standards on farms of Denmark and Sweden was a consequence of dairy specialization), or at least it is associated to progress (P. Matlas : in south Bohemia, during the 19th century, agricultural development proceeded from draining, new ploughs, fertilizers). But it was not always the case. Specialization is possible in old economies without great changes (J. Grulich : in Bohemia, during the 16th-18th century, we can see the growing of a lot of specialized productions, turned towards the market ; it took place in great domanial demesnes cultivated by serfs and without any technical improvement).

5 - *Specialization and social progress*

The fifth conclusion : specialization doesn't often bring social progress

M.-T. Pérez-Picazo: in the huerta of Murcia, during the 19th century, the development of specialization did not involve the end of livelihood agriculture nor the improvement of the way of life for farmers.

III What was not treated

To take a fair stock of this conference, it is necessary to reveal the tracks which were not followed and the doors which were only half-opened.

It was essentially about the "how", how does it occur ? How does specialization settle ? How does the change appear ? Who does pay for these improvements ?

(cf. question of a discutant to A. Kulhawy about the spread of sugar beets in the duchy of Brunswick during the 19th century)

One of the questions which was less discussed - several discutants said it during the session - was about the actors of the change and about concrete consequences of specialization in farms

(cf. the example of England during the 2nd WW : within the space of about 5 years, the pre-war system of pastoral farming was replaced by arable farming producing cash crop as wheat and potatoes. How does it was running ?).



**Cost Action A 35 Progressore
Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies**

Second Workshop of Working Group 3 – Peasant Societies

WEALTH AND POVERTY IN EUROPEAN RURAL SOCIETIES FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE PRESENT DAY. STANDARDS OF LIVING, MATERIAL CULTURE AND CONSUMPTION PATTERNS

Toruń (Poland)

September 21-22 2007.

Organizer: Jarosław Dumanowski, Nicolaus Copernicus University.

This conference, 'Wealth and Poverty in European Rural Societies from the Middle Ages to the present day. Standards of living, material culture and consumption patterns' was held as part of the COST programme, under section COST A35 Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies PROGRESSORE. It formed part of the studies of Working Group 3, 'Peasant Societies'.

The workshop was hosted on behalf of the Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń, Poland, by the Faculty of Historic Sciences, Institute of History and Archival Sciences and Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology of the University, with the support of the Polish Post Office. It took place on 21 – 22 September 2007 in the Institute of Historical and Archival Sciences and brought together participants from across the length and breadth of Europe. The organiser, on behalf of COST and of the University, was Dr Jarosław Dumanowski. Papers were submitted by researchers from Austria, Belgium, France, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Hungary, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Spain and the United Kingdom, and Switzerland was also represented by one of the discussants. The full list of the papers is attached.

This provided a valuable opportunity for sharing research and understanding of European rural societies from a wide range of perspectives. Participants were enabled to compare experiences of richer and poorer country-dwellers from across four centuries and many countries, noting similarities and differences and becoming aware of the impact of changes in social and economic patterns. Since participants' areas of study included history, ethnography and sociology, it was possible to create an interdisciplinary dialogue in addition to drawing on the methodology of specific disciplines.

27 participants attended the conference, including members of the organising committee. A total of 21 papers were presented during the two days. The general theme was subdivided into four sub-sections, each of which was considered in turn although the connections between them were also explored in the papers and the general discussion. These sections were:

Panel 1: Property, material culture and consumption as categories of social stratification;

Panel 2: Wealth and poverty;

Panel 3: Material conditions of living, changes in consumption;

Panel 4: Time management.

The sessions were organised as follows. In each panel, chaired by different members of the conference, several papers related to the theme of the section were presented. Following these, the papers were discussed and commented on by a discussant, who brought out similarities and differences between their topics and approaches and also posed further questions relevant to the research behind the individual papers and to the

topic as a whole. The session was then opened to general discussion, in which those who had presented papers were enabled to respond and give further information. The chair of the panel then opened the discussion to the other participants, who were able to extend the consideration of the topic by contributions from their own research. The number of papers presented to each panel ranged from four to eight. The largest panel was further divided into two sections of four papers, with comments by a discussant after each section, though the general discussion did not take place until after all the papers had been presented to ensure the continuity of the topic as a whole.

This proved to be a successful formula for the whole occasion. It linked papers relating to research into widely differing European societies and enabled participants to search for common ground in considering peasant societies across Europe, as well as showing distinctive characteristics of societies in specific places and at specific times. The extent of countries represented permitted the exploration of a wide range of contexts and peasant behaviours. The restrictions on peasant diet, clothing and accommodation and the changes in these over time were fully considered. Several less familiar issues of historical significance in early modern Europe were opened up and developed, in particular:

- The migration into and out of towns, which proved to have a range of complex motivations;
- The different meanings and functions of material possessions such as clocks, watches and mirrors in different peasant communities;
- The manner in which some peasants deliberately wore inadequate clothing to escape tax or hide wealth
- The changing significance of furniture e.g. the change from storing clothes in coffer to using wardrobes as a marker of changing social status;
- The existence and use of free time by peasants; this produced a fruitful discussion which some participants argued that 'leisure' could not exist as a concept in peasant society;
- The widespread use of credit across rural societies and social groups in the early modern period, especially in the sixteenth century;
- The notion that poverty could at times be seen as a changing feature of peasant life, i.e. greater or lesser at changing times in the ups and downs of the life-cycles of individuals.

Following extensive discussions throughout of methodology there was general agreement that it was important to think carefully about the use of qualitative and quantitative methods. The value of the study of probate inventories was discussed at length. Discussion among participants flowed freely, both in the organised sessions and during informal meetings over refreshments. One of the features which made the atmosphere productive and positive was the enjoyment of shared meals representative of traditional Polish rural food, in the historic city of Toruń.

The organisation of the conference went smoothly. This allowed participants to concentrate on the papers and discussion. Positive conclusions were reached about the factors influencing the lifestyles and economic circumstances of peasants across Europe in the recent past and the changes which affected them.



COST action A 35 Progressore - Working Group 4 (State and Peasants)

with the support of Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft
Mission Historique Française en Allemagne, Universität Münster

Social networks and institutional change: pathways and limits of state intervention in rural societies

**Münster
Univ. Münster,
Historisches Seminar, Domplatz 20-22 (Fürstenberghaus), Übungsraum 4**

March 30th – 31st, 2007

Organizer: Georg Fertig (University of Münster)

The point that informed the working group's interest in the Muenster meeting was whether the state on the one side and rural societies on the other side are (or were, historically) two separate worlds. It is often assumed that rural societies have their own logic, not permeable to modern bureaucracies and opposed to the anonymous markets modernizing states tend to foster. The network metaphor of is sometimes used to describe this own social logic; in a slightly different vein, roles such as the broker, or the village headman, can also acquire bridging functions monopolizing access to the state (and market) for locals, and vice versa. Within the framework of the series of three meetings this working group is organizing, the Muenster meeting focussed on the sub-national level, while the Le Mans meeting studied national politics, and the participants in Berne will discuss market orders on an international, European level.

