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# **The rise of the peasant land ownership as a driver of social-spatial differentiation in contemporary rural Veneto and French Flanders**

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*Abstract.* The growth of peasant ownership in peasant societies is usually associated with a reduction in social hierarchies due to the improvement of social-economic conditions, decline of large-scale land ownership and development of small-scale agriculture. When qualifying such assertions, scholars have proved that the peasant ownership's impact on the evolution of agriculture and social differentiation are highly variable depending on the social-historical contexts. The article aims at contributing to this debate by showing how the rise of peasant ownership may lead to contradictory dynamics in terms of social-spatial differentiation due to the so-called differentiated 'relationship with land and kinship' or 'reproduction patterns' of peasant families. To test this hypothesis, the paper examines two European rural areas located in Northern France and Veneto, focusing on the evolution of land ownership, tenancy, kinship and social-professional features in a sample of municipalities in these two areas from the mid-19th century to the end of the 20th century. In addition to the analysis of aggregated data at the municipal level, the author also considers the evolution of smaller areas in each municipality under study with the qualitative approach based on the 'biography' of some properties and holdings, individuals and families. The research relies on both public sources (population census, property cadasters, agrarian surveys, etc.) and private archives.

*Key words:* ownership, tenancy, agricultural holdings, kinship, family, space, social reproduction, mapping, industrialization

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The rise of peasant land ownership — when peasants acquire the land they cultivate — is often associated with the rise of small-scale agriculture and the decline of large-scale land ownership (of nobles and wealthy landowners). Moreover, peasant ownership is usually considered to contribute to the reduction of social differentiation by allowing peasants to accumulate wealth and improve their social standing. Scholarly research has qualified such assertions, proving that the impact of peasant ownership (of land and other means of production) on social differentiation and the evolution of agricultural holdings depends on the specific historical-social context. Some scholars highlighted the decisive impact of such factors as peasants' access to credit, markets and education (Krantz, 1991). Other studies empha-

sized the significant role of government policies and of the overall level of economic development (Martínez Valle & Martínez Godoy, 2019). This paper contributes to this debate by focusing on the crucial influence of the peasant ‘relationship to land and kinship’ or ‘social reproduction patterns’, examining research data on the evolution of land ownership, land tenancy, kinship and social-professional categories in Northern France and Veneto (mid-19th century — early 21st century) (Khorasani Zadeh, 2022). The study is based on the analysis of aggregated municipal data for two areas of 50 by 50 km (Fig. 1)<sup>1</sup> and on the ‘microanalysis’ of the evolution of samples of territories of 1 km<sup>2</sup> in four municipalities located in each area (Fig. 2).

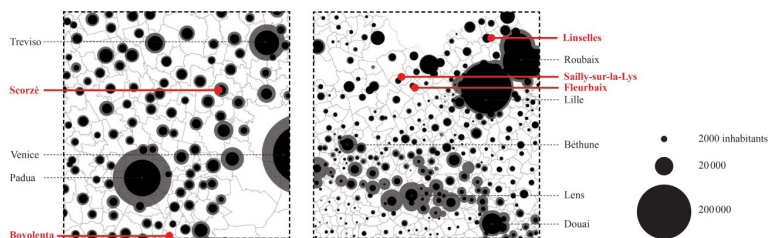


Fig. 1. Two areas of 50 by 50 km in the Veneto region and French Flanders.

The names of municipalities studied are in red; the map shows the population of each municipality in 1871–1951 (Italy) and 1872–1954 (France); black circles refer to the 1970s and the grey ones to the 1950s (Sources: INSEE and EHESS–CNRS for France; ISTAT for Italy)

### Peasant land ownership and the evolution of agricultural holdings and social hierarchies

In the mid-19th century, the agricultural population was quite heterogeneous, and the number of farmworkers and day laborers was high in most rural municipalities of Veneto and French Flanders under study<sup>2</sup>. At that time, the share of peasant ownership was great-

1. There are 336 municipalities in the French area and 126 in the Italian one. The difference in sample sizes is determined by the smaller size of French municipalities.
2. Although in both Veneto and French Flanders agriculture was mainly supported by small and medium-sized family farms held by tenants, there were significant local differences determined by the stratification of rural society in each region. Roughly speaking, in the French case, the areas located closer to the Lille conurbation were less homogenous than those located in southern and western parts of the square (Fig. 1). In Veneto, social differentiation increased from north to south and from west to east of the square (Fig. 1). In the less socially homogenous areas, the share of farmworkers and day laborers could reach high thresholds, e.g. 40% of the ag-

er in French municipalities<sup>3</sup>. Moreover, French municipalities had a higher property fragmentation and were characterized by a ‘dissociation’ of land ownership and tenancy. This can be proved by the available cadastral data on land property and tenancy (Fig. 3–4). In fact, French *fermiers* did not necessarily own plots of lands at their farms.

