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The Professional Group of Agricultural Supervisors

The development of a highly capitalist agriculture based on commodity markets, new forms of ownership of agricultural capital and the arrival of new players are accompanying the emergence of large agricultural enterprises that break with family forms formerly policies of the second half of the twentieth century. The industrial character, the complexity of their organizational structure and the use of a permanent workforce mostly non-family constitute the most salient dimensions observed of these production companies. Through the acquisition of several sites (or businesses in the agricultural sector), in France or abroad, these companies, often mistakenly reduced to the image of "mega-farms", spread over a vast territory and are organized around a multitude of different entities, organized around holding companies, which house the various production units thought of as profit centers. Their activities often cover different stages of the life of an agricultural product, from its production to its marketing, through its packaging, which makes it its specificity. In search of control by upstream and downstream actors, there is a process of standardization of products and professional practices based on the deployment within the company of a growing number of environmental, social and technical costs. The industrial character of these enterprises also goes hand in hand with a pile-up of legal structures corresponding to the different productive entities and profit centers they constitute, and with a multiplicity of decision-making spheres, each with its own ends.

Investigation

This study is part of a thesis work carried out over the past three years, which seeks to explain - through immersion in different production companies - changes in the professional group of production supervisors in agricultural production firms. This article is based on an empirical, inductive and comprehensive approach in one of these firms: Daucus Farms. Following a first meeting, we were interned in the company for a month, from January 8 to February 8. Free to move on the various sectors and finally officiating at several positions of the company, we were able to work with the employees of the production in the fields and in the offices, the packing, the marketing, the administration and the direction. Observations and interviews were thus carried out during one month with key actors of the company (managers, supervisors, workers). Our status as a doctoral student in sociology was known to all the people we met.

This process of industrialization is based on a high level of financial and technological investment, linked to a substantial mobilization of material and immaterial resources of non-agricultural origin. The use of external capital, non-family wage earners and the delegation of certain activities generate original social relations. The latter involve the involvement of new players: investment companies, large families of entrepreneurs, industrialists. In general, the

emergence of industrial firms of agricultural production linked to the massive extension of the seasonal activity would place the agricultural world, according to certain works, with the vanguard of the general movement of the precarisation of the work (Brovia, 2008, Morice and Michalon, 2008). Work and surveys of foreign farm workers show that temporary migration is established as a rule and that, as a result, permanent installation abroad is an exception, even if this so-called seasonal work conceals new forms of permanent work (Lamanthe, 2008, Mesini, 2009). For their part, the work of Frédéric Decosse, conducted especially in the south of France, drew attention to the health of seasonal workers in agricultural production companies and highlight the overlap between a new international division of labor in agriculture and a new international division of agricultural labor risks (Décosse, 2008). In addition, unlike the family farm, the intensification and the increasing recruitment of permanent and seasonal workers have led to the emergence within production firms of an intermediate hierarchy, the agricultural supervisors, in the three sectors of the agricultural firm namely, marketing, packaging and production. So there are employees who officiate at the position of station manager, production manager ... and who are the intermediaries between the management and the performers.

Among them, we find the leaders of cultures. Historically attached to the role of "second" on the farm, the head of culture is responsible for the organization of work, purchase of equipment, financial and commercial choices, and is consulted for the choice of productions. As we have pointed out beforehand, unlike "conventional" farms, the production firms studied take charge of all the processes of the life of the agricultural product, from its plantation to its commercialization: the crop leaders are then competing within the entity by the arrival of new trades and new functions (especially commercial and industrial), in order to meet the expectations of a capitalist agriculture. This competition will then make possible the emergence of a larger professional group, that of the supervisors of the production, which we will describe throughout this communication.

After having described new empirical realities and opened the "black box" constituted by the agricultural production firm, we will characterize in this communication the professional group of production supervisors that we will analyze as a response to the decommissioning of production provoked by financialization. (Chambost, 2013) of the production firm. We will focus on describing its genesis, its composition and the sociological issues that cross it, focusing on one company in particular: the Daucus farm.

