Animal Health Management up against the Corsican Mountains: Meeting the Health and Territorial Challenges of the Free-Range Pig Farming Sector

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Introduction

1 Corsican livestock farming retains a distinctive pastoral character in comparison to the evolution of French livestock farming systems, which have tended towards increasing intensification and industrialisation over the last fifty years. The use of pastureland, a mountain and foothill area where the dynamic and heterogeneous vegetation is grazed by herds with varying degrees of freedom, and the know-how and knowledge associated with it, are recognised in products derived from livestock farming that are promoted by designations of origin and labels.

2 At a time when modern and intensive agriculture is facing criticism, the virtues of extensive, pastoral farming systems are recognised (VSF, 2020), but these systems are nonetheless singled out for the health risks caused by the interactions they promote between domestic and wild animals (Relun et al., 2015). It is true that the health situation of some Corsican livestock farms is problematic: Aujeszky’s disease¹ has not been eradicated, the prevalence of bovine tuberculosis is high, sheep and goat farms are experiencing cases of re-emergence of bluetongue virus (BTV), etc. Pastoral livestock farming makes it difficult to tackle pathogens in Corsica, where conventional methods (vaccination, surveillance, etc.) have shown their limitations (Casabianca, 2016). The difficulty of setting up a health policy in Corsica can be understood in the light of social science research that highlights the contradictions between the issues
addressed by national public policies and those faced by local livestock farms (Figuié, 2021). These studies are critical of the new principles of biosecurity, which cover all the measures used to prevent the introduction and spread of diseases and which involve fencing or confinement to limit the movement of animals and their interactions (Fortané and Keck, 2015). They describe biosecurity as a standardised and hegemonic response (Enticott, 2008; Enticott and Franklin, 2009) to the emergence of infectious diseases. They see the application of these standards as presenting a risk of homogenisation and disappearance of livestock farming systems (Frelih Larsen, 2009; Leclair, 2020) and point to their multiplier effects on health crises (Dixon, 2015). They advocate a recontextualisation of pathogen management methods (Enticott, 2012) to ensure more effective public policy on disease control or surveillance and recommend drawing on lay or citizen knowledge (Shortall and Brown, 2021) that has been marginalised in the field of veterinary public health (Figuié, 2021). They also suggest designing management methods based on territorial constructions (Binot et al., 2017).

In line with this research, which examines implementation methods and the consequences of the disconnect between public policy standards and the reality of livestock farming, our objective here is to show the link between the transformations of Corsican livestock farming and territory at the time of the Second World War, and current health dynamics in livestock farming. The aim is to understand how the current use of pastureland in mountain areas plays a role in the formation of the pathogenic system (Sorre, 1933) and how local knowledge about the use of pastureland can be leveraged to take a better account of the particularities and challenges of livestock systems in terms of health management. To do so, this article draws on a body of research conducted over the last ten years in Corsica, combining intervention research and case studies (Charrier and Casabianca, 2015; Charrier et al., 2020; Gisclard et al., 2021a; Gisclard et al., 2021b). The researchers used comprehensive methods, combining semi-structured interviews (with farmers and various stakeholders involved in animal health management), participant observation and socio-historical and longitudinal approaches analysing the emergence of territorial animal health management systems. These various studies provide an understanding of the contradictions between national public policies and the issues specific to Corsican livestock farming. They shed light on the responses provided locally through the construction of intermediary public health policy mechanisms, analysed from the perspective of the territorialisation of public policy (Charbonneau and Poinsot, 2018) and the institutionalisation of collective action, understood as processes of bottom-up integration of new actors (Lascoumes and Lorrain, 2007) and problems (Duran and Thoenig, 1996).