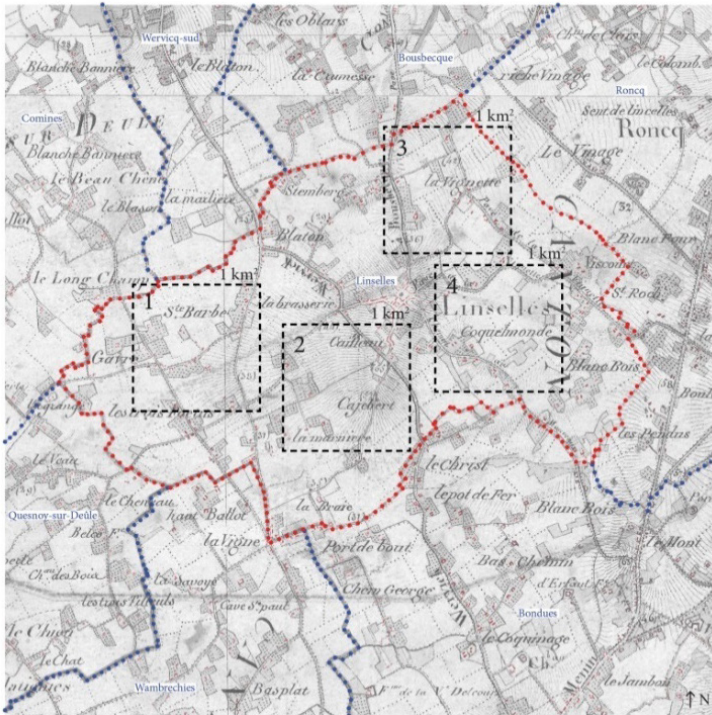


Fig. 2. Samples of territories of 1 km<sup>2</sup> in the municipality of Linselles (France)  
(Source: Carte d'État Major of 1824, IGN, France)

ricultural population in the French municipality of Linselles and even more in the Italian municipality of Bovolenta.

3. It is difficult to estimate the share of peasant ownership based on the municipal property cadasters as owners' professions are not systematically recorded. Even after cross-referencing the landowners' data from land registries with the data from civil registries (or population census), the difficulty remains since not all landowners lived in the municipality. According to my imperfect calculations, peasant ownership often accounted for more than 40% of the area in French municipalities and for no more than 20% of the communal area in Venetian municipalities.



Fig. 3. Land ownership in French Flanders: distribution of property in Lin-selles-square no. 1 (Fig. 2) according to the 1831 cadaster

(Source: Archives Départementales du Nord 31P 250 and 33P 736)

On the left side: properties with at least one building (56; the biggest property is marked in red). On the right side: properties consisting solely of plots (50)

Each property has a number according to its size; this number is followed by letters when the property is not made of contiguous plots; the letters indicate the position of the plot (in terms of area) in relation to all the plots that make up this property



Fig. 4. Land tenancy in French Flanders: 10 largest agricultural holdings in Lin-selles-square no. 1 according to the cadaster of 1831 (Source: Archives Départementales du Nord 31P 250 and 33P 736). French *fermiers* did not necessarily own plots of land only in their farm; they often rented plots from several big or small landowners; *fermiers* who owned some plots are marked in red

Additionally, each farmer rented some land from several landowners. The only farms with ‘overlapping’ land ownership and tenancy were small farms of those who probably did not live only on income from land (Fig. 5) — retired farmers, farmworkers, day laborers or farmers-weavers<sup>4</sup>.

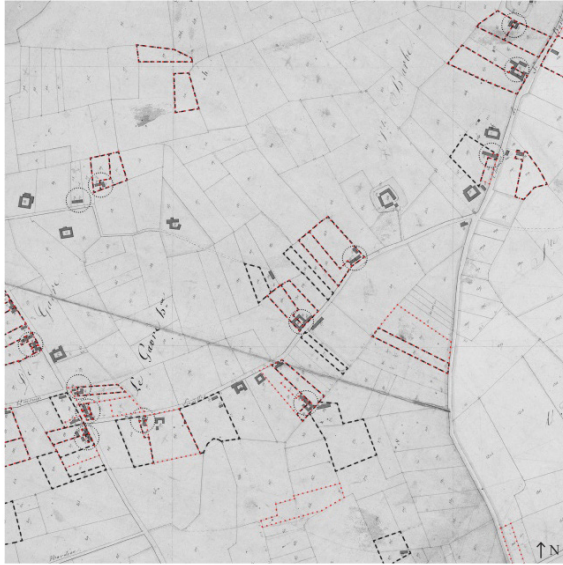
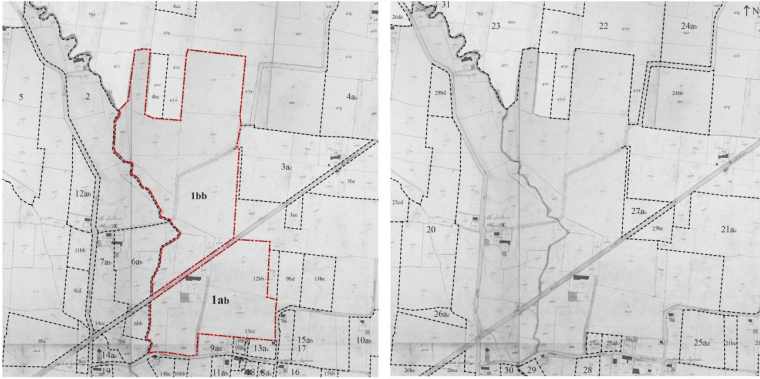