I - From the farm to the firm

The birth of the company that interests us starts in 1959 in Chalosse, a region south of the French department of Landes. Historical territory of the different struggles between sharecroppers, farmers and landowners in the post-war years, the agricultural families of Chalosse, like all farm families, undergo the "development model of the 1960s" (Allaire, 1988). Farmers have the injunction to modernize, as much by the development of mechanization as by efforts to rationalize the exploitation or social reorganization. The family farm can not support more than one buyer and Jacky is quickly disqualified as a buyer, for the benefit of his older brother.

Along with this movement of concentration of farms and the tightening of the agricultural population, another qualitative evolution has helped to define the place of the Landes in the French agricultural sector: the growth of corn growing. Supported by the Landes administration, it sets up on old wooded areas ravaged by the fires of the forties. Many Aisne farmers come to settle there. This particular situation encourages Jacky, after many odd jobs, to start as an entrepreneur, at age 30, to beat the wheat farmers in the area.

From the '60s until the 80s, the family grew with the birth of three boys, Raoul, Bernard and Lilian, who, respecting the strong social reproduction of the job of farmer in the 70s (Jacques-Jouvenot, Gillet, 2001), wish to work with their father. Recounting the ingratitude of the status of entrepreneur and benefiting from the still significant development of corn growing in the late 70s, Jacky buys 15 hectares from a notary where he worked and settles with his first son. Little by little, through the purchase of small farms, supported in particular by a policy on agricultural land favoring the acquisition of land by other farmers (Barthélémy & Barthez, 1978), the eldest and the youngest settled on farmland transmitted by their father.

Thus, between the 70s and the 90s, the agricultural surface of the family continues to increase. With the arrival of seeds, machines, fertilizers and the professional discourse on "the ethics of the new agricultural entrepreneur" (Remy, 87), the whole organization of work is evolving: more specialized, it is more turned towards the market (Demeleunaere & Bonneuil, 2011) and allows farmers to adapt to the specific conditions of the Landes to transform part of the forest area into an area dedicated to growing maize. In the early 1990s, the third child, René, joined the family project, which was built around corn production.

With fifteen and eleven years of difference between him and his two older brothers, René defines himself as "a child between two generations". Having grown up "in the fields of his father" and uncertain about his desires for training, he decided to follow, "like his brothers", a classical agricultural training. He starts a diploma of agricultural technician and a diploma of technician superior option "agricultural machinery" in the south of France.

At the end of his studies, he is called for military service and integrates the company at the end of it. In search of a place in the organization following his integration, he decided to look into the use of phytosanitary products since in 1993, the family decided to diversify. The crisis in agriculture since the 1980s calls into question the modernist framework prescribed by the agricultural profession, built partly around the specialization of production. In the rural sociological literature, this form of diversified agriculture refers above all to an "alternative" agriculture (Rémy 1986, Muller 1991, Mondy 2014) with the ambition of constructing a new professional identity of the farmer in the face of professional corporatism advocating a productivist model. Here, diversification is done first and foremost around a new risk management with a performative focus, in an agricultural company that has adopted the modernization benchmark, which it considers insufficient. The company then starts the production of carrots, under contract, which it sells to Belgian entrepreneurs.

In the early 2000s, the diversification process started in the early 1990s continues on two levels. First, the company adds organic carrots to its production catalog. Then, it integrates the downstream, that is to say the marketing, into its organizational structure (Nguyen & Purseigle,

2012). René takes charge of the commercial part: these are the first elements of the shift from the family farm to the family production firm.

II. The company as it stands

The company Daucus will quickly take another dimension to reach, to date, about 50 million euros of turnover with more than 2500 hectares of cultivated land, shared between vegetables and field crops. Carrots, potatoes and turnips are the first crops to be grown by the three brothers, but more than twenty varieties of vegetables are produced, packaged and sold by the company. Bio is one third of the production and represents 60% of the turnover. The various companies run by the three brothers employ more than 500 full-time equivalents, including 230 permanent ones. We find within the company more than 40 trades.

Among them, about twenty employees have a status of executive. All these employees are scattered in about fifty companies, including about fifteen production entities, spread over two countries: France and Portugal. The production part represents about 65% of these 500 full time workers. The whole, governed by a holding company, physically located on the site of the first exploitation bought by the father of the three brothers, which is also the main space of conditioning of all the products sold by the commercial part of the firm. Products sold in majority to large distributions.