In Muenster, ethnologists, historians, development economists, and sociologists from 9 COST partner countries, and in addition from Armenia, the USA, and Canada, met to discuss rural societies between the 16th century and the present. Two groups of papers can be identified: Some papers discussed the political impact of networks (e.g. Guzzi, Vari, Langthaler), or how political changes and economic modernization permeated pre-existing social networks (Alfani, Heady, Seiser, Munno). Other papers focussed on the direct or indirect uses of networks for actors, making clear to what degree networks can be used as a substitute to modern states and markets (e.g. Isaac, Fertig, Wolz). It emerged from the discussions that in relation to the state, rural social networks can really be both a substitute (or alternative) and an integrating force (or pathway). In the following paragraphs, the individual contributions will be summarized.

Cristina Munno (University of Venice) dealt with the social relations in a rural community in 19th century Veneto. The relations she analysed show that in the 1830s parents still had chosen influential personage to be their children's godparents and thereby acted according to a social model of clientele. Yet with the growing integration into supralocal economic structures relations were not aimed at a patron but at colleagues and friends, which Munno calls "de-verticalisation", and they were more often supralocal too. In 1850, 800 hectares of pasture in the analysed community were sold by auction and communalised. Munno wondered, whether good good connections paid off in this case, for instance by getting loans for the necessarily high bids. Mainly people from the middle classes and entrepreneurs, but hardly peasants and only a few workers benefitted from these auctions. What was the secret of the former's success? Were they privileged by their network relations? Munno denied this, as locals with very good connections could lose

the auctions too.

Like Munno, Christine Fertig (University of Munster) asked, whether and to what (purpose) social networks served historical agents. She analysed godparent relations in the Westphalian parish of Borgeln, which was characterised by a high extent of social inequality and a dense web of market relations. She demonstrated that in 19th century Prussia some types of social relations had lost their function and were replaced by the state. Witnesses for the signing of a contract, for instance, became a mere formality due to the legal apparatus, and notaries chose them indiscriminately. Similarly, it was tutelary law and less so the guardian's personality and kinship relation that guaranteed the children's inheritance. Ch. Fertig opposed the widespread view that in a society of undivided inheritance the persistence of the farm was more important than the endowment of children. This claim had been falsified by the analysis of inheritance contracts. She therefore investigated, whether the creation of social relations such as godparenthood had an impact on the children's social and economic status. In Borgeln further godparents were chosen in addition to the two existing ones, which resulted in a dense web of relations. Two strategies could be distinguished: on the one hand elderly kin were chosen, probably in order to benefit from their status and their relations, on the other hand kin who were younger than the parents and thus provided a highly sustainable network. Popular kin could marry off more of their godchildren to farms. But whoever was looking for many kin for his children, was not able to profit from it, since it apparently did not help them to marry a well-off spouse.

Milada Kasarjyan's study is situated in contemporary Armenia and a collaborative work with researchers from the Leibniz Institute of Agricultural Development in Halle. Kasarjyan described the peasants' current state after the dissolution of the kolkhoz as undercapitalised, lacking lenders for small businesses and having little confidence in institutions. Micro-credits are given to debtor groups, wherein members take responsibility for each other. By that way, existing social relations become the basis of new formal relations and a necessary instrument to gain resources. The researchers used a network analysis which was focussed on the leaders of such credit groups, and they interviewed these with regard to kin, labour and credit relations. Kasarjyan calculated the respondents' network centrality on the basis of their relations. She was able to confirm that the members of the credit groups were particularly involved in networks. Especially the leader of the credit group received information from various sources and passed them on. Kasarjyan concluded that agents were involved in these small debtor groups mainly by family ties.

Marney Isaac (Toronto) aimed at an understanding of farming knowledge dynamics and subsequent farming practices within complex agroforestry systems. Her study focused on describing the structural arrangement of informal communication networks within farming communities practicing agroforestry in the Western Region, Ghana. Relational data was collected on advice networks within four communities and analyzed in order to determine structure and membership predictors. Results suggested a general trend towards a core-periphery structure within these farming communities. Social proximity was not an indicator of core membership, as both settler and indigenous farmers were highly sought. This suggests a lack of homophily within the core farmer group, and possibly leading to a higher likelihood of diverse information. Highly sought farmers are not necessarily well-established farmer, thus allowing for introduction and diffusion of new techniques from settler farmers, presumably leading to increases in sources information and possibly more productive farms.

Axel Wolz and Jana Fritzsich (Halle) studied the economic value of social networks in present-day central Europe (Poland and Czechia) using a regression approach. During the socialist period, agricultural production was dominated by collective and state farms in Central and Eastern Europe with the exception of Poland and former Yugoslavia. With the change of the political regime in 1989/1990, private farms became more popular but not that much as anticipated at the eve of transformation. However, the transformation of the agricultural sector not only involved the organisation of agricultural production, but also the reorganisation of the supporting organisations for the newly established agricultural producers. Both, managers of the corporate farms and private farmers had to learn to organise agricultural production in a market-economic environment. However, among both groups not all of them are equally successful, economically. The authors' analysis was based on the assumption that social capital is an independent production factor contributing to agricultural income, and that this contribution can be measured empirically. Networks were defined in a narrow way, concentrating on passive and active membership in formal organisations. The empirical results based on farm survey data from Polish and Czech agricultural producers confirmed their thesis. It seems that it is not passive membership in formal organisations, but an active one that results in economic benefits. Nevertheless, the findings clearly underline the dominant role of the classical production factors, i.e. land, labour and capital as expected by neo-classical economic theory. Social capital leads to higher incomes among farms with similar factor endowments, but it does not substitute the other factors to a large extent.

In his paper, András Vári (Miskolc, Hungary) studied the campaign of neoconservative aristocrats, county gentry, professionals of agriculture to found village credit coops on the Raiffeisen model between 1887-1898 in Pest county, a highly diverse region in ethnic and religious terms. The campaign was successful across all nationalities and religions. Vári interpreted this success as a result not of stable networks, or the structure of networks, or the mentality of specific groups, but as being contingent upon different level elites coming together, or the activation of networks. He warned however against reifying network structure where the actual use of contacts was rather accidental.

Sandro Guzzi-Heeb (University of Berne) used the case of a convicted money forger from the Val des Bagnes as an opportunity to analyse the networks in the middle of the 19th century, which was a time of political upheaval. His central interest was the cooperation of a group of people which earlier scholars might have described as a class, but which he rather interpreted in terms of kinship ties. The contending political movements (radicals and conservatives) both had their own networks. Partly, they went right across kinship ties. Farinet himself was among the radicals, who maintained rather horizontal relations. His informants were above all the first tourist guides in this region, who speeded up communication by virtue of their mobility. Among conservatives, relations of patronage and clientele were stronger and decisive.

Patrick Heady (London) is currently heading a research group on social networks in eight European countries. He asked to what extent there is an informal exchange of labour and services in today's agriculture, mediated by social relations. First, the networks were defined by interviewing the agents, who were then inquired about rendering and receiving free services. Heady first asked how common informal labour (or services) is in the particular society under investigation. Thus the practice of informal services largely depends on how much people were dependent on their own farming. In a parish nearby Berlin, for instance, it is practically non-existent; however, it is widespread in the Russian counterpart, where households returned to subsistence farming after the collapse of collective structures. Here a household received 100 workdays of informal assistance on average each year. Relatives render services less in terms of reciprocity and more so in an altruistic sense; they do it irrespectively of the degree of kinship.