Fig. 5. Land ownership and tenancy in French Flanders: farmers with overlapping ownership (black lines) and tenancy (red lines), Linselles square no. 1 according to the cadaster of 1831

Not only property was more compact in the Venetian area but, unlike French Flanders, property and tenancy ‘overlap’ was more common (Fig. 6), i.e., Italian *affittuari* were often tenants to one or rarely to two or three landowners<sup>5</sup>.

4. This is particularly the case of the areas such as the Lys Plain, where the rural textile industry was important (see, e.g.: Kasdi & Terrier, 2008). In the municipalities of Fleurbaix and Sailly-sur-la-Lys located in the Lys Plain the share of farmers-weavers (including their family members) was about 40% of the municipalities’ population in 1850.
5. This somewhat ‘frozen’ property pattern in the Venetian region was the result of a long historical process (see note 15).



*Fig. 6.* Land ownership in Veneto: distribution of property in a square located in the municipality of Scorzè according to the 1846 cadaster

(Source: Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Censo stabile attivato 60, 362 and 374)

On the left side: properties with at least one building (12; the biggest one is marked in red)

On the right side: properties consisting of plots (19)

Each property has a number according to its size; this number is followed by letters when the property is not made of contiguous plots; the letters indicate the position of the plot (in terms of area) in relation to all the plots that make up this property

In both Northern France and Veneto, the share of peasant ownership increased during the second half of the 19th century. This growth was even more significant in the Venetian area especially in 1880–1910 and after the two world wars (Khorasani Zadeh, 2021; Celetti, 2014; Brunello, 1984; Giorgetti, 1974; Ronchi, 1936). This growth in peasant ownership had, at least initially, opposite results in two regions: in the Venetian area, it contributed to the reduction of social differentiation in the agricultural sector due to a net decrease in the number of farmworkers and day laborers and a corresponding increase in the number of small farmers-landowners. During this period, the number of (numerous) farms with less than 1 ha of land (often held by farmworkers and day laborers for their own subsistence) and of farms with more than 10 ha decreased, while the share of farms with 1 to 10 ha and the share of land farmed by peasant landowners increased<sup>6</sup>.

6. In the Veneto square (Fig. 1), the share of farms from 10 to 20 ha was already low (about 10% of all farms, representing approximately 20% of the municipal areas at best) in the mid-19th century. The share of farms from 20 to 50 ha was even lower (5%, representing approximately 10% of the municipal areas at best). Farms larger than 50 ha were only found in municipalities close to the coast and in the southern part of the Veneto square. In 1920, the share of farms of 10–20 ha was around 5%, representing approximately 15% of the municipal areas at best, while the share

Unlike the Venetian area, in French municipalities, peasant ownership's growth did not immediately weaken social hierarchies. In fact, in most rural municipalities under study the number of permanent farmworkers and day laborers even slightly increased during the second half of the 19th century<sup>7</sup>. Studies of the evolution of territories of 1 km<sup>2</sup> in Northern France show that not all peasants but only those who worked on 5–15 ha farms (and did not necessarily own plots of land at their farms) strengthened their land ownership. Most smallholders, especially farmers-weavers (who often owned their small farms), did not benefit from the growth of peasant ownership. The profound crisis of the rural, diffused, home-based linen industry challenged by the emerging textile factories concentrated around Lille, Roubaix and Tourcoing<sup>8</sup> forced many farmers-weavers to emigrate, causing a decrease in the number of inhabitants in many rural municipalities<sup>9</sup>.

Thus, the number of farms decreased while their average size increased. This happened in both municipalities losing inhabitants and municipalities affected by the industrial and population growth: almost everywhere farmers of medium-sized holdings consolidated their land ownership, and this profound change in social hierarchies was accompanied by the increasing spatial differentiation at regional and local levels. At the regional level, on the one hand, there were municipalities with decreasing population and increasing economic dependence on agriculture; on the other hand, there were 'industrialized municipalities' with agriculture becoming a marginal activity. At the local level, even in the industrialized municipalities, entire ar-

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of farms of 20–50 ha fell to less than 1%, representing approximately 5% of the municipal areas.

