

# Integration and segregation in the evolution of agricultural development policies in New Caledonia

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*Abstract: Relationships between agriculture and rural societies raise controversies that question development models. Dichotomous views dominate the debate: small and large structures, inclusive or exclusive of agriculture, etc. This paper identifies how concepts of integration and segregation provide original theoretical tools for entering into these debates in depth. The theoretical framework was tested on the case of New Caledonia, through an analysis of rural development policies. This emblematic example of a colonial settlement is interesting. It offers public policies based on segregated models of development, but which pursue, at the same time, the global objective of overcoming the historical segregation between communities, land-use, etc. A field study enabled the authors to highlight the strategic dimension of the segmentation of development policies and territories. On a local scale, a study of Kanak development strategies showed that the boundaries between these different kinds of development territories are places where new development models and innovations can arise. Despite some limitations, the theoretical framework was particularly suited to understanding the historical and current transformations of the archipelago and offered original prospects for generalization. Mainly, the heuristic strength of the framework was not based on opposition, but on the identification of connections between integration and segregation.*

*Keywords: Integration, segregation, development policies, family farming, New Caledonia*

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Source: © IAC/Chevreaux

Figure 1: Livestock on private land in Pouembout.

The changes affecting relations between agricultures, ruralities and societies give rise to exclusions, instability, and political and social conflicts. The aims of the Millennium Development Goals (United Nations 2000) bear witness to the international awareness of these challenges, and the urgent need to respond. Understanding the transformations occurring in the Souths, and the solutions proposed to enable their societies to develop, are often the subject of dichotomous visions. For instance, the oppositions between “small” and “large” farms or between family and entrepreneurial agricultures fuel debates on the competitiveness of production structures (Hazell et al. 2007; IAASTD 2009; Timmer 2009); the inclusive or exclusive nature of agricultural models lies at the heart of the representations portrayed by the World Bank of rural dynamics (World Bank 2007; Gibson-Graham 2010; Losch et al. 2011).

More recently, two representations of development likely to embody or cross these dualities have emerged from debates focusing on land-use planning: integration and segregation (I/S) (Hubert & Caron 2009; Hubert 2010). They are sometimes explicitly formulated, but are usually implicit and hinted at in the models proposed to describe evolutions in rural worlds, and they thereby often divide researchers. For some, development takes place through the specialization of areas and forms of production for intensification, whatever the cost of the compensations to be provided elsewhere, and through social treatment of the negative effects of that “segregation”. For others, “integration” of the multiple functions assigned to agriculture, but also of the communities and identities present in the same territory, is globally preferable. Beyond the economic advantages it procures, it maintains a social fabric and contributes to the rational management of territorial resources and preserves local specificities.

This scientific paper proposes to investigate how these concepts can be used to describe and understand observable phenomena (spatial, societal, cultural, etc.). It also examines how they constitute, through their dialogue, a logic that fashions how to conceive development. Lastly, it looks at the leads they offer for renewing the existing dual approaches and visions, or even for going beyond them. To that end, after defining what we mean by integration, segregation, and the nature of their dialectic relationship, we illustrate the scope and relevance of this theoretical tool on a case study: the analysis of rural development policies in New Caledonia. Despite few limitations, the theoretical grid proves to be suited to understanding the historical and current transformations of the archipelago. The linking of the two concepts proves to be heuristic for the proposed case study and offers some interesting prospects for generalization. The strength of the analysis lies in showing the porosities and connections that exist between integration and segregation processes.

### Integration and segregation as a theoretical tool: towards a more systemic analysis of development

Integration and segregation (I/S) concepts have long been used by many researchers, to both describe and understand concrete and visible phenomena in the Souths, and to reflect together upon the transformations and recompositions occurring. Many examples of these uses exist in approaches as diverse as the articulation of rural and urban (Hubert 2010), the analysis of economic mobilities (Léonard 2005), cohabitation between livestock farming and agriculture (Gautier et al. 2005), the economic and demographic inequalities of territories (Sencébé 2009), or more widely the revisiting the models of agricultural development and of its boundaries (Van der Ploeg 2000; Caron & Le Cotty 2006).