Hilde Bras (Free University Amsterdam) presented a study on sibling relations between persons born in the rural Netherlands between 1803 and 1837. It was based on 5,000 interviews with contemporaries from the 1803-37 age group. The persons came from three regions with different inheritance systems: In Western Salland undivided peasant property was and mostly is bequeathed, whereas it was divided in Southern Brabant and in Holland. According to Bras, these differences had an impact on the creation of social relations. Siblings often worked on their family farm, maintained vital relations to the heir and to the local network of neighbours too, where undivided property was bequeathed. In this case, kinship was still an important mediator of social relations. In areas with Realteilung small networks were formed, which relied less on kinship. This had to be seen in connection with long-term normative actions; thus particularly positive attitudes towards societies and social contacts were measured in the area with large kin-based networks.

Gertrud Seiser (Vienna) emphasised that even nowadays peasant cooperation is widespread in the economy of the Austrian forest and mill district, where she did ethnological field research. She described historic forms of joint work, in particular the threshing, which brings together several dozens of people. She depicted a current silage cooperation of three farmers, which was based on reciprocity, and in which the use of labour and machines is not accounted for monetarily. The participants in this exchange would think highly of the advantages of such a "inappropriate" system. The main argument is the minimisation of risks, such as a crop not being brought in in time. Seiser presented her results in the context of the different concepts on the notion and the definition of the historical and modern "peasant". Today cooperation was not about to dwindle despite the strong influence by state and supranational subsidies, but more vital than ever, since financial funding often depends on the applicant's ability to mobilise services.

Manuel Silva (Minho) based his paper on data gathered from local historical documentation from the field work in two Minho villages in the northwestern of Portugal. He contends that clientelist mediation was one of the main structuring principles of social action. This explains the predominantly 'passive', evasive and "conservative" behaviour of the residents, the 'peasants' and other rural actors. The dyadic, vertical and asymmetric relations of mediators with their clients were analysed in terms of the phases of resistance, incorporation, maintenance, dilution or loss of local autonomy to state and municipal institutions and, consequently, of the interchangeable role of the patrons or mediators in the framework of competitive and integrating dynamics mainly through the political parties.

Ernst Langthaler from the Institute of Rural History in St. Pölten (Austria) used network analysis in order to investigate the dissemination of information. He dealt with the National Socialist debt relief scheme, which offered indebted peasants the conversion of private into public loans. This had to be done on

application in 1938. By analysing the application periods in three Austrian parishes, Langthaler showed that their course differed greatly. There were significant differences, which can be represented in a S-shaped graph typical of the passing on of information within networks (subdued start, strong peak, long phasing out). Langthaler thought the impact of networks on the application to be only partially significant, because there were economic reasons too. Bank loans prevailed private loans in all three parishes, but in the parish orientated towards the market the earliest applicants had above average high bank and low private debts, when compared with other applicants. The credit burden was particularly high here. In Langthaler's two remote and economically critical parishes those applied for a conversion of their debts first who had private debts as well. To those people the public offer seemed to be a way to get rid of their economic dependence on private creditors.

Guido Alfani (Bocconi University of Milan) showed how the reorganisation of common lands management resulted in a reorganisation of social relations. Poor and rich households in the 16th century, Northern Italian parish of Nonantola disagreed on how to distribute the yields of the commons. The solution of the problem said that each party should have one half of the commons at its disposal. The wealthy households decided to distribute the yields according to property size, the poor ones shared them per capita. Alfani described these decisions as the beginning of the restructuring of the village society. The poor households fixed the shares and institutionalised them as a right, which could be bequeathed from father to son. Since daughters only remained in possession of their share, if they married within in the group, people married increasingly within the parish and within kinship groups. However, the choice of godparents and witnesses to a marriage was not concerned by this demarcation; for a long time they retained their own characteristic (in the case of godparents the choice was vertical and orientated towards authority, whereas witnesses to the marriage were chosen from within one's own class). Thus, while the relations had been multiplex after the institutional change in 1584, the patterns became more uniplex in the long run and led to an extensive seclusion of the group.



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Third Workshop of Working Group 1 – Landed property

Scientific report

*Property rights to land, social structures, environment and sustainable development from the
Middle Ages to the 20th century*

Roma (Italy)

22-24 May 2008

Co-Ordinators: Bas van Bavel (Utrecht University) and Erik Thoen (Ghent University)

The topic

Recent research makes increasingly clear that human agency plays a large part in environmental changes; not only at present, but also in the past. An example is the deforestation in the upland regions of Europe in the late Roman era, producing floods and silting up of river arms in the lower areas, as in the river delta of the Rhine and Meuse in the Netherlands. There is also the destruction of coastal barriers in the Low Countries as a result of salt winning and peat winning in the high and late Middle Ages, leading to massive loss of land. A maybe even more striking example is the disappearance of forests and native fauna on the island of Madeira after the arrival of Portuguese settlers around 1425. In these ecological catastrophes human action played a large, or even determining part. This human action was shaped and directed by property arrangements. Research into economic and social history has put forward property rights - particularly rights to land - as a main constituent of social structure and a main determinant of the development of rural economy and society. Since social relations to a large extent determined the use and formation of the land, the cultural landscape and the environment, property rights to land formed an important factor in the interaction between man and environment. In trying to uncover causes and find explanations for these catastrophes and changes the primary target in research should be the specific arrangement of property rights.

In recent decades, interest in the interaction between man and environment has been growing, also because of acute environmental problems. Historical research can help analyzing these problems and clarifying their causes. Research into economic and social history has put forward property rights – particularly rights to land - as a main constituent of social structure and a main determinant of the development of rural economy and society. Since social relations to a large extent determined the use and formation of the land, the cultural

landscape and the environment, property rights to land formed an important factor in the interaction between man and environment. The workshop aimed to systematically investigate the link between these elements, in order to better understand their mutual interaction.

This workshop dealt with the mutual interaction between property rights to land and environmental development, investigating this interaction in a dual way:

- how did and does the environment, and the way it is socially perceived, influence the formulation of property rights to land and their social management?
- how did and does the specific organization of these rights, i.e. their formulation and their social management, affect the environment, both in a positive and a negative way?

The particular formulation of property rights (understood here as the bundle of rights to land, such as the right of access, the right of use, the right of sale, the right of inheritance, etc.) could encourage reclamation or embankment or the formation of varied farming landscapes, thus stimulating a positive development. On the other hand, the particular formulation and its social management could, and can, also lead to deforestation, erosion and have negative environmental consequences, thus eroding the basis for sustainable development, that is - in our definition, the possibilities for creating social agro-systems which allow, or conversely do not allow, for the very same systems to be perpetuated or to further develop without endangering or negatively affecting the basis for a balance between rural economic development and environment.

The workshop started from the idea that this approach will thus allow us to better understand the human role in environmental change as well as deterioration, and to judge how specific property regimes affect the possibilities for sustainable development.

Delimitation

The workshop dealt with both the pre-industrial and industrial periods, roughly from the 11th century up to the present. It was not assumed beforehand that the pre-industrial and industrial periods show fundamental differences in this respect; rather the workshop questioned this assumed difference and investigated continuities.

