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► **To cite this version:**

Clémentine Meunier, Guillaume Martin, Cécile Barnaud, Julie Ryschawy. Bucking the trend: Crop farmers' motivations for reintegrating livestock. *Agricultural Systems*, 2023, 214, pp.103820. 10.1016/j.agsy.2023.103820 . hal-04382402

**HAL Id: hal-04382402**

**<https://hal.inrae.fr/hal-04382402>**

Submitted on 24 Jan 2024

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# 1 Bucking the trend: crop farmers' motivations for reintegrating 2 livestock

3

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## 9 Abstract

### 10 Context

11 European farms and regions follow the trend of agricultural specialisation, which results in a  
12 disconnection between crop and livestock production. High-input specialised farming systems are  
13 continuing to be developed even though they generate negative environmental impacts. Despite these  
14 trends, a few pioneering farmers have intentionally reintegrated livestock onto crop farms in several  
15 regions. To date, research has rarely examined farmers' motivations to develop such systems.

### 16 Objective

17 We aimed to identify French farmers' motivations for reintegrating livestock onto specialised crop  
18 farms and into crop-producing regions.

### 19 Methods

20 Following innovation-tracking principles, we identified 18 crop farmers who had reintegrated livestock  
21 in two regions where crop farming predominates: Occitanie and the Parisian Basin. The farmers'  
22 profiles varied in production mode, farm size, the crops and livestock produced, and the type and  
23 duration of livestock reintegration. Semi-directed interviews focused on the farmers' motivations for  
24 having reintegrated livestock. At the end of the interviews, we asked them to select and rank 10 of 36  
25 cards that represented their main agronomic, economic, social and environmental motivations for  
26 crop-livestock farming. We transcribed the interviews and performed inductive content analysis, which  
27 was then triangulated with the farmers' rankings of the cards.

### 28 Results and Conclusions

29 Seven categories of motivations for reintegrating livestock emerged from the interviews: following  
30 personal ethical and moral values, increasing and stabilising income, promoting ecosystem services,  
31 increasing self-sufficiency and traceability, connecting to the local community, decreasing pollution  
32 and keeping the landscape open.

33 In both discourse analysis and motivation card rankings, agronomic motivations (including promoting  
34 ecosystem services) were predominant, especially improving soil life and fertility. Farmers ranked  
35 economic and social categories nearly equally. Improving and stabilising income was cited by 17/18  
36 farmers in their discourse, consistently with the two most-selected economic motivation cards.  
37 Strengthening social connections was the most-selected social motivation in card rankings and was  
38 mentioned by 14/18 farmers in their discourse, particularly for connections among farmers.  
39 Environmental motivation cards were selected less often, except for environmental stewardship,  
40 which was consistent with the desire to build an environmentally friendly farming system to follow  
41 personal ethical and moral values mentioned by 10 farmers in their discourse.

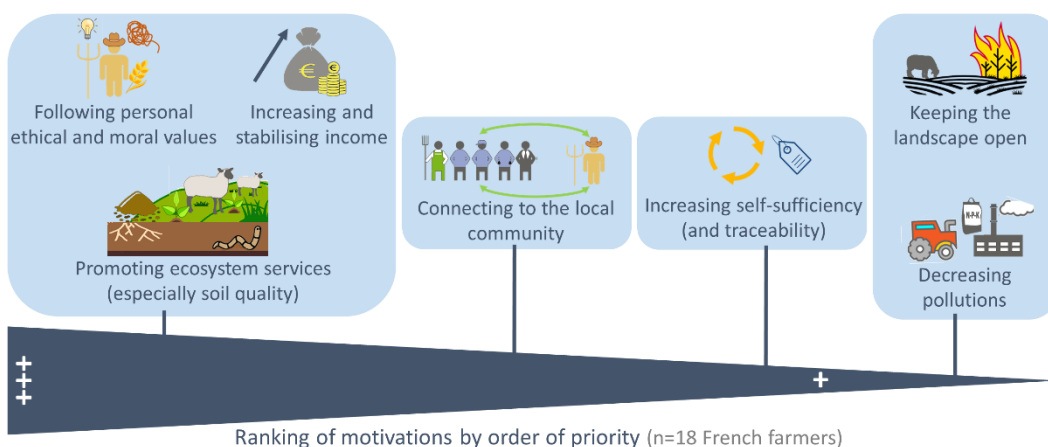
42

### 43 **Significance**

44 This study is the first to provide a ranked summary of crop farmers' motivations for reintegrating  
45 livestock. Understanding this diversity is an initial step in incentivising, promoting and/or supporting  
46 the development of this innovative sustainable practice under favourable conditions and can  
47 encourage public actions that promote it.

### 48 **Graphical abstract**

Crop farmers' motivations for reintegrating livestock at farm and regional levels



50

50

## 51 Highlights

- 52 • Specialisation of crop or livestock production has negative environmental impacts.
- 53 • A few pioneering farmers have reintegrated livestock onto crop farms and into crop regions.
- 54 • We identified seven categories of motivations for reintegrating livestock.
- 55 • Promoting ecosystem services and following personal values were the main motivations.
- 56 • Strengthening social connections and improving income were other major motivations.

57

### 58 1. Introduction

59 Over the past few decades, the trend towards agricultural specialisation in Europe, and in France in  
60 particular, has disconnected crop and livestock farming at farm and regional levels, which has  
61 contributed to environmental externalities (Garrett et al., 2020). This regional specialisation raises  
62 many issues for crop and livestock regions. Specialised crop regions are productive, but depend greatly  
63 on nutrient inputs (Peterson et al., 2020) and consume large amounts of direct and indirect energy  
64 (Harchaoui and Chatzimpiros, 2018). In comparison, specialised livestock regions are not self-sufficient  
65 in animal feed and generate excessive amounts of manure, leading to storage, disposal and pollution  
66 problems (Peterson et al., 2020). Begun in the 1950s, specialisation still occurs in France, with livestock  
67 production concentrating in a few regions and livestock and mixed (i.e. crop-livestock) farms  
68 decreasing elsewhere. In 1988, livestock farms were the most common type of farm in France (44% of  
69 all farms), followed by crop farms (37%) and mixed farms (19%) (AGRESTE, 2020). From 1988-2020,  
70 the number of each type of farm decreased, especially mixed farms (-75%), followed by livestock farms  
71 (-66%) and crop farms (-42%). Consequently, in 2020, crop farms were the most common type of farm  
72 (52%), followed by livestock farms (36%) and mixed farms (12%) (AGRESTE, 2020).

73 As explained extensively by Garrett et al. (2020), this specialisation results from several major  
74 structural changes that occurred during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Liberalisation of trade  
75 forced farmers to become competitive on the global market (Ryschawy et al., 2013). To gain global  
76 market shares and protect farmers from international competition, the European Union's Common  
77 Agricultural Policy developed subsidies that focused on commodity crops and were tied to production,  
78 thereby increasing the profitability of specialised systems (Garrett et al., 2020; Schut et al., 2021). The  
79 development of labour-saving equipment and the increased cost of labour promoted the  
80 industrialisation of farming to reduce production costs, as well as its specialisation to favour economies  
81 of scale. The low prices of nitrogen fertilisers reduced farmers' reliance on livestock manure. To benefit  
82 from an agglomeration economy (i.e. clusters of related agribusinesses), specialisation also occurred  
83 at the regional level. Research agencies, advisor services and subsidy programs specialised towards  
84 crop or livestock systems, which led to path dependencies toward specialisation (Garrett et al., 2020;

85 Gil et al., 2016). In regions where mixed farms and livestock farms have been decreasing for decades,  
86 the livestock socio-technical system has decreased, with a fragmenting supply chain (e.g. few  
87 slaughterhouses, veterinarians or technical advisors) and a general lack of knowledge. These facts  
88 challenge the practice of mixed farming and livestock farming in several French regions.

89 Despite these trends, in the current context of increasing prices for energy and fertilisers (fuel and  
90 nitrogen fertilizer prices have been multiplied by 2.6 and 4.2 respectively between 2020 and 2022 in  
91 France (EUROSTAT, 2023), including a 1.6 and 1.9 multiplication between 2021 and 2022 ), a few  
92 pioneering farmers in France have reintegrated (i.e. intentionally organised the return of) livestock  
93 onto crop farms and into crop regions. These systems may help reduce environmental impacts of  
94 specialised agricultural production by reconnecting crop and livestock production (Lemaire et al., 2014)  
95 at the farm level (e.g. rearing livestock on the farm) or regional level (e.g. partnership between a crop  
96 farmer and livestock farmer, with the former hosting the latter's livestock for a specific period, for  
97 example to graze a winter cover crop). While crop-livestock integration has been studied widely in  
98 recent years (Baker et al., 2023; Paut et al., 2021; Sekaran et al., 2021), livestock reintegration has not  
99 received much attention to date. Understanding the motivations that drive farmers to reintegrate  
100 livestock in such a challenging context is a necessary first step to assess performances of these systems  
101 in light of farmers' objectives and to incentivise, promote and/or support adoption of this sustainable  
102 practice (Cortner et al., 2019; Paut et al., 2021; Ryschawy et al., 2021).

103 Farmers' adoption of a practice relies on i) their behavioural control (which corresponds to the  
104 question: "Can I do this?"), i.e. how elements of the socio-economic context (e.g. policies, market) and  
105 farm characteristics (e.g. climate, ecology, economic and physical ability to access technology) will  
106 make it easier or more difficult to adopt a practice and ii) their attitude ("Do I want to do this?") (Ajzen,  
107 1991; Cortner et al., 2019; Ryschawy et al., 2021), both influencing each other. Farmers' attitude  
108 towards adopting a practice is influenced by i) their beliefs about the practice ("What benefits do I  
109 expect from this practice?") (Ajzen, 1991); ii) their objectives for the farm (Ryschawy et al., 2021); iii)  
110 their values (Raymond et al., 2016; Stern and Dietz, 1994); iv) their risk preference (i.e. how willing  
111 they are to adopt practices that are considered risky) (Flaten et al., 2005; Greiner et al., 2009), which  
112 is strongly related to their perception of their ability to adopt this practice and v) subjective norms  
113 (Ajzen, 1991) that they have internalised ("How much do I think people want me to adopt this  
114 practice?").

