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## Sociability and Associations in Rural French Jura : Justice, Property Rights and Moral Economy

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## **Sociability and Associations in Rural French Jura: Justice, Property Rights and Moral Economy**

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### **1. Introduction**

#### **1.1 Associations as social pattern**

This paper examines a generation of social patterns of associations in daily life in Franche-Comté, an eastern rural region of France, and its implications for modern society in general.<sup>1)</sup> The question is inspired by Boissevain's argument on social network and coalitions.

When Boissevain's work *Friends of Friends* (1974) was published, the processualist approach was developing in political anthropology. Emerging in the 1950s and stimulated by decolonization and urbanization, processualist political anthropology criticized the structuralist presumption of a society as a stable, closed community, and aimed at analysing dynamic social processes and mutation.

In the same time period, a number of anthropologists began to develop European studies. Inspired by processualist anthropology and using Mediterranean ethnographic data, Boissevain proposed a new approach to social dynamics. He argued that all human beings have their own formal or informal social networks. Some people who are at important intersections try to use these networks for their own profit become brokers. These brokers seek particular social goals, and, if necessary, transform the networks into coalitions for reaching their goals.

Boissevain's network approach provides a new perspective for the study of modern associations, which are seen as one of the keys in building a civil society. The idea of associations had great popularity in French socialist debates, especially in the first half of the 19th century. Interestingly, some socialist philosophers such as Fourier, Considérant, and Proudhon came from the eastern region of France, Franche-Comté. Their ideas were deeply rooted in the experience of cooperatives since in this region cooperatives played an active role in adapting social life to the modern market economy. Even today, the tradition of associative socialism remains active (Jeanneau 2010).

Associations, often considered one step in the creation of a democratic society, have been discussed in philosophy and political science. Some of the analyses adopt normative approaches and others empirical approaches; nevertheless, most of them have neglected

the cultural background. Boissevain's model instead proposes to focus on the nature of social relations and social resources in the dynamic process of associative movements. This approach allows us to understand the social and cultural background of successful cooperative development in Franche-Comté.

## 1.2 Associations in Franche-Comté

Franche-Comté, the land of the ancient County of Burgundy, is an eastern French region along the Jurasian Mountains on the French-Swiss border. Because local lords of the county exonerated its cities and villages from taxes beginning in the 13th century, the region has been called 'Franche-Comté (Free County)' since the 15th century. The cities and villages enjoyed relative liberty until their annexation to the French Kingdom in 1678. Though the region stayed economically rural and politically peripheral, it was prosperous in its autonomous status especially during the time of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1500-1556), whose chancellor Nicolas de Granvelle was from Franche-Comté. Geographically, the greater part of the region shares the three-field system and an egalitarian inheritance with northern France.

The region has a marked personality with its communitarian tradition of cooperatives (called *fruitières*). While most agricultural modernization in France is characterized by agrarian individualism (Bloch 1952: 224-226), agriculture in Franche-Comté, especially in the two mountainous departments of Jura and Doubs, was modernized along with its 'communitarian custom' (Perrier-Cornet 1986: 69) of cooperatives and common pastures of medieval origin. When peasants began to settle in the mountain forests in the 13th century, they organized the first cooperatives to produce Gruyère-type hard cheese (nowadays called Comté); as the cheese was made to conserve milk for the long winter, a wheel of cheese needed a large quantity of milk produced by many cows; therefore, a need arose for associating peasants (and cows).<sup>2)</sup> The zone of cooperatives was restricted to a small area until the 18th century, and most peasants in the region lived a subsistence lifestyle based on mixed farming of cereals and the production of milk.

In the late 18th century, cooperatives began to proliferate throughout the region because of both rapid population growth and the need for money owing to an expanding monetary economy and the imposition of monetary taxes; Gruyère was an appropriate product for commercialization due to its suitability for conservation and transportation. Therefore, according to Boissevain's terminology, *fruitières* were 'action sets' at the beginning of the 19th century insofar as they were temporal groups established for a particular purpose (cheese production to gain monetary income) without any particular leaders (Boissevain 1974: 186). Emerging cooperatives developed in the peasant societies where the official central government could not fully control the region (Brelot 1985: 385). During this time, most peasants were small- and middle-sized proprietors of less than 30ha; landlords with more than 30ha were a very small minority (1% of the population in Doubs; 10% of the land in Jura, 20% in Doubs) without dominant power due to the excessive fragmentation of their lands and their absenteeism; furthermore, more than a quarter of the lands were communal (26% in Jura, 31% in Doubs) (SEJ 1953: 63, 68; Mayaud 1986: 63, 90).



**Figure 1** The Saint Vernier's Day procession in a wine producing village in Jura. A. Miura, 1991.

In the mid-19th century, Jura and Doubs became the principal zone of the cooperatives; almost every village had at least one *fruitière*, and sometimes more. *Fruitières* became folkloric places where all the members came with their milk twice a day and discussed family and village matters; young girls also came there to see boys. Another communitarian tradition was the common pasture, which, despite severe criticism by the intellectuals, was largely practiced for its profitability for both poor and rich peasants. During the 19th century, *fruitières* evolved through the establishment of written by-laws and the development of a production mechanism (e.g. the construction of cheese factories and improvements to the recording system). Nowadays, despite the disappearance of other communitarian traditions, *fruitières* are still key institutions in Jurassian agriculture and have inspired other local associations such as peasants' unions, breeding cooperatives, wine-producing cooperatives, and even workers' cooperatives.<sup>3)</sup>

Today, Jurassian villages in the highlands (above 450m altitude) are relatively homogenous. The farms are of similar economic status and mostly specialize in milk production. The homogeneity results from historical evolution since the beginning of the 19th century. The development of *fruitières* in the first half of the century transformed agriculture from mixed farming into milk production and excluded the poorest peasants who could not have any cows. The agricultural crisis of the 1870s triggered an exodus of big landlords out of the rural area.

*Fruitières* as simple coalitions (action sets) thus became associations of a permanent nature in order to face a new economic environment. As Boissevain (1974: 5) posed in his study on associations, two essential questions emerged from the local history of the associations: 'How do such patterns emerge?' and 'How are they changing?' Since the *fruitières* of the first half of the 19th century inspired socialist philosophers of the region, an examination of the social patterns also reveals the nature and significance of socialist ideas.

In the following discussion, social patterns among the Jurasian farmers will be examined through an analysis of daily social interactions. The paper then discusses the political and economic significance of the social process thereby generated. At the end of the paper, the social and economic patterns will be shown in a comparative perspective. The data presented here were mainly gathered during ethnographic fieldwork from December 1990 to July 1992 in village F and its neighbouring villages on the Premier Plateau (450m to 600m altitude) near the city of Poligny in the Department of Jura.

## 2. Social interaction and sociability

### 2.1 Discourse and history in daily conversation

As Boissevain (1974: 6) suggested, social processes develop through interactions between individuals who constantly try to maintain or better their social positions. For this purpose, they examine information on their situation and choose between alternative courses of action, considering their own self-interest as well as the accepted norms in relation to others. In rural French Jura, as in other societies, such interactions are accompanied by verbal exchanges. Case 1 (see Appendix) is an example. Here, the actors exchange information to share concrete images of what happens in the world to produce new knowledge (especially 2A, 6B, and 10C). However, information processing is not the only goal of the conversation. In Case 2, the actors try to demonstrate their intention to continue the verbal exchange (14B and 16B) as well as their hesitation to say something against others (15A). In Jura, when one says something against others, one always adds the following phrase, '*Mais, oui, je suis d'accord avec toi, mais...*' (But, yes, I agree with you, but...). The expression clearly demonstrates the intention to continue the conversation despite the objection; the verbal exchange is thus a way to maintain a social relationship.

Hence, two different intentions appear in a verbal exchange: the informative intention to exchange and explore information and the social intention to maintain relationships with others. Benveniste's idea helps us recognize the two intentions grammatically. He distinguished 'discourse' (*discours*) and 'history' (*histoire*) in French verbal expressions and concluded that discourse is expressed with ordinary past tenses (i.e. imperfect and compound past), while history is expressed with aorist tenses (i.e. simple past) (Benveniste 1966: 245). Simonin-Grumbach developed this point claiming that discourse always refers to 'now and here' where interlocutors exchange words using *shifters* (deixis), and that history does not refer to it and has no *shifter* (deixis) in the expression (Simonin-Grumbach 1975: 115). Therefore, though aorist tenses are never used in Jurasian daily conversation, we can distinguish history and discourse according to the existence of deixis. Without any deictic reference to interlocutors, history explicitly exposes only informative intention, while discourse indicates social intention by explicitly referring to interlocutors with deictic expressions.

However, the two types of utterances sometimes interfere in daily conversation. In Case 3, phrase 21C is not a simple assertion of a historical fact; by saying this, the speaker wanted to agree with assertion 20A, and thus tried to maintain a social relation.