7. The growing share of permanent farmworkers and day laborers in the agricultural population affected all municipalities regardless of their situation at the beginning of the 19th century (see note 2) and their specific demographic and economic evolution (growth or loss of population, industrialization or deindustrialization), and varied from 3% to 10%. The highest shares were recorded for municipalities losing inhabitants due to the demise of rural and crafts industries.
8. A limited number of towns along the Lys also benefited from textile factories. The development of mining in the southern part of the Lille region is another remarkable change that contributed to the spatial polarization in the region.
9. From 1860 to 1890, the number of farms fell from 144 to 110 in the municipality of Linselles (which was attracting workers due to the arrival of textile production) and from 184 to 90 in Fleurbaix (which was losing inhabitants due to the demise of the linen domestic industry). Land concentration and the corresponding decrease in the number of farms and inhabitants became evident after the First World War, which had disastrous consequences for most Northern France municipalities on the war front (Jessenne & Rosselle, 2008; Béaur & Vivier, 2001).



was lost their 'non-agricultural inhabitants'<sup>10</sup>, becoming purely agricultural spaces, while a growing working class was concentrating around factories often located in the municipalities' center (Fig. 7). While social differentiation of the agricultural population 'softened' in the first half of the 20th century (due to the technical progress and the shift to less labor-intensive crops), the spatial differentiation persisted (Fig. 1).

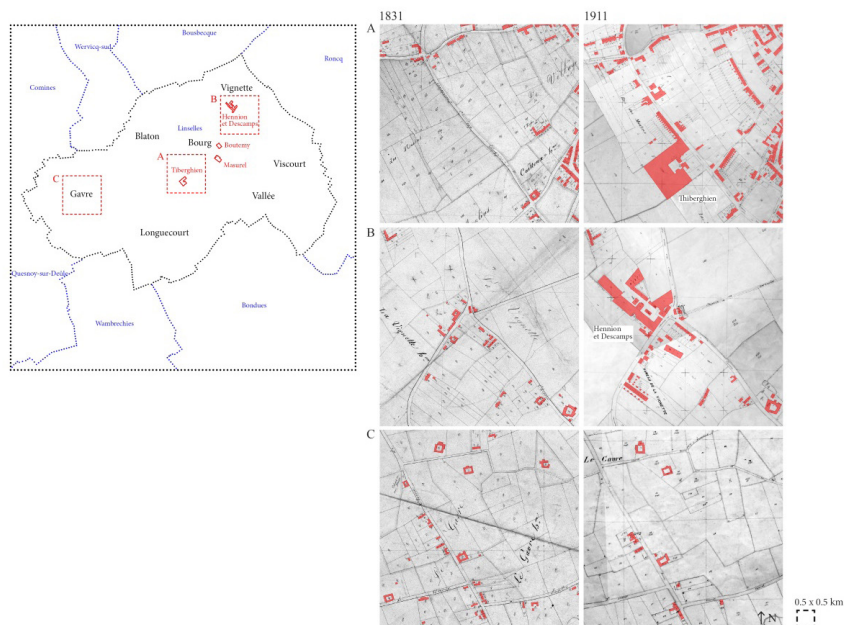


Fig. 7. Spatial differentiation in Linselles (France): from 1850 to 1950, the population increased only in areas with the developing textile industry (Bourg and Vignette), while in hamlets like Gavre (populated as Vignette in 1850s), the population decreased, and many buildings were destroyed (Source: Cadasters of 1831 and 1911 of Linselles — Archives Départementales du Nord 31P 250)

In the Venetian municipalities, not only social hierarchies but also spatial differentiations were somewhat 'softened' due to the spread of small farms of less than 5 ha (Fig. 8). To ensure the viability of these farms was not a simple task. It was solved by introducing new crops with high-

10. Besides farmers-weavers living close to their plots scattered across the territory, these were also artisans and retailers who lived not only in the village center' but also in numerous hamlets. Most of these hamlets disappeared in the second half of the 19th century.

er added values<sup>11</sup> and incipient industrialization in the countryside, which allowed many small farmers to supplement their agricultural income with industrial revenues (Khorasani Zadeh, 2022; Celetti, 2014; Roverato, 2009). This process was supported by local elites, Catholic Church and (later) Fascist regime promoting a decentralized economic development both in agriculture and industry in order to contain rural outflow and concentration of workers (De Benedictis, 1992; Fuman, 1984; Bellini, 1983; Bianche, 1978). Policies sustaining the development of agricultural cooperatives and credit funds for farmers (*Casse rurali*) kept small holdings viable and helped peasants to get access to land.