115 To date, no study has specifically sought in-depth understanding of the attitude (hereafter,  
116 "motivation") toward reintegrating livestock onto specialised crop farms and into crop-producing  
117 regions. Few studies have focused on the conditions (including both behavioural control and attitude)

118 that support persistence of mixed systems or reconnection of crops and livestock due to farmer  
119 cooperation beyond the farm level in regions where both types of farms still exist. They emphasised  
120 research on self-sufficiency, mitigation of market and climate risks through diversification, increased  
121 nutrient and land-use efficiency, strong cultural norms of environmental stewardship or connections  
122 to traditions as factors that support the persistence or re-emergence of mixed systems, provided that  
123 a sufficient workforce is available (Bell and Moore, 2012; Coquil et al., 2014; Garrett et al., 2020;  
124 Peterson et al., 2020; Ryschawy et al., 2013). Studies also highlighted multiple lock-ins of reconnecting  
125 crop and livestock systems through farmer cooperation beyond the farm level (Garrett et al., 2020;  
126 Martin et al., 2016; Moraine et al., 2017), especially the high costs of creating and maintaining long-  
127 term cooperation due to i) collecting information, due to the overall lack of knowledge; ii) collective  
128 decision-making when crop and livestock farmers have strongly diverging viewpoints and iii)  
129 monitoring partnerships (Asai et al., 2018).

130 The objective of this study was to identify and analyse French farmers' motivations for reintegrating  
131 livestock onto crop farms and into regions. We used the term "livestock reintegration" as we  
132 considered that nearly all farms in France used to include both crops and livestock until the 1950s  
133 (Harchaoui and Chatzimpiros, 2018). We used the term "crops" in its broadest sense, including grain  
134 crops, orchards, vineyards and vegetables.

135

## 136 2. Materials and methods

### 137 2.1. Case study

#### 138 2.1.1. Case study regions

139 We conducted 18 semi-directed interviews with crop farmers who had reintegrated livestock in order  
140 to analyse their motivations for having done so. We selected two regions where crops currently  
141 predominate but which differed in their history of livestock production: Occitanie and the Parisian  
142 Basin.

#### 143 Occitanie

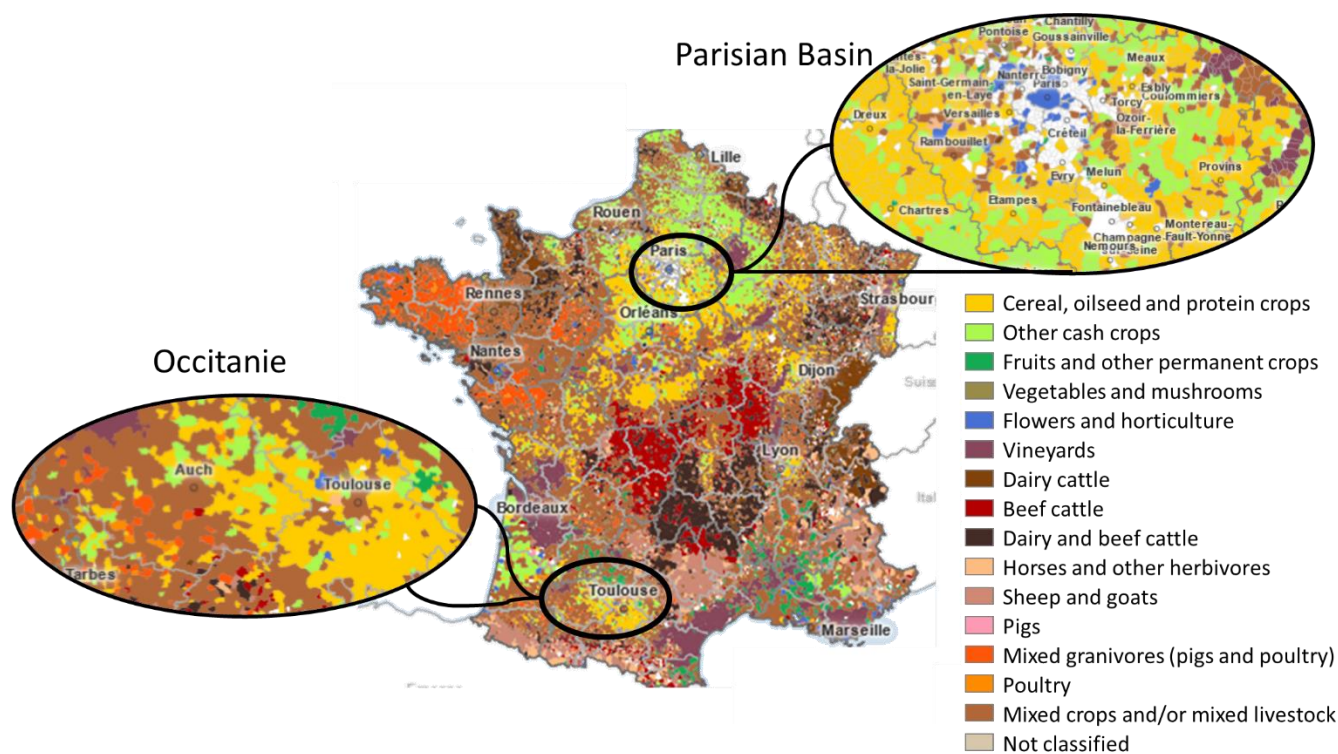
144 In Occitanie (a French region composed of the departments of Gers, Haute-Garonne and Ariège) (Fig.  
145 1), farming was traditionally dominated by self-sufficient diversified crop and mixed farms that  
146 produced mainly grain crops, followed by vineyards and orchards (Luxembourg, 1934; Perez, 1944).  
147 The dynamics of livestock and mixed farms in the Gers department represents those of the Occitanie  
148 region relatively well. In 1988, 39% of the farms were mixed (vs. a mean of 20% in France) (AGRESTE,  
149 2020). Livestock production has strongly decreased and has been replaced with specialised crop

150 production. From 2010-2020, 95% of the farms that disappeared were either livestock (48%) or mixed  
151 (47%) farms (AGRESTE, 2020). By 2020, the number of mixed farms had decreased to 16% of the farms  
152 (vs. a mean of 12% in France). Currently, the main type of livestock produced in Gers are poultry, beef  
153 cattle and meat sheep. Due to the department's long history of livestock production, services and  
154 elements of the supply chain (e.g. slaughterhouses, technical advisors) have remained, but they have  
155 been reduced greatly (e.g. several slaughterhouses have closed). Farms in Gers have a mean utilised  
156 agricultural area (UAA) of 70 ha. Gers is one of the French departments with the largest area of certified  
157 organic farms (30% of the farms, representing over 120 000 ha) (Agence Bio, 2020). In addition, 10%  
158 of farms in Gers process some of their production on the farm, and 20% of the farms sell some of their  
159 production directly to consumers (AGRESTE, 2020).

160

### 161 The Parisian Basin

162 In the Parisian Basin (Fig. 1), specialised cash crop farms have dominated for decades, especially due  
163 to its rich, deep and silty soils (Bryant, 1973; Rolland and Brun, 1966). In 1988, 73% of the farms in  
164 Seine-et-Marne (the main agricultural department in this region) were specialised in crop production  
165 (mainly grain crops and beets), whereas 17% were livestock or mixed farms. By 2020, specialised crop  
166 farms had increased to 83% of the farms, whereas livestock and mixed farms had decreased to 12%  
167 (AGRESTE, 2020). Currently, the few remaining livestock farms produce mainly meat sheep (AGRESTE,  
168 2020). The remaining services and elements of the supply chain for livestock production are even  
169 scarcer than those in Occitanie. Farms in Seine-et-Marne are large, with a mean UAA of 140 ha. Due  
170 to its proximity to Paris, this region benefits from a vast consumption basin, but it also experiences  
171 strong urban pressure that results in the disappearance of agricultural land. Overall, 11% of the farms  
172 are certified organic (representing 21 000 ha) (Agence Bio, 2020). In addition, 7% of the farms process  
173 some of their production on the farm (mostly fruits, vegetables or livestock), and 22% of the farms sell  
174 some of their production directly to consumers (AGRESTE, 2020).



175

176 Figure 1. Main production orientation of French farms in 2020, with a focus on the two case study  
 177 regions: Occitanie and the Parisian Basin (AGRESTE, 2020)

178

179 *2.1.2. Case study farmers*

180 Profiles of targeted farmers

181 We followed the principles of innovation tracking defined by Salembier et al. (2021), considering  
 182 livestock reintegration as an innovation, as the farmers who practice it are “bucking the trend” of the  
 183 decrease in the number of livestock and mixed farms. In France, few crop farmers have reintegrated  
 184 livestock, and it is difficult to identify them. Because reintegrating livestock is uncommon, to identify  
 185 the variety of crop farmers’ motivations for having done so, we included all crop farmers we could  
 186 identify in the two regions, regardless of the production orientation or farming system. Thus, we  
 187 targeted organic or conventional farmers who produced any type of crop and had reintegrated any  
 188 type of livestock at the farm level or regional level. As in the case-study research approach (Eisenhardt,  
 189 1989), our objective was to identify a wide variety of motivations for reintegrating livestock rather than  
 190 to obtain statistical representativeness.