Here, talking about a historical event is an active intervention in human relations presented by discourse, so that human relations expressed in discourse can be influenced by what was told in history. The social relation is finally confirmed by the pronoun 'notre' (our) in 27C, implying that they were always together.

Discourse and history often interfere when people speak of past history or experiences. In this respect, two types of past are discernable according to verbal forms of historicity: the distant past and the close past. When one speaks of the distant past, the time is indicated with numeric means (e.g. 'in the 19th century') or historical personalities (e.g. 'at the time of [the Holy Roman Emperor] Charles V'); when one speaks of the close past, the time is indicated by events in the lives of one's kinsmen or friends.

Clearly, the major historical events people learn about in school or through books and the media are in the distant past, and rarely appear in daily conversation. Some people also speak of regional history as the distant past, though they did not learn it in school. As with the distant past, they like to talk about the prosperous time of the region under the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, the heroic battle of Captain Lacuzon against the French invasion in the 17th century, or the republican revolt in the town of Arbois in 1834, when peasants retorted against the gendarmes, 'Nous sommes tous chefs ! (We are all bosses!).' All of these events are presented exactly as 'history' without any deixis (though aorist tenses are not used). However, people speak of a region's distant past not only to exhibit their historical knowledge. They are proud of the history of 'Franche-Comté' for its autonomous status. Therefore, to speak of the regional history is to emphasize the regional values of autonomy, as if these values were inherited over the centuries.

When one speaks of events in the close past, the time is indicated with an experience of the speaker, an interlocutor, or their close kin or friend: 'You know, it was when Cécil [daughter of the speaker] entered primary school...', or 'When we were still young,' for example. When asked, they can identify the year in which the event happened in the numeric way. However, people always talk about events that happened to their family or friends by indicating time through these episodes and not in numeric ways. The individuals who are referred to are always people that all participants in the conversation know, so that the time plays the role of deixis. Therefore, the close past necessarily indicates the social context of the conversation, and thus has the characteristics of 'discourse'. When one speaks of the close past, the speaker has one of three purposes: to emphasize the change between the past and the present, to emphasize the continuity between the past and the present, or to explain the origin of the current situation.

When emphasizing changes between the past and the present, a speaker expresses temporality by the terms *dans le temps* (before) and *aujourd'hui* (today). In our research at the beginning of the 1990s, the boundary between 'before' and 'today' was mostly in the 1970s, however, it varied depending on what the speaker wanted to emphasize.<sup>4)</sup> In all cases, *dans le temps* is described as a time of peaceful and harmonious life with discipline, while *aujourd'hui* as an unstable time when people lost harmony and morality. However, people's lives are always filled with both conflicts and cooperation no matter

when they live. Therefore, the aim of telling such ‘history’ is not to report past events, but to criticize the present. When a speaker emphasizes the continuity between the past and the present, it often concerns a characterization of one’s family: ‘He wanted to be the mayor, but he could not. That is why he makes noise in order to show his presence in the village. You know, it is the family. His father also wanted to be a mayor, and his grandfather, too.’ In this case, the speaker does not distinguish *dans le temps* from *aujourd’hui*, but rather attempts to confirm his or her judgment of the current situation. Similarly, when a speaker describes the origins of the current situation, he or she does not distinguish the past from the present, but simply tries to justify judgment of the current situation. Therefore, discussing the close past is intended to say something about the current situation.

In all of the cases, to talk about the past, whether distant or close, is to say something about the present. In particular, in the close past, human relations indicating the time characterize the current situation. Therefore, we now examine the relationship between the close past and human relationships.

## 2.2 Personal identification and the intimate zone

The personages used to indicate temporality have a close relationship with at least one of the participants in a conversation and can be characterized by the relation of *tu*. According to Jurassian (and French) custom of T/V distinction, two people in a family or two friends address each other with the familiar form (T-form) of the second person singular pronoun *tu*, while two people who are neither kinsmen nor friends address each other with the respectful form (V-form) of the second person singular pronoun *vous*.

In a family, people always address each other with *tu*; a person of the senior generation calls kin of a junior generation by the first name, and the latter calls the former by a kinship term such as *Maman* (Mama) or *Pépé* (Grandpa), or a kinship term with the first name as *Tonton Alfred* (Uncle Alfred). Here, the difference in generations is made obvious, and the system always demands individuals to show politeness towards those in the senior generations.

When two non-kin individuals meet for the first time, they address each other with *vous* and call each other by family names with honorifics as ‘Mr. Perrard’. However, once they begin to speak more familiarly with each other (and there is a tendency in this society to speak familiarly with others, as will be discussed later), they become *copains* (friends), begin to address each other with *tu* and call each other by their first names. Very close friends or kinsmen often use diminutives of the first names. Once they enter a *tu* relation they never go back to a *vous* relation.

Consequently, in daily social interaction, people are classified by address terms based on two elements: their generation in the family and their social distance outside the family.<sup>5)</sup> The close past is always indicated with those people whom participants in the conversation address as *tu*. Therefore, the events of the close past are structured by generation and social distance. There is no special term among Jurassians to describe this world composed of close people addressed by *tu*, but it has a basic importance in their daily interaction. Therefore, we refer to it as the ‘intimate zone’ in the following

discussion.<sup>6)</sup>

The intimate zone can be defined as an egocentric network of people that the ego addresses as *tu* and that is referred to in presentations of the close past. As the ‘history’ of the close past imposes some judgment on the present, the intimate zone has its own norms that affect this judgment. Obviously, this involves various kinds of social relations, whether harmonious or litigious. But whatever the origin, all non-kin relations tend to become just (unstructured) friendship.

In the intimate zone, each person is designated with a first name. To call an individual by his or her family name implies the speaker’s intent to maintain a distance with the addressee. In Jura, the general rule for bestowing first names is as follows. The eldest son receives the paternal grandfather’s (FF) first name, the second son the maternal grandfather’s (MF), and the third and others receive the name of one of the uncles (FB, MB) or granduncles (FFB, FMB, MMB, MFB). The eldest daughter receives the maternal grandmother’s (MM) first name, the second the paternal grandmother’s (FM), and the third and others receive the name of one of aunts (MZ, FZ) or grandaunts (MMZ, MFZ, FFZ, FMZ). Therefore, aside from exceptional cases, a limited number of first names circulate in a family, and there are always several persons of the same first name in a given family or in a village. However, calling someone by their first name never causes any confusion in identifying an individual in conversation because each person is identified not only by the first name, but also with one’s own personal history.<sup>7)</sup> Obviously, reference to such a personal history is a reference to a person’s intimate zone, which is thus not only a group of people, but also a group of their personal stories.

Jurassian people place a high value on *discuter bien* (speaking familiarly with others) because it makes people *copains* (friends). Making friends thus involves sharing these episodes, and therefore strengthens and enlarges one’s intimate zone. Once two people enter into a *tu* relationship, they will never go back to that of *vous* and will share their stories and experiences. Thus we can see the unidirectional nature of the development of relationships in Jura.

### 2.3 Cultural codes and the reproduction of social relationships

Talking about experiences in an individual life is not only a presentation of objective facts. In conversations, people use qualifying adjectives that add subjective judgment to people’s behaviours. In most cases, one’s behaviour is positively qualified with the adjectives *poli* (polite) or *gentil* (kind) and negatively qualified with the adjectives *orgueilleux* (arrogant) or *jaloux* (jealous). To be *poli* is to respect a proper social distance towards others, close or distant. To be *gentil* is to treat others with respect, hence making the social relation closer. In contrast, to be *orgueilleux* is to disregard the dignity of others and to approach them without respect. Being *jaloux* is a reactive expression of a sense of inferiority towards others. These four adjectives can be explained in terms of the intimate zone: being *poli* and *gentil* is a respectful attitude toward others’ experiences, and being *orgueilleux* and *jaloux* represents a disregard for others’ experiences.

In daily life, people try to be *poli* and *gentil*, and to avoid being seen as *orgueilleux* and *jaloux*. The term *jaloux* is especially important. Saying ‘Il est jaloux (He is jealous)’



is a provocation. Aggressive behaviour can also be interpreted as an act of jealousy. One informant said, 'Conflicts in the village always come from jealousy'. In this society, you should behave carefully to avoid having someone else find out that you are jealous of others, or that someone else is jealous of you. To avoid such situations, you should always be *poli* and *gentil*, and never be *orgueilleux*. One who does not need to be jealous of others is considered *indépendant* (independent). Being *indépendant* is an ideal for them; an *indépendant* man can live without any moral support from others, as if his family (or his farm, in case of farmers) is his kingdom. This echoes the values emphasized in the distant past of the region. Clearly, it is not possible to be totally *indépendant* in this society. Therefore, it is necessary to control external intervention for one's own sake. One who can manage this is highly appreciated as *capable* (capable). Such individuals can even become charismatic leaders, like in the cases of some newly organized cooperatives.