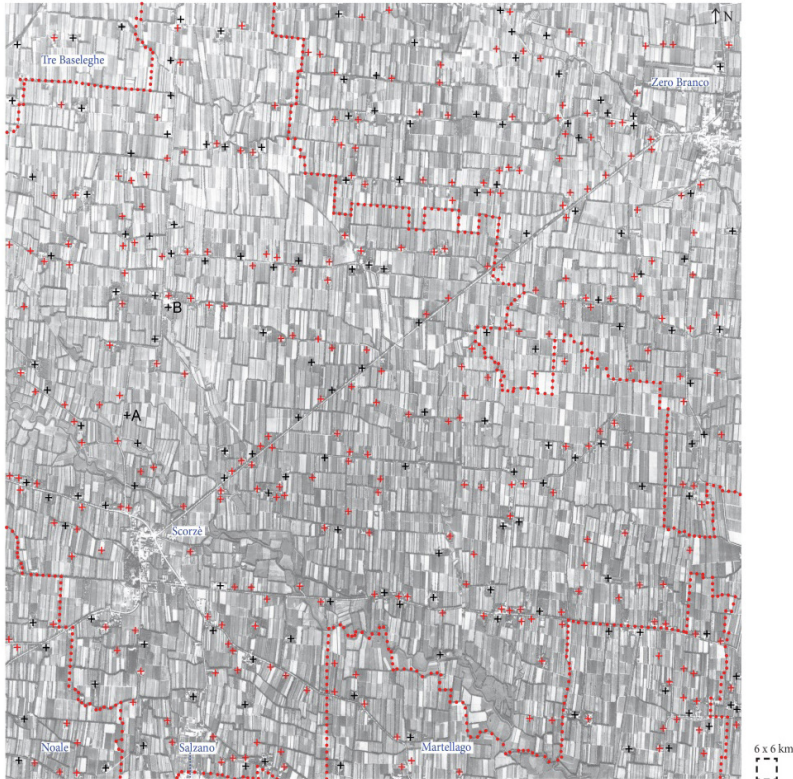


Fig. 8. Spatial differentiation in Scorzè (Italy): from 1850 to 1950, the population grew in almost all hamlets of the municipality. The map shows new farmhouses

11. E.g., the introduction of crops such as flax and hemp in certain regions, the growing share of vineyards and fruit trees, particularly peach and mulberry trees. The introduction of sericulture allowed the peasants to combine spinning and weaving with agriculture and, according to some scholars, paved the way for more contemporary forms of peasant pluriactivity (Celetti, 2020; De Benedictis, 1992).

(case *coloniche*) built from 1880 to 1940 (in red) and those already existing in 1880 that persisted (in black). With the massive industrialization from the 1950s, the spatial distribution of population changed to a certain extent, but not as drastically as in French municipalities: most industrial workers with peasant backgrounds remained in or near their paternal farmhouses and practiced agriculture as a part-time job. Farmhouses of Bruno and Ermenegildo Scattolin and of Alberto Beggio are marked respectively with the letters A and B (Source: IGM maps of 1887 and 1940; the background map is an aerial photo of 1954)

### **Reconsidering property/tenancy interactions and peasant-family reproduction patterns**

Veneto and French Flanders with an overall rise of the peasant land ownership in the late 19th — early 20th centuries present two different development paths. In Northern France, peasant ownership was already notable at the beginning of the 19th century, but its rise did not benefit all peasants and did not mitigate the existing social hierarchies. In the Veneto region, peasant ownership was marginal at the beginning of the 19th century, and its growth ‘smoothed’ social hierarchies and led to the rise of small-scale agriculture. In each case, industrialization played an important role. In French Flanders, the advent of textile factories concentrated around few towns determined a marked rural exodus that contributed to the agricultural sector restructuring and family farms’ growth in size. On the other hand, the decentralized industrialization based on small enterprises in Veneto allowed a small-scale agriculture to survive by enabling peasants to combine agricultural and industrial revenues. In addition to the industrialization paths and development policies pursued for ideological or economic reasons, a close examination of the 1 km<sup>2</sup> areas and of biographies of French and Italian farmers highlight the determining role of two patterns of the peasant families’ social reproduction. The already mentioned interaction between property and tenancy (their overlap in the Venetian area and their dissociation in French Flanders, notably for medium and large-scale farms) is a result (and at the same time a key component) of two different social reproduction patterns. In Northern France, the dissociation of property and tenancy can partially explain the success of farmers who managed to enlarge the size of their farms and properties. These farmers had a clear tendency to bequeath the farm to only one child (regardless of gender) while respecting an egalitarian sharing of land property between heirs (Fig. 9).

At the same time, farmers tried to reduce the number of heirs through a birth control strategy. A systematic analysis of plots that the heirs of each generation inherited shows that, to a certain extent, farmers usually favored heirs who were also successors on the farm by providing them with compact shares of land located as close

as possible to the farmhouse, while other heirs were given dispersed plots<sup>12</sup> (Fig. 10). On the other hand, the marriage of two successors offered the possibility of combining two farms and parts of property.

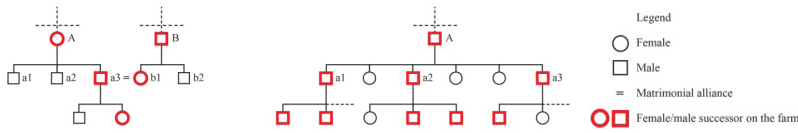


Fig. 9. Ideal-typical succession patterns among peasant families in Northern-France (left) and Veneto (right) for three generations (born from 1850 to 1920). For the second generation, the children who inherited land are marked with a letter (see also Fig. 10)