The workshop concentrated on long-term developments, with a preference for comparative analysis. Although most of the papers focused on local and regional cases, and sometimes national cases, and use the results of empirical research, all papers were required to place the results in the light of longer term developments and be linked up with the issue of the possibilities for sustainable development.

Linking up with the other workshops of Workgroup 1, the workshop concentrated on land, i.e. on property rights to land and environmental changes in land. Excluded were property rights to and pollution of water and air, for instance. Also, the workshop concentrated on the rural, agrarian economy, leaving out disturbances in the environmental equilibrium in an urban setting.

Themes within this topic

Specific themes that were addressed in this workshop were:

- the role of soil and landscape in the choice and formulation of various property arrangements (Vivier, Dam)
- the role of water management needs (control, drainage or irrigation) in the choice and formulation of various property arrangements (Van Cruyningen, Vari)
- the role of physical environmental problems in the changes of property rights to land, e.g. in coastal areas due to compression of peat or rising water tables, in mountain areas due to climatic changes (Soens)
- the role of property rights and their social management in reclamations, embankments (Van Cruyningen, Soens)
- the role of common rights on land and communal organization in ecological sustainability (Antoine, Vivier)
- the role of property rights and their social management in systematic deforestation, erosion, salinization, soil exhaustion and the emergence of sand-drifting (Iriarte Goñi)

- the role of property rights and their social management in fundamental changes of the landscapes, such as enclosures, 'bocage' and land re-allotments, and vice versa (Antoine, Olivier)

The organizers of the workshop first invited all people interested in presenting a paper on these topics, within the chosen framework, to submit an abstract of the paper. A selection of the abstracts that were sent in was made, taking into account especially that the papers had to possess these characteristics:

- High quality standards
- Comparative outlook;
- Analysis of long term processes;
- Empirically grounded contribution to more general issues or even theoretical debates.

On the basis of these criteria eleven papers were selected out of some 20 proposals.

The workshop was attended by 20 researchers specialised in this topic; both members of the COST network as well as some invited experts, with a fairly even spread over the European countries: namely Morell Mats (SE) Bas Van Bavel (NL) Vivier Nadine (F) Béaur Gérard (F) Thoen Erik (B) Antoine Annie (F) Cocaud Martine (F) Soens Tim (B) Santos Rui (Portugal) Hoyle Richard (UK) Oliviers Sylvain (F) Andràs Vari (Hun) Rasmussen Carsten (DK) Rita Cognost (SP) Eva Cudlinova (Czech Rep) Miloslav Lapka (Czech Rep) Maria José Roxo (Portugal) Piet Van Cruyningen (NL) Peter Dam (DK) and Iñaki Iriarte Goñi (SP)

The workshop can be seen as an intellectual success. The discussions were lively. These, firstly, clarified some terminological matters, which allowed – secondly - to arrive at comparative analysis. These analyses pointed particularly to the importance of the social context in assessing the relationship between property rights and the environment. Crucial questions in analyzing this relationship is: who is holding the various rights to the land and to which ends is he using this? And: are their other parties, such as the state or parties affected by the externalities of the use of property rights, able to influence this relationship, and to what exact end do they do so?

The best way to make an historical analysis of this turned out to be a focus on the marginal areas, where the process and the mutual interaction can be observed at the ecological margin. This applies to extremely hot and arid areas (south of Portugal, Santos), mountainous areas (Alpine region, Vivier), infertile lands (garrigues, Olivier) and waterlogged regions (North Sea coast, Soens and Van Cruyningen), for instance. Still, even here the interaction between property rights and sustainability turned out to be determined by the social-political and economic context, and not by the marginality of the areas in itself. Within a specific social context where the holders of the various property rights had a clear long-term interest in sustainable development, even marginal areas could sustain a healthy social agro-system, while loss of economic vitality or the emergence of absentee landowners could have clear negative effects. This, again, shows how the effect of property rights on economic and ecological development can only be understood within the social context.

Along these lines, and according to the critical remarks and suggestions of the referees and invited specialists, the papers will be revised (deadline September 2008) and next submitted for peer review and transformed into a book in the COST Series.



European Cooperation in the field of Scientific and Technical Research (COST)

action A35: Program for the study of European rural societies

(PROGRESSORE)

Third Workshop for Working Group 2 (Rural management of land)

Production and productivity in European agriculture in a historical context

Lund, Sweden,

June 13-14, 2008

Organizers: Mats Olsson and Patrick Svensson (Dept. of Economic History, Lund University, Sweden)

The conference focused on two targets: First, on levels of agricultural production and productivity and, second, causes for changes in these levels. The two earlier workshops in this part of the COST-action dealt with the impact of markets and commercialisation on the management of land and with specialisation in production, respectively. Following this, the third and final step, was to estimate changes in output, and its causes.

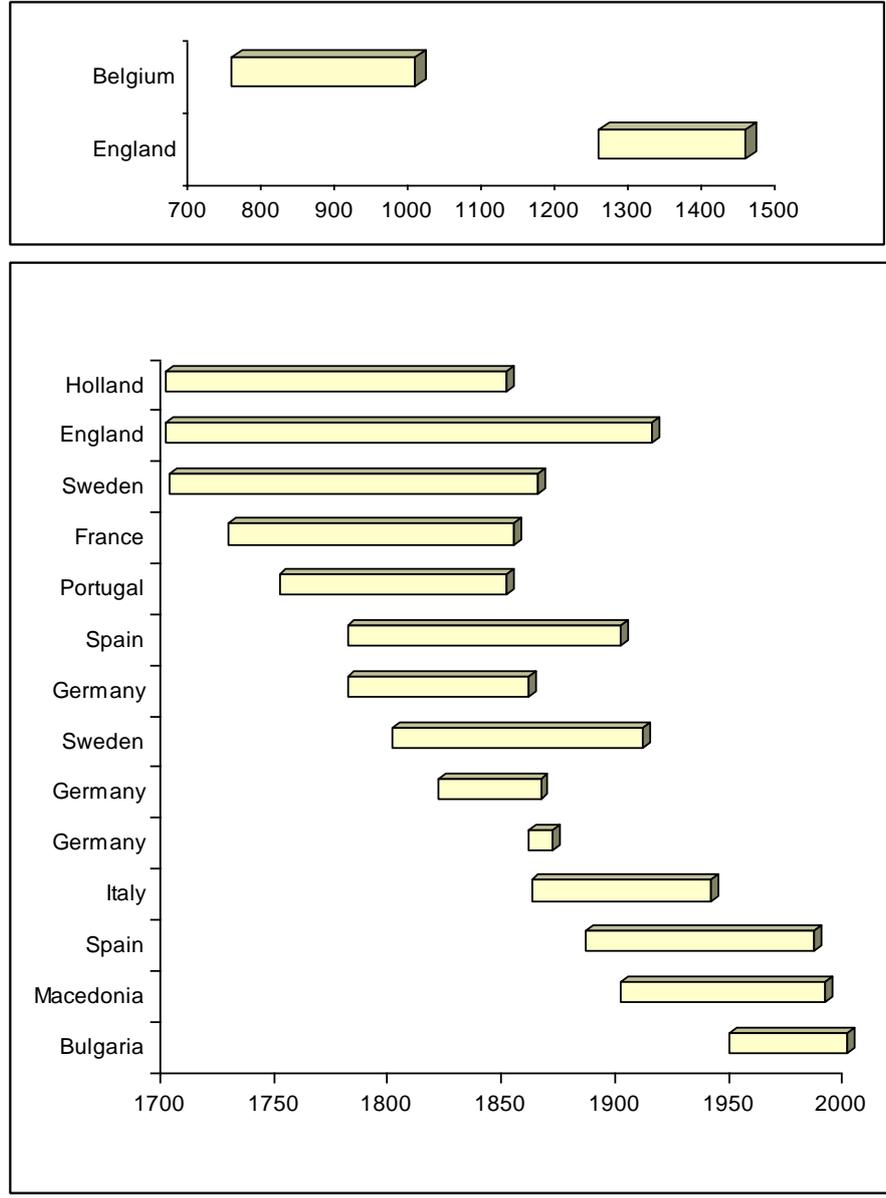
Table 1 Participants by nationality and function at the conference.