These adjectives also serve as cultural codes to frame people's behaviour. They can be semantically classified into two categories: attitudes towards others, and attitudes towards the social environment. *Poli* and *gentil* work positively in one's attitude towards others, keeping a respectful distance, in the case of *poli*, and, if possible, bringing the two a little closer with a gracious act, in the case of *gentil*. To speak familiarly (*discuter bien*) with others is considered to be especially *gentil*. This means that being *gentil* contributes to enlarging the intimate zone, and being *poli* contributes to maintaining the social order in the intimate zone. *Indépendant* and *capable* work positively in one's attitude toward the social environment, not being influenced by others, in the case of *indépendant*, or skilfully manipulating others, in case of *capable*. Being *indépendant* contributes to saving the intimate zone from external influence, and being *capable* contributes to using external resources in that support of the intimate zone. *Orgueilleux* and *jaloux* both work negatively towards others and toward the social environment. A person is *orgueilleux* when he or she is *indépendant* or *capable* but not *poli* or *gentil*. A person is judged as being *jaloux* when he or she is neither *indépendant* or *capable* nor *poli* or *gentil*. Being *jaloux* is interpreted as reflecting lack of confidence in one's own intimate zone, and therefore of the individual himself or herself.<sup>8)</sup>

The system of cultural codes pushes an individual to include more people in the unstructured intimate zone without injecting any hierarchy. Showing superiority is considered to be an expression of *orgueilleux* or even *jaloux*. Therefore, even *capable* or *indépendant* people, whether wealthy or not and of noble origin or not, are forced to present themselves as equal to others with an attitude of being *gentil* towards them because this attitude of hospitality enhances his or her reputation. Consequently, by virtue of cultural codes that work either towards others or towards social environment, everyone is encouraged or even forced to enlarge one's intimate zone, so that the development of human relationships appears to be unidirectional.

#### **2.4 The religious effects of rites of passage**

Most Jurassians are Catholic. While only women and children go to Mass every Sunday, everyone, including men, attends Mass for the important rites of passage of the family.

Prayering and the Mass are the ordinary means of communicating with God. While praying is an individual act practiced in one's private time, the Mass is performed collectively so that the relationship between God and people is presented socially. Therefore, the Mass for the rites of passage of the family expresses the social frame of individual lives. Among such rites, the funeral Mass is the most interesting because it always presents the nature of a Christian individual by focusing on a particular individual who has died.

Case 4 is the funeral Mass for Maxime (Table 1). At the beginning of the Mass, the priest spontaneously spoke of Maxime's particular history (34C-44C), using *nous* (we) to indicate himself and the audience (35C-44C), as well as *vous* (plural 'you') to indicate the audience. However, afterward (after 45C), the priest's words became more formal as if the particular life of Maxime had been assimilated into the Christian life in general; the *nous* (we) now indicated Christians in general, and the *vous* (plural 'you') disappeared (after 41C). This transition from 'discourse' to 'history' indicates that, in verbal expression, a particular individual life with its own personal history becomes integrated into that of the Christians in general. Biblical episodes of Jesus' life are superimposed on the personal history of the deceased, as if each one's life is Jesus' life. The intimate zone of Maxime ultimately included the whole audience as well as all Christians.

The superimposition of Jesus' life on a human life is highlighted through the rites of passage of a person's life. During each life, Jurassians celebrate Baptism, First Communion, Second Communion, the Declaration of Faith, Marriage, and Funeral; these also represent the course of Jesus' life (with the exception of marriage), such that an individual retraces Jesus' life in a succession of rites of passage. Therefore, Jesus Christ is presented as the model of a human. As these rites are always performed in the family, the family ritually structures the identity of each individual. The Trinitarian nature of Jesus, both transcendent and mortal, suggests that the temporal structure of human life is not cyclical but linear, beginning with birth and ending with death (followed by the Last Judgment). The ritual representation of linearity of human life also indicates unidirectional development of the intimate zone, where one is born in the family and develops one's intimate zone as one grows up: at Baptism only parents and god-parents surround the baby; at the Second Communion, cousins, uncles and aunts also come to celebrate the child; at Marriage, close friends also come to celebrate the new couple; and at the Funeral, distant kinsmen and other friends come. Hence, together with cultural codes, the religious practice of rites of passage of life helps people to conceive human life as the development of the intimate zone, and time as the development of human relationships. By showing the importance of the family and the unidirectional nature of time, religious practice reproduces the intimate zone.

In this context, just as was the case with Jesus Christ, each person is asked to sacrifice him or herself for the benefit of others and without any return. Such an action is qualified as '*gentil*'. The norm does not explicitly enforce reciprocity, but instead emphasizes hospitality. However, since each one is asked to sacrifice, the sacrificial action necessarily results in a mutual sacrifice and thus in reciprocity; those who do not

**Table 1** Addressee of Vous (You) and Nous (We) in the Funeral Mass of Maxime

	<i>vous</i> (you)	<i>nous</i> (we)
34C:	audience	—
35C:	audience	audience and the priest
36C:	audience	—
37C:		(historical narrative)
38C:		(historical narrative)
39C:	—	audience and the priest
40C:	family of the deceased	audience and the priest
41C:	—	audience and the priest
42Ch:		(hymn)
43C:		(historical narrative)
44C:	—	audience
45C:	—	Christians in front of the deceased
46C:		(religious words)
47C:	—	audience and the priest
48C:	—	Christians
49C:	—	Christians (formalized expression)
50P:	—	Christians (formalized expression)
51C:	—	Christians (formalized expression)
52P:	—	Christians (formalized expression)

show a willingness to be *gentil* will never be treated as *poli* and will often be severely criticized as *orgueilleux* or *jaloux*. Therefore, in the intimate zone, one is required to show hospitality and a willingness to support others, or risks losing one's reputation both as a Christian and as a social subject.

### 3. Political and economic functions of the intimate zone

#### 3.1 The three types of justification

Jurassian societies are never harmonious. Even though people pretend that life was peaceful in the old times (*dans le temps*), there have always been conflicts in the villages. Once a conflict breaks out, a process of resolution also begins. In this process, each protagonist tries to justify his or her actions and to manage the problem in order to avoid serious consequences. To justify their decisions, there are three options: idealist justification, juridical justification, and situational justification.

Idealist justification refers to a general idea of how society should be, as observed in the prospectus of a candidate for an election (Case 5). This is the prospectus of a socialist dissident in a regional election in 1992. The slogans it contains, however, appear to Jurassian people to be too abstract and utopian, without any concrete indications as to how to accomplish the solutions. No one is against the slogan 'higher education for the

young', but the question is how it can be realized under difficult financial conditions. Most Jurassians do not appreciate references to these idealistic images which appear to be too transcendent, arising from outside of their intimate zone. For the same reason, they do not like ideological discourse, whether from the right or the left.

Juridical justification refers to the use of legal and administrative texts to resolve problems, as in Case 6. This is a common way to resolve conflicts in modern societies such as in France, and therefore administrators are expected to follow the juridical justification. This justification can also (though not always) bring the most coherent solutions to problems because of the objectivity of legal and administrative texts. However, in the villages, people do not always accept such justifications because they find the references to legal texts arrogant and authoritarian (as in 56A, 60A, 63A, cf. 66A in Case 6). They see them as being backed by higher authorities that refuse to enter into any negotiations with the people. For them, juridical justification refers to texts that are external to their intimate zone and threatening to their value of being *indépendant*.

Situational justification refers to episodes that happen to people in the intimate zone (Case 7). In this justification, people try to find similar experiences among these intimates and compare those experiences with the current problem to arrive at a proper solution (71D and 72A). For some people, this is the best way to make decisions. Because the episodes referred to in situational justification are full of moral judgments with cultural codes, the induced conclusion is necessarily guided by these codes; for example, in 68A, the speaker talks about the *orgueilleux* attitude of the administration. It is also interesting that the mayor's juridical justification in Case 6 is couched in formal expressions while his situational justification in Case 7 uses familiar expressions, proving that the latter is embedded in the intimate zone.

Therefore, the intimate zone plays a crucial role in the decision-making process. However, situational justification has an inherent difficulty in bringing coherent solutions to all problems because it can bring different, and sometimes contradictory, conclusions according to the specific episodes referred to and their interpretation. As a consequence, negotiations are needed to reach a satisfactory conclusion. Refusing to enter a dialog is, for them, arrogant (those using idealist and judicial justifications often refuse negotiations and thus appear to be arrogant). When the situational justification put forward in the intervention leads to more complications, people are unable to resolve the issue through negotiation and cannot refuse to follow the juridical or administrative instructions. Yet, those who first ask the administration or the court (both of them outside the intimate zone) to intervene without any compromise can hardly be thought to be *capable*, but only *orgueilleux*.