191

192 Identifying the targeted farmers and initial contact



193 To identify innovations, like most cases of innovation tracking studied by Salembier et al. (2021), we  
194 first identified farmers who had reintegrated livestock onto crop farms and into regions by contacting  
195 farm advisors in our network, as no available database exists for this type of system. We relied on  
196 diverse organisations such as the Chamber of Agriculture and Organic Farmer Group (GAB) in both  
197 regions, as well as the organisation Agrof'ile (which promotes living soils and agroforestry around  
198 Paris) in the Parisian Basin. We telephoned the identified farmers to verify they met the criteria for  
199 involvement in the study (i.e., they had reintegrated livestock on a crop farm and were willing to  
200 participate), collected general information about the farm and organised a meeting on the farm to  
201 conduct the interview. The first farmers interviewed helped us identify farmers who had reintegrated  
202 livestock outside our initial networks, which allowed us to increase the sample size using the snowball  
203 approach.

#### 204 Farmer profiles

205 We interviewed 10 farmers in Occitanie and 8 farmers in the Parisian Basin (total: 18) (Table 1) who  
206 had diverse profiles in production mode, UAA, crop and livestock production, as well as the type and  
207 duration of livestock reintegration. Most farms in the sample were certified organic (12, plus 3 in  
208 conversion), especially in Occitanie, where all farms were either organic or in conversion. The farmers  
209 had a wide range of farm sizes (UAA of 5-2000 ha) and number of animals (e.g. from 200 laying hens  
210 to 1200 ewes plus 15 000 fattening lambs).

211 The sample included four types of crops: grain crops, fruits, vineyards and vegetables. The crops varied  
212 more in Occitanie, with production of cash crops (6 farms), vineyards (3) and fruit (2), whereas nearly  
213 all farmers in the Parisian Basin grew only cash crops (7, with only 1 producing vegetables), consistent  
214 with the region orientation. Farmers had reintegrated four types of livestock (i.e. sheep, beef cattle,  
215 pigs, broilers or laying hens), resulting in eight combinations of crops and livestock on the farms. Most  
216 of the reintegrated animals were reared at least partly outdoors. Livestock reintegration occurred at  
217 the farm level (10 farms), the regional level (3) or both (5). In the Parisian Basin, reintegration at the  
218 farm level was the most common, with only 1 farmer who had been involved in a partnership for a few  
219 years but then stopped to reintegrate livestock on his own farm. Sheep had been reintegrated at the  
220 farm and regional levels, whereas broilers and laying hens had been reintegrated only at the farm level.  
221 The duration of livestock reintegration varied greatly (1-24 years), but most farmers had reintegrated  
222 livestock recently (mean of 5.6 years and median of 4 years).

223

224 Table 1. Profiles of the 18 farmers interviewed in the Occitanie (O) or Parisian Basin (PB) regions. Younger : less than 35 years old; Middle : between 35 and  
 225 55 years old, Senior : over 55 years old. School : high school or university.

Farmer	Region	Production mode	Crops	Livestock	Level of reintegration	Years reintegrated	UAA in 2022 (ha)	Type and no. of animals in 2022	Outdoors/indoors	Age	Prior connection to livestock farming
F1	O	Conversion	Vineyard	Meat sheep	Regional	2	30 (+ 30 in grain crops)	120 ewes	Outdoors + field with shelter	Younger	No
F2	O	Organic	Vineyard	Meat sheep	Farm and Regional	1	70 (+ 30 in nuts)	35 owned sheep + 130 hosted sheep in winter	Outdoors	Senior	Family
F3	O	Organic	Vineyard, Grain crops	Meat sheep	Farm and Regional	4	2000, of which 80 in vineyards and 100 in pasture	1000 ewes	Outdoors (+ fold)	Younger	School
F4	O	Organic	Orchard	Meat sheep	Regional	2	45 in plums (+ 230 in grain crops)	Hosted ewes	Outdoors	Middle	No
F5	O	Organic	Orchard	Meat sheep	Farm	4	80	12 ewes + 1 ram	Outdoors	Middle	Family

F6	O	Organic	Grain crops	Meat sheep	Farm and Regional	4	200 (of which 40 in pasture) + mountain pasture	200 ewes + 45 other sheep	Outdoors	Middle	No
F7	O	Conversion/ Conventional	Grain crops	Meat sheep	Regional	2	500 (+20 in vineyards)	Hosted ewes	Outdoors	Younger	No
F8	O	Organic	Grain crops	Broilers	Farm (+Regional)	9	130 (of which 10 in pasture)	2 × 8000 broilers (+ renting a field to a neighbour to graze cattle)	Free range	Middle	Family
F9	O	Organic	Grain crops	Laying hens	Farm	14	350	10 000 laying hens	Free range	Senior	Family
F10	O	Organic	Grain crops	Laying hens	Farm	2	29 (of which 5 in permanent pasture)	6000 laying hens	Free range	Middle	Family
F11	PB	Conventional	Grain crops	Meat sheep	Farm (+Regional)	10	650	550 ewes	Mixed indoors/outdoors	Middle	Family
F12	PB	Organic	Grain crops	Sheep for wool	Farm	5	165	30 ewes and castrated males	Outdoors + field with shelter	Younger	Family
F13	PB	Organic	Grain crops	Meat sheep	Farm	3	190	18 ewes + other sheep	Outdoors	Middle	Family

F14	PB	Conventional	Grain crops	Meat sheep	Farm	24	500	1200 ewes + 15 000 fattening lambs	Mainly indoors, partly outdoors	Senior	No
F15	PB	Organic	Grain crops	Laying hens, beef cattle	Farm	5	230 (of which 30 in pasture)	9000 laying hens + 20 beef cattle	Free range for hens, mixed indoors/ outdoors for cattle	Younger	Family
F16	PB	Conventional	Grain crops	Laying hens	Farm	2	160	8000 laying hens	Free range	Younger	Family
F17	PB	Organic	Vegetables	Laying hens	Farm	4	5	200 laying hens	Free range	Younger	No
F18	PB	Conversion	Grain crops	Pigs	Farm	5	140	1 boar + 6 sows	Free range	Middle	Family

227

## 228 2.2. Data collection

229 The interviews were conducted from fall 2021 to spring 2022 by one researcher (C.M.). They lasted  
230 1.0-3.5 hours (mean of 2.0 hours) depending on the complexity of the system and availability of the  
231 farmer. All interviews were conducted on the farm, except for one farmer whose schedule allowed  
232 only a telephone interview. When the farmer had enough time, the interview was supplemented by a  
233 visit to the farm.

234 We designed two interview guides to interview crop farmers who had reintegrated livestock at the  
235 farm or regional level, respectively. The two guides were similar, differing only in the inclusion of  
236 certain questions that targeted specific characteristics of the systems: on-farm livestock production  
237 for the former, and opportunities and difficulties of establishing a partnership with a livestock farmer  
238 for the latter. The guides included questions aimed at helping farmers mention all the factors that  
239 motivated them to reintegrate livestock (Ajzen, 1991) (Table 2). Questions focused on the farmers' i)  
240 beliefs about livestock reintegration, ii) overall objectives for the farm, iii) values and their influence  
241 on livestock reintegration, iv) perception of the risks involved in reintegrating livestock and v)  
242 internalised subjective norms and how the farmer's relatives reacted to his/her idea to reintegrate  
243 livestock. Other topics were also mentioned, as the variety of questions helped us understand the  
244 overall functioning of the farm and identify some of the farmer's motivations for reintegrating  
245 livestock, even when the farmer might not have mentioned them when specifically asked.

246

Table 2. Interview questions asked to understand farmers' motivations for reintegrating livestock

Targeted factor	Questions
Beliefs about the behaviour	Which elements influenced you to consider livestock reintegration? Why did you decide to reintegrate livestock? What motivated you to do so? Were you surprised by the results of livestock reintegration, or did you expect them? How is livestock reintegration consistent with your overall approach to the farm and its history?
Objectives	In your opinion, what are the objectives of a farmer? What are your objectives for the farm and for each type of production? Try to imagine your farm in 5 or 10 years: what does it look like?
Values	Why did you decide to reintegrate livestock? What motivated you to do so? + Follow-up questions: Was [the element mentioned, such as building an environmentally friendly system, connecting to traditions] important/relevant to you?
Risk preference	What were your concerns when you first considered reintegrating livestock? Did you think it was risky back then? And now?
(Internalised) subjective norms	How did your relatives react when you mentioned your decision to reintegrate livestock? Did you feel isolated/supported?

248

249 To conclude the interview, verify whether we had identified all the motivations for livestock  
250 reintegration and rank them, we gave farmers 36 cards that listed the main benefits of mixed farming  
251 and livestock reintegration found in the literature and supplemented by us with some benefits for  
252 farmers of adopting sustainable practices (Table 3). The cards were divided into four categories:  
253 agronomic (13: 5 for soils and 8 for other aspects), environmental (4), economic (12) and social (7). We  
254 asked farmers to select and rank approximately 10 cards (from any category) that were consistent with  
255 their own motivations for reintegrating livestock onto their crop farm. Farmers could also add cards if  
256 they believed that a major motivation was missing. We briefly discussed their rankings, related them  
257 to the motivations identified during the interview and added missing points, if necessary.

258 Our study procedure followed the guidelines provided by INRAE's Charter of deontology, scientific  
259 integrity and ethics (INRAE, 2020). Farmers did not belong to particularly vulnerable groups. They were  
260 explained the purpose of the interview and provided informed oral consent before beginning the

261 interview. They were also informed that they could skip questions. The data were pseudonymised  
 262 before processing (European Commission, 2020).

