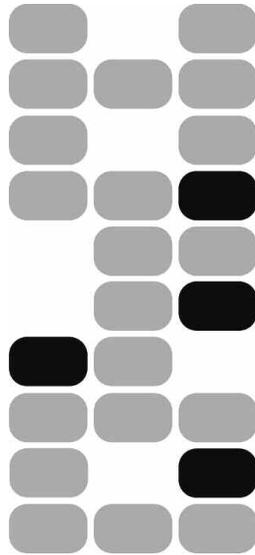


**Extended abstract**

*Second Generation Part-Time  
Viticulture. Agricultural  
(Dis)continuities in Post-Industrial  
Penedès (Spain)*



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DOI: 10.4422/ager.2022.01

*ager*

Revista de Estudios sobre Despoblación y Desarrollo Rural  
Journal of Depopulation and Rural Development Studies

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### **1. Introduction and justification**

By analysing part-time farming (PTF) – a form of organisation currently operating in European agricultural systems – we can examine and characterize the continuity of family farms under de-agrarianisation processes. It has been suggested that PTF is a stage in adaptation towards capitalism via the proletarianisation of the peasantry that allows the circumstantial reproduction of small family farms. On the other hand, de-agrarianisation processes refer to the widespread elimination of such farms and assets and the erosion of agriculture as the economic and structural basis for social relations.

In this article we discuss whether the continuity of PTF responds to the same interests as those of the past or whether new forms of PTF with new strategies and new interests exist. We also analyse how agro-industrial markets, new agricultural technologies, outsourcing, gender, genealogy and heritage symbolic value have influenced contemporary part-time strategies. Finally, we discuss the role played by part-time farms in the de-agrarianisation process.

### **2. Objectives, methodology, sources, and areas of study**

We explore the origins, strategies, transformations and contemporary forms of PTF in a viticultural context. We also analyse the trajectories of part-time farms in second generations to interpret their (dis)continuities under de-agrarianisation processes. To do so, we use the ethnographic method from an intergenerational perspective.

Our data were collected through non-participant observation and in-depth interviews with sixteen informants from four families involved in part-time viticulture. Three of those farms are run by men and one is run by a woman. Our area of study is the Alt Penedès (Barcelona) and Baix Penedès (Tarragona) regions of

Catalonia, both of which are characterised by heavy specialisation in viticulture and a strong presence of PTF.

### **3. Results**

#### ***Origins of part-time farming***

For first-generation part-time farmers, the industrialisation of the Penedès led to a contraction of the agricultural sector and greater access to safer and better-paid jobs. Young men began to adopt PTF strategies as part of a gradual process towards acquiring knowledge and progressively engaging in their family's agricultural business while simultaneously holding down another major occupation. The woman, on the other hand, adopted a different strategy that saw her take up PTF in their later years even though she did not have sufficient resources or knowledge. Indeed, gender and genealogical position conditioned socialisation regarding agricultural work and the adoption of PTF strategies.

#### ***Strategy deployment***

The strategies employed by men who practise PTF are different from those employed by the woman. Men combine employment in industry with agricultural work, aiming to expand and modernise their farms. They purchase land not merely to ensure the continuity of their farms but also to improve their profitability and complement their main occupation. The woman, on the other hand, has not extended her farm and is responsible for only a section of her family's land. One farm envisaged strategies for diversifying into viniculture, while all families recognise the self-exploitation suffered by those involved in PTF, the impact of which on female spouses is profound. Industrial working conditions, technification, inter-cooperation, and the outsourcing of labour have proved vital to the introduction of part-time strategies. In turn, this has led to the erosion of family work, which is perceived as both a logical process and the result of administrative control over hiring procedures.

#### ***Farm succession and future trajectories***

Two of the farms we analysed will disappear with no one to take up the baton. The heirs to those families admit that they are likely to retain ownership of the land but will not continue to work on it. Unlike their female counterparts, male heirs believe they would become self-employed farmers, but only 'as a last resort'. However, agriculture, knowledge, and inherited property may be essential for maintaining one's

livelihood. In one case, part-time agrarian succession has already taken place although the successor considers switching to agriculture exclusive dedication in a near future. In another farm, second generations pose a part-time succession based on wine production and a reduction in the vineyard surface. The three heirs to that family, all of whom are women, press their father to transmit agricultural skills and knowledge, which are strongly gender biased.