### 3.2 The property system

The property system among the Jurassian people can also be understood in terms of the intimate zone. Though the property system is defined in the Civil Code, the decisions that farmers make regarding the land and its products do not always follow the formal legal framework; as was the case for the land consolidation launched in 1989 in village F. Though land consolidation was said to be necessary for modernized agriculture, some

farmers were against the practice, saying, ‘This is the land where my grandfather, my father, and I removed stones, cut trees, and made walls. In land consolidation, we always find injustice. Land consolidation, it is legal theft.’ Here, episodes involving the family serve as justification of their right to the land.

Though often regarded as proof of the farmers’ ‘love of the land’ (Mendras 1984: 77), this attitude cannot be fully explained by it. In Jura, where land property is fragmented through egalitarian inheritance, farmers always practice land exchange (the friendly exchange of use rights to land between friends or kinsmen without any documents) and land lending in order to realize efficient agriculture.<sup>9)</sup> In these cases, the farmers express their love not for their own land, but for the land they effectively cultivate. This means that the ‘love of the land’ does not come from the title but from the labour invested in that land. This is a kind of theory of labour value. Since farming is a family affair in which family members work together, labour investment on the land necessarily creates memories and episodes involving the family.

The situational justification of property also explains the custom of common pasture (*vaine pâture*). After the second harvest, land is considered to be open to all herdsmen regardless of its title until the snow falls. Initiated in the Middle Ages in northern France, but criticized for a long time for its neglect of private property rights, this custom was abolished by a National Assembly decision in 1881. Even so, in Jura, the custom continued to be practiced until the 1950s, and gave profit to both rich and poor farmers. The farmers justified the practice as follows: with the second harvest, the pasture (*pâturage*) is considered to have become empty (*vaine*) because all of the fruit of the farmer’s investment on that land is considered to have been harvested. Therefore, once cultivation became intensified after World War II with fertilizer and fertilizing plants, farmers felt that even with a second harvest they could not recover all of their investment. The land ameliorated, thus becoming the cultivator’s own permanent possession. The custom of common pasture disappeared.

According to this farmers’ theory of labour value, one’s labour investment creates one’s right to that product. The product is valuable because episodes involving the family and the neighbourhood are attached to it and reinforce these social relations. Therefore, the intimate zone justifies the property right. The same can be said of the local race of cattle, Montbéliarde. It is an original race of the region, which was genetically selected and elaborated through the farmers’ collective efforts in the region since the 19th century. Therefore, they claim that it is ‘our cattle’.

### 3.3 The mechanism of cooperatives

*Fruitières* function based on this theory of labour value with its logic of the intimate zone. Most Comté cheese is made in cooperatives and most cooperatives are small with less than 20 members (Table 2). Evidently, in a cooperative, especially a small one, the network density is almost 100%; members often live in the neighbourhood and constitute the intimate zone. While Boissevain observed the distinction between core members and peripheral members in coalitions, small Jurassian cooperatives are often composed only of core members. Just like Boissevain’s coalitions of a temporal nature, a cooperative

member's individual identity within the organization 'is not replaced by a group identity, nor is their individual commitment replaced by an ideological commitment to a uniform set of rights and obligations' (Boissevain 1974: 172). However, cooperatives can be called associations because of their permanent nature.

The individuality of members' identities stems from the payment system. Each member farmer produces 'my milk' in his or her farm and sells it to the cooperative. The cooperative then produces wheels of Comté, sells them to the market, and pays the farmers according to the quality and quantity of 'my milk' the farmers provided, so that each farmer receives payment according to his or her own efforts in milk production. By combining the 'my milk' of all members, the cheese becomes 'ours'.

Because a cooperative is an association belonging to the members, each one claims a right to participate in making management decisions and follows situational justification when considering the choice of traders to sell the product, technological innovation, and the price of milk to pay to members. In this process, cooperatives have an egalitarian mechanism; by imposing a three-year mandate for the president and board members and refusing to grant one family a monopoly, they prevent a single person from obtaining exclusive power. The system is supported by the logic of the intimate zone. A president rarely renews the mandate unless he is considered to be highly *capable*; a farmer who tries to claim exclusive power without being highly *capable* is accused of being *jaloux* or *orgueilleux*, and thus could never be thought of as acceptable for such a post.

**Table 2** Dairy Cooperatives in Franche-Comté in 1992

Service régional des statistiques agricoles de Franche-Comté (1993)

Milk collected per society (hL)	Region of Franche-Comté				Department of Jura				Department of Doubs			
	Societies	Farms	Collected milk (hL)	Milk price (FRF/hL)	Societies	Farms	Collected milk (hL)	Milk price (FRF/hL)	Societies	Farms	Collected milk (hL)	Milk price (FRF/hL)
- 699	21	93	9,865	217.8	9	45	4,514	212.4	10	41	4,548	225.3
700-1,099	36	251	31,700	215.6	9	71	8,535	220.9	27	180	23,165	213.3
1,100-1,499	44	397	55,822	219.9	22	188	27,544	218.3	22	209	28,277	221.5
1,500-1,999	44	543	76,766	220.0	14	178	24,069	215.6	29	351	50,970	222.8
2,000-2,999	51	826	122,501	216.9	18	269	42,056	220.2	32	541	77,994	215.2
3,000-4,999	37	980	142,330	213.3	13	335	48,242	216.5	19	502	74,870	213.5
5,000-	29	3,868	544,814	205.2	3	268	35,854	215.4	12	2,056	296,435	209.3
Cooperatives	214	4,367	624,484	212.2	78	1,238	178,211	217.6	118	2,132	311,684	213.1
Private companies	37	2,261	313,171	205.9	11	73	6,840	213.5	13	1,443	201,458	205.7
Domestic cooperatives	36	375	51,221	214.3	9	59	7,712	215.2	27	316	43,508	214.1
Total	287	7,003	988,876	210.2	98	1,370	192,763	217.4	98	3,891	192,763	210.4

N.B.: Among the four departments that compose the Region of Franche-Comté, only two departments in the Jura Mountains (the Department of Jura and the Department of Doubs) are principle producers of cheese Comté.

In cooperatives, each member primarily seeks his or her own economic profit and not that of the cooperative as a group. Members' profits come from their own family farms, using family land and family labour. The family is also the unit of everyday life; education, health control, recreation, and religious activities provide a basic identity to individuals, so the family becomes the core of the intimate zone. To increase productivity and income excessively through labour intensification will necessarily neglect the non-economic functions of the family, thus damaging relationships in the intimate zone, and in turn causing deterioration in its economic activities. Therefore, family farming functions as a moral economy in that it allows economic activities only through social relations. By the same logic, a farmer's strategy consists of reducing risks to secure family life by diversifying parcels and choosing qualifying products.<sup>10)</sup> Through the farmers' participation in the decision-making process, cooperatives naturally follow this strategy.

Farmers claim that cooperatives are preferable to private companies because they can enjoy equal participation in the cooperative decision-making process without depending on someone else's decision, while in private companies farmers have no right to take part in the decision-making. Thus the cooperative realizes the farmers' value of being *indépendant* and let them refuse the intervention of the external logic of the State and the market.



**Figure 2** A cheese factory in a dairy cooperative in Jura. A. Miura, 1991.

## 4. The moral economy and associations

### 4.1 The intimate zone and the moral economy

Alongside a formal social system based on a modern legal and administrative arrangement, Jurassian rural society works on the basis of the intimate zone. Involving a particular historicity and addressing system, the intimate zone regulates conflict resolutions, property relations, and the economic activities of farming and cooperatives without fully following the modern system of administration, jurisprudence, and the market. Ethnographies of non-Western societies also report similar systems of moral economy, and claim that they are based on non-Western conceptions completely different from Western ideas. However, Jurassian practice demonstrates that European rural societies share common features with non-European societies (cf. Le Roy 1999: 152-157).

Property systems similar to the one in Jura are reported in various ethnographies. In Southeast Asia, the traditional land system works on such a theory of labour value. In the 17th century, according to Father Alcina's report on the pre-colonial Philippines, no private ownership of lands existed, and peasants could appropriate only the result of his or her own labour, such as crops and fruit bearing trees (Alcina 2005: 98-101), just as with the common pasture in Jura. This system is sometimes expressed in written codes such as the Laws of Malacca (Liaw 1976: 111). Even nowadays, despite the adoption of the Western system of private property, people act as if the pre-colonial system still exists; cultivators are thought to lose their right to the field once they stop farming, unless they leave trees or landesque capital such as an irrigation system (ex. Urich 2003: 159). The land system in Southeast Asian societies was originally adapted to shifting cultivation. However, it also serves to ensure that poor people have access to land, while the imposition of the modern system of private property excludes poor people from the land and thus worsens economic inequality (Urich 2003: 160). Similar systems are also found in Sub-Saharan Africa, where 'individuals gain use rights by initial clearing or inheritance and maintain such rights through continuous exploitation (Migot-Adholla et al. 1991: 157-158)'. In these societies, traditional land rights guarantee access to land for poor peasants, while the modern system of property rights is not deemed economically worthwhile (Migot-Adholla et al. 1991: 170).