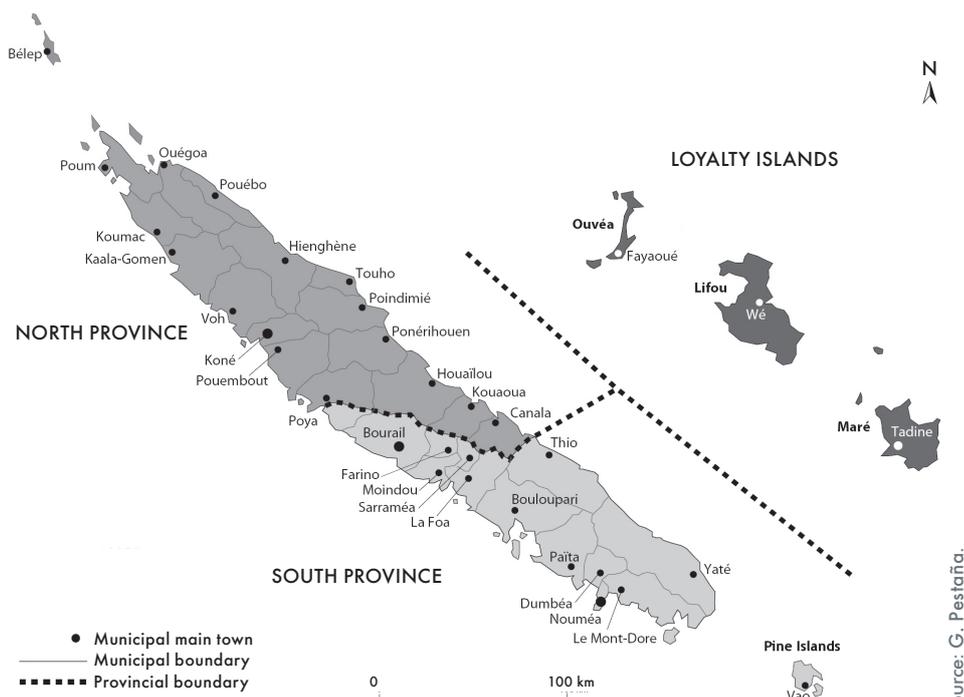


Figure 2: Provinces and municipalities in New Caledonia

Source: G. Pestajña.

The integration and segregation concepts, derived from the common language, offer the advantage of showing complex processes, whilst their opposition, which is highly meaningful too, makes it possible to describe societies and their environment.

Two main fields can be identified:

- Firstly, the geographical delineation of development spaces uses integration and segregation concepts (or stratification, segmentation, fragmentation), either to give greater porosity to two spaces or make each of them independent and autonomous. For example, in a context of forestry management, definition of the boundary of a protected area is supposed to meet the challenges and objectives that justify that area and tends to constitute a diversified but unique space. But, can one then imagine that the evolution of practices and knowledge make them integrated spaces or spaces to be integrated?

- Secondly, integration and segregation qualify social phenomena. Indeed, the effect of formal and informal institutions, along with cultural and community practices, is to differentiate between or strengthen social identification processes of individuals, but they also guide the policy choices that go hand in hand with the main structural transformations of our societies. These policy choices sometimes lead to the exclusion or even the ranking of people (up to Apartheid), or, conversely, to integration, understood as being the cultural and social desegregation of peoples and populations.

These categories derived from the common meaning, call for us to distance ourselves from their normative dimension, which often leads to integration being seen as positive for development, and segregation as negative. In fact, from a semantic viewpoint, the terms “integration” and “segregation” refer to theories and approaches that differ from one discipline to another. Consequently, researchers sometimes use others that refer to similar states/dynamics and avoid any connotation of the words used. For example, they prefer to use connected terms such as inclusion (Zidouri 2008) or desegregation (Morin 1966) for integration and exclusion (Elias & Scotson 1997; Moustier & Anh 2010), stratification (Hubert 2010), segmentation (Veillard-Baron 2006; Veillard-Baron & De Almeida

Vasconcelos 2004) or fragmentation (Hobbs et al. 2008) for segregation.

Despite this semantic blur, the integration and segregation concepts prove useful for describing the processes at work and for adopting a more systemic vision of transformations. However, if one wishes to use these two concepts as a theoretical tool, it seems to us that three limitations need to be overcome in the analysis:

- Firstly, a temporal alternance can be seen between integrationist and segregationist logic. Likewise, the use of segregation as a tool may enable integration. This reversibility makes the analysis more complex: what might appear to be integration may ultimately prove to be segregation, the two working together and not in a dichotomous manner.

- Secondly, the terms integration and segregation refer to different perceptions depending on whether one is taking a static approach (description) or a dynamic approach (analysis of transformations) to the phenomena being studied. While integration or segregation can be considered as end points, we prefer to see them here as means and/or processes making it possible to achieve other objectives (well-being, poverty alleviation, etc.).

- Thirdly, depending on the analysis scale adopted by the researcher, the same phenomenon can be described as integrated or segregated.

In order to overcome these difficulties, adopt a broader vision of the processes and enable a multidisciplinary discussion involving the same concepts, the precision of the meaning one gives to these terms in this study becomes a prerequisite for the analysis.

In a broad perception of integration, it refers to a logic seeking to associate, either intentionally or unintentionally, a space, a resource, a stakeholder or an idea, with another space, another resource, another stakeholder, or another idea.

Conversely, segregation qualifies the dissociation, either intentionally or unintentionally, of a space, a resource, a stakeholder, or an idea from another space, another resource, another stakeholder, or another idea.

Lastly, the relevance of using the integration-segregation pair as a theoretical tool for understanding rural dynamics seems to us depend on the

validation of three hypotheses.

1. Rather than opposing integration and segregation in a dichotomous way, they should rather be seen as facets of a prism making it possible to reveal and characterize phenomena.

2. The logics of integration and segregation can appear in a process of action and reaction; each integration process partially produces some segregation, and vice versa, making it possible to understand complex logics better.

3. The limits and boundaries defining integrations and segregations are porous; that porosity is reflected in recompositions.