In the first part, we show how the demographic abandonment of the mountains in the interior of the island has led to the transformation of pastoral livestock farming systems, and in particular pig farming systems, which are more vulnerable to emerging diseases. The second part highlights the contradictions between the challenges of this type of farming and national public health policies and describes the failure of two public health management policies. Finally, we show how local actors develop management mechanisms to resolve these contradictions. These intermediary mechanisms enable health management actors to reconnect local practices and knowledge with national challenges. They foster a form of territorialisation of public policy that we define in terms of health territories.
The Abandonment of Mountain Farmland and the Transformation of Livestock Farming Systems

Demographic Decline in the Mountains and the Emergence of a New Pastoral Use of the Space

5 The importance of the mountains in the landscape and socio-spatial dynamics of Corsica led to the official recognition of the status of “mountain island” in 2016. However, the mountains are today a backspace, a victim of the “inversion” (Tafani, 2010) of space at the time of the Second World War, in favour of plains and coastal areas (Map 1). This process largely explains the way in which the space is occupied and current herds are managed. Far from being the survivors of traditional livestock farming, these herds are the result of its crisis (Renucci, 1970).

6 Historically, the Corsican population was originally mountainous, fleeing the coastline which was exposed to incursions and infested by malaria. Until the 19th century, the island economy was based on a peasant society with agro-pastoral resources. In the middle of the 20th century, with the increase in trade with French ports, industrialisation and economic modernisation of the continent, agricultural activities, which until then had been closely associated with livestock farming, declined. This had strong consequences for the management of the herds and the territorial organisation of Corsica. Firstly, transhumance, mainly of sheep and goats, from the villages to the coastal plains in winter and then to the mountain pastures in summer, on which the entire social and economic life was based, was deeply affected. The mountain areas planted with food crops were abandoned, the livestock and their owners became sedentary (Vercherand, 1990), deserting the different levels of the Corsican mountains for the lowland meadows and the exogenous supply of cereals and fodder. The dynamics of the populations and economic activities were thus reversed. The mountain villages were depopulated in favour of the coastline and in particular the main towns (Bastia, Ajaccio, Calvi), where service activities increased (mass tourism from the 1970s onwards), but also mainland France. The mountain became a demographic “desert” (Casabianca and Vercherand, 1986). The eastern plain was developed after the Second World War, in particular for wine and citrus growing, replacing the pastures. Despite their “archaic” livestock farming practices (Renucci, 1970), shepherds, who own the animals but not the land they occupy, were the survivors of a declining traditional society.

7 The abandonment of agriculture and the reduction of transhumance left the orchards and agricultural areas of the mountains uncultivated. Free-range cattle and pig farming, which was losing its control, occupied the planted areas of the mountains: “[C]attle and pigs usually roam freely in the open air [...] especially above 600 m [...]” (Renucci, 1970, p. 358). The demographic abandonment and the loss of control over space that go hand in hand (Casabianca and Vercherand, 1986) were accompanied by the replacement of traditional livestock farming systems. The number of goat herds fell and those of ewes barely remained stable. On the other hand, pig and suckler cow farming, which had been subsidiary up to that point, experienced a sharp increase in numbers from the 1970s onwards. These animals began to occupy the abandoned
mountain areas, where they become the “kings of the desert”\(^2\) or the still inhabited mountain valleys.

Map 1. Demographic decline in the Corsican mountains

![Map of Corsica showing demographic decline](Map.png)

INSEE, 2015

The “Kings of the Desert”: When Pig Farming Occupies the Mountain Space

8 Most sheep production was set up in the coastal pastures, while the goat herds occupied the hillsides. Suckler cattle, which increased due to opportunistic access to European and national premiums (Casabianca and Vercherand, 1986), occupied all the spaces that had become scrubland. They are behind the contemporary phenomenon described in the rural code as “divagation”. Pig farms were established in areas with high abandonment of farmland and depopulation (map 2): mountain areas with oak and chestnut groves.