Although the Western legal system of juridical justification has been introduced in Southeast Asia and Africa, its disregard for the particular situation of each individual involved in a dispute appears to farmers in those areas to be arrogant and demeaning. In Southeast Asian rural societies, people believe that every human being is equal in their essence, whatever their social and economic status may be (cf. Kerkvliet 1990: 250), and that justice consists of mutual respect for equal essences. Therefore, for example, while the modern legal system strictly follows the text of economic contracts, farmers find the terms of contracts negotiable and sometimes invalid when they cannot fulfil the conditions due to *forces majeurs* such as a bad climate change or sudden disease for which they are not responsible. Here, the requirement of mutual respect asks the two parties to consider each one's particular situation and to refer to similar cases in the decision-making process.<sup>11)</sup> Therefore, justice is to be realized through negotiation based



on situational justification. In West Africa, too, conflict resolution is based on negotiation referring to tales (therefore, episodes) of ancestral experience and myth (Le Roy 1999: 193-196).

However, there are also differences between farmers in Franche-Comté and farmers in other societies. In Southeast Asian societies, people accept the political hierarchy of the patronage system as long as the leaders ensure the followers' survival; therefore, central personages play an important role in social change, reducing farmers' daily risks, but also facilitating corruption. In Africa, the lineage system asks people to respect and follow the aged chiefs of their lineage. In Jura, where people play the game of *orgueilleux* and *jaloux* to create an egalitarian interaction system, people refuse to give prominent leadership to a single individual unless he or she is found to be highly *capable*. Consequently neither a patronage system nor a chiefdom system could develop there.

Historically, the most important difference between the Jurassian moral economy and that of other societies is that the former has succeeded in being integrated into the market economy with cooperatives while the latter sometimes fails to do so. The difference in performance may well be linked to the difference in social systems. Therefore, it is necessary to examine how Jurassian cooperatives have succeeded in integrating themselves into the capitalist economy.

#### **4.2 The moral economy and the market**

When entrepreneurs seek new profits by exploring new social networks, they change the social order. In this process, as noted by Boissevain (1974: 170), they may develop coalitions. In the 18th and 19th centuries, Jurassian farmers organized cooperatives as action sets in order to face the economic changes launched by the expanding monetary economy. Gruyère was suitable for commercialization, and even well-off peasants needed cooperation from poor peasants in the village because they did not have enough cows to produce a sufficient amount of milk for a wheel of Comté. The first cooperatives developed using existing resources such as their product (milk), social relations among the peasants, and external commercial relations that provided cash for local communities. Boissevain's claim that coalitions develop when the community cannot provide security for the people, while corporate associations proliferate when the community does provide security (1974: 203-205) holds true for Jurassian society; cooperatives developed at the margins of the central political power, and then became corporate associations.

Though cooperatives did not introduce any new resources, the development of cooperatives changed rural communities in two ways. First, quantitative growth in cheese production changed subsistent mixed farming into simple commodity production, and then into petty commodity production specializing in milk. Second, the smallest peasants having no cows but only goats could not remain in the cooperatives, and thus were excluded from the village.<sup>12)</sup> Hence, the quantitative strengthening of existing resources through cooperatives brought a qualitative change in the rural economy, integrating rural villages into the monetary economy and eliminating the poorest peasants. However, as long as the cooperatives functioned without a 'central figure' such as a leader (Boissevain

1974: 200), the farmers subordinated the goals of the cooperatives to their own goals concerning the moral economy of domestic groups. Profit and the established shared capital then allowed cooperatives to become permanent associations.

In Franche-Comté, cooperatives have adapted to the market economy better than private companies (Table 2). The economic superiority of cooperatives stems from two factors: their internal relations based on the intimate zone and their external relations of brokerage.

Cooperative members are in the intimate zone with one another and thus know one another well through daily interaction. The price of cheese depends on the quality of the product, which in turn is subject to the hygiene of the breeding environment. When one farmer brings low quality milk caused by poor hygiene conditions, all of the cooperative's cheese will be damaged, resulting in a low price. Hence, mutual control is required for milk of good quality. When members know each other well, mutual control is easy. Similarly, when they know each other well, decision-making is possible with a low transaction cost; agreement is further facilitated by their similar economic status and interests as historically, most Jurasian farmers have been homogeneous smallholders. This mutuality accounts for the superiority (higher milk price) of the smaller cooperatives compared with the larger ones (Table 2). *Fruitières* thus efficiently use the intimate zone for organizing production in cases where only cooperative action brings profit. However, once the ambiance of teamwork deteriorates, cooperation becomes difficult. This was the case for the *fruitière* in Village F; a small quarrel among members escalated to a court conflict, launching the game of *jaloux*, and the farmers lost any willingness to cooperate. The *fruitière* of Village F was dissolved in 1988, and farmers chose other cooperatives in neighbouring villages.

Cooperatives function as brokers linking family farms to the market. When market values go against the profit of family farms, self-reliant cooperatives without a central figure make decisions in favour of household economy by reducing their own capital in favour of household profit. This was the case in the economic crisis of 1968 (Gros 1980: 106). Nevertheless, the cooperative's buffering function has a constraint in the form of limited capital. In times of economic crisis, some cooperatives cannot survive and members decide to dissolve their cooperative and join other cooperatives they know. However, as long as the cooperative principles of decision-making and profit distribution remain the same, moving from one cooperative to another does no direct damage to the farmers' economic activities.

To conclude, *fruitières* based on the intimate zone have allowed the survival of the farmers' moral economy without radically changing rural social relations. The economic homogeneity of cooperative members, as well as the shared capital of their cheese production tools, has reduced the risk of internal conflicts of interest and made cooperatives into more or less permanent associations.

In developing countries, most rural cooperatives are organized by governments but often end unsuccessfully. Some of the reasons for these failures come from their disregard of the rural social system. As we saw, in Southeast Asia and Africa where such leaders are important in the daily social system, associations give a prominent role to

leaders. Then, leaders acting as brokers can appropriate the means of production without sharing them with the farmers. In this situation, the cooperatives often lack a mechanism to force leaders to follow the logic of moral economy. Thus, leaders often become capitalist agents and neglect the moral economy, as was the in the case in the rural Philippines, for example. Cooperatives cannot protect farmers against market pressure. Furthermore, while Boissevain insisted that action sets develop where the community cannot guarantee security, cooperatives in Southeast Asia and Africa were often promoted by the state itself and became merely governmental agents neglecting the local traditional systems. An imposed cooperative system thus goes against the moral economy of the local people.

### 4.3 The Jurassian economy and Proudhonian philosophy

Franche-Comté is the motherland of certain socialist philosophers of an associationist tendency. Despite widespread political conservatism among farmers, the influence of the cooperative tradition is evident in the social thought of Fourier and Proudhon. Their ideas interest us because they are rooted in local tradition and yet they have contributed to the development of the ideas of a civil society. Here, Proudhonian philosophy is briefly discussed as one example because it represents well the practice and logic of Jurassian farmers.<sup>13)</sup>

Proudhon is famous for his assertion ‘property is theft’; a conclusion derived from his ideas that the result of one’s own labour is one’s own property. Here he argues that the result of collective labour becomes a social property, and must be appropriated not just by the capitalists but by all parties concerned (Proudhon 1982a [1840]: 218) and that, in workers’ associations, the associated contribution consists chiefly of labour, with each being remunerated in proportion to his product, in wages and in profits (Proudhon 1876 [1854]: 411-412). Similarly, he rejects profits from credit activities and develops the idea of gratuitous credit, i.e. credit without interest where goods serve as money (Proudhon 1849: 27-28). He based these ideas on his own concept of justice, defined as mutual and reciprocal respect among people, and rejected the transcendent authority of the Church and the State (Proudhon 1982b [1968]: 426). While Proudhon accused the ‘association’ of posing a threat to individual freedom, he also finds it to be a good means of realizing an industrial republic. In all of these propositions, we find echoes of Jurassian practice, though further analysis is required in order to examine the similarities. We can see that Proudhon’s idea of property is similar to that of the Jurassian farmers (and the farmers of non-Western societies), for whom the result of one’s own labour is one’s property; the functioning mechanism of workers’ associations is exactly that of the Jurassian cooperatives. Gratuitous credit was already practiced among Jurassian farmers, who, living in an economy of simple commodity production, obtained their daily necessities without cash in the village and formed what Braudel (1979: 503) described as the sphere of ‘material life’. Proudhon’s justice is exactly what Jurassian people today describe as ‘politeness’ (*politesse*), denying the intervention of any external authorities such as states and big companies.