#### **4. Discussion**

The continuous industrial working day (with no split shift), technification and inter-cooperation favour PTF as a complement to the main activity. Mechanisation has eroded family work and weakened the attachment of second generations to land and agricultural lifestyle. At the same time, greater outsourcing illustrates the evolution of social and territorial processes and reflects adaptation to pluriactivity. Despite these conditions, however, the part-time farmer, whose lifestyle is still characterised by simple commercial production, is overexploited.

Gender is also an important factor in PTF. While their husbands engage in pluriactivity, farmers' wives are present in multiple environments – working inside and outside the home, on the farm, and in domestic and caregiving duties. Hierarchies based on gender and position in the family have also had an impact on generational succession: farmers' daughters are less likely to be identified as valid heirs, which in turn hinders their access to the knowledge required to bring about that succession.

Future prospects call into question linear trends in reproduction and disappearance. Farms without successor will lose all agricultural activity when those responsible for running them retire. The heirs to these farms consider the land a provider of financial security and a symbolic value whose ownership they intend to preserve. The experience of these families reflects an intermediate phase of a reverse agricultural reform in which ownership shifts from small vine-growers to large-scale owners and producers.

In one case we analysed, PTF was characterised by a resizing of the farm to enable the exclusive dedication of the second generation to the agricultural sector. This rare occurrence involves a reversal of the process of proletarianisation.

Diversified farms make agrarian succession more attractive while facilitating refeminisation. Future prospects in the context of these farms points towards a refeminised PTF and a decrease in both production capacity and workload, but also the re-agrarianisation of second generations.

## **5. Conclusions**

We have observed a new phase in the trajectory of part-time farming whereby industrial work facilitates growth, mechanisation, modernisation and outsourcing. Rather than a stage of transition towards farms disappearance, PTF has become a means for them to fit into the agro-industrial system. PTF has led to both the proletarianisation of a generation of vine-growers and a deceleration in the process of de-agrarianisation.

Second generations show heterogeneous positions towards PTF. If farm succession does not take place, de-agrarianisation will follow its course and PTF will act as a point of disconnection that encourage second generations to lose interest. On the other hand, PTF persists in second generations who follow trajectories similar to the ones of the previous generation. In this case, PTF is considered a way to regain exclusive dedication to agriculture while also keeping the process of de-agrarianisation on hold. Finally, PTF is involved in new strategies that help to re-agrarianise second generations who hope to add value to agricultural production by introducing craft process and marketing wines, i.e. through more manageable and diversified agricultural activities.

The trajectories in our analysis illustrate how contemporary agricultural transformations are driven by the same processes of transition to capitalism that began numerous decades ago. Our analysis suggests that rather than being linear, homogeneous or foreseeable, these social and organisational transformations generate new forms of permanence and/or exit from the agricultural sector by following complex, divergent trajectories that combine economic reasons with complex social and symbolic/cultural ones.

## **6. The next steps**

It would be interesting to further investigate the non-economic dimensions behind decision-making in PTF. New analysis could be approached from the perspectives of agency, identity, affectivity, moral economy or place attachment in order to explore how these factors relate to decision-making in the de-agrarianisation processes and the design of new responses aimed at containing them.

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*Highlights:*

1. Contemporary part-time viticulture are growth and modernisation oriented.
2. Gender and genealogy organize part-time farming.
3. Industrial work and outsourcing facilitate new part-time organization forms.
4. Second generations still express land attachment even they are de-agrarianisated.

*Abstract:* Part-time farming (PTF) is a form of organisation that has remained as a structural adaptation to capitalism in every agricultural system in Europe. This article employs the ethnographic method to analyse, from a processual and intergenerational perspective, the starting strategies and future prospects for part-time viticulture in the Catalan region of Penedès. We suggest that PTF strategies, aided by employment conditions in the industrial sector, are intended to maintain, grow, and modernise family farms whose continuity is conditioned by gender and heritage symbolic values. First-generation PTF helped to avoid de-agrarianisation. Though still connected to family land, the second generations present a wider range of future prospects – from abandoning agricultural activities altogether to returning to exclusive dedication to agriculture.

*Keywords:* Anthropology, part-time farming, farm succession, de-agrarianisation.