By looking at the boundaries, it is possible to elucidate hybridization phenomena. These three hypotheses were tested as part of an analysis of rural development in New Caledonia, particularly Kanak. The Caledonian situation appears to be particularly illustrative of both the explanatory nature of an integration/segregation dialectic affecting spatial, economic and social aspects at the same time, but also of the need to nuance the apparent dichotomy between the terms. Indeed, the modern history of the European colonization of this territory is based on military, economic and territorial conquest by segregation. The settlement been marked by the convict prison, agricultural development (in a pioneer land grab model) and mining. It notably led to the development of several forms of segregation towards the Kanak indigenous world: spatial, economic and social (Saussol 1979; Merle 1995; Merle & Muckle 2019). Today, recognition of those segregations and the complexity of their effective impacts (positive and negative) define an original model of negotiated decolonization. The political agreements of Matignon-Oudinot (1988) and Nouméa (1998) in fact sealed the permanency of a deep duality between Caledonians of European and Kanak origins, but also the need to move towards a community of destiny respectful of the differences between communities. By sharing the country and its government, by opting for catch-up policies in relation to the Kanaks, the agreements generated new forms of segregation, which were seen as necessary to the integration of people, sectors of activity and rural territories.

## The agricultural and rural policies of New Caledonia in the integration and segregation prism

### Historical context

Following penal, agricultural and mining settlement under State control (1853 – 1946) and the switch to Overseas Territory status (1946 – 1965), the 1970s and 1980s were marked by pro-independence claims, with a toughening of the conflict verging on civil war, called the “events”. Seeing the stalemates of armed struggle, the two parties (loyalists and separatists) agreed to a negotiated solution, which took the form of an institutional innovation establishing a sui generis status. Through the Matignon Agreements (1988), the French prime minister at the time, Michel Rocard, undertook to create what could be called a “federal state” with its own congress which coordinated the actions of the three provinces. By way of the electoral boundaries, two of them, mainly inhabited by Kanaks (North and Loyalty Islands), found themselves with pro-independence elected authorities, whereas the third concentrated around Nouméa (South), remained anti-independence.

The competencies of the French State were limited to sovereign competencies, to which were added labour law, and secondary and higher education. The Territory (New Caledonia), had the authority to draw up its budget, for taxation and for work of territorial interest. Financially, the French State was committed to providing major financial means to the new local authorities and proposed that the financial product from nickel mining should complete its public transfers. The North and Loyalty Islands provinces benefited from substantial financial resources via an allocation formula that was favourable to them in the drawing up of development contracts between the French State and the four authorities. In the North Province, the purpose of the four development projects that followed on from each other after 1990 was to promote conditions for development and rebalancing, through an infrastructural catching-up process.

The provisions of the Matignon-Oudinot Agreements, which were initially due to run 10 years, were ultimately renewed in 1998 for a further 15 years by the Nouméa Agreement. The latter further strengthened the powers of each province and established a collegiate government.

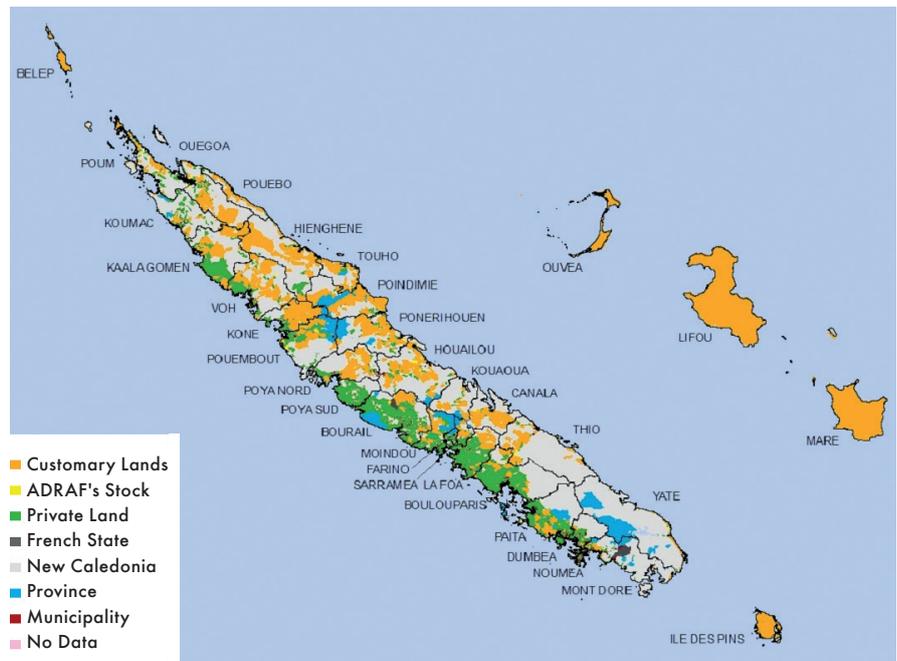


Figure 3: Land distribution in December 2019.

At the end of the emancipation process enshrined by the agreement, the role of the French State was confined to meeting its financial and military obligations. The Nouméa Agreement can therefore be seen as an attempt at economic and social integration in response to the segregation that was operated in the past, notably seen through the placing of the Kanak people in reservations and the convict prison for the first colonialists who participated, despite themselves, in this settlement process.