If the farmers’ social and economic system in Franche-Comté can be characterized

as a moral economy established to avoid instability and to ensure the social life, then Proudhon's economic system can as well. This system thus shares some principle features with peasant societies in Southeast Asia or Africa; a property system, decision-making through everyday justice, and gratuitous credit (free circulation of goods) are among these. Because Proudhon attempted to reorganize the modern globalizing economy by means of a system of moral economy, the similarity encourages us to think about the application of the Proudhonian perspective to today's rural development in those societies.

The Proudhonian system differs from Boissevain's coalitions because it seeks to establish an enduring and sustainable system, while coalitions are temporal with specific goals. However, as the history of cooperatives in Franche-Comté shows, establishing such permanent associations can begin with the organization of coalitions. Indeed, if associations deal with new economic and social resources, coalitions would be suitable to their introduction. When such introduction of new resources allows the people's participation in decision-making, coalitions may encourage civil society movements. However, the experience of cooperatives in other societies suggests the limits of the Proudhonian model; the social system in which cooperatives channel the circulation of resources differs from one society to another. This difference may affect the performance of coalitions, the first phase in the development of cooperatives. However, as the basic principles of the social system are shared among France, Southeast Asia, and Africa, this difference will not prevent non-European societies from organizing the economic associations Proudhon wanted to establish. Here, Boissevain's perspective on social networks would be useful, focusing on entrepreneurs and social resources. This would contribute to the examination and reorganization of the flow of new resources inside and outside of associations to realize a moral economy, and the examination would allow us to determine the conditions for a transition from coalitions to associations.

Because Proudhon developed his ideas based on European experiences, a culturalist interpretation of his theory is needed to adapt it to other social systems. In this cultural interpretation, Boissevain's perspective may be helpful. Obviously, this is also a way of imagining models of civil society adapted to the nature of each society.

## **5. Conclusion**

The Jurassian social system gave birth to particular associations of cooperatives. Developed from action sets, they contributed to the preservation of the moral economy of the farmers and framed Jurassian civil society. However, the Jurassian case shows that the functioning mechanism of its associations is based on the intimate zone so that the public sphere works on the logic of the intimate zone. Therefore, the consolidation of democratic values in a civil society should be based on the particular structure of intimate social relations; this suggests that non-European societies might have other types of civil societies.

Boissevain's approach to society not only allows us to conduct efficient analyses of European sociability, but also gives another perspective on the Western social ideas of

association and on the possibility of civil society in non-European societies. From this comparative perspective, we can better understand the implications of social thought for people in Europe as well as in developing countries.

## Notes

- 1) The first version of this paper was prepared for the final report of the research project 'Studies of European Elementary Cultures' (1998-2001). The project was organized by Prof. Hiroyuki Ninomiya, a historian of modern France, and Prof. Junzo Kawada, an Africanist anthropologist, both prominent academic leaders who have been innovators in their fields in Japan and have promoted the anthropology of France. Unfortunately, the report went unpublished and Prof. Ninomiya passed away in 2006. I owe them both a great deal for my entire perspective on what academic studies are. The current paper is a version of that earlier report supplemented with further analysis and additional discussion.
- 2) Today, a wheel of Comté cheese (a modern type of Gruyère) weighs 55kg, and requires 500L of milk; as a cow produces at maximum 30L a day, at least 17 cows are needed to produce one. However, at the beginning of the 20th century, each cow produced only 2L a day and a typical peasant family had only one or two cows, thereby necessitating the organization of a cooperative. In the Middle Ages, a wheel of *Vachelin* cheese (an old type Gruyère) weighed 20kg, and each cow produced less milk.
- 3) The communitarian tradition is an example of what Mendras (1988: 167) pointed to as a 'mountainous democracy' in which people cope with problems together. However, Le Bras et Todd (1981: 29-30) showed that people in Franche-Comté, like people in other zones of nuclear families, were individualists, making a sharp contrast to the communitarian tendencies of people in a zone of large families with uncontrolled marriage. Our informants also said that Jurassians were individualists and even egoists, despite the proliferation of cooperatives. At first look their explanations appear to be contradictory. However, as Dion-Salitot et Dion (1972: 335-336) assumed, the communitarian tradition and an individualist attitude are two sides of the same coin.
- 4) The distinction between 'before' and 'today' has already been reported by anthropologists of France. However, the boundaries reported were different. Bernot et Blancard (1953: 323) said in their study on a Normandy town, Nouville, that the boundary was around 1870. Zonabend (1980: 13) indicated that it was after World War II in a Burgundy village of Minot studied in the 1960s. Our interviews revealed that the date of the boundary could not be fixed. It could be the 1980s or the 1960s, depending on what people were discussing.
- 5) Gender relations also intervene in terms of address; women fall more easily into the *tu* relationship among themselves than men do. In earlier times, teachers called girls by their first names and boys by their family names. This partly indicates a gendered distinction of public and private. However, due to a lack of space, this problem is not discussed in detail here.
- 6) We use the term 'intimate zone' after Boissevain (1974: 47). However, while Boissevain defines the intimate zone only by social distance, we define it as the ego's world, socially constructed through particular norms and episodes, as is discussed later. The intimate zone is closely related to secrets; the closer two people are, the more they share personal secrets.

Secrets are important in building social relationships in Jura, but a discussion of this is beyond the scope of this paper.

- 7) Nicknames are the most effective way to identify a person. In rural Jura, people in earlier times (until the 1970s) largely used nicknames based on particular events or the empirical nature of the person. However, in the 1990s, they stopped using nicknames. People regretted the decline saying that it was because they had lost sociability in the village. Kawada (1998[1988]: 106) discusses this issue saying that, among the Mossi in Burkina Faso, people did not have the category of 'proper name', and that human names always carried certain messages. In Jura, too, even though human names are considered to be proper names, to use the name of an individual is to give a certain message; these are messages that describe social relations between the speaker and the addressee as well as episodes attached to the addressee.
- 8) Based on his ethnography of Jura, Layton proposed a slightly different interpretation. In Pellapart, he found three important cultural codes similar to those we discussed above; *gentil* (kind, gracious = honour preserved), *fou* (foolish = loss of honour), and *fier* (proud, arrogant). Inspired by Bourdieu's study of Kabyle and the Maussian framework, Layton interpreted this as follows: the word *gentil* represents a willingness to reciprocate, the word *fou* acceptance without the ability to reciprocate, and the word *fier* a refusal to give despite holding the resources (Layton 2000: 193; 221). Layton's interpretation can also be applied to our data with some modification, though we did not find any expressions equivalent to Layton's *fou*, which differs from our *jaloux*. Compared with Mediterranean cultural codes such as 'honour', the Jurassian codes are much less gendered.
- 9) Land fragmentation caused by egalitarian inheritance is often said to work against efficient farming. However, in Jura, it allows farmers to establish an efficient land arrangement for their management goals. The local idea of land property supports the arrangement. Some people claim a property right to land they do not cultivate. In this case, the land symbolizes the family relations through inheritance, so that the logic of the intimate zone also frames such a justification.
- 10) In the various stages of production, risk-spreading strategies are evident: land fragmentation reduces ecological risk through the use of lands of various ecological conditions; the Montbéliarde race is economically valuable both for milk production and for meat production (while Holstein cows are used only for milk); and Comté cheese is resistant to a volatile market due to its aptitude for preservation. In the old times, common pasture also contributed to reducing the risk of each farmer.
- 11) Andaya (1978: 288) pointed out that the understanding of law differed between the Malay people and the Dutch East Indies Company which resulted in severe conflicts between the Malay kingdoms and the Dutch. While the Dutch thought that clauses of treaties should be strictly observed literally without negotiation, the Malay people thought that these clauses should be understood as a whole that characterizes the relationship of the two parties, and the details should be negotiated for consensus.
- 12) Some of these poor farmers went to work in the watch industry in Swiss Jura, the place that would subsequently become the capital of the most radical anarchist movement of the 1870s in Europe.
- 13) Walras severely criticized Proudhon but was probably inspired by him in the theorization of

general equilibrium. Proudhon also inspired Gesell's natural economy and, via Gesell, Keynes' theory. The validity (as well as the invalidity) of his discussion stems partly from its roots in the practice of the farmers he lived among. Despite Marx's well known but irrelevant critics (Hilmer, 2000: 91-92), Proudhon gives us a useful perspective on economic problems.