9 Traditionally, each family kept one or two pigs in a pen near their houses, fed with the remains of domestic consumption. The herds of pigs intended for sale used the forest areas, and in particular the chestnut groves after the harvest for human consumption, and always under the supervision of children or a pig keeper. From this time, the animals roamed freely through the abandoned oak and chestnut groves. The production of traditional charcuterie, an important part of a household’s system of self-sufficiency, became a seasonal and lucrative activity for the farmers who specialised in this sector.

10 The farm charcuterie production activity then gradually developed, boosted by the growth of tourism. The dynamic of setting up pig farms is now the strongest in Corsica...
(INSEE, 2018), doubtless driven by the eligibility of this type of farming for basic payment entitlements granted on the grounds of the animal husbandry methods and their free-range grazing on wooded pastures since the 2010s, as well as the recognition of the natural constraints (disadvantaged areas) faced by these farms through the compensatory allowance for natural constraints. They also benefit from a structuring dynamic of the sector around a PDO for three charcuterie products (“Jambon sec de Corse—Prisuttu”, “Coppa de Corse—Coppa di Corsica” and “Lonzu de Corse”), enjoyed by about one third of the farmers. The free-range system and the use of the local Nustrale breed are central to its specifications. The pastureland is defined as a space (which may or may not be fenced) dedicated to the feeding and roaming of the animals, organised by the farmer according to the season […] (Poggi, 2021). The Nustrale breed is a hardy store pig adapted to the terrain and to variations in climate. This previously subsidiary or even residual activity is now central to the occupation of the mountain space and its (non)development.

The free-range system now practised in the mountains, which allows animals to find diversified vegetation that provides them with part of their diet, is both a distortion and a continuation of the pastoral breeding systems that were transformed with the abandonment of agriculture. However, although the extensive nature of contemporary Corsican pig farming is undeniable, pastoralism includes very diverse practices in terms of animal management. These range from the wild gathering system (with no supervision and little infrastructure), described as early as 1978 (Cristofini et al., 1978), to open-air systems in which the animals have access to spaces of varying size, fenced or unfenced, on a seasonal basis (transhumance, summer pastures, etc.) and generally under the guidance of a leader animal (the leading sows). Between the two, a diversity of practices co-exist, differentiated in particular by the presence or absence of fences, the size and land tenure of the pastureland, and the presence of birthing and breeding pens. In almost all cases, the animals are destined for charcuterie meat production on the farm: they are slaughtered in winter between December and March at a late age, between 12 and 24 months, after having been finished in the autumn with acorns and chestnuts found on the pastureland.
Photo 1. *Nustrale* pigs on their unfenced mountain pastureland

© INRAE, 2021

Photo 2. Free-range cattle and pigs feeding on a roadside

© INRAE, 2021
Corsican pastoral livestock farming, which may at first sight seem to better satisfy certain societal expectations in terms of animal welfare and product quality than confined livestock farming, is nevertheless vulnerable to the risk of disease emergence (Calba et al., 2014) and exposes the territory to management difficulties once the disease has taken hold.

Map 2. Location of pig farms by commune in mountainous areas and high-altitude valleys

INRAE, based on AGRESTE 2018 and SMAC³, 2018.

Pig Farming Systems are Vulnerable to Health Hazards

Practices and Land Use That Make Livestock Farms Vulnerable

In epidemiology, interactions between wild and domestic animals are a major risk factor in the emergence and spread of infectious diseases (Jori et al., 2021). The development of pig farming in Corsica has led to this risk factor becoming predominant, contrary to the principle of biosecurity, which is a controversial health management technique aimed at compartmentalising flows and animals and separating wild and domestic animals. In Corsica, research has identified a highly variable level of biosecurity in pig farming, through the analysis of a diversity of practices that promote interactions between pigs and wild boars to varying degrees: reproductive management with spaces dedicated to reproduction and farrowing, or castration and ovariectomy practices), as well as disease transmission between animals and livestock (management of flows, animal carcasses, charcuterie waste, etc.) (Charrier et al., 2018; Relun et al., 2015). In addition to interactions between animals, other important risk
factors are the loss of dead animals and the frequent release into the environment of charcuterie waste and hunting waste due to the lack of collection and slaughter facilities. Such waste serves as food for scavengers, which can be hosts and vectors of disease.