263

264

Table 3. Motivation cards given to the farmers during the interview

Category	Motivation card	Abbreviation	Reference(s)
Agronomic	Soils	Improving soil fertility/organic matter content	Soil Fertility (Brewer and Gaudin, 2020; Franzluebbers and Stuedemann, 2014; Veysset et al., 2014)
		Improving soil structure	Soil Structure (Brewer and Gaudin, 2020; Garrett et al., 2020)
		Promoting carbon storage in the soil	Soil Carbon Storage (Brewer and Gaudin, 2020; Franzluebbers, 2005; Veysset et al., 2014)
		Promoting erosion control	Erosion (Franzluebbers et al., 2014; Garrett et al., 2020; Martin et al., 2016)
		Improving soil life (biomass and microbial activity)	Soil Life (Brewer and Gaudin, 2020)
	Others	Reducing all types of pesticides/mechanical weeding	Pesticide (dos Reis et al., 2021; Hendrickson et al., 2008; Niles et al., 2018)
		Reducing weed pressure	Weed Pressure (Brewer and Gaudin, 2020; Hendrickson et al., 2008; Niles et al., 2018)
		Breaking pest, weed and disease cycles	Pest Cycle (Brewer and Gaudin, 2020; Hendrickson et al., 2008)
		Promoting biodiversity	Biodiversity (Ryschawy et al., 2012)

		Increasing productivity per ha	Productivity	(Niles et al., 2018; Peterson et al., 2020)
		Optimising forage resources	Forage Resources	(Hendrickson et al., 2008)
		Diversifying and extending crop rotations	Crop Rotations	(Ryschawy et al., 2017)
		Maintaining the landscape of the region	Landscape	(Davies et al., 2016; Rouet-Leduc et al., 2021)
Environmental	Decreasing greenhouse gas emissions	Greenhouse Gas	(dos Reis et al., 2021; Gil et al., 2018; Lazcano et al., 2022)	
	Closing nutrient cycles (nitrogen, phosphorus, potassium)	Nutrient Cycles	(Lazcano et al., 2022; Ryschawy et al., 2012; Veysset et al., 2014)	
	Decreasing nitrogen loss/water pollution	Nitrogen Loss	(Ryschawy et al., 2012; Veysset et al., 2014)	
	Improving environmental stewardship	Environmental Stewardship	(Parker, 2013)	
Economic	Ensuring a market for specific products	Market	(Bell and Moore, 2012)	
	Sharing equipment	Equipment	(Lemaire et al., 2014)	
	Reducing production costs	Production Costs	(dos Reis et al., 2021; Niles et al., 2018; Ryschawy et al., 2012)	
	Mitigating risks of climate and market uncertainties	Risk Mitigation	(Gil et al., 2018; Veysset et al., 2014)	



	Stabilising income by diversifying production	Production Diversification	(Bell and Moore, 2012; Ryschawy et al., 2012)
	Becoming more self-sufficient	Self-Sufficiency	(dos Reis et al., 2021; Regan et al., 2017; Ryschawy et al., 2012)
	Increasing income	Income increase	(dos Reis et al., 2021; Hendrickson et al., 2008; Peterson et al., 2020)
	Sourcing inputs locally	Sourcing Locally	[Added by us]
	Ensuring a more flexible marketing method	Marketing Flexibility	[Added by us]
	Ensuring better control of the products	Product Control	[Added by us]
	Improving the traceability of purchased products	Traceability	[Added by us]
	Promoting agri-tourism	Agri-tourism	[Added by us]
Social	Improving the image of the production system	System Image	(Franzluebbers et al., 2014; Martin et al., 2016)
	Creating social connections, solidarity and mutual aid	Connections	(Ryschawy et al., 2017)
	Acquiring and sharing new knowledge	Knowledge	(Ryschawy et al., 2017)
	Developing networks	Networks	(Ryschawy et al., 2017)
	Connecting to family history/traditions	Traditions	(Parker, 2013)
	Responding to a desire/preference/belief	Desire	(Cortner et al., 2019; Parker, 2013)

	Responding to the desire for a technical challenge	Technical Challenge	[Added by us]
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265

## 266 2.3. Data analysis

### 267 2.3.1. Discourse analysis

268 To identify farmers' motivations for reintegrating livestock, we transcribed the 18 interviews  
 269 completely and performed inductive content analysis (Elo and Kyngäs, 2008), which is an effective  
 270 method for identifying key points during an interview and highlighting themes related to a topic.  
 271 Following Perrin et al. (2020), we first performed free-floating reading of farmers' responses and  
 272 identified six main topics that they had mentioned during the interview: description of the system,  
 273 motivations, practices, impacts, enabling conditions, disabling conditions and perspectives. For each  
 274 topic, we systematically collated all farmers' responses (i.e. the corresponding idea(s) mentioned),  
 275 their identifiers (e.g. F1) and a related quote extracted from the transcription. We coded the responses  
 276 by grouping them into categories and subcategories of similar ideas that emerged during the process.  
 277 For instance, "Because [the sheep] provide organic matter" (F5) and "[Sheep] are above all an  
 278 agronomic tool...that can provide fertility" (F6) were grouped into the category "Agronomy",  
 279 subcategory "Soil" and sub-subcategory "Soil fertility". We adjusted and redefined categories to  
 280 consider all the ideas that emerged from farmers' responses and formulated them as motivations (e.g.  
 281 the category "Agronomy" was redefined as "Promoting ecosystem services"). The coding was double-  
 282 checked separately by two researchers (G.M. and J.R.) to increase the robustness of the motivations.  
 283 Results for each category and, when necessary, subcategory identified were associated with the  
 284 number of farmers who mentioned it, and illustrated by anonymised quotes extracted from the  
 285 interviews and translated by the authors.

286

### 287 2.3.2. Analysis of motivation cards

288 To rank crop farmers' motivations, we analysed their 18 rankings of the motivation cards using two  
 289 indicators:

- 290 • the number of times each card had been selected, considering all the cards that farmers had  
 291 selected (range: 9-18, with a mean and standard deviation of  $11 \pm 2$ ).
- 292 • the weighted sum of points attributed to each card. We allocated points to the 10 highest-  
 293 ranked cards (from 10 points for rank 1 to 1 point for rank 10) and then summed all the points  
 294 for each card.

295 We performed multivariate analysis to characterise farmers' motivation rankings and then related  
296 them to farming system features or farmers' profiles. We used principal component analysis (PCA) to  
297 explain farmers' motivation card choices, including the sum of points attributed to each category (i.e.  
298 agronomic (soils and other), environmental, economic and social).

299 We analysed the projection of the farmers' rankings on the factorial map according to 9 qualitative  
300 variables that described the farming system (i.e. Region, Crops, Livestock, Level of reintegration, Years  
301 reintegrated, UAA, Outdoor/Indoor system) and the farmer's profile (Age and Prior connection to  
302 livestock farming). We tested the significance of the graphic structures revealed by the PCA using the  
303 Monte Carlo method (1 000 iterations). All tests were performed using R software version 4.3.1 (R Core  
304 Team, 2018), with significance set at  $p < 0.05$ .

### 305 *2.3.3. Triangulating the results: comparing interview responses and motivation cards*

306

307 To increase the robustness of the results, for each farmer, we compared the motivations identified  
308 through discourse analysis to the ranking of each motivation card and classified the comparison into  
309 four classes:

- 310 i) the same
- 311 ii) nearly the same (the card could be related easily to something the farmer mentioned, but  
312 using different words)
- 313 iii) ambiguous or unclear (i.e. the motivation was mentioned by the farmer only after he/she saw  
314 it on the card, it was more general than specific to livestock reintegration, or it was mentioned  
315 as an impact of livestock reintegration rather than a motivation for it)
- 316 iv) different (the motivation was identified through discourse analysis but not selected in the  
317 cards, or vice versa)

318 When a selected card did not refer to an interview response, we rechecked the transcription to ensure  
319 that we had not missed the information, which increased the robustness of the discourse analysis. We  
320 then calculated the percentage of motivations in each class for all 18 farmers combined.