“The time has come to recognize the shadows of the colonial period, even if it was not devoid of light. [...] Some clans lost their name when they lost their land. [...] population movements damaged its fabric (Kanak social organization), ignorance or power strategies all too often led to the negation of the legitimate authorities. [...] To this denial of the fundamental elements of Kanak society, were added restrictions on public freedoms and a lack of political rights.” (Nouméa Agreement, preamble)

In this search for an integrationist vision, two principles are noteworthy. “Rebalancing” seeks to work on land use planning by developing infrastructures more uniformly throughout the territory (particularly in the North) and to achieve socio economic objectives (distribution of wealth and power).

“Development contracts have been concluded between the State and the provinces for the joint funding of ac-

tions intended to achieve development objectives whose principles are indicated in the following article, by taking provincial specificities into account [...]: 1. Facilitate access to all initial and further training and adapt that training to the particularities of the territory, such as they arise, notably, from the diversity of cultures [...]; 2. Promote a rebalancing of the territory in relation to the agglomeration of the principal town, and improve infrastructures to provide access to remote populations [...]; 3. Improve living conditions for the populations throughout the territory [...]; 4. Promote the Melanesian cultural heritage and that of the other local cultures [...]” (Matignon Agreements, 1988, Article VIII).

It is thus that it seemed necessary to territorially segregate policies and resources in order to implement an integration policy over the long term. What we could call “positive segregation” was marked by various emblematic measures, among them which ones:

- the implementation, already mentioned, of an allocation formula that budgetarily favoured the pro-independence provinces (North and Loyalty Islands),
- the affirmation of the territorial sovereignty of each province, which implemented different and adapted development policies,
- and the freezing of the electorate, so that only those who participated in the vote on the Nouméa Agreement in 1998 will be able to vote for sovereignty

Source: ADRAF.



Figure 4: Agriculture on private land in Pouembout.

in 2014, thereby avoiding any immigration strategy for election-minded purposes.

The Nouméa Agreement is also marked by the idea of a “common destiny”, which invites the entire population to construct common development. By acknowledging the harm done by colonial settlement – notably to the Kanak people – this integration marked a break for New Caledonia, which was to acquire identifying symbols and display its unity.

“Identifying symbols of the country, name, flag, anthem, currency, banknote illustrations, must be sought together to express the Kanak identity and future sharing between all” (Nouméa Agreement, art. 1.5).

The two principles of rebalancing and common destiny particularly enabled the recognition of categories of the population that had previously been marginalized, leading to the introduction of differentiated public policies. By transferring numerous competencies to local authorities, the Nouméa Agreement thus responded to the demand for autonomy for the Kanak people, whilst strengthening cooperation between the political parties in setting up a collegiate government (Kohler 1991;

Forrest & Kowasch 2016).

But the placing in perspective and in opposition of these integrationist and segregationist visions in the case of New Caledonia reminds us that they only correspond to a representation of an otherwise more complex reality, in which limits and boundaries remain mobile and permeable.

The explanation of Caledonian agricultural policy shows that this integrationist vision, which makes sense politically and which accompanies, without ever replacing it, the growing strength of the sustainable development concept (Sourisseau et al. 2010a), does not escape from the weight of history and the persistence of segregations. Consequently, the Caledonian case illustrates the will – made necessary by path dependencies – to go beyond this integration/segregation duality by proposing other development paths.

*Agricultural policies: towards positive segregation for eventual (long-term) integration?*

Before 1988, only Caledonians of European origin were offered an agricultural policy that met their expectations and needs. Indeed agriculture, which was marked by an assisted economy (Freys 1995) and strong urbanization between

1965 and 1984, lost some of its importance and clout in GDP (falling from 10% in 1960 to 2% in 1984), and durably became a sector of low strategic importance to the benefit of nickel mining, which took off considerably over the same period. In this situation, European cattle farming on large farms occupied over 90% of the UAA (Useful Agricultural Area), leaving the Kanaks with a food production agriculture that was, at best “improved”. Policies were thus mainly geared towards the development of a more intensive cattle farming agriculture (notably European) with the will to “publicly control the supply chains and prices at the end of the period” (Pillon 1990; Sourisseau et al. 2010b:55), and timidly assisted Kanak livestock farming. At the same time, as early as the 1970s, growing urbanization enabled the development of intensive market gardening structures, located around Nouméa and controlled by farmers of European origin, who had recently arrived in general. Lastly, the “commercial” sectors, which potentially faced competition from imports, benefited from protection via adaptable customs procedures mastered by the producers involved. Between 1970 and 1990, the duality of agricultural policies asserted

itself by trying to respond to the increasingly loud and vociferous claims of the Kanak people, notably regarding land redistribution. But in the end, only economic measures were proposed, while the claims were mainly political.

Thus, the agricultural (and more widely, economic) integration that was extolled and displayed from the 1970s onwards, was more a synonym of insertion, inviting the Kanaks to reproduce European practices and to subscribe to the French arsenal of agricultural modernization aid. From the end of the 1980s, the insertion gradually led to the development of Kanak family farming supported by local policies that redefined places and roles of agriculture. Productivity and economic viability criteria were not the only objectives targeted by the politicians; the concepts of on-farm consumption, identity and maintenance of social functions of Kanak agricultural production had a say in the matter.