Every family member has responsibilities; the three brothers are in charge of three "sectors": the eldest, Bernard, takes care of the external exploitations (all the exploitations where the brothers are owners, except the principal one), the cadet, Raoul, takes charge of the production of the firm, and the youngest, Lilian, marketing. The children of the three brothers also have responsibilities: the son of Bernard, Henry, is in charge of the general logistics, the first son of Raoul, Guillaume, is responsible for the company of Agricultural Works associated with the company and the second, Rachid, managing seasonal teams in the fields.

The firm is of industrial type (Purseigle, Nguyen and Mazenc, 2017). By buying several sites (or businesses in the agricultural sector), in France or abroad, it covers a vast territory and is organized around a multitude of different entities, organized around holding companies, which shelter the different production units thought of as profit centers. The investment in the production sites is based here mainly on a logic of mass production (in order to satisfy a request for extension) and profit, but more and more associated with a search for new attributes for its products to meet to new consumer requirements (Zero Pesticide Residue for example).

In concrete terms, the firm is broken down into different production sites linked to a central reception area. There are two types of production sites: farms that belong to the leaders (or the sons of the managers, employees of the firm and therefore also own a farm), and farms that belong to other farmers (essentially close to the central place of reception) but which contract with the firm and sell their production to the firm. This rental (or more precisely, this "disguised rental") is explained by the company's managers, by their desire to practice sustainable agriculture.

Production sites are present in two countries: France and Portugal. In France, the firm has 14 production sites that belong to it. Ten relatively close to the central place of reception (within a

radius of 40km), two to 100km, one located in the North of France and one located in the south-east. In Portugal, the company also has a production site that belongs to it. The total production area is 2800HA, including 1300HA of vegetables.

The place that interests us in particular is located at the central reception area and more specifically within the production sector.

II - The supervisors of the production

The production sector is run by the eldest of the family, Raoul, and is divided into three buildings: that of production, the agricultural workshop and the Agricultural Works Company. The farm business has the particularity of being in direct contact - economically and functionally - with the agronomic services cluster. Indeed, any activity made by «farm work company» is a command of the pole that is billed to it. The management of «farm work company» was entrusted to another member of the family of the third generation: Guillaume. Bernard's eldest son, he arrived in the company following a Btec Higher National Diploma GDEA and took the position of director of «farm work company» as soon as he joined.

The production building, which is an “Algeco” building, is located 30 meters from the conditioning building. Both are separated by the storage space of the transport trucks. It has two floors. First, a ground floor, which is the break room for seasonal field workers with a dozen benches and tables, two confectionery dispensers, a coffee machine and a room containing 80 lockers. It is the main resting place of foreign seasonal between two fields or at the end of the day. It is also used occasionally on the birthday of some employees of the production side (supervisors as performers) to install drinks and sweets, but is only a place of passage for non-seasonal employees of the production part and not a place of exchange or rest.



The first floor includes the offices of some employees of the sector of production, communication and quality, open-space, which makes difficult "on-the-fly" interviews. All are on permanent contracts. It hosts two cultural leaders, the son of Raoul, Rachid and Jean-Claude, two assistants heads of culture, Jerome and Brandon, the head of irrigation, Tugdual, the "sorting man", François, the office of Guillaume, the manager of the Agricultural Works Company associated with the company, the mechanized harvest manager, the quality manager, the communication manager, his assistant, and myself. Just like the administrative building, it is also the receptacle of the diversities of the capitalist agricultural enterprise: the sneakers of the head of communication become acquainted with the muddy boots of the heads of cultures, although there is also a pair under his office especially for the visits of journalists who are under his responsibility. Nevertheless, unlike the administrative building or the station, it is a socially homogeneous space. Several biographical elements bring the actors closer together: young people (between 19 and 25 years old on average), they are all from the region (within a radius of 40km compared to the company), have sometimes rubbed shoulders in the same college and share the want to stay in the area since they came back. They are not the girls and the local guys described by Nicolas Renahy: all have left the family home and the department the time of a few years of study after the baccalaureate, have an experience abroad, are in a relationship ...

In this space, the work is relaxed. Jokes, laughter, teasing and music accompany the days of work of employees, who move in an environment very different from the station: the space is heated, employees are seated, officials alongside other officials including they depend little, the hierarchical pressure is less present.