Corsica’s vulnerability is amplified by its geographical proximity to health hazards, such as African swine fever (ASF) in Sardinia, only 12 km from the Corsican coast. The island is also at the geographical interface of several health hotspots: North Africa (in the middle of a migratory corridor for birds, which can be a cause of the introduction of an avian influenza virus), and the Middle East (CGAAER, 2020). However, the movement of pathogens is essentially due to the flow of people and goods from the mainland to the islands, which makes the Mediterranean islands, in almost all cases of disease, epidemiological dead ends (CGAAER, 2020). Thus, insularity offers only a relative protection against the risk of introducing contagious diseases and, above all, it is of no help when it comes to managing diseases once they have been introduced.

The clearest case is that of bovine tuberculosis. Its absence in Corsica in the 1970s (when it was widespread on the continent) was attributed by J. Renucci (1970) to the hardiness of animals, a requirement of life in the mountains and in the open air, which seemed to protect the animals from this “disease of civilisation” (p. 368). Since then, Corsica has become one of the most affected regions and pigs have also been contaminated, which is a unique situation in France. This specific example shows that it is not the influence of the environment that favours the outbreak, persistence and spread of the disease, but rather the way it is managed (overgrown, scrubland, etc.) and its use: since humans have ceded mountain areas to animals (both wild and domestic) within a framework of limited control, interactions are facilitated, as is the persistence and spread of the bacteria in the environment. Veterinary surveillance of farms is very weak, with pig farmers only calling in veterinarians in situations already deemed critical.

Thus, a possible outbreak of highly contagious ASF raises fears of a scenario similar to that in Sardinia, where the virus circulated for 40 years, leading to a ban on free-range livestock farming (Mur et al., 2016).

Failures of Health Policy and Contradictions with the Challenges of Free-Range Pig Farming

The failure of standardised health management procedures (Charrier and Casabianca, 2015), notably efforts to eradicate Aujeszky’s disease and the implementation of biosecurity standards to control ASF, illustrate the disconnect between public policy standards and the reality of local livestock systems.

Failure of Biosecurity Preparedness Planning in Relation to the Introduction of ASF

In 2018, the introduction of ASF in Belgium led the French government to publish a ministerial order imposing biosecurity measures on pig farmers. These measures were principally the confinement of animals or the installation of double fencing to prevent interactions with wild boars. Corsican livestock farmers opposed these measures, which they deemed unacceptable. They perceived the threat to be particularly remote as the
The disease had never crossed the narrow stretch of sea separating Corsica and Sardinia. They considered it unjust that biosecurity measures should be linked to the arrival of the disease in Belgium, more than 1,000 km away, and that they should be subject to the same rules as continental farms. But, above all, they were trying to defend their farming systems (Gisclard et al., 2021b).

Firstly, they pointed to the practical difficulties of implementation: the mountainous terrain and the large areas to be fenced off would entail an unsustainable cost for livestock farmers. An additional argument for the infeasibility of the measures was the lack of land tenure, a legacy of the period when crop and livestock farmers shared space and of the collapse of traditional society. Secondly, double fencing jeopardises the various benefits associated with pastureland. Livestock farmers with PDO certification saw their specifications called into question and warned of the risk of the disappearance of the factor that gives their products their distinctive character. The feed that the animals find on the pastureland (acorns, roots, chestnuts, beechnuts, etc.) from September to March, would have to be substituted by an increase in the purchase of concentrated feed transported by boat, with the associated financial and environmental cost, further distancing Corsica from its declared aspiration to greater food autonomy. Another issue for livestock farmers was the risk of losing their eligibility for basic payments, which they feared would disappear alongside the pastureland.