After once symbolizing the domination of the Kanak world by the colonial power, land tenure policy became emblematic of this change in direction following the Matignon-Oudinot

Agreements. For instance, since 1988, 132,856 ha have been returned to the customary lands (ADRAF 2019), in the name of links with the land (Mapou 1999; Le Meur 2012). Lastly, since 1978, land distribution between private and customary lands has been completely rebalanced. Today, on Grande Terre, the two statutes amount to 292,470 and 313,910 ha respectively (ADRAF 2019), as opposed to 402,500 and 168,000 ha in 1978. This is a considerable reform, but it does not challenge spatial partitioning into land areas of very different status. In particular, customary lands escape the market, since they are inalienable, unsalable, unseizable and non-transferable, and thereby entail specific development challenges and methodologies.

The types of agriculture practiced on these two types of land, private and customary, are different in many aspects. Despite the rebalancing in terms of surface area, the 2012 general census of agriculture shows that these agricultural territories are home to distinct models. The Total Used Agricultural Area occupied 13% of the total surface area of New Caledonia, i.e. 182 026 ha, of which 96%

of this UAA was pastureland, the support of extensive livestock farming directly resulting from the logics of agricultural colonisation, with a high concentration on the west coast of Grande Terre, and the South Province.

The general census of agriculture of 2012 shows that 62% of farms are located on customary land - and therefore essentially Kanak - but concerned for barely 18% the UAA. Another study on agriculture on customary land shows that the GSA and official statistics underestimates Kanak family farming and production, in particular because it concerns very small areas per family, technical itineraries are low input consumers and have self-consumption and donation as their primary functions, with only 12% of agricultural products actually being sold (Guyard et al. 2013). This wide survey conducted in 2011 of 1,786 Kanak households representing 12.5% of the population residing in Kanak villages (also named "tribes") showed that almost all tribal families have at least one field, but that the quantities produced vary considerably (25% of the families in tribes produce 60% of the agricultural volumes).



Figure 5: Small scale Kanak family farming on customary land.

Source: IAC/Coulon.



Figure 6: Yam plot and small-scale Kanak family farming on customary land.

Above all, this study confirmed the economic importance of farming and hunting/fishing activities for tribal populations: agriculture generated a gross output of € 65 million . The amount of time devoted to these activities, the volumes produced and exchanged, and their contribution to incomes, food and social capital leave no doubt: agriculture, hunting and fishing continue to occupy a central place in the economy (in its broader meaning) of the tribes in all parts of the territory, including of those in close proximity to urban centres and development hubs (Bouard et al. 2018; Bouard et al. forthcoming). Even though it has historically been marginalized, confined to unfavourable land, Kanak family farming continues to play a key role in household food security, non-commercial exchanges, the local economy and the maintenance of customary, family and social ties.

In fact, local development policies primarily targeted these customary lands, particularly lands recently attributed in the form of local private law groups (GDPL) , which were intermediate zones in which customary law prevailed, but where development policies were more open. The request

for an OGAF programme is issued by one or more municipalities. The project is based on a programme of specific actions, for a duration of three to five years and makes it possible to provide aid of an incentive nature (premiums, contracts, subsidies, etc.). The operation is monitored by local committees and the instrument, which brings together several donors but also local stakeholders, is based on a participatory type project approach (is not so far of the Leader and Leader + programmes funded by the European Union). Since 1993, six OGAFs have been implemented in eastern New Caledonia, where most of the customary lands re-attributed under the land tenure reform are concentrated (see figure 7). On average, project funding amounts to € 1,613,530. The provinces are the main donors and their share of the funding increases over time

More specifically in the North, the development code explicitly recognizes three categories of aid: aid to enterprise, aid to insertion projects (rebalancing) and aid to traditional projects. This distinction thus strengthens segregation between the different forms of production, forcibly segmenting functions and

objectives different from agricultural activity, whilst enabling recognition of the diversity of situations and the particularity of Kanak farms. These changes strengthen the dual nature of agricultural policies. On the one hand, there are measures seeking to strengthen investment aid and price protection for European type agriculture and, on the other hand, local, participatory development operations that succeed to varying degrees in promoting Kanak family farming. This assumed duality does not do away with inequalities and is characterized by a low budget devoted to local development (barely 10%) in order to support “small” Kanak farmers. The rigidities and path dependencies arising from settlement are revealed by these dynamics and the choice of a common destiny made it even more difficult to overcome these differentiations. As of then, rational and not exclusive dualism appeared as a credible solution.

Social recompositions in the rural world: moving beyond integration/segregation duality

Rather than using them to qualify development statuses, which are normatively judged positive or negative, the integration and segregation concepts