However, this does not mean that the first floor of the building is a haven of peace: jokes, laughter and teasing are some of the elements used to "elbow your throat", especially in a space

where experts of communication attend experts in agronomy and logistics. Who has the most noble activity? Who decides for whom? Who should listen to whom? Who supports this or that mission? All these issues of hierarchical division of labor are part of the elements that are constantly being brought to the fore, in the building and outside, especially since (1) the hiring of an «sorting man»izer, a manager of irrigation and assistant crop managers by the management, who participate in the emergence of a "professional group of production supervisors" but also to internal competition within the group by the coexistence within it of different professional segments (Bucher and Strauss), (2) the integration of the packaging and marketing sectors in the business that compete between groups, and (3) the arrival of a logistician in the production sector. is shaking up the internal organization of production. Indeed, worried by two years of low yields, the management has decided, for the year 2019, to hire, within the production sector, a logistician whose missions are "to manage the human and material resources", namely tractor drivers and all the machinery used in production.

These missions, originally attributed to cultural leaders, now constitute, within the production sector, a challenge. Whilst the cultural leaders held the monopoly of these two competences (to manage the workforce in the fields and to assign a machine to a group of individuals) who are two certified, labeled, expert and protective elements of their knowledge, labor market, these jurisdictions (Abbott, 1988) are now challenged and the extent of the monopoly is reconsidered. We then find this struggle in the discourse of affected employees, which radically discredits the know-how of the logistician, pointing to its lack of "technique" and results:

Jean-Claude: "That's why there is a guy who comes, a guy from a private box, management I do not know what ... The idea is to solve this problem of lack of communication between we finally between the services. Between the agro and the station, between the station and the commercial and the logistics department etc. We'll see if that leads to something but for the moment there is nothing conclusive, except losing two afternoons is all we have done for the moment. "

These struggles are one of the constituent elements of a real professional group of production supervisors. In fact, beyond the diversity of professions, functions, statuses and genres that make up the production sector, immersion has made it possible to identify the emergence within its community of a group of workers engaged in an activity having the same name, "growing a plant", and therefore having a social visibility, enjoying recognition and recognition, occupying a differentiated place in the social division of labor, but can not analyze in the prism of the sociology of the profession: all do not have the same status in the company (some are managers, others not), nor the same profession (some are leaders of cultures, others are making grading). The group is made up of other unifying elements: first outside the company, like sharing the same "work next door" (Weber, 2003) (all take care of a family farm next to their work in the company), socialization spaces (rugby matches, Saturday night club in the countryside, village festivals), similar trajectories (training in a local agricultural school, experience abroad ...) , a representation very close to what should be farming ("reasoned"), multiple social characteristics (son of farmer, younger brother of the family ...); but also inside the company, such as sharing the same workplace (which reinforces a feeling of belonging through a work routine) and social moments (sharing the same meal table for example) , the role of supervisors (who bring actors

to discuss their practices with each other) or opposition to a commercial sector that dominates the pace of production.

2.2 Crop managers and their assistants

In the Daucus Farms business, the crop managers and their assistants are "separated": one pair deals with the field crops and the other with all the products that are packaged in the packaging building (overall, all the vegetables produced by the company).

The missions of the crop leaders in the agricultural enterprise are diversified.

First of all, at the beginning of the season, they must cultivate the various products of the company, following a commercial schedule (the type of sowing and quantity are indeed decided upstream by the family management, in link with the sales department). The role of the crop manager will therefore be to contact the suppliers for the management of the plans, organize the soil preparation works (irrigation, soil analysis, drainage ...) and manage the plantation teams. The second mission refers to the monitoring of cultures. Once planted, crop leaders multiply crop observations in the fields until they are harvested. They check their stage, the presence or absence of diseases and insects, they organize work if they deem it necessary (as applications of treatments, hoeing, irrigation ...), they repair the machines used by the workers in the fields and they order their recommendations (such as that of moving from field A to field B for example). The third mission is to "manage the workforce" during the harvest season. The work here is radically different depending on the type of crop. For the field crop part, work in the fields is fully mechanized. The role of the head of culture is then to administer, in the morning or the day before, a machine to a tractor driver in order to do a task, which he will control after it is finished. For the vegetables part, in the company that interests us, the direct management of the workforce in the fields is delegated to a French team leader. The work of the head of culture is therefore to go retrieve information from her to verify that the harvest "is going well". The fourth and final mission is the day-to-day management of the harvest.