**Failure of Vaccination Attempts and Efforts to Control Aujeszky's Disease**

Although livestock farms on the French mainland have been officially free of the disease since 2008, attempts to eradicate it in Corsica have failed, demonstrating the inappropriateness of deploying “generic” solutions there (Charrier and Casabianca, 2015). The state, relying on scientific expertise (AFSSA, 2009), considered the use of pastureland a major obstacle and gave up the fight. In 2011, the regional health authorities set up an experimental plan. Although it failed to eradicate the disease, it revealed that the difficulties were not technical (the vaccine worked well on the livestock farms), but organisational (Charrier et al., 2020). Indeed, the livestock farmers’ organisations structuring the pig sector do not represent the full diversity of livestock farming systems; they pursue objectives of an economic character (PDO) and of defence of the local breed, on which it is difficult to build a health strategy (Gisclard et al., 2021a). In addition, the absence of containment infrastructure on most livestock farms and the partial identification of animals make vaccination by veterinarians more difficult. Finally, the public health structure (administrative services, veterinarians, Groupement de Défense Sanitaire [Animal Health Protection Group—GDS]) is insufficiently developed in the pig sector (few specialised veterinarians, low participation of livestock farmers in GDS, etc.). Following the implementation and failure of the plan, the health authorities were without a solution and a situation of “living with” the disease set in.
Territorialising Health Management to Resolve Contradictions between Public Policy and the Challenges of Pastoral Livestock Farming.

Intermediary Mechanisms for the Coordination and Consultation of Local and National Stakeholders

In response to the failure of health policies in the pig sector, two local health plans emerged. They were the result of the coordination of local stakeholders involved in animal health management, together with various representative components of the Corsican pig sector, hunters and researchers, and of negotiations with the state representatives and livestock farmers. This effort to coordinate stakeholders was carried out through intermediary mechanisms (Steyaert et al., 2014) which enabled consultation, the exchange of resources and a process of translation (Callon, 1986) between local actors and with actors at other levels, such as the regional and national health administration services.

The first intermediary mechanism was characterised by a participatory approach, leading to the development of a new regional plan for the control of Aujeszky’s disease. Initially, INRA5 and the GDS proposed to bring together all stakeholders involved in health management in the territory and to co-develop a new plan, through workshops4 conducted by INRA between 2015 and 2017, drawing on the lessons learned from the failures of previous plans and on proposals from local stakeholders (Charrier et al., 2020). The resulting plan was based on an innovative intervention strategy aimed at designing a vaccination strategy not on the scale of the whole of Corsica, but gradually, on the scale of micro-regions, covering a valley or groups of valleys. The assumption guiding this strategy was that the social and spatial proximity of farmers within these valleys, which structure and fragment the mountain area, would facilitate their participation and “enrollment” (Charrier et al., 2020), while situating the intervention at the level of the main mode of spread of the disease: the proximity of wildlife to livestock farms and between livestock farms. Implementation was supported by two steering committees: a regional steering committee (composed of the GDS, INRAE, Groupement Technique Vétérinaire (Veterinary Technical Group—GTV), state services (Direction Régionale de l’Alimentation de l’Agriculture et de la Forêt [French National Directorate for Food, Agriculture and Forestry DRAAF] and Direction Départementale de la Cohésion Sociale et de la Protection des Populations [Departmental Directorate for Social Cohesion and Protecting Populations—DDCSPP], Office français de la biodiversité [French National Bureau for Biodiversity—OFB], hunting federations and livestock farmers), to direct the strategy at the Corsican level; and local steering committees, specific to each micro-region, to promote consultation and the organisation of vaccination processes, between farmers, veterinarians and the GDS.