	Paper presenters	Discussants	Chairs	Others	Total unique part.
<i>Belgium</i>	1				1
<i>Bulgaria</i>	1				1
<i>Denmark</i>		1			1
<i>Finland</i>			1		1
<i>France</i>	1		1		1
<i>Germany</i>	2			1	3
<i>Holland</i>	1				1
<i>Ireland</i>		1			1
<i>Italy</i>	1				1
<i>Macedonia</i>	1				1
<i>Norway</i>			1		1
<i>Portugal</i>	1	1			2
<i>Spain</i>	3				3
<i>Sweden</i>	3	2	2	2	7
<i>United Kingdom</i>	4	1			4
	19	6	4	3	29

The conference took place at Lund University. In all there were 29 participants of whom 27 were active as paper contributors, discussants or chairs. The participants came from 15 European countries, representing 22 universities and institutions.

At the conference 16 papers were presented and discussed. The periods studied ranged from the Early Middle ages up to the early 21st century, although at least 11 of the papers dealt with the agrarian transformations in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Tables 2 a-b. Papers by studied countries and period



Most papers contain both a quantitative and qualitative approach. The quantitative approach is targeted at estimating historical agrarian production and productivity. The sources and methods vary between countries and periods. The most common sources, dealing with the Middle Ages and Early Modern times, are farm records, tithes, probate inventories, land surveyors acts, prices, population size and contemporary estimates and reports. The sources for the 20th century are typically official statistics.

Three of the papers dealt with total factor productivity (TFP), estimating the values added by labour, capital and land. These factors are, besides institutional and governmental impacts, focused on in all the other studies as well, although other methodological approaches to estimate changes in agricultural outputs are used.

In the explanatory approaches basic factors affect the way land is managed and thereby the level of production. These basic factors consist of natural conditions such as climate, topography and soil conditions. There are also economic and institutional factors affecting land management, e.g. traditions, inheritance systems, property rights, proximity to urban centres, population density, transport costs and trade restrictions. Together these factors affect farm sizes, technology, choice of crops and degree of specialisation. Hence, changes in the basic factors create incentives for altered management which eventually would lead to changes in production and productivity.

The papers deal with this approach in rather different ways displaying different access to sources as well as the impact of this on the choice of explanatory models. The first session dealt with production and productivity during the Middle Ages. In a paper by Wilkin a qualitative approach is used when discussing early medieval eastern Belgium. He finds that the manorial system was a profitable structure focussing on the way production was organised. The profitability did not rest upon technical advancement or intensification but on extensive agriculture and dues from the peasants. Wilkin argues that this came about primarily through the rational calculation made by the landlords rather than through technical backwardness or other relative deficiency in eastern Belgium. This paper relates methodologically to the paper on France (Antoine) discussing the use of farm accounts for estimations of agricultural productivity. Antoine highlights the need for precise quantitative methods in order to take account of deficiencies in the source material. She also finds that qualitative methods often provide answers to many of the questions asked.

The second paper on the Middle Ages had a quite different approach. The paper by Broadberry, Campbell and van Leeuwen on English agricultural output 1250-1450 is quantitative and is part of an ongoing research debate dealing with England from the Middle Ages to the industrial revolution. The authors estimate seigniorial production on micro-level using a new methodological approach when scaling these figures to a national level. Besides providing new estimates on agricultural output, the main contribution from the paper is that the authors show that the seigniorial sector responded to changes in prices on as well commodities as on factors of production. A change from arable to pastoral production caused falling land productivity and by 1450 output as well as labour productivity was falling.

The second and third sessions dealt with agriculture in England, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The three papers in the second session all estimated production and productivity in a quantitative way using different sources presenting their results in annual resolution. This allowed for some comparisons and it is obvious that agriculture in Sweden (Olsson and Svensson) outperformed the Dutch (Knibbe) and English (Beckett and Turner) agriculture during this period. This could be a catching up process and in the Swedish case the authors show that the transformation from "traditional" institutions to "modern" institutions (e.g. development of property rights and enclosure of land) was important for growth. Another paper on Sweden (Gadd) estimates the crop production on national level for the long nineteenth century, presenting a new way of using old data. This contributes to our understanding of one of the most important phases in agricultural change in Sweden. The Dutch case stress the importance of soil conditions and access to markets for growth and presents evidence that it was the pastoral sector that increased productivity the most in Friesland. In England, with its more developed institutional setting, it was more of a step-by-step growth in productivity and the main contribution to the increase in yields came after 1820, rather than before. The results from this paper can be compared and analysed in relation to the paper on medieval England in many respects. The paper by Konersmann on southwest Germany highlights the importance of certain groups of peasants taking a leading part in the commercialisation of agriculture through engagement in trade and through the adaptation of new techniques and new methods. Konersmann states that this group of "peasant merchants" was important for the spread of new ideas and acted as initiators for the agricultural revolution in the region. In this way their role is comparable to the one performed by the freeholders in the Swedish case. Finally, the paper on Prussia (Weitzel and Kopsidis) presents evidence on institutional changes (e.g. the Zollverein) leading to growth. However, the authors show that although market integration took place it was primarily not on a national level but rather

within macro-regions shaped like “Thuenen-belts”. These results are confirmed in another paper by Kopsidis and Wolf studying agricultural productivity in eastern versus western Prussia. The macro-regions in the west supported the ongoing urbanisation and industrialisation while the production in eastern Prussia above all met English demand for foodstuffs.

In the fourth and fifth sessions three papers estimating productivity, adapting total factor productivity (TFP) was presented. This methodology has made it possible to identify phases of growth and stagnation in a better way than before and has also the benefit of direct comparisons between countries and regions. Both the paper on Italy (Federico) and on Spain (Lana Berasain) show that growth during the nineteenth century was higher than earlier research has shown. This is particularly true for the period after the Napoleonic wars (Spain) and for the last quarter of the century (Spain and Italy). Both an increase in cultivated area and intensification played a role in this growth. This finding is supplemented by results from a second paper on Spain (Pinilla and Clar) which reveals a predominance of extensive growth before World War II and intensification after 1945. Other important factors promoting growth were market integration and increased trade. The Portuguese case (Fonseca and Reis), however, reveals that openness and trade was not sufficient for growth in productivity. Natural resources put a limit to ecological and productivity sustainability in Alentejo, a result that is comparable to the one found by Knibbe in his paper on Friesland and findings in the Pinilla and Clar paper on differences between regions in Spain.