First by managing the "stocks" available in the fields. Indeed, prospecting yields of each plot at the time of planting emanates a "destocking table", which indicates to the head of culture the number of hectares he must consume each week and that he surveys weekly to check if it is early or late, whether it should slow down the harvest or if it needs to be accelerated. They are also the receivers of lime trucks and droppings, which are the relay between the actors of the transport and the large distribution, between the manufacturers of packaging and the end customers.

The two crop leaders and two assistant crop managers in the company have similar social and professional profiles. Sons of farmers, small and medium-sized farms, they all grew up in the area. After passing through the local college and 3 years in an agricultural college, they embarked on graduate studies. All have a Btec Higher National Diploma agricultural and have done an internship abroad in a large farm before arriving in the company, during the Btec Higher National Diploma for those who stopped there, during the agronomy engineering school for two of them who decided to continue after the Btec Higher National Diploma.

They want or have wanted to settle down as a farmer and do not see wage labor as a desirable and sustainable situation. These are extrinsic elements (bird flu, bankruptcy of the family farm, younger family of a farmer who passes after the eldest in the resumption of the family farm ...)

which led them to apply as a chef of culture in the company. For two of them, the wage is even lived as a betrayal to his home world.

Jean-Claude: "After that, it would be my dream to be able to say to myself," go, today I'm going to take care of my little culture, to pass the tractor ... ", yes that yes, it's my dream actually. "

Brandon: "I'm not necessarily super comfortable with the status of employee [...]. I have a big father ... it's been since 1870 that in the family we are farmers, so there's a little that too. If I say "I become an employee because it does not pay" but you still work in agriculture ... It's a little ... You've lost a little tone ... You betray what. "

Brandon's feeling of betrayal is rooted in a dual representation. First, that of agricultural work that must be laborious. He contrasts the comfortable situation of the employee with fixed hours to that of a farmer who never knows when he will finish his day. Then, in that of an employee he considers lazy, who works only for money, who can turn off his phone when he has finished his day's work and who does only what he is asked to do and no more, to that of a farmer who must be always available and who also works to help others.

The four individuals share the same "work next door" (Weber, 2003). In fact, all are involved in the family farm of the father or eldest in addition to their work as an employee on Daucus farms, whether they themselves are the eldest of the family (and therefore the official buyer) or no, repeatedly or discontinuously in the year. Socialized at a very young age to become a farmer, help with farm work on the family farm is experienced as a responsibility that is essential in a family environment marked by poverty. This work is part of the elements that participates in the socialization of the professional group of supervisors of production. This is a topic frequently addressed by individuals composing it during different moments of sociability, such as meals in the canteen or car trips between two plots. We compare the monitoring of the work, the work of the employees of the family farm, we discuss the state of health of the parents, the good or bad harvest in progress ... All these elements of the next are knowledge exogenous to the company - we do not follow work in the same way on a 20-hectare farm and in a 2500-hectare company - but which are passed on between professionals and who develop the feeling of belonging to the group. Not to have access to it, however, is the exclusion of certain individuals, as revealed in this part of the interview with one of the company's heads of culture, about the problems of managing personnel brought up by a number of people employees in the packaging sector.

Jean-Claude: "I have been working with my father since I was little, since I have the age to walk, I have always worked on the farm every weekend every holiday, since the age of 14 years old, like others here in the production sector. Already by entering Jousian [an engineering school], compared to people who have no connection with the agricultural world, who have not worked at all in the agricultural world, people like me and others already has some experience

of professional life, the constraints that it represents, annoyances that go with it too. If you want my dad is a farmer, my mom had an optics shop, she was self-employed too, so the staff management issues, well not really that because my parents had no problem managing staff but let's say the business problems I was putting in quickly. My uncle is a farmer too, I have an uncle who has an SME of 500 people ... Here we had a certain prerequisite compared to others, so we do not see it in the same way as others in the company . We know what it's like to manage people in a farming business. "