The second intermediary mechanism was a Technical Committee (TC) created in 2018 to resolve the deadlock between livestock farmers and the ministerial order on “biosecurity”. Composed of health management stakeholders’ (INRAE, GTV, GDS, hunting federations, livestock farmers’ organisations, etc.) (Gisclard et al., 2021b), the TC considered that, while it was necessary to find an alternative to the double fencing obligation, the ministerial order nevertheless appeared to be an opportunity to deal with existing health hazards. After two years of work, the TC submitted a Regional
Swine Health Plan to the state, a proposal for the overall preparedness of the territory in relation to health hazards. This plan was based on two strands of action: first, a set of measures aimed at improving surveillance, preventing the introduction of health hazards and managing those present, and second, “alternative” biosecurity measures. They were essentially based on a zootechnical management strategy aimed at avoiding sexual interactions with wild boars on the pastureland. To this end, fenced pens were planned for breeding stock, while pigs for slaughter would retain access to the pastureland on condition that they had been castrated. A progressive upgrading of farms according to the type of breeding system was also envisaged. The Swine Health Plan, first approved by the farmers, then by state services in the region and finally by the Direction générale de l’Alimentation (French National Directorate for Food—DGAL), was the only regionally based alternative to national biosecurity in France as of 2022.

Through these intermediary mechanisms, stakeholders produced a shared analysis of the problems and developed solutions that they considered to be more consistent with their livestock farming systems and their perception of the health risks they faced. These mechanisms therefore enabled solutions to emerge and to be negotiated with state services responsible for health management, and contributed to a form of territorialisation of public policy.

The Health Territory as the Outcome of the Territorialisation of Public Policy

The plan for the control of Aujeszky's disease and the Regional Swine Health Plan are part of a bottom-up dynamic adapted in response to a top-down national public health policy process (either because it was abandoned, as in the case of Aujeszky’s disease, or because it was deemed unacceptable, as in the case of ASF). They were the result of a collective development process carried out at the level of the territory, which this paper proposes to define as the construction of a health territory. Like the “pathogenic complex” described by Max Sorre (1933), we consider this both a perspective and a method. A perspective on the need for health management policies to be embedded in territorial dynamics (epidemiological, ecological, social and economic). And a method that draws on intermediary mechanisms to exit a deadlock by leveraging local resources (human and cognitive).

The territorial dimension of public policy appeared through the work of coordination and negotiation among local stakeholders, and between these stakeholders brought together in intermediary mechanisms and other decision-making levels. New stakeholders were integrated into public policy outside of the strictly health-related field (farmers, but also hunters and INRAE researchers participated in the development of new management plans), as well as new parameters (challenges specific to livestock farmers and the territory, by integrating the pastureland system and its specificities into discussions and decision-making). Resources intersected and were exchanged within these intermediary mechanisms, particularly scientific and socio-technical knowledge contextualised according to the scale of the situation. This knowledge came from participatory workshops and the work of researchers on site: it related to the diversity of livestock farming practices, free-range animal husbandry, and the risks of interaction with wildlife. Through numerous interaction processes led by members of these mechanisms, such as GDS or INRAE researchers, (knowledge sharing,
problematisation, formulation of hypotheses, negotiations, etc.), national frameworks were adapted to the territory (as in the case of ASF), or new frameworks were proposed, based on the integration of local parameters into decisions, in the absence of solutions conceived at the national level (as in the case of Aujeszky’s disease). Thus, while the objectives were indeed health-related, the issues were multiple and transversal: the preservation of the pastoral system also made possible the continued provision of public aid linked to the use of land by animals, the specifications related to high-quality charcuterie products were complied with, and livestock farming, as a central economic activity in the mountains of the island’s interior, already suffering from a demographic imbalance with the coastal areas, was sustained.

In the case of Aujeszky’s disease, the state considered pastoral livestock farming to be a problem because of interactions between animals, but local stakeholders incorporated pastureland into the solutions and defined the lack of organisation of livestock farmers on a Corsican scale and their lack of involvement in a vaccination strategy as a problem, leading to a micro-regional strategy. In the case of ASF, the state defined the problem as the interactions with wildlife which could cause the virus to spread within livestock farms, whereas for local actors it was the mountainous terrain and areas that were impossible to fence off, on the one hand, and existing health hazards that had not been addressed, on the other. The problem was therefore reformulated locally and the solutions found were not coercive but contingent on the types of actors and the resources they mobilised or constructed. These solutions could not be generalised to other territories, but were eventually accepted by health authorities.