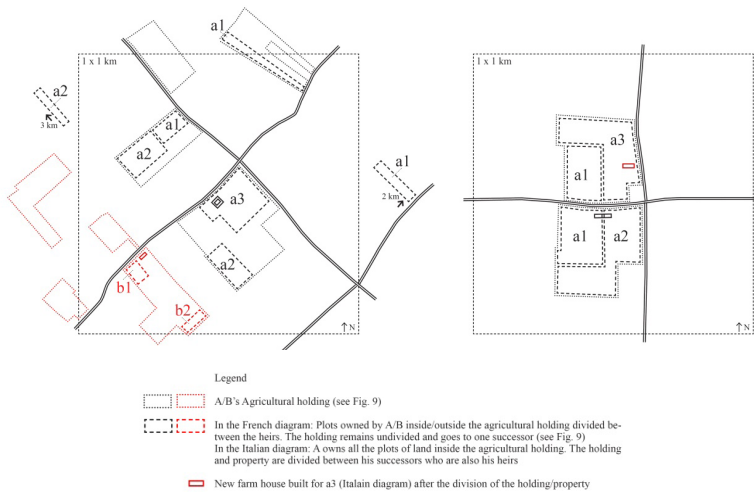


Fig. 10. Ideal-typical property and farm divisions in Northern France (left) and Veneto (right). The diagram refers to the second generation shown on Fig. 9

The life trajectory of farmers who abandoned agriculture for full time jobs in the textile industry during the second half of the 19th century shows that the nuclear structure of the Northern France peasant households also fostered the emergence of working-class neighborhoods around textile factories. In a nuclear household, children leave their parents' house after marriage. Thus, the generations of

12. The plots of land inherited by 'non-successor' siblings were almost always leased to the successor sibling. These small advantages granted to the only successor did not mean that parents were not interested in the fate of non-successor children. Those wishing to continue farming were helped by their parents through social contacts (marriage to another farmer's successor) or financial support (buying or renting land on another farm).

Northern France farmers, who abandoned agriculture, left their retired parents' farmhouses even when the latter were owners of these houses and even in 'industrialized' municipalities. These 'abandoned' farmhouses were often bought by farmers consolidating their land, who usually destroyed them to increase the agricultural function of the plots (Fig. 11). In this way, they contributed to the spatial differentiation mentioned before: entire areas lost both their inhabitants and settlements.



Fig. 11. Erasing traces of settlements: French farmer destroys farmhouses after buying them (1850–1900, Linselles)

In the Veneto region, the access to property improved peasant households' living conditions, 'uncovering' some features of their lineage structure<sup>13</sup> (Fig. 9). Thus, Venetian peasant families' inclination to constitute 'multiple households' (Laslett 1972) (parents and all or some married sons living under the same roof) (Fig. 12) became a statistically important phenomenon<sup>14</sup>.

13. The existence among farmers of lineage structures in Central and North-Eastern Italy has been documented since the Middle Ages (Augustins, 2002; Barbagli & Kertzer, 1992; Barbagli, 1984; Kertzer, 1984; Klapisch, 1978; Conti, 1965).

14. The multiple household was already a diffused pattern among tenants and sharecroppers working on the medium- and large-scale farms (Kertzer, 1984).

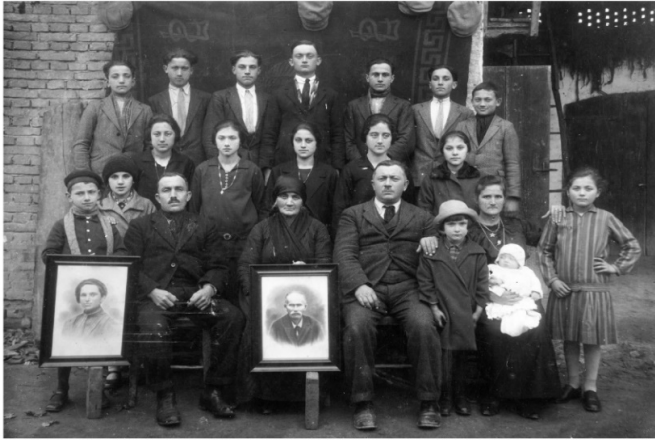


Fig. 12. Francesco and Eugenio Barduca multiple household (Borgoricco, Veneto, 1929). The two brothers' separation, shortly after this photo was taken, resulted in the division of the farmhouse (Fig. 13) and of 7 ha of family-owned land (Source: Barduca family private archive, courtesy of Alessia Barduca)

During the period of cohabitation of parents and married sons, the household worked on an undivided farm and property, trying to increase the size of property/holding, which, due to the specific Venetian overlap of property and tenancy, was not an easy task. The (cyclical) dissolution of multiple households was inevitable and often created new farms and farmhouses. Shortly before the wedding of the eldest married brother's eldest son, the former used to 'uncouple', dividing first the farm and later the family property<sup>15</sup> (Fig. 10).