321

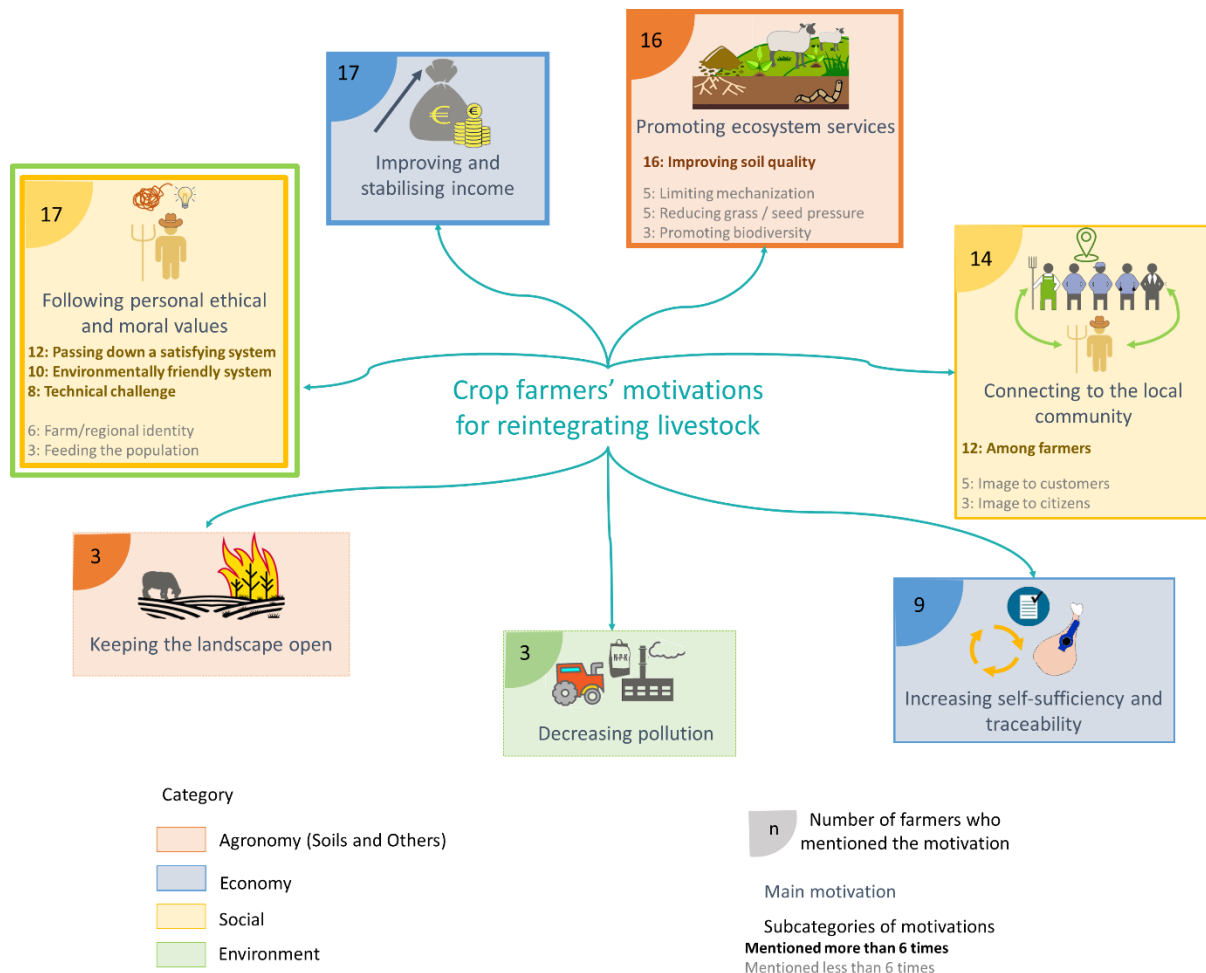
## 322 **3. Results**

### 323 **3.1. Inductive analysis**

324 Seven categories of motivations for reintegrating livestock emerged from the inductive analysis of the  
325 interviews: promoting ecosystem services (especially improving soil quality), decreasing pollution,  
326 increasing self-sufficiency and traceability, increasing and stabilising income, connecting to the local

327 community (among farmers, by improving image of the system towards customers and citizens),  
 328 keeping the landscape open (i.e. keeping agricultural land in production) and following personal ethical  
 329 and moral values (e.g. passing down a satisfying farming system, building an environmentally friendly  
 330 farming system or undertaking a technical challenge) (Fig. 2).

331



332

333 Figure 2. Overview of crop farmers' motivations for reintegrating livestock identified through discourse  
 334 analysis

335 *Livestock reintegration to follow personal ethical and moral values*

336 Almost all farmers (17) identified livestock reintegration as a way to increase their overall well-being  
 337 because it matched their many and diverse personal objectives, beliefs and values better (F3: "I get up  
 338 in the morning with pleasure. I do the things I like.").

339 From a personal viewpoint, 3 farmers identified livestock reintegration as a way to respond to their  
 340 desire to have a meaningful job by feeding the population, using the animals as a way to derive value

341 from crops that were difficult to sell (F14: “I thought ‘I am 30 years old; I spend my life growing wheat  
342 that nobody needs. My job is meaningless; nobody wants my wheat’.”).

343 Another motivation for farmers to reintegrate livestock was that having animals on the farm helped  
344 them produce food in a way that matched their value of environmental stewardship (Stern and Dietz,  
345 1994) (10 farmers, e.g. F18: “I want to be able to save the Earth [and] produce things without  
346 polluting.”). Farmers also wanted to be more consistent with types of sustainable farming (e.g.  
347 agroecology, biodynamics, mixed farming, the farm as an ecosystem) (F5: “For agroecology, I feel that  
348 having animals in a production system helps close the loop, especially in organic farming.”).

349 For 8 farmers, reintegrating livestock onto a crop farm without knowing exactly how to do it was one  
350 way to break the routine and undertake a technical challenge (F13: “I like to say that I am  
351 experimenting, and then when it begins to work well, I am no longer interested.”).

352 From a heritage perspective, 6 farmers mentioned livestock reintegration as a way to connect to family  
353 history (F13: “I remember my aunt..., who brought her sheep along the paths to graze. It was amazing.  
354 I was there; I lived it.”) or regional identity (F18: “[A few years ago, in the region] we did not use  
355 hectares to describe farm size; we used the number of ewes. We said ‘it’s a farm with 300 ewes’. I am  
356 going to bring them back.... Go back to what they did before.”).

357 Livestock reintegration reassured 6 farmers about the transmission of their farm, as it increased its  
358 financial value, thereby echoing their desire to provide the best for future generations (F10: “It is  
359 because I have two sons; I am planning for their future.”). More concretely, having livestock on the  
360 farm helped some farmers reduce their workload (5 farmers, e.g. F3: “We avoid two stubble ploughings  
361 thanks to grazing.”), thus improving the balance between personal and professional life. Reintegrating  
362 livestock was also seen as a way to improve farmers’ satisfaction in their work, especially due to the  
363 presence of animals (11 farmers, e.g. F13: “It is really a pleasure to see animals out there.”).

364

#### 365 *Livestock reintegration to increase and stabilise income*

366 Fourteen farmers reintegrated livestock to increase their income (F10: “It is simply for the money. If I  
367 could earn a living with crops, I probably would not have [reintegrated livestock]; it is easier to work in  
368 the fields.”). This increase can be related to the following:

- 369 i) selling new products (6 farmers, e.g. F17: “In direct selling, customers ask for eggs...produced  
370 in the region, on a farm.”)

- 371 ii) using “lost” crops or land, such as between orchard or vineyard rows or growing pasture on  
372 land where crop production would be too expensive (7 farmers, e.g. F15: “Lucerne is like  
373 medicine for the soil, so it is great that we can make the good use of it with the cows.”)  
374 iii) decreasing production costs by promoting ecosystem services and increasing self-sufficiency,  
375 as mentioned (6 farmers made a direct connection, e.g. F7: “And also saving money on  
376 mechanisation costs to produce lucerne hay [thanks to the sheep]”).

377 Another motivation for reintegrating livestock mentioned by 10 farmers was to stabilise income, in the  
378 following ways:

- 379 i) increasing farm self-sufficiency and diversifying production, thereby depending less on  
380 fluctuating global market prices and climate events (10 farmers, e.g. F18: “I was finished with  
381 not being able to make ends meet [by] producing grain and selling it on the global market. I  
382 needed to find a ready-to-sell product, so now...all my grain will feed my sheep, pigs and  
383 chickens.”; F14: “We have four jobs, and there is always one that does not go well. [...] This  
384 year, it is a pleasure to work with the sheep. It is going to be a good year for grain, but last year  
385 was not great. It is fairly balanced; it helps to be a bit more resilient.”).  
386 ii) using livestock to derive value from crops that did not grow well (1 farmer, F18: “I can mess  
387 up with one crop because I can mow it to feed my livestock; they provide flexibility.”)

#### 388 *Livestock reintegration to promote ecosystem services*

389 One motivation for reintegrating livestock was to promote ecosystem services, mentioned by 16/18  
390 farmers. All of these farmers emphasised motivations regarding soils, especially soil life (i.e. biomass  
391 and microbial activity) (9/18, e.g. F13: “The main idea of having sheep was...to revitalise the soil.”) and  
392 fertility (14/18, e.g. F16: “It was a way to have livestock on the farm and produce our own organic  
393 matter for the fields.”), and thus soil structure (3/18). Four farmers also mentioned the expected role  
394 of reintegrating ruminants in promoting carbon storage in soils (as part of soil quality improvement)  
395 due to the decrease in greenhouse gas emissions caused by replacing mechanisation with grazing and  
396 reintroducing pasture into crop rotations. Five farmers also mentioned the expected role of ruminants  
397 in consuming grass or weeds, which was directly related using them to manage cover crops, thereby  
398 reducing mechanization (F1: “I think that my first objective was to stop mowing the cover crops.”) or  
399 weeds (F2: “[Sheep] are eating tall fescue a lot ... I am really happy I found this way; it’s really hard to  
400 get rid of it [without sheep]”), especially between orchard or vineyard rows, where mechanical  
401 weeding is difficult. One farmer also mentioned adding pasture to feed animals, which helps to  
402 decrease weed pressure by extending the crop rotation and breaking pest cycles (F3: “If we have sheep,  
403 we can extend the crop rotation up to 10 years. We are going to sow lucerne and pasture; this is truly

404 long-term thinking.”). Three farmers mentioned the role of livestock in increasing biodiversity in fields,  
405 especially for fauna such as birds (F1: “I found sheep wool in titmouse nest boxes..., so it is useful for  
406 biodiversity; birds can use it.”) and auxiliary insects (F4: “When sheep arrive in the field, we see insects  
407 climbing the trees, so we have ladybugs and many other auxiliary insects that...help us deal with the  
408 aphids and [other pests].”).

#### 409 *Livestock reintegration to strengthen connections with the local community*

410 Farmers’ motivations for reintegrating livestock were also influenced by a strong desire to strengthen  
411 their connections to the local community and decrease isolation (12/18 farmers). This can be related,  
412 for instance, to having other people work on the farm throughout the year to tend to the livestock  
413 (F12: “Livestock farming is a social support.”; F11: “Currently, on a cash crop farm, from November 15<sup>th</sup>  
414 to December 15<sup>th</sup>, nothing happens.... [...] [With livestock], you can see people on the farm every day,  
415 even during winter; there is always something happening. It is not restful, but [I like it]”). Reintegrating  
416 livestock can also be an opportunity to work with someone else, either by helping a shepherd become  
417 established (F2: “I think we can create a win-win partnership with young shepherds who do not have  
418 enough money to become established, as we want [to have livestock] but do not have the time to do  
419 all of it correctly.”) or by partnering with a livestock farmer (F6: “Integrating livestock without being a  
420 livestock farmer [means] hosting [the livestock of] someone who has problems because he does not  
421 have enough land.”).