In contrast to research showing how difficulties of applying standardised public policies are resolved at the farm level, sometimes solely through the relationship between farmers and their veterinarian (Enticott, 2012), and through arrangements of varying degrees of informality (Desvaux and Figuié, 2015), the notion of health territory opens up a perspective for describing the collective, transversal and formalised dimension of transformative management policy, at the centre of which is the pastoral use of the territory. The stakeholders establish a routine of dialogue and knowledge-sharing within the intermediary coordination mechanisms where different interests are negotiated. The health territory is thus a multi-dimensional space, at the crossroads of the situated expression of a pathogen (prevalence in the territory, specific risk factors, patterns of spread, etc.), livestock farming practices, the objectification of local issues, and health governance. It integrates a diversity of scales of understanding and action, where stakeholder groups are constructed to produce solutions adapted to their territory, by redefining the parameters and objectives of public policy in order to break a deadlock.

Conclusion

Corsican pastoral pig farming systems are the result of the demographic decline in the mountains in the interior of the island, meaning that animals were able to use the land with little supervision, and then of a dynamic of development based on the promotion of local resources. The animals add value to the environment through free-range grazing, which gives the distinctive character to the charcuterie produced on the island, yet they are in close contact with wildlife, which is considered a risk factor from an epidemiological point of view and increases the complexity of managing the health
of the animals. The whole island is vulnerable to the emergence of diseases and faced with the difficulties of managing pathogens. The failures of public health management policies on livestock farms (Aujeszky’s disease and biosecurity standards aimed at preventing ASF), are attributed to the disconnect between the issues addressed by these policies and those of pastoral livestock farming, whose actors perceive themselves to be excluded from these standards or threatened by them, despite the fact that it represents an important economic activity in the mountain regions in demographic decline.

The emergence of intermediary coordination and consultation mechanisms for local stakeholders in response to these contradictions brings about locally developed answers that take into account local knowledge and issues, through the facilitation work led by researchers using action research approaches. The result of the coordination of local stakeholders and negotiation with state services promotes the emergence of a health territory, integrating the multiple dimensions of health issues, from the situated expression of a pathogen to the capacity for action of organisations based in the territories. While epistemic watchwords such as One Health are on the agenda, the notion of health territory can contribute to articulating the complexity of health situations at the “right policy level”, to operationalise these concepts.

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APPENDIXES

List of abbreviations and acronyms
ASF: African swine fever

BTV: Bluetongue virus

CGAAER: Conseil général de l’alimentation, de l’agriculture et des espaces ruraux (French National Council on Food, Agriculture and Rural Areas)

DDCSPP: Direction départementale de la cohésion sociale et de la protection des populations (Departmental Directorate for Social Cohesion and Protecting Populations) (which, in 2021, became DDETSPP: Direction départementale Emploi, Travail, Solidarités et Protection des Populations [Departmental Directorate for Employment, Labour, Solidarities and Protecting Populations])

DGAL: Direction générale de l’alimentation (French National Directorate for Food)

DRAAF: Direction régionale de l’alimentation de l’agriculture et de la forêt (French National Directorate for Food, Agriculture and Forestry)

GDS: Groupement de défense sanitaire (Animal Health Protection Group)

GTV: Groupement technique vétérinaire (Veterinary Technical Group)

INRA/INRAE: Institut national de la recherche agronomique (French National Institute for Agricultural Research), which, in 2020, became Institut national de la recherche agronomique et de l’environnement (French National Research Institute for Agriculture, Food and Environment)

OBF: Office français de la biodiversité (French Biodiversity Agency)

PDO: Protected Designation of Origin

SMAC: Syndicat mixte de l’abattage en Corse (Corsican Slaughtering Mixed Association)

TC: Technical Committee

NOTES

1. Also known as pseudorabies. Viral respiratory disease affecting only swine, which is relatively non-fatal, but which has an impact on the zootechnical performance of farms (litter size, piglet mortality, etc.).