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## Appendix: Conversation Data

### Case 1: Conversation in the family

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#### French original

- 1A: c'est pour ça que c'est marqué conseil général  
 2A: c'est eux qui achètent là-bas pour Chalain hhh  
 3A: peut-être plutôt plus près des Jeux Olympiques  
 4A: il va y en avoir là-bas qui vont tout passer au bulldozer  
 5B: ah oui c'est ce qu'ils disaient  
 6B: ils vont peut-être tout balancer du bazar là-bas après  
 8B: ça vaudrait le coup d'y racheter!  
 9C: comme l'autre il m'a dit  
 10C: y a des communes qui sont endettées à vie sans aut' sorte de moyens

---

#### English translation

- 1A: this is why it is written 'general council'.  
 2A: it was they who bought there for Lake Chalain, hhh.  
 3A: maybe, rather, soon before Olympic Games  
 4A: Some people will be there and develop all of the land with bulldozers  
 5B: oh, yes, it is what they said  
 6B: they gonna maybe arrange all there afterward  
 8B: that would be worth buying back!  
 9C: as another man told me...  
 10C: there are communes who are indebted to life without any means
- 

### Case 2: Discussion in the municipal council

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#### French original

- 11A: je vais te dire encore quelque chose tu vois  
 12A: quand tu parles de sécurité des gamins et ben la sécurité  
 13A: il faut l'avoir pour tout le monde hein?  
 14B: c'est-à-dire? continue, je t'écoute, non, mais je t'écoute!  
 15A: bien: c'est-à-dire: c'est tout à fait [inaudible]  
 16B: tu m'écoutais, tu m'écoutais, je t'écoute  
 17A: je vais te dire tout simplement [...]

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#### English translation

- 11A: I tell you something more, you know.  
 12A: when you speak of the security of kids, and well, the security  
 13A: we need it for everyone, no?  
 14B: what do you wanna say? Continue, I listen to you, no, well I listen to you!  
 15A: well, I mean, it's absolutely [inaudible]  
 16B: you listen to me, you listen to me, I listen to you  
 17A: I gonna tell you just only [...]
-

### Case 3: Conversation among friends

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French original

- 18A: alors, là, les chansons de Frédéric François!  
 19B: toutes les fois qu'il chante, **je** pense à toi, toutes les fois!  
 20A: oh, ben, il en a une belle, il en a une belle...  
 21C: hier, il a joué. Il chantait à la télé.  
 22A: ah, **je** suis allé me coucher avant, moi.  
 23B: *Je...*, comment..., *je ne te suffis plus...*, *tu ne me suffis plus...*  
 24A: *Tu ne me suffis plus.*  
 25B: ou, *Je ne te suffis plus...*  
 26D: allez, très bien!  
 27C: c'est **notre** chanson.

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English translation

- 18A: well, there, songs of Frédéric François!  
 19B: every time he sings, **I** think of you, every time!  
 20A: oh, good, he has a beautiful one, he has a beautiful one.  
 21C: yesterday, he played. He sang on the TV.  
 22A: ah, **I** went to bed before, me.  
 23B: *Je...*, how..., *je ne te suffis plus...*, *tu ne me suffis plus...*  
 24A: *Tu ne me suffis plus.*  
 25B: or, *Je ne te suffis plus...*  
 26D: go on, very good!  
 27C: it's **our** song.

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The bold words are first person pronouns.

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### Case 4: Funeral Mass of Maxime

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French original

- 34C: Chers amis, **vous** êtes plus nombreux que lundi soir dans la chambre du papa où **vous vous** étiez retrouvés spontanément dans le devoir de l'affection pour les derniers gestes filiaux.  
 35C: Mais maintenant **nous** allons entourer le papa avec une prière aussi intense que celle qui est venue sur **nos** lèvres alors qu'il venait de **nous** quitter. Maintenant c'est la prière de la communauté chrétienne, de tous **vos** amis, de tous ceux qui ont entouré Maxime\* pendant de si longues années.  
 36C: Oui, ce fut une longue vie, une vie dure encore bien plus depuis 28 ans, depuis ce 21 octobre où déjà **vous** étiez réunis dans cette église pour l'adieu à la maman.  
 37C: J'ose à peine imaginer Jean-Louis\*\*, le dernier qui était bien jeune. Rester seul est certainement plus difficile pour l'époux quand il faut porter le souci des enfants.  
 38C: Et puis, le désir inné des parents de vouloir ses enfants à l'image de ce qu'ils ont projeté, rêvé. Je pense aussi à la mort de Denis\*\*\*.  
 39C: Les hommes de cette génération ne pouvaient pas exprimer ce qu'ils ressentaient dans leur cœur. C'est pourquoi ils **nous** apparaissent parfois comme un peu durs, volontaires.  
 40C: **Vous** avez entouré **votre** papa au dernier moment et Alfred\*\* en particulier, tenait la permanence. **Vous** m'avez bien dit cela aussi hier matin, 'On a perdu très tôt la maman, mais le papa est resté longtemps pour nous garder unis'. Gardez bien cela. Ainsi vous entourant de **notre** amitié, **nous** rendons grâce à Dieu pour cette longue vie avec toutes les lumières dont elle fut porteuse.

- 41C: Au-delà de la séparation toujours difficile, il faut retrouver la confiance près de ce Dieu plein de tendresse et de miséricorde qui seul, au jour de **notre** mort, peut combler **notre** désir d'infini. C'est ce que **nous** essayons de chanter 'Lumière des hommes, nous marchons vers toi'. C'est le chant G 128.
- 42Ca: *Lumière des hommes, nous marchons vers toi ...*
- 43C: C'est le 25 novembre de l'année 1900 que le papa a été baptisé dans cette église. A la fin du baptême, comme c'est la coutume, le prêtre a dû remettre la lumière à ses parents Jean-Baptiste et Marie-Marguerite, à ses parrain et marraine Henri et Hélène.
- 44C: Comme à cette époque, il a dû le dire en latin, mais ça voulait dire à peu près ceci: 'Reçois la lumière du Christ et gardes-la toute ta vie', la lumière de la foi, la foi solide du papa, **nous** l'évoquons par le geste des petits-enfants qui déposent sur son corps la lumière.
- 45C: **Nous** ranimons cette flamme près de Maxime **notre** frère, cette lumière qui vient de toi Seigneur, lumière dans **notre** obscurité, qu'elle éclaire ce pas que **nous** avons à faire pour repartir tous dans l'espérance.
- 46C: La lumière luit en forme de croix, et maintenant le crucifix sur le cercueil, tout cela est signe de l'amour de Jésus-Christ.
- 47C: Le Seigneur Jésus **nous** a aimés jusqu'à mourir pour **nous**, cette croix **nous** le rappelle, qu'elle soit donc à **nos** yeux le signe de son amour pour Maxime et pour chacun de **nous**.
- 48C: Avant de **nous** mettre à l'écoute de la parole de Dieu et avant de partager ensemble le pain de l'eucharistie du Christ qui **nous** rassemble et qui nourrit **notre** vie de baptisés, **nous** reconnaissons que **nous** sommes pécheurs, **nous** demandons pardon à Dieu de toutes les obscurités dans **nos** vies mais **nous** demandons pardon aussi pour Maxime, le papa.
- 49C: Seigneur Jésus fils de Dieu venu dans le monde partager **nos** peines et **nos** joies, prends pitié de **nous**.
- 50P: Prends pitié de **nous**.
- 51C: Au Christ mort sur la croix pour vaincre en **nous** la mort et le péché, prends pitié de **nous**.
- 52P: Prends pitié de **nous**.

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English translation

- 34C: Dear friends, **you** are more numerous than on Monday evening in papa's room where **you** came spontaneously for the duty of affection for the last filial act.
- 35C: But, now, **we** are going to surround Papa with a prayer as intense as that which came on **our** lips when he left **us**. Now, it is the prayer of Christian community, of all your friends, of all who surrounded Maxime for such long years.
- 36C: Yes, it was a long life, a yet harder life for 28 years since 21 October when **you** gathered in this church to say good-bye to Mama.
- 37C: I barely dare to imagine Jean-Louis, the last son who was still young. To stay alone is certainly more difficult for the husband when he should take care of children.
- 38C: And then, the inner desire of parents to make their children to the image they projected, dreamed. I also think of the death of Denis.
- 39C: Men of this generation could not express what they felt in their hearts. That's why they sometimes appear to **us** a little hard and determined.
- 40C: **You** surrounded **your** papa at the last moment, and Alfred in particular, always stayed with him. **You** told me this, yesterday morning, too, 'We lost Mama very early, but Papa stayed long to save us united'. Keep it well. Then we surround you with **our** friendship, and **we** render grace to God for this long life with all the light his life has kept.
- 41C: Beyond the always difficult separation, we must find the trust by this God full of tender and mercy which, alone, on the day of **your** death, can fulfill **our** desire for eternity. This is what **we** try to sing 'Light of men, we walk to you'. It is the song G 128.
- 42Ca: *Lumière des hommes, nous marchons vers toi ...*