Finally two papers dealing with east European twentieth century development of agriculture concluded the workshop. These papers use official statistics and show that the dramatic changes in political and institutional settings affected growth patterns in agriculture, mainly through changes in property rights and in average farm sizes. One implication of the results is that repeated changes in themselves have an effect on long-term growth. A third result is that growth rates between Macedonia (Sekovska) and Bulgaria (Bachev) differed substantially, a result opening up for a more thorough comparison.

Conclusively, these new estimates have provided new ways of explaining growth patterns in European agriculture. Comparing the papers across regions and countries has shown that the producers of agricultural commodities, seigniors and peasants, responded to markets and economic incentives already from early on. However, property rights and institutions seem to have mattered in this respect. Old traditional structures and serfdom did not promote growth to the same respect as individual management and higher degrees of market integration. Improved transportation, openness in trade and a common national institutional context also mattered although increased supply of agricultural products in the first phase of expansion mainly was traded on a local or regional level, rather than between regions and countries. Another factor affecting growth is the possibility of flexibility and sustainability; soils and other natural conditions limited the ways management of land could be performed both in the short and in the long run. Moreover, the differences in levels and growth rates over time for different regions/countries, and the way these changes are explained by the authors, provide a further possibility of dating and defining the elusive agricultural revolution.



COST Action A 35 – Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies (PROGRESSORE)

Third Workshop of Working Group 3 (“Peasant Societies”)

INHERITANCE PRACTICES, MARRIAGE STRATEGIES AND HOUSEHOLD FORMATION IN EUROPEAN RURAL SOCIETIES

May 15-17, 2008

Sárospatak (Hungary)

Organizer: Péter Pozsgai, Corvinus University Budapest

The third WS of Working Group 3 (Peasant Societies) took place at Sarospatak (Hungary) on May 15-17, 2008. The organizer on behalf of the COST programme was Dr. Peter Pozsgai from Corvinus University in Budapest. The contributors and discussants came from 15 European countries from a wide geographical spectrum (Ireland, UK, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Poland, Czech Republic, Austria, Hungary, Russia, Greece, Spain (2), Germany, France and Switzerland). The period dealt with by the contributions went from the 16th to the 20th century and the 19th and 20th centuries were particularly well represented. Each of the sessions was commented on by a discussant and each was followed by a general –very lively – discussion

The topic: The aim of the workshop was to discuss the interaction between inheritance systems, marriage and the household formation of those who inherited as well as of those who were excluded from inheriting the (family) farm or part of it, and to explore to what extent and for which reasons some of these systems have survived up to the end of the 20th century. This was a topic of major importance, since the persistence of huge differences in inheritance patterns and in the structure of rural households can still be observed in Europe right up to the present day.

The papers revolved around the topics related to inheritance systems, impartible (broadly speaking, the passing on of the landed possession whenever possible from one generation to another in the same family, implying the transfer to a single heir), and partible (that is, the division of the family inheritance in order to allow the sons and daughters to establish themselves and create a new household). They examined in particular the consequences for marriage, age at marriage and household formation and the varied solutions to which rural societies resorted in order to provide for those who did not inherit or inherited too little, and the subsequent changes brought about by economic diversification. Several authors insisted on the significant differences existing between the areas where ante-mortem transfers of landed property were possible. In these cases the timing of household division and the formation of a new household were key elements in an individual life course and his chance of becoming head of the household. On the other hand, there were those areas where the transfer took place only after the death of the owner and household head, and here one can often observe more complex households (extended families, stem families, joint families, etc.). With post-mortem transfers, though, the size of the family holding was a decisive factor in structuring the composition of the households, as small farms were unable to support complex households. However, it must be noted that there were exceptions to this model, as in Serbia. There, partible inheritance prevailed, but the majority of people were nevertheless members of a joint household at some stage in their lives, small scale farming and the joint ownership of summer pastures requiring the cooperation of all the male members of the household and fathers, while still alive, tried to prevent the division of their households.

Sources: The sources consulted were of a very diverse nature, which is essentially a reflection of the way in which European national states were organized up to the middle of the 20th century, mirroring in turn the

varying degrees of institutional autonomy given to local communities and governments.

The very extensive corpora consulted comprised censuses, civil and church records of births, marriages and deaths, marriage contracts, sales contracts, retirement contracts, tax lists, land registration (cadastre), interviews (especially of old people who supplied information on the household composition existing when they were young for regions where extended documentary is lacking), also letters (from paupers) to overseers, and surveys of (paupers') households, etc. Where contributors worked mainly with censuses, and especially when they could use several censuses, interesting data were provided on household composition, changes in household structure, data on marital status during the life course, the proportion of those never married, etc.

Central questions dealt with: The workshop brought about a many-sided discussion of the different objectives of European rural societies in respect of landed property and of the situation of families and the individual, and the changes brought about by **commercial farming** (R. Paping), **new activities** (R. Congost et al., J. Gray, S. Holmlund, H. Kollé), the role of **local authorities** (S. King), the interference of **state institutions** in respect of inheritance law and property transfer (S. Holmlund, K. Górlach et al., A.-L. Head), the creation and the development of the **welfare state** (V. Hionidou, A.-L. Head). In rural Serbia, however, the changes in agricultural specializations and the different requirements of family labour they implied were not always sufficient to affect the still very patriarchal structure of the household and the division of land. In fact, it was only with the income provided by an increasing sector of trade and handicraft in some villages that the proportion of their nuclear family households increased (S. Gruber).

In respect of **women in farming households**, their position varied considerably. We can observe on the one hand that in some cases they had considerable power, either as part-owner of the family farm being legally entitled to half of the property (R. Paping), as heads of farms and even as single women in regions where there was considerable emigration (R. Rey Castelao), as widows who managed the farm as long as their adult children remained single (P. Pozsgai, A. Velkova), or their increased power in the second half of the 20th century when legislation brought about equality between men and women in connection with the transfer of farms (A.-L. Head). On the other hand, one can observe that in some parts of Europe early marriage was a powerful weapon in the hands of the husband's family: it permitted the incorporation of the bride into the household in an inferior position which made it easier for the husband and his parents (as long as they were alive) to maintain a much superior position (S. Gruber). Then in the 20th century, commercial farming also resulted in a deterioration of the situation of daughters compared to that existing in the 18th and 19th centuries. They had fewer chances of succeeding their parents at the head of the farm, and they even came to be driven out of farm work altogether as a result of increasing mechanization (R. Paping).

The adaptability of the family systems – Many participants in the workshop insisted on the importance of the adaptability of the family system. Even where impartible inheritance was the preferred mode of transfer, celibacy could be reduced, and it became possible for families to settle or be settled locally with increased working opportunities (for the father) (J. Gray). Even where the transfer to one heir was always the rule, a considerable increase in population could sometimes occur due to the fact that new agricultural activities (wine growing, etc.) or new rural industries allowed the non-inheriting siblings to marry, albeit at a later age than the heir (R. Congost et al.). The individual's dependence on family resources could diminish as a result of the openings created by industrial activities. The strong link between marriage and inheritance of land could diminish, allowing younger sons to marry, as in the Swedish case as from the end of the 19th century (S. Holmlund). Alternatively, emigration was the solution adopted in some northern parts of Spain with the consequence of a growing number of females heading a farm (O. Rey Castelao).