Here, in the speech of the head of culture, there is a clear distinction in the consideration of labor management issues between individuals with experience in the agricultural world, acquired in particular by working on the farm. family, and those who do not. It is therefore understandable that the learning of knowledge and the familiarity with characteristic professional situations, for the actors, of the agricultural world, are factors of integrations to the professional group of the supervisors of the agricultural production. Also, we observe that the knowledge necessary for access to the occupational group is first of all imposed by the vision of agriculture carried by the two individuals of the highest social group: the heads of engineering cultures. They are the bearers of a professional ideology, which participates internally in the cohesion, and externally to the legitimacy and the social recognition of the group with regard to both the direction, but also other groups. This ideology is that of "reasoned" agriculture. It is a vision that they consider different from that of their parents and their classmates in the engineering schools and Btec Higher National Diploma, but still retains some similarities.

It is that of a productivist agriculture, turned above all towards yields and profits, but which must integrate environmental issues and change its ways of doing things. More appropriate to respond to consumer demands and more in tune with their personal vision of what agriculture should be, it is the official word, producing a true group belief. This is how the two assistants, non-engineers explain having to change their mind when arriving here:

Brandon: "Since I've been here, I'm interested in conservation agriculture, especially with Rachid, he's an agronomist. And there he sets up grazing grass with cows, he wants to make conservation agriculture [...]. At my father's what I'm trying to put in place. So I work the soil, I put as few inputs as possible. And then after the ZRP approach that's what Rachid is doing here, especially regarding herbs, we put the least weedkiller possible. The idea of all this is to have more consistent or even increasing returns. Because if your soil is empty, your yields will decrease. After a while your land is more fertile. It's since Rachid is here. In fact he is interested in everything that is done in the world. When it was Raoul who managed phytosanitary level it was the maximum allowed dose. Rachid, he reduces all that, and we maintain a yield with rotations and so on. "

Jerome: "Me my goals here is to be productive and follow a crop from semi to harvest, see the potential yield that can be done. After we have culture, it is valorization. How is it marketed? Because behind there is still a gain. It's important to know that behind you do a value-added culture. On the other hand,

we must rather work systems than work chemistry. Phytos we will use less and less! Frankly, sometimes the ecologists are not wrong, we all know it's synthetic products, it's chemistry ... we all know that it degrades biodiversity, the environment but also us users what. And that I find that here it is really worn by the cultural leaders in place, it is not the usual speech. You see we were 37 at the EAM in the promo of Btec Higher National Diploma and I realize that we were only 4 or 5 to be in phase with that. The others were pro labor and pro phytosanitary. But when you see them, the first thing, I do not know me ... You have a living room what are they going to see? The big tractor, the big plow, the big equipment. Know that you bring this back to your farm, it's not at all proportional. "

The change of paradigm in the speeches of the assistants is all the more interesting because they both passed by a Btec Higher National Diploma APV (Agronomy Productions Végétales) specialized in horticulture, which stands out from other Btec Higher National Diploma agricultural education by an absence the consideration of environmental issues in recent training standards (Gazo & Mazenc, submitted).

First, the expansion of the company by the acquisition of farms or contracting with farmers in the region, with the aim of producing more to meet the requirements of retail customers, further away a little more the cultivated areas, firstly between them, then between them and the offices of the building of production. Members of the occupational group explain spending too much time on the roads, at the expense of time spent in the fields:

Jean-Claude: "We spend a lot of time on the road here. We go up to Pipeline, we can go up to 80 km from one plot to another. I'm going to see the driver I'll tell him "you rule your machine like that you pass here etc". That's it, but part of the big culture. On potatoes, it's the same, adjusting the machine, advice to drivers ... But all this is done by phone but also face to face. "