422 Some farmers reintegrated livestock to strengthen their relationships with others, as having livestock  
423 can be seen as a way to improve the image of livestock farming to citizens (3 farmers, e.g. F11: “When  
424 I walk across the village with my sheep, people like that.”). It can also help them improve the image of  
425 their products to their customers and maintaining a “licence to operate”, especially when selling  
426 directly to consumers (5 farmers, e.g. F3: “Some time ago, [the organic shop] advertised our products  
427 to show people we were practising agro-pastoralism. Clients like it, everybody likes it.”).

#### 428 *Livestock reintegration to increase self-sufficiency and traceability*

429 Eight farmers reintegrated livestock to improve farm self-sufficiency, especially in nitrogen, by  
430 producing livestock manure (F17: “There is also the idea of reaching...self-sufficiency in nitrogen.”).  
431 Reintegrating livestock onto a farm could also provide farmers an outlet for grain or fodder legumes  
432 introduced into crop rotations, which would increase nitrogen fixation and decrease input costs.

433 One farmer considered self-sufficiency as a way to improve the quality of farm inputs, such as manure  
434 (F8: “Last year...I spread 5 tons of [imported] chicken manure per hectare; it was as if I had done  
435 nothing at all.”). Four farmers emphasised the increased traceability of farm products when selling  
436 directly to consumers or locally with few intermediaries (F15: “The eggs, once you collect them, ...are

437 ready to be packed in boxes and sold. We can manage the entire supply chain on the farm and get back  
438 in touch with our customers.”).

#### 439 *Livestock reintegration to decrease pollution*

440 Three farmers stated that they decided to reintegrate livestock to decrease pollution, especially by  
441 promoting ecosystem services, which helps to decrease the use of inputs (e.g. nitrogen fertilisers,  
442 pesticides, fuel) (F1: “I think I use my tractor less often and [use fewer nitrogen] inputs, which are hard  
443 to quantify.”). These farmers considered reintegrating grazing animals as a way to produce food or  
444 fibre with lower environmental impacts (F6: “Livestock farming is criticised for its impact on the  
445 climate, and this is true. However, I believe that we can perform wholesome actions. [...] The idea is to  
446 have animals grazing to...decrease mechanisation to make hay.”; F12: “When you wash [wool clothes],  
447 it doesn’t release dyes or plastic residues into water treatment plants or the sea.”).

#### 448 *Livestock reintegration to keep the landscape open*

449 Another motivation for reintegrating livestock was to help restore and maintain the landscape, for  
450 instance by renovating an abandoned orchard (3 farmers, e.g. F2: “We do not have sheep only to  
451 produce meat. We also have sheep to maintain the land.”). One farmer also perceived having grazing  
452 livestock as an opportunity to stop spending large amounts of money to produce crops on land  
453 marginal for cultivation, without letting it turn into abandoned rangeland (F12: “It means having the  
454 chance to stop cultivating small parts of fields without feeling that we are abandoning them.”).

### 455 3.2. Analysis of farmers’ selection and ranking of motivation cards

#### 456 *3.2.1. Farmers’ motivations for reintegrating livestock: agronomy first*

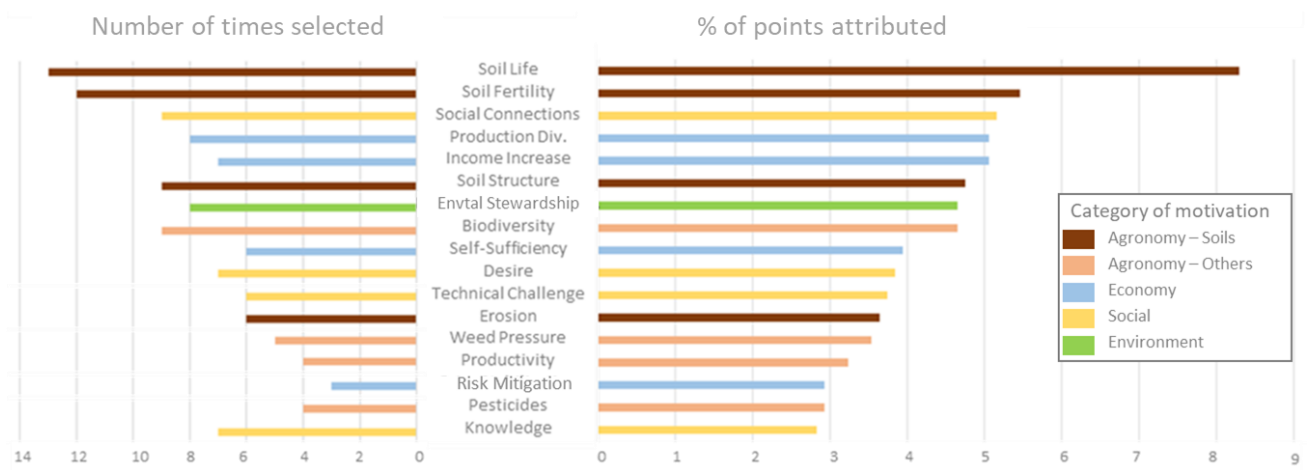
457 Analysis of farmers’ selection and ranking of motivation cards helped us rank their motivations for  
458 reintegrating livestock. Each card was selected at least once. One card was added by a farmer for a  
459 specific motivation (i.e. decrease the amount of strenuous work) and was not used again. The points  
460 attributed to each card and the number of times it was selected yielded similar results overall (Fig.3,  
461 Supplementary Material 1).

462 Farmers attributed the most points and selected the most cards from the agronomy category (Fig. 3)  
463 (43% of the points and 41% of the cards selected). Among these cards, farmers’ main concern was the  
464 soil (25% of the points), especially improving soil life and fertility, which were the first and second  
465 motivations, respectively, in points (8% and 6%, respectively) and the number of times selected (by 13  
466 and 12 farmers, respectively) (Fig. 3). Soil motivations were often selected by the same farmers (9  
467 farmers selected soil life and soil fertility; 8 farmers selected soil life and soil structure). Promoting  
468 biodiversity was another agronomic motivation (5% of the points, selected by 9 farmers).



469 After agronomic motivations, economic and social categories were selected nearly equally by farmers  
 470 (25% and 22% of the points, respectively, and 24% of the cards selected each). Economic motivations  
 471 included mainly increasing and stabilising income by diversifying production (5% of the points each,  
 472 and selected by 8 and 7 farmers, respectively, with 5 farmers selecting both). Increasing self-sufficiency  
 473 was attributed 4% of the points and was selected by 6 farmers. The social motivations selected  
 474 regarded creating social connections (5% of the points, selected by 12 farmers), responding to a  
 475 desire/preference/belief (4% of the points, selected by 7 farmers) and acquiring and sharing new  
 476 knowledge (only 3% of the points, because although selected by 8 farmers, it was ranked low, with a  
 477 mean of 4.0 points). Farmers attributed the fewest points and selected the fewest cards in the  
 478 environmental category (9% of the points and 10% of the cards), in which the motivation selected most  
 479 was the desire to improve environmental stewardship and to close nutrient cycles (5% and 3% of the  
 480 points, respectively, selected by 8 farmers each).

481  
 482



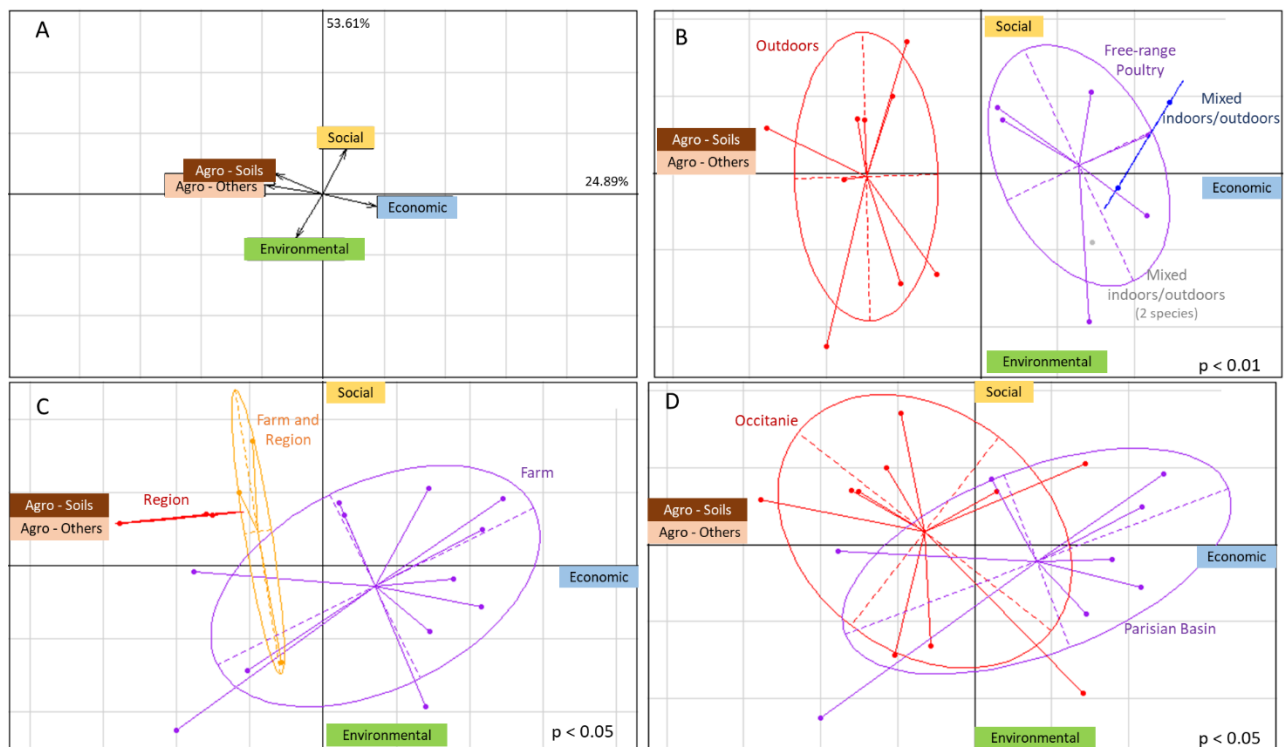
483

484 Figure 3. Number of times selected and percentage of points allocated by farmers when ranking the  
 485 cards for the most-selected motivations, by category. To increase readability, the graph shows only  
 486 motivations selected by more than 6 farmers, or allocated more than 2.5% of the points. See  
 487 Supplementary Material 1 for details. Div.: Diversification, Envntal: Environmental