In the eastern European regions, where partible inheritance was the norm, families were also affected by the new employment opportunities occurring in some communities as from the middle of the 19th century: there were more simple households and fewer joint households as already mentioned in the Serbian case. More work opportunities outside agriculture for peasant offspring in the region studied by H. Kollé permitted division strategies that deviated from those found in purely agricultural areas as the non-agrarian income of the junior members of the family altered the power balance within the multiple family household. This led to an earlier household division despite the legal and economic requirements imposed by the Russian State to slow the phenomena, and consequently textile workers attained headship earlier in their life course than was the case for agricultural workers. This also meant that an important proportion of the household divisions took place during the life time of the father or mother (H. Kollé), whilst in the Hungarian case household divisions were postponed until the death of the father (P. Pozsgai).

Commercial farming also had its specific rules with regard to the transfer of land and household formation.

Commercial farming, combined with specific institutional rules concerning farm ownership produced more economic opportunities and meant that the self-interest of the farmers (both husbands and wives) was more important than the aim of passing the farm to one of the descendants. In the Northern part of the Netherlands, for example, in this context of commercial farming, up to the end of the 18th century, it was economically speaking it was not in the interest of parents to give up their farm as they would then not have been able to be able to afford a comfortable retirement, and it was not considered to be very desirable to live together with one's married children. Consequently, selling the farm to strangers was just as frequent as a transfer within the family. Important changes did occur during the 19th century; and the renting out of farms to children getting married grew increasingly popular, so that parents could retire and live on an annual rent after some 20 to 30 years working the farm.

The concept of inheritance for the rural population which had no access to land, especially in the 19th century – One contributor (S. King) investigated marriage and household formation practices outside the context of landed inheritance which was the case for a large part of the rural population in England. During the first half of the 19th century the labouring poor were just too poor to be part of any formalised inheritance system. His argument was based on samples from paupers' letters to the effect that for the section of the rural population which was poor, the analysis of marriage motivations that emphasise wages and wage expectations needs a corrective. The term 'inheritance' in respect of the poor must be understood in a much more wider sense than simply as the ante- or post-mortem disposal of material goods. Other items were equally regarded as 'inheritance' by the poor. For them the link between the support they received in conjunction with the poor law and the household formation was quite evident. Such support was considered by the poor as a resource and a substitute for accumulation prior to marriage and as a friend/relative substitute in the aftermath of marriage. And one could only benefit from this resource by the putting moral and rhetorical pressure on the parish officials. For paupers marriage motivations were not at all tied up with the notion of achieving sustained independence.

The independent household and the independent holding – There were considerable variations in the meaning attributed to this two terms. There were thus huge differences in the rights of the newly wedded couples and in the degree to which they remained dependant on their parents, or alternatively the parents on their children in societies with little social security. This led to some fruitful discussion as can be inferred from the Hungarian and the Greek examples. In the case of Hungary it was specified that married sons could live in a different farmhouse but work together with their old father and even using the same farm implements as he did (P. Pozsgai). In the case of the island of Mykonos, an elderly couple remained independent – in terms of residence - after the marriage of their offspring, with the household being headed by the husband. The relevant census indicates that the use of term of independent households refers to a separate place of residence, but it does not allow a further distinction to be made as to whether independence refers to the finances of the household or to its cooking arrangements. The interviews relating to the beginning of the 20th century show however how following the marriage of all the children, the parental couple would retain their independent household, and also remain economically independent. A son – usually, but not necessarily, the youngest – would be chosen to look after the parents who were still involved in farming. He would then be the recipient of the largest part of the parental farm. In such a case the parents secured their future in old-age by ensuring proximity of residence of one of their sons. It was not a stem family situation, since the two couples were living in separate houses, did not share meals, and each retained their independent household economy. All the same the two households were 'linked' through the land that was owned by the father and would subsequently be inherited by the son.

The family farm as social security for old age – There was a useful discussion regarding the fact that the family is and has been the main welfare agency for the elderly and those in need to a varying extent in all European rural societies. Even in the second part of the 20th century family ties were heavily dependent on financial arrangements and the lives of sons and daughters could be, and were, shaped so that optimal provision for the elderly could be ensured with or without retirement contracts as can be observed in certain papers (among others V. Hionidou, A. – L. Head)

State intervention – During the whole of the period under review, the State or **its institutions** intervened in several domains, amongst others in order to influence the formation of new households for environmental reasons or for economic ones relating to the labouring power of the household. Interestingly in this context of State intervention, a political debate on the future of family farming and farming households took place in

several countries at the same time towards the end of the nineteenth century and around the beginning of the twentieth century. During the 20th century it is indisputable that the trend to increased state interventions in the process of intergenerational transmission of peasant landed property grew considerably, and the aims were manifold: economic and social (viability of the family farm, the protection of owner-occupied farms versus expanding farms, modernization of the agricultural sector, etc.), political (the continued maintenance of a peasant population, or as in the Polish case (K. Góralch), the attempt to destroy this population with the reorganisation of farming activity under the Communist system).

Conclusion — It became obvious from the many lively discussions in Sarospatak that the preferred system of property transfer and of household organization adopted by the different European rural societies in the past as in the present to ensure the social reproduction of family farms varied considerably. However, in a present day context, the question raised regarding Czech lands in the 18th century as to whether it was really in the interest of the heir to take on the parental farm at an early stage and to marry while young is still valid and should be developed further: do heirs nowadays really want to inherit the family farm and go on farming? In European rural societies today, the answers are probably just as diverse as the organization of property relations and households were in the past.



**COST Action A 35 – Programme for the Study of European Rural Societies
(PROGRESSORE)**

Third Workshop of Working Group 4 (“State and Rural Societies”)

Call for papers for the Workshop in Bern

***State agricultural policies:
Its causes, ways of its implementations and its consequences***

Mai 2008

Organizer: Peter Moser

1. Programme, participants, finances and media reporting

The workshop lasted for three days and was divided into two parts. On Tuesday and Wednesday 17 papers dealing with the topic of the workshop - causes, implementation and consequences of State Agricultural Policies - were presented and discussed; on Thursday the workshop was first contextualised within the theme of the working group 4 which was defined as “State, government, politics and peasants” and then, in view of the final conference in Gerona in 2009, a first attempt was made for making an overview of the progressore programme. Representatives of the working groups one, three and four were present.

The 17 papers had been selected from the more than 20 proposals which we submitted in response to the call for papers. The 17 authors, the four discussants and the representatives of the working groups came from 15 different European countries, representing the south, east, west and north alike.

The workshop was held in Möschberg, a small rural place 15 miles outside Bern, where in the interwar-period the young farmers movement and their college for farmers wives was located. This place than became the headquarters of the organic-agriculture movement in the 1950/60s. Today it is a conference centre – but the archives of all the different movements are still located there and can be consulted on the internet.