The time spent on the roads is not the only component of the distance of supervisors to what he considers to be their core business, namely agronomic techniques. All also criticize an "administrativisation" of their practices, which is explained by a proliferation of certification standards and a widening of the field of standardization, especially since the emergence of free zones for the circulation of products (Lamanthe, 2007). Indeed, globalization has increasingly participated in the integration of agriculture into international trade and the process of free movement of goods. For farmers, this phenomenon represents both opportunities (sales in particular, thanks to exports and this is the case of farms *Daucus*) and constraints (among others related to the competition between producers). From this phenomenon follows the increase of devices (sometimes public, sometimes private) of standardization and certification of products and processes, but also of singularization. To access the market, farms are then obliged to adopt them. These specifications are sometimes identical for everyone (such as the Global Gap framework), sometimes specific to each company, but all have implications for work and the employment relationship. Global Gap, for example, relates both to "compliance with the national legislation in force (declaring employees, respecting labor laws that apply, being in good standing with mandatory documents, etc.), and the health of the worker (obliga- wearing

of clothing and protections for the use of phytosanitary products); employee training and information (health and safety instructions, product handling, etc.); a set of requirements concerning their behavior (compliance with hygiene and safety standards: washing hands, not smoking and not eating at workplaces ..., which means that they are available near toilets and water points) "(Lamanthe, 2011). In addition, the firm differs from traditional farms by establishing new standards (quality management system, product specifications ...) produced by the company, for its productions. These include labels that continue the process of certification of agricultural enterprises.

Jean-Claude: "I spend more and more time doing administrative work and less running in the fields. Clearly. And then it's both sustained, wanted ... It's the evolution of the company that wants that ... It's full of stuff at the same time. All the tools we put in place, especially with balance, plot management planning, all that means that it is time for information and input consultation that we did not necessarily before.

And this more administrative, do you dislike?

It's ambivalent. On the one hand, we needed to recruit management staff to help us. You can not be everywhere and run around. On the other hand framed staff means ... it's another job to be the one who does. You change registry. It's not unpleasant, but sometimes it's heavy because you basically do not become the one who makes you the recourse, we call you when we have a problem.

These benchmarks are then real factors of rationalization of operations and proliferation of procedures and increasing recourse to writing, as Nathalie Joly (2017) points out. Nevertheless, the development of internal and external standards are not only responses to the integration of production in international trade and the free movement of goods. The agricultural worlds also adapt to the new expectations of society in terms of food, which are expressed in terms of health, but also environmental and cultural. The health crises of the turn of the twentieth century have largely contributed to the formulation of these expectations, often in heterogeneous and sometimes contradictory forms, putting farmers in touch with accusations about their direct or indirect responsibilities in the crisis of confidence that is settling down with consumers. The consequence of this crisis of confidence is, for the professional group of production supervisors, a first step in the process of its deprofessionalisation. In the firm, with the withdrawal of the management, they are the guarantors of the quality of the products, the quantities required and the respect of the fixed deadlines. The questioning by consumers of logics and professional identities, their "license" and "mandate", the denial of their competence and expertise threaten the autonomy of the group, which must then transform the social demand into a new skill that suits the entire group.

2.3 The group in the group

As we pointed out, the professional group of agricultural supervisors is not a homogeneous group. There is an uneven distribution of resources among its members, which causes some people, on specific issues, to go back and forth between entry and exit in the occupational group. First, the first disparity relates to whether or not to belong to the family of leaders. Rachid is

the son of the leader of the production sector. His status initially has a direct effect on his professional career and in particular his entry into the company to the status of manager. It correlates directly with the change of direction of his father's career. Rachid gained direct access to the position of manager. Unlike other leaders in the production sector, Rachid did not start in the fields and did not progressively gain access to higher hierarchical strata through experience. He started as head of the year following the end of his studies. According to these colleagues, his privileged status played a crucial role in the entry of the profession. Thus, several of these colleagues pointed out, during the interview, the "problems of communication" of Rachid, which leads to the illegitimacy of the group of production in the eyes of other sectors of the company and his taking office which would never have happened if he was not "the son of the boss". In addition, this status of family member works for other supervisors in the sector as a "glass ceiling". It is a real barrier to internal promotion, since they are non-family supervisors and they act in an organization with heritage vocation, which wishes to preserve a family direction. Indeed, in the case of the production sector, the management is owned by a family member and his heir is already found: it is Rachid. For Jean-Claude, the continuation of his career is already thoughtful:

Jean-Claude: "Anyway I could not climb higher in the company since when Raoul will retire, it will be Rachid. So in a few years I'll leave, I'm young, I want to climb the ladder and be a company manager too?"