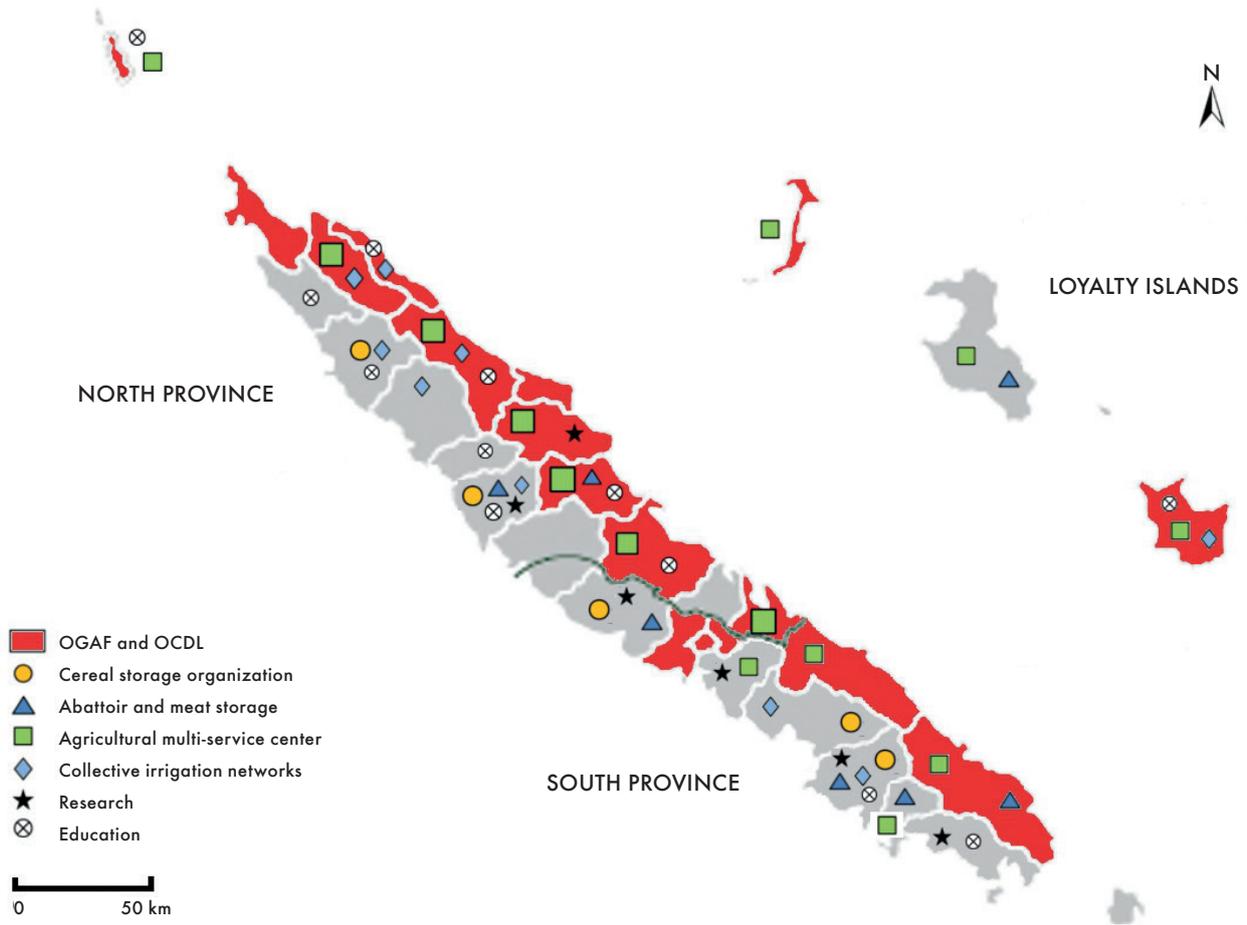


Figure 7: Collective or public agricultural infrastructures.

Source: Bouard 2013.

seem useful for analysing social and spatial recomposition processes.

The overlapping development models already described, and the economic strategies and agricultural practices underlying them, illustrate the merits of using this theoretical tool dynamically and urge us to look more specifically at the flows that cross boundaries and upturn the opposition between integration and segregation.

### The ascendancy of Kanak enterprise capitalism

The recent internal dynamics of the Kanak world bear witness to the rapid changes and on going hybridization between the separate representations of development derived from colonialization. Up to a few years ago, and despite some rare experiments arising from militant actions in the 1970s, the world of enterprise automatically excluded the Kanaks from responsibilities. The economic elite, concerned for their prerogatives, maintained an enterprise model inherited from a trading post mind-set, functioning on a strong connection with politics and on high prices enabled by public transfers, notably through the strong presence of

a State and local administration. The employers, in a “segregationist” reflex, considered that it was for the Kanaks to take on board their enterprise principles, arguing that custom and its social implications were hardly compatible with efficient capitalism.

However, following the provincialization and opening up of economic policies to the Kanaks, the latter progressively, but very rapidly, adapted to the opportunities offered by a favourable economic climate. They modified some of their behaviours while maintaining a close link with their community traditions. To illustrate this point, we present two examples from the mining world, though they participated in and had a very direct impact on rural dynamics.

The first involves a haulage company developed and managed by a clan as part of the metallurgy works in the North (Poithily 2010; Sourisseau et al. 2017). In order to ensure the profitability of their activity, its managers ran the company in line with western codes and techniques. Be that as it may, the managers and employees maintained a redistributive logic with the families of their community once dealings with the other partners had been ensured.

Two types of partnership relations, two management methods were established, depending on whether the company was dealing with its external customers in the search for and performance of contracts, or with its allies and families for the mobilization of the work force (which could amount to being arbitrary), then for the use and redistribution of income from the activity.