488 *3.2.2. Differences in motivations for reintegrating livestock among farmers' systems*

489

490 The PCA distributed categories of motivations according to farmers' rankings. On the factorial map,  
 491 axis 1 (53.6% of the variance explained) distinguished agronomic and soil from economic motivations,  
 492 whereas axis 2 (24.9% of the variance explained) clearly distinguished social from environmental  
 493 motivations (Fig. 4A).



494  
 495 **Figure 4. (A) Factorial map of the motivations for reintegrating livestock, by category, with projections**  
 496 **of farmers' rankings as a function of (B) livestock housing, (C) the main level of livestock reintegration**  
 497 **and (D) the region (D). Agro: Agronomic**

498  
 499 The projection of farmers' rankings on the factorial map showed that, in our sample, farmers with  
 500 outdoor livestock systems (n=7) favoured mostly agronomic (soils and others) motivations, whereas  
 501 farmers with at least partly indoor systems (e.g. free-range poultry, mixed indoors/outdoors for other  
 502 livestock) (n=11) tended to select more economic motivations (Monte Carlo method,  $p < 0.01$ ) (Fig. 4B,  
 503 Supplementary Material 2). The type of housing seemed to determine motivations more than the  
 504 species of livestock reintegrated (Supplementary Material 2). Farmers with outdoor livestock systems  
 505 selected soil life as their first motivation (1.5 times as many points attributed and selected by 6/7  
 506 farmers compared to 7/11 with other systems), followed by other agronomic, environmental and  
 507 social motivations. Self-sufficiency was the economic motivation that these farmers selected most (2/7  
 508 farmers). Farmers with at least partly indoor livestock systems selected income stabilisation by  
 509 diversifying production as their first motivation (8/11 farmers vs. 0 with outdoor systems). Improving  
 510 soil life was the first non-economic motivation that these farmers selected (7/11 farmers).

511 Farmers who reintegrated livestock at the regional level (n=3) had perennial systems (i.e. orchard,  
 512 vineyard) or grain crops, and favoured mostly agronomic and social motivations (Fig. 4C,  
 513 Supplementary Material 2). Farmers who reintegrated livestock at the farm level (n=12, including 10  
 514 with grain crop systems, 1 with vegetables and 1 with an orchard) prioritised a wider variety of

515 motivations. The farmer with vegetables (F17) reintegrated laying hens on his farm for mostly  
516 economic motivations, whereas the farmer with an orchard (F5) reintegrated sheep for social and  
517 agronomic motivations. Farmers who reintegrated livestock at both farm and regional levels (n=3) had  
518 grain crops, a vineyard or both, and did it more for agronomic motivations, with either a strong social  
519 dimension or a strong environmental dimension.

520 Farmers in Occitanie (n=10) favoured agronomic motivations (soils and others) in their rankings more  
521 than did farmers in the Parisian Basin (n=8), who favoured economic motivations (Monte Carlo  
522 method,  $p < 0.05$ ) (Fi. 4D, Supplementary Material 2). In both regions, the main motivation for  
523 reintegrating livestock was to improve soil life, but farmers in Occitanie selected more motivations  
524 regarding soils than did those in the Parisian Basin, with 2.1 times as many points attributed and 1.8  
525 times as many cards selected (e.g. soil fertility was cited 8 out of 10 times in Occitanie vs. 4 out of 8  
526 times in the Parisian Basin). In the Parisian Basin, economic motivations were most common, being  
527 represented 1.7 times more than in Occitanie. They included increasing and stabilising income by  
528 diversifying production, mentioned by 4 and 5 out of 8 farmers, respectively (vs. 3 out of 10 each in  
529 Occitanie). This difference between regions may have been related to the larger percentage of outdoor  
530 systems in Occitanie (80% of the systems vs. 25% in the Parisian Basin) and to other reasons (e.g.  
531 greater vulnerability of soils in Occitanie, proximity to a vast wealthy consumption basin in the Parisian  
532 Basin, which may provide the opportunity to sell high-quality products at higher prices). For the other  
533 factors (i.e. UAA, farmers' age and prior connection to livestock farming), we found no clear evidence  
534 of differences in motivation ranking (Supplementary Material 2).

### 535 3.3. Similar motivations between inductive analysis and motivation card rankings

536 Overall, 64.1% of the motivations were the same (46.0%) or nearly the same (18.1%) in the discourse  
537 analysis and selection of motivation cards. The motivation farmers ranked first was always the same  
538 (72.2%) or nearly the same (27.8%) as one of the motivations identified through discourse analysis,  
539 which indicates that the two methods were consistent and increased the robustness of the results. For  
540 the motivations classified as ambiguous or unclear (14.5%), the mismatch appeared low in farmers'  
541 rankings (mean rank was  $8.3 \pm 4.0$  considering all of the cards selected) and did not seem to challenge  
542 the robustness of the results. The motivations classified as different (21.4%) were mainly those  
543 identified through discourse analysis but not selected in the cards (83%). These motivations included  
544 ensuring the farm transmission and increasing personal satisfaction with work, which were not  
545 explicitly listed on the cards even though they could have been included with the card "Responding to  
546 a desire/preference/belief". Farmers rarely mentioned a motivation without selecting the  
547 corresponding card, which could have been due to the instruction to select approximately 10 cards.

548 In both discourse analysis and motivation card rankings, agronomic motivations (in which we included  
549 promoting ecosystem services, as they support production), especially those regarding soils,  
550 predominated, as soils were mentioned by 16/18 farmers in their discourse, and at least 1 soil card  
551 was selected by all but 1 farmer. Improving and stabilising income was cited by 17/18 farmers in their  
552 discourse, consistent with the two most-selected economic motivation cards (7 and 8 farmers,  
553 respectively). Similarly, self-sufficiency was mentioned by 9 farmers in their discourse and selected by  
554 6 of them in their card rankings. Strengthening social connections was the most-selected social  
555 motivation in card rankings and was mentioned by 14/18 farmers in their discourse, particularly for  
556 connections among farmers. Personal ethical and moral values were mentioned as a motivation by  
557 17/18 farmers and may have corresponded to a wide variety of motivation cards (e.g. desire, technical  
558 challenge, environmental stewardship, connection to family/traditions), as well as to broad values not  
559 included in the cards (e.g. farm transmission, feeding the population). In both discourse analysis and  
560 card rankings, keeping the landscape open and decreasing pollution were rarely selected. Farmers did  
561 select some environmental cards, but sometimes only because they felt that they needed to select at  
562 least one card from each category, despite the instructions to the contrary. The most-selected  
563 environmental card was environmental stewardship (8/18), which was consistent with the desire to  
564 build an environmentally friendly farming system mentioned by 10 farmers.

565

## 566 4. Discussion

### 567 4.1. Farmers' motivations for reintegrating livestock compared to expected benefits

568

569 The farmers' diverse motivations for reintegrating livestock are consistent with the benefits of crop-  
570 livestock integration in the literature. Crop farmers' main motivation was to promote ecosystem  
571 services, especially by improving soil life and fertility. Improving soil quality is one of the main benefits  
572 of mixed systems, especially those based on grazing, due to organic fertilisation from livestock waste  
573 and the diversification of crop-pasture rotations to feed the animals (Brewer and Gaudin, 2020;  
574 Franzluebbers, 2005; Soussana and Lemaire, 2014). Crop farmers' economic motivations included  
575 increasing and stabilising income by diversifying production and increasing self-sufficiency. The  
576 literature highlights that mixed systems increase economic efficiency and decrease dependence on  
577 external inputs, which increases resilience to climate and market events (Bell and Moore, 2012; dos  
578 Reis et al., 2021; Ryschawy et al., 2021). Social motivations were also a main motivation for  
579 reintegrating livestock, including strengthening connections with the local community or following  
580 personal ethical and moral values. The literature has not documented social benefits of mixed systems

581 in detail. The few studies that mention them focus on the difficulty in identifying and maintaining a  
582 partnership between crop and livestock farms (Asai et al., 2018; Ryschawy et al., 2017).

583 Farmers rarely mentioned motivations linked to energy consumption or pollution, whereas these  
584 impacts are documented in the literature. Mixed systems help to close carbon and nitrogen cycles,  
585 which can decrease nitrate leaching and water pollution (dos Reis et al., 2021; Ryschawy et al., 2021;  
586 Veysset et al., 2014). The ranking of motivation cards in the environmental category need to be  
587 considered carefully given the potential selection bias previously mentioned. Similarly, the farmers  
588 rarely mentioned maintaining the landscape as a motivation, whereas the literature indicates that  
589 grazing helps keep the landscape open and prevent wildfires (Davies et al., 2016; Rouet-Leduc et al.,  
590 2021). This result may have been related to the absence of fallow or communal land that the farmers  
591 in our sample could use, or because landscape management is a service that society expects from  
592 farmers rather than one that farmers expect (Guillaumin et al., 2008).