15. Such divisions were particularly problematic during periods of a significant population growth or in rural economies based on crops that were cost-effective only if cultivated on large areas. According to some historians (Derouet & Goy, 1998; Augustins, 1989; Derouet, 1989), these structural issues affecting lineage systems facilitated the decrease of peasant property during the modern period in some European regions. This is, for instance, the case of Veneto in the 17th — 18th centuries, when Venetian nobles and bourgeois started to invest in land and agriculture. This movement, which the Italian historiography calls '*appoderamento*' (Bevilacqua, 1989; Romano, 1971; Conti, 1965), is not only characterized by a change in the property structures but also by an attempt to constitute compact properties and holdings. However, *appoderamento* was somewhat an 'incomplete' process — there was always a marginal peasant property to ensure land for small peasant owners employed at larger farms. *Appoderamento* was also an 'unstable' process as any change in property relations (sales, purchases, hereditary shares) could compromise the integrity of these autonomous compact property-holdings. However, in the 18th — 19th centuries, in the regions with an advanced state of *appoderamento*, compact properties-holdings were often circulating in the market without their integrity questioned (Khorasani Zadeh, 2022; Conti, 1965).

Wealthier families could build a new house for each household separating from the family farmhouse; other families could literally divide the parents' house<sup>16</sup> (Fig. 13).

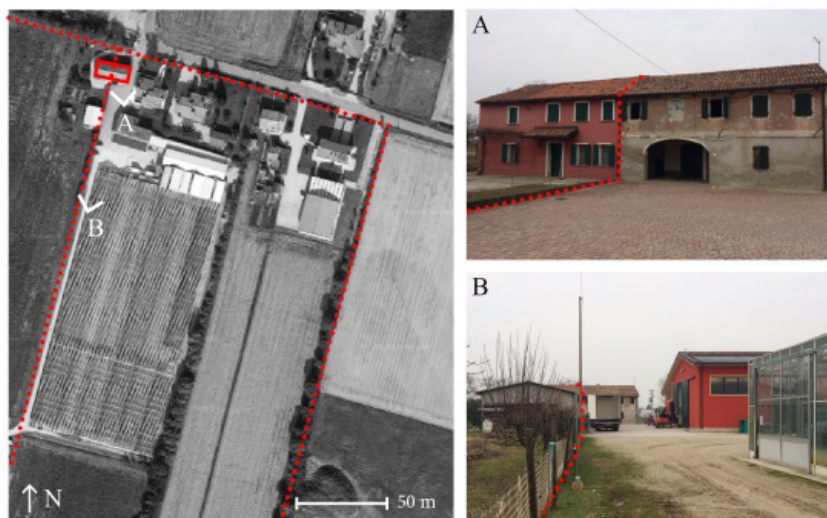


Fig. 13. Dividing the family farmhouse after the separation of two brothers in Veneto (see Fig. 12). Houses located on the right side of the separation line were built by three generations of successors and heirs of Francesco Barduca; his two great-grandsons still work in agriculture (Source: photos by the author (2018); Google Maps (2020))

The increasing share of multiple households in the 19th — early 20th centuries is reflected in the growth of households' average size at the regional and municipal level, which corresponds to the growing share of peasants working exclusively on their own land and to the decreasing share of farmworkers and day laborers (Fig. 14).

The Venetian case is a clear example of how the rise of peasant landownership in the context of a specific peasant-family reproduction pattern may mitigate social differentiation, contain the expansion of agricultural holdings while sustaining an alternative to agriculture through a specific industrialization pattern, in which ex-farmers were not only future industrial workers but also entrepreneurs. The regional industrial take-off, especially after the Second World War, was due not only to investors from major cities (who built factories in rural municipalities, taking advantage of the available and cheap peasant workforce that already had a house and a partial agricultural income)

16. More often, the preferred solution was a combination of the division of the parents' farmhouse between two or three siblings and the construction (or purchase) of new farmhouses for others (Khorasani Zadeh, 2022).

but also to peasant initiatives. Two examples from the municipality of Scorzè can illustrate this point (Khorasani Zadeh, 2022). First, the bicycle and later motorcycle factory Aprilia (now a part of the Piaggio group) was founded by Alberto Beggio from a peasant family living in Scorzè for generations, who began by repairing and then manufacturing bicycles in the early 1940s (Fig. 8)<sup>17</sup>. Second, the factory of Acqua San Benedetto (one of the largest producers of bottled mineral water in Italy) was founded in the early 1950s around a spring on a farm owned by two brothers — Bruno and Ermenegildo Scattolin (Fig. 8)<sup>18</sup>.

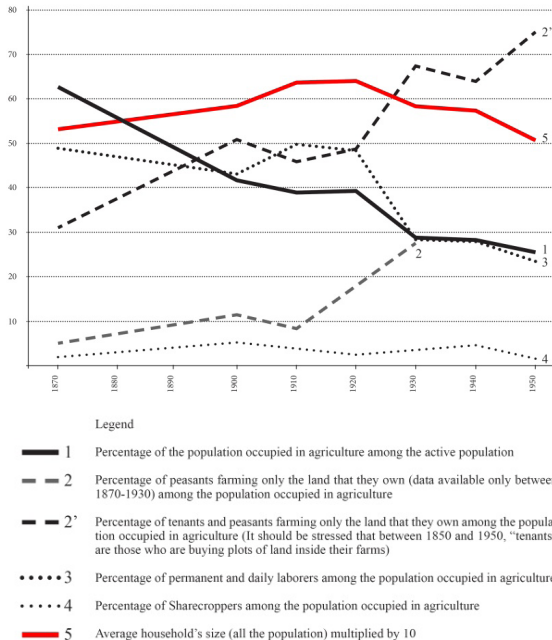


Fig. 14. Population engaged in agriculture and the household average size in the Province of Padua based on population censuses from 1870 to 1950 (the data for 1880 was not considered due to a different structure of the available census results; in 1890, there was no census) (Source: ISTAT historical data)