The second example, along the same lines, concerned SMSP which decided to contract out mineral ore loading at one of its sites to two companies, Watemi and Mitewa (Sourisseau et al. 2006). Rather than basing itself on the conventional job market and drawing up individual contracts, SMSP dealt rather with a collective based on the service rendered. This arrangement made it possible to always have an available work force to meet its needs and enabled the clans involved to capture the earnings from loading, while maintaining a collective work distribution logic. Regularity and diligence, which are difficult to obtain on an individual basis, were thus managed on a group scale. Therefore, the clans were able to organize themselves so that the subcontracting work was ensured,

whilst keeping the activities they traditionally undertook in their community.

Changes in the functions of agricultural activity and the participation of Kanak households in local development programs

Kanak agriculture, which is fundamentally geared towards family and clan consumption and towards maintaining interpersonal and customary relations between the families and the clans, barely expresses its market functions. However, this apparent inertia, faced with the progression of salaried activities, masks some contradictory dynamics that lie at the core of tensions that are internal and external to Kanak society, between aspirations and insertion (market and social) and community retrenchment.

The trajectories and strategies of two farmers illustrate some facets of these forms of hybridization. These two farmers were members of a GDPL and had been able to recover a certain number of land rights enabling them to develop a professional and commercial agriculture. They were both invited to become members of a local discussion committee opened by an OGAF in their municipality; they did not make the same choice.

#### *Case A:*

Household A practised “professional” and commercial agriculture. It had been specialized in yam and paddy taro production since 1994, and also had a small mowing company, with which the farmer fulfilled the needs of the municipality for roadside maintenance. By investing in a commercial agricultural activity, the household gradually withdrew from the social activities undertaken by its clan and its tribe, along with the customary ceremonies. As highlighted by his wife: “We reached a decision [...], you have to manage between social obligations and work.” So, the family is represented on customary occasions by a brother or the wife.

Following the implementation of an OGAF programme, the household became involved in one of the local discussion committees opened by the project. As for all the other social activities, it was the wife who attended the meetings. She had access to the information needed to draw up micro-projects funded by the territorial development programme. She then passed on this information within her clan to favour their installation on new plots of land. Once the plots for

the other members of her clan set up on the perimeter started to produce, the couple preferred to withdraw from the cooperative to leave room for the new producers.

Access to customary land (reserve and also GDPL) can become a problem when the agricultural activity is more market-oriented and involves a larger area. But in this case, the Kanak household negotiated the coexistence of different types of projects with a more or less commercial and professional vocation within the same land area, the GDPL of the clan. By facilitating access to micro-projects for the other members of their clan or of their tribe, who did not practise professional or commercial agriculture, the household legitimized maintaining its own agricultural practices and the land area it used for them.

#### *Case B:*

The farmer of household B first worked as a welder for companies in Nouméa. After the events in the 1980's, he decided to set up as a farmer, on the lands of his clan. He began by multiplying yam seeds, then he branched off into very common yam production for consumption in the 1990s. He enlarged his areas but, after five years, his family made him leave the family reserve. He had to hire plots, first of all several kilometres from his farm, then nearby. For the last 10 years, being unable to farm the customary land of his clan, even on the GDPL, he has farmed some customary lands located at the entrance to the valley where he lives. Since this dispute arose in the 1990s, the relations with his clan and the rest of the tribe have relaxed.

As in the case of household A, the farmer became a member of one of the local committees opened by the territorial development programme, but he left the committee after the third meeting. He disagreed with the objectives and the approach of the project. His trajectory shows that he was first spatially excluded by his clan and his participation in the local committee was also marked by a process of exclusion. Although often cited by many as an example of success in Kanak agriculture, farmer B was alone in promoting the specialized, professional and commercial agricultural model.

These examples show how stakeholders tend in this way to reconcile Kanak social practices with the demands of

western market logic. From the Kanak viewpoint, they adopt this stance – leading them notably to intentionally detach themselves from the western lifestyle to preserve their customs and traditions, whilst integrating certain principles that govern the market economy – with a view to gaining recognition and taking advantage of it (Bouard & Sourisseau 2010). The purpose of this double stance is notably to obtain greater negotiating power and to have greater autonomy in the choices proposed to them. These recompositions, or their absence, reflect the boundaries that are increasingly economically and socially mobile and porous. They challenge the dichotomous base that we have highlighted in the implementation of public policies.

### **Conclusion – Integration/ Segregation: towards a key enabling a fresh read on development policies**

Even though the integration and segregation theoretical tool is interesting for understanding the role of public action in the transformations of Caledonian rural life, the reality goes beyond the integrationist and segregationist representations we afford it. The case of New Caledonia and the illustrations proposed lead us beyond the usual dichotomous model presented earlier, call for a broader redefinition of the integration and segregation concepts, and validate our three hypotheses.

But before returning to our hypotheses, it is worth pointing out that colonial New Caledonia illustrates, no doubt in the extreme, other frequent situations of “negative” segregation within the colonial space or in situations where democratic functioning is extremely weak. Granted, a closer look at interpersonal relations is enough to nuance the totally segregated nature of the society prior to the political agreements (Trépiéd 2011). But above all, such instituted forms of segregation, considered as an integral part of a development model, imply unbearable human and social costs, which end up making them inoperable.