2. Expression used by François Casabianca, an engineer at INRA, which is commonly used today to refer to pigs and their farmers.

3. As official statistical data on pig farms are incomplete, we have used the number of pigs slaughtered at the slaughterhouse as a basis for mapping the location of farms by commune.

4. Highly contagious and fatal viral disease in swine.

5. In 2021, INRA (French National Institute for Agricultural Research) became INRAE (French National Research Institute for Agriculture, Food and the Environment).

6. The stakeholders who participated in these workshops were: livestock farmers and livestock farmers’ organisations, state health services, veterinarians, GDS officials, hunters, Agence Nationale Sécurité Sanitaire Alimentaire Nationale (French Agency for Food, Environmental and Occupational Health Safety - ANSES), Parc Naturels Régionaux (Regional Natural Park - PNR) officials, INRA researchers (Charrier et al., 2020).

7. Initially, state services in the region were not involved in the TC, but they let the work take its course.
ABSTRACTS

In the mountain and foothill areas of Corsica, livestock farming is still based on the use of pastureland, which gives the animals access to spontaneous resources. Faced with the multiplication of emerging diseases, public policy standards on animal health consider that the maintenance of free-range areas presents a risk of emergence because they allow interactions between wild and domestic animals. Focusing on pig farming, this article examines the contradictions between these standards and the issues specific to Corsican pastoral farming, and looks at the development of local public policy in response to these contradictions. After recalling the close link between the socio-economic transformations that took place in the Corsican mountains after the Second World War and current pastoral livestock farming practices, it shows that the failure of two public health management policies is linked to the disconnect between the issues at stake in public policy on the one hand and in pastoral livestock farming on the other. Local actors involved in health management are mobilising and developing intermediary consultation and coordination mechanisms to respond to situations of deadlock, by embedding national management and surveillance challenges in territorial dynamics. The article proposes the notion of health territory to describe the emergence of transversal collective action that draws on the knowledge of local actors to produce public policy that is adapted to the challenges of Corsican pastoral livestock farming.

Dans les zones de montagne et de piémont de la Corse, l’élevage conserve un caractère pastoral basé sur l’utilisation de parcours qui donne accès à des ressources spontanées aux animaux. Face à la multiplication des maladies émergentes, les normes d’action publique pour la santé des animaux considèrent que le maintien d’espaces de liberté constitue un risque sanitaire parce qu’il favorise les interactions entre faune sauvage et domestique. En se concentrant sur l’élevage porcin, cet article expose les contradictions entre ces normes et les enjeux propres à l’élevage pastoral corse et s’intéresse à la production d’une action publique locale impulsée en réponse à ces contradictions. Après avoir rappelé le lien étroit entre les transformations socio-économiques qu’a connu la montagne corse après la seconde guerre mondiale et les pratiques de l’élevage pastoral actuel, l’article montre que l’échec de deux politiques publiques de gestion sanitaire est lié aux décalages entre les enjeux portés par la politique publique de gestion de la santé animale d’un côté et ceux de l’élevage pastoral de l’autre. Les acteurs locaux en lien avec la gestion de la santé se mobilisent et construisent des dispositifs intermédiaires de concertation et de coordination pour apporter des réponses à des situations de blocage, par l’enchâssement des enjeux de gestion et de surveillance nationaux dans des dynamiques territoriales. L’article propose la notion de territoire de santé pour décrire l’émergence d’une action collective transversale qui s’appuie sur les connaissances des acteurs locaux pour produire une action publique adaptée aux enjeux de l’élevage pastoral corse.

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