17. Combining self-sufficiency and openness to the market, Venetian farms were labor intensive and required different types of agricultural, commercial and maintenance tasks. Many historians have stressed the importance of manufacturing and entrepreneurial skills of Venetian peasants, partly acquired due to the specific forms of farming in the take-off of local industry (Celetti, 2020; De Benedictis, 1992).
18. The expansion of Acqua San Benedetto took place after 1960 due to the Scattolin brothers' partnership with Augusto Zoppas, son of Ferdinando Zoppas and founder of the household appliances company Zoppas. In 1971, Augusto Zoppas' grandson and his son-in-law took advantage of San Benedetto's financial difficulties to buy out the Scattolin brothers' shares.



To grasp the decisive impact of peasant families' reproduction patterns on the development of an economic model based on small and medium industries and farms, one needs to consider that the Fascist regime and even the Italian post-Second World War policies spent significant resources to promote a similar type of development in several regions of Southern Italy. However, these policies yielded mixed results (Bellicini, 1998).

In the 20th century, the agricultural population decreased, and since the 1970s, cohabitation of married brothers has become rare. At the same time, agriculture was industrialized and specialized, but the share of small farms in Central Veneto remains high<sup>19</sup>, and the peasant population maintains such practices as long phases of undivided ownership and tenancy, division of parents' houses (or, more often, building new houses close to them) and excluding women from farm's succession and land inheritance<sup>20</sup>.

Being concerned about the overall rise of peasant landownership in the late 19th — early 20th centuries, French Flanders and Veneto followed two diverging paths in terms of agricultural development and social-spatial differentiation. Industrialization patterns played an important role in the path taken in each case. The previous paragraphs invite also to consider the interactions between property/tenancy dynamics and peasant families' reproduction patterns. These patterns are not immune to economic or environmental changes<sup>21</sup>, but their evolution is not fully determined by these factors, especially in long time intervals.

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19. For instance, the average size of the farm in the municipality of Scorzè remained the same from 1850 to 2010 (around 3.3 ha). This is particularly due to the significant number of farms exploiting only owned land (74.8% of farms and 57.1% of land in 2010) of the average size of 3 ha. In the French municipality of Fleurbaix, where the average size of farms was even lower than in Scorzè in 1850 (2.4 ha), the average size of farms was 8.1 ha in 1930 and 31.7 ha in 2010.
  20. The Veneto's agro-industrial society with weak social-spatial differentiations (between industrial workers and peasants, cities and countryside), was a fertile ground for the development of the identity-based and independence movements demanding decentralization and promoting such values as work, family and property (Fuman, 1984; Lanaro, 1984; Anastasia, 1981).
  21. For example, it seems that the specific industrial model of Veneto, based on the decentralized work and low added value products, strengthened the Venetian multiple family model that needed to stay united as long as possible to remain competitive. This is also true for other European contexts characterized by the presence of multiple families (Lorenzetti, 2010: 213–219).

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### **Рост крестьянского землевладения как движущая сила социально-пространственной дифференциации в современных сельских районах Венето и французской Фландрии**

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**Аннотация.** Рост крестьянского землевладения в аграрных обществах обычно связан с сокращением социальных иерархий вследствие улучшения социально-экономических условий, снижения доли крупного землевладения и развития мелких хозяйственных форм. Исследователи подтвердили, что воздействие крестьянского землевладения на развитие сельского хозяйства и социальную дифференциацию крайне вариативно, поскольку зависит от социально-исторического контекста. Статья призвана внести вклад в соответствующие дискуссии, показав, как рост крестьянского землевладения может порождать противоречивую динамику социально-пространственной дифференциации вследствие неоднородной «взаимосвязи земли и родства» или «воспроизводственных паттернов» крестьянских семей. Для проверки этой гипотезы автор рассматривает два европейских сельских региона — в северной Франции и Венето, сосредоточившись на развитии землевладения и аренды, систем родства и социально-профессиональных характеристик населения в выборке муниципалитетов с середины XIX до конца XX века. Помимо анализа совокупных данных на муниципальном уровне, автор рассматривает также развитие небольших районов в каждом изучаемом муниципалитете, используя качественный

подход — «биографическое» описание некоторых видов собственности, землевладений, конкретных крестьян и их семей. Исследование опирается на такие открытые источники, как переписи населения, кадастровые записи и аграрные опросы, включая интервью и обращение к частным архивам.

*Ключевые слова:* собственность, аренда, сельскохозяйственные владения, родство, семья, пространство, социальное воспроизводство, картирование, индустриализация

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