The “post-political agreements” New Caledonia then bears an image of integration, mediatized in a “positive” version, it too being archetypal. In particular, the common destiny sets an ideological course towards the integration of values and identities. However, the reality is different and reveals the persistence

of segregations, rooted in a determinism of colonial power struggles. The break from this reality is that these segregations also have a compensatory and, ultimately, an integrating dimension. There is indeed segregation in that spaces. Stakeholders and policies are clearly and intentionally differentiated and are defined in their opposition. There is also segregation because categories of stakeholders are effectively assigned specific public policies and spaces. But there is integration as well: some categories of the population, heretofore excluded from development policies, are now the targets for public policies. There is integration because the societies are building bridges between spaces and economic players, who are breaking away from the claimed duality and declared specialization of spaces. There is integration, too, because the freedom given to the invention and adaptation of instruments multiplies the possible combinations and representations of development and its standards. This demonstrates the merits of perceiving integration and segregation as the facets of a prism. Restricting the interpretation of provincial public action to the introduction of systems fostering the integration of the Kanak populations in commercial agriculture would be an error.

In addition, whatever the observation scale opted for, placing the agricultural development policies in New Caledonia since colonization in historical perspective, shows the alternance between phases of integration and “compensatory segregation” policies, and the trajectories and differentiated practices of individuals faced with the political bifurcation mediatized as integrative, validates our second hypothesis. The dissemination of an agricultural model resolutely geared towards commercial insertion is not a linear process. Development trajectories result from actions and reactions, subjected to market forces, but also to the social and identity forces of the community to which one belongs. These combined forces can lead to different trajectories making it necessary to relativize the expected impacts of setting in place public policy instruments.

There are of course limitations of comparison segregating publics and territories to more effectively assist them, and integrating populations, spaces and resources that had previously been mar-

ginalized or forgotten. But in post-colonial contexts, such as South Africa, Australia, Brazil – in line with our third hypothesis – the question of boundaries that is raised in the proactive accompaniment of development, is very frequent. Development challenges focus on how to segregate and integrate and therefore how to define which player, which resource and which space should be covered by a given public policy instrument.

The Caledonian case emphasizes the difficulty of these definitions, linked to the porosity and plasticity of the boundaries (Caron 2011). The latter are only temporary representations likely to evolve with the social dynamics at work. Neither are they merely lines embodying a separation. They may be strategic zones where innovations take form. For instance, in New Caledonia, GDPLs are areas of intersection between customary representations of retrenchment and openings towards anonymization and towards commercial insertion. Likewise, the local committees of the development programmes are forums for the production of organizational and institutional innovations. These examples would be worth generalizing; the integration/segregation pair, as a theoretical tool of understanding, may help shed light on a third agrarian frontier (Hubert and Billaud 2008).

Lastly, use of the I/S pair relativizes the reality of the major agricultural development models, to the benefit of a clearer understanding of ideologies and practices. Whilst not providing the means to improve public development policies, this theoretical tool can be used to pinpoint the complexities of the processes at work and the possibility of a virtuous cohabitation of orientations that are often presented as antinomic. On the other hand, in a comparative perspective between New Caledonia, South Africa and Brazil, might the I/S theoretical tool make it possible to investigate the different ways compensatory public action is politicized in the rural world?

### Hint

This article was previously published in French language in the journal “Natures, Sciences, Sociétés”. Reference: Bouard, S., J.-M. Sourisseau and B. Zenou (2014). Intégration / ségrégation: une clé de lecture des recompositions des modèles de développement?

Le cas de la Nouvelle-Calédonie. *Natures, Sciences, Sociétés*, vol. 22(4): 305-316. DOI 10.1051/nss/2014044. For this publication, the article was translated into English, and then substantially modified, shortened and updated.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>) Budget rebalancing was written into the referendum law of 8 November 1988. That law stipulates the following distribution of investment allocations:  $\frac{3}{4}$  for NP and IP,  $\frac{1}{4}$  for SP. Likewise, the working capital of the Territory budget was divided into  $\frac{2}{5}$  for NP,  $\frac{2}{5}$  for IP and  $\frac{1}{5}$  for the Territory. This distribution had no precedent in the history of State allocations to a local authority for land-use planning. It is still in force, despite recurrent complaints from South province.

<sup>2</sup>) We can consider that positive segregation is a division (of social or cultural categories, of space, of territory) with the ultimate aim of achieving integrationist objectives more rapidly.

<sup>3</sup>) According to ITSEE, market output fell from 4 to 1.5 billion between 1965 and 1981.

<sup>4</sup>) Benefiting from the redistribution of lands, some Kanaks geared their production towards the markets and grouped together.

<sup>5</sup>) 9 million Euros, or 15% of this gross output, came from the marketing of agricultural products.

<sup>6</sup>) Most of the land GDPLs were formed from the start of the 1990s with a view to benefiting from land attributions by the State land and rural development agency (ADRAF), under the customary law regime.

<sup>7</sup>) Société Minière du Sud Pacifique, a mining company in North province, through its holding, Sofinor, is the main shareholder. SMSP is the emblematic company of a Kanak public capitalism that is likely to offer an economic model that is viable in independence.

<sup>8</sup>) These companies are the outcome of the grouping of 3 tribes (Wasse, Tenda and Mission) who founded these two companies.

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