593

#### 594 4.2. Similarities with farmers' motivations for adopting other sustainable practices

595 Farmers' motivations for reintegrating livestock varied, but most were consistent with those  
596 mentioned in studies of the adoption of sustainable practices. The main motivation in the present  
597 study of promoting ecosystem services, especially improving soil quality, was consistent with  
598 Casagrande et al. (2016), who studied organic farmers' motivations for adopting conservation  
599 agriculture practices. Pergner and Lippert (2023) showed that protecting biodiversity (in the soil and  
600 elsewhere) was a motivation for reducing pesticide use, and Paut et al. (2021) mentioned biological  
601 control as one motivation for grazing orchards. Increasing biodiversity was ranked highly in the present  
602 study, but was associated instead with the overall idea of diversifying the farming system to be  
603 consistent with farmers' values (Stern and Dietz, 1994), rather than to protect auxiliary insects. Paut  
604 et al. (2021) emphasised grass management as one of the main motivations for grazing orchards, and  
605 Casagrande et al. (2016) highlighted that farmers were motivated to adopt conservation agriculture  
606 practices to improve weed, pest and disease control, which several farmers also mentioned in the  
607 present study, although it was not the main motivation for reintegrating livestock.

608 Farmers mentioned economic motivations, such as increasing and stabilising income or decreasing  
609 production costs, which is consistent with motivations for adopting other sustainable practices, such  
610 as converting to organic farming, adopting conservation agriculture practices in organic farming,  
611 reducing pesticide use or grazing orchards (Bouttes et al., 2019; Casagrande et al., 2016; Paut et al.,  
612 2021; Pergner and Lippert, 2023). Farmers' motivations for reintegrating livestock to increase self-  
613 sufficiency and resilience to volatile market prices were also mentioned by Bouttes et al. (2019) at a

614 time when organic product prices were high and stable. Bouttes et al. (2019) mentioned social  
615 motivations as a main influence for farmers to convert to organic farming, as farmers were looking to  
616 stimulate learning, which can be related to the desire to undertake a technical challenge, which was  
617 identified as a motivation for livestock reintegration in the present study. Bouttes et al. (2019) also  
618 mentioned developing group dynamics and an open exchange of experiences, which is consistent with  
619 the desire to strengthen connections with the local community and create social connections in the  
620 present study. Bouttes et al. (2019) and Duval et al. (2021) highlighted that farmers adopted  
621 sustainable practices to increase work satisfaction, which was related to farmers' personal ethical and  
622 moral values in the present study. Maintaining or increasing the value of the farm in a perspective of  
623 heritage and transmission was also a motivation for livestock reintegration, which was related to other  
624 motivations in a long-term strategy, such as improving soil quality. Caring about future generations,  
625 both within the farmers' families and beyond, was also a motivation for reducing pesticide use (Pergner  
626 and Lippert, 2023) or adopting other sustainable practices (Greiner and Gregg, 2011; Ingram et al.,  
627 2013; Schoonhoven and Runhaar, 2018).

628 Protecting the environment and being a good steward of the land (Stern and Dietz, 1994) are often  
629 strong motivations for adopting sustainable practices, such as soil conservation techniques, reducing  
630 pesticide use or grazing orchards, which increases nutrient cycling (Bakker et al., 2021; Chèze et al.,  
631 2020; Paut et al., 2021; Reimer and Prokopy, 2012). As mentioned, farmers in the present study  
632 mentioned few motivations related to water and air pollution or energy consumption. However,  
633 farmers mentioned environmental values, either directly during the interview, through the  
634 environmental card "Environmental stewardship" or to explain their selection of the social card  
635 "Responding to a desire/preference/belief", or indirectly by referring to sustainable practices that they  
636 wanted to uphold. Reducing health risks for farmers and consumers is a main motivation for reducing  
637 pesticide use (Chèze et al., 2020; Pergner and Lippert, 2023). None of the farmers we interviewed  
638 mentioned health concerns, likely because given the current state of knowledge, the relationship  
639 between livestock reintegration and farmer health and food safety is more difficult to make.

640 Recent studies focused on mapping farmers' motivations and clustering them into farmers' profiles for  
641 adopting sustainable practices (e.g. investment-minded farmers, farmers focused on their quality of  
642 life) (Lalani et al., 2021; Tessier et al., 2021). In our work, farmers mentioned several motivations in  
643 their discourse, but they always belonged to at least three dimensions (among agronomy, economy,  
644 social and environment) and farmers almost never mentioned feedback loops between them.  
645 Identifying farmers' profiles of motivations for reintegrating livestock by studying those interlinkages  
646 could be a future research question. Many studies of farmers' motivations focused on elements that  
647 facilitate or hinder farmers' adoption of sustainable practices, such as a farmer's profile (e.g. age, level

648 of education, experience with the practices) (Damalas, 2021; Prokopy et al., 2015; Yoder et al., 2019);  
649 economic and social costs of implementing changes on the farm (Chèze et al., 2020); or the lack of  
650 inspiring examples (Bakker et al., 2021; Hammond et al., 2017), knowledge or an adapted socio-  
651 technical system (Gaitán-Cremaschi et al., 2022; Mamine and Farès, 2020; Spangler et al., 2022). These  
652 elements were not considered in depth in the present study, as they influence farmers' motivations  
653 for reintegrating livestock in relation to their behavioural control rather than to their attitudes towards  
654 the practice. We found no clear influence of farmers' profile age or prior connection to livestock  
655 farming on their motivations for reintegrating livestock, perhaps due to the small sample size and the  
656 fact that these elements would influence the adoption of a practice rather than the motivations for  
657 performing it. As it is important to consider motivations for, but also obstacles to and mechanisms for  
658 developing crop-livestock integration, these elements will be analysed in future studies. Similarly,  
659 given our small sample size, the influence of farms' characteristics (organic or conventional, type of  
660 crop or livestock reintegrated) on farmers' motivations for reintegrating livestock could be further  
661 analysed.

662

#### 663 4.3. A mixed method for completeness and robustness of the results

664 We developed a mixed method to summarise motivations for reintegrating livestock by combining  
665 qualitative inductive discourse analysis with quantitative analysis of farmers' rankings of motivation  
666 cards (DeCuir-Gunby, 2008; Greene et al., 2005). Inductive content analysis is a powerful tool for  
667 identifying emerging themes in farmers' responses (i.e. motivations anchored in farmers' realities) (Elo  
668 and Kyngäs, 2008). However, farmers' motivations cannot be ranked based on discourse analysis alone  
669 because i) it is difficult to determine which motivation is the most important to a farmer, and ii) farmers  
670 may not mention the same motivations. Although we counted the number of farmers who mentioned  
671 each motivation in their discourse, it is difficult to distinguish whether a farmer did not mention a  
672 motivation because it was irrelevant to him/her or because it did not occur to him/her at the time.  
673 Offering farmers the same panel of cards and asking them to select and rank those they found relevant  
674 was one way to rank their motivations. The selection and ranking phase can enrich the responses by  
675 recalling forgotten motivations or deepening subjects that had been mentioned briefly (i.e.  
676 triangulation for completeness (Hussein, 2009)). It also allowed differences in the motivations that  
677 farmers prioritised to be identified as a function of their farming system, although the small sample  
678 size only allowed trends to be identified (Salembier et al., 2021). In addition to expanding the variety  
679 of motivations and ranking them, combining these two methods increased the robustness of the  
680 results by comparing the motivations identified through discourse analysis and the number of farmers  
681 who mentioned them to the ranks of cards (i.e. triangulation for confirmation (Hussein, 2009)).

682 Discussing differences between results of the two methods with the farmers and asking them to  
683 explain their choices in more detail (e.g. economic motivations mentioned in the discourse but  
684 selected rarely in card rankings) would further increase the completeness and robustness of our  
685 results.

686

## 687 Conclusion

688 Following innovation-tracking principles, we identified and ranked a wide variety of crop farmers'  
689 motivations for reintegrating livestock in two region of France. To do so, we developed an original  
690 mixed method to combine inductive discourse analysis of farmers' motivations for adopting a  
691 sustainable practice with their selection and ranking of predefined cards based on the benefits of this  
692 practice found in the literature. In the current context of increasing prices for energy, feed and nitrogen  
693 fertilisers, livestock reintegration seems an appropriate lifeline for crop farmers. Understanding the  
694 diversity of crop farmers' motivations for reintegrating livestock is the first step in developing this  
695 innovative sustainable practice under favourable conditions. It could help decision-makers provide  
696 recommendations that encourage it, by communicating the benefits of these systems in relation to  
697 farmers' objectives and/or by developing payments for the ecosystem services provided by livestock  
698 reintegration. Elements other than farmers' motivations should be considered, such as the conditions  
699 that facilitate or hinder livestock reintegration.

700

## 701 Acknowledgements

702 The authors acknowledge funding from the European Union Horizon 2020 Programme for Research  
703 and Innovation under grant agreement no. 862357 (project MIXED: Multi-actor and transdisciplinary  
704 development of efficient and resilient MIXED farming and agroforestry-systems) and from the ERA-  
705 NET project Mi Bicycle (Mitigation and adaptation through better biomass cycling in crop livestock  
706 systems of North and Western Europe) funded under the joint call ERA-NET Cofund SusAn, FACCE ERA-  
707 GAS, ICT-AGRI-FOOD and SusCrop. They thank M. Corson for English proofreading, and offer special  
708 thanks to the farmers who provided their precious time to make this study possible.

709

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