However, this element of distinction is not only negative for Rachid and his colleagues. He is also a gateway to the professional group for Rachid, or at least the assurance of keeping a place there. Indeed, the immersion allowed me to observe that its status was used by the other members of the group to convey messages to the management. Its membership of the management family makes it the spokesperson for the group, especially when it comes to reminding managers that production has its own temporality opposite to the packaging and trade sectors. This confirms the existence of professional groups with porous and dynamic borders. Professional groups are moving, those that cause them to change. Established groups may be destabilized, such as the one that interests us when integrating other sectors in the company or the arrival of a logistician; others in emergence can become institutionalized. In addition, the segmentarization of the professional group of production supervisors is based on a second component: whether or not they belong to the engineering world, which is decisive in the career of the company's employees. First, in taking office. Like Rachid, Jean-Claude entered the company as a supervisor, without going through the execution. Being an engineer makes it optional to prove one's qualification, because in the end what is sanctioned by the title is less the technical skills (which become, according to Rachid and Raouÿl, often obsolete once out of school) that «sorting man»ity that fits well beyond the question of competence and can be explained by the legacy of a long history of institutionalization of the status of engineer. The head of the recruitment firm, Mireille, who works for the Daucus company explains:

Mireille: "We are on profiles that do not move too much, which are not too present on the networks. Then, the applications we receive are sorted according to the specifications of the client. Especially on a post like this. There we are on something restrictive, especially around the school path. Here what is asked is a

school of specialized agri agro engineers. The typical profile is an engineer who made a school of agro inge. What we are looking for is a manager, and the profiles of engineering schools they have a height of sight they have a strategic vision that is more business than someone who has climbed the ladder as and when. For this strategic vision for the company vision we still expect to see people engineering school. "

Even though Paul Bouffartigue speaks of a "crisis of confidence" in society towards engineers, the surveys on the professional integration of graduates of higher education suggest that the crisis has less reason to affect graduate engineers than the other frames. These figures show, in fact, that graduates of engineering schools experience less job insecurity than other managers. It is, among all the graduates of higher education, those who currently know the period of job search the least long at the beginning of career, which find the fastest a job "not precarious" and which access the most massively (with the holders of a doctorate) to the socio-professional category of "senior professional and intellectual professionals" from their first job (88% of them, against 90% of doctors).

Moreover, beyond the scientific and technical functions determined by the definition of an "engineer", beyond the diploma and the title granted to the person who has completed engineering studies, beyond the privilege of the status, passing through an engineering school offers the opportunity for the heads of engineering cultures to be referenced in a "directory" as former students of the engineering school. In this directory we find several categories: that of the former students with the names, first names and promotions of the old ones; that of companies in which are hired engineers and a category by department, with the referencing of all engineering students of the school, by department, names, first names, post, address, phone number, email address and other information (marriage, number of children ...). In the case of the chiefs of engineering culture that we are interested in, this directory has facilitated the professional integration, which is based on the historical links of the school with the Daucus company, which allow each of the two parties to pass quickly offers and requests for skills, avoiding candidates trainees or engineers looking for internships and theses, to use the labor market "classic".

The analysis of the occupational group is not exhaustive, all processes that are discriminating or in contrast to cohesion are not discussed, as is the issue of the work problems that are incumbent upon them, the new rivalries stemming from the integration of others. sectors to the farm business or the trajectories biographies of the different members. The completeness will be in the thesis work, once it is finished. The general idea of this part was to show the existence of the professional group of production supervisors, to begin to characterize it and to present some of these specificities. We understand, through this part, that framing production when you are a farmer (or his assistant) at Daucus farms, is first of all not to be in contact with the harvest workers, whatever his specialty. If the harvest is mechanized, it is to accept that our management mission is delegated to another professional. When she is human, it is only in relation with the team leader. As a result, it is to enter into salary relationships as equals on a hierarchical level: the issues specific to the group refer more to issues of autonomy and conflict between supervisors in each sector than between a supervisor and a supervisor. performing the same sector. Consequently, the resources that will be mobilized in the relations between the

groups are not the same: whereas the status or the degree of diploma would be determining in the relation between a performer and a supervisor, here, the group will mobilize for example the report they can maintain with the leaders to accentuate their specificity. Being a supervisor in a family firm without being part of the family, it is also having to deal with colleagues with diverse status and including family supervisors and engineers sometimes family, sometimes unfamiliar with preferred resources in terms of career and autonomy.