- 43C: It is on the November 25, 1900, that papa was baptized in this church. At the end of the baptism, as was the custom, the priest must light a candle to his parents Jean-Baptiste and Marie-Marguerite, and his godparents Henri and Hélène.
- 44C: At this time, he had to speak in Latin, but it meant the following: ‘Receive the light of Christ and keep it all your life’, the light of the faith, the solid faith of papa, **we** evoke it with the grandchildren’s act of lighting a candle on his body.
- 45C: **We** revive this flame nearby Maxime, **our** brother, this light that came from you, Lord, the light in our obscurity, that the light illuminate this step that **we** have to make in order to restart all in the hope.
- 46C: The light illuminates the shape of the cross, and now the crucifix on the coffin, all of this is the sign of the love of Jesus Christ.
- 47C: The Lord Jesus loved **us** until he died for **us**; this cross reminds **us** of this, that the cross, thus, be, for **our** eyes, the sign of his love for Maxime and for each of **us**.
- 48C: Before **we** listen to the words of God, and before **we** share together the bread of the Sacrament of Christ who assembled **us** and who fed **our** life as christened, **we** recognize that **we** are sinners, **we** ask pardon from God for all the obscurity in **our** life but **we** ask pardon also for Maxime, papa.
- 49C: Lord Jesus, Son of God, who came to the world to share **our** pain and **our** joy, take pity on **us**.
- 50P: Take pity on **us**.
- 51C: To the Christ who died on the cross to conquer death and sin in **us**, take pity on **us**.
- 52P: Take pity on **us**.

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\* Maxime: the deceased, died at the age of 90; \*\* Jean-Louis, Alfred: Maxime’s sons; \*\*\* Denis: Maxime’s step-son, already died.

C: priest, P: participants at the mass, Ca: canticle.

The bold words are *nous* and *vous*.

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### Case 5: Prospectus of a political group (a written text)

French original

Avec ‘Socialiste \*\*\*’, nous ferons vivre cette diversité et cette ruralité du JURA autour des axes suivants:

- Accès des jeunes Jurassiens à l’enseignement supérieur  
(par exemple: formation B.T.S. premier cycle sur place - participation aux frais de transport des étudiants pour les enseignements qui doivent rester à Besançon).
- Désenclavement du département dans le respect de l’environnement  
(par exemple: priorité aux transports par voie ferrée: amélioration de la ligne Dole/Vallorbe - mise en place d’un centre de transbordement SNCF/routes dans le Jura - poursuite de l’électrification Frasnais/Saint-Amour: [...])

English translation

With ‘Socialists\*\*\*’, we revive the diversity and rurality of Jura on the following axes:

- Access of young Jurassians to higher education.  
(for example: formation B.T.S. undergraduate course on the locality - subsidy of the transportation fee for students in tertiary education who must always be at Besançon)
  - Opening up of the department of Jura in the respect of the environment.  
(for example: priority to railway transport; improvement of the line Dole/Vallorbe – realization of a transbordment centre of the French National Railway/route in Jura – advancement of electrification between Frasnais / Saint-Amour: [...])
-

**Case 6: Discussion in municipal council**

## French original

- 53A: La convention de l'intercommunale nous a demandé de verser à la famille A, pour les travaux qui avaient été faits dans la Lessime, qui reçoivent les égouts à côté de chez eux.
- 54A: Et ce système coûtait un peu plus de 9.000 francs, donc, il faut qu'on délibère pour reprendre ce dédommagement de façon à la faire intervenir dans le budget supplémentaire.
- 55A: Alors est-ce que quelqu'un est opposé à reprendre ce dédommagement?
- 56A: Mais je vous dis, ça me paraît difficile de dire non puisque la commission de l'intercommunale a dit qu'il fallait...
- 57B: Mais je veux dire qu'on la verserait à la famille A... D'accord.
- 58C: Je m'abstiens pour l'instant.
- 59D: Ben, et les égouts, si on attribue à la famille A... ?
- 60A: Ah, non! Attention! quand on dit qu'on va payer un dédommagement, c'est-à-dire que comme c'est attribuer à la commune, le dédommagement est fait pour la famille A... des travaux qu'elle a faits là-dedans.
- 61A: Mais la Lessime étant attribuée à la commune, la commune devient propriétaire.
- 62A: Mais comme les gens ont fait des travaux, on leur donne un dédommagement des travaux qu'ils ont faits.
- 63A: Voilà le sens du dédommagement.

## English translation

- 53A: The agreement between communes asked us to pay the family A for the work that was done in the block of Lessime, that receives the sewage system beside their house.
- 54A: And this system cost a little more than 9.000 francs. Thus, we must discuss recovering this compensation in order to have it put into the supplementary budget.
- 55A: Well, is there anybody against retaking this compensation?
- 56A: But, I tell you, it would be difficult to say no because the commission of communes said we must....
- 57B: But, I wanna say that we would pay to the family A..., OK.
- 58C: I refrain from saying something for instance.
- 59D: Well, and the sewers, if we gave them to the family A...
- 60A: Ah, no! Attention! When we say we will pay the compensation, it means that it is the commune's property, and the compensation is for the family A... for the work they did there.
- 61A: But Lessime belongs to the commune, the commune becomes proprietary.
- 62A: As the people did the work, we give them the compensation for the work they did.
- 63A: This is the meaning of compensation.

A: mayor; B: secretary; C and D: municipal councilors

### Case 7: Discussion in the municipal council

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French original

- 64A: Or là, nous, on paie les grosses réparations au syndicat [intercommunal d'assainissement]. Et, celle-là, faut la payer, le syndicat nous demande de la payer. On la paye! alors, y a une prouesse...
- 65B: On a rien à dire, toutes les décisions qu'on a prises...
- 66A: Ah oui, Mais là, ils s'enferment derrière la loi. Paf! La loi est pour eux, elle est pas appliquée!
- 67B: Faut qu'ils gèrent l'eau à Fay...
- 68A: C'est ce que j'appelle le contrôle de l'égalité, contrôle de l'égalité des délibérations qui sont prises. Y a un connard à la D.D.A., parce que quand j'étais en haut, j'sais pas s'ils ont été fouillés dans les sacs, moi j'ai fait la connerie si vous voulez... Il fallait justifier l'augmentation du prix de l'eau, passer de 1,50 F à 2,00 F. Bon, ça fait une grosse augmentation, ben, elle est pas suffisante pour eux. Alors ils se sont basés là-dessus, ils ont dit: «On veut pas des mètres cubes à 150.» Paf! Terminé! Ils attendaient que ça.
- 69C: Moi je trouve ça bizarre. J pense qu'ils ont reçu un courrier puis...
- 70A: Non mais, qu'ils reçoivent un courrier, faut déjà que les gens ils reprennent toutes les [inaudible]. S'ils ont pas mis les chiffres sur la délibération, faut qu'ils reprennent toutes les factures d'eau, si voilà la connerie que j'ai faite, c'est que j'ai mis les chiffres de la délibération!
- 71D: Ben, y a quelques années ils nous avaient demandé un justificatif comme quoi on augmentait l'eau!
- 72A: C'est pour ça que cette fois-là j'ai dit: «Faut justifier.» Quand on avait passé de 80 centimes à 1 F, je me suis dit: «Autant justifier tout de suite.» Oh, puis c'est pas fini. Ça va nous tomber sur la gueule tant qu'on n'aura pas un taux d'assainissement.

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English translation

- 64A: Then, we pay the water association of communes for the big repairmen. And for this we must pay. The association of communes asks us to pay. We pay for it! Then, there is a feat...
- 65B: I said nothing, for all the decision we took...
- 66A: Ah yes, but there, they lock themselves behind the law. Paf! The law is for them. It is not applied.
- 67B: They must control our water...
- 68A: That's what I call the control of equality, control of equality of the agreements they took. There is a bastard in the Departmental Agricultural Direction because when I went there, I don't know if they looked for in bags, me, I fucked up, you know... The increase of the price of water must be justified, from 1.50 francs to 2.00 francs. OK, it's a large increase, well, it was not enough for us. Then, they based on that. They said, 'We don't want a meter cube at 150.' Paf! Finish. They only wanted it.
- 69C: I find it strange. I think they received a letter and...
- 70A: No, but, that they received a letter, they must retake all the [inaudible]. If they did not put any numbers on the deliberation, they must retake all the invoices of water, here, the stupidity I committed, it is that I put numbers of the deliberation.
- 71D: Well, several years ago, they asked us for evidence when we increased the price of water.
- 72A: For this reason, this time, I said, 'We need evidence.' When the price passed from 80 centimes to 1 franc, I thought, 'I have to justify it right now.' Oh, then, it's not finished. As long as we don't have a rate of purification, we will face a serious problem.

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A: mayor; B, C, and D: municipal councilors.

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