On Tuesday evening an excursion was arranged to a spelt producer in the area with a view to illustrating a contemporary aspect of rural life in the Emmental as well as creating an opportunity for a discussion between theory and practice.

The workshop was financially supported by the Swiss National Research Fund in Bern. A national and a local newspaper, in two articles, reported on aspects of the workshop.

2. Content

As stated in the call for papers, the workshop set out to deal with three elements of agricultural policies: the causes, the process of implementation and the consequences. While the third element was not really addressed systematically or in any great detail, the presentations and discussions concentrated on the following three questions: First: What do states do when they intervene in agriculture? Second: What are the causes for their intervention (or non-intervention)? And third: What difference can actors outside the state make to the shaping and implementation of agricultural policies?

What do states do when they intervene in agriculture? While it is possible to identify a myriad of distinguishable activities with the agricultural interventions of states, for practical purposes it is useful to try to arrange these activities into categories. One obvious principle of categorisation derives from the functions that states perform. Thus, at the level of broad functions, “liberal democratic” states have routinely regulated, stimulated, planned and co-ordinated agricultural activities as well as economic activities more generally. In “autocratic” states the appropriation of land by the state and its redeployment in a centrally controlled agricultural economy would need to be added to a listing of the state’s functional activities as has been shown by the two papers which dealt with the Bulgarian and Hungarian cases (Varga and Bachev) in the period of state socialism.

Up to a point to categorise state activities along functional lines may be revealing, but it tells us little or nothing about the actual forms assumed by the regulation and non-regulation, stimulation, planning and co-ordination of agricultural activity in specific cases. Nor does such categorisation illuminate of itself the politics that surround the different functional activities of the state or the vital issue of the consequences (whether intended or unintended) that follow state interventions. It is in elucidating the forms, politics and consequences of state interventions that the work of historians and social scientists has something of significance to contribute. And that is what most papers in the workshop did.

The aim of the workshop was to produce a deeper understanding of the complex processes of change and continuity in European agriculture and agricultural policies before and after World War I. The time covered was roughly the period of modern European statehood, beginning in the 18th century and proceeding right up to the present day. The spatial range of the papers embraced the experience of countries as diverse as Portugal and Belgium, Greece and Ireland, Holland and Austria, Germany and Spain, Bulgaria and Switzerland and the United Kingdom and Hungary. While some of the papers dealt with single cases (Schuurman; Flückiger, Brassley; Varley; Harwood; Sanz Lafuente; Schmitz; Varga; Bachev), there were a number of comparisons (Langthaler; Streifeneder; Freire and Taboas) presented as well. Other contributions dealt with developments on a supra-national level (Petmezas; van der Burg; von Gravenitz; Koning).

Another way of approaching the contributions of the workshop is to categorise the papers into the three groups: a) Those who were following/developing “models” that try to explain long term developments, b) those who basically illustrated and analyzed specific cases from the 19th/20th centuries and c) those who focussed on the options and activities of a variety of “actors”. The contributors who choose to use “models” (Koning, Moser, Schuurman) all addressed the questions of what role states play, and whose interests they serve, when they intervene in agriculture – and whether this intervention is significantly different in the agricultural sector compared to other sectors.

While two broad, in many ways fundamentally diverging theories of the state can be identified – the marxist and the liberal – these interestingly converge in the case of agriculture. Both theories gravitate to the view that rural interests will, as a rule, find themselves in a structurally subordinate position in industrialised and urban-centred modern societies. The subordination of rural interests, in both the liberal and the Marxist interpretations, is even a precondition for the development of modern societies.

That the three “models-based” and long-term analyses in the workshop presented varying interpretations of the basic Liberal-Marxist narrative shows, on the one hand, the potential for development of an ideal-type oriented approach in historical research and debates. On the other hand what differences emerged were simply the result of the fact that one of the papers was concentrating on a single-state case (Netherlands) while another focused on the different resources industry and agriculture have relied on since the industrial revolution, and the implications such reliance has had for the agricultural policies in industrialised societies. What became clear, in any event, was that “models” remain essential for the understanding of long term historical developments even though they can never tell us exactly what specific people did at a certain time in a specific place.

How fruitful a combination of “ideal-type” oriented approaches with source-based case studies can be was illustrated when those papers dealing with specific issues were discussed at the workshop. Locating seemingly disparate cases within a wider and longer perspective facilitated a better understanding of the specific topics which were presented for discussion. It became clear, for example, how politically

antagonistic governments, such as the Iberian dictatorships and the USSR-oriented ones in eastern Europe, could play similar roles when it came to perceptions and policies towards the great majority of the rural population. And, on the other hand, the examples from western Europe illustrated convincingly how deep and substantial state interventions in the agricultural sector and the countryside were by no means confined to “autocratic” states.

While there was a consensus in the workshop that World War II was in many ways a crucial juncture for the understanding of the motives of liberal democratic states in intervening in agriculture as we came to know it in the post-war period, there is strong evidence for the argument that it was in fact World War I that marked the real turning point in this respect. And some (Koning, Harwood, Moser) went even further back in time and pointed to the great variety of state interventions in the last quarter of the 19th century which included many and – where the development of agriculture and industry alike are concerned – often more significant measures than the much discussed international trade regulations and restrictions. It became clear that discussions that focussed purely on the level of trade-restrictions often conceal more than they illuminate when it comes to our understanding of the interactions of agriculture and industry in modern societies.

It is here, when attention is paid alike to the rule as well as the exception, that it becomes fruitful to look closer at the behaviour of individuals and groups as ‘actors’. Why did the state intervene (or, indeed, sometimes not intervene) in a certain time under certain circumstances? Was it, for instance, at the behest of the food producers (as commonly is suggested) or was it in the interest of a safe and cheap supply of food for urban consumers? Not only do observations of long trends tend to suggest an explanation along the latter lines, but also the gradual marginalisation of the agricultural sector in modern societies. Convincing answers to these questions are, again, more likely to be produced when the behaviour of actors are contextualised within a longer term perspective. The examples presented in the workshop, notably the Irish case (Varley), suggest that there must be many more factors coming together to trigger of – or prevent – successful state interventions than the demand of pressure groups – however influential or articulate they may be judged in hindsight.

Discussions in the workshop suggested that for a better understanding of the behaviour of states attempts to identify and analyze “hidden” actors and agendas (Schmitz) such as, for example, the agronomists (Flückiger, Brassley) might be a more promising approach than focussing on well known pressure groups and their tactics. A close analysis of this body of experts – and, indeed many others - moving between theory and practice suggest that they played a crucial, but usually overlooked, role in influencing the behaviour of civil servants and pressure groups alike. But the agronomists were, as was true of many other actors as well, not only go-betweeners but also successful movers whose actions quite often produced unintended results. Such unintended results are well worth documenting in the field of agriculture, because this sector was (and often still is) approached through the application of models derived from industrial conditions and realities.

All the contributors were invited to re-work their presentations and submit them for publications. The editors of the volume (Peter Moser, Tony Varley) made, with the help of the scientific committee, suggestions to all the authors. Most, but not all have stated their willingness to re-work their papers; and a majority has already submitted revised versions. On receipt, these revised papers have been sent to two reviewers for their comments.

Bern/Galway, 20th September 2008, Peter Moser